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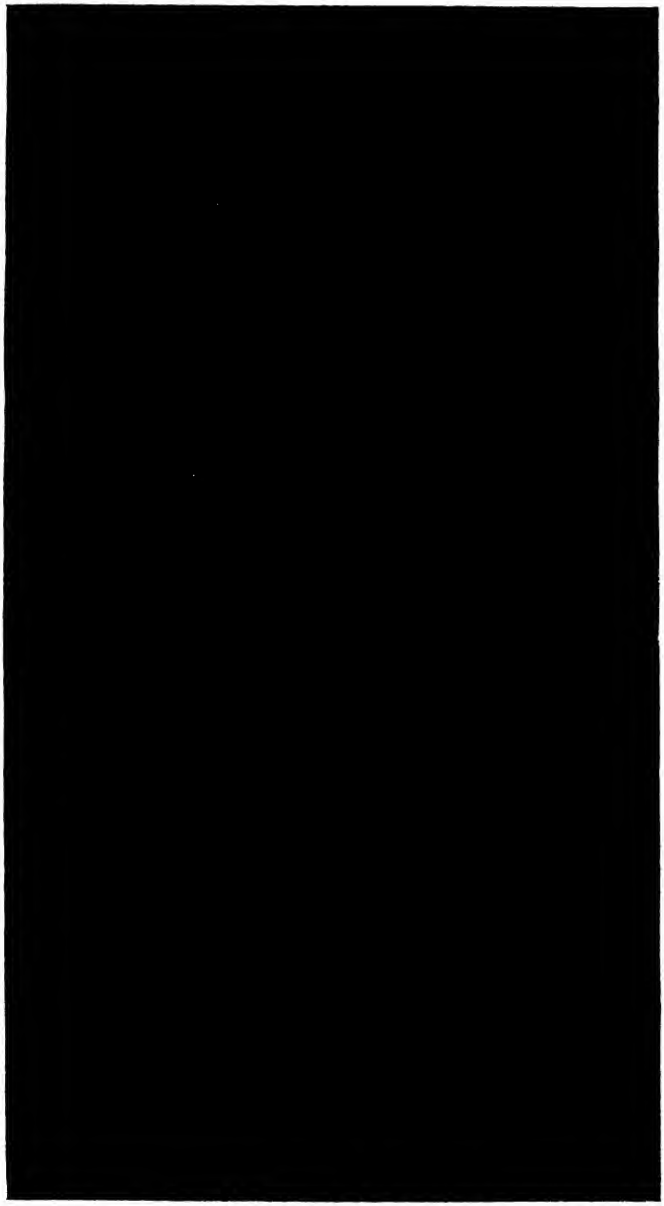
HISTORY OF THE ARABS



From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

THE CURTAIN OF THE DOOR OF THE KA'BAH AT MAKKAH

Bearing koranic inscriptions which include sūrahs 1, 106 and 112
The prominent inscription above the centre is the first part of sūrah 48, verse 27

HISTORY
OF
THE ARABS

BY

PHILIP K. HITTI

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LITERATURE ON THE
WILLIAM AND ANNIE S. PATON FOUNDATION
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THIRD EDITION, REVISED

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

IN preparing copy for this edition careful consideration was given to all available reviews of the second edition as well as to communications made privately to the author by students, teachers and other readers of the book. The products of recent researches appearing in learned journals and new publications were also fully utilized. This resulted in several corrections of inconsistencies or minor errors and in the clarification of certain ambiguities in the text. The footnotes received further treatment involving the addition of newly published sources and reference works and the replacement of earlier editions by more recent and critical ones. In this connection it must be noted that whenever a work is cited for the first time in a footnote, the full title, including name of author and place and date of publication, is given; after that the title is abbreviated. When a biography of an Arab author is sketched in the text and reference is made to his major work, that reference usually comprises full title supplemented by a reference to any existing scholarly translation into a Western European language, particularly if English.

The third edition, like its two predecessors, owes not a little to my graduate students and to members of the Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies.

P. K. H.

April, 1942.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN this edition an effort has been made to bring the material up to date and to introduce necessary emendations. Due consideration was given to critical comments whether privately communicated or published as reviews, among which that of Professor George Levi della Vida in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, volume 59 (1939), was the most comprehensive. Into the footnotes were incorporated certain items of the selected bibliographies which originally were to be appended to each chapter of the book.

Of those who contributed to the first edition Dr. Edward J. Jurji and Dr. Nabih A. Faris have made further contribution to the present one; and of my graduate students George F. Hourani offered several suggestions on the Byzantine relations and Floris L. Ferwerda collaborated in reconstructing two of the maps. Dr. A. R. Nykl, of Madrid, read the chapters on Spain.

The services of all these gentlemen and the co-operation of my wife are herewith gratefully acknowledged.

P. K. H.

September, 1939.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS is a modest attempt to tell the story of the Arabians and the Arabic-speaking peoples from the earliest times to the Ottoman conquest of the early sixteenth century. It represents many years of study and teaching at Columbia University, the American University of Beirut and Princeton University, and is designed to meet the needs of the student as well as the cultivated layman. The field it covers, however, is so extensive that the author cannot claim to have carried his independent researches into every part of it. He therefore had to appropriate in places the results of the investigation of other scholars in the East and in the West, to whom his indebtedness would have been more apparent had the selected bibliographies appended to each chapter in the manuscript appeared in the printed book.

While in preparation certain chapters of the book were submitted to various scholars for their criticism. Among those who made a distinct contribution were Professor A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Chicago; Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., now president of Robert College, Istanbul; Dr. Costi Zurayq, of the American University of Beirut, Syria; and two of my colleagues, Professor Henry L. Savage and Professor Albert Elsasser, of the Department of English.

For several years the manuscript was made the basis of a graduate course, and it benefited considerably from suggestions and criticisms offered by my students. Among these special mention should be made of George C. Miles, now of Rayy, Persia; Buṭrus ʿAbd-al-Malik, of Assiut College, Egypt; Edward J. Jurji, of Baghdad; Harold W. Glidden; Richard F. S. Starr; and Nabih A. Faris, of Jerusalem. Dr. Faris rendered further service by collaborating in sketching the maps, reading the proofs and compiling the index.

To all these gentlemen, as well as to my wife, who co-operated in typewriting the manuscript and proposed several improvements, my hearty thanks are due.

P. K. H.

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PART I

THE PRE-ISLAMIC AGE

CHAPTER I

THE ARABS AS SEMITES

ARABIA THE CRADLE OF THE SEMITIC RACE

Claims on our interest

OF all the lands comparable to Arabia in size, and of all the peoples approaching the Arabs in historical interest and importance, no country and no nationality has received so little consideration and study in modern times as have Arabia and the Arabs.

Here is a country that is about one-fourth the area of Europe, one-third the size of the United States of America, yet what is known about it is out of all proportion to what is unknown. We are beginning to know more, comparatively speaking, about the Arctic and Antarctic regions than we do about most of Arabia.

As the probable cradle of the Semitic race the Arabian peninsula nursed those peoples who later migrated into the Fertile Crescent and subsequently became the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians and the Hebrews of history. As the plausible fount of pure Semitism, the sandy soil of the peninsula is the place wherein the rudimentary elements of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity—together with the origin of those traits which later developed into the well-delineated Semitic character—should be sought for. In medieval times Arabia gave birth to a people who conquered most of the then civilized world, and to a religion—Islam—which still claims the adherence of no less than two hundred and forty-six millions of people, representing nearly all the races and many different climes. Every eighth person in our world today is a follower of Muḥammad, and the Moslem call to prayer rings out through most of the twenty-four hours of the day, encircling the larger portion of the globe in its warm belt.

Around the name of the Arabs gleams that halo which belongs to the world-conquerors. Within a century after their rise this people became the masters of an empire extending from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the confines of China, an empire

greater than that of Rome at its zenith. In this period of unprecedented expansion they "assimilated to their creed, speech, and even physical type, more aliens than any stock before or since, not excepting the Hellenic, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, or the Russian".[1]

It was not only an empire that the Arabs built, but a culture as well. Heirs of the ancient civilization that flourished on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in the land of the Nile and on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, they likewise absorbed and assimilated the main features of the Greco-Roman culture, and subsequently acted as a medium for transmitting to medieval Europe many of those intellectual influences which ultimately resulted in the awakening of the Western world and in setting it on the road towards its modern renaissance. No people in the Middle Ages contributed to human progress so much as did the Arabians and the Arabic-speaking peoples.[2]

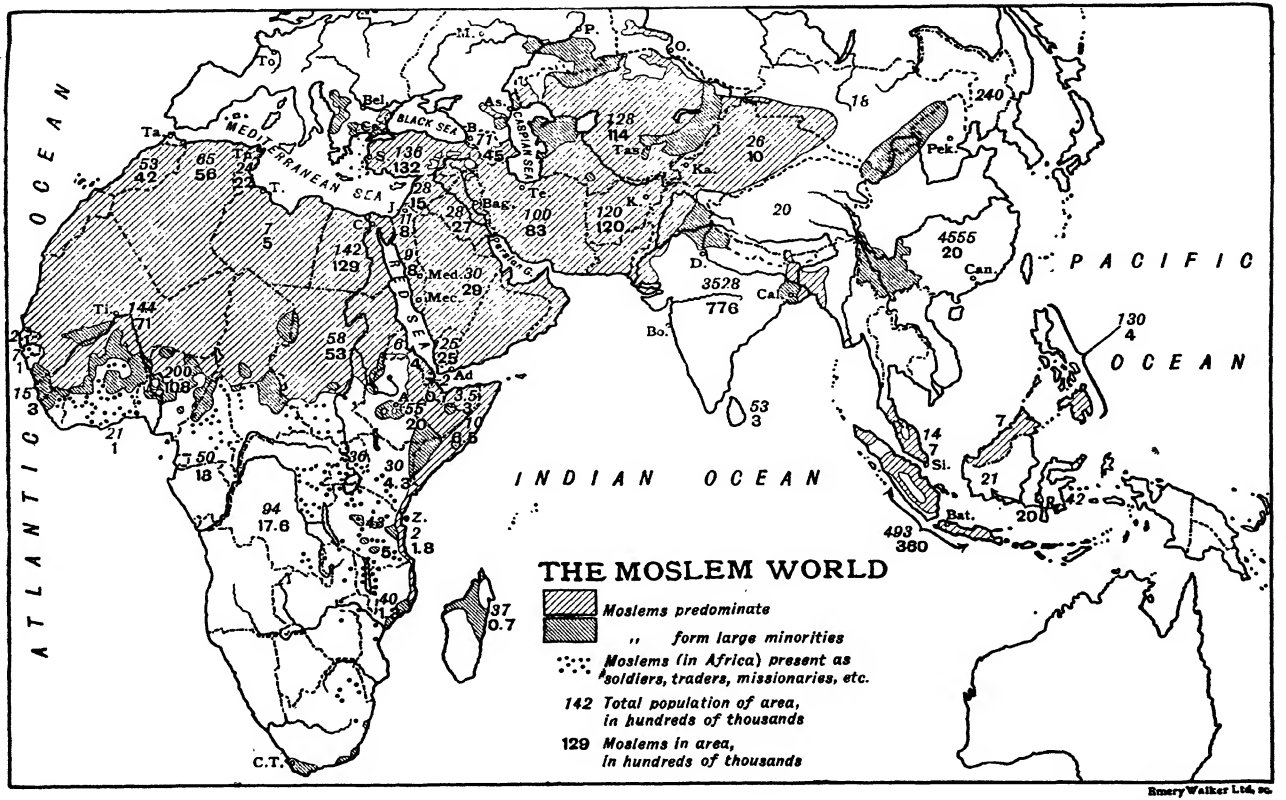
The religion of the Arabians, after Judaism and Christianity, is the third and latest monotheistic religion. Historically it is an offshoot of these other two, and of all faiths it comes nearest to being their next of kin. All three are the product of one spiritual life, the Semitic life. A faithful Moslem could with but few scruples subscribe to most of the tenets of Christian belief. Islam has been and still is a living force from Morocco to India, and a way of life to millions of the human race.

The Arabic language today is the medium of daily expression for some forty-five million people. For many centuries in the Middle Ages it was the language of learning and culture and progressive thought throughout the civilized world. Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries more works, philosophical, medical, historical, religious, astronomical and geographical, were produced through the medium of Arabic than through any other tongue. The languages of Western Europe still bear the impress of its influence in the form of numerous loan-words. Its alphabet, next to the Latin, is the most widely used system in the world. It is the one employed by Persian, Afghan, Urdu, and a number of Turkish, Berber and Malayan languages.

The Babylonians, the Chaldaeans, the Hittites, the Phoenicians

[1] D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (New York, 1904), p. 7.

[2] On the distinction between Arabians and Arabs (Arabic-speaking peoples) as used in this book see below, p. 43, n. 3.



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were, but are no more. The Arabians and the Arabic-speaking peoples were and remain. They stand today as they stood in the past in a most strategic geographical position astride one of the greatest arteries of world trade. Since the World War a number of these peoples have been aroused and are now bestirring themselves. Egypt has been declared a sovereign and independent state. Al-'Irāq has installed a king in its capital, Baghdād, which since the days of the 'Abbāsids has been kingless. Ibn-Su'ūd, the strong man of modern Arabia, has carved and consolidated for himself a large kingdom, including most of central and north-western Arabia. The people of Syria and Palestine are well on the way towards self-consciousness and self-realization. Lebanon proved the first Arabic-speaking state to declare itself a republic. The phœnix, a bird of Araby, is rising again.

Modern explorations.

Classical Europe knew southern Arabia: Herodotus, among others, mentions its western coast. The chief interest of the Greeks and the Romans lay in the fact that the South Arabians inhabited the frankincense and spice land and acted as a connecting link with the markets of India and Somaliland. But late medieval and early modern Europe forgot Arabia in great part and had in recent times to discover it anew. The pioneers were adventurers, Christian missionaries, traders, French and British officers attached to the Egyptian expeditions between 1811 and 1836, political emissaries and scientific explorers.

The first modern scholar to describe the land was Carsten Niebuhr, a member of a scientific expedition sent by the king of Denmark in 1761. Al-Yaman in South Arabia, the part best known to classical Europe, was the first to be rediscovered. The northern part of the peninsula, including al-Ḥijāz, though geographically nearer to Europe, was left to the end. Down to the present day no more than a dozen Europeans of those who left records have succeeded in penetrating into this northern sandy region.

In 1812 Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, a Swiss, discovered Petra for the learned world, and under the name Ibrāhīm ibn-'Abdullāh visited Makkah and Juddah. His description of the places visited has hardly since been improved upon. Burckhardt's Moslem tomb stands today in the great cemetery of Cairo. The only other European until 1925 who had a chance to

study Makkah in its normal life was Professor Snouck Hurgronje of Leyden, who was there in 1885–6. In 1845 a young Finno-Swedish scholar, George Augustus Wallin, paid a visit to Najd for linguistic study. Napoleon III, after withdrawing his troops from Lebanon in 1860, sought a new sphere of influence in central Arabia and thereinto sent, two years later, an Englishman, William Gifford Palgrave, who was a Jew by birth and who at that time, as a member of the Jesuit order, was stationed at Zaḥlah, Lebanon. Palgrave claimed that he covered more ground south of Najd than he actually did. In 1853 Sir Richard F. Burton, famous as the translator of *The Arabian Nights*, visited the holy cities as a pilgrim—al-Ḥājj ʿAbdullāh. Lady Anne Blunt, one of two European women to penetrate north Arabia, reached (1879) Najd on several odd missions, including the quest of Arabian horses. In 1875 an Englishman, Charles M. Doughty, traversed northern Arabia as a "Naṣrâny" (Christian) and "Engleysy". His record of the journey, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, has become a classic of English literature. T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* has been greeted as a work of special merit in the literature of the World War. Among the last explorers may be mentioned a Czechoslovak, Alois Musil, who specialized on the northern territory; and among the recent travellers, the Syrian-American Ameen Rihani, who interviewed all the kings of the peninsula, and Eldon Rutter, who visited Makkah and al-Madīnah in 1925–6. A special reference should be made to the brave feat of Bertram Thomas, the young English orientalist, who in February 1931 crossed for the first time the great southern desert of Arabia, al-Rabʿ al-Khāli, and bared one of the largest blank spots left on the world's map. His adventure was matched by H. St.J. B. Philby, al-Ḥājj ʿAbdullāh, who, starting at al-Hufūf near the Persian Gulf on January 7, 1932, crossed the Rabʿ from east to west in ninety days.

The various Ḥimyarite inscriptions which afforded us the first opportunity to hear what the South Arabians had to say about themselves were discovered mainly by a French Jew, Joseph Halévy, 1869–70, and by an Austrian Jew, Eduard Glaser, between 1882 and 1894 (see below, p. 51).

The copious but late and not fully authentic Islamic literature in Arabic, the sporadic Greek and Latin references and the few hieroglyphic and cuneiform statements in the annals of the

Pharaohs and the kings of Assyro-Babylonia, supplemented by the recently deciphered Ḥimyarite material and by the reports of the modern travellers and explorers, constitute our chief sources of knowledge of ancient Arabia.

Ethnological relationship: the Semites

Of the two surviving representatives of the Semitic people, the Arabians, in a larger measure than the Jews, have preserved the characteristic physical features and mental traits of the family. Their language, though the youngest among the Semitic group from the point of view of literature, has, nevertheless, conserved more of the peculiarities of the mother Semitic tongue —including the inflection—than the Hebrew and its other sister languages. It therefore affords the best key for the study of the Semitic languages. Islam, too, in its original form is the logical perfection of Semitic religion. In Europe and America the word "Semite" has come to possess a primarily Jewish connotation, and that on account of the wide dispersion of the Jews in these continents. The "Semitic features" often referred to, including the prominent nose, are not Semitic at all. They are exactly the characteristics which differentiate the Jew from the Semitic type and evidently represent an acquisition from early intermarriages between the Hittite-Hurrians and the Hebrews.[1]

The reasons which make the Arabian Arabs, particularly the nomads, the best representative of the Semitic family biologically, psychologically, socially and linguistically should be sought in their geographical isolation and in the monotonous uniformity of desert life. Ethnic purity is a reward of the most ungrateful and isolated environment, such as central Arabia affords. The Arabians call their habitat *Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, "the Island of the Arabs", and an island it is, surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth. This "island" furnishes an almost unique example of uninterrupted relationship between populace and soil. If any immigrations have ever taken place thereinto resulting in successive waves of settlers ousting or submerging one another—as in the case of India, Greece, Italy, England and the United States—history has left us no record thereof. Nor do we know of any invader who succeeded in penetrating the sandy barriers and establishing a permanent foothold in this land. The

[1] Ephraim A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins: The Basic Population of the Near East* (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 134, 147, 153-5.

people of Arabia have remained virtually the same throughout all the recorded ages.[1]

The term Semite comes from Shem in the Old Testament (Gen. 10 : 1) through the Latin of the Vulgate. The traditional explanation that the so-called Semites are descended from the eldest son of Noah, and therefore racially homogeneous, is no longer accepted. Who are the Semites then?

If we consult a linguistic map of Western Asia we find Syria, Palestine, Arabia proper and al-'Irāq populated at the present time by Arabic-speaking peoples. If we then review our ancient history we remember that beginning with the middle of the fourth millennium before our era the Babylonians (first called Akkadians after their capital Akkadu, Agade), the Assyrians and later the Chaldaeans occupied the Tigro-Euphrates valley; after 2500 B.C. the Amorites and Canaanites (including the Phoenicians) populated Syria; and about 1500 B.C. the Aramaeans settled in Syria and the Hebrews in Palestine. Down to the nineteenth century the medieval and modern world did not realize that all these peoples were closely related. With the decipherment of the cuneiform writing in the middle of the nineteenth century and the comparative study of the Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic tongues it was found that those languages had striking points of similarity and were therefore cognates. In the case of each one of these languages the verbal stem is triconsonantal; the tense has only two forms, perfect and imperfect; the conjugation of the verb follows the same model. The elements of the vocabulary, including the personal pronouns, nouns denoting blood-kinship, numbers and certain names of members of the body, are almost alike. A scrutiny of the social institutions and religious beliefs and a comparison of the physical features of the peoples who spoke these languages have revealed likewise impressive points of resemblance. The linguistic kinship is, therefore, but a manifestation of a well-marked general unity of type. This type was characterized by deep religious instinct, vivid imagination, pronounced individuality and marked ferocity. The inference is inescapable: the ancestors of these various peoples—Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldaeans, Amorites, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Hebrews,

[1] Cf. Bertram Thomas in *The Near East and India* (London, Nov. 1, 1928), pp. 516-19; C. Rathjens in *Journal asiatique*, ccxv. No. 1 (1929), pp. 141-55.

Arabians and Abyssinians—before they became thus differentiated must have lived at some time in the same place as one people.

Arabia, the cradle of the Semites

Where was the original home of this people? Different hypotheses have been worked out by various scholars. There are those who, considering the broad ethnological connection between Semites and Hamites, hold that eastern Africa was the original home; others, influenced by Old Testament traditions, maintain that Mesopotamia provided the first abode; but the arguments in favour of the Arabian peninsula, considered in their cumulative effect, seem most plausible. The Mesopotamian theory is vitiated by the fact that it assumes passage of people from an agricultural stage of development on the banks of a river to a nomadic stage, which is the reverse of the sociological law in historic times. The African theory raises more questions than it answers.

The surface of Arabia is mostly desert with a narrow margin of habitable land round the periphery. The sea encircles this periphery. When the population increases beyond the capacity of the land to support it the surplus must seek elbow room. But this surplus cannot expand inward because of the desert, nor outward on account of the sea—a barrier which in those days was well-nigh impassable. The overpopulation would then find one route open before it on the western coast of the peninsula leading northward and forking at the Sinaitic peninsula to the fertile valley of the Nile. Around 3500 B.C. a Semitic migration followed this route, or took the east African route northward, planted itself on top of the earlier Hamitic population of Egypt and the amalgamation produced the Egyptians of history. These are the Egyptians who laid down so many of the basic elements in our civilization. It was they who first built stone structures and developed a solar calendar. At about the same time a parallel migration followed the eastern route northward and struck root in the Tigro-Euphrates valley, already populated by a highly civilized community, the Sumerians.[1] The Semites entered the valley as barbarian nomads, but learned from the Sumerians, the originators of the Euphratean civilization, how to build and live in homes, how to irrigate the land and above all how to write. The Sumerians were a non-Semitic people. The admixture of the two races here gave us the Babylonians, who share with the

[1] Cf. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 5-6.

Egyptians the honour of laying down the fundamentals of our cultural heritage. Among other things, the Babylonians bequeathed to us the arch and the vault (probably of Sumerian origin), the wheeled cart and a system of weights and measures.

About the middle of the third millennium before Christ another Semitic migration brought the Amorites into the Fertile Crescent. The component elements of the Amorites included the Canaanites (i.e. the Lowlanders who occupied Syria after 2500 B.C.) and the coastal people called by the Greeks Phoenicians. These Phoenicians were the first people to popularize an exclusively alphabetic system of writing, comprising twenty-two signs, properly styled the greatest invention of mankind (cf. below, p. 71).

Between 1500 and 1200 B.C. the Hebrews made their way into southern Syria, Palestine, and the Aramaeans (Syrians) into the north, particularly Coele-Syria.[1] The Hebrews, before any other people, revealed to the world the clear idea of one God, and their monotheism became the origin of Christian and Moslem belief.

About 500 B.C. the Nabataeans established themselves north-east of the Sinaitic peninsula. The height to which their civilization later attained under Roman influence may be gauged by the magnificent ruins of their rock-hewn capital, Petra.

The seventh century of our era saw a new and final migration under the banner of Islam, in the course of which the dam broke and not only the lands of the Fertile Crescent, the region forming an arc between the head of the Persian Gulf and the south-east corner of the Mediterranean Sea, but even Egypt, northern Africa, Spain, Persia and parts of central Asia were flooded.[2]

This last migration, which took place within the full light of history, is cited as an historical argument by the supporters of the theory of Arabia as the Semitic home; they further reinforce their case by the observation that the Arabians have preserved the Semitic traits more purely and have manifested them more distinctly than any other members of that racial group, and that their language is most nearly akin to what scholars believe the primitive form of Semitic speech to have been.

A comparative examination of the dates quoted above suggested to certain Semitists the notion that in recurrent cycles of

[1] Hollow Syria, modern al-Biqā', between the two Lebanons.

[2] See Hugo Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Leipzig, 1892).

approximately one thousand years Arabia, like a mighty reservoir, became populated to the point where overflow was inevitable. These same scholars would speak of the migrations in terms of "waves". It is more likely, however, that these Semitic movements partook in their initial stages more of the nature of the European migrations into the New World: a few persons would start moving, others would follow, then many more would go, until a general popular interest is aroused in the idea of going.

This transplantation *en masse* or in bands of human groups from a pastoral desert region to an agricultural territory constitutes a common phenomenon in the Near East and provides an important clue to the understanding of its long and checkered history. The process by which a more or less migratory people imposes itself upon a people which has become rooted in the soil usually results in the invaders assimilating to some degree the main features of the previously existing civilization and in infusing a certain amount of its blood, but hardly ever in the extermination of the indigenous population. This is exactly what happened in the ancient Near East, whose history is to a certain extent a struggle between the sedentary population already domiciled in the Fertile Crescent and the nomadic Arabians trying to dispossess them. For immigration and colonization are, as has been well said, an attenuated form of invasion.

It should be noted in connection with these migrations that in every case the Semitic tongue survived. This is a determining factor. If in Mesopotamia, for example, the agglutinative Sumerian language had survived it would have been difficult for us to classify the people of the valley as Semitic. In the case of the ancient Egyptians a Semito-Hamitic language survived, and we cannot very well include the Egyptians among the Semites. The term "Semite", therefore, has more linguistic than ethnological implication, and the Assyro-Babylonian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, South Arabic, Ethiopic and Arabic languages should be viewed as dialects developing out of one common tongue, the *Ursemitisch*. A parallel may be found in the case of the Romance languages in their relation to Latin, with the exception that some form of Latin has survived, in literature at least, to the present day, whereas the Semitic archetype, only a spoken language, has entirely passed away, and its general

character may be inferred from whatever points are found common to its surviving daughters.

Accepting Arabia—Najd or al-Yaman—as the homeland and distributing centre of the Semitic peoples does not preclude the possibility of their having once before, at a very early date, constituted with another member of the white race, the Hamites, one community somewhere in eastern Africa; it was from this community that those who were later termed Semites crossed over into the Arabian peninsula, possibly at Bāb al-Mandab.[1] This would make Africa the probable Semito-Hamitic home and Arabia the cradle of the Semitic people and the centre of their distribution. The Fertile Crescent was the scene of the Semitic civilization.

[1] George A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 27.

CHAPTER II

THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

The setting of the stage

ARABIA is the south-western peninsula of Asia, the largest peninsula on the map of the world. But despite its size its total population is estimated at between six and seven millions only, about one million of whom live in al-Ḥijāz, two and a half in al-Yaman, two in Najd and its dependencies, al-Ḥasa' (ancient al-Baḥrayn), al-Jawf and northern 'Asīr, and one million in 'Asīr. Geologists tell us that the land once formed the natural continuation of the Sahara (now separated from it by the rift of the Nile valley and the great chasm of the Red Sea) and of the sandy belt which traverses Asia through central Persia and the Gobi Desert. In earlier times the Atlantic westerlies, which now water the highlands of Syria-Palestine, must have reached Arabia undrained, and during a part of the Ice Age these same desert lands must have been pre-eminently habitable grasslands. Since the ice sheet never extended south of the great mountains in Asia Minor, Arabia was never made uninhabitable by glaciation. Its deep, dry wadi beds still bear witness to the erosive powers of the rain-water that once flowed through them. The northern boundary is ill-defined, but may be considered an imaginary line drawn due east from the head of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah in the Red Sea to the Euphrates. Geologically, indeed, the whole Syro-Mesopotamian desert is a part of Arabia.

The peninsula slopes away from the west to the Persian Gulf and the Mesopotamian depression. Its backbone is a range of mountains running parallel to the western coast and rising to a height of over 9000 feet in Midian on the north and over 12,000 in al-Yaman on the south.[1] Al-Sarāh in al-Ḥijāz reaches an elevation of 10,000 feet. From this backbone the eastern fall is gradual and long; the western, towards the Red Sea, is steep and short. The southern sides of the peninsula, where the sea has been

[1] The highest measured point is 12,336 ft. in al-Yaman; Carl Rathjens and Hermann v. Wissmann, *Südarabiens-Reise*, vol. iii, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse* (Hamburg, 1934), p. 2.

receding from the coast at a rate reckoned at seventy-two feet per year, are fringed by lowlands, the Tihāmahs. Najd, the north central plateau, has a mean elevation of 2500 feet. Its mountain range, Shammar, lifts one red granite peak, Aja', 5550 feet above the sea-level. Behind the coastal lowlands rise ranges of various heights on all three sides. In 'Umān, on the eastern coast, the summits of al-Jabal al-Akhḍar soar to a height of 9900 feet, forming one notable exception to the general eastward decline of the surface of the land.

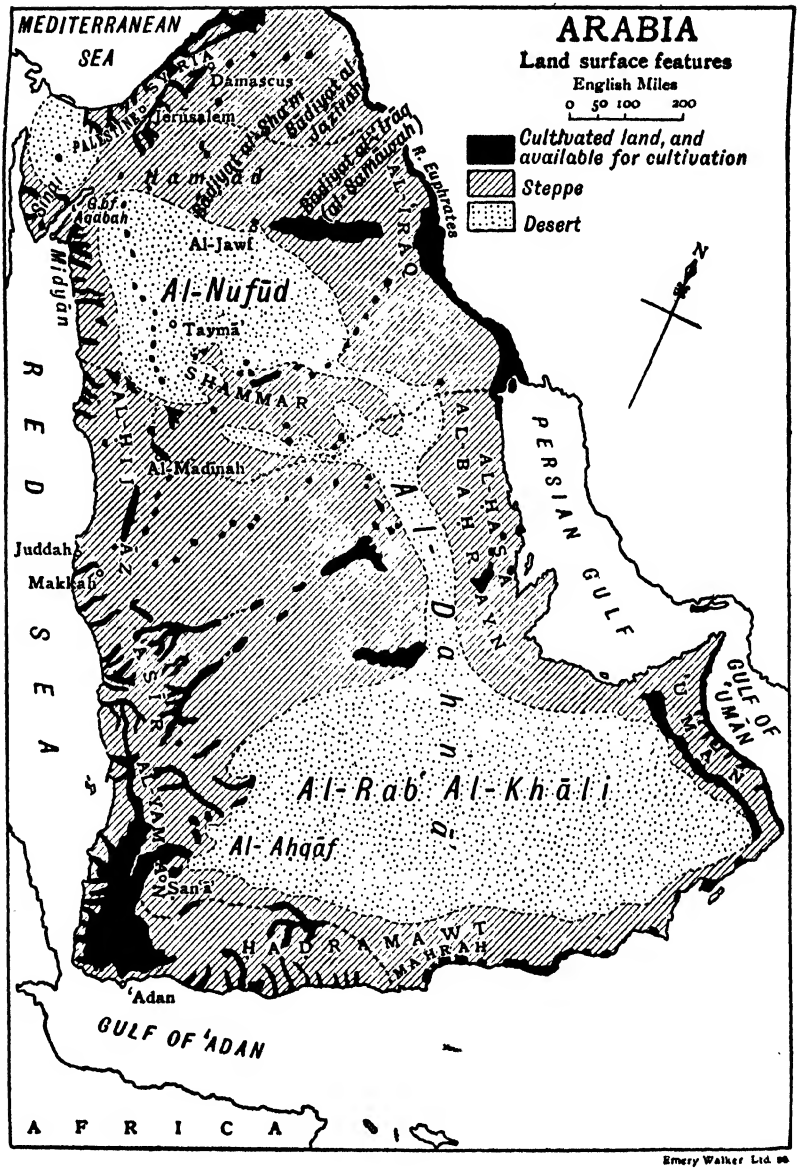
With the exception of the mountains and highlands just discussed the land consists mainly of desert and steppe. The steppes (sing. *dārah*) are circular plains between hills covered with sand and embosoming subterranean waters. The so-called Syrian desert, Bādiyat al-Sha'm, as well as the Mesopotamian desert, are mostly steppeland. The southern part of the Syrian desert is colloquially known as Ḥamād. The southern part of the Mesopotamian steppeland is often referred to as Bādiyat al-'Irāq or al-Samāwah.

Of the desert land three varieties may be distinguished:

1. Al-Nufūd, an area of white or reddish sand blown into high banks or dunes and covering most of North Arabia. The classical term is *al-bādiyah*, sometimes *al-dahnā'*. Though dry except for an occasional oasis, the Nufūd receives in some winters enough rain to cover it with a carpet of verdure and convert it into a paradise for the camels and sheep of the wandering Bedouin. Among the first of the dozen Europeans who have thus far succeeded in traversing the Nufūd are the French Alsatian, Charles Huber (1878); the English diplomatist and poet, Wilfrid S. Blunt (1879); and the Strassburg orientalist, Julius Euting (1883).

2. Al-Dahnā' (the red land), a surface of red sand, extends from Najd in the north to Ḥaḍramawt and Mahrah in the south and from al-Yaman in the west to 'Umān in the east, covering an area of some 300,000 sq. miles. Its western part is often distinguished as al-Aḥqāf (the dune land). On the map al-Dahnā' is usually indicated as al-Rab' al-Khāli (the vacant quarter). Certain parts of it may receive seasonal rains and abound in pasturage, attractive to the Bedouins and their cattle for about three months a year, but ordinarily the region is void of the breath of life. Before Bertram Thomas[1] no European ever ventured

[1] *Arabia Felix: Across the Empty Quarter of Arabia* (New York, 1932).



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to cross this "no man's land" of Arabia. Even in modern times there is no record of its having been crossed by aeroplane. Thomas accomplished the feat in fifty-eight days from the Arabian Sea to the Persian Gulf, encountered the phenomenon of singing sands and discovered a lake of salt water seven miles long. Until the time of his expedition our knowledge of the dreaded and mysterious waste of South Arabia was no more than that of the tenth-century geographers.

3. Al-Ḥarrah, a surface of corrugated and fissured lavas overlying sandstone. Volcanic tracts of this type abound in the western and central regions of the peninsula and extend north as far as eastern Ḥawrān. Yāqūt[1] lists no less than thirty such Ḥarrahs. The last volcanic eruption reported by an Arab historian took place in A.D. 1256.

Within this ring of desert and steppe lies an elevated core, Najd, the Wahhābiland. In Najd the limestone has long been generally exposed; here and there are occasional strips of sand. Mt. Shammar consists of granite and basalt rock.

Climatic conditions

Arabia is one of the driest and hottest of countries. Though sandwiched between seas on the east and west, those bodies of water are too narrow to break the climatic continuity of the Africo-Asian rainless continental masses. The ocean on the south, to be sure, does bring rains, but the monsoons (*samūm*) which seasonally lash the land leave very little moisture for the interior. The bracing and delightful east wind (*al-ṣaba*) has always provided a favourite theme for Arabian poets.

In al-Ḥijāz, the birthplace of Islam, seasons of drought extending possibly over a period of three or more years are not unknown. Rainstorms of short duration and extraordinary violence may strike Makkah and al-Madīnah and occasionally threaten to overthrow the Ka'bah; al-Balādhuri[2] devotes a whole chapter to the floods (*suyūl*) of Makkah. Subsequent to these rains the hardy pastoral flora of the desert makes its appearance. In northern al-Ḥijāz the isolated oases, the largest covering an area of some ten square miles, are the only support of settled life. Five-sixths of the population of al-Ḥijāz is nomadic. Certain oases, such as Fadak, which figured in the early history of Islam, have

[1] *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), index.

[2] *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), pp. 53-5; tr. Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916), pp. 82-4.

entirely disappeared. Most of these fertile tracts were cultivated at the time of the Prophet by Jews. The mean annual temperature in the Ḥijāz lowland is nearer 90° than 80° F. Al-Madīnah, with a mean temperature of little over 70° F., is more healthful than its sister to the south, Makkah.

Only in al-Yaman and 'Asīr are there sufficient periodic rains to warrant a systematic cultivation of the soil. Perennial vegetation is here found in favoured valleys to a distance of about two hundred miles from the coast. Ṣan'ā', the modern capital of al-Yaman, is over 7000 feet above the sea and therefore one of the healthiest and most beautiful towns of the peninsula. Other fertile but not continuous tracts are found on the coast. The surface of Ḥaḍramawt is marked by deeply sunk valleys where water is abundant in the subsoil. 'Umān, the easternmost province, receives a fair supply of rain. Especially hot and humid are Juddah (Jedda), al-Ḥudaydah (Hodeida) and Masqaṭ (Muscat).

Arabia cannot boast a single river of significance which flows perennially and reaches the sea. None of its streams are navigable. In place of a system of rivers it has a network of wadis which carry away such floods as occur. These wadis serve another purpose: they determine the routes for the caravans and the pilgrimages. Since the rise of Islam the pilgrimages have formed the principal link between Arabia and the outer world. The chief land routes are from Mesopotamia, by way of Buraydah in Najd, following the Wādi al-Rummah, and from Syria, passing through Wādi Sirḥān and skirting the Red Sea coast. The intrapeninsular routes are either coastal, fringing nearly the whole peninsula, or transpeninsular, running from south-west to north-east through the central oases and avoiding the stretch between, namely, the Vacant Quarter.

The tenth-century geographer al-Iṣṭakhri[1] speaks only of one place in al-Ḥijāz, the mountain near al-Ṭā'if, where water freezes. Al-Hamdāni[2] refers to frozen water in Ṣan'ā'. To these places Glaser[3] adds Mt. Ḥaḍūr al-Shaykh, in al-Yaman, where snow falls almost every winter. Frost is more widespread.

Vegetation

The dryness of the atmosphere and the salinity of the soil

[1] *Masālik al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1870), p. 19, ll. 12-13.

[2] *Al-Iklīl*, Bk. VIII, ed. Nabih A. Faris (Princeton, 1940), p. 7; see also Nazīh M. al-'Aẓm, *Riḥlah fi Bilād al-'Arab al-Sa'īdah* (Cairo, 1937?), pt. 1, p. 118.

[3] In A. Petermann, *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes geographischer Anstalt*, vol. 32 (Gotha, 1886), p. 43.

militate against the possibility of any luxuriant growth. Al-Ḥijāz is rich in dates. Wheat grows in al-Yaman and certain oases. Barley is cultivated for horses. Millet (*dhurah*) grows in certain regions, and rice in 'Umān and al-Ḥasa. On the highlands parallel to the southern coast, and particularly in Mahrah, the frankincense tree, which figured prominently in the early commercial life of South Arabia, still flourishes. A characteristic product of 'Asīr is gum-arabic. The coffee plant, for which al-Yaman is now famous, was introduced into South Arabia in the fourteenth century from Abyssinia. The earliest reference to this "wine of Islam" is in the writings of the sixteenth century.[1] The first mention of coffee by a European writer was in 1592.

Of the trees of the desert several species of acacia, including *athl* (tamarisk) and *ghaḍa*, which gives excellent charcoal, are found. Another species, *ṭalḥ*, yields gum-arabic. The desert also produces *samḥ*, the grains of which give a flour used for porridge, and the eagerly sought truffle and senna (*al-sana*).

Among the domestic plants the grape-vine, introduced from Syria after the fourth Christian century, is well represented in al-Ṭā'if, and yields the alcoholic beverage styled *nabīdh al-zabīb*. The wine (*khamr*), however, sung by the Arabic poets, was the brand imported from Ḥawrān and the Lebanon. The olive tree, native in Syria, is unknown in al-Ḥijāz. Other products of the Arabian oases are pomegranates, apples, apricots, almonds, oranges, lemons, sugar-cane, water-melons and bananas. The Nabataeans and Jews were probably the ones responsible for the introduction of such fruit trees from the north.

The date-palm

Among the Arabian flora the date-palm tree is queen. It bears the most common and esteemed fruit: the fruit (*tamr*) par excellence. Together with milk it provides the chief item on the menu of the Bedouin, and, except for camel flesh, is his only solid food.[2] Its fermented beverage is the much-sought *nabīdh*. Its crushed stones furnish the cakes which are the everyday meal of the camel. To possess "the two black ones" (*al-aswadān*), i.e. water and dates, is the dream of every Bedouin. The Prophet is reported to have enjoined, " Honour your aunt, the palm, which was made of the same clay as Adam".[3] Arab authors list

[1] See al-Jazīri in de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1826), vol. i, pp. 138 *seq.*, tr., pp. 412 *seq.*

[2] Consult ibn-Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1930), vol. iii, pp. 209-13.

[3] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* (Cairo, 1321), vol. ii, p. 255.

a hundred varieties of dates in and around al-Madīnah.

Even this queen of Arabian trees must have been introduced from the north, from Mesopotamia, where the palm tree was the chief object which attracted early man thither. The Arabic vocabulary in Najd and al-Ḥijāz relating to agriculture, e.g. *ba'l* (watered by rain only),[1] *akkār* (ploughman), etc., indicates borrowing from the northern Semites, particularly the Aramaeans.[2]

Fauna

The animal kingdom is represented by panthers (sing. *namir*), leopards (sing. *fahd*), hyenas, wolves, foxes and lizards (especially *al-ḍabb*). The lion, frequently cited by the ancient poets of the peninsula, is now extinct. Monkeys are found in al-Yaman. Among the birds of prey eagles (*'uqāb*), bustards (*ḥubāra*, houbara), falcons, hawks and owls may be counted. Crows are abundant. The most common birds are the hoopoe (*hudhud*), lark, nightingale, pigeon and a species of partridge celebrated in Arabic literature under the name *al-qaṭa*.

Of domestic animals the principal ones are the camel, the ass, the ordinary watch-dog, the greyhound (*salūqī*), the cat, the sheep and the goat. The mule is said to have been introduced from Egypt after the Hijrah by Muḥammad, who preferred to ride on it rather than on the horse.

The desert yields locusts, which the Bedouin relishes, especially when roasted with salt. Locust plagues are reputed to appear every seventh year. Of reptiles the Nufūd boasts, by all accounts, the horned viper. Lawrence[3] speaks with horror of his experience with the snakes in Wādi Sirḥān.

The Arabian horse

Renowned as it has become in Moslem literature, the horse was nevertheless a late importation into ancient Arabia. This animal, for which Najd is famous, was not known to the early Semites. Domesticated in early antiquity somewhere east of the Caspian Sea by nomadic Indo-European herdsmen, it was later imported on a large scale by the Kassites and Hittites and through them made its way, two millenniums before Christ, into Western Asia. From Syria it was introduced before the beginning of our era into Arabia, where it had the best opportunity to keep its blood pure and free from admixture. The Hyksos passed the horse on from Syria into Egypt and the Lydians from Asia Minor into Greece, where it was immortalized by Phidias on the

[1] See below, p. 97. [2] See below, p. 107.

[3] T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (New York, 1936), pp. 269-70.

Parthenon. In the Egyptian, Assyro-Babylonian and early Persian records the Arabian appears as a cameleer, not as a cavalier. The camel, rather than the horse, figured in the tributes exacted by the Assyrian conquerors from the "Urbi".[1] In Xerxes' army, intent upon the conquest of Greece, the Arabs rode camels.[2] Strabo,[3] presumably on the authority of his friend Aelius Gallus, the Roman general who invaded Arabia as late as 24 B.C., denies the existence of the horse in the peninsula.

Renowned for its physical beauty, endurance, intelligence and touching devotion to its master, the Arabian thoroughbred (*kuḥaylān*) is the exemplar from which all Western ideas about the good-breeding of horseflesh have been derived. In the eighth century the Arabs introduced it into Europe through Spain, where it left permanent traces in its Barbary and Andalusian descendants.[4] During the Crusades the English horse received fresh strains of blood through contact with the Arab.

In Arabia the horse is an animal of luxury whose feeding and care constitutes a problem to the man of the desert. Its possession is a presumption of wealth. Its chief value lies in providing the speed necessary for the success of Bedouin raids (*ghazw*). It is also used for sports: in tournament (*jarīd*), coursing and hunting. In an Arab camp today in case of shortage of water the children may cry for a drink, but the master, unmoved, would pour the last drop into a pail to set before the horse.

The camel

If the horse is the most noble of the conquests of man, the camel is certainly from the nomad's point of view the most useful. Without it the desert could not be conceived of as a habitable place. The camel is the nomad's nourisher, his vehicle of transportation and his medium of exchange. The dowry of the bride, the price of blood, the profit of *maysir* (gambling), the wealth of a sheikh, are all computed in terms of camels. It is the Bedouin's constant companion, his *alter ego*, his foster parent. He drinks its milk instead of water (which he spares for the cattle); he feasts on its flesh; he covers himself with its skin; he makes his tent of its hair. Its dung he uses as fuel, and its urine as a hair tonic and medicine. To him the camel is more than "the ship of the desert"; it is the special gift of Allah (cf.

[1] Below, pp. 39, 41.
[2] Herodotus, *History*, Bk. VII, ch. 86, § 8.
[3] *Geography*, Bk. XVI, ch. 4, §§ 2 & 26.
[4] William R. Brown, *The Horse of the Desert* (New York, 1929), pp. 123 *seq.*

Koran 16 : 5-8). To quote a striking phrase of Sprenger,[1] the Bedouin is "the parasite of the camel". The Bedouins of our day take delight in referring to themselves as *ahl al-baʿīr*, the people of the camel. Musil[2] states that there is hardly a member of the Ruwalah tribe who has not on some occasion drunk water from a camel's paunch. In time of emergency either an old camel is killed or a stick is thrust down its throat to make it vomit water. If the camel has been watered within a day or two, the liquid is tolerably drinkable. The part which the camel has played in the economy of Arabian life is indicated by the fact that the Arabic language is said to include some one thousand names for the camel in its numerous breeds and stages of growth, a number rivalled only by the number of synonyms used for the sword. The Arabian camel can go for about twenty-five days in winter and about five days in summer without water. The camel was a factor in facilitating the early Moslem conquests by assuring its masters more mobility than, and consequent advantage over, the settled peoples. The Caliph ʿUmar is quoted as having said: "The Arab prospers only where the camel prospers". The peninsula remains the chief camel-breeding centre in the world. Since the country has today no special mineral wealth, with the exception of salt in certain spots and the pearl fisheries of ʿUmān and the Persian Gulf region, the camel industry is one of the great sources of income. The horses of Najd, the donkeys of al-Ḥasa and the dromedaries of ʿUmān are world famous.

From north-western Arabia the camel, like the horse originally an American animal, was introduced into Palestine and Syria on the occasion of the invasion of the Midianites in the eleventh century B.C. (Judges 6 : 5). This appears to be the first reference to this animal in literature. It was introduced into Egypt with the Assyrian conquest in the seventh century B.C., and into northern Africa with the Moslem invasion in the seventh century after Christ.

[1] In *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlv (1891), p. 361, l. 13.

[2] *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), p. 368. Cf. Bertram Thomas in *The Near East and India*, Nov. 1, 1928, p. 518.

CHAPTER III

BEDOUIN LIFE

CORRESPONDING to the twofold nature of the land, the inhabitants of Arabia fall into two main groups: nomadic Bedouins and settled folk. The line of demarcation between the wandering and the sedentary elements in the population is not always sharply drawn. There are stages of semi-nomadism and of quasi-urbanity. Certain townsfolk who were at one time Bedouin still betray their nomadic origin, while other Bedouins are townspeople in the making. The blood of the settled population is thus constantly refreshed by a nomadic strain. The nomad

The Bedouin is no gypsy roaming aimlessly for the sake of roaming. He represents the best adaptation of human life to desert conditions. Wherever verdant land is found, there he goes seeking pasture. Nomadism is as much a scientific mode of living in the Nufūd as industrialism is in Detroit or Manchester.

Action and reaction between the townsfolk and the desert folk are motivated by the urgent dictates of self-interest and self-preservation. The nomad insists on extracting from his more favourably situated neighbour such resources as he himself lacks, and that either by violence—raids—or by peaceful methods —exchange. He is land-pirate or broker, or both at once. The desert, where the Bedouin plays the part of the pirate, shares certain common characteristics with the sea.

The nomad, as a type, is today what he was yesterday and what he will be tomorrow. His culture pattern has always been the same. Variation, progress, evolution, are not among the laws he readily obeys. Immune to the invasion of exotic ideas and manners, he still lives, as his forbears did, in tents of goats' or camels' hair, "houses of hair", and grazes his sheep and goats in the same fashion and on the same pastures. Sheep- and camel-raising, and to a lesser degree horse-breeding, hunting and raiding, form his staple occupation and are to his mind the only occupations worthy of a man. Agriculture and all varieties of

trade and craft are beneath his dignity. If and when he frees himself from his environment he is no more a nomad. In the Fertile Crescent empires have come and gone, but in the barren wastes the Bedouin has remained for ever the same.[1]

Over all the living things of the desert the Bedouin, the camel and the palm are the triumvirate that rules supreme; and together with the sand they constitute the four great actors in the drama of its existence.

To its denizen the desert is more than a habitat: it is the custodian of his sacred tradition, the preserver of the purity of his speech and blood and his first and foremost line of defence against encroachment from the outside world. Its scarcity of water, scorching heat, trackless roads, lack of food-supply—all enemies in normal times—prove staunch allies in time of danger. Little wonder then that the Arabian has rarely bent his neck to a foreign yoke.

The continuity, monotony and aridity of his desert habitat are faithfully reflected in the Bedouin physical and mental make-up. Anatomically he is a bundle of nerves, bones and sinews. The leanness and barrenness of his land show themselves in his physique. His daily food is dates and a mixture of flour, or roasted corn, with water or milk. His raiment is as scanty as his nourishment: a long shirt (*thawb*) with a belt and a flowing upper garment (*'abā'*) which pictures have made familiar. The head is covered by a shawl (*kūfīyah*) held by a cord (*'iqāl*). Trousers are not worn and footwear is rare. Tenacity, endurance (*ṣabr*), seems to be his supreme virtue, enabling him to survive where almost everything else perishes. Passivity is the obverse of this same virtue. Passive endurance is to him preferable to any attempt to change the state in which he finds himself, no matter how hard his lot. Individualism, another characteristic trait, is so deeply ingrained that the Bedouin has never been able to raise himself to the dignity of a social being of the international type, much less to develop ideals of devotion to the common good beyond that which pertains to the tribe. Discipline, respect for order and authority, are no idols in desert life. "O Lord", prayed a Bedouin, "have mercy upon me and upon Muḥammad, but upon no one else besides!"[2] Since the days of Ishmael the

[1] A central feature of ibn-Su'ūd's economic and social reforms is the settlement of nomads on the soil.

[2] Abu-Dāwūd, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1280), vol. i, p. 89.

Arabian's hand has been against every man and every man's hand against him.

The *ghazw* (razzia), otherwise considered a form of brigandage, is raised by the economic and social conditions of desert life to the rank of a national institution. It lies at the base of the economic structure of Bedouin pastoral society. In desert land, where the fighting mood is a chronic mental condition, raiding is one of the few manly occupations. Christian tribes, too, such as the banu-Taghlib, practised it without any mental reservations. The poet al-Quṭāmi of the early Umayyad period has given expression to the guiding principle of such life in two verses: "Our business is to make raids on the enemy, on our neighbour and on our own brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother!" [1] In Su'ūdi Arabia raids are now illegal. Razzia

According to the rules of the game—and *ghazw* is a sort of national sport—no blood should be shed except in cases of extreme necessity. *Ghazw* does help to a certain extent to keep down the number of mouths to feed, though it does not actually increase the sum-total of available supplies. A weaker tribe or a sedentary settlement on the borderland may buy protection by paying the stronger tribe what is today called *khūwah*. These ideas of *ghazw* and its terminology were carried over by the Arabians into the Islamic conquests.

The principle of hospitality, however, mitigates in some measure the evils of *ghazw*. However dreadful as an enemy he may be, the Bedouin is also within his laws of friendship a loyal and generous friend. Pre-Islamic poets, the journalists of their day, never tired of singing the praises of *ḍiyāfah* (hospitality) which, with *ḥamāsah* (fortitude and enthusiasm) and *murū'ah* (manliness),[2] is considered one of the supreme virtues of the race. The keen competition for water and pasturage, on which the chief causes of conflict centre, split the desert populace into warring tribes; but the common consciousness of helplessness in the face of a stubborn and malignant nature develops a feeling for the necessity of one sacred duty: that of hospitality. To refuse a guest such a courtesy in a land where no inns or hotels obtain, or to harm him after accepting him as a guest, is an

[1] Abu-Tammām, *Ash'ār al-Ḥamāsah*, ed. Freytag (Bonn, 1828), p. 171.
[2] Cf. Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, pt. 1 (Halle, 1889), p. 13.

offence not only against the established mores and honour but against God Himself, the real protector.

Religiousness

The rudiments of Semitic religion developed in the oases, rather than in the sandy land, and centred upon stones and springs, forerunners of the Black Stone and Zamzam in Islam and of Bethel in the Old Testament. In the case of the Bedouin, religion sits very lightly indeed on his heart. In the judgment of the Koran (9 : 98), "the desert Arabians are most confirmed in unbelief and hypocrisy". Up to our present day they never pay much more than lip homage to the prophet.[1]

The clan

The clan organization is the basis of Bedouin society. Every tent represents a family; an encampment of tents forms a *ḥayy*; members of one *ḥayy* constitute a clan (*qawm*). A number of kindred clans grouped together make a tribe (*qabīlah*). All members of the same clan consider each other as of one blood, submit to the authority of but one chief—the senior member of the clan—and use one battle-cry. "Banu" (children of) is the title with which they prefix their joint name. The feminine names of certain clans show traces of the earlier matriarchal system. Blood relationship, fictitious or real, furnishes the adhesive element in tribal organization.

The tent and its humble household contents are individual property, but water, pasturage and cultivable land are the common property of the tribe.

If a member of a clan commits murder inside the clan, none will defend him. In case of escape he becomes an outlaw (*ṭarīd*). If the murder is outside the clan, a vendetta is established, and any fellow clan-member may have to pay for it with his own life.

Blood, according to the primitive law of the desert, calls for blood; no chastisement is recognized other than that of vengeance. The nearest of kin is supposed to assume primary responsibility. A blood feud may last forty years, as in the case of the Basūs War between the banu-Bakr and the banu-Taghlib. In all the *ayyām al-'Arab*, those intertribal battles of pre-Islamic days, the chroniclers emphasize the blood feud motif, though underlying economic reasons must have motivated many of the events. Sometimes a bloodwite (*diyah*) is accepted.

No worse calamity could befall a Bedouin than to lose his

[1] Ameen Rihani, *Ta'rīkh Najd* (Beirūt, 1928) ,p. 233.

tribal affiliation. A tribeless man, in a land where stranger and enemy are synonymous, like a landless man in feudal England, is practically helpless. His status is that of an outlaw, one beyond the pale of protection and safety.

Though primarily a matter of birth, clan kinship may be individually acquired by sharing a member's food or sucking a few drops of his blood. Herodotus[1] speaks of this ancient rite of adoption. If a slave is freed he often finds it to his interest to keep some attachment with the family of his former master, thus becoming a client (*mawla*). A stranger may seek such a relationship and is styled a protégé (*dakhīl*). In like manner a whole weaker clan might desire the protection of, and become ultimately absorbed by, a stronger clan or tribe. The Ṭayyi', Ghaṭafān, Taghlib, etc., were confederations of North Arabian tribes which figured prominently in history and whose descendants still survive in Arabic-speaking lands.

An analogous custom in religion made it possible for a stranger to become attached to the service of a sanctuary[2] and thus become a client of the god. To the present day the pilgrims to Makkah are referred to as "the guests of Allah", and the students connected with the mosque of Makkah or any other great mosque are called "[His] neighbours" (sing. *mujāwir*).

'Aṣabīyah is the spirit of the clan. It implies boundless and unconditional loyalty to fellow clansmen and corresponds in general to patriotism of the passionate, chauvinistic type. "Be loyal to thy tribe," sang a bard, "its claim upon its members is strong enough to make a husband give up his wife."[3] This ineradicable particularism in the clan, which is the individualism of the member of the clan magnified, assumes that the clan or tribe, as the case may be, is a unit by itself, self-sufficient and absolute, and regards every other clan or tribe as its legitimate victim and object of plunder and murder. Islam made full use of the tribal system for its military purposes. It divided the army into units based on tribal lines, settled the colonists in the conquered lands in tribes and treated new converts from among the subjugated peoples as clients. The unsocial features of individualism and *'aṣabīyah* were never outgrown by the Arab character as it developed and unfolded itself after the rise of Islam, and were

'Asabīyah

[1] Bk. III, ch. 8.
[2] Cf. Ezekiel 44:7.
[3] Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1864), p. 229, l. 3.

among the determining factors that led to the disintegration and ultimate downfall of the various Islamic states.

The sheikh

The clan is represented by its titular head, the sheikh. Unlike his modern namesake of Hollywood fame, the sheikh (*shaykh*) is the senior member of the tribe whose leadership asserts itself in sober counsel, in generosity and in courage. Seniority in age and personal qualifications determine the choice. In judicial, military and other affairs of common concern the sheikh is not the absolute authority; he must consult with the tribal council composed of the heads of the component families. His tenure of office lasts during the good-will of his constituency.

The Arabian in general and the Bedouin in particular is a born democrat. He meets his sheikh on an equal footing. The society in which he lives levels everything down. The title *malik* (king) the Arabians never used except in referring to foreign rulers and the partially Romanized and Persianized dynasties of Ghassān and al-Ḥīrah. The kings of the banu-Kindah formed the only exception to this rule. But the Arabian is also aristocratic as well as democratic. He looks upon himself as the embodiment of the consummate pattern of creation. To him the Arabian nation is the noblest of all nations (*afkhar al-umam*). The civilized man, from the Bedouin's exalted point of view, is less happy and far inferior. In the purity of his blood, his eloquence and poetry, his sword and horse and above all in his noble ancestry (*nasab*), the Arabian takes infinite pride. He is excessively fond of prodigious genealogies and often traces his lineage back to Adam. No people, other than the Arabians, have ever raised genealogy to the dignity of a science.

The Bedouin woman, whether Islamic or pre-Islamic, enjoyed and still enjoys a measure of freedom denied to her sedentary sister. She lived in a polygamous family and under a baal system of marriage in which the man was the master, nevertheless she was at liberty to choose a husband and leave him if ill-treated.

Ability to assimilate other cultures when the opportunity presents itself is well marked among the children of the desert. Faculties which have remained dormant for ages seem to awake suddenly, under the proper stimuli, and develop into dynamic powers. In the Fertile Crescent lies the field of opportunity. A Hammurabi makes his appearance in Babylon, a Moses in

Sinai, a Zenobia in Palmyra, a Philip the Arab in Rome or a Hārūn al-Rashīd in Baghdād. Monuments are built, like those of Petra, which still arouse the admiration of the world. The phenomenal and almost unparalleled efflorescence of early Islam was due in no small measure to the latent powers of the Bedouins, who, in the words of the Caliph 'Umar, "furnished Islam with its raw material".[1]

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. Eduard Sachau, vol. iii, pt. 1 (Leyden, 1904), p. 246, l. 3.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

South Arabians

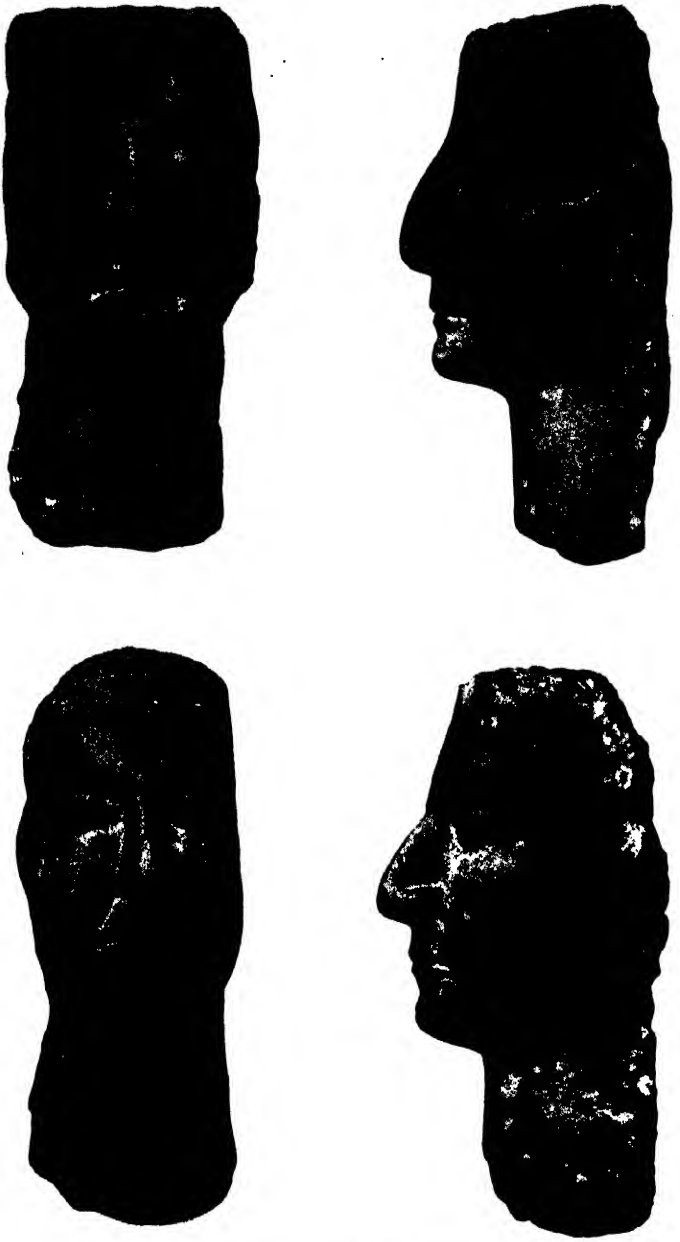
WE have thus far used the term Arabian for all the inhabitants of the peninsula without regard to geographical location. We must now differentiate between the South Arabians and the North Arabians, the latter including the Najdis of Central Arabia. The geographical division of the land by the trackless desert into northern and southern sections has its counterpart in the peoples who inhabit it.

The North Arabians are mostly nomads living in "houses of hair" in al-Ḥijāz and Najd; the South Arabians are in the main sedentary, domiciled in al-Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt and along the neighbouring coast. The Northerners speak the language of the Koran, the Arabic par excellence; the Southerners used an ancient Semitic tongue of their own, Sabaean or Ḥimyarite, with which the Ethiopic of Africa is closely allied. The Northerners are predominantly dolichocephalic (long-headed); the Southerners are generally brachycephalic (round-headed). The racial affinities of the people of the north are therefore with the Mediterranean race; those of the people of the south are with the Alpine type styled in Asia Armenoid, Hittite or Hebrew, and characterized by a broad jaw and aquiline nose, flat cheeks and abundant hair. The South Arabians were the first to rise to prominence and develop a civilization of their own. The North Arabians did not step on to the stage of international affairs until the advent of Islam in medieval times.

The memory and consciousness of this national distinction among the Arabians is reflected in their own traditional genealogies. They divide themselves first into two groups: extinct (*bā'idah*), including Thamūd, ʿĀd—both of koranic fame—, Ṭasm and Jadīs, and surviving (*bāqiyah*). The Thamūd were an historical people mentioned in the cuneiform annals of Sargon II [1] and known to classical writers as "Tamudaei".[2] The ʿĀdites

[1] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. ii (Chicago, 1927), §§ 17, 118.

[2] Pliny, *Natural History*, Bk. VI, ch. 32.



From D. H. Müller, "Südarabische Alterthümer" (Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, Vienna)

SABAEAN TYPES

are supposed to have flourished in ancient Ḥaḍramawt. Next, the genealogists proceed to subdivide the surviving Arabians into two ethnic stocks: Arabian Arabs (*ʿāribah*) and Arabicized Arabs (*mustaʿribah*). The ʿĀribah, according to them, are Yamanites descended from Qaḥṭān (the Joktan of the Old Testament) and constitute the aboriginal stock; the Mustaʿribah are the Ḥijāzis, Najdis, Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, all descended from ʿAdnān—an offspring of Ishmael—and are "naturalized" in the land. In the traditional Qaḥṭān and ʿAdnān is a reminiscence of the differentiation between South Arabians and North Arabians. The Madīnese who rushed to the support of the Prophet at the time of his Hijrah were of Yamanite origin, but his own family, the Quraysh, were Nizāri of the northern stock. The Ghassānids of eastern Syria and the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah in al-ʿIrāq were Southerners domiciled in the north.

This gulf between the two Arabian stocks was never bridged. The age-old division continued to be as prominent as ever, even after Islam had apparently unified the Arabian nation.

1. Relations with Egypt

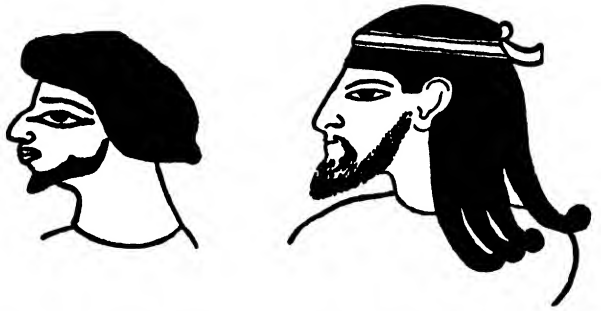
Like a thick wedge the Arabian peninsula thrusts itself between the two earliest seats of culture: Egypt and Babylonia. The Panjāb in India may have been a third cultural focus, and the peninsula lies between it and the West. Although Arabia was not brought within the scope of the river-valley culture of either the land of the one river or the land of the twin rivers, yet it could not entirely have escaped their influence. Its culture, however, was at bottom indigenous. It belonged to the maritime type. Its south-eastern people were possibly the ones who acted as intermediaries between Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Panjāb —the three focal centres of earliest trade—and gave their name to the great intervening sea.

Africa touches Arabia in the north at the Sinaitic peninsula, over which a land route passes, comes close to it in the south at Bāb al-Mandab, only fifteen miles across, and is connected with mid-western Arabia by a third route which follows Wādi al-Ḥammāmāt, opposite the bend of the Nile near Thebes, and connects with the Red Sea at al-Quṣayr. This last route was the chief central connection. During the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (*ca.* 2000–1788 B.C.) a canal above Bilbays connected the Nile with the Red Sea. Restored by the Ptolemies, this canal, the

antecedent of the Suez Canal, was reopened by the caliphs and used until the discovery (1497) of the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope.

The Egyptian interest in Sinai arose because of its copper and turquoise mines located in Wādi Maghārah in the southern part of the peninsula near the modern town of al-Ṭūr. Even in pre-dynastic days the nomads of Sinai were exporting their valued products of Egypt. Pharaohs of the First Dynasty operated the mines of the peninsula, but the period of great exploitation started with Snefru (*ca.* 2750 B.C.) of the Third Dynasty. The

Sinaitic copper



From G. Elliot Smith, "The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilisation" (Harper & Bros.)

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF ARABIANS
(*Ca.* 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. respectively)

great road connecting Egypt with Syria-Palestine and thence reaching to the rest of the Fertile Crescent and Asia Minor—that first international highway used by man—sent a branch south-east to these copper and turquoise mines of Sinai. In a royal tomb of the First Dynasty at Abydos, Petrie found in 1900 on a piece of ivory a portrait of a typical Armenoid Semite labelled "Asiatic", with a long pointed beard and shaven upper lip, presumably a South Arabian. An earlier relief belonging to the same dynasty shows an emaciated Bedouin chief in a loin-cloth crouching in submission before his Egyptian captor, who is about to brain the Bedouin with his mace. These are the earliest representations of Arabians extant. The word for Bedouin (Eg. *'amu*, nomad, Asiatic) figures prominently in the early Egyptian annals and in some cases refers to nomads around Egypt and outside of Arabia proper.

Frankincense

South Arabia was brought nearer to Egypt when the latter established commercial relationships with Punt and Nubia. Herodotus [1] speaks of Sesostris, probably Senusert I (1980–1935 B.C.) of Dynasty XII, as conquering the nations on the Arabian Gulf, presumably the African side of the Red Sea. The Eighteenth Dynasty maintained a fleet in the Red Sea, but as early as the Fifth Dynasty we find Sahure (2553–2541 B.C.) conducting the first maritime expedition by way of that sea to an incense-producing land, evidently Somaliland on the African shore.

From A. T. Olmstead, "History of Palestine and Syria" (Charles Scribner's Sons)

SEMERKHET, THE SIXTH KING OF THE FIRST DYNASTY, SMITING THE CHIEF OF THE NOMADS

The chief attraction for the Egyptians in South Arabia lay in the frankincense, which they prized highly for temple use and mummification and in which that part of Arabia was particularly rich. When Nubia was subjugated and Punt (modern Somaliland) brought within the commercial sphere of the Egyptian empire many expeditions were conducted to those places to procure "myrrh, fragrant gums, resin and aromatic woods". Such an expedition to Punt was undertaken by Hatshepsut (*ca.* 1500 B.C.), the first famous woman in history. The emissaries of her successor, Thutmose III, the Napoleon of ancient Egypt, brought (1479 B.C.) from the same land the usual cargo of "ivory, ebony, panther-skins and slaves". As these were also the products of al-Yaman in south-western Arabia it is not unlikely that the Egyptians used the term "Punt" for the land on both sides of Bāb al-Mandab. Gold may also have come from Arabia. The incense trade with South Arabia went through Wādi al-Ḥammāmāt, making that central route the most important link with South Arabia.

[1] Bk. II, ch. 102.

From Bertram Thomas, "Arabia Felix" (Charles Scribner's Sons)

A FRANKINCENSE TREE AND A MAHRI COLLECTOR

Ḥaḍramawt,[1] which in ancient times included the coastlands Mahrah and al-Shiḥr,[2] was the celebrated land of frankincense. Ẓafār, formerly a town and now a district on the coast, was its chief centre. The modern name is Dhufar and it is under the nominal rule of the sultan of ʿUmān. This Ẓafār, the commercial centre of the frankincense country and situated as it is on the southern coast, should not be confused with the inland Ẓafār in al-Yaman, which was the Ḥimyarite capital.[3] The frankincense (*lubān*, whence "olibanum") tree still flourishes in Ḥaḍramawt and other parts of South Arabia. As of old, Ẓafār is still the chief centre of its trade.

The ancient Egyptians were not the only people who had a commercial interest in Arabia. Their foremost rivals for the trade in spices and minerals were the people of Babylonia.

2. Relations with the Sumerians and Babylonians

Eastern Arabia bordered on Mesopotamia. The early inhabitants of that region, the Sumerians and Akkadians, had already by the fourth millennium before our era become familiar with their neighbours of the Westland (Amurru) and were able to communicate with them both by land and water.

The source of supply of the Sumerian copper, the earliest metal discovered and used in industry, was probably in ʿUmān.

On a diorite statue of Narām-Sin (*ca.* 2400 B.C.), a grandson and successor of Sargon (the first great name in Semitic history), we read that he conquered Magan and defeated its lord, Manium.[4] Gudea (*ca.* 2350 B.C.), the Sumerian patesi of Lagash, tells us of his expedition to procure stone and wood for his temple from Magan and Melukhkha. These two Sumerian place-names, Magan and Melukhkha, evidently were first applied to certain regions in east and central Arabia but were later, in the Assyrian period, shifted to more distant localities in the Sinaitic peninsula and eastern Africa. "Magan" is not etymologically identifiable with Arabic "Maʿān," name of an oasis in northern al-Ḥijāz (now in Transjordan), possibly an ancient Minaean colony on the caravan route. In these cuneiform inscriptions we have the first recorded reference in history to a place in Arabia and to an Arabian people.

[1] Ḥaṣarmāweth of Gen. 10 : 26.

[2] In its later and modern use the name al-Shiḥr has been applied to the whole frankincense coast, including Mahrah and Ẓafār.

[3] Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iii, pp. 576-7.

[4] Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905), pp. 238, 239.

The "Sealand" of the cuneiform inscriptions was, according to a recent theory, located in Arabia proper and included the western shore of the Persian Gulf as far as the isle of al-Baḥrayn (ancient Dilmun) and possibly al-Nufūd as far west as al-'Aqabah. Nabopolassar was king of the Sealand before he became king of Babylon.

3. Assyrian penetration

The first unmistakable reference to the Arabians as such occurs in an inscription of the Assyrian Shalmaneser III, who led an expedition against the Aramaean king of Damascus and his allies Ahab and Jundub, an Arabian sheikh. The encounter took place in 854 B.C. at Qarqar, north of Ḥamāh. These are the words of Shalmaneser:

> Karkar, his royal city, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, 20,000 soldiers of Hadad-ezer, of Aram (? Damascus); . . . 1,000 camels of Gindibu', the Arabian.[1]

It seems very appropriate that the name of the first Arabian in recorded history should be associated with the camel.

Anxious to ensure the safety of the trade highways passing through the far-flung Assyrian empire and converging on the Mediterranean, Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), founder of the second Assyrian empire, conducted a series of campaigns against Syria and its environs. In the third year of his reign he exacted tribute from Zabibi, the queen of "Aribi" land. In the ninth year he conquered another queen of Aribi, Samsi (Shams or Shamsīyah) by name. His annals record that in 728 B.C. the Mas'ai tribe, the city of Temai (Taymā') and the Sab'ai (Sabaeans) sent him tribute of gold, camels and spices. These tribes evidently lived in the Sinai peninsula and the desert to the north-east.[2] Thus was Tiglath-Pileser III the first to fasten the yoke on Arabian necks.

Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), the conqueror of Carchemish and Samaria, reports that in the seventh year of his reign he subjugated among others the tribes of Tamud (Thamūd of the Koran) and Ibādid, "who inhabit the desert, who know neither high nor low official", struck them down and deported the remnant to Samaria.[3] At the same time he received from Samsi,

[1] Luckenbill, vol. i, § 611.

[2] Ditlef Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, vol. i, *Die altarabische Kultur* (Copenhagen, 1927), p. 65.

[3] Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 17.

queen of Arabia, It'amara (Yith'i-amara), the Sabaean chief, and from other kings of Egypt and the desert "gold, products of the mountain, precious stones, ivory, seed of the maple (?), all kinds of herbs, horses, and camels, as their tribute".[1] This It'amara of Saba' was evidently one of the Yith'i-amaras who bear the royal title *mukarrib* in the South Arabic inscriptions. Likewise his successor Karibi-ilu of Saba', from whom Sennacherib claims to have received tribute, must have been the south-western Arabian identified with Kariba-ilu of the inscriptions.[2] If so, the "tribute" claimed by the Assyrians could not have been but freewill presents offered by these South Arabian rulers to the Assyrian kings as equals and probably as allies in the common struggle against the wild nomads of North Arabia.

About 688 B.C. Sennacherib reduced "Adumu, the fortress of Arabia" and carried away to Nineveh the local gods and the queen herself, who was also the priestess. Adumu is the oasis in North Arabia that figured later in the Islamic conquests under the name Dūmat al-Jandal. The queen, Telkhunu (Te'elkhunu) by name, had allied herself with the rebellious Babylonians against the Assyrian suzerainty, and was assisted by Ḥazāel, the chief of the Qedar (Assyrian Kidri) tribe, whose headquarters were in Palmyrena.

Esarhaddon about 676 suppressed a rebellion headed by Uaite', the son and successor of Ḥazāel, who, "to save his life, forsook his camp, and, fleeing alone, escaped to distant (parts)".[3] Evidently the Bedouins proved a thorn in the side of the Assyrian empire and were incited to revolt by both Egypt and Babylonia. On his famous march (670) to the conquest of Egypt, the terrible Assyrian was so unnerved by his fearful privations in the North Arabian desert that he saw "two-headed serpents" and other frightful reptiles that "flapped their wings".[4] Isaiah (30 : 6), in his "burden" of the beasts of the south, mentions "the viper and fiery flying serpent". Herodotus[5] assures us that "vipers are found in all parts of the world; but the winged serpents are nowhere seen except in Arabia, where they are all congregated together".

In his ninth campaign, directed against the Arabian tribes,

[1] Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 18.
[2] Nielsen, *Handbuch*, vol. i, pp. 75 *seq.*
[3] Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 946.
[4] Cf. *ibid.* vol. ii, § 558.
[5] Bk. III, ch. 109.

Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) captured Uaite' and his armies after a severe struggle.

Many references are made in the Assyrian annals to Arabian chiefs "kissing the feet" of the kings of Nineveh and offering them among other presents gold, precious stones, eyebrow dyes (kohl, antimony), frankincense, camels and donkeys. In fact we read of no less than nine different campaigns undertaken by Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal to chastise the unconquerable Bedouins who were for ever harassing the Assyrian provinces in Syria, interfering with the caravan routes and receiving aid and comfort from Egypt and Babylonia, both hostile to Assyria. The "Urbi" mentioned in these campaigns must have been mainly Bedouins, and their land, "Aribi", must have been the Syro-Mesopotamian desert, the Sinaitic peninsula and North Arabia. In Sinai the Midianites of the Old Testament and not the Nabataeans were those brought under Assyrian control. The Sabaeans proper in south-western Arabia were never subjugated by Nineveh. The Assyrians, though rightly called the Romans of the ancient world, could not have brought even under nominal rule more than the oases and a few tribes in North Arabia.

4. Neo-Babylonian and Persian relations: Taymā'

Among the settlements of the north at this period Taymā' (Têmâ and Te-ma-a of the Assyro-Babylonian records) won special distinction as the provincial residence of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.), the last king of the Chaldaeans. The Chaldaeans had fallen heir to the Assyrian empire, which included, since the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Syria and a portion of North Arabia. In the third year of his reign Nabonidus, in the words of a cuneiform inscription, "slew the prince of Têmâ" and established himself in that oasis.[1]

The most significant reference in cuneiform literature to this Arabian oasis occurs in a chronicle relating to the fall of Babylon (539 B.C.) into the hands of the Persians. The chronicle states that Nabonidus was in "âl Têmâ" in the seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh years of his reign; while his son (i.e. Belshazzar) and the soldiers were in Babylonia.

In 525 Cambyses, the son and successor of the founder of the Persian empire, passed through northern Arabia and made an alliance with its people while on his way to the conquest of

[1] R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 106-7.

Egypt. Speaking of Darius, Herodotus[1] remarks: "The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia".

The Taymā' stone, bought by Huber (1883) and now deposited in the Louvre, bears one of the most valuable Semitic inscriptions ever found. Its date goes back to the fifth century B.C. Written in Aramaic, it records how a new deity, Ṣalm of Hajam, was introduced into Taymā' by a certain priest who further provided an endowment for the new temple and established a hereditary priesthood.[2] The new deity is represented in the Assyrian fashion and below him stands his priest who erected the stela.

5. Contacts with the Hebrews

The Jews were geographically next-door neighbours of the Arabians and racially their nearest of kin. Echoes of the desert origin of the Hebrews abound in the Old Testament.[3] Hebrew and Arabic, as we have learned before, are cognate Semitic tongues. Some of the Hebrew Old Testament names are Arabic, e.g. those of almost all of Esau's sons (Gen. 36: 10-14; 1 Ch. 1 : 35-7). A South Arabian would have but little difficulty in understanding the first verse of Hebrew Genesis.[4] The rudiments of the Hebrew religion, modern research shows, point to a beginning in the desert.

On their way to Palestine from Egypt about 1225 B.C. the Hebrew (Rachel) tribes sojourned about forty years in Sinai and the Nufūd. In Midian, the southern part of Sinai and the land east of it, the divine covenant was made. Moses married an Arabian woman, the daughter of a Midianite priest,[5] a worshipper of Jehovah who instructed Moses in the new cult. Yahu (Yahweh, Jehovah) was apparently a Midianite or North Arabian tribal deity. He was a desert god, simple and austere. His abode was a tent and his ritual was by no means elaborate. His worship consisted in desert feasts and sacrifices and burnt offerings from among the herds.[6] The Hebrews entered Palestine as nomads; the heritage of their tribal life from desert ancestors continued to be well marked long after they had settled among, and become civilized by, the native Canaanites.

The Hebrew kingdom in its heyday included the Sinaitic

[1] Bk. III, ch. 88.

[2] G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 195-6.

[3] Hos. 9 : 10; Jer. 2 : 2; Deut. 32 : 10, etc.

[4] B. Moritz in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, n. ser., vol. iii (1926), pp. 81 *seq.* D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites* (London, 1924), pp. 8, 15. Consult James A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 149 *seq.*

[5] Ex. 3 : 1, 18 : 10-12.

[6] Ex. 3 : 18, 5 : 1; Num. 10 : 35-6.

peninsula. Solomon had his fleet in the Gulf of al-ʿAqabah. Ophir, whence the navy of Hiram and Solomon brought gold, algum and precious stones (1 K. 9 : 27-8, 10 : 11; 2 Ch. 9 : 10), was probably Ẓafār in ʿUmān. By the time of Job (22 : 24) Ophir had become a synonym for a gold-producing land. Over a century after Solomon, Jehoshaphat (873–849 B.C.) still held sway over Elath (Ezion-geber, modern al-ʿAqabah) and the trade routes leading thither and received tribute from the Arabians who "brought him flocks" (2 Ch. 17 : 11). In reporting his third campaign, directed (701) against Syria-Palestine, Sennacherib proclaims: "As for Hezekiah, the terrifying splendor of my majesty overcame him and the Urbi (Arabs) and his mercenary (?) troops which he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted him".[1] Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4 : 41), and before him Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 : 7), fought against the Minaeans in and around the oasis of Maʿīn (modern Maʿān). Uzziah (792–740 B.C.) restored Elath to Judah and rebuilt the town (2 K. 14 : 22). The Chronicler (2 Ch. 21 : 16, 17) reports a South Arabian raid against Judah which resulted in the loss of King Jehoram's (848–844 B.C.) sons, wives and treasures, although it is difficult to see how distant Sabaeans, "the Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians", could have carried out such a raid. By the time of Nehemiah,[2] in the middle of the fifth century B.C., the Jews were beginning to look upon their south-eastern neighbours as enemies.

Biblical association: Old Testament references

Etymologically ʿArab is a Semitic word meaning "desert" or the inhabitant thereof with no reference to nationality. In this sense Hebrew ʿEreb is used in Is. 21 : 13, 13 : 20 and Jer. 3 : 2. In the Koran *aʿrāb* is used for Bedouins. Second Mac. 12 : 10 makes Arabs and nomads synonymous. The first certain instance of the biblical use of the word as a proper name occurs in Jer. 25 : 24: "kings of Arabia". Jeremiah's prophetic career fell between 626 and 586 B.C. The "kings" referred to were in all probability sheikhs of northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert. By the third century B.C. the term was beginning to be used for any inhabitant of the peninsula, for 2 Ch. 21 : 16 makes mention of "the Arabians, that were near the Ethiopians", leaving no doubt that the people whom the writer had in mind were the Arabians of the south-west, i.e. Sabaeans. Of the four best-

[1] Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 240. [2] Neh. 2 : 19, 4 : 7.

known kingdoms of ancient Arabia, viz. Saba', Ma'īn, Ḥaḍramawt and Qatabān, the first three—and these were the important ones—are mentioned in the Old Testament. In the commercial chapter of Ezekiel († after 572 B.C.) Arabia is coupled with Kedar, and the articles of merchandise listed are exactly what we would expect in the way of products from Arabia. From verse 21 in this chapter (27), we learn that the Arabians of the sixth century B.C. were engaged, as they are still engaged today, in breeding cattle which they sold to the neighbouring settlers. From Jer. 3 : 2 it is also evident that they were then notorious for highway robbery. Jer. 25 : 23 (American Revised) indicates that they had their heads shaved except for a tuft at the top, a practice similar to that of the Bedouins today.

Dedan (Ar. Daydān), referred to and mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament (Is. 21 : 13; Jer. 25 : 23; Ezek. 25 : 13), is modern al-'Ula, an oasis in northern al-Ḥijāz. For some time it was the headquarters of the Sabaeans in the northern part of the peninsula. At the height of their commercial power the Sabaeans evidently exercised control over the transport routes leading through al-Ḥijāz northward to the Mediterranean ports and had colonies planted along these routes.

The Kedar (Heb. Qēdār) mentioned by Ezekiel,[1] the "Kidri" of the Assyrian annals[2] and the "Cedrei"[3] of classical literature, held sway over North Arabia. Palmyrena with the region southeast of Damascus was their habitat.

The Shunammite damsel whose beauty is immortalized in the Song ascribed to Solomon (6 : 13, 1 : 5; cf. 1 K. 1 : 3) was probably an Arabian of the Kedar tribe. If historical, the Queen of Sheba (Arabic Bilqīs), who brought to the wise king of Israel gifts of unique value characteristic of South Arabia (1 K. 10 : 10; 2 Ch. 9 : 9), must have had her headquarters neither in al-Yaman nor in Ethiopia, but in one of those Sabaean posts or garrisons in the north on the caravan route. Not until two centuries after the age of Solomon (*ca.* 1000 B.C.) do the Yamanite kings begin to figure in inscriptions.

In Job 6 : 19 the Sheba (Ar. Saba') are associated with Tema (Taymā'). Job, the author of the finest piece of poetry that the ancient Semitic world produced, was an Arab, not a Jew, as the

[1] See also Is. 21 : 16; Gen. 25 : 13. [2] Luckenbill, vol. ii, §§ 820, 869.
[3] Pliny, Bk. V, ch. 12.

form of his name (*Iyyōb*, Ar. *Ayyūb*) and the scene of his book, North Arabia, indicate.[1] The appendix to the Book of Proverbs contains the wise sayings[2] of Agur son of Jakeh (Prov. 30 : 1) and of Lemuel (Prov. 31 : 1), the two kings of Massa, a tribe of Ishmael (Gen. 25 : 14). The names of these two persons occur in some form in certain Minaean and other ancient South Arabic inscriptions. In Baruch 3 : 23 there is a reference to "the Agarenes [sons of Agar = Hagar, i.e. Ishmaelites or North Arabians] that seek wisdom upon earth".

"Qedem" and "Bene Qedem" of the Old Testament, rendered in the English versions (Gen. 29 : 1; Num. 23 : 7; Is. 11 : 14; Jud. 6 : 33; Ezek. 25 : 4; Job 1 : 3) "east", "children of the east", "people of the east", etc., correspond to Arabic *sharq* and *sharqīyūn* (east and easterners). In particular, the terms mean the land and the Bedouins east of Palestine; in general, Arabia and the Arabians. "Saracen" comes from this same Arabic stem and is one of a half-dozen words of Arabic origin which occur in Old English, this word being used as early as the ninth century. It had had a history of its own before the rise of Islam and can be applied to others besides Arabians and Arabs.[3] Job, whose book is considered a masterpiece of wisdom as well as poetry, was a chief of the Bene Qedem (Job 1 : 3). In wisdom Solomon alone excelled this tribe (1 K. 4 : 30). The "wise men from the east" (Matt. 2 : 1), therefore, who followed the star to Jerusalem were possibly Bedouins from the North Arabian desert rather than Magi from Persia.

In the post-exilic literature the word Arab usually signifies Nabataean (2 Mac. 5 : 8; 1 Mac. 5 : 39). First Maccabees 9 : 35 mentions the Nabataeans as such. At the time of Paul the Nabataean kingdom extended as far north as Damascus. The Arabia to which Paul retired (Gal. 1 : 17) was undoubtedly some desert tract in the Nabataean district. The Arabians in Acts 2 : 11 were also in all probability Nabataeans.

[1] Certain technicalities of biblical Hebrew poetry, including parallelism, as illustrated in Job resemble Arabic poetical technique: in both cases the verse is a couplet consisting of two parts which complement each other either appositionally or antithetically. In the Middle Ages Hebrew grammar was modelled after Arabic grammar.

[2] Cf. with those of Luqmān, Koran 31 : 11.

[3] In this book, therefore, such terms as "history of the Saracens", "Saracenic art", "Saracenic architecture", etc., have been avoided. An attempt has been made to use "Arabian" for an inhabitant of the peninsula and "Arab" for any Arabic-speaking person, particularly if a Moslem. To Moslems "Muḥammadan" is objectionable.

6. In classical literature

Arabia and the Arabians were familiar to the Greeks and Romans. The country lay across their path to India and China and produced commodities highly prized in the markets of the west. Its inhabitants were the middlemen of the southern seas, as their kinsmen, the Phoenicians, had been earlier of the Mediterranean.

The classical writers divided the land into Arabia Felix, Arabia Petraea and Arabia Deserta, corresponding to the tripartite political division of the land in the first Christian century, the first being independent, the second subject to Rome and the third nominally controlled in part by Parthia. Arabia Deserta included the Syro-Mesopotamian desert (the Bādiyah). Arabia Petraea (the rocky) centred on Sinai and the Nabataean kingdom, having Petra for its capital. Arabia Felix comprised the rest of the Arabian peninsula, the interior of which was then but little known. Its restriction to the Yaman, the region best known to Europe, was a medieval error. The name itself, meaning "happy", may have been an attempt to translate Ar. *yaman* (to the right hand), confused with *yumn*, happiness. The district was called Yaman because it lay to the right side, i.e. south of al-Ḥijāz, in opposition to al-Sha'm, i.e. Syria, which lay to the left or north.[1] Marcian (*ca.* A.D. 400) of Heraclea[2] uses the term "Saraceni". Before Marcian, Ptolemy,[3] who flourished in the first half of the second century of our era, refers to the Saracens. Ammianus Marcellinus,[4] a native of Antioch who wrote in the latter half of the fourth Christian century, identifies the Saracens with the Scenite Arabs.

The first mention of the Arabians in Greek literature was made by Aeschylus[5] (525–456 B.C.), the reference being to a distinguished Arabian officer in the army of Xerxes. Herodotus[6] (*ca.* 484–425 B.C.) follows with a reference to the Arabians in Xerxes' army, who were evidently from eastern Egypt.

[1] The "Sabaei" (Sabaeans), "Minaei" (Minaeans), "Homeritae" (Ḥimyarites), "Scenitae" (tent-dwellers = Bedouins), "Nabataei" (Nabataeans), "Catabanei" (Qatabānites), "Chatramotitae" (people of Ḥaḍramawt), "Omanitae" ('Umānites), "Sachalitae" (inhabitants of the Sāḥil, i.e. the coast-line, in this case the southern coast-line, medieval al-Shiḥr)—all these figure in Greek and Roman geographies and histories.

[2] *Periplus of the Outer Sea*, tr. Wilfred H. Schoff (Philadelphia, 1927), § 17a.

[3] *Geographia*, ed. Carolus F. A. Nobbe, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1887), Bk. V, ch. 17, § 3.

[4] *Rerum gestarum*, Bk. XXII, ch. 15, § 2; Bk. XXIII, ch. 6, § 13.

[5] *Persians*, l. 320.

[6] Bk. VII, § 69.

To the classical authors from the Greek Eratosthenes († *ca.* 196 B.C.)—the source of Strabo—to the Roman Pliny († A.D. 79) Arabia is a land of fabulous wealth and luxury; it is the country of frankincense and other spices; its people love and enjoy liberty. Indeed, what particularly struck Western writers was the characteristic last mentioned. The independent character of

From Heinrich Kiepert, "Atlas antiquus"

ARABIA OF THE CLASSICAL AUTHORS

the Arabian people has formed a theme of praise and admiration for European authors from the remotest times to the days of Gibbon.[1]

That the Arabians themselves were conscious of those superior advantages which their natural environment afforded may be inferred from the debate with the Persian Chosroes in the presence of the Byzantine, Indian and Chinese deputies, in the

[1] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1898), vol. v, p. 319.

course of which the Arab delegation brought out as eloquently and forcefully as possible the points in which their nation excelled.[1] Diodorus Siculus[2] (fl. 2nd half of 1st cent. B.C.) affirms that the Arabians "highly prize and value their liberty". In his *Geography*,[3] Strabo († A.D. 24), on the authority of an earlier Greek, states that the Arabians were the only people who did not send their ambassadors to Alexander, who had planned "to make Arabia the seat of empire".[4]

Roman expedition

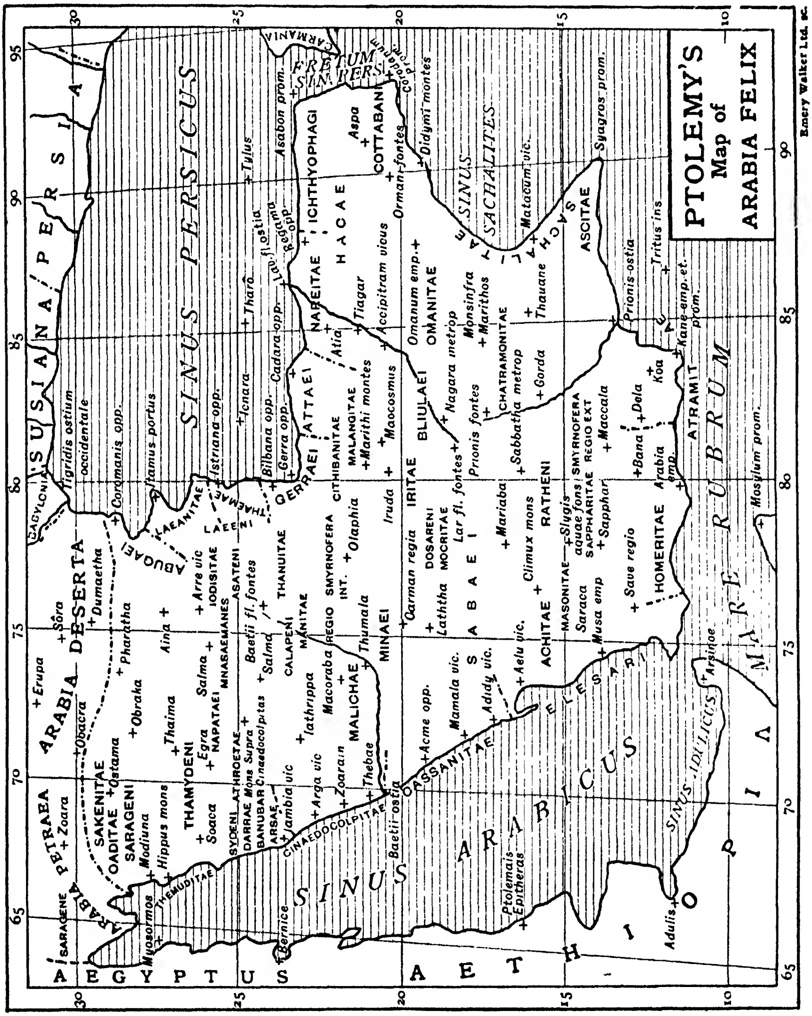
Masters of the world, as they were, the Romans failed to fasten the yoke upon Arabian necks. Their famous expedition of 10,000 men conducted from Egypt under the leadership of its prefect Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C., during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and supported by their Nabataean allies, proved a signal failure. Its object was admittedly to capture those transport routes monopolized by the South Arabians and tap the resources of al-Yaman for the benefit of Rome. After months of southward penetration the decimated army turned back to "Negrana" (Najrān), which it had captured previously, made the coast of the Red Sea and ferried across to the Egyptian shore. The return trip took sixty days. The farthest point in Arabia reached was "Mariaba", which was probably not Ma'rib the Sabaean metropolis but Mariama to the south-east. The celebrated Greek geographer Strabo, historian of the expedition and himself the personal friend of Gallus, blames the many misfortunes on the perfidy of its guide, "Syllaeus the minister of the Nabataeans".[5] Thus ended ignominiously the first, and indeed the last, military campaign of major importance that any European power ever ventured to conduct in inland Arabia.

The aromatic land

To Herodotus[6] "the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance", it being "the only country which produces frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon and ladanum. . . . The trees which bear the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents, small in size and of varied colours, whereof vast numbers hang about every tree."[7] But the geographer Strabo is slightly more judicious than the over-credulous "father of history". To him also South Arabia is "the aromatic country",[8] but its "snakes, a

[1] Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1302), vol. i, p. 125.
[2] *Bibliotheca historica*, Bk. II, ch. 1, § 5.
[3] Bk. XVI, ch. 1, § 11.
[4] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 27.
[5] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 23.
[6] Bk. III, ch. 113.
[7] Bk. III, ch. 107.
[8] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 25.

span in length, spring up as high as a man's waist".[1] Diodorus Siculus[2] reiterates the same view of Arabia as a spice-producing



land the very soil of which is redolent. Pliny, who in his *Natural History* (Bk. VI) summarizes the Roman knowledge of the Eastern countries as of A.D. 70, also emphasizes this characteristic

[1] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 19. [2] Bk. II, ch. 49, §§ 2-3.

of the land[1] and adds, in another connection, that the Sabaei are "the best known of all the tribes of Arabia on account of their frankincense".[2] Clearly Ḥaḍramawt was in those days the frankincense land par excellence. The Greeks and Romans evidently presumed that all the commodities in which the Arabians dealt were native products of their own land, so jealously did the merchants guard the secrets of their other sources in Abyssinia and India and so strict was the monopoly.

Those same classical writers were greatly impressed by the wealth of the South Arabians. Strabo[3] mentions cities "adorned with beautiful temples and palaces". Pliny,[4] using Aelius Gallus for authority, concurs.

Gold

While frankincense and spices were the products for which the land was most famous, almost equally prized were the mineral deposits, particularly gold, found along the western coast of the peninsula from Midian to al-Yaman and to some extent in the central portion of the land. Diodorus[5] asserts that Arabia possessed mines of gold so pure that no smelting was necessary. Al-Maqdisi[6] and al-Hamdāni[7] (tenth century) devote a paragraph each to the minerals of Arabia, emphasizing particularly its gold.

Other treasured scraps of information are embedded in the Greek and Latin records. Strabo[8] tells us that in South Arabia polyandry of the type in which a number of brothers married the same wife prevailed, that people lived incestuously and that the law of primogeniture, by which the eldest became the chief, was observed. He further states that the greater part of their wine was made of dates and that instead of olive oil sesame oil was used.[9]

In his geography, written between A.D. 150 and 160, Ptolemy, whose projection of the known world was to determine the geographical ideas of both Europeans and Asians for many centuries to come, gives us the result of an attempt to put into scientific form the records and personal impressions of merchants and travellers of his time. His map of Arabia is the first sketch based on such information.

[1] Bk. XII, ch. 30. [2] Bk. VI, ch. 32. [3] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 3.
[4] Bk. VI, ch. 32. [5] Bk. II, ch. 50, § 1.
[6] *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1877), pp. 101-2.
[7] *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884), pp. 153-4.
[8] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 25. [9] *Ibid.* § 26; Pliny, Bk. VI, ch. 32.

CHAPTER V

THE SABAEAN AND OTHER STATES OF SOUTH ARABIA

THE Sabaeans were the first Arabians to step within the threshold of civilization. They figure in the late cuneiform inscriptions. The oldest reference to them in Greek literature is in Theophrastus († 288 B.C.), *Historia plantarum*.[1] The south-western corner of the peninsula was the early home of the Sabaeans. The South Arabians as merchants

The fertility of that felicitous rain-favoured land, its proximity to the sea and its strategic location on the India route were all determining factors in its development. Here were produced spices, myrrh and other *aromata* for seasoning foods or burning in the ceremonial of the court and the ritual of the church; foremost among these was incense, that most valuable commodity of ancient trade. Thither did rare and highly prized products, such as pearls from the Persian Gulf, condiments, fabrics and swords from India, silk from China, slaves, monkeys, ivory, gold and ostrich feathers from Ethiopia, find their way in transit to Western marts. The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[2] has left us (A.D. 50–60) a bird's-eye view of the market of "Muza", present-day Mukha (Mocha):

> The merchandise imported there consists of purple cloths, both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style, with sleeves; plain, ordinary, embroidered, or interwoven with gold; saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made in the local fashion; sashes of different colors, fragrant ointments in moderate quantity, wine and wheat, not much.

The Sabaeans were the Phoenicians of the southern sea. They knew its routes, reefs and harbours, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade during the last millennium and a quarter before our era. The circumnavigation of Arabia, stated as a theoretical possibility by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus, was in their case an actuality. To the Greco-Roman

[1] Bk. IX, ch. 4, § 2.

[2] Tr. W. H. Schoff (New York, 1912), § 24.

pilots the frankincense country was "mountainous and forbidding".[1] "Navigation", according to the *Periplus*,[2] "is dangerous along this whole coast of Arabia, which is without harbors, with bad anchorages, foul, inaccessible because of breakers and rocks, and terrible in every way."

Through the Red Sea the main maritime route led from Bāb al-Mandab to Wādi al-Ḥammāmāt on the coast of Middle Egypt. The inherent difficulty of navigating this sea, especially in its northern parts, caused the Sabaeans to develop land routes between al-Yaman and Syria along the western coast of the peninsula, leading through Makkah and Petra and forking at the northern end to Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. The Syrian branch strikes the Mediterranean outlet at Ghazzah (Gaza). From Ḥaḍramawt, particularly rich in frankincense, a caravan road led to Ma'rib, the Sabaean capital, where it joined the main commercial artery. Along this south-to-north route a number of Sabaean colonies were planted. From these may have come the Sabaeans who figured in the Assyrian and Hebrew records. An historical snapshot has been preserved for us in Gen. 37 : 25 of a "caravan of Ishmaelites" coming down "from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh".

South Arabic inscriptions

The conquests which the South Arabians achieved were in commerce and trade. The kingdoms they built were not military states. The outline of their history can be delineated from such references as those cited above in the ancient Semitic and Greco-Roman writings, from the semi-legendary traditions preserved in early Moslem literature—particularly the works of Wahb ibn-Munabbih († in Ṣan'ā', *ca.* A.D. 728), al-Hamdāni[3] († A.D. 945) and al-Ḥimyari († A.D. 1177)—but above all from the local sources made accessible mainly through the discoveries of Halévy and Glaser. All this native South Arabian literature, however, is epigraphic—on metal and stone. Whatever perishable material was used for recording business transactions, historical narratives, or strictly literary productions has entirely disappeared. The earliest inscriptions found date from the sixth

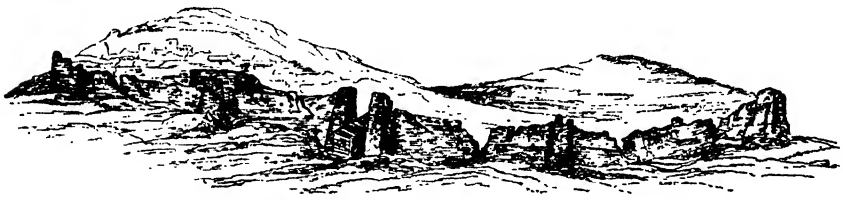
[1] *Erythraean Sea*, § 29. [2] *Ibid.* § 20.

[3] See D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî*, 2 pts. (Vienna, 1879–81); Bk. VIII, ed. Nabih A. Faris (Princeton, 1940); tr. Nabih A. Faris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia* (Princeton, 1938).

or seventh century B.C. The Sabaean inscriptions may be classified as follows: (1) votive, engraved on tablets of bronze placed in the temples and dedicated to Ilmuqah (Almaqah), 'Athtar and Shams; (2) architectural, occurring on the walls of the temples and other public edifices to commemorate the name of the builder of or the contributor to the construction; (3) historical, reporting a battle or announcing a victory; (4) police ordinances, inscribed on pillars in the entry; (5) funerary, attached to sepulchres. Of special significance are a few legal documents which reveal a long constitutional development.

Carsten Niebuhr was the first to announce (1772) the existence of South Arabic inscriptions. Joseph Halévy, who since Aelius

1. Remains of a Building supposed to be a Temple



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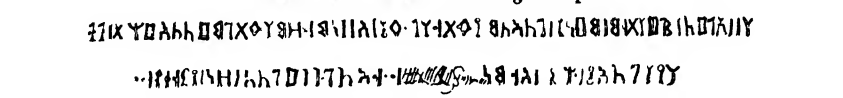

From "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" (1837)

THE RUINS OF NAQAB AL-ḤAJAR AND TWO LINES OF INSCRIPTION WHICH FURNISHED EUROPE WITH ITS FIRST SIGHT OF SOUTH ARABIC INSCRIPTION

Gallus (24 B.C.) was the first European to visit Najrān in al-Yaman (1869–70), brought back copies of 685 inscriptions from thirty-seven different localities. Between 1882 and 1894 Eduard Glaser undertook four scientific expeditions to al-Yaman which yielded some 2000 inscriptions, of which some are still unpublished. In all we possess today about 3000 such inscriptions, extending in date as far back as the seventh century B.C. Th. S. Arnaud, who discovered the ruins of Ma'rib, copied in 1843 at the risk of his life about sixty inscriptions. James R. Wellsted, an English naval officer, published in 1837 a part of the inscription of Naqab al-Ḥajar and this furnished Europe with its first sight of South Arabian writing. The decipherment was accomplished by Emil Rödiger of Halle (1837) and by Gesenius (1841).

As revealed by these inscriptions, the South Arabic or Minaeo-Sabaean language (also called Ḥimyarite) has twenty-nine letters in its alphabet. The characters represent in all probability an early forking from the Sinaitic, which constitutes the connecting link between the Phoenician alphabet and its Egyptian ancestor. These symmetrical rectilinear letters (*al-musnad*) point to a long development.[1] Its alphabet, like other Semitic forms, consists of consonants only. In noun formation, verb conjugation, personal pronouns and vocabulary, South Arabic has certain affinities with Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) and Ethiopic (Abyssinian). But it has the broken plural which characterizes North Arabic and Ethiopic. Akkadian, South Arabic and Ethiopic represent in certain respects the older form of Semitic speech. With the decay of the Yamanite culture South Arabic practically disappeared and North Arabic was substituted. The literary fairs of the north, such as the Sūq ʿUkāẓ, the annual heathen pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah and the commercial relations with Makkah hastened the process of substitution.

1. The Minaean kingdom

The first kingdom that we are able to discern through the mists of South Arabian antiquity is the Minaean kingdom, which flourished from *ca.* 1200 to 650 B.C., according to the school of Arabists who hold for the higher chronology.[2] The term Minaean occurs in the same form in classical writings. The biblical authors use Māʿōn, Meʿūn or Meʿīn as a place-name. This is not the Magan of the Sumero-Babylonian inscriptions cited above, but is represented by modern Maʿān south-east of Petra in the ancient land of Edom. Maʿān was the original Arabic form, later vocalized Maʿīn, which means "spring-water".

The Minaean kingdom flourished in the Jawf of al-Yaman between Najrān and Ḥaḍramawt. In its heyday it embraced most of South Arabia, including Qatabān, Ḥaḍramawt and a district, Melukh (the Melukhkha of cuneiform records), lying probably in central and north-western Arabia. Melukh is not to be identified with ʿAmālēq (Amalek), "the first of the nations".[3] This Maʿān near Petra was an important colony and trading-post in Midian (east of Sinai), which is called Muṣrān in the inscriptions. Hence the official name of this

[1] For specimens see *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars iv (Paris, 1889 ff.).
[2] Cf. F. V. Winnett in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 73 (1939), pp. 3-9.
[3] Num. 24 : 20. Cf. Nielsen, *Handbuch*, vol. i, p. 86, n. 1.

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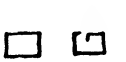
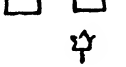
				B	B	ب
				CG	CG	ج
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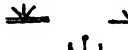				E	E	ه
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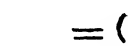				H	H	ح
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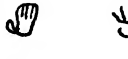
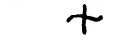
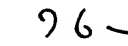
				L	L	ل
				M	M	م
				N	N	ن
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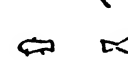				P	P	ف
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Constructed with the aid of G. Vinton Duffield

A TABLE OF ALPHABETS. INCLUDING RA'S AL-SHAMRAH

colony was Ma'ān Muṣrān. The Sabaean kingdom fell heir to this colony about 640 B.C., and the early Liḥyānites (*ca.* 500–300 B.C.), whose capital was Daydān (O.T. Dedan, modern al-'Ula, which was likewise a Minaean outpost), seized Muṣrān about 500 B.C. The Nabataeans succeeded the Liḥyānites in the possession of this Minaean colony in the north. Indeed the old name has survived in the modern Ma'ān Miṣrīyah (Egyptian), which is given to the southern part of the town of Ma'ān.

Apart from Ma'ān, the centre of Minaean power in north-western Arabia, petty Minaeo-Sabaean kingdoms seem to have existed along the lower Euphrates in the seventh century B.C., as is evidenced by inscriptions and seals found in that region.

The Minaean capital, Qarnāw, visited by Halévy in 1870, is represented by modern Ma'īn (in southern al-Jawf, north-east of Ṣan'ā'), which perpetuates the memory of the old name. The religious metropolis, Yathīl, also in southern al-Jawf, is present-day Barāqish, north-west of Ma'rib.

The Minaeans spoke the same language as the later Sabaeans, with only dialectical differences. The so-called Minaean inscriptions date from the period of the kings of Ma'ān and include the Qatabānian royal inscriptions and the few Ḥaḍramawt texts that have thus far been found. Müller has identified the names of twenty-six Minaean kings and drawn the conclusion, from the recurrence of certain royal names, that the hereditary principle must have been followed.[1]

2. The Sabaean kingdom

The Sabaean period extends from about 950 to 115 B.C. Its first kings were therefore synchronous with the last Minaean rulers. But after about three centuries the Sabaeans fell heir to the kingdom of their earlier kinsmen and established themselves as masters of South Arabia and rulers of the most brilliant era in its history.

The first Sabaean period ended about 650 B.C. "Mukarrib[2] Saba" was the title of the priest-king who stood at the head of the state. We find mention in the preserved texts of about seventeen kings who bear this title. The castle of Ṣirwāḥ, modern Kharibah, a day's journey west of Ma'rib, was the oldest structure built by the Sabaeans and their first capital.

[1] Müller, *Die Burgen*, pt. 2, pp. 60-67.

[2] MKRB, vocalization uncertain. This term combines the two ideas of priesthood and kingship.

Shams (or Shamsīyah) and Yith'i-amara, the two Sabaeans who paid tribute to Sargon II, belong to this age.

Ma'rib dam

Ma'rib lies 3900 feet above the sea and has been visited down to the present day by only three Europeans: Arnaud, Halévy and Glaser. It was the meeting-place of the trade routes connecting the frankincense lands with the Mediterranean ports, particularly Ghazzah. Al-Hamdāni in his *Iklīl*[1] refers to three citadels in Ma'rib, but the construction for which the city was particularly famous was the great dam, Sadd Ma'rib.[2] This remarkable engineering feat, together with the other public works of the Sabaeans, reveal to us a peace-loving society highly advanced not only in commerce but in technical accomplishment as well. The older portions of the dam were constructed in the latter part of the first Sabaean period. The inscriptions make Yith'i-amara Bayin and his father the main builders of the dam. But al-Hamdāni, and after him al-Mas'ūdi,[3] al-Iṣfahāni[4] and Yāqūt,[5] regard Luqmān ibn-'Ād, in reality a mythical personage, as the builder.

In the second period of the Sabaean kingdom (about 650–115 B.C.) the ruler appears shorn of his priestly character and bearing the title "Malk Saba", the King of Saba'. Ma'rib, about sixty miles east of Ṣan'ā', is now the capital. Yāqūt and after him many others identify Saba' with Ma'rib. In reality Saba' was the name of the land and people, and not a town.

Qatabān, with its capital, Tamna', and Ḥaḍramawt, whose capital was Shabwah (classical Sabota), seem to have had kings of their own during a part of this period. The Sabaeans were the most distinguished branch of the South Arabian family and this period (650–115 B.C.) was the most glorious era in their history.

3. The first Ḥimyarite kingdom

After 115 B.C. the inscriptions reveal the South Arabian monarch bearing a new title: "King of Saba' and dhu-Raydān". Raydān later became known as Ẓafār, the region of the sea-coast. This marks the beginning of the first Ḥimyarite kingdom, which lasted till about A.D. 300. These Ḥimyarites may first have been rulers in Qatabān. The word "Homeritae" occurs first in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (about A.D. 60) and then in

[1] Karmali, p. 55.
[2] For description of ruins see al-'Aṣm, pt. 2, pp. 50 *seq.*
[3] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. and tr. de Meynard and de Courteille, vol. iii (Paris, 1864), p. 366.
[4] *Ta'rīkh Sini Mulūk al-Arḍ w-al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1844), p. 126.
[5] *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 383.

Pliny. The Ḥimyarites were close kinsmen of the Sabaeans and, as the youngest branch of the stock, became the inheritors of the Minaeo-Sabaean culture and trade. Their language was practically the same as that of the Sabaeans and Minaeans before them. Pliny's references to agriculture are confirmed by the wells, dams and cisterns repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions. The collection of frankincense, considered a religious act, was still the source of greatest income.

Ẓafār (classical Sapphar and Saphar, Sephar of Gen. 10 : 30), the inland town, about one hundred miles north-east of Mukha on the road to Ṣan'ā', was the capital of the Ḥimyarite dynasty. It displaced Ma'rib of the Sabaeans and Qarnāw of the Minaeans.

British Museum

ḤIMYARITE SILVER COIN

Obv. male head with monogram; rev. male head with inscription reading KRB'L WTR (Kariba-ilu Watar)
Ca. A.D. 50

Its ruins can still be seen on the summit of a circular hill near the modern town of Yarim. At the time of the composition of *The Periplus* its king was Kariba-ilu Watar (Charibael of *The Periplus*).

It was during this Ḥimyarite period that the ill-fated Roman column under Aelius Gallus penetrated as far as Mariama. The "Ilasarus" of Strabo, who was the ruler at that time, is Ilishariḥa Yaḥḍub of the inscriptions.

The Semitic origin of the Abyssinians

Another notable occurrence in the early part of this period was the establishment of Arabian colonists from al-Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt in the "land of Cush", where they laid the basis of the Abyssinian kingdom and civilization and ultimately developed a culture which the native negroes could probably never have achieved. The displacement of South Arabian tribes about the middle of the fifth century of our era (connected by popular tradition with the breaking of the great dam of Ma'rib), which

carried some to Syria and al-ʿIrāq, may have resulted in augmenting the earlier South Arabian settlements in Abyssinia. Along the whole coast of East Africa there was an infusion of Arabian blood of far earlier origin than the Moslem invasion. The beginnings of the kingdom of Aksūm (Axum), the original nucleus of later Abyssinia, belong to the first century after Christ.

The castle of Ghumdān

To another Ili-shariḥa (Līsharḥ ibn-Yaḥṣub of Yāqūt[1]), of the first century after Christ, is ascribed the most celebrated castle of "the land of castles", as al-Yaman has been called, Ghumdān in Ṣanʿāʾ. As a measure of protection against Bedouin raids the urban Ḥimyarites found it necessary to erect well-fortified palaces. Al-Hamdāni, and following him Yāqūt, have left us detailed descriptions of Ghumdān, though by their time it was but a gigantic ruin. The citadel, according to these geographers, had twenty stories, each ten cubits high—the first skyscraper in recorded history. It was built of granite, porphyry and marble. The king had his court installed in the uppermost story, the roof of which was covered with one slab of stone so transparent that one could look through it skyward and distinguish between a crow and a kite. The four façades were constructed of stones of various colours. At each corner-stone stood a brazen lion which roared whenever the wind blew. In a poem al-Hamdāni refers to the clouds as the turban of Ghumdān and marble as its belt. The structure survived until the rise of Islam and was apparently destroyed in the course of the struggle which established Moslem supremacy in al-Yaman.

The king of this first Ḥimyarite period appears as a feudal lord, residing in a castle, owning land and issuing coins of gold, silver and copper, with his image on one side and an owl (the Athenian emblem) or a bull's head on the other. Certain older coins bear the head of Athena and show South Arabian dependence on Athenian models as early as the fourth century before our era. Besides coins, bronze figures of Hellenistic and Sāsānid workmanship are occasionally unearthed in al-Yaman. Native art shows no high antiquity. Semitic genius nowhere expressed itself through such a channel.

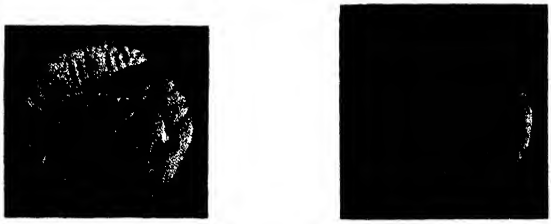
The social organization of the Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite community as revealed by the inscriptions represents a curious blend of the

[1] *Buldān*, vol. iii, p. 811, l. 8.

old tribal system, caste stratification and feudal aristocracy and monarchy, presenting phenomena many of which may be duplicated elsewhere but which in their aggregate seem unique.

The Romans displace the Arabians in maritime trade

In the course of this first Ḥimyarite period the zenith of the South Arabian power was passed. So long as the Yamanites monopolized the maritime trade of the Red Sea they prospered; but now the control was slipping out of their hands. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (A.D. 50–60), the first record of organized trading with the East in vessels built and commanded by subjects of a Western power, marks the turning-point of the tide of commerce. The great overland route through the Fertile Crescent and connecting Europe with India, which was a source



British Museum

ḤIMYARITE SILVER COIN

Obv. head of Athena, on her cheek Sabaean letter *nūn*; rev. owl, with olive spray and crescent. Coin belongs to 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C., imitation of the old Attic type of 4th cent. B.C.

of endless friction between the Parthian and Roman empires, had been threatened before this time by Alexander; but the southern maritime route to India remained in the hands of Arabians until almost the first century after Christ. Their task consisted in collecting the products of their own land together with those of East Africa and India and carrying them by camel northward from Ma'rib through Makkah to Syria and Egypt, thus avoiding the hazards of the Red Sea. If, however, transportation by sea seemed preferable the route ran either all the way up the Red Sea to the canal connecting with one of the eastern arms of the Nile or else through the southern part of the Red Sea to Wādi al-Ḥammāmāt and then across the Egyptian desert to Thebes or down the Nile to Memphis. The land route through al-Ḥijāz was dotted with Ḥimyarite stations.[1] Strabo[2] writes that the caravan journey from "Minaea to Aelana" (al-'Aqabah) takes

[1] See Koran 34 : 17-18.

[2] Bk. XVI, ch. 4, § 4.

seventy days. As the people of the West developed more and more the taste for Oriental cloths, perfumes and spices, the South Arabians raised the price of their own products, especially frankincense and myrrh, and increased the tolls on the foreign goods which passed through their hands. In the meantime they more jealously guarded their control over the routes. Hence their proverbial wealth. Petra and then Palmyra became partners in this commercial system, links in the chain, and consequently shared in the ensuing prosperity. But now the whole situation was beginning to change.

When Egypt under the Ptolemies became once more a world power the first attempt was made to contest the supremacy of the sea with the South Arabians. Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.) reopened the Nile–Red Sea canal originally dug by Sesostris some seventeen centuries previously. The consequent entry of the Ptolemaic merchant marine into the waters separating Egypt from Arabia proved the beginning of the end for the Ḥimyarite commercial activity. Rome, which captured Egypt from the Ptolemies about the middle of the first century B.C., followed the Ptolemies in the policy of maritime competition against the Arabians and in the desire to free Egypt from commercial dependence upon al-Yaman. In the days of Pliny Roman citizens were already complaining of the high prices exacted by the South Arabian traders for commodities for which Rome had to pay in cash because she had so little to offer by way of goods they desired.[1] The Abyssinians, evidently not content with the share of spoils allotted them by their neighbours to the east, were now courting Roman alliance.

In the later Ptolemaic period a Greek or Roman, perhaps in the Abyssinian maritime service, was initiated into the mysteries of the sea routes with their hazards and periodic changes of monsoons, and triumphantly returned to Alexandria with a cargo of the greatly desired and highly priced articles, including cinnamon and pepper produced in India, commodities which the Westerners had believed to be of Arabian origin. This Hippalus, the Columbus of Ptolemaic trade, was followed by others who thus contributed to the final break-up of the Arabian monopoly. But full advantage of the memorable discovery of the periodicity of the monsoons and the direct sea route to India was not taken

[1] Pliny, Bk. XII, ch. 41.

till Rome ruled Egypt. The entry of the Roman shipping into the Indian Ocean sounded the knell of South Arabian prosperity. Economic decline brought in its wake, as it always does, political ruin. One by one Petra, Palmyra and north-western Mesopotamia fell under the paws of the Roman wolf.

4. The second Ḥimyarite kingdom

About A.D. 300 the monarchical title in South Arabia becomes "king of Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanāt". This means that by this time Ḥaḍramawt had lost its independence. To this title a further addition was soon made: "and of their Arabians in the mountains and in the Tihāmah". Yamanāt (or Yamānah) in the longer titles of royalty in this last epoch may well be interpreted as a general name of the southern coastlands; Tihāmah was the Red Sea coast west of Ṣan'ā'.

After an invasion from Abyssinia resulting in a short Abyssinian rule (*ca.* 340–78) the native Ḥimyarite kings resumed their long title and held their position till about A.D. 525. In the Aksūmite inscriptions of the middle of the fourth century the Abyssinian monarch claims to be "king of Aksūm, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Ḥabashah,[1] Salḥ and Tihāmah". This was not the first or only time the Abyssinians invaded Arabia. Once before, in the second and third centuries after Christ, they must have succeeded in establishing temporary authority over parts of South Arabia.

Nine of the Ḥimyarite kings of this period are known to us from inscriptions. Tubba' is the royal title that has survived in Islamic literature. Among the Ḥimyarite kings best known to later Arabic legends was one Shammar Yar'ash, who is represented as having conquered as far as Samarqand, which, according to these legends, takes its name from him. Another was abu-Karib As'ad Kāmil, the Abi-kariba As'ad (*ca.* A.D. 385–420) who is reported to have conquered Persia and who later embraced the Jewish faith. The memory of the latter is still kept alive in the Arabic ballads of adventure. This later Ḥimyarite period was signalized by the introduction of Christianity and Judaism into al-Yaman.

Christianity and Judaism in al-Yaman

The religion of South Arabia was in its essence a planetary astral system in which the cult of the moon-god prevailed. The moon, Sīn, known to the Minaeans under the name Wadd (love or lover, father), to the Sabaeans as Ilmuqah (the health-giving god?) and to the Qatabānians as 'Amm (paternal uncle), stood

[1] I.e. Ḥaḍramawt. See Nielsen, *Handbuch*, vol. i, p. 104.

at the head of the pantheon. He was conceived of as a masculine deity and took precedence over the sun, Shams, who was his consort. ʿAthtar (Venus, corresponding to the Babylonian goddess Ishtar, Phoenician ʿAshtart), their son, was the third member of the triad. From this celestial pair sprang the many other heavenly bodies considered divine. The North Arabian al-Lāt, who figured in the Koran, may have been another name for the sun-goddess.

Christianity of the Monophysite type began to trickle in from the north, particularly Syria, at an early date. Syrian missionaries fleeing persecution may have entered al-Yaman at times unknown to us, but the first Christian embassy to South Arabia that we read of was that sent by the Emperor Constantius in 356 under the leadership of Theophilus Indus, an Arian. The real motive behind the mission lay in the international politics of the day and the rivalry between the Roman and Persian empires for spheres of influence in South Arabia. Theophilus succeeded in building one church at ʿAdan (Aden) and two others in the country of the Ḥimyarites. Najrān, into which Christianity of the Monophysite communion is said to have been introduced by a holy man from Syria named Faymiyūn (Phemion), embraced the new faith about A.D. 500. Ibn-Hishām[1] and al-Ṭabari[2] give us the legend of this ascetic, who was captured by an Arab caravan and brought to Najrān. Yaʿqūb of Sarūj († 521) addressed a comforting letter in Syriac to the Christians of Najrān. The second caliph, ʿUmar, deported (A.D. 635–6) to al-ʿIrāq those of them who had failed to embrace Islam.[3] As late as A.D. 840 wé hear of a Mār Petrus, bishop of Ṣanʿā' and al-Yaman.

Judaism also became widely spread in al-Yaman under the second Ḥimyarite kingdom. It must have found its way early into North Arabia, perhaps consequent to the conquest of Palestine and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. Judging by the names preserved most of the Jews in Arabia must have been Judaized Aramaeans and Arabians rather than descendants of Abraham. In the early part of the sixth century the Hebrew religion had such a hold upon al-Yaman that the last Ḥimyarite king, dhu-Nuwās (a descendant of the Tubbaʿ Asʿad Kāmil),

[1] *Sīrah*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858), pp. 20-22.
[2] *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul*, ed. de Goeje, vol. i (Leyden, 1881–2), pp. 919-25.
[3] Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 66 = Hitti, *Origins*, pp. 101-2. See below, p. 169.

was a Jew. To this day there are about a hundred thousand Jews in al-Yaman.

Rivalry between the South Arabian converts of the two newly introduced monotheistic religions led to active hostility. Evidently dhu-Nuwās, representing the nationalistic spirit, associated the native Christians with the hated rule of the Christian Abyssinians. To this Jewish monarch is ascribed the famous massacre of the Christians of Najrān in October 523 (sūr. 85 : 4).[1] Daws dhu-Tha'labān (or Thu'lubān) survived, according to Arabic tradition, and implored the Emperor Justin I for aid, the Byzantine emperor at that time being regarded as the protector of Christians everywhere. The emperor wrote to the Negus (Najāshi) of Abyssinia (Kaleb Ela Aṣbeḥa in the inscriptions), for he represented the Christian power nearest the scene of trouble. The Negus is said to have sent 70,000 men across the Red Sea to Arabia under a certain Aryāṭ. This campaign therefore falls within the network of the international politics of that age: Byzantium was seeking through Abyssinia to bring the Arabian tribes under her influence and use them against Persia.[2] The Abyssinians were victorious in 523 and again in 525. The leader on the latter occasion was Abrahah (variant of Abraham), originally an officer under Aryāṭ, but who by this time had fallen out with his commander and taken over the supreme command. According to al-Ṭabari,[3] dhu-Nuwās, setting spurs to his steed, "plunged it into the waves of the sea and was never seen again". Thus came to his end the last Ḥimyarite monarch, and with him the period of the independence of al-Yaman was terminated. All that remains of the glorious memory of the ancient Ḥimyarite dynasty is today perpetuated in the name of an obscure tribe, Ḥimyar, east of 'Adan.

The period of Abyssinian rule

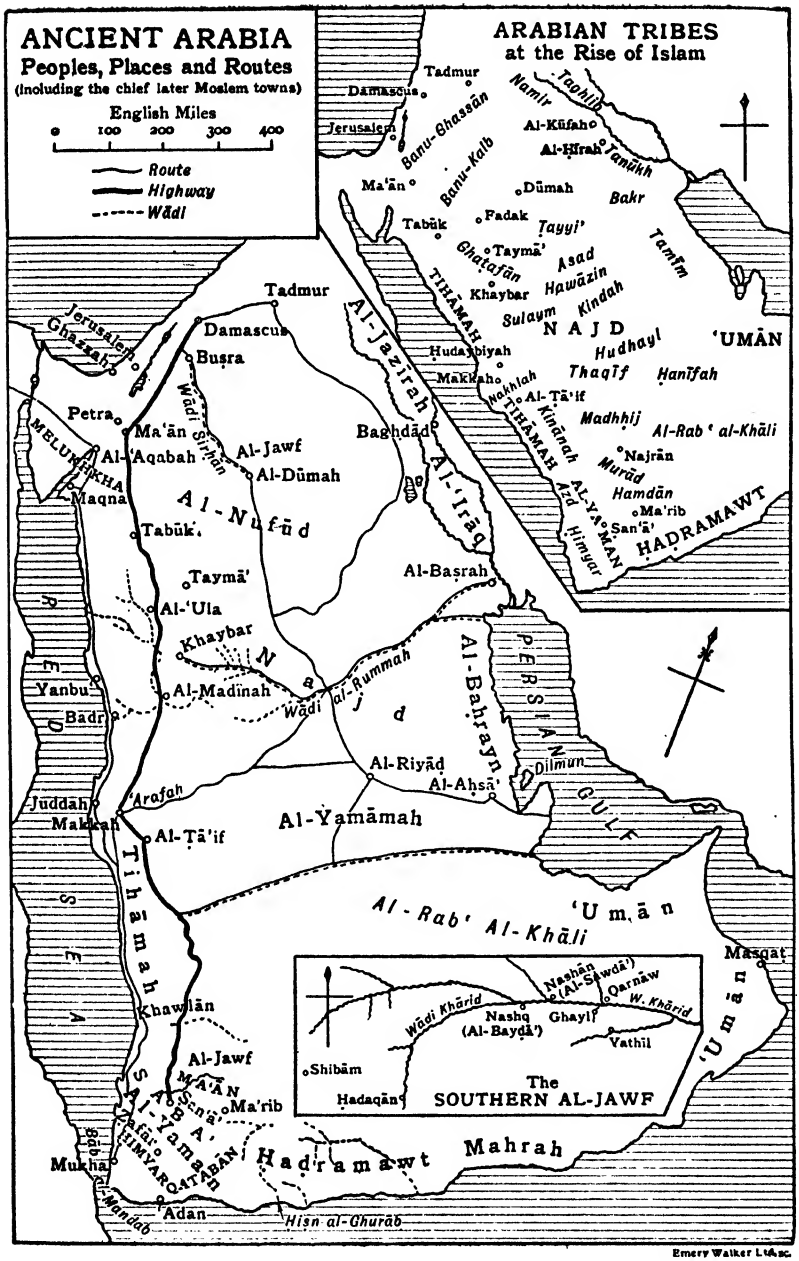
The Abyssinians came as helpers, but as often happens remained as conquerors. They turned colonists[4] and remained from 525 to 575 in control of the land whence their ancestors had long before emigrated to the African shore. Abrahah, the acknowledged Aksūmite viceroy, built in Ṣan'ā', now the capital, one of the most magnificent cathedrals of the age, called by the Arabian writers al-Qalīs (al-Qulays, al-Qullays, from Gr.

[1] See Axel Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites* (Lund, 1924).

[2] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. and tr. H. B. Dewing (London, 1904), Bk. I, ch. 20, §§ 9-12.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 927-8.

[4] Procopius, Bk. I, ch. 20, §§ 2, 6.



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ekklēsia, church). The cathedral, of which little is left today but the site, was built from the ruins of ancient Ma'rib.

The Christian Abyssinians were evidently intent upon converting the land and creating a rival to pagan Makkah, the centre of pilgrimage in the north, for pilgrimage was a source of great income to those who dwelt in the city to which the pilgrims travelled or beside the roads leading thither. In the establishment of a southern religious shrine that would draw large crowds, to the detriment of the Ḥijāz sanctuary, the Abyssinian overlords were evidently successful. Indeed the memory of this economic-religious rivalry has been perpetuated in the local tradition in which two Arabian pagans of the Fuqaym tribe, attached to the cult of the Ka'bah, polluted the Ṣan'ā' cathedral on the eve of a festival, causing Abrahah to undertake a disciplinary expedition against Makkah. The incident is said to have taken place in the year of the birth of the Prophet (570 or 571), which year has been dubbed *'ām al-fīl*, the year of the elephant, after the elephant which accompanied Abrahah on his northward march and which greatly impressed the Arabians of al-Ḥijāz, where elephants had never been seen. The Abyssinian army was destroyed by smallpox, "the small pebbles" (*sijjīl*) of the Koran.[1]

The breaking of Ma'rib dam

To this period should also be assigned the memorable event immortalized in Islamic literature as "the bursting of the great dam" of Ma'rib occasioned by the great flood.[2] Al-Iṣfahāni,[3] who devotes the eighth book of his annals (finished A.D. 961) to Ḥimyarite kings, puts the tragic event four hundred years before Islam, but Yāqūt[4] comes nearer to the truth when he assigns it to the reign of the Abyssinians. The ruins of this dam are visible to the present day. A dated South Arabic inscription (date corresponding to A.D. 542–3) by Abrahah dealing with one of the breaks has been discovered and published by Glaser.[5]

This breach in the time of Abrahah was preceded by one in A.D. 450 when the water broke the dam. But the works were then restored. The final catastrophe alluded to in the Koran (34 : 15) must have taken place after 542 and before 570. Connected with one of the early breaches in the dyke was the

[1] 105 : 1-3. See al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Būlāq, 1329), vol. xxx, p. 193; ibn-Hishām, *Sīrah*, p. 36.

[2] Koran 34 : 15. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 126. [4] *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 383.

[5] In *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 360-488.

migration of the banu-Ghassān to the Ḥawrān region in Syria, where they became the bulwark of Roman rule, and of the banu-Lakhm to the Ḥīrah region, where a number of South Arabic inscriptions have recently been unearthed. The banu-Ghassān chose the year of the breaking of the dam as the starting-point for an era of their own.[1] Besides the Ghassān and Tanūkh of Syria and al-'Irāq, the banu-Ṭayyi', Kindah and other large and powerful tribes of North and Central Arabia claim South Arabian origin. There are today families in Syria which trace their entry into the country back to this same event.

Later Arab imagination seized upon this spectacular episode of the great flood and bursting of the dam to explain the whole age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture,[2] prosperity and national life; a decline due, as we have already learned, to the entry of Roman shipping into the Red Sea, the introduction of the divisive influence of new religions and the subsequent submission to foreign rule. The legend of "the bursting of the dam"—for so it became in later annals—is perhaps to be analysed as a concentrated and dramatic re-telling of a long history of economic and sociological causes that led to the disintegration and final downfall of South Arabian society and as the crystallization of the results of a long period of decay into one single event. And, with what appears to be a subtle appreciation of the intangible quality of the true causes leading up to this tragedy, the chroniclers[3] report that a rat turned over a stone which fifty men could not have budged, and thus brought about the collapse of the entire dam. Muzayqiya ('Amr ibn-'Āmir Mā'-al-Samā') was according to tradition the ruler during whose reign this rat did its momentous and epoch-making work.

The national movement to free al-Yaman from Abyssinian rule found its hero, so the tradition goes, in a scion of the old Ḥimyar royal line, Sayf ibn-dhi-Yazan. The successful struggle (*sīrah*) of Sayf found a place in the Arabic saga and, revised and embellished in Egypt in the course of the fourteenth century, is still recited by Arab story-tellers in the cafés of Cairo, Beirūt

The Persian period

[1] Al-Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1893), p. 202.

[2] For the theory of climatic desiccation there does not seem to be sufficient scientific evidence in historic times.

[3] Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vol. iii, p. 383; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 384; cf. Mas'ūdi, pp. 370-71.

and Baghdād. Sayf, according to tradition, sought, but naturally failed to receive, Constantinople's aid against Abyssinia, for the latter power was Christian and therefore friendly to Byzantium. He was then presented by the Arab king of al-Ḥīrah to the Persian sovereign, Kisra Anūsharwān, at the Sāsānid court in al-Madā'in (Seleucia-Ctesiphon). The destinies of the world were then chiefly in the hands of the Christian Byzantines and Mazdean Persians, Aksūm acting as the unofficial agent of Byzantium. The Christian Arabians were pro-Byzantine and looked to Constantinople for protection and countenance; the Jewish and pagan Arabians were pro-Persian and expected aid from Ctesiphon. In response to Sayf's prayers the Persian emperor in 575 sent eight hundred men under Wahraz (or Wahriz), who routed the Abyssinian garrison in al-Yaman and freed the country from the hated African rule. At first a system of joint administration was instituted with Sayf as titular head. Sayf took up his residence in the ancient castle of Ghumdān, which was evidently in ruins during the Abyssinian rule. But soon al-Yaman was converted into a Persian satrapy and the South Arabians found they had only changed one master for another.

In this tradition we have preserved for us a clear recollection of the rivalry between the two powers on either side of Arabia —Zoroastrian Persia and Christian Abyssinia (backed by Byzantium)—to inherit their neighbour, the defunct South Arabian kingdom. The native Christian Arabian sympathy with Byzantium served as a wedge for Abyssinian intervention, while Jewish and pagan leanings toward Persia gave the latter its opportunity. With the Syro-Arabian desert in the north barring the penetration of world powers South Arabia thus acted as the gateway through which these powers found their way into the peninsula.

In 628, the sixth year after the Hijrah, Bādhān, the fifth Persian satrap of al-Yaman, embraced Islam. With the birth of this new religion the centre of interest in the peninsula shifted to the north. Henceforth the stream of Arabian history flowed in northern channels, with al-Ḥijāz replacing al-Yaman in public consideration.

CHAPTER VI

THE NABATAEAN AND OTHER PETTY KINGDOMS OF NORTH AND CENTRAL ARABIA

ASIDE from the South Arabian kingdoms a few petty states evolved during the pre-Islamic period in the northern and central parts of the peninsula. These North Arabian states, like those of the south, drew their strength mainly from commerce and were in no sense militaristic either in their inception or in their development. The earliest among them was the Nabataean kingdom. 1. The Nabataeans

We read of no Assyrian campaign directed against the Nabataeans, because they were not then on the main route to the west. In the early part of the sixth century B.C. the Nabataeans (al-Anbāṭ, classical Nabataei)[1] came as nomadic tribes from what is today called Transjordan and occupied the land of the Edomites (Idumaeans, the descendants of Esau), from whom they later wrested Petra. The predecessors of the Edomites in this "land of Seir" were the Horites (Hurris).[2] The Nabataeans, from their metropolis Petra, came into possession of the neighbouring territory. Petra, a Greek word meaning rock, is a translation of the Hebrew Sela' mentioned in Isaiah 16 : 1, 42 : 11 and 2 Kings 14 : 7.[3] Al-Raqīm[4] is the Arabic correspondent and the modern name is Wādi Mūsa (the valley of Moses). The ancient city, located on an arid plateau three thousand feet high, presents today the spectacle of a vast glowing necropolis hewn in a rock whose sandstone strata exhibit almost all the colours of the rainbow.

For upwards of four hundred years, beginning toward the end of the fourth century B.C., Petra was a key city on the caravan route between Saba' and the Mediterranean.

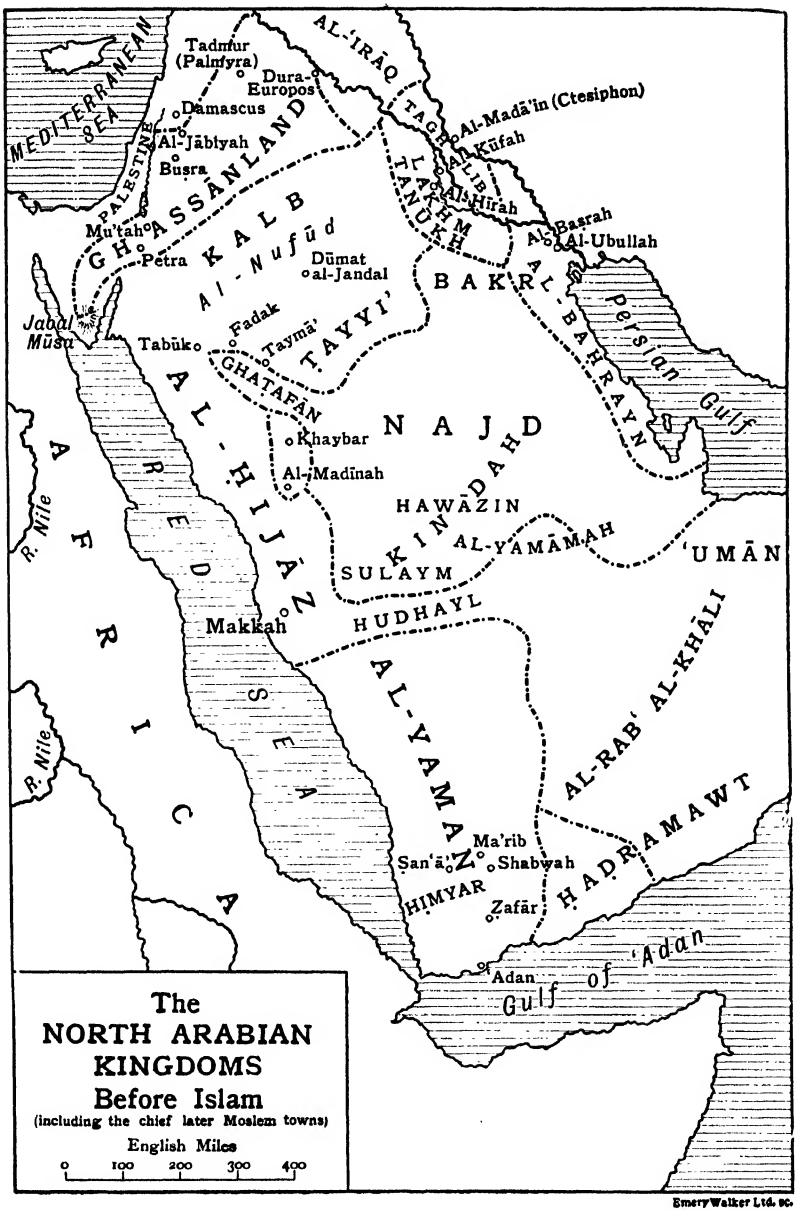
Our first detailed account of the early history of the Naba-

[1] Heb. Nĕbāyōth, Assyr. Nabaitai, Nabaitu, are apparently not the Nabataeans.
[2] Gen. 14 : 6, 36 : 20. [3] Cf. 2 Ch. 25 : 12; Jer. 49 : 16; Ob. 3-4.
[4] See Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. IV, ch. 4, § 7, ch. 7, § 1.

taeans comes from Diodorus Siculus († after 57 B.C.). About 312 B.C. they were strong enough to resist two expeditions sent against them by Antigonus, Alexander's successor as king of Syria, and return victoriously to "the rock".[1] They were then within the Ptolemaic sphere of influence. Later they became the allies of Rome and nominally co-operated in the famous invasion of Arabia in 24 B.C. by Gallus. In the reign of Ḥārithath (al-Ḥārith, Aretas III, *ca.* 85–60 B.C.) the Nabataeans first came into close contact with the Romans. It was then that the royal coins were first struck. Julius Cæsar in 47 B.C. called on Māliku (Mālik, Malchus I) to provide him with cavalry for the Alexandrian war. His successor, 'Obīdath ('Ubaydah, Obodas II, *ca.* 28–9 B.C.), was the ruler under whom the Roman expedition to Arabia took place. Arabia Petraea, whose capital was Petra, reached its height under Ḥārithath IV (9 B.C. to A.D. 40). At the time of Christ the Nabataean kingdom extended north as far as Damascus, which together with Coele-Syria was wrested from Seleucid hands by Ḥārithath III (*ca.* 85 B.C.). It was an ethnarch of Ḥārithath IV who endeavoured to arrest Paul in Damascus.[2] Al-Ḥijr (Madā'in Ṣāliḥ) in northern al-Ḥijāz must have also in the first century of our era been included in the Nabataean kingdom, as the inscriptions there attest. The names of all the Nabataean monarchs from Ḥārithath I (169 B.C.) to the last independent ruler, Rabbīl II (A.D. 71–106), are known to us.[3] In A.D. 105 the Emperor Trajan put an end to the Nabataean autonomy and in the following year their territory became a regular Roman province.

After Diodorus, Josephus († *ca.* A.D. 95) is our chief source of information about the Nabataeans, but Josephus was interested in them only as they crossed wires with the Hebrews. To him Arabia meant the Nabataean state reaching eastward as far as the Euphrates. Malchus or Malichus (Ar. Mālik), mentioned by Josephus[4] as the "king of Arabia" whom Herod and his father had befriended, and the Malchus[5] (Malchus II) who about A.D. 67 sent 1000 horse and 5000 foot to the assistance of Titus in his attack on Jerusalem, were both Nabataeans. In 1 Mac. 5 : 25 and 2 Mac. 5 : 8 the Nabataeans are identified with the

[1] Diodorus, Bk. XIX, §§ 94-7.
[2] 2 Cor. 11 : 32.
[3] See the list in Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 216.
[4] *Antiquities*, Bk. XIV, ch. 14, § 1; *The Jewish War*, Bk. I, ch. 14, § 1.
[5] *Jewish War*, Bk. III, ch. 4, § 2.



The NORTH ARABIAN KINGDOMS Before Islam

(including the chief later Moslem towns)

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Arabians. The modern Ḥuwayṭāt Bedouins are regarded as the descendants of the Nabataeans.

Though they spoke Arabic as an everyday language the Nabataeans, in default of an Arabic script at that early date, used the Aramaic characters of their northern neighbours. Diodorus[1] refers to a letter of theirs written to Antigonus "in Syriac characters". Aramaic was used by them as the language of learning, but the mistakes made in the Aramaic inscriptions which have survived, the Arabic proper names and the use of such Arabic expressions as *ghayr* (other than) betray the Arabic vernacular of their authors.

This Nabataean cursive script, taken from the Aramaic, developed in the third century of our era into the script of the North Arabic tongue, the Arabic of the Koran and of the present day. More particularly it was transformed into the round *naskhi* script in distinction to the angular *Kūfi* (Kufic) which was developed in al-Kūfah and used almost exclusively for the Koran and early official documents, monuments and coins. One of the oldest Arabic inscriptions is that of al-Namārah in eastern Ḥawrān, which goes back to A.D. 328 and was set up as an epitaph on the tomb of Imru'-al-Qays, a Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīrah. No Nabataean literature has come down to us other than epigraphic.

The Sinaitic origin of the alphabet

The Sinaitic peninsula, close to the Nabataean homeland and the scene of the enunciation of the Ten Commandments, has within the last few years yielded the oldest alphabetic inscriptions ever found. These inscriptions were recently discovered at Sarābīṭ al-Khādim and removed to the Cairo Museum. Many attempts have been made at their decipherment. The writing was done by Sinaitic workers in the turquoise mines and dates from about 1850 B.C.—some six centuries earlier than the Aḥīrām inscription of Jubayl (ancient Gebal, Gr. Byblos) found by Montet and considered the second earliest Phoenician inscription known.

After the development of the Sinaitic alphabet its characters were carried into northern Syria, and there turned into actual cuneiform, as the Ra's al-Shamrah tablets of the late fifteenth century indicate.[2] This newly discovered script is clearly alpha-

[1] Bk. XIX, ch. 96.

[2] F.-A. Schaeffer in *Syria*, vol. x (1929), pp. 285-97; Charles Virolleaud, *ibid.* pp. 304-10.

betic and Semitic, and although written with a stylus on clay tablets its letters were not borrowed from the earlier Sumero-Akkadian characters. In it the Sinaitic alphabet was conventionalized into wedge-shaped signs.

For a long time it has been recognized by modern scholars that the Phoenicians, who were the first to use an exclusively alphabetic system of writing, must have originally received the basis for their system from Egyptian hieroglyphic sources, but the gap always seemed wide between the two systems. The Sinaitic writing now comes in to bridge that gap. The Sinaitic Semite took, for instance, from the hieroglyphics the sign for ox-head (not caring what "ox-head" was in the Egyptian language) and called this sign by the name of the ox-head in his own language, *aleph*. Then according to the principle of acrophony he used this sign for the sound *a*. The same treatment he accorded to the sign for "house", calling it *beth* and using it for the sound *b* and so on.

This Sinaitic origin of the alphabet explains how it could have been transmitted on the one hand to South Arabia, where it underwent an independent development and was employed by the Minaeans perhaps as early as 1200 B.C., and how on the other hand it was carried northward to the Phoenician coast. With the trade in turquoise, which the Arabs sold to the Phoenicians, went the alphabet, just as it later went with the trade from the Phoenicians to the Greeks to become the mother of all European alphabets.

The inscriptions, discovered in the volcanic Ṣafa region of Ḥawrān, which date from about A.D. 100 or later,[1] as well as the Dedanite and Liḥyānite inscriptions of al-'Ula in northern al-Ḥijāz (the so-called proto-Arabic) of the seventh to the third century B.C., and the Thamūdic writings of the same region, particularly of al-Ḥijr and Taymā' (of the fifth century B.C. to the fourth Christian century), represent in their epigraphy by-forms of the South Arabic alphabet; [2] but the language of all these inscriptions is North Arabic differing but little from the well-known classical Arabic. The Thamūdic graffiti are a development of the Liḥyānite script, another development of which is seen in the Ṣafa graffiti. The Ṣafa inscriptions are the northernmost South

[1] Cf. F. V. Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1937), p. 53.

[2] René Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1907), pp. 57-73; Dussaud and F. Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Ṣafa et dans le Djebel ed-Drûz* (Paris, 1901), pp. 3-14.

Arabian writings found. The South Arabic script has also survived in Ethiopic.

The historical relations of the three northern peoples who used these similar scripts, Ṣafaitic, Liḥyānite and Thamūdic, have not been completely determined. The Liḥyānites, whom Pliny[1] mentions under the name Lechieni, were an ancient people, probably a section of the Thamūd, and their capital Daydān was once a Minaean colony on the great trade route which carried the merchandise of al-Yaman and India to the Mediterranean ports. After the fall of Petra (A.D. 105) the Liḥyānites seem also to have held the important Nabataean centre al-Ḥijr (modern Madā'in Ṣāliḥ), once a Thamūdic town. The Minaean as well as the Nabataean civilization greatly influenced the later Liḥyānite culture. The ruins of al-'Ula, which include tombs decorated with sculptures in high relief, indicate an advanced pre-Islamic civilization of which very little is known.[2]

Petra

Petra reached its greatest wealth and prosperity in the first century of our era under the patronage of the Romans, who treated it as a buffer state against Parthia. On three sides, east, west and south, the city was impregnable. Carved out of the solid rock, it was surrounded on all sides by precipitous and almost impassable cliffs and was entered through a narrow winding defile. The city provided the only spot between the Jordan and Central Arabia where water was not only abundant but invitingly pure. Here the South Arabians obtained on their northward caravan march fresh relays of camels and drivers. Thus the Nabataeans formed an important link in the commercial chain by which South Arabia flourished. The spectacular ruins of Petra still attract many tourists and constitute an important source of income to the modern state of Transjordan.

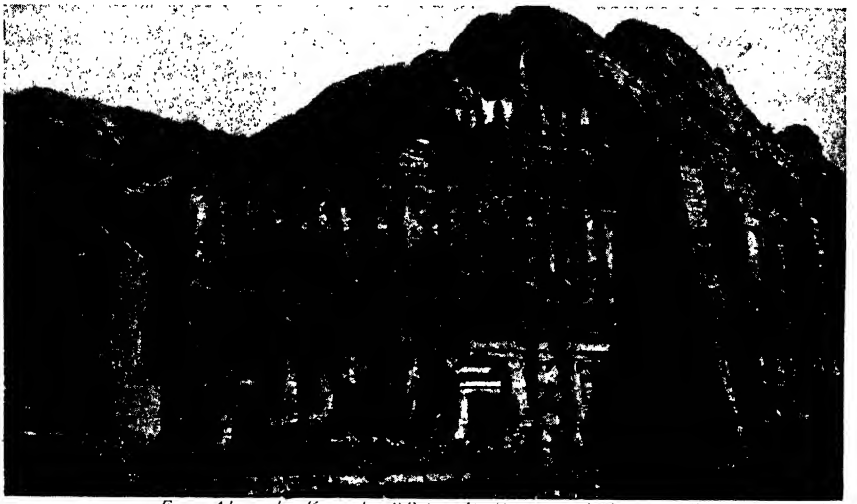
Petra had a kind of Ka'bah with Dūshara (Dusares), worshipped under the form of a black rectangular stone, at the head of the pantheon; Allāt, identified by Herodotus[3] with Aphrodite Urania, was the chief female deity. Dūshara (dhu-al-Shara, i.e. the lord of Shara) was later associated with the vine, introduced to the land of Nabataeans in the Hellenistic period, and

[1] Bk. VI, ch. 32.

[2] Consult Eduard Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* (Berlin, 1890), vol. ii, pp. 98-127; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1909), pp. 250-91.

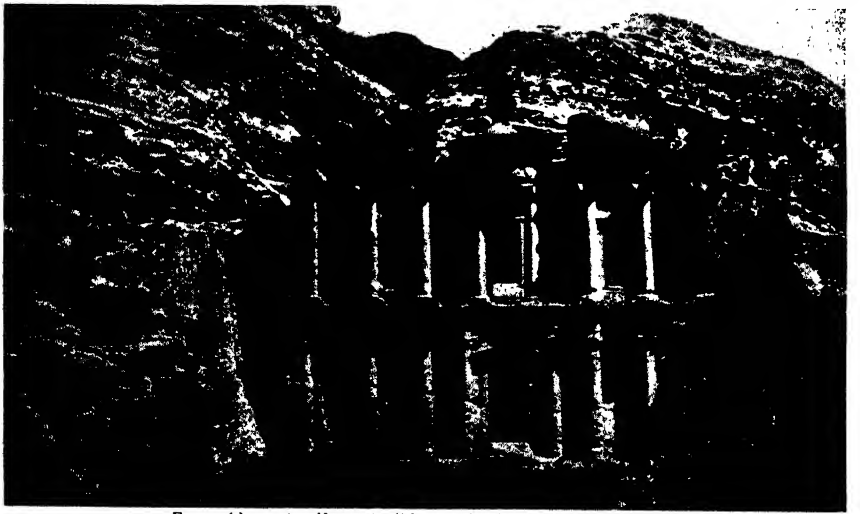
[3] Bk. III, ch. 8.

as the god of wine borrowed some of the traits of Dionysus-Bacchus.



From Alexander Kennedy, "Petra: Its History and Monuments" ("Country Life")

PETRA: THE PALACE



From Alexander Kennedy, "Petra: Its History and Monuments" ("Country Life")

PETRA: THE DAYR

In the first two centuries after Christ, as the sea route to India became more and more familiar to the Roman sailors, as the

caravan route from east to west was gradually diverted to a more northerly region centring at Palmyra, and as the north-to-south trade took a course further east corresponding to the later pilgrimage route and the present Ḥijāz Railway, Petra lost its advantageous position and the Nabataean state began to decline. After the reduction of the city in A.D. 105 through the cupidity and short-sightedness of Trajan, Arabia Petraea was incorporated (106) into the Roman empire under the name Provincia Arabia, and henceforth the history of Petra remained almost a blank for many centuries.[1]

2. Palmyrena

The new conditions created in Western Asia by the Parthian conquest of Mesopotamia and the new routes which began to be used on a large scale after the first century of our era gave prominence to a city situated in an oasis in the middle of the Syrian desert and whose fame has since become world wide. This is the city of Palmyra (Ar. Tadmur), whose present ruins are among the most magnificent and least-studied remains of antiquity. Located between the two rival empires of Parthia and Rome, Palmyra depended for its security upon the maintenance of a balance between the two and in profiting by its neutrality.[2] Its geographic position, with its plentiful supply of fresh and mineral waters, afforded a rendezvous not only for the eastern and western trade but for the south-to-north commerce starting in South Arabia. The "chief of the caravan" and the "chief of the market" figure in the early inscriptions as leading citizens.[3] In the course of the second and third centuries of our era this desert metropolis became one of the richest cities of the Near East.

Tadmor (the early Semitic name of Palmyra) must have been a very ancient settlement, for it was cited under the name Tadmar of Amurru[4] in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (*ca.* 1100 B.C.). So impressed by its ruins were the Arab story-tellers that they ascribed its origin to the jinn who, they believed, had built it for King Solomon.

Exactly when the Arabs came into possession of Palmyra local tradition does not seem to remember. The first authentic mention of the town is when Mark Antony in 42–41 B.C. made a vain

[1] A recently identified Nabataean site, 'RM, twenty-five miles east of al-'Aqabah, is koranic Iram (sūr. 89 : 6).

[2] Pliny, Bk. V, ch. 21.

[3] Cooke, pp. 274, 279.

[4] Luckenbill, vol. i, §§ 287, 308. The Hebrew chronicler (2 Ch. 8 : 4) and the Greek translator of 1 K. 9 : 18 confused it with Tamar in Idumaea built by Solomon. Cf. Ezek. 47 : 19, 48 : 28.

attempt to possess himself of its riches. Its earliest native inscription goes back to 9 B.C., at which time Palmyra was already an important trade centre between the Roman and Parthian states.

The city must have come within the Roman political orbit early in the imperial period, for we find decrees relative to its customs duties issued in A.D. 17. In the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) Palmyra and its dependent cities became vassals of Rome. As a consequence of Hadrian's visit in 130, the city received the name Hadriana Palmyra. Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) transformed Palmyra and its towns into provincial cities of the empire. At the beginning of the third century Palmyra assumed the status of a colony, but even then it must have enjoyed administrative independence with only a nominal recognition of Roman suzerainty. Palmyrenes then began to add to their names Roman ones. The Romans recognized the city's military importance, for their road from Damascus to the Euphrates passed through it.

Palmyra reached its period of splendour between A.D. 130 and 270. To this period most of its inscribed monuments belong. Its international trade extended as far east as China, and as a city created by the caravan trade it became the true heir of Petra.

Odaynath and Zenobia

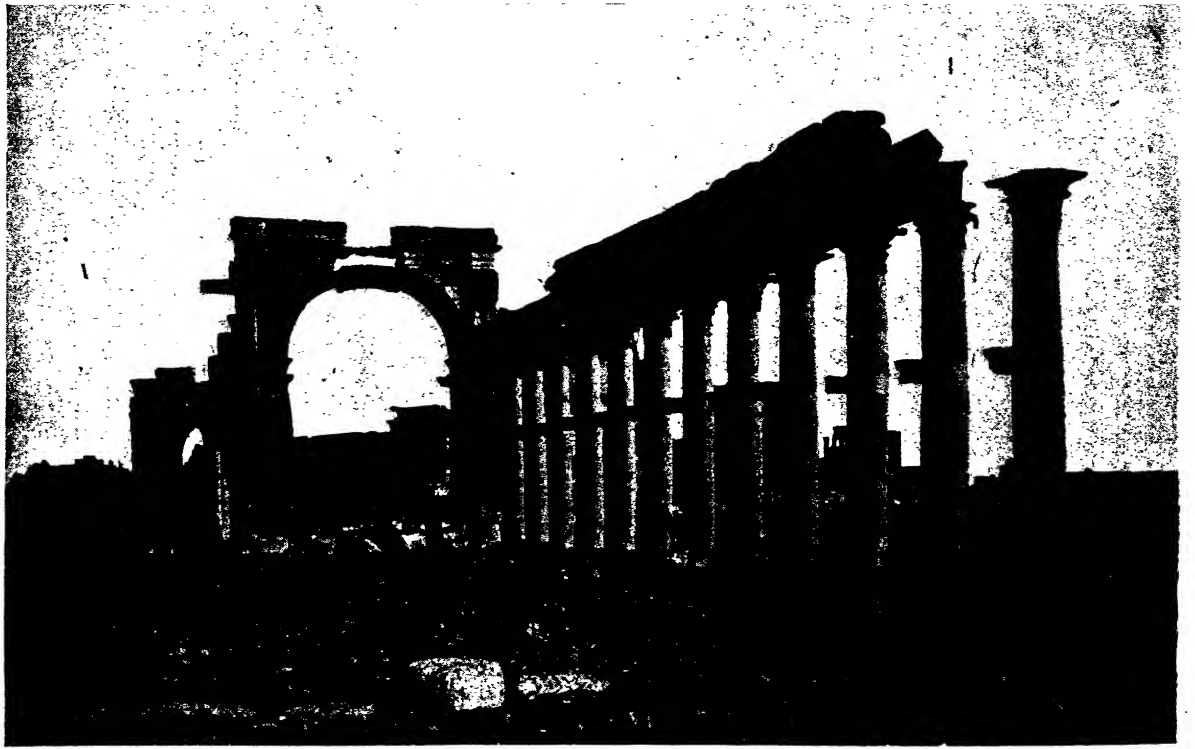
The Palmyrenes did not distinguish themselves as warriors until their chieftain Odaynath (Odenathus, Ar. Udhaynah) in A.D. 265 drove out of Syria Shāpūr I, who had captured the Emperor Valerian and conquered a large portion of Syria. Odaynath pursued Shāpūr to the very walls of his capital, Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in). In a previous struggle between the Romans and the Sāsānids, who succeeded (226) the Parthians, the Palmyrene chief had sided with the former and was appointed in 262 *dux Orientis*, vice-emperor over the Orient. Now the Emperor Gallienus bestowed on him the honorific title of Imperator and acknowledged him master of the Roman legions in the East. This meant that over Asia Minor and Egypt the supreme authority was nominally in his hand; over Syria, North Arabia and possibly Armenia it was virtually so. Thus did Palmyra become mistress of Western Asia. About a year later (266–7) Odaynath and his eldest son were treacherously assassinated at Ḥimṣ (Emesa), possibly at the instigation of Rome, which had suspected him of disloyalty.

Odaynath's beautiful and ambitious wife Zenobia (Aramaic

Bath-Zabbay, Ar. al-Zabbā', also Zaynab) proved a worthy successor. Ruling on behalf of her young son Wahb-Allāth (the gift of al-Lāt, Greek Athenodorus) she arrogated to herself the title of Queen of the East and for a time defied the Roman empire. With masculine energy she pushed forward the frontiers of her kingdom so as to include Egypt and a large part of Asia Minor, where the Roman garrisons in 270 were thrust back as far as Ankara (Ancyra). Even in Chalcedon opposite Byzantium a military attempt was made to establish her rule. Her victorious troops in the same year occupied Alexandria, the second city of the empire, and her minor son, who was then proclaimed King of Egypt, issued coins from which the head of Aurelian was omitted. Her success on the battlefield was due in the main to her two Palmyrene generals, Zabbay and Zabda.

Aurelian at last bestirred himself. In a battle at Antioch followed by another near Ḥimṣ he defeated Zabda, and in the spring of 272 he entered Palmyra. The proud Arab queen fled in despair on a swift dromedary into the desert, but was finally taken captive and led in golden chains before the chariot of the victor to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. En route to his capital Aurelian was informed of an uprising in Palmyra and thereupon speedily returned to the city, completely destroyed its walls and dissolved its commonwealth. The ornaments of the glorious Temple of the Sun he transferred to the new temple he erected in Rome to the sun-god of the East in memory of his notable victory. The city was left in ruins, in practically the same state as at present. Thus did the brilliant and meteoric glory of Palmyra come to an end.

The Palmyrene civilization was an interesting blend of Greek, Syrian and Parthian (Iranian) elements. It is significant not only in itself but, as in the case of the Nabataean civilization which we have already studied, as an illustration of the cultural heights which the Arabians of the desert are capable of attaining when the proper opportunities present themselves. That the Palmyrenes were of Arabian stock is evidenced from the proper names and the frequent occurrence of Arabic words in their Aramaic inscriptions. The language they spoke was a dialect of Western Aramaic not unlike the Nabataean and Egyptian Aramaic. Their religion had the prominent solar features that characterized the religion of North Arabians. Shamash (sun)



PALMYRA: THE COLONNADE AND TRIUMPHAL ARCH

stood at the head of the pantheon; Baal Shamin (the lord of the heavens) figured in votive inscriptions and no less than twenty other names of deities occur in Palmyrene.

With the fall of the ephemeral kingdom of Palmyrena land traffic sought and found other paths. Buṣra (Bostra) in Ḥawrān and other Ghassānid towns became beneficiaries of the desert city as that city had itself once been the beneficiary of Petra.

3. The Ghassānids

The Ghassānids claim descent from an ancient South Arabian tribe, headed formerly by 'Amr Muzayqiyā' ibn-'Āmir Mā'-al-Samā', which is supposed to have fled to Ḥawrān[1] and al-Balqā' from al-Yaman towards the end of the third Christian century at the destruction of the Ma'rib dam. Jafnah, a son of 'Amr, is regarded as the founder of the dynasty, for which abu-al-Fidā'[2] claims thirty-one sovereigns, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahāni[3] thirty-two, and al-Mas'ūdi[4] and ibn-Qutaybah[5] only eleven. These figures show how obscure Jafnid history has remained to Arab chroniclers.

This Yamani tribe displaced the Salīḥ, the first Arabians to found a kingdom in Syria, and established itself in the region south-east of Damascus at the northern end of the great transport route that bound Ma'rib with Damascus. In course of time the banu-Ghassān were Christianized and Syrianized, adopting the Aramaic language of Syria without, however, abandoning their native Arabic tongue. Like other Arabian tribes in the Fertile Crescent they thus became bilingual. About the end of the fifth century they were brought within the sphere of Byzantine political influence and used as a buffer state to stay the overflow of Bedouin hordes, serving a purpose not unlike that of Transjordan under the British today. Facing the Byzantine empire as they did, the Ghassānids adopted a form of Christianity which, though of the local Monophysite variety, still coincided with their political interests. Their capital was at first a movable camp; later it may have become fixed at al-Jābiyah in the Jawlān (Gaulanitis) and for some time was located at Jilliq.[6]

The Syro-Arab kingdom at its height

The Ghassānid kingdom, like its rival and relative at al-

[1] Assyrian Ḫaurānu (cf. Luckenbill, vol. i, §§ 672, 821), biblical Bashan, classical Auranitis.

[2] *Ta'rīkh* (Constantinople, 1286), vol. i, pp. 76-7.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 115-22.

[4] *Murūj*, vol. iii, pp. 217-21.

[5] *Al-Ma'ārif*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), pp. 314-16.

[6] Consult Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām* (Milan, 1910), vol. iii, p. 928.

Ḥīrah, the kingdom of the Lakhmids, attained its greatest importance during the sixth century after Christ. In this century al-Ḥārith II ibn-Jabalah of Ghassān (*ca.* 529–69) and al-Mundhir III ibn Mā'-al-Samā' of al-Ḥīrah (Alamoundaros of Byzantine histories, † 554) dominate Arab history. This al-Ḥārith (nicknamed al-A'raj, the lame, by Arab chroniclers) is the first authentic name and by far the greatest in Jafnid annals. His history can be checked with the Greek sources.[1] As a reward for defeating his formidable Lakhmid rival, al-Mundhir III, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian appointed him (529) lord over all the Arab tribes of Syria and created him patricius and phylarch —the highest rank next to that of the emperor himself. In Arabic the title was rendered simply *malik*, king.

The greater part of al-Ḥārith's long reign was occupied with wars in the service of the Byzantine interests. About 544, in a battle with al-Mundhir III, the latter captured a son of al-Ḥārith and offered him as a sacrifice to al-'Uzza, the counterpart of the Greek Aphrodite.[2] But ten years later al-Ḥārith took his revenge and slew his Lakhmid enemy in a battle in the district of Qinnasrīn. This battle is perhaps the "Day of Ḥalīmah" of Arabic tradition, Ḥalīmah being the daughter of al-Ḥārith who, before the battle, perfumed with her own hands the hundred Ghassānid champions ready for death and clad them in shrouds of white linen in addition to coats of mail.[3]

In 563 al-Ḥārith paid a visit to the court of Justinian I at Constantinople.[4] The appearance of this Bedouin phylarch left a deep impression on the emperor's entourage. During al-Ḥārith's stay in Constantinople he secured the appointment of the Monophysite bishop Jacob Baradaeus (Ya'qūb al-Barda'ī) of Edessa as prelate of the Syrian Arabs. So zealous was this Jacob in the propagation of the faith that the Syrian Monophysite church became known after him as Jacobite.

Al-Ḥārith's successor was his son al-Mundhir, the Alamoundaros of Byzantine histories. Like his father, al-Mundhir proved an ardent protector of Monophysitism,[5] and this temporarily

Al-Mundhir, son of al-Ḥārith

[1] Procopius, Bk. I, ch. 17, §§ 47-8; Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), pp. 435, 461 *seq.*

[2] Procopius, Bk. II, ch. 28, § 13.

[3] Ibn-Qutaybah, pp. 314-15; cf. abu-al-Fidā', vol. i, p. 84.

[4] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 240.

[5] John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. William Cureton (Oxford, 1853), pp. 251-2; tr. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), pp. 284-5.

alienated the sympathy of Byzantium and resulted in an open rebellion on the part of the Ghassānids. In 580 he visited Constantinople with his two sons and was received with great honour by Tiberius II, who replaced the precious diadem on his head with a still more precious crown. In the same year he successfully raided and burned al-Ḥīrah,[1] the capital of his Lakhmid foes. But this was not enough to remove the suspicion of treachery to the imperial cause with which his father before him had been charged. At the dedication of a church in Ḥūwārīn, between Damascus and Palmyra, he was apprehended and taken prisoner to Constantinople, later to be incarcerated in Sicily. Likewise his son and successor, al-Nuʿmān, who ventured to raid and devastate Byzantine territory, was carried away to Constantinople.

Fall of the banu-Ghassān

After al-Mundhir and al-Nuʿmān anarchy seems to have prevailed in Ghassānland. The various tribes in the Syrian desert chose their own chieftains. The capture of Jerusalem and Damascus (613-14) by the Sāsānid Khusraw Parwīz dealt the last blow to the Jafnid dynasty. Whether Heraclius on his reconquest of Syria in 629 restored the Syro-Arab phylarchate is uncertain. Arab chroniclers make Jabalah ibn-al-Ayham the last king of the house of Ghassān. On the memorable battlefield of Yarmūk (636) this monarch fought on the Byzantine side against the Arabians, but later adopted Islam. As he was circumambulating the Kaʿbah in the course of his first pilgrimage, so the story goes, a Bedouin stepped on his cloak and the ex-king slapped him on the face. The Caliph ʿUmar decreed that Jabalah should either submit to a similar blow from the hand of the Bedouin or pay a fine, upon which Jabalah renounced Islam and retired to Constantinople.[2]

The degree of culture attained by the Ghassānids, neighbours of the Byzantines, was undoubtedly higher than that to which their rivals on the Persian borderland, the Lakhmids, ever attained. Under their régime and during the earlier Roman period a peculiar civilization seems to have developed along the entire eastern fringe of Syria from a mixture of Arabic, Syrian and Greek elements. Houses of basalt, palaces, triumphal arches, public baths, aqueducts, theatres and churches stood where today there is nothing but utter desolation. The eastern and southern

[1] John of Ephesus, p. 415 (text), = p. 385 (tr.).
[2] Ibn-ʿAbd-Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, vol. i, pp. 140-41.

slopes of Ḥawrān have preserved the ruins of almost three hundred towns and villages where only a few exist at the present day.

A number of the pre-Islamic poets of Arabia found in the Ghassānid phylarchs munificent patrons. Labīd, the youngest of the seven poets who composed the famous "Mu'allaqāt", fought on the Ghassānid side in the battle of Ḥalīmah. When al-Nābighah al-Dhubyāni fell out with the Lakhmid king he found in the court of the sons of al-Ḥārith a haven of refuge. The Madīnese poet Ḥassān ibn-Thābit (b. *ca.* 563), who claimed kinship with the banu-Ghassān, visited their court in his youth before he became the poet laureate of Muḥammad and made a number of references to it in his *dīwān* (anthology). In an apocryphal passage ascribed to him[1] we have a glowing account of the luxury and magnificence of Jabalah's court with its Makkan and Babylonian and Greek singers and musicians of both sexes and its free use of wine.[2]

4. The Lakhmids

From time immemorial streams of Arabian wanderers have been wont to trickle along the eastern coast of their peninsula to the Tigro-Euphrates valley and settle therein. About the beginning of the third century of our era a number of such tribes, calling themselves Tanūkh and said to have been of Yamanite origin, found an abode in the fertile region west of the Euphrates. Their advent may have coincided with the disturbances consequent to the fall of the Arsacid Parthian and the establishment of the Sāsānid dynasty (A.D. 226).

The Tanūkh lived first in tents. Their temporary camp developed in course of time into permanent al-Ḥīrah (from Syriac *ḥerta*, camp), which lay about three miles south of al-Kūfah, not far from ancient Babylon. This al-Ḥīrah became the capital of Persian Arabia.

The native population was Christian belonging to the East Syrian (later Nestorian) Church and was referred to by Arab authors as *'ibād*, i.e. worshippers (of Christ).[3] Some of the Tanūkh were subsequently Christianized and domiciled in northern Syria. The Tanūkhs who later came to southern Lebanon and professed the secret Druze religion trace their origin to the Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīrah.[4]

[1] Abu-al-Faraj al-Iṣbahāni, *al-Aghāni* (Būlāq, 1284-5), vol. xvi, p. 15.

[2] Among the Christian families living today in southern Lebanon are some which trace their descent to Ghassānid origin.

[3] Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 770.

[4] Cf. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion* (New York, 1928), p. 21.

Tradition names Mālik ibn-Fahm al-Azdi[1] as the first chieftain of this Arab settlement in al-ʿIrāq and makes his son Jadhīmah al-Abrash a vassal of Ardashīr. But the real founder of the Lakhmid kingdom was ʿAmr ibn-ʿAdi ibn-Naṣr ibn-Rabīʿah ibn-Lakhm, a son of Jadhīmah's sister, who had married a servant of Jadhīmah. ʿAmr established himself in al-Ḥīrah, which he made his capital.

With the establishment of the Naṣrid or Lakhmid dynasty in the latter part of the third century of our era we begin to tread on firm historical ground. The names of some twenty Lakhmid kings have been handed down to us, but the first clearly delineated personage is Imruʾ-al-Qays I († A.D. 328), whose epitaph is the oldest proto-Arabic inscription yet discovered. The script is a variation of the Nabataean character and shows many signs of transition towards the later North Arabic script, particularly in the matter of joining the letters.[2]

A descendant of Imruʾ-al-Qays was al-Nuʿmān I al-Aʿwar (the one-eyed, *ca.* 400–418), celebrated in poetry and legend. He is credited with having built al-Khawarnaq, a famous castle near al-Ḥīrah, as a residence for Bahrām Gōr, the son of Yazdagird I (399–420), who was anxious to have his son brought up in the salubrious air of the desert. Al-Khawarnaq was declared a miracle of art and was ascribed by later historians to a Byzantine architect who suffered the fate common to many legendary architects in being put to death on the completion of his work —a favourite motif in such stories—so that the construction might never be duplicated. Al-Nuʿmān remained a pagan throughout his life and at one time persecuted his own Christian subjects and prevented the Arabs from visiting St. Simeon Stylites, though in the latter part of his life he felt more kindly disposed towards Christianity. Simeon was himself an Arab and the crowds of the desert flocked to see the wonderful sight of this ascetic living on a pillar-top. The erection of al-Sadīr, a castle associated in poetry with al-Khawarnaq and lying "in the midst of the desert between al-Ḥīrah and Syria",[3] is also attributed to al-Nuʿmān. Al-Sadīr and other Lakhmid *ḥīrahs* are today but names. None are identified except al-Khawarnaq.

Al-Ḥīrah at the height of its power

Under al-Nuʿmān's son and successor, al-Mundhir I (*ca.*

[1] The Azd and the Tanūkh were confederated into one tribe in al-ʿIrāq.

[2] Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie*, pp. 34-5.

[3] Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 375.

A.D. 418–62), al-Ḥīrah began to play its important rôle in the events of the day. So great was al-Mundhir's influence that he could force the Persian priests to crown Bahrām, once the protégé of his father, over the claims of a powerful pretender to the throne. In 421 he fought beside his Sāsānid suzerain against the Byzantines.

In the first half of the sixth century al-Ḥīrah was ruled by another Mundhir, al-Mundhir III (*ca.* 505–54), whom the Arabs call ibn-Mā'-al-Samā', Mā'-al-Samā' (the water of heaven) being a sobriquet of his mother Māriyah or Māwīyah. His was the most illustrious rule in Lakhmid annals. He proved a thorn in the side of Roman Syria. His raids devastated the land as far as Antioch until he found more than a match in the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith.[1] About this al-Mundhir, *al-Aghāni*[2] relates the curious story of the two boon-companions whom he is said to have buried alive in the course of a carousal.

His son and successor, 'Amr, surnamed ibn-Hind (A.D. 554–69), though tyrannical was a munificent patron of poets. The greatest bards of Arabia then living, such as Ṭarafah ibn-al-'Abd, al-Ḥārith ibn-Ḥillizah and 'Amr ibn-Kulthūm (three of the seven reputed authors of "Golden Odes", *Mu'allaqāt*), flocked to his court. 'Amr, like other Lakhmid and Jafnid monarchs, recognized in the contemporary poets leaders of public opinion and potential publicity agents. Hence the lavish bounties which he and other patrons, with the hope of seeing their influence extended among the Bedouins, bestowed on the poets who frequented their courts. 'Amr met his death at the hand of his protégé ibn-Kulthūm, who thus avenged an insult offered to his mother by the king.

The royal family Christianized

Hind, the mother of 'Amr, was a Christian princess of Ghassān; others say of Kindah. She founded in the capital a convent which survived into the second century of Islam;[3] Yāqūt[4] has preserved for us its dedicatory inscription. In this inscription Hind calls herself "the maid of Christ and the mother of His slave ['Amr] and the daughter of His slaves". That there were Christians among the populace professing the East Syrian creed is indicated by the many references to the bishops of al-Ḥīrah, one of whom lived as early as A.D. 410.

[1] Procopius, Bk. I, ch. 17, §§ 45-8; Malalas, pp. 434-5, 445, 460 *seq.*
[2] Vol. xix, pp. 86-8. Cf. ibn-Qutaybah, p. 319; Iṣfahāni, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 111.
[3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1882, 1903. [4] Vol. ii, p. 709.

The Lakhmid dynasty came to an end with al-Nuʿmān III abu-Qābūs (*ca.* 580–602), son of al-Mundhir IV. He was a patron of the famous poet al-Nābighah al-Dhubyāni before the latter was driven from al-Ḥīrah as a result of a false accusation. Having been brought up in a Christian home, al-Nuʿmān was converted to Christianity and became the first and only Christian Lakhmid king. That no member of the Lakhmid house saw fit before this time to adopt Christianity, the faith of the Byzantines, may be explained on the ground that the Ḥīrah kings found it to their political interest to remain friendly with Persia. Al-Nuʿmān was baptized into the East Syrian (Nestorian) communion, the one least objectionable to Persia.

The Arab civilization of al-Ḥīrah, which faced Persia, did not attain the high degree reached by the Arab civilizations of Petra, Palmyra and Ghassānland under Syro-Byzantine influence. The Arabs of al-Ḥīrah spoke Arabic as a daily language but used Syriac in writing, just as the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes spoke Arabic and wrote in Aramaic. The Christians in the lower valley of the Euphrates acted as the teachers of the heathen Arabs in reading, writing and religion. From al-Ḥīrah the beneficent influences spread into Arabia proper. There are those who hold that it was the Syrian church of al-Ḥīrah which was responsible for the introduction of Christianity into Najrān. According to traditions preserved in ibn-Rustah[1] it was from al-Ḥīrah that the Quraysh acquired the art of writing and the system of false belief.[2] From this it is clear that Persian cultural influences likewise found their way into the peninsula through the Lakhmid kingdom.

After al-Nuʿmān Iyās ibn-Qabīṣah of the Ṭayyi' ruled (602–11), but beside him stood a Persian resident in control of the government. The Persian kings thus incautiously abolished the system of Arab vassalage and appointed Persian governors to whom the Arab chieftains were subordinate. Such was still the arrangement in 633 when Khālid ibn-al-Walīd at the head of the Moslem army received the submission of al-Ḥīrah.[3]

5. Kindah

As the Ghassānids stood in relation to the Byzantines and the Lakhmids to the Persians so did the Kindite kings of Central

[1] *Al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsah*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), p. 192, ll. 2-3, and p. 217, ll. 9-10. Cf. ibn-Qutaybah, pp. 273-4.

[2] Ar. *zandaqah*, from Pers. *zandīk* = Magian, fire-worshipper.

[3] Today where al-Ḥīrah once stood lie a few low mounds.

Arabia stand in relation to the last Tubba's of al-Yaman. Within the peninsula they were the only rulers to receive the title of *malik* (king), usually reserved by the Arabians for foreign potentates.

Though of South Arabian origin and, at the time preceding the rise of Islam, settled in the region to the west of Ḥaḍramawt, the powerful Kindah tribe is not mentioned in early South Arabian inscriptions; the first mention in history is in the fourth century of the Christian era. The reputed founder of the dynasty, Ḥujr, surnamed Ākil al-Murār, was according to tradition a stepbrother of the Ḥimyarite Ḥassān ibn-Tubba' and was appointed by the latter about A.D. 480 ruler of certain tribes whom the Tubba' had conquered in Central Arabia.[1] In this position Ḥujr was succeeded by his son 'Amr. 'Amr's son al-Ḥārith, the most valiant king of Kindah, was the one who for a short time after the death of the Persian Emperor Qubādh, rendered himself master of al-Ḥīrah, only to lose it (about 529) to the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III. Al-Mundhir put al-Ḥārith to death in 529 together with about fifty other members of the royal family, a fatal blow to the power of Kindah. Al-Ḥārith may have resided at al-Anbār, a city on the Euphrates about forty miles north-west of Baghdād.

The discord among the sons of al-Ḥārith, each heading a tribe, led to the dissolution of the confederacy and the final downfall of the ephemeral kingdom. The remnant of Kindah were forced back to their settlements in Ḥaḍramawt. This brought to an end one of the two rivals of al-Ḥīrah in the three-cornered fight for supremacy among the North Arabians, the other rival being the Ghassānids. The celebrated poet Imru'-al-Qays, composer of one of the greatest of the Golden Odes,[2] was a descendant of the royal Kindah line and made many vain attempts to regain a part of his heritage. His poems are bitter with rancour against the Lakhmids. In quest of aid he went as far as Constantinople, hoping to win the sympathy of Justinian, the enemy of al-Ḥīrah. On his way back, so the tradition goes, he was poisoned (about 540) at Ankara by an emissary of the emperor.[3]

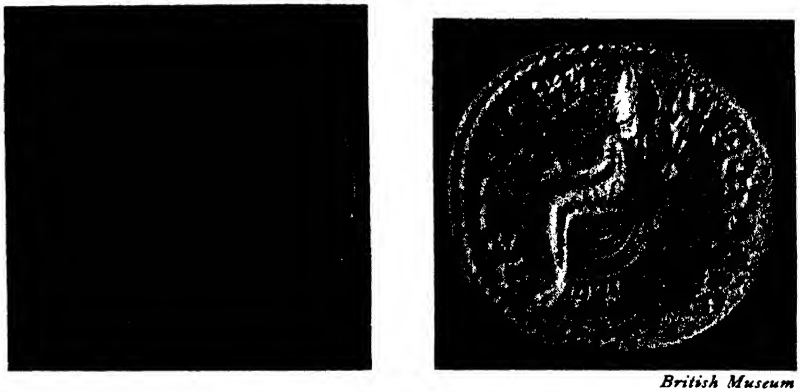
[1] Iṣfahāni, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 140; ibn-Qutaybah, p. 308.
[2] See below, p. 94.
[3] Al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), vol. i, p. 251.

In early Islam a number of Kindites came into prominence. Chief among these was al-Ashʿath ibn-Qays, the Ḥaḍramawt chieftain who distinguished himself in the conquest of Syria and al-ʿIrāq and was rewarded by the governorship of one of the Persian provinces, and al-Muqannaʿ,[1] the veiled prophet of Khurāsān, who posed as an incarnation of the deity and for years defied the forces of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mahdi. The descendants of al-Ashʿath held important posts under the Umayyad caliphs in Syria. As for the philosopher Yaʿqūb ibn-Isḥāq al-Kindi,[2] he was so named because he was a client (*mawla*) of the Kindah tribe.

Kindah's rise is interesting not only in itself but as the first attempt in inner Arabia to unite a number of tribes around the central authority of one common chief. As such the experiment established a precedent to al-Ḥijāz and Muḥammad.

[1] A hero of Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

[2] See below, p. 370.



British Museum

NABATAEAN BRONZE COIN

Obv. Trajan's head; rev. city-goddess of Petra, to be identified with Allāt-Manāṭu

CHAPTER VII

AL-ḤIJĀZ ON THE EVE OF THE RISE OF ISLAM

IN its broad outline Arabian history may be divided into three main divisions:

1. The Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite period, ending at the beginning of the sixth century after Christ;
2. The Jāhilīyah period, which in a sense extends from "the creation of Adam" down to the mission of Muḥammad, but more particularly, as used here, covers the century immediately preceding the rise of Islam;
3. The Islamic period, extending to the present day.

The Jāhilīyah days

The term *jāhilīyah*, usually rendered "time of ignorance" or "barbarism", in reality means the period in which Arabia had no dispensation, no inspired prophet, no revealed book; for ignorance and barbarism can hardly be applied to such a cultured and lettered society as that developed by the South Arabians. The word occurs several times in the Koran (3 : 148, 5 : 55, 33 : 33, 48 : 26). In his anxiety to wean his people from pre-Islamic religious ideas, particularly from idolatry, the intensely monotheistic Muḥammad declared that the new religion was to obliterate all that had gone before it. This was later interpreted as constituting a ban on all pre-Islamic ideas and ideals. But ideas are hard to kill, and no one person's veto is strong enough to cancel the past.

Unlike the South Arabians the vast majority of the population of North Arabia, including al-Ḥijāz and Najd, is nomadic. The history of the Bedouins is in the main a record of guerilla wars called *ayyām al-'Arab* (the days of the Arabians), in which there was a great deal of raiding and plundering but little bloodshed. The sedentary population of al-Ḥijāz and Najd developed no ancient culture of its own. In this they were unlike their neighbours and kindred, the Nabataeans, Palmyrenes, Ghassānids and Lakhmids. The Nabataeans, and to a larger extent the

Palmyrenes, were partially Aramaicized; the Ghassānids and Lakhmids were South Arabian colonists amidst Syro-Byzantine and Syro-Persian cultures. Our study of the Jāhilīyah period therefore limits itself to a survey of the battles between the northern Bedouin tribes in the century preceding the Hijrah and to an account of the outside cultural influences operating among the settled inhabitants of al-Ḥijāz preparatory to the rise of Islam.

The light of authentic record illumines but faintly the Jāhilīyah age. Our sources for this period, in which the North Arabians had no system of writing, are limited to traditions, legends, proverbs, and above all to poems, none of which, however, were committed to writing before the second and third centuries after the Hijrah, two to four hundred years after the events which they were supposed to commemorate. Though traditional and legendary this data is none the less valuable; for what a people believe, even if untrue, has the same influence over their lives as if it were true. The North Arabians developed no system of writing until almost the time of Muḥammad. The only two pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions thus far found (besides the proto-Arabic inscription of Imru'-al-Qays in al-Namārah, 328) are that of Zabad south-east of Aleppo (512) and that of Ḥarrān in al-Laja (568).

The term Arabians, as already explained, includes in its broad sense all the inhabitants of the peninsula. In its narrow sense it implies the North Arābians, who did not figure in international affairs until the unfolding of the Islamic power. Likewise the term Arabic signifies the Ḥimyarite-Sabaean as well as the northern dialect of al-Ḥijāz, but since the latter became the sacred language of Islam and utterly superseded the southern dialects of al-Yaman it became the Arabic par excellence. Therefore, when we speak after this of the Arabians and of Arabic we have particularly in mind the North Arabian people and the language of the Koran.

The "days of the Arabians"

The Ayyām al-'Arab were intertribal hostilities generally arising from disputes over cattle, pasture-lands or springs. They afforded ample opportunity for plundering and raiding, for the manifestation of single-handed deeds of heroism by the champions of the contending tribes and for the exchange of vitriolic satires on the part of the poets, the spokesmen of the warring parties. Though always ready for a fight the Bedouin was not

necessarily eager to be killed. His encounters, therefore, were not as sanguinary as their accounts would lead one to believe. Nevertheless these Ayyām provided a safety valve for a possible overpopulation in Bedouin land, whose inhabitants were normally in a condition of semi-starvation and to whom the fighting mood was a chronic state of mind. Through them vendetta became one of the strongest religio-social institutions in Bedouin life.

The course of events on each of these "days", as reported to us, follows somewhat the same pattern. At first only a few men come to blows with one another in consequence of some border dispute or personal insult. The quarrel of the few then becomes the business of the whole. Peace is finally restored by the intervention of some neutral party. The tribe with the fewer casualties pays its adversary blood money for the surplus of dead. Popular memory keeps the recollection of the heroes alive for centuries to come.

Such was the case of the Day of Bu'āth,[1] fought between the two related tribes of al-Madīnah, the Aws and the Khazraj, some years before the migration of the Prophet and his followers to that town. The Days of al-Fijār (transgression), so called because they fell in the holy months during which fighting was prohibited, were fought between the Prophet's family, the Quraysh, and their allies the Kinānah on one side, and the Hawāzin on the other. Muḥammad as a young man is said to have participated in one of the four combats.[2]

The Basūs War

One of the earliest and most famous of these Bedouin wars was the Ḥarb al-Basūs, fought toward the end of the fifth century of our era between the banu-Bakr[3] and their kinsmen the banu-Taghlib in north-eastern Arabia. Both tribes were Christianized and considered themselves descendants of Wā'il. The conflict arose over nothing more than a she-camel, the property of an old woman of Bakr named Basūs, which had been wounded by a Taghlib chief.[4] According to the legendary history of the Ayyām this war was carried on for forty years with reciprocal raiding and plundering, while its flames were fanned by poetical

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. ii, p. 162.
[2] Ibn-Hishām, pp. 117-19; quoted by Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 579.
[3] The city of Diyār-Bakr (Diarbekr) still bears the name of this tribe.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. iv, pp. 140-52; abu-Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, pp. 420-23; *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 95.

exhortations. The fratricidal struggle was brought to an end about 525 through the intercession of al-Mundhir III of al-Ḥīrah, but only after the exhaustion of both sides. The names of the leaders on the Taghlib side, Kulayb ibn-Rabī'ah and his brother, the hero-poet Muhalhil († *ca.* A.D. 531), as well as the name of Jassās ibn-Murrah on the Bakr side, are still household words in all Arabic-speaking lands. This Muhalhil became the Zīr of the still popular romance *Sīrat bani-Hilāl.*

The Day of Dāḥis

Hardly less famous is the Day of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā', the best known event of the pagan period. This war was fought between the 'Abs and its sister tribe Dhubyān in Central Arabia. Ghaṭafān was the traditional ancestor of both. The occasion was the unfair conduct of the Dhubyānites in a race between a horse called Dāḥis belonging to the chieftain of 'Abs and a mare named al-Ghabrā' owned by the sheikh of Dhubyān. The struggle broke out in the second half of the sixth century, not long after the conclusion of the Basūs peace, and persisted at intervals for several decades into Islamic times.[1] It was in this war that 'Antarah (or 'Antar) ibn-Shaddād al-'Absi (*ca.* A.D. 525–615), the Achilles of the Arabian heroic age, distinguished himself as a poet and warrior.

North Arabic in its influence as a language

No people in the world, perhaps, manifest such enthusiastic admiration for literary expression and are so moved by the word, spoken or written, as the Arabs. Hardly any language seems capable of exercising over the minds of its users such irresistible influence as Arabic. Modern audiences in Baghdād, Damascus and Cairo can be stirred to the highest degree by the recital of poems, only vaguely comprehended, and by the delivery of orations in the classical tongue, though it be only partially understood. The rhythm, the rhyme, the music, produce on them the effect of what they call "lawful magic" (*siḥr ḥalāl*).

Typical Semites, the Arabians created or developed no great art of their own. Their artistic nature found expression through one medium only: speech. If the Greek gloried in his statues and architecture, the Arabian found in his ode (*qaṣīdah*) and the Hebrew in his psalm, a finer mode of self-expression. "The beauty of man", declares an Arabic adage, "lies in the eloquence of his tongue." "Wisdom", in a late saying, "has alighted on three things: the brain of the Franks, the hands of the Chinese and the

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. ix, p. 150, vol. vii, p. 150.

tongue of the Arabs." [1] Eloquence, i.e. ability to express one's self forcefully and elegantly in both prose and poetry, together with archery and horsemanship were considered in the Jāhilīyah period the three basic attributes of "the perfect man" (*al-kāmil*). By virtue of its peculiar structure Arabic lent itself admirably to a terse, trenchant, epigrammatic manner of speech. Islam made full use of this feature of the language and of this psychological peculiarity of its people. Hence the "miraculous character" (*i'jāz*) of the style and composition of the Koran, adduced by Moslems as the strongest argument in favour of the genuineness of their faith. The triumph of Islam was to a certain extent the triumph of a language, more particularly of a book.

The heroic age

From the heroic age of Arabic literature, covering the Jāhilīyah period and extending from about A.D. 525 to 622, we have preserved for us a few proverbs, certain legends and in particular a fairly abundant amount of poetry—all compiled and edited in later Islamic days. No scientific literature existed beyond a few magical, meteorological and medicinal formulas. Proverbs constitute a fair index of folk mentality and experience. Luqmān the Sage (*al-ḥakīm*), in whose mouth many of the ancient words of wisdom were put, was either an Abyssinian or a Hebrew. Tradition has handed down the names of a number of wise men and women of the Jāhilīyah, e.g. Aktham ibn-Ṣayfi, Ḥājib ibn-Zurārah and Hind the daughter of al-Khuṣṣ. In the *Majma' al-Amthāl* by al-Maydāni [2] († 1124) and in the *Amthāl al-'Arab* of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi [3] († 786) we have many specimens of this pre-Islamic wisdom literature.

Prose could not have been well represented in the Jāhilīyah literature since no system of writing had then been fully developed. Yet we have a few pieces, mainly legends and traditions, composed in Islamic days, which purport to have come from earlier times. These stories deal mostly with genealogies (*ansāb*) and the intertribal combats, the above-discussed Days of the Arabians. The Arabian genealogist, like his brother the Arabian historian, had a *horror vacui* and his fancy had no difficulty in bridging gaps and filling vacancies; in this way he has succeeded in giving us in most instances a continuous record

[1] Cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, *Majmū'at Rasā'il* (Cairo, 1324), pp. 41-3; *'Iqd*. vol. i, p. 125.

[2] 2 vols. (Cairo, 1310); G. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia* (Bonn, 1838-43).

[3] 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1300); al-Mufaḍḍal ibn-Salamah († *ca.* 920), *al-Fākhir*, ed. C. A. Storey (Leyden, 1915).

from Adam or, in more modest compass, from Ishmael and Abraham. Ibn-Durayd's *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq* [1] and the encyclopædic work of abu-al-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni (or Iṣbahāni, † A.D. 967) entitled *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (the book of songs) comprise most valuable data on the subject of genealogies. Specimens of rhymed prose attributed to pre-Islamic oracles have likewise survived.

Poetry

It was only in the field of poetical expression that the pre-Islamic Arabian excelled. Herein his finest talents found a field. The Bedouin's love of poetry was his one cultural asset.

Arabic literature, like most literatures, sprang into existence with an outburst of poetry; but, unlike many others, its poetry seems to have issued forth full grown. The oldest pieces of poetry extant seem to have been composed some one hundred and thirty years before the Hijrah in connection with the War of al-Basūs, but these odes, with their rigid conventions, presuppose a long period of development in the cultivation of the art of expression and the innate capacities of the language. The poets of the middle part of the sixth century have never been surpassed. The early Moslem poets as well as the later and present-day versifiers regarded and still do regard the ancient productions as models of unapproachable excellence. These early poems were committed to memory, transmitted by oral tradition and finally recorded in writing during the second and third centuries of the Hijrah. Modern critical research makes it evident that numerous revisions, editions and modifications were made to bring them into accord with the spirit of Islam.[2]

The rhymed prose used by the oracles and soothsayers (*kuhhān*) may be considered the first stage in the development of the poetical form. The Koran exhibits such a style. The song of the camel-driver (*ḥudā'*) may have been the second. Native Arabic tradition which tries to explain the origin of poetry in the attempt of the cameleer to sing in time with the rhythmic movements of the camel's pace may after all contain a germ of truth. The word *ḥādi*, singer, is synonymous with *sā'iq*, camel-driver.

Rajaz, consisting of four or six feet to the line, evolved out of rhymed prose and constitutes the oldest and simplest metre. "It is the first-born child of poetry", so runs the Arabic definition, "with rhymed prose [*saj'*] for a father and song for a mother."

[1] Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854).

[2] Cf. Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-Jāhili* (Cairo, 1927).

The ode in the classical period

In this heroic age of literature poetry was the only means of literary expression. The *qaṣīdah* (ode) represented the only, as well as a most finished, type of poetical composition. Muhalhil († *ca.* 531), the Taghlib hero of the Basūs War, is credited with being the first to compose these long poems. It is very likely that the ode developed in connection with the Days of the Arabians, particularly among the Taghlib or Kindah tribes. Imru'-al-Qays († *ca.* 540), originally a Qaḥṭāni from South Arabia, belonged to Kindah. Though one of the most ancient of bards, he is generally esteemed the greatest, the *amīr* (prince) of poets. 'Amr ibn-Kulthūm († *ca.* 600), on the other hand, was a Taghlibite of the Rabī'ah from North Arabia. Though speaking different dialects these poets produced odes which exhibit the same literary form.

Appearing with Homeric suddenness the *qaṣīdah* surpasses even the Iliad and the Odyssey in metrical complexity and elaborateness. And when it makes its first appearance on the pages of history the *qaṣīdah* seems governed by a fixed set of conventions: stereotyped beginning, common epithets, stock figures of speech and same choice of themes—all of which point to a long period of development. Rich in animated passion, expressed in forceful and compact language, the ode is poor in original ideas, in thought-provoking imagery, and is consequently lacking in universal appeal. The poet and not the poetry is more often the thing to be admired. Translated into a foreign language it loses its value. The personal, subjective element prevails. The theme is realistic, the horizon limited, the point of view local. No national epic was ever developed by the Arabians and no dramatic work of first-class importance.

The Mu'allaqāt

Among the ancient odes the so-called "Seven Mu'allaqāt" (suspended) hold first place. They are still honoured throughout the Arabic-speaking world as masterpieces of poetical composition. Legend has it that each of these odes was awarded the annual prize at the fair of 'Ukāẓ and was inscribed in golden letters and suspended on the walls of the Ka'bah.[1] Their genesis is explained in this way: at 'Ukāẓ, between Nakhlah and al-Ṭā'if in al-Ḥijāz, was held an annual fair, a sort of literary congress whither hero-poets resorted to celebrate their exploits and contend for the coveted first honour. A poet made a name

[1] Al-Suyūṭi, *al-Muzhir* (Cairo, 1282), vol. ii, p. 240.

for himself here or nowhere. The Fair (*sūq*) of 'Ukāẓ stood in pre-Islamic days for a kind of *Académie française* of Arabia.

The annual fair, we are told, was held during the sacred months when fighting was taboo. The pagan Arabian calendar was like the later Moslem one, lunar, with the first three months of its spring season, i.e. dhu-al-Qa'dah, dhu-al-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram, coinciding with the period of peace. The fair provided ample opportunity for the exhibition of native wares, and for trade and exchange of commodities. We can easily visualize the sons of the desert flocking to these annual peaceful gatherings, lingering around the booths, sipping date wine and enjoying to the full the tunes of the singing girls.

Though the first ode said to have won the favour of the judges of 'Ukāẓ was that of Imru'-al-Qays († *ca.* 540), no collection of the Mu'allaqāt was attempted until the latter Umayyad period. Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah, the famous rhapsodist who flourished in the middle of the eighth century, chose the Seven Golden Odes, undoubtedly from among many others, and compiled them into a separate group. This collection has been translated into most European languages.[1]

The pre-Islamic poet

Aside from the famous Seven Odes we have from pre-Islamic poetry a collection named, after its compiler, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbi, *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt*,[2] containing some one hundred and twenty odes composed by lesser lights, a number of *dīwāns* (anthologies) and a large number of fragments and excerpts in the *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, edited by abu-Tammām († *ca.* 850) and in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* of al-Iṣbahāni († 967).

The Arabian poet (*shā'ir*), as the name indicates, was originally one endowed with knowledge hidden from the common man, which knowledge he received from a demon, his special *shayṭān* (satan). As a poet he was in league with the unseen powers and could by his curses bring evil upon the enemy. Satire (*hijā'*) was therefore a very early form of Arabic poetry.[3]

As his office developed the poet acquired a variety of functions. In battle his tongue was as effective as his people's bravery. In peace he might prove a menace to public order by his fiery harangues. His poems might arouse a tribe to action in

[1] See William Jones, *Works* (London, 1799), vol. iv, pp. 245-335; Anne and Wilfrid S. Blunt, *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (London, 1903).

[2] Ed. C. J. Lyall, 3 vols. (Oxford & Leyden, 1921–4).

[3] Balaam was a type of primitive Arabian satirist (Num. 23 : 7).

the same manner as the tirade of a demagogue in a modern political campaign. As the press agent, the journalist, of his day his favour was sought by princely gifts, as the records of the courts of al-Ḥīrah and Ghassān show. His poems, committed to memory and transmitted from one tongue to another, offered an invaluable means of publicity. He was at the same time the moulder and the agent of public opinion. *Qaṭʿ al-lisān* (cutting off the tongue) was the classical formula used for subsidizing the poet and thus avoiding his satires.

Besides being oracle, guide, orator and spokesman of his community the poet was its historian and scientist, in so far as it had a scientist. Bedouins measured intelligence by poetry. "Who dares dispute my tribe . . . its pre-eminence in horsemen, poets and numbers?" exclaims a bard in *al-Aghāni*.[1] In these three elements, military power, intelligence and numbers, lay the superiority of a tribe. As the historian and scientist of the tribe the poet was well versed in its genealogy and folklore, cognizant of the attainments and past achievements of its members, familiar with their rights, pasture-lands and border-lines. Furthermore, as a student of the psychological weaknesses and historical failures of the rival tribes it was his business to expose these shortcomings and hold them up to ridicule.

Aside from its poetic interest and the worth of its grace and elegance, the ancient poetry, therefore, has historical importance as source material for the study of the period in which it was composed. In fact it is our only quasi-contemporaneous data. It throws light on all phases of pre-Islamic life. Hence the adage, "Poetry is the public register [*dīwān*] of the Arabians".[2]

Bedouin character as manifested in poetry

The ideal of Arab virtue as revealed by this ancient pagan poetry was expressed in the terms *murūʾah*, manliness (later *virtus*), and *ʿirḍ* (honour). The component elements of *murūʾah* were courage, loyalty and generosity. Courage was measured by the number of raids (*ghazw*) undertaken. Generosity manifested itself in his readiness to sacrifice his camel at the coming of a guest or on behalf of the poor and the helpless.

The name of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi († *ca.* A.D. 605) has been handed down to the present day as the personification of the Bedouin ideal of hospitality. As a lad in charge of his father's camels he once slaughtered three of the animals to feed passing strangers

[1] Vol. viii, p. 77.

[2] *Muzhir*, vol. ii, p. 235.

and distributed the rest among them, which caused his father to expel him from home.[1]

The name of 'Antarah ibn-Shaddād al-'Absi (*ca.* 525–615), evidently a Christian, has lived through the ages as the paragon of Bedouin heroism and chivalry. Knight, poet, warrior and lover, 'Antarah exemplified in his life those traits greatly esteemed by the sons of the desert. His deeds of valour as well as his love episodes with his lady, 'Ablah, whose name he immortalized in his famous Mu'allaqah, have become a part of the literary heritage of the Arabic-speaking world. But 'Antarah was born a slave, the son of a black maid. He was, however, freed by his father on the occasion of an encounter with an enemy tribe in which the young man refused to take active part, saying, "A slave knows not how to fight; milking camels is his job". "Charge!" shouted his father, "thou art free."[2]

Bedouin heathenism

Judged by his poetry the pagan Bedouin of the Jāhilīyah age had little if any religion. To spiritual impulses he was lukewarm, even indifferent. His conformity to religious practice followed tribal inertia and was dictated by his conservative respect for tradition. Nowhere do we find an illustration of genuine devotion to a heathen deity. A story told about Imru'-al-Qays illustrates this point. Having set out to avenge the murder of his father he stopped at the temple of dhu-al-Khalaṣah[3] to consult the oracle by means of drawing arrows.[4] Upon drawing "abandon" thrice he hurled the broken arrows at the idol exclaiming, "Accursed one! had it been thy father who was murdered thou wouldst not have forbidden my avenging him".[5]

Other than the poetical references, our chief sources of information about pre-Islamic heathenism are to be found in the remains of paganism in Islam, in the few anecdotes and traditions embedded in the late Islamic literature and in al-Kalbi's († 819–20) *al-Aṣnām* (the idols). The pagan Arabian developed no mythology, no involved theology and no cosmogony comparable to that of the Babylonians.

The Bedouin religion represents the earliest and most primi-

[1] Ibn-Qutaybah, *al-Shi'r w-al-Shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1904), p. 124.

[2] *Aghāni*, vol. vii, pp. 149-50; ibn-Qutaybah, p. 130.

[3] The temple stood seven days' journey south of Makkah; its deity was a white stone; al-Kalbi, *al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zaki (Cairo, 1914), p. 34.

[4] See below, p. 100. Divining by arrows forbidden in Koran 5 : 4, 92.

[5] *Aghāni*, vol. viii, p. 70.

tive form of Semitic belief. The South Arabian cults with their astral features, ornate temples, elaborate ritual and sacrifices represent a higher and later stage of development, a stage reached by sedentary society. The emphasis on sun-worship in the cultured communities of Petra and Palmyra implies an agricultural state where the association has already been made between the life-giving rays of the sun and the growth of vegetation.

The Bedouin's religion, like other forms of primitive belief, is basically animistic. The striking contrast between oasis and desert gave him perhaps his earliest definite conception of the specialized deity. The spirit of the arable land became the beneficent deity to be catered to; that of the arid land the maleficent, the demon, to be feared.[1]

Even after the conception of a deity was formed, natural objects such as trees, wells, caves, stones, remained sacred objects, since they formed the media through which the worshipper could come into direct contact with the deity. The well in the desert with its cleansing, healing, life-giving water very early became an object of worship. Zamzam's holiness, according to Arabian authors, was pre-Islamic and went back to the time when it supplied water to Hagar and Ishmael.[2] Yāqūt,[3] and after him al-Qazwīni,[4] speak of travellers carrying away water from the Well of 'Urwah and offering it as a special present to their relatives and friends. Caves became holy through association with underground deities and forces. Such was originally Ghabghab in Nakhlah, where the Arabians sacrificed to al-'Uzza.[5] *Ba'l* represented the spirit of springs and underground water and must have been introduced into Arabia at the same time as the palm tree, which was not irrigated by rain-water. The word has left an interesting survival in the Moslem system of taxation, where a distinction is drawn between what the sky waters and what *Ba'l* waters.

Solar aspects

The Bedouin's astral beliefs centred upon the moon, in whose light he grazed his flocks. Moon-worship implies a pastoral society, whereas sun-worship represents a later agricultural stage. In our own day the Moslem Ruwalah Bedouins imagine

[1] Ar. *taqwa*, piety, is from a stem meaning "to be on one's guard, to fear".
[2] Ibn-Hishām, *Sīrah*, p. 71.
[3] Vol. i, p. 434.
[4] *'Aja'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849), p. 200.
[5] Kalbi, pp. 18, 20; Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 772-3.

that their life is regulated by the moon, which condenses the water vapours, distils the beneficent dew on the pasture and makes possible the growth of plants. On the other hand the sun, as they believe, would like to destroy the Bedouins as well as all animal and plant life.

One characteristic feature of all elements of religious belief is their tendency to persist in some form when a higher stage of development has been attained. The survival represents a compromise between these two stages of religious development. Hence Wadd (Koran 71 : 22), the moon-god who stood at the head of the Minaean pantheon. Ibn-Hishām[1] and al-Ṭabari[2] speak of a sacred palm tree in Najrān. Gifts were offered to the tree in the form of weapons, garments and rags which were suspended from it. Dhāt-Anwāṭ[3] (that on which things are hung), to which the Makkans resorted annually, was perhaps identical with the tree of al-'Uzza at Nakhlah.[4] Al-Lāt in al-Ṭā'if was represented by a square stone,[5] and dhu-al-Shara in Petra by a quadrangular block of unhewn black stone four feet high and two feet wide. Most of these deities owned each a reserved grazing-land (*ḥima*).

Jinn

The Bedouin peopled the desert with living things of beastly nature called jinn or demons. These jinn differ from the gods not so much in their nature as in their relation to man. The gods are on the whole friendly; the jinn, hostile. The latter are, of course, personifications of the fantastic notions of the terrors of the desert and its wild animal life. To the gods belong the regions frequented by man; to the jinn belong the unknown and untrodden parts of the wilderness. A madman (*majnūn*) is but one possessed by the jinn. With Islam the number of jinn was increased, since the heathen deities were then degraded into such beings.[6]

The daughters of Allah

Among the urban population of al-Ḥijāz, and only about seventeen per cent. of the population was such, the astral stage of paganism was reached early. Al-'Uzza, al-Lāt and Manāh, the three daughters of Allah, had their sanctuaries in the land which later became the cradle of Islam. In a weak moment the monotheistic Muḥammad was tempted[7] to recognize these power-

[1] *Sīrah*, p. 22.
[2] Vol. i, p. 922.
[3] *Sīrah*, p. 844.
[4] Kalbi, pp. 24-7.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 16.
[6] Koran 37 : 158, 6 : 100.
[7] Cf. Koran 22 : 51-2.

ful deities of Makkah and al-Madīnah and make a compromise in their favour, but afterwards he retracted and the revelation is said to have received the form now found in sūrah 53 : 19-20.[1] Later theologians explained the case according to the principle of *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*, abrogating and abrogated verses, by means of which God revokes and alters the announcements of His will; this results in the cancellation of a verse and the substitution of another for it (Koran 2 : 100). Al-Lāt (from al-Ilāhah, the goddess) had her sacred tracts (*ḥima* and *ḥaram*) near al-Ṭā'if, whither the Makkans and others flocked for pilgrimage and sacrifice. Within such an enclosure no trees could be felled, no game hunted and no human blood shed. Animal and plant life therein partook of the inviolability of the deity there honoured. Of similar origin were the cities of refuge in Israel. Herodotus[2] mentions this goddess under the name Alilat among the Nabataean deities.

Al-'Uzza (the most mighty, Venus, the morning star) had her cult in Nakhlah east of Makkah. According to al-Kalbi,[3] hers was the most venerated idol among the Quraysh, and Muḥammad as a young man offered her a sacrifice. Her sanctuary consisted of three trees. Human sacrifice characterized her cult. She was the Lady 'Uzzay-an to whom a South Arabian offered a golden image on behalf of his sick daughter, Amat-'Uzzay-an[4] (the maid of al-'Uzza). 'Abd-al-'Uzza was a favourite proper name at the rise of Islam.

Manāh (from *manīyah*, allotted fate) was the goddess of destiny[5] and as such represented an earlier phase of religious life.[6] Her main sanctuary consisted of a black stone in Qudayd on the road between Makkah and Yathrib (later al-Madīnah) and she was especially popular with the Aws and the Khazraj, who rallied to the support of the Prophet on his fateful Hijrah from Makkah. As an independent deity her name, associated with dhu-al-Shara, appears in the Nabataean inscriptions of al-Ḥijr.[7] To the present day Arabic versifiers blame all misfortunes on *al-manāya* or *al-dahr* (time).

[1] Al-Bayḍāwi, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer, vol. i (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 636-7; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. xxvii, pp. 34 *seq.*, vol. xvii, p. 131.
[2] Bk. III, ch. 8. [3] Pp. 18-19. [4] Nielsen, *Handbuch*, vol. i, p. 236.
[5] Cf. Heb. Měni, Is. 65 : 11. [6] Kalbi, p. 13.
[7] Cooke, pp. 217, 219; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, vol. iii, 1909-15 (Giessen, 1915), p. 85.

Since the mother's blood rather than the father's formed the original bond of kinship among the Semites and because the family organization was first matriarchal, the Arabian goddess preceded the god as an object of worship.

The Makkan Ka'bah

Hubal (from Aram. for vapour, spirit), evidently the chief deity of al-Ka'bah, was represented in human form. Beside him stood ritual arrows used for divination by the soothsayer (*kāhin*, from Aramaic) who drew lots by means of them. The tradition in ibn-Hishām,[1] which makes 'Amr ibn-Luḥayy the importer of this idol from Moab or Mesopotamia, may have a kernel of truth in so far as it retains a memory of the Aramaic origin of the deity.[2] At the conquest of Makkah by Muḥammad Hubal shared the lot of the other idols and was destroyed.

The pagan Ka'bah, which became the Palladium of Islam, was an unpretentious cube-like (hence the name) building of primitive simplicity, originally roofless, serving as a shelter for a black meteorite which was venerated as a fetish. At the time of the birth of Islam the structure was that rebuilt by al-Walīd ibn-al-Mughīrah from the wreckage of some Greek ships destroyed on the shore of the Red Sea on their way to Abyssinia.[3] The usual sacred territory (*ḥaram*) spread around it. Annual pilgrimages were made thither and special sacrifices offered.

Moslem tradition maintains that the Ka'bah was originally built by Adam according to a celestial prototype and after the Deluge rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael.[4] Its custody remained in the hands of the descendants of Ishmael until the proud banu-Jurhum, and later the banu-Khuzā'ah, who introduced idol worship, took possession of it. Then came the Quraysh, who continued the ancient Ishmaelite line. While engaged in the rebuilding Ishmael received from Gabriel the Black Stone, still set in the south-east corner of the structure, and was instructed in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).

Allah

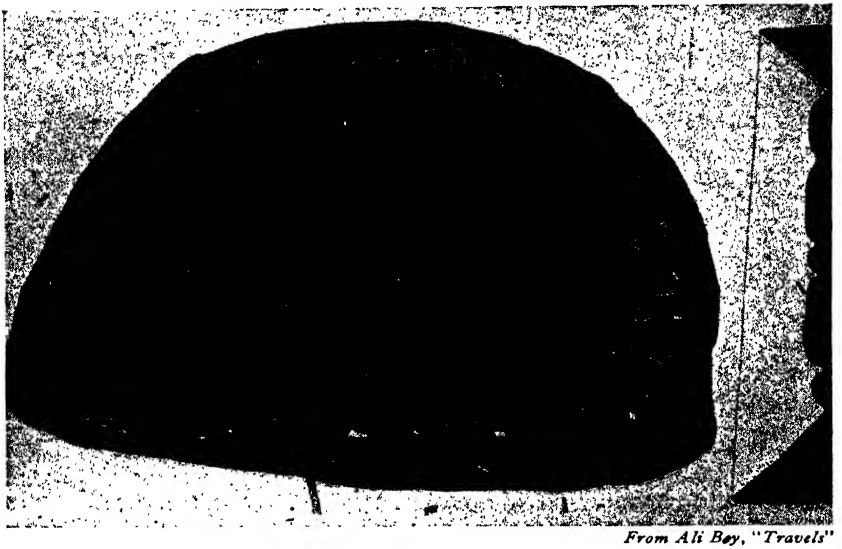
Allah (*allāh*, *al-ilāh*, the god) was the principal, though not the only, deity of Makkah. The name is an ancient one. It occurs in two South Arabic inscriptions, one a Minaean found at al-'Ula and the other a Sabaean, but abounds in the form HLH in the Liḥyānite inscriptions of the fifth century B.C.[5] Liḥyān, which

[1] *Sīrah*, pp. 50 *seq.*

[2] The Arabic word for idol, *ṣanam*, is clearly an adaptation of Aramaic *ṣēlēm*.

[3] Al-Azraqi, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 104-7; Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. ii, pp. 17-18. [4] Koran 2: 118-21. [5] Winnett, p. 30.

evidently got the god from Syria, was the first centre of the worship of this deity in Arabia. The name occurs as Hallāh in the Ṣafa inscriptions five centuries before Islam [1] and also in a pre-Islamic Christian Arabic inscription found in umm-al-Jimāl, Syria, and ascribed to the sixth century.[2] The name of Muḥammad's father was 'Abd-Allāh ('Abdullāh, the slave or worshipper of Allah). The esteem in which Allah was held by the



From Ali Bey, "Travels"

THE BLACK STONE OF AL-KA'BAH

pre-Islamic Makkans as the creator and supreme provider and the one to be invoked in time of special peril may be inferred from such koranic passages as 31 : 24, 31; 6 : 137, 109; 10 : 23. Evidently he was the tribal deity of the Quraysh.

Though in an inhospitable and barren valley with an inclement and unhealthy climate this sanctuary at Makkah made al-Ḥijāz the most important religious centre in North Arabia.

Other pagan deities such as Nasr [3] (vulture), 'Awf (the great bird) bear animal names and suggest totemic origin. As for future life, nowhere in the authenticated ancient literature do we find expressed a clear and precise idea of it. The few vague

[1] Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie*, pp. 141-2.

[2] Enno Littmann, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, vol. vii (1929), pp. 197-204.

[3] Koran 71 : 23.

references may be explained as an echo of Christian dogma. The hedonistic Arabian character was too much absorbed in the immediate issues of life to devote much thought to the hereafter. In the words of an old bard:

> We spin about and whirl our way through life,
> Then, rich and poor alike, at last seek rest
> Below the ground in hollow pits slate-covered;
> And there we do abide.[1]

As the Bedouins frequented the settled towns of al-Ḥijāz for the exchange of their commodities, and particularly during the four months of "holy truce", they became inoculated with some of the more advanced urban beliefs and were initiated into ritualistic practices of the Ka'bah and the offering of sacrifices. Camels and sheep were offered at Makkah and at various stones (*anṣāb*) elsewhere which were regarded as idols or altars. In the pilgrimage to some great shrine of the urban Arabians lay the most important religious practice of the nomad. The "holy truce" included what became in the Moslem calendar the eleventh, twelfth and first months of each year (dhu-al-Qa'dah, dhu-al-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram) together with a fourth month in the middle (Rajab). The first three were especially set aside for religious observance, and the fourth for trade. Al-Ḥijāz, through its somewhat central position, its accessibility and its location on the main caravan route running north and south, offered an unexcelled opportunity for both religious and commercial activity. Thus arose its 'Ukāẓ fair and its Ka'bah.

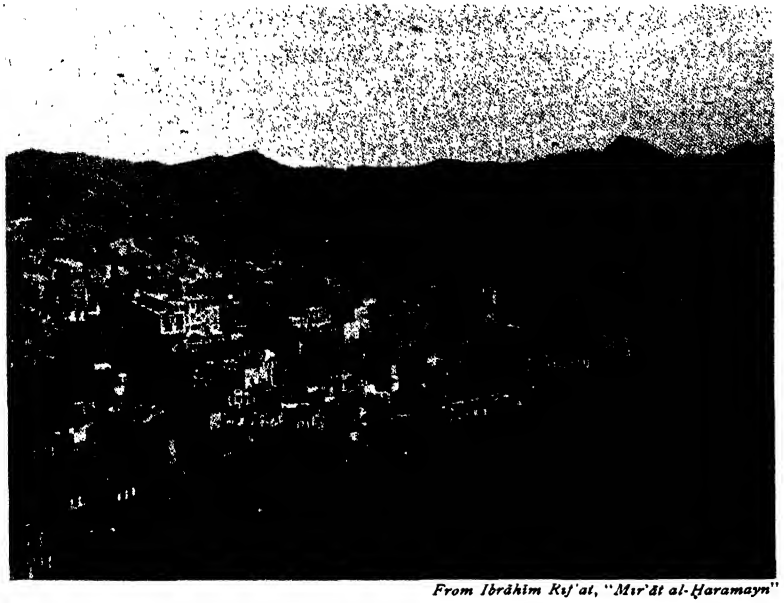
The three cities of al-Ḥijāz: al-Ṭā'if

Al-Ḥijāz, the barren country standing like a barrier (*ḥijāz*) between the uplands of Najd and the low coastal region called Tihāmah (netherland), could boast only three cities: al-Ṭā'if and the two sister cities Makkah and al-Madīnah.

Al-Ṭā'if, nestling among shady trees at an altitude of about 6000 feet and described as "a bit of Syrian earth", was, as it still is, the summer resort of the Makkan aristocracy. Burckhardt, who visited the town in August 1814, declared the scenery en route the most picturesque and delightful he had seen since his departure from Lebanon.[2] Its products included honey, water-melons, bananas, figs, grapes, olives, peaches and

[1] Abu-Tammām, p. 562; cf. Lyall, *Translations*, p. xxvii.
[2] John L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London, 1829), vol. i, p. 122.

quinces.[1] Its roses were famous for the attar which provided Makkah with its perfumery. Its vines, according to a tradition handed down in *al-Aghāni*,[2] were introduced by a Jewess who offered the first slips as a present to a local chief. Its wine, though in great demand, was less expensive than the foreign



From Ibrāhim Rif'at, "Miṣr'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

MAKKAH FROM THE MOUNTAIN OF ABU-QUBAYS, WITH MOUNT ḤIRĀ' IN THE BACKGROUND, 1908

brand celebrated in Arabic poetry. Of all places in the peninsula al-Ṭā'if came nearest to the koranic description of Paradise in sūrah 47 : 16–17.

The name Makkah, the Macoraba of Ptolemy,[3] comes from Sabaean Makuraba, meaning sanctuary, which indicates that it owes its foundation to some religious association and therefore must have been a religious centre long before Muḥammad was born. It lies in the Tihāmah of southern al-Ḥijāz, about forty-eight miles from the Red Sea, in a barren, rocky valley described in the Koran (14 : 40) as "unfit for cultivation". The thermo- Makkah

[1] Cf. ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 3rd impression, vol. i (Paris, 1893), pp. 304-5.

[2] Vol. iv, p. 75, ll. 9-10. [3] *Geographia*, ed. Nobbe, Bk. VI, ch. 7, § 32.

meter in Makkah can register almost unbearable heat. When the famous Arab traveller ibn-Baṭṭūṭah[1] of Tangier attempted the circumambulation of the Ka'bah barefooted, he failed because of the "flames" reflected by the stones.

Older still than the south-to-north "spice road" which passes through it, the city early became a midway station between Ma'rib and Ghazzah. The commercially minded and progressive Makkans soon rendered their city a centre of wealth. A Makkan caravan which was involved in the Badr skirmish (Mar. 16, 624) while returning from Ghazzah consisted of a thousand camels, according to al-Wāqidi,[2] and carried merchandise worth 50,000 dinars (about £20,000). Under the leadership of the Quraysh, the custodians of the Ka'bah, who were evidently responsible for making that sanctuary a national shrine and the 'Ukāẓ fair a commercial and intellectual rendezvous, Makkah's pre-eminence became secure.

Al-Madīnah

Yathrib (YTHRB of the Sabaean inscriptions, Jathrippa of Ptolemy),[3] lay some 300 miles north of Makkah and was much more favoured by nature than its southern sister. Besides lying on the "spice road", which connected al-Yaman with Syria, the city was a veritable oasis, especially adapted for the cultivation of date-palms. In the hands of its Jewish inhabitants, the banu-Naḍīr and banu-Qurayẓah, the town became a leading agricultural centre. Judging by their proper names and the Aramaean vocabulary used in their agricultural life these Jews must have been mostly Judaized clans of Arabian[4] and Aramaean stock, though the nucleus may have been Israelites who fled from Palestine at the time of its conquest by the Romans in the first century after Christ. It was possibly these Aramaic-speaking Jews who changed the name Yathrib into Aramaic Medīnta, the explanation of the name al-Madīnah (Medina) as "the town" (of the Prophet) being a comparatively late one. The two leading non-Jewish tribes were the Aws and the Khazraj, who came originally from al-Yaman.

Cultural influences in al-Ḥijāz: 1. Saba'

Though not in the main stream of world events, pre-Islamic al-Ḥijāz could hardly be said to have been in a backwater. Its exclusiveness is post-Muḥammadan and dates from the eighth

[1] Vol. i, p. 281.
[2] *Al-Maghāzi*, ed. Alfred von Kremer (Calcutta, 1855-6), p. 198.
[3] Bk. VI, ch. 7, § 31; variant Lathrippa.
[4] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 49, designates the Arabian tribes from which they descended.

year of the Hijrah, in which Makkah was captured and the twenty-eighth verse of sūrah nine revealed.[1] In the first century after Muḥammad, however, there flourished in his birthplace a number of Christian and Jewish physicians, musicians and merchants.

The earlier South Arabian civilization could not have altogether passed away without leaving some trace in its northern successor. The inscription (542–3) of Abrahah dealing with the break of the Ma'rib Dam begins with the following words: "In the power and grace and mercy of the Merciful [*Raḥman-an*] and His Messiah and of the Holy Spirit".[2] The word *Raḥman-an* is especially significant because its northern equivalent, *al-Raḥmān*, became later a prominent attribute of Allah and one of His names in the Koran and in Islamic theology. Sūrah nineteen is dominated by *al-Raḥmān*. Though used in the inscription for the Christian God, yet the word is evidently borrowed from the name of one of the older South Arabian deities. *Al-Raḥīm* (the compassionate) also occurs as the name of a deity (RḤM) in pre-Islamic and Sabaean inscriptions.[3] Another South Arabic inscription uses *shirk*, association in the sense of polytheism, the kind of *shirk* against which Muḥammad vehemently and fervently preached and which consisted of the worship of one supreme being with whom other minor deities were associated. In the same inscription occurs the technical term denoting unbelief, *KFR*, as in North Arabic.[4]

2. Abyssinia

The Semitic population of the south-western coast of the Red Sea found its way thither, as we have learned, by gradual infiltration from south-western Arabia. These Abyssinians, as they were later called, formed an important part of the great international commercial "trust", which under Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite leadership monopolized the ancient spice trade, the main artery of which passed through al-Ḥijāz. For about fifty years prior to the birth of the Prophet, the Abyssinians had their rule established in al-Yaman, and in the year of his birth we find them at the gates of Makkah threatening its precious Ka'bah with

[1] See below, p. 118; cf. Bayḍāwi, vol. i, p. 383; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. x, p. 74.

[2] E. Glaser, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 390, 401; cf. *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars iv, t. i, pp. 15-19.

[3] Dussaud and Macler, *Voyage archéologique*, p. 95, l. 10; Dussaud, *Arabes*, pp. 152-3.

[4] J. H. Mordtmann and D. H. Müller in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. x (1896), pp. 285-92.

destruction. Makkah itself was the abode of an Abyssinian, presumably Christian, colony. Bilāl,[1] whose stentorian voice won him the unique distinction of becoming the Prophet's muezzin, was an Abyssinian negro. The koranic references to the sea and its tempests (sūrahs 16 : 14, 10 : 23–4, 24 : 40), which are characterized by unusual clarity and vividness, are an echo of the active maritime intercourse between al-Ḥijāz and Abyssinia. When the infant Moslem community was hard pressed by the pagan Quraysh it was to Abyssinia of all lands that they turned for refuge.[2]

3. Persia

In the century preceding the establishment of Islam, Zoroastrian Persia was contesting with Abyssinia for supremacy over al-Yaman. Knowledge of the military art of Persia was passing into Arabian possession from the south and also from the north through Persian Arabia, with its capital al-Ḥīrah. Tradition relates that it was Salmān the Persian who taught the Prophet how to dig a trench for the defence of al-Madīnah.[3]

Al-Ḥīrah, the Arab satellite of Persia, was the main channel through which not only Persian cultural influences but, later, Aramaean Nestorian influences percolated into the Arabia of pre-Muḥammadan days. As these Nestorians formed later the main link between Hellenism and nascent Islam, so now they acted as a medium for transmitting northern cultural ideas, Aramaic, Persian and Hellenic, into the heart of pagan Arabia.

4. Ghassānland

Just such an influence as the Nestorians of al-Ḥīrah had on the Arabs of the Persian border was exerted by the Monophysites of Ghassānland upon the people of al-Ḥijāz. For four centuries prior to Islam these Syrianized Arabs had been bringing the Arab world into touch not only with Syria but also Byzantium. Such personal names as Dāwūd (David), Sulaymān (Solomon), ʿĪsa (Jesus), were not uncommon among the pre-Islamic Arabians.

[1] His tomb is still standing in Damascus.

[2] Such Ar. words of Ethiopic origin as *burhān* (proof), *ḥawārīyūn* (Christ's disciples), *jahannam* (hell, originally Heb.), *mā'idah* (table), *malak* (angel, originally Heb.), *miḥrāb* (niche), *minbar* (pulpit), *miṣḥaf* (holy book), *shayṭān* (Satan), point to Christian Abyssinian influence over Moslem Ḥijāz. Al-Suyūṭi cites in ch. 38 of his *al-Itqān* (Cairo, 1925), vol. i, pp. 135-41, 118 foreign words in the Koran.

[3] See below, p. 117. Ar. *firind* (sword), *firdaws* (Paradise, sūr. 18 : 107; 23 : 11), *sijjīl* (stone, sūr. 105 : 4), *barzakh* (obstacle, sūr. 23 : 102; 55 : 20; 25 : 55), *zanjabīl* (ginger, sūr. 76 : 17, see below, p. 667), etc., are of Persian derivation.

This northern influence, however, should not be over-estimated, for neither the Monophysite nor the Nestorian church had enough vitality to make its religious ideas contagious. The material collected by Père Cheikho[1] does not suffice to show that Christianity had struck deep root anywhere in North Arabia, yet it reveals many pre-Islamic poets as familiar with certain floating Christian ideas and Christian terms. A considerable number of Aramaic words passed into the ancient Arabic vocabulary.[2]

5. The Jews

The monotheism affecting Arabia was not entirely of the Christian type. Jewish colonies flourished in al-Madīnah and various oases of northern al-Ḥijāz.[3] Al-Jumaḥi († 845) devotes a section of his biographies[4] to the Jewish poets of al-Madīnah and its environs. *Al-Aghāni* cites a number of Jewish poets of Arabia. But the only supposedly Jewish poet who left us a *dīwān* was al-Samaw'al (Samuel),[5] of al-Ablaq near Taymā', a contemporary of Imru'-al-Qays. His poetry, however, has nothing to differentiate it from the current heathen type, and therefore al-Samaw'al's Judaism has been rightly suspected. In al-Yaman Judaism is supposed to have attained the dignity of a state religion under the aegis of dhu-Nuwās.

In summing up it may be safely stated that al-Ḥijāz in the century preceding the mission of Muḥammad was ringed about with influences, intellectual, religious and material, radiating from Byzantine, Syrian (Aramaean), Persian and Abyssinian centres and conducted mainly through Ghassānid, Lakhmid and Yamanite channels; but it cannot be asserted that al-Ḥijāz was in such vital contact with the higher civilization of the north as to transform its native cultural aspect. Then too, although Christianity did find a footing in Najrān, and Judaism in al-Yaman and al-Ḥijāz, neither seems to have left much of an impression on the North Arabian mind. Nevertheless the anti-

[1] *Al-Naṣrānīyah wa-Ādābuha*, 2 pts. (Beirūt, 1912, 1919, 1923); *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrānīyah*, 2 vols. (Beirūt, 1890).

[2] *Kanīsah* and *bī'ah* (church), *dumyah* and *ṣūrah* (image, picture), *qissīs* (monk), *ṣadaqah* (alms), *nāṭūr* (watchman), *nīr* (yoke), *faddān* (acre), *qindīl* (lamp, originally Latin *candela*) are illustrations. Latin *castrum* gave Syriac *qasṭra* and Western Aramaic *qaṣra* from which Arabic *qaṣr* (castle, palace) came and was re-introduced into Europe in the form of Italian *cassero*, Spanish *alcázar*.

[3] *Jibrīl* (Gabriel), *sūrah* (revelation, chapter), *jabbār* (most powerful), illustrate Hebrew words in the Arabic vocabulary.

[4] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. J. Hell (Leyden, 1916), pp. 70-74.

[5] *Dīwān al-Samaw'al*, 2nd ed., ed. Cheikho (Beirūt, 1920).

quated paganism of the peninsula seems to have reached the point where it failed any longer to meet the spiritual demands of the people and was outgrown by a dissatisfied group who developed vague monotheistic ideas and went by the name of Ḥanīfs.[1] Umayyah ibn-abi-al-Ṣalt († 624), through his mother, a second cousin of the Prophet, and Waraqah ibn-Nawfal, a cousin of Khadījah, were such Ḥanīfs, though several sources make Waraqah a Christian. On the political side the organized national life developed in early South Arabia was now utterly disrupted. Anarchy prevailed in the political realm as it did in the religious. The stage was set, the moment was psychological, for the rise of a great religious and national leader.

[1] Loan-word from Aramaic through Nabataean; N. A. Faris and H. W. Glidden, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vol. xix (1939), pp. 1-13; cf. Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda, 1938), pp. 112-15. Further archæological and linguistic research will probably confirm the importance of the influence of Nabataean culture not only on Islam but also on early Christianity.

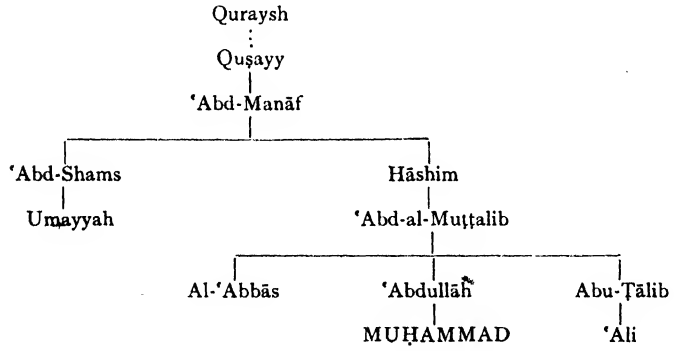
PART II

THE RISE OF ISLAM AND THE CALIPHAL STATE

CHAPTER VIII

MUḤAMMAD THE PROPHET OF ALLAH

IN or about A.D. 571 a child was born to the Quraysh at Makkah and was given by his mother a name which may remain for ever uncertain. His tribe called him al-Amīn[1] (the faithful), apparently an honorific title. The form which his name takes in the Koran (3 : 138, 33 : 40, 48 : 29, 47 : 2) is Muḥammad[2] and once (61 : 6) Aḥmad. In popular usage he is Muḥammad (highly praised)—a name borne by more male children than any other. The baby's father, ʿAbdullāh, died before his birth; the mother, Āminah, when he was about six years old. It therefore fell to the lot of his grandfather, ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib, to bring up the boy, and after the grandfather's death the duty devolved upon his paternal uncle abu-Ṭālib.



When twelve years old, it is related, Muḥammad accompanied his uncle and patron abu-Ṭālib on a caravan journey to Syria, in the course of which he met a Christian monk to whom legend has given the name Baḥīra.

Though the only one of the world prophets to be born within the full light of history, Muḥammad is but little known to us in

[1] Ibn-Hishām, *Sīrah*, p. 125; Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 18; Masʿūdi, vol. iv, p. 127.

[2] Name occurs in a South Arabic inscription, *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars iv, t. ii, p. 104.

his early life: of his struggle for a livelihood, his efforts towards self-fulfilment and his gradual and painful realization of the great task awaiting him we have but few reliable reports. The first record of his life was undertaken by ibn-Isḥāq, who died in Baghdād about A.H. 150 (767) and whose biography of the Prophet has been preserved only in the later recension of ibn-Hishām, who died in Egypt about A.H. 218 (833). Other than Arabic sources for the life of the Prophet and the early period of nascent Islam we have none. The first Byzantine chronicler to record some facts about "the ruler of the Saracens and the pseudo-prophet" was Theophanes[1] in the early part of the ninth century. The first reference to Muḥammad in Syriac occurs in a seventh-century work.[2]

With his marriage at the age of twenty-five to the wealthy and high-minded widow Khadījah, fifteen years his senior, Muḥammad steps upon the threshold of clear history. Khadījah was a Qurayshite and, as a well-to-do merchant's widow, was conducting business independently and had taken young Muḥammad into her employ. As long as this lady with her strong personality and noble character lived, Muḥammad would have none other for a wife.

The competence which now entered into the economic life of Muḥammad, and to which there is a clear koranic[3] reference, gave him leisure and enabled him to pursue his own inclinations. He was then often noticed secluding himself and engaging in meditation within a little cave (*ghār*) on a hill outside of Makkah called Ḥirā'.[4] It was in the course of one of these periods of distraction caused by doubts and yearning after the truth that Muḥammad heard in Ghār Ḥirā' a voice[5] commanding: "Recite thou in the name of thy Lord who created", etc.[6] This was his first revelation. The Prophet had received his call. The night of that day was later named "the Night of Power" (*laylat al-qadr*)[7] and fixed towards the end of Ramaḍān (610). When after a brief interval (*fatrah*), following his call to the prophetic office, the second vision came, Muḥammad, under the stress of great

[1] *Chronographia*, p. 333.
[2] A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, vol. i, *Bar-Penkayé* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 146 (text) = p. 175 (tr.).
[3] Sūrah 93 : 6-9.
[4] See Ibrāhīm Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* (Cairo, 1925), vol. i, pp. 56-60.
[5] Al-Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāq, 1296), vol. i, p. 3.
[6] Koran 96 : 1-5.
[7] Koran 97 : 1.

emotion, rushed home in alarm and asked his wife to put some covers on him, whereupon these words "descended": "O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle! Arise and warn".[1] The voices varied and sometimes came like the "reverberating of bells" (*ṣalṣalat al-jaras*),[2] but later, in the Madīnese sūrahs, became one voice, identified as that of Jibrīl (Gabriel).

In his call and message the Arabian Muḥammad was as truly prophetic as any of the Hebrew prophets of the Old Testament. God is one. He is all-powerful. He is the creator of the universe. There is a judgment day. Splendid rewards in Paradise await those who carry out God's commands, and terrible punishment in hell for those who disregard them. Such was the gist of his early message.

Consecrated and fired by the new task which he felt called upon to perform as the messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah, Muḥammad now went among his own people teaching, preaching, delivering the new message. They laughed him to scorn. He turned *naḏhīr* (Koran 67 : 26; 51 : 50, 51), warner, prophet of doom, seeking to effect his purpose by vivid and thrilling description of the joys of Paradise and the terrors of hell, even threatening his hearers with imminent doom. Short, crisp, expressive and impressive were his early revelations, the Makkan sūrahs.

As glorifier of his Lord, admonisher to his people, messenger and prophet (*nabī*) of Allah, Muḥammad was gaining no converts. Khadījah, his wife, predisposed through the influence of her Ḥanīf[3] cousin Waraqah ibn-Nawfal, was the first of the few who responded to his call. Muḥammad's cousin ʿAli and his kinsman abu-Bakr followed. But abu-Sufyān, representing the aristocratic and influential Umayyad branch of Quraysh, stood adamant. What they considered a heresy seemed to run counter to the best economic interests of the Quraysh as custodians of al-Kaʿbah, the pantheon of multitudinous deities and centre of a pan-Arabian pilgrimage.

As new recruits, mainly from among the slave and lower classes, began to swell the ranks of the believers, the ridicule and sarcasm which had hitherto been used unsparingly on the part of the Quraysh were no longer deemed effective as weapons;

[1] Koran 74 : 1 *seq.*

[2] Bukhāri, vol. i, p. 2, l. 11. Compare the call of Isaiah 6 : 1 *seq.* See Tor Andrae, *Mohammed: sein Leben und sein Glaube* (Göttingen, 1932), pp. 39 *seq.*

[3] Cf. ibn-Hishām, pp. 121, 143.

it became necessary to resort to active persecution. These new measures resulted in the migration to Abyssinia of eleven Makkan families followed in 615 by some eighty-three others, chief among whom was that of 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān. The émigrés found asylum in the domain of the Christian Negus, who was unbending in his refusal to deliver them into the hands of their oppressors.[1] Undaunted through these dark days of persecution by the temporary loss of so many followers, Muḥammad fearlessly continued to preach and by persuasion convert men from the worship of the many and false gods to that of the one and true God, Allah. The revelations did not cease to "descend". He who had marvelled at the Jews and Christians having a "scripture" was determined that his people, too, should have one.

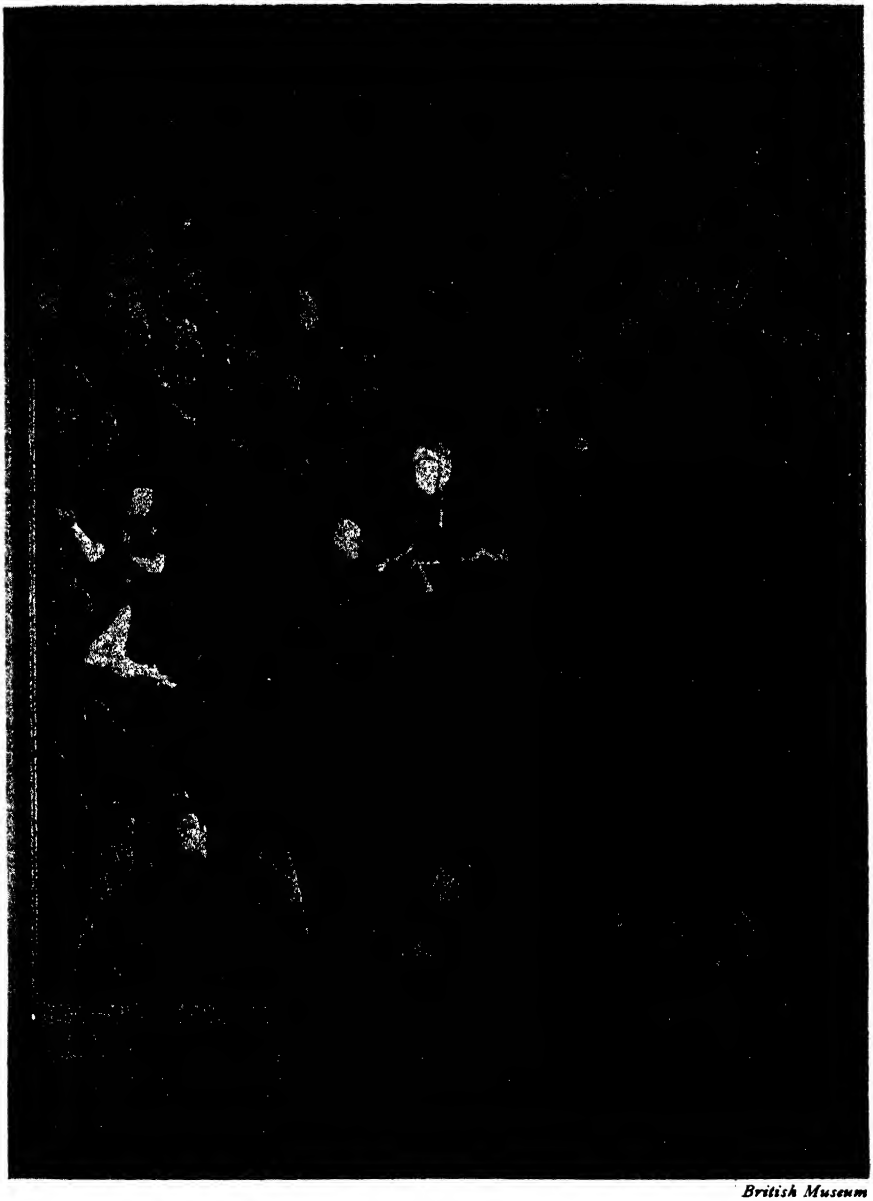
Soon 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, destined to play a leading rôle in the establishment of the Islamic state, was enrolled in the service of Allah. About three years before the Hijrah the faithful Khadījah died, and a little later died abu-Ṭālib, who, though he never professed Islam, stood firm to the end in defence of his brother's son, his protégé. Within this pre-Hijrah period there also falls the dramatic *isrā'*,[2] that nocturnal journey in which the Prophet is said to have been instantly transported from al-Ka'bah to Jerusalem preliminary to his ascent (*mi'rāj*) to the seventh heaven. Since it thus served as the terrestrial station on this memorable journey, Jerusalem, already sacred to the Jews and Christians, has become and remained the third holiest city after Makkah and al-Madīnah in the Moslem world. Embellished by later accretions this miraculous trip still forms a favourite theme in mystic circles in Persia and Turkey, and a Spanish scholar[3] considers it the original source of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. That the memory of al-Isrā' is still a living, moving force in Islam is illustrated by the serious disturbance of August 1929, in Palestine, centring on the Wailing Wall of the Jews in Jerusalem, which the Moslems consider the starting-place of the Burāq,[4]

[1] Ibn-Hishām, pp. 217-20; cf. ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 136-9.

[2] Koran 17 : 1; Bukhāri, vol. iv, pp. 156, 230; al-Baghawi, *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunnah* (Cairo, 1318), vol. ii, pp. 169-72; al-Khaṭīb, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (St. Petersburg, 1898–9), vol. ii, pp. 124-9.

[3] Miguel Asín, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, tr. H. Sunderland (London, 1926).

[4] From Pers. *bāra*, horse, + adjectival suffix *aḳ*. Modern Palestinians call the wailing place "al-Burāq".



British Museum

MUḤAMMAD'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE CELESTIAL SPHERES

the winged horse with a woman's face and peacock's tail on which Muḥammad journeyed heavenward.

About 620 some Yathribites, mainly of the Khazraj tribe, met Muḥammad at the 'Ukāẓ fair and grew interested in what he had to say. Two years later a deputation of about seventy-five men invited him to make Yathrib (al-Madīnah) his home, hoping thereby to secure a means for reconciling the hostile Aws and Khazraj. In al-Madīnah the Jews, who were looking forward to a Messiah, had evidently predisposed their heathen compatriots in favour of such a claimant as Muḥammad. Having paid a futile propagandist visit to al-Ṭā'if and believing his cause lost in his native town, Muḥammad allowed two hundred followers to elude the vigilance of the Quraysh and slip quietly into al-Madīnah, his mother's native city; he himself followed and arrived there on September 24, 622. Such was the famous hegira (*hijrah*)—not entirely a "flight" but a scheme of migration carefully considered for some two years. Seventeen years later the Caliph 'Umar designated that lunar year (beginning July 16) in which the Hijrah took place as the official starting-point of the Moslem era.[1]

The Hijrah, with which the Makkan period ended and the Madīnese period began, proved a turning-point in the life of Muḥammad. Leaving the city of his birth as a despised prophet, he entered the city of his adoption as an honoured chief. The seer in him now recedes into the background and the practical man of politics comes to the fore. The prophet is gradually overshadowed by the statesman.

Taking advantage of the periods of "holy truce" and anxious to offer sustenance to the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*) the Madīnese Moslems, now termed *Anṣār* (Supporters), under the leadership of the new chief intercepted a summer caravan on its return from Syria to Makkah, thus striking at the most vital point in the life of that commercial metropolis. The caravan leader abu-Sufyān had got wind of the scheme and sent to Makkah for aid. The encounter between the reinforced Makkan caravan and the Madīnese took place at Badr, twenty miles south-west of al-Madīnah, in Ramaḍān, A.D. 624, and, thanks to the inspiring leadership of the Prophet, resulted in the complete victory of three hundred Moslems over a thousand Makkans. However

[1] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 1256, 2480; Mas'ūdi, vol. ix, p. 53.

unimportant in itself as a military engagement,[1] this Ghazwat Badr laid the foundation of Muḥammad's temporal power. Islam had won its first and decisive military victory. The victory itself was interpreted as a divine sanction of the new faith.[2] The spirit of discipline and contempt of death manifested at this first armed encounter of Islam proved characteristic of it in all its later and greater conquests. It is true that in the following year (625) the Makkans under abu-Sufyān avenged at Uḥud their defeat and even wounded the Prophet, but their triumph was not to endure. Islam recovered and passed on gradually from the defensive to the offensive, and its propagation seemed always assured. Hitherto it had been a religion within a state; in al-Madīnah, after Badr, it passed into something more than a state religion—it itself became the state. Then and there Islam came to be what the world has ever since recognized it to be—a militant polity.

In 627 the "confederates" (*al-aḥzāb*), consisting of Makkans with Bedouin and Abyssinian mercenaries, were again measuring swords with the Madīnese. Heathenism was once more arrayed against Allah. On the advice of a Persian follower, Salmān,[3] as we are told, Muḥammad had a trench[4] dug round al-Madīnah. Disgusted with this innovation in warfare, which struck the Bedouin miscellany as the most unsportsmanlike thing they had ever seen, the besiegers withdrew at the end of a month after the loss of some twenty men on both sides.[5] After the siege had been raised Muḥammad conducted a campaign against the Jews for "siding with the confederates", which resulted in the killing of six hundred able-bodied men of their leading tribe, the banu-Qurayẓah, and the expulsion of the rest. The Emigrants were then established on the date plantations thus made ownerless.[6] The banu-Qurayẓah were the first but not the last body of Islam's foes to be offered the alternative of apostasy or death. The year before, Muḥammad had sent into exile the banu-al-Naḍīr,[7] another Jewish tribe of al-Madīnah. The Jews of Khaybar were expelled from their fertile oasis north of al-Madīnah in 629 (A.H. 7).

[1] Al-Wāqidi († 207/822) devotes more than a third of his *Maghāzi*, pp. 11-75, to Badr and its heroes. [2] Koran 3 : 119, 8 : 42-3.
[3] Cf. Josef Horovitz in *Der Islam*, vol. xii (1922), pp. 178-83.
[4] Ar. *khandaq*, from Pahlawi *kandak* through Aramaic.
[5] Koran 33 : 9-25 discusses this battle. [6] Koran 33 : 26-7.
[7] Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, pp. 17-18 = Hitti, pp. 34-5; Wāqidi, pp. 353-6.

In this Madīnese period the Arabianization, the nationalization, of Islam was effected. The new prophet broke off with both Judaism and Christianity; Friday was substituted for Sabbath, the *adhān* (call from the minaret) was decreed in place of trumpets and bells, Ramaḍān was fixed as a month of fasting, the *qiblah* (the direction to be observed during the ritual prayer) was changed from Jerusalem[1] to Makkah, the pilgrimage to al-Ka'bah was authorized and the kissing of the Black Stone—a pre-Islamic fetish—sanctioned.

In 628 Muḥammad led a body of 1400 believers to the city of his birth and exacted the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyah, in which Makkans and Moslems were treated on equal terms.[2] This treaty practically ended the war of Muḥammad with his people, the Quraysh. Among other members of this tribe, Khālid ibn-al-Walīd and 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ ('Āṣi), destined to become the two mighty swords of militant Islam, were about this time received as recruits to the great cause. Two years later, towards the end of January 630 (A.H. 8), the conquest of Makkah was complete. Entering its great sanctuary Muḥammad smashed the many idols, said to have numbered three hundred and sixty, exclaiming: "Truth hath come, and falsehood hath vanished!"[3] The people themselves, however, were treated with special magnanimity.[4] Hardly a triumphal entry in ancient annals is comparable to this.

It was probably about this time[5] that the territory around the Ka'bah was declared by Muḥammad *ḥaram* (forbidden, sacred), and the passage in sūrah 9 : 28 was revealed which was later interpreted as prohibiting all non-Moslems from approaching it. This verse was evidently intended to forbid only the polytheists from drawing nigh to the Ka'bah at the time of the annual pilgrimage. The injunction as interpreted is still effective.[6] No more than fifteen Christian-born Europeans have thus far succeeded in seeing the two Holy Cities and escaping with their lives. The first was Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna[7] in 1503,

[1] Cf. 1 Kings 8 : 29-30; Dan. 6 : 10.
[2] Balādhuri, pp. 35-6 = Hitti, pp. 60-61.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 40 = Hitti, p. 66; cf. Koran 17 : 83.
[4] Wāqidi, p. 416.
[5] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 99; cf. Bayḍāwi, *Anwār*, vol. i, p. 383, l. 10.
[6] Muḥammad Labīb-al-Batnūni, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāziyah* (Cairo, 1329), p. 47.
[7] He declared false the widely spread European legend that Muḥammad's body lay suspended in the air somewhere above Makkah. See *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix*, tr. J. W. Jones (Hakluyt Society, vol. xxxii, London, 1863), pp. 25 *seq.*

and among the latest was the Englishman, Eldon Rutter.[1] The most interesting was undoubtedly Sir Richard Burton (1853).[2]

In A.H. 9 Muḥammad stationed a garrison at Tabūk, on the frontier of Ghassānland, and without a single engagement concluded treaties of peace with the Christian chief of Aylah (al-'Aqabah) and the Jewish tribes in the oases of Maqna, Adhruḥ and al-Jarbā' to the south.[3] The native Jews and Christians were taken under the protection of the newly arising Islamic community in consideration of a payment later called *jizyah*. This act set a precedent far-reaching in its future consequences.

This year 9 (630–31) is called the "year of delegations" (*sanat al-wufūd*). During it delegations flocked from near and far to offer allegiance to the prince-prophet. Tribes joined out of convenience if not conviction, and Islam contented itself with exacting a verbal profession of faith and a payment of *zakāh* (poor tax). The large number of Bedouins who joined the new order may be surmised from a saying attributed to 'Umar, "The Bedouins are the raw material of Islam". Tribes and districts which had sent no representatives before sent them now. They came from distant 'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Yaman. The Ṭayyi' sent deputies and so did the Hamdān and Kindah. Arabia, which had hitherto never bowed to the will of one man, seemed now inclined to be dominated by Muḥammad and be incorporated into his new scheme. Its heathenism was yielding to a nobler faith and a higher morality.

In the tenth Moslem year Muḥammad entered triumphantly at the head of the annual pilgrimage into his new religious capital, Makkah. This proved his last visit and was therefore styled "the farewell pilgrimage". Three months after his return to al-Madīnah, he unexpectedly took ill and died complaining of severe headache on June 8, 632.

To the Madīnese period in the life of the Prophet belong the lengthy and more verbose sūrahs of the Koran which contain, in addition to the religious laws governing fasting and almsgiving and prayer, social and political ordinances dealing with marriage and divorce and the treatment of slaves, prisoners of war and enemies. On behalf of the slave, the orphan, the weak

[1] *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1928).

[2] *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, 3 vols. (London, 1855–6).

[3] Balādhuri, pp. 59 *seq.* = Hitti, pp. 92 *seq.*

and the oppressed we find the legislation of him who was himself once a poor orphan especially benevolent.[1]

Even in the height of his glory Muḥammad led, as in his days of obscurity, an unpretentious life in one of those clay houses consisting, as do all old-fashioned houses of present-day Arabia and Syria, of a few rooms opening into a courtyard and accessible only therefrom. He was often seen mending his own clothes and was at all times within the reach of his people. The little he left he regarded as state property. Some for love, others for political reasons, he took about a dozen wives, among whom his favourite was ʿĀ'ishah, the young daughter of abu-Bakr. By Khadījah he had a number of children, none of whom survived him except Fāṭimah, the famous spouse of ʿAli. Muḥammad mourned bitterly the loss of his infant son Ibrāhīm, born to him by Mary, a Christian Copt. "Serious or trivial, his daily behaviour has instituted a canon which millions observe at this day with conscious mimicry. No one regarded by any section of the human race as Perfect Man has been imitated so minutely."[2]

Out of the religious community of al-Madīnah the later and larger state of Islam arose. This new community of Emigrants and Supporters was established on the basis of religion as the Ummat (congregation of) Allah. This was the first attempt in the history of Arabia at a social organization with religion, rather than blood, as its basis. Allah was the personification of state supremacy. His Prophet, as long as he lived, was His legitimate vicegerent and supreme ruler on earth. As such, Muḥammad, in addition to his spiritual function, exercised the same temporal authority that any chief of a state might exercise. All within this community, regardless of tribal affiliation and older loyalties, were now brethren at least in principle. These are the words of the Prophet in his noble sermon at the "farewell pilgrimage":

> O ye men! harken unto my words and take ye them to heart! Know ye that every Moslem is a brother unto every other Moslem, and that ye are now one brotherhood. It is not legitimate for any one of you, therefore, to appropriate unto himself anything that belongs to his brother unless it is willingly given him by that brother.[3]

Thus by one stroke the most vital bond of Arab relationship,

[1] Koran 2 : 172, 218-19; 4 : 40; 9 : 60; 24 : 33; 93 : 9. Consult Robert Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qorân* (London, 1925).

[2] D. G. Hogarth, *Arabia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 52.

[3] Ibn-Hishām, p. 969; cf. Wāqidi, pp. 433-4.

that of tribal kinship, was replaced by a new bond, that of faith; a sort of Pax Islamica was instituted for Arabia. The new community was to have no priesthood, no hierarchy, no central see. Its mosque was its public forum and military drill ground as well as its place of common worship. The leader in prayer, the *imām*, was also to be commander in chief of the army of the faithful, who were enjoined to protect one another against the entire world. All Arabians who remained heathen were outside the pale, almost outlaws. Islam cancelled the past. Wine (*khamr*, from Aramaic) and gambling—next to women the two indulgences dearest to the Arabian heart—were abolished in one verse.[1] Singing, almost equally attractive, was frowned upon. This contrast between the old order and the new was vividly drawn by the apocryphal words put in the mouth of Ja'far ibn-abi-Ṭālib, the spokesman of the Moslem emigrants to Abyssinia. Said Ja'far to the Negus:

> Jāhilīyah people were we, worshipping idols, feeding on dead animals [*maytah*][2], practising immorality, deserting our families and violating the covenant terms of mutual protection, with the strong among us devouring the weak. Such was our state until Allah sent unto us a messenger from amongst ourselves whose ancestry we know and whose veracity, fidelity and purity we recognize. He it was who summoned us to Allah in order to profess Him as one and worship Him alone, discarding whatever stones and idols we and our forbears before us worshipped in His stead. He moreover commanded us to be truthful in our talk, to render to others what is due them, to stand by our families and to refrain from doing wrong and shedding blood. He forbade committing fornication, bearing false witness, depriving the orphan of his legitimate right and speaking ill of chaste women. He enjoined on us the worship of Allah alone, associating with Him no other. He also ordered us to observe prayer, pay zakāh [alms] and practise fasting.[3]

From al-Madīnah the Islamic theocracy spread all over Arabia and later encompassed the larger part of Western Asia and North Africa. The community of al-Madīnah was in miniature the subsequent community of Islam.

Within a brief span of mortal life Muḥammad called forth out of unpromising material a nation never united before, in a

[1] Koran 5 : 92. The Nabataeans had an anti-bacchic deity.
[2] Cf. Koran 2 : 168.
[3] Fasting was ordained in the Madīnese period, long after the Abyssinian migration; Koran 2 : 179, 183. Ibn-Hishām, p. 219.

country that was hitherto but a geographical expression; established a religion which in vast areas superseded Christianity and Judaism and still claims the adherence of a goodly portion of the human race; and laid the basis of an empire that was soon to embrace within its far-flung boundaries the fairest provinces of the then civilized world. Himself an unschooled man,[1] Muḥammad was nevertheless responsible for a book still considered by one-sixth of mankind as the embodiment of all science, wisdom and theology.

[1] Koranic *ummī* (3 : 19), which Sunni (orthodox) Moslems interpret "illiterate", is explained by Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. iii, p. 143, as one among the Arabian polytheists, who have no revelation. Critical scholars point out that in the Koran (7 : 156; 3 : 68-9; 62 : 2) the term is used as if in opposition to *ahl al-kitāb* (the people of the Book) and should therefore be taken to mean one unable to read the holy scriptures of the earlier revealed religions; sūrah 25 : 6 is quoted as suggesting Muḥammad's ability to write Arabic.

CHAPTER IX

THE KORAN THE BOOK OF ALLAH

THE year following the death of Muḥammad, according to the orthodox view, abu-Bakr, on the recommendation of 'Umar, who had observed that the Koran memorizers (*ḥuffāẓ*) were becoming extinct, ordered that the scattered portions of the Koran be collected. Zayd ibn-Thābit of al-Madīnah, formerly Muḥammad's secretary, was entrusted with the task. Fragments from "ribs of palm-leaves and tablets of white stone and from the breasts of men" [1] were brought together and a text was constructed. In the caliphate of 'Uthmān (644–56) various readings in the current copies arose, due mainly to the defective nature of Kufic script; 'Uthmān accordingly appointed in 651 the same Zayd as chairman of the committee on revision. Abu-Bakr's copy, then in the custody of Ḥafṣah, daughter of 'Umar and one of Muḥammad's widows, was used as a basis. The original codex of the fresh version was kept in al-Madīnah; [2] three copies of this text were made and forwarded to the three military camps in Damascus, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, and all others were destroyed.

The modern scholarly view, however, doubts whether abu-Bakr ever made an official recension and maintains that 'Uthmān found several metropolitan codices in Arabia, Syria and al-'Irāq with divergent readings. 'Uthmān canonized the Madīnah codex and ordered all others destroyed. The text was finally fixed by the two vizirs ibn-Muqlah and ibn-'Īsa in 933 with the help of the learned ibn-Mujāhid. Ibn-Mujāhid admitted seven readings, which had developed because of lack of vowel and diacritical marks, as canonical.[3]

The Moslem view is that the Koran is the word of Allah

[1] Khaṭīb, *Mishkāh*, vol. i, p. 343.

[2] This copy is said to have been presented by the Turkish authorities to Emperor William II. See Versailles Treaty, Pt. VIII, Sec. II, art. 246.

[3] Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Koran* (Leyden, 1937), pp. 1-10; cf. Hartwig Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran* (London, 1902), pp. 138 *seq.*

dictated through Gabriel to Muḥammad from an archetype preserved in the seventh heaven (sūrs. 43:3, 56:76-9, 85:21-2).[1] Not only is the meaning therefore inspired but every word, every letter.

The arrangement of the sūrahs (koranic chapters) is mechanical, in the order of their length. The Makkan sūrahs, about ninety in number and belonging to the period of struggle, are mostly short, incisive, fiery, impassioned in style and replete with prophetic feeling. In them the oneness of Allah, His attributes, the ethical duties of man and the coming retribution constitute the favourite themes. The Madīnese sūrahs, the remaining twenty-four (about one-third of the contents of the Koran) which "were sent down" (*unzilat*) in the period of victory, are mostly long, verbose and rich in legislative material. In them theological dogmas and ceremonial regulations relating to the institutions of public prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and the sacred months are laid down. They moreover contain laws prohibiting wine, pork and gambling; fiscal and military ordinances relating to alms-giving (*zakāh*) and holy war (*jihād*); civil and criminal laws regarding homicide, retaliation, theft, usury, marriage and divorce, adultery, inheritance and the freeing of slaves. Sūrahs 2, 4 and 5 contain most of this legislative material. The often-quoted prescriptions for marriage (sūr. 4:3)[2] limit rather than introduce the practice of polygamy. Critics consider the statutes relating to divorce (4:24, 33:48, 2:229) the most objectionable, and those about the treatment of slaves, orphans and strangers (4:2, 3, 40; 16:73; 24:33) the most humane portions of Islamic legislation. The manumission of slaves is inculcated as something most pleasing to God and regarded as an expiation for many a sin. Flashes of the old eloquence and prophetic spark appear here and there in the Madīnese sūrahs, as in sūrah 24.[3] Among the noblest verses of the Koran are sūrah 2:172, 256.

Almost all the historical narratives of the Koran have their biblical parallels with the exception of a few purely Arabian stories relating to ʿĀd and Thamūd, Luqmān, the "owners of the elephant", and two others alluding to Alexander the Great (*Iskandar dhu-al-Qarnayn*)[4] and to the "Seven Sleepers"—all

[1] Consult Bayḍāwi, vol. ii, pp. 235, 309-10, 396.
[2] Cf. sūr. 70:29-30.
[3] The verses in this sūrah dealing with light betray Zoroastrian influence.
[4] Sūr. 18:82 *seq.*, where he seems to be invested with a divine commission. Dan. 8:5, 21, has a clear reference to Alexander.

of which receive but very brief mention. Among the Old Testament characters, Adam, Noah, Abraham[1] (mentioned about seventy times in twenty-five different sūrahs and having his name as a title for sūrah 14), Ishmael, Lot, Joseph (to whom sūrah 12 is dedicated), Moses (whose name occurs in thirty-four different sūrahs), Saul, David, Solomon, Elijah, Job and Jonah (whose name sūrah 10 bears) figure prominently. The story of the creation and fall of Adam is cited five times, the flood eight and Sodom eight. In fact the Koran shows more parallelism to the Pentateuch than to any other part of the Bible.

All these narratives are used didactically, not for the object of telling a story but to preach a moral, to teach that God in former times has always rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked. The story of Joseph is told in a most interesting and realistic way. The variations in this and in such other instances as the story of Abraham's response to the call of the one true God (sūr. 21 : 52 *seq.*) have their parallels in the midrash, Talmud and other non-canonical Jewish works.[2]

Of the New Testament characters Zachariah, John the Baptist, Jesus ('Īsa) and Mary are the only ones emphasized. The last two names are generally associated. Mary the mother of Jesus is also the daughter of 'Imrān and a sister of Aaron.[3] Haman (Hāmān), the favourite of Ahasuerus,[4] is himself the minister of Pharaoh.[5] It is worthy of note that the Arabic forms of the names of the Old Testament characters seem to have come mainly through Syriac (e.g. Nūḥ, Noah) and Greek (e.g. Ilyās, Elias; Yūnus, Jonah) rather than directly from Hebrew.

A comparative study of the above koranic and biblical narratives and such parallel passages as those that follow reveals no verbal dependence: sūr. 2 : 44-58 and Acts 7 : 36-53; sūr. 2 : 273 and Matt. 6 : 3, 4; sūr. 10 : 72 and 2 Pet. 2 : 5; sūrs. 10 : 73, 24 : 50 and Deut. 26 : 14, 17; sūr. 17 : 23-40 and Ex. 20 : 2-17, Deut. 5 : 6-21; sūr. 21 : 20 and Rev. 4 : 8; sūr. 23 : 3 and Matt.

[1] In the Madīnese sūrahs Abraham becomes a Ḥanīf, a Moslem (sūr. 3 : 60). He is held as Muḥammad's ideal predecessor, the spiritual ancestor of Islam (sūrs. 4 : 124, 3 : 61) and the founder of al-Ka'bah (2 : 118 *seq.*). As the "friend" of God he is cited in the Old Testament (Is. 41 : 8, 2 Ch. 20 : 7), the New Testament (Jas. 2 : 23) and the Koran (4 : 124).

[2] Consult *The Legacy of Israel*, ed. E. R. Bevan and C. Singer (Oxford, 1928), pp. 129-71.

[3] Sūrs. 19 : 16-29, 3 : 31-40.

[4] Esther 3 : 1.

[5] Sūrs. 28 : 38, 40 : 38.

6 : 7; sūr. 36 : 53 and 1 Th. 4 : 16; sūr. 39 : 30 and Matt. 6 : 24; sūr. 42 : 19 and Gal. 6 : 7-9; sūr. 48 : 29 and Mk. 4 : 28; and sūr. 92 : 18 and Lk. 11 : 41. The only passage which may be considered a direct quotation is sūrah 21 : 105, cf. Ps. 37 : 9. Others which bear striking resemblance are sūr. 21 : 104 and Is. 34 : 4; sūr. 53 : 39-42 and Ezek. 18 : 20; sūr. 53 : 45 and 1 Sam. 2 : 6; and sūr. 53 : 49 and 1 Sam. 2 : 7. Such verses as those dealing with an "eye for an eye". (sūr. 5 : 49 and Ex. 21 : 23-7), the "camel and the needle" (sūr. 7 : 38 and Matt. 19 : 24), the "house built upon the sand" (sūr. 9 : 110 and Matt. 7 : 24-7) and the "taste of death for every man" (sūrs. 21 : 36, 29 : 57, 3 : 182 and Heb. 9 : 27, 2 : 9, Matt. 16 : 28) evidently represent old Semitic proverbs and sayings common to both Hebrew and Arabic. The parallels between Matthew and the Makkan sūrahs seem particularly copious. Certain miraculous acts attributed to Jesus the child, such as speaking in the cradle (sūr. 3 : 41) and creating birds out of clay (sūr. 3 : 43), recall similar acts recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels, including the *Injīl al-Ṭufūlīyah*. The only conspicuous parallel with any of the contents of the sacred books of Persia occurs in the picture of heaven and hell, sketched with a brush dipped in materialistic colours (sūr. 56 : 8-56), which has a counterpart in the late writings of the Parsis. The picture itself may have been inspired by Christian miniatures or mosaics representing the gardens of Paradise with figures of angels which were interpreted as being those of young men and young women.

Though the youngest of the epoch-making books, the Koran is the most widely read book ever written, for besides its use in worship, it is the text-book from which practically every Moslem learns to read Arabic. Other than the official translation into Turkish no authorized Moslem translation into a foreign language exists; but there are unauthorized interlinear free translations by Moslems into several languages, including Persian, Bengali, Urdu, Marathi, Javanese and Chinese. In all, the Koran has been done into some forty languages.[1] The words (77,934), the

[1] The first translation into a foreign language was that into Latin undertaken (*ca.* 1141) by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, with the assistance of three Christian scholars and an Arab, in an attempt to refute the beliefs of Islam. In English the first translation appeared in 1649 (London), "*The Alcoran of Mahomet*, translated out of Arabique into French; by the Sieur Du Ryer. . . . And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities". Sale's translation (1734) from the original Arabic is a paraphrase influenced by the

verses (6236) and even the letters (323,621) have been painstakingly counted. This unbounded reverence for The Book reached its climax in the later dogma that it is "the uncreated word" of God, an echo of the "Logos" theory.[1] "Let none touch it but the purified."[2] In our own day the sight of a Moslem picking up a piece of paper from the street and tucking it carefully into a hole in a wall—lest the name of Allah be on it—is not rare.

The word Qur'ān itself means recitation, lecture, discourse. This book, a strong, living voice, is meant for oral recitation and should be heard in the original to be appreciated. No small measure of its force lies in its rhyme and rhetoric and in the cadence and sweep, which cannot be reproduced in translation without loss. Its length is four-fifths of that of the Arabic New Testament. The religious influence it exercises as the basis of Islam and the final authority in matters spiritual and ethical is only one side of the story. Theology, jurisprudence and science being considered by Moslems as different aspects of one and the same thing, the Koran becomes the scientific manual, the text-book, for acquiring a liberal education. In such a school as al-Azhar, the largest Moslem university in the world, this book still holds its own as the basis of the whole curriculum. Its literary influence may be appreciated when we realize that it was due to it alone that the various dialects of the Arabic-speaking peoples have not fallen apart into distinct languages, as have the Romance languages. While today an 'Irāqi may find it a little difficult fully to understand the speech of a Moroccan, yet he would have no difficulty in understanding his written language, since in both al-'Irāq and Morocco—as well as in Syria, Arabia, Egypt —the classical language modelled by the Koran is followed closely everywhere. At the time of Muḥammad there was no work of the first order in Arabic prose. The Koran was therefore the earliest, and has ever since remained the model, prose work. Its language is rhythmical and rhetorical, but not poetical. Its rhymed prose has set the standard which almost every conservative Arabic writer of today consciously strives to imitate.

Latin version of Marracci's *Refutatio Alcorani* (1698); Rodwell's (1861) arranges the sūrahs chronologically; and Palmer's (1880) tries to reproduce the Oriental flavour. Both Rodwell and Palmer were influenced by Sale. Richard Bell (1937-9) attempts a critical re-arrangement of the sūrahs. The earliest Arabic printing of the Koran was done between 1485 and 1499 in Venice by Alessandro de Paganini.

[1] Cf. John 1 : 1; Prov. 8 : 22-30. [2] Sūr. 56 : 78.

CHAPTER X

ISLAM THE RELIGION OF SUBMISSION TO THE WILL OF ALLAH

OF the three monothéistic religions developed by the Semites, the Islam of the Koran is the most characteristic and comes nearer the Judaism of the Old Testament than does the Christianity of the New Testament. It has such close affinities with both, however, that in the conception of many medieval European and Oriental Christians it stood as a heretic Christian sect rather than a distinct religion. In his *Divine Comedy* Dante consigns Muḥammad to one of the lower hells with all those "sowers of scandals and schism". Gradually Islam developed into an independent and distinct system of belief. The Ka'bah and Quraysh were the determining factors in this new orientation.

In dealing with the fundamentals of their religion Moslem theologians distinguish between *īmān* (religious belief), *'ibādāt* (acts of worship, religious duty) and *iḥsān* (right-doing), all of which are included in the term *dīn* (religion).[1] "Verily *the* religion [*dīn*] with God is Islam."[2]

Dogmas and beliefs

Īmān involves belief in God and in His angels, His "books" and His messengers and in the last day. Its first and greatest dogma is: *la ilāh illa Allāh*, no god but Allah. In *īmān* the conception of God stands supreme. In fact, over ninety per cent. of Moslem theology has to do with Allah. He is the one true God. The profession of His unity receives its most pregnant expression in sūrah 112. God is the supreme reality, the pre-existent, the creator (sūrs. 16 : 3-17, 2 : 27-8), the omniscient, omnipotent (13 : 9-17, 6 : 59-62, 2 : 100-101, 3 : 25-7), the self-subsistent (2 : 256, 3 : 1). He has ninety-nine excellent names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusna*,[3] sūr. 7 : 179) and as many attributes. The full Moslem rosary has ninety-nine beads corresponding to His names. His

[1] Cf. al-Shahrastāni, *al-Milal w-al-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton (London, 1842–6), p. 27.
[2] Koran 3 : 17.
[3] Al-Ghazzāli, *al-Maqṣad al-Asna*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1324), pp. 12 *seq.*; Baghawi, *Maṣābīḥ*, vol. i, pp. 96-7

attributes (*ṣifāt*) of love are overshadowed by those of might and majesty (sūr. 59 : 23-4). Islam (sūrs. 5 : 5, 6 : 125, 49 : 14) is the religion of "submission", "surrender", to the will of Allah. The submission of Abraham and his son in the supreme test, the attempted sacrifice by the father, expressed in the verb *aslamā* (sūr. 37 : 103), was evidently the act that provided Muḥammad with the name for the new faith.[1] In this uncompromising monotheïsm, with its simple, enthusiastic faith in the supreme rule of a transcendent being, lies the chief strength of Islam. Its adherents enjoy a consciousness of contentment and resignation unknown among followers of other creeds. Suicide is rare in Moslem lands.

The second dogma in *īmān* treats of Muḥammad as the messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah (sūrs. 7 : 157, 48 : 29), His prophet (7 : 156, 158), the admonisher (35 : 22) of his people, the last of a long line of prophets of whom he is the "seal" (33 : 40), and therefore the greatest. In the koranic system of theology Muḥammad is but a human being whose only miracle is the *iʿjāz* of the Koran;[2] but in tradition, folklore and popular belief he is invested with a divine aura. His religion is pre-eminently a practical one, reflecting the practical and efficient mind of its originator. It offers no unattainable ideal, few theological complications and perplexities, no mystical sacraments and no priestly hierarchy involving ordination, consecration and "apostolic succession".

The Koran is the word (*kalām*, sūrs. 9 : 6, 48 : 15, cf. 6 : 114-15) of Allah. It contains the final revelation (sūrs. 17 : 170-8, 97 : 1, 44 : 2, 28 : 51, 46 : 11) and is "uncreated". A koranic quotation is always introduced with "saith Allah". In its phonetic and graphic reproduction and in its linguistic form the Koran is identical and co-eternal with a heavenly archetype (sūrs. 56 : 76-9, 85 : 21-2). Of all miracles it is the greatest: all men and jinn in collaboration could not produce its like (17 : 90).

In its angelology Islam gives the foremost place to Gabriel (Jibrīl), the bearer of revelation (2 : 91),[3] who is also "the spirit of holiness" (16 : 104, 2 : 81) and "the faithful spirit" (26 : 193).

[1] C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933), pp. 90, 102 *seq.*

[2] The elegance of its composition, which constitutes its miraculous character; Koran 13 : 27-30, 17 : 87-96. See ibn-Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal w-al-Ahwā' w-al-Niḥal*, vol. iii (Cairo, 1347), pp. 10-14; al-Suyūṭi, *al-Itqān fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1925), vol. ii, pp. 116-25.

[3] This sūrah contains the only distinct assertion of Gabriel's being the medium of revelation; cf. sūrs. 81 : 19-20, 53 : 5-7.

As a messenger of the supreme deity he corresponds to the Hermes of Greek mythology.

Sin can be either moral or ceremonial. The worst and only unpardonable sin is *shirk*, joining or associating of other gods with the one true God (4 : 51, 116). Ascribing plurality to the Deity seemed most detestable to Muḥammad, and in the Madīnese sūrahs the polytheists are continually threatened with the last judgment (28 : 62 *seq.*, 21 : 98 *seq.*). In Muḥammad's mind "the people of the book", the Scripturaries,[1] i.e. the Christians and Jews, were probably not included among the polytheists, though some commentators on sūr. 98 : 5 would hold a different view.

The most impressive parts of the Koran deal with eschatology. One whole sūrah (75) is entitled The Resurrection (*al-qiyāmah*). The reality of future life is emphasized by the recurrent references to "the day of judgment" (15 : 35-6, 82 : 17-18), "the day of resurrection" (22 : 5, 30 : 56), "the day" (24 : 24-5, 31 : 32), "the hour" (15 : 85, 18 : 20) and "the inevitable" (69 : 1-2). Future life as depicted in the Koran, with its bodily pains and physical pleasures, implies the resurrection of the body.

The five pillars:

The religious duties (*'ibādāt*) of the Moslem centre on the so-called five pillars (*arkān*) of Islam.

1. Profession of faith

The profession of faith (*shahādah*), which is the first pillar, is summed up in the formula *la ilāh illa Allāh; Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* (no god but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah). These are the first words to strike the ear of the new-born Moslem babe; they are the last to be uttered at the grave. Between these two episodes no other words are more often repeated. They also occur in the muezzin's call to prayer chanted many times daily from the tops of minarets. Islam has generally satisfied itself with only a verbal profession; once the formula is accepted and reproduced the person is nominally a Moslem.

2. Prayer

Five times a day[2] is the faithful Moslem supposed to turn his face towards Makkah and recite his prescribed prayer. Prayer is the second pillar of faith. A bird's-eye view of the Moslem world at the hour of prayer (ignoring the difference caused by longitude and latitude) would present the spectacle of a series of concentric circles of worshippers radiating from the Ka'bah at Makkah and

[1] H. Lammens, *L'Islam: croyances et institutions* (Beirūt, 1926), p. 62, l. 17, and p. 219, l. 7.

[2] Dawn, midday, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall.

covering an ever-widening area from Sierra Leone to Canton and from Tobolsk to Cape Town.

The word for ritual prayer, *ṣalāh*, is an Aramaic loan-word, as its Arabic orthography (with a *wāw*) suggests. If prayer existed before Islam it must have been unorganized and informal. Though encouraged in an early sūrah (87 : 15) and its requirements are set forth in certain Makkan revelations (11 : 116, 17 : 80-81, 30 : 16-17), ritual prayer, with its prescribed number of five separate and distinct orisons per day and the prerequisite state of legal purity or ceremonial cleanliness (2 : 239, 24 : 57,[1] 4 : 46, 5 : 8-9), was not instituted until the Madīnese period. The middle prayer (2 : 239) was the last enjoined. The number five, according to al-Bukhāri,[2] was a compromise reached after Allah had asked for fifty on the occasion of Muḥammad's visit to the seventh heaven on his nocturnal journey (sūr. 17 : 1). Sūr. 4 : 46 seems to suggest that the limitation and later interdiction of the use of wine may have owed its origin to the necessity of keeping the divine service free from undue disturbance.

The ritual prayer is a legally defined act performed by all with the same general bodily postures and genuflections and with the same proper orientation. The worshipper should be in a state of legal purity (*ṭahārah*), and the use of Arabic as a medium of expression is absolutely incumbent upon him, no matter what his native tongue may be. In its stereotyped form prayer is not so much petition or supplication[3] as it is the mention of Allah's name (62 : 9-10, 8 : 47). The simple and meaningful *fātiḥah*, often likened to the Lord's Prayer, is reiterated by the faithful Moslem about twenty times a day. This makes it one of the most often repeated formulas ever devised. Doubly meritorious is the voluntary ritual prayer performed at night (*tahajjud*, 17 : 81, 50 : 38-9), for it is a work of supererogation (*nāfilah*).

The Friday noon prayer is the only public one (62 : 9, 5 : 63) and is obligatory for all adult males. Certain mosques have places reserved for women. One feature of the Friday service is the *khuṭbah* (address) delivered by the leader (*imām*), in which intercessory prayer is offered on behalf of the ruling head of the state. This congregational assembly had for its prototype the

[1] Cf. Ps. 55 : 17.

[2] *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. i, pp. 85 *seq.*; cf. Gen. 18 : 23-33.

[3] This is *du'ā'*, unregulated and private or individual prayer, not to be confused with the formal *ṣalāh*.

Jewish synagogue worship, but was influenced in its later development by the Christian Sunday service. In dignity, simplicity and orderliness it is unsurpassed as a manner of collective worship. Standing erect in self-arranged rows in the mosque and following the leadership of the *imām* with precision and reverence, the worshippers present a sight that is always impressive. As a disciplinary measure this congregational prayer must have had great value for the proud, individualistic sons of the desert. It developed in them the sense of social equality and the consciousness of solidarity. It promoted that brotherhood of community of believers which the religion of Muḥammad had theoretically substituted for blood relationship. The prayer ground thus became "the first drill ground of Islam".

3. Almsgiving

Prescribed originally as a voluntary act of love and considered almost identical with piety, *zakāh* (legal alms, sūrs. 2 : 216-17, 263-9, 273-5) evolved into an obligatory tax on property, including money, cattle, corn, fruit and merchandise. In the Koran (9 : 5, 2 : 40, 77, etc.) zakāh is often associated with the *ṣalāh*. The young Islamic state collected zakāh through regular officials and administered it from a central treasury to support the poor among the community, build mosques and defray government expenses (sūr. 9 : 60). The word *zakāh* is of Aramaic origin and is more specific than *ṣadaqah*, which is voluntary and implies alms-giving in general. Zakāh is a purely denominational institution, involving alms raised and distributed among Moslems alone. Its underlying principle tallies with the tithe, which, according to Pliny,[1] the South Arabian merchants had to pay to their god before they were allowed to sell their spices. Its exact amount varied and has been determined in the various cases by the *fiqh* (religious law), but generally it averaged two and a half per cent. Even soldiers' pensions were not exempt. Later, with the disintegration of the purely Islamic state, zakāh was again left to the Moslem's conscience. Zakāh constitutes the third pillar of the faith.

4. Fasting

Though penitential fasts are prescribed a number of times in the Madīnese sūrahs (58 : 5, 19 : 27, 4 : 94, 2 : 192), Ramaḍān as a fasting month is mentioned only once (2 : 179-81). That particular month, which may have been sacred in pre-Islamic days, was chosen because in it the Koran was first revealed (sūr. 2 : 181) and the victory of Badr won. Abstinence from all

[1] Bk. XII, ch. 32.

food and drink is enjoined from dawn till sunset (sūr. 2 : 183). Instances in which violence has been used in modern times by the government or by the populace against a non-fasting believer in Moslem lands are not unknown.

We have no evidence of any practice of fasting in pre-Islamic pagan Arabia, but the institution was, of course, well established among both Christians and Jews (Matt. 4 : 2; Deut. 9 : 9). Ibn-Hishām [1] states that the Quraysh in the Jāhilīyah days were wont to spend one month a year on Mt. Ḥirā' practising penance (*taḥannuth*). In al-Madīnah and before instituting Ramaḍān, Muḥammad evidently observed the tenth of Muḥarram (*'āshūrā'*) as a fast day; this he had adopted from the Jews.[2] In the Makkan sūrahs the word for fasting (*ṣawm*) occurs only once (19 : 27), and there apparently in the sense of "silence".

5. Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*, sūrs. 3 : 91; 2 : 192-6; 5 : 1-2, 96) is the fifth and last pillar of Islam. Once in a lifetime every Moslem of either sex who can afford it is supposed to undertake at a stated time of the year a holy visit to Makkah. *'Umrah* is the lesser pilgrimage to Makkah and may be made individually and at any time.

The pilgrim (*ḥājj*) makes his entry into the holy precincts as a *muḥrim* (wearing a seamless garment) and performs the seven-fold circumambulation of the Ka'bah (*ṭawāf*) and the seven-fold course (*sa'y*) between the adjacent al-Ṣafa mound and the Marwah eminence lying opposite.[3] The ḥajj proper begins with the march to 'Arafah,[4] which lasts from the seventh to the eighth of dhu-al-Ḥijjah. The halts (*wuqūf*) take place at the outlying sanctuaries of 'Arafah, namely, al-Muzdalifah and Mina. The stone-throwing ceremony takes place on the way to the valley of Mina at Jamrat al-'Aqabah. With the sacrifice at Mina of a camel or of a sheep or other horned domestic animal (Koran 22 : 34-7), which always takes place on the tenth of dhu-al-Ḥijjah and is celebrated throughout the Moslem world as 'Īd al-Aḍḥa (the festival of sacrifice), the whole ceremony formally ends. After the shaving of the head the garment

[1] *Sīrah*, pp. 151-2.

[2] Bukhāri, vol. ii, p. 208; Lev. 16 : 29.

[3] Moslems, according to their tradition, perform the *sa'y* in commemoration of the fact that Hagar ran back and forth seven times between these two eminences looking for a spring for her thirsty son.

[4] 'Arafah is the valley and 'Arafāt the mountain, according to Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, vol. i, p. 44, but the two words are often used interchangeably.

(*iḥrām*) is discarded and the *iḥlāl* (secular condition) resumed. As long as he is *muḥrim*, in a sanctified state, the pilgrim must observe, in addition to the abstinences imposed in connection with the fasting of Ramaḍān, such as sexual intercourse, those special regulations forbidding the shedding of blood, hunting and the uprooting of plants.

Pilgrimage to holy places was an ancient Semitic institution.[1] Echoes of it survived to Old Testament days (Ex. 23 : 14, 17; 34 : 22-3; 1 Sam. 1 : 3). Originally it may have been a feature of solar cult, the ceremonies of which coincided with the autumnal equinox and constituted a kind of farewell to the harsh rule of the burning sun and a welcoming to Quzaḥ, the thunder-god of fertility. In pre-Islamic days the annual fairs of North Arabia were followed by a pilgrimage in dhu-al-Ḥijjah to the Ka'bah and 'Arafah. In the seventh year of the Hijrah Muḥammad adopted and Islamized the ancient pilgrim rites centring on the Ka'bah and 'Arafah. In these rites Islam entered upon its largest share of heritage from pre-Islamic Arabia. Rif'at[2] relates that when a Bedouin nowadays makes his ritual walk round the Ka'bah he repeats in colloquial Arabic: "O Lord of this House! I testify that I have come. Say not that I have not come. Forgive me and forgive my father, if you will. Otherwise forgive me in spite of your unwillingness, for I have performed my pilgrimage, as you see."[3]

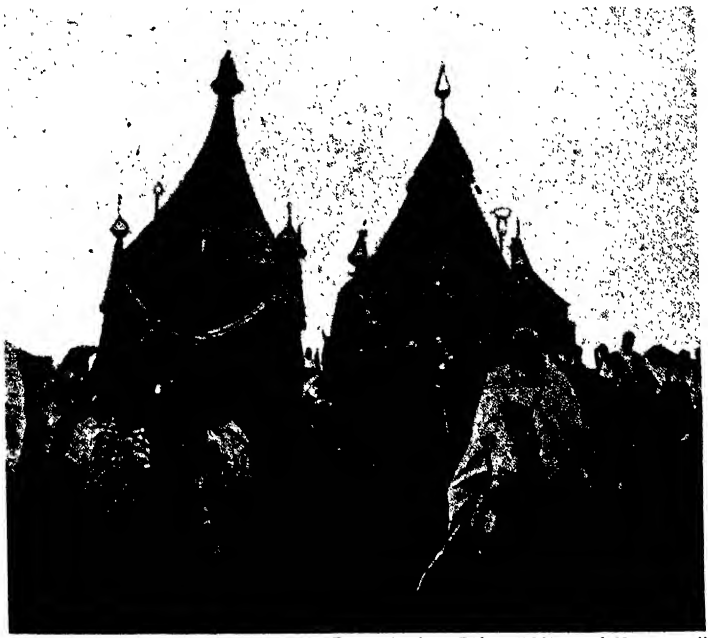
A constant trek of pilgrims across Central Africa, from Senegal, Liberia, Nigeria, is ever on the move eastward and increasing in numbers as it goes along. Some are on foot, others on camel-back. The majority are men, but a few are women and children. They trade, they beg, they work their way into the Highly Honoured Makkah (al-Mukarramah) and the Greatly Illuminated City (al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah). Many fall by the wayside and are martyrs; those who survive finally strike a western Red Sea port whence they are transported across by

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. by S. A. Cook (London, 1927), pp. 80, 276.

[2] Vol. i, p. 35.

[3] The same authority (vol. i, p. 35) overheard a Bedouin woman addressing herself to al-Ka'bah thus: "O Lady Laylah! if you bring rain to our region so that plenty [*khayr*] may follow, I shall fetch you a bottle of ghee so that you may anoint your hair". Hearing this another Bedouin woman asked the speaker, "Do you really mean to fetch her one as you say?" to which the former replied, "Hush, I am fooling her. Once she brings the rain I shall fetch nothing!"

dhows. But the four major caravans are those from al-Yaman, al-ʿIrāq, Syria and Egypt. Each of these countries used to send annually at the head of its caravan a *maḥmil* symbolic of its dignity. The Maḥmil, a splendidly decorated litter, is carried on a camel that is led and not ridden. Ever since the thirteenth century these Maḥmils have been sent by Moslem princes



From Ibrāhīm Rifʿat, "Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn"

THE EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN MAḤMILS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM AL-MUZDALIFAH TO MINA, 1904

anxious to display their independence and assert their claim as protectors of the Holy Places. Current tradition holds that Shajar-al-Durr, wife of one of the last Ayyūbid sultans, originated the idea of Maḥmil in the middle of the thirteenth century. But in several early works[1] the claim is made that the Umayyad viceroy in al-ʿIrāq, the famous al-Ḥajjāj († 714), was the one who initiated the practice. Whichever of the two stories be correct it was quite evidently the Mamlūk Baybars (1260–77) who celebrated the

[1] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 274; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 886, l. 6; ibn-Rustah, p. 192; al-Suyūṭi, *al-Kanz al-Madfūn* (Būlāq, 1288), p. 68.

occasion with such special festivities that the custom was established on a firm basis.[1] In recent years the Syrian caravan has been the only one comparable to the Egyptian in splendour. The average number of pilgrims annually since the Great War has been about 172,000. The official Turkish statistics for 1907 make the number for that year 280,000. The Malays normally send the largest number, some 30,000. In the pilgrim caravan the barren Ḥijāz has its main source of income.

Down through the ages this institution has continued to serve as the major unifying influence in Islam and the most effective common bond among the diverse believers. It rendered almost every capable Moslem perforce a traveller for once in his lifetime. The socializing influence of such a gathering of the brotherhood of believers from the four quarters of the earth is hard to over-estimate. It afforded opportunity for negroes, Berbers, Chinese, Persians, Syrians, Turks, Arabs—rich and poor, high and low—to fraternize and meet together on the common ground of faith. Of all world religions Islam seems to have attained the largest measure of success in demolishing the barriers of race, colour and nationality—at least within the confines of its own community. The line is drawn only between believers and the rest of mankind. These ḥajj gatherings have undoubtedly contributed their share towards the achievement of that result. They have further provided excellent opportunities for the propagation of sectarian ideas among peoples coming from lands not bound together by the modern means of communication and where the voice of the press is not yet a living voice. Such a movement as the Sanūsi in northern Africa owes its inception and early propagation to the intercourse provided by the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Holy War

The duty of *jihād*, holy war[2] (sūr. 2 : 186-90), has been raised to the dignity of a sixth pillar by at least one Moslem sect, the Khārijites. To it Islam owes its unparalleled expansion as a worldly power. It is one of the principal duties of the caliph to keep pushing back the geographical wall separating the *dār*

[1] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 74; cf. al-Maqrīzi, *al-Mawā'iẓ w-al-I'tibār*, ed. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1922), vol. iii, p. 300; *al-Sulūk fi Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, tr. M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1845), vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 149-50. The Maḥmil, the *markab* (litter) of the Ruwalah and the Ark of the Covenant may go back to the same ancient Semitic origin.

[2] Theoretically there is no secular war in Islam.

From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

PILGRIMS AROUND THE KA'BAH PERFORMING THE FRIDAY PRAYER, 1908

From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

NORTH-EASTERN VIEW OF THE KA'BAH, 1908

al-Islām (the land of Islam) from the *dār al-ḥarb* (the war territory). This bipartite division of the world into an abode of peace and an abode of war finds parallel in the communistic theory of Soviet Russia. Of more recent years, however, *jihād* has found less support in the Moslem world, chiefly because of the far-reaching extent of Islam, which flourishes under many alien governments considered too strong or too benevolent to be overthrown. The last such call to a universal uprising against non-Moslems, made as late as the autumn of 1914 by the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph Muḥammad Rashād, proved an utter failure.

The religious obligations (*'ibādāt*) discussed above constitute the fundamentals of Islam. But they are not the only ones instituted by koranic prescription. Right-doing (*iḥsān*) has the same authority behind it. The sanctions of private as well as public morality in the Moslem world are all of a religious character. Basically the will of Allah, as revealed through Muḥammad, determines what is right (*ḥalāl* = permitted, legitimate) and what is wrong (*ḥarām* = forbidden). In the historical evolution of religion in Arabia, Islam was the first to demand personal belief and personal morality (sūrs. 53 : 39-42, 31 : 32). In the realm of ethical conduct it substituted the moral fellowship of religion for the tribal fellowship of blood kinship. Of the human virtues it insists on beneficence, in the form of zakāh, most urgently. In such passages as 2 : 172; 3 : 100, 106, 109-11; 4 : 40; 7 : 31, which stand in favourable comparison with the best in the Old Testament (e.g. Amos 5 : 23-4; Hos. 6 : 6; Mic. 6 : 6-8), its ethical ideals are clearly set forth.

CHAPTER XI

PERIOD OF CONQUEST, EXPANSION AND COLONIZATION
A.D. 632–61

Orthodox Caliphs

1. Abu-Bakr . .	632–34
2. 'Umar . . .	634–44
3. 'Uthmān . .	644–56
4. 'Ali . . .	656–61

As long as Muḥammad lived he performed the functions of prophet, lawgiver, religious leader, chief judge, commander of the army and civil head of the state—all in one. But now Muḥammad was dead. Who was to be his successor, his *khalīfah* (caliph), in all except the spiritual function? In his rôle as the last and greatest prophet, who had delivered the final dispensation to mankind, Muḥammad evidently could have no one to succeed him.

The Prophet left no male children. Only one daughter, Fāṭimah, the wife of 'Ali, survived him. But the Arabian chiefdom or sheikhdom was not exactly hereditary; it was more electoral, following the line of tribal seniority. So even if his sons had not predeceased him, the problem would not have been solved. Nor did Muḥammad clearly designate a successor. The caliphate is therefore the oldest problem Islam had to face. It is still a living issue. In March 1924, sixteen months after cancelling the sultanate, the Kemālist Turks abolished the Ottoman caliphate in Constantinople held by 'Abd-al-Majīd II, and since then a number of pan-Islamic congresses have met in Cairo and Makkah to determine the rightful successor to the Prophet, but all to no avail. In the words of al-Shahrastāni:[1] "Never was there an Islamic issue which brought about more bloodshed than the caliphate [*imāmah*]".

As always happens when a serious question is thrown open for popular decision, a number of conflicting parties arose

[1] P. 12.

subsequent to the death of Muḥammad. These were on one side the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*), who based their claim on having belonged to the tribe of the Prophet and on having been the first to accept his mission. On the other stood the Madīnese Supporters (*Anṣār*), who asserted that had they not given Muḥammad and nascent Islam asylum both would have perished. Later these two parties coalesced to form the Companions (*ṣaḥābah*). Then came the Legitimists (*aṣḥāb al-naṣṣ w-al-ta'yīn*), who reasoned that Allah and Muḥammad could not have left the community of believers to the chances and whims of an electorate, and therefore must have made clear provision for its leadership by designating some particular person to succeed Muḥammad. 'Ali, the paternal cousin of the Prophet, the husband of his only surviving daughter and one of the first two or three believers, was the one thus designated and the only legitimate successor. As against the elective principle, this last party held to the divine right of rule. And last but not least came the aristocracy of Quraysh, the Umayyads, who held the reins of authority, power and wealth in the pre-Islamic days (but who were the last to profess Islam) and who later asserted their right to the successorship. It was abu-Sufyān, their head, who had led the opposition to the Prophet until the fall of Makkah.

The orthodox caliphate: A patriarchal age

The first party triumphed. The aged and pious abu-Bakr, a father-in-law of the Prophet and one of the first three or four to believe in him, received the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from the assembled chiefs, probably in accordance with a previously arranged scheme between himself, 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb and abu-'Ubaydah ibn-al-Jarrāḥ—the triumvirate who presided over the destinies of infant Islam.

Abu-Bakr headed the list of the four orthodox (*rāshidūn*) caliphs, including 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Ali. This was a period in which the lustre of the Prophet's life had not ceased to shed its light and influence over the thoughts and acts of the caliphs. All four were close associates and relatives of the Prophet. They lived in al-Madīnah, the scene of his last ministry, with the exception of the last, 'Ali, who chose al-Kūfah in al-'Irāq for his capital.

Arabia conquers itself

The short caliphate of abu-Bakr (632–4) was mostly occupied with the so-called *riddah* (secession, apostasy) wars. As represented by Arab chroniclers all Arabia outside of al-Ḥijāz, which

is alleged to have accepted Islam and acknowledged the temporal authority of the Prophet, upon his death broke off from the newly organized state and followed a number of local and false prophets. The fact is that with the lack of communication, the utter absence of organized methods of missionary activity and the short time involved, not more than one-third of the peninsula could actually have professed Islam during the life of the Prophet or recognized his rule. Even al-Ḥijāz, the immediate scene of his activity, was not Islamized until a year or two before his death. The delegates (*wufūd*) reported to have come to pay him homage could not have represented all Arabia, and for a tribe to become Moslem in those days simply meant that its chiefs so became.

Many such tribes in al-Yaman, al-Yamāmah and 'Umān felt reluctant to pay the zakāh to al-Madīnah. The death of the Prophet provided the excuse for active refusal. Jealousy against the rising hegemony of the Ḥijāz capital was one of the underlying motives. The old centrifugal forces characteristic of Arabian life were once more in full operation.

Abu-Bakr, however, was adamant in his insistence on unconditional surrender from "the seceders" or war unto destruction.[1] Khālid ibn-al-Walīd was the hero of these wars. Within some six months his generalship had reduced the tribes of Central Arabia to submission. First he subjugated the Ṭayyi'; then the Asad and Ghaṭafān, whose prophet, Ṭalḥah, the Moslems scoffingly styled Ṭulayḥah; and finally the banu-Ḥanīfah in al-Yamāmah, who had gathered under the banner of a prophet whose name, Musaylimah, appears derisively in the Arabic annals in this diminutive form. It was this Musaylimah who offered the most stubborn resistance. He unified his religious and worldly interests with Sajāḥ, possibly a Christian, who was the prophetess and soothsayer of the banu-Tamīm and whom he married; with 40,000 men at his command, so we are told, he crushed two Moslem armies before Khālid arrived with a third. Even from among this victorious third Khālid lost enough Koran readers to endanger the perpetuation of the knowledge of the sacred book. Other campaigns were conducted by various Moslem generals and with varying measures of success[2] in al-Baḥrayn,

[1] Balādhuri, p. 94, l. 14 = Hitti, p. 143, l. 23.
[2] Consult Balādhuri, pp. 94-107 = Hitti, pp. 143-62.

'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Yaman, where al-Aswad had been acknowledged prophet. Thus most of the *riddah* wars were directed not so much toward holding secessionists by force—which is the view of Arab historians—as toward bringing over to Islam many who had until that time been outside the fold.

The peninsula was now united under abu-Bakr by the sword of Khālid. Arabia had to conquer itself before it could conquer the world. The momentum acquired in these internal campaigns, which transformed Arabia for a number of months after the death of the Prophet into an armed camp, had to seek new outlets, and the newly acquired technique of organized warfare had to be applied somewhere. The warlike spirit of the tribes, now brought together into a nominally common fraternity, had to find new channels for asserting itself.

The two cardinal events of late ancient times are the Teutonic migrations resulting in the disruption of the venerable Roman empire, and the Arab conquests which demolished the Persian empire and shook the Byzantine power to its very foundation. Of these two, the Arab conquests culminating in the occupation of Spain marked the beginning of the Middle Ages.[1] If someone in the first third of the seventh Christian century had had the audacity to prophesy that within a decade some unheralded, unforeseen power from the hitherto barbarous and little-known land of Arabia was to make its appearance, hurl itself against the only two world powers of the age, fall heir to the one—the Sāsānid—and strip the other—the Byzantine—of its fairest provinces, he would undoubtedly have been declared a lunatic. Yet that was exactly what happened. After the death of the Prophet sterile Arabia seems to have been converted as if by magic into a nursery of heroes the like of whom both in number and quality is hard to match anywhere. The military campaigns of Khālid ibn-al-Walīd and 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ which ensued in al-'Irāq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are among the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napoleon, Hannibal or Alexander.

The enfeebled condition of the rival Byzantines and Sāsānids who had conducted internecine wars against each other for many generations; the heavy taxes, consequent upon these wars, imposed on the citizens of both empires and undermining their

[1] Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 7th ed. (Brussels, 1935).

sense of loyalty; the previous domestication of Arabian tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia, and particularly along the borders; the existence of schisms in the Christian church resulting in the establishment of Monophysite communities in Syria and Egypt and Nestorian congregations in al-'Irāq and Persia, together with the persecution by the orthodox church—all these paved the way for the surprisingly rapid progress of Arabian arms. The Byzantines had neglected the frontier forts. After their victory of Mu'tah, in the land of ancient Moab, over the column sent by the Prophet (Sept. 629), Heraclius stopped the subsidies which the Syro-Arab tribes south of the Dead Sea and on the Madīnah-Ghazzah route had regularly received.[1] The native Semites of Syria and Palestine as well as the Hamites of Egypt looked upon the Arabian newcomers as nearer of kin than their hated and oppressive alien overlords. In fact the Moslem conquests may be looked upon as the recovery by the ancient Near East of its early domain. Under the stimulus of Islam the East now awoke and reasserted itself after a millennium of Western domination. Moreover, the tribute exacted by the new conquerors was even less than that exacted by the old, and the conquered could now pursue their religious practices with more freedom and less interference. As for the Arabians themselves, they represented a fresh and vigorous stock fired with new enthusiasm, imbued with the will to conquer and emboldened by the utter contempt of death inculcated by their new faith. But no small share of their seemingly miraculous success was due to their application of a military technique adapted to the open steppes of Western Asia and North Africa—the use of cavalry and camelry—which the Romans never mastered.

The economic causes of the expansion

The "clerical" interpretation of the Islamic movement, emphasized in Arabic sources, makes it entirely or primarily a religious movement and lays no stress on the underlying economic causes. The corresponding and equally discredited hypothesis held by many Christians represents the Arabian Moslems as offering the Koran with the one hand and the sword with the other. Outside of the Arabian peninsula and especially in the instance of the *ahl al-kitāb* (Christians and Jews) there was a third and, from the standpoint of the conquerors, more desirable choice besides the Koran and the sword—tribute.

[1] Theophanes, pp. 335-6.

"Make war . . . upon such of those to whom the Book has been given until they pay tribute offered on the back of their hands, in a state of humiliation."[1] This third choice was later by the necessity of circumstances offered to Zoroastrians and heathen Berbers and Turks; in the case of all of these theory gave way to expediency. Islam did provide a new battle-cry, a convenient rallying-point and a party watchword. It undoubtedly acted as an adhesive and cementing agency for the heterogeneous masses never before united and furnished a large part of the driving force. But it is hardly in itself enough to explain the conquests. Not fanaticism but economic necessity drove the Bedouin hordes, and most of the armies of conquest were recruited from the Bedouins, beyond the confines of their arid abode to the fair lands of the north. The passion to go to heaven in the next life may have been operative with some, but the desire for the comforts and luxuries of the civilized regions of the Fertile Crescent was just as strong in the case of many.

This economic aspect of the interpretation of the conquests, worked out by Caetani,[2] Becker[3] and other modern critical scholars, was not entirely ignored by the Arab chroniclers of old. Al-Balādhuri, the most judicious of the historians of the conquest, declares that in recruiting for the Syrian campaign abu-Bakr "wrote to the people of Makkah, al-Ṭā'if, al-Yaman and all the Arabs in Najd and al-Ḥijāz summoning them to a 'holy war' and arousing their desire for it and for the booty to be got from the Greeks".[4] Rustam, the Persian general who defended his country against the Arab invasion, made the following remark to the Moslem envoy: "I have learned that ye were forced to what ye are doing by nothing but the narrow means of livelihood and by poverty".[5] A verse in the *Ḥamāsah* of abu-Tammām[6] has put the case tersely:

> No, not for Paradise didst thou the nomad life forsake;
> Rather, I believe, it was thy yearning after bread and dates.

Envisaged in its proper setting, the Islamic expansion marks the final stage in the age-long process of gradual infiltration from

[1] Sūr. 9 : 29.
[2] *Annali*, vol. ii, pp. 831-61.
[3] In *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), vol. ii, ch. xi.
[4] *Futūḥ*, p. 107 = Hitti, p. 165.
[5] Balādhuri, pp. 256-7 = Hitti, pp. 411-12.
[6] P. 792.

the barren desert to the adjacent Fertile Crescent, the last great Semitic migration.

The chroniclers, all of whom viewed the events of the conquest in the light of their subsequent developments, would also have us believe that these campaigns were conducted through the sagacity of the first caliphs, particularly abu-Bakr and 'Umar, in accordance with carefully prearranged plans. History shows but very few cases in which the course of great events was foreseen by those who launched them. Far from being entirely the result of deliberate and cool calculation, the campaigns seem to have started as raids to provide new outlets for the warring spirit of the tribes now forbidden to engage in fratricidal combats, the objective in most cases being booty and not the gaining of a permanent foothold. But the machine so built soon got beyond the control of those who built it. The movement acquired momentum as the warriors passed from victory to victory. It was then that the systematic campaigns began, and the creation of the Arab empire followed inevitably. Its creation was therefore due less to early design than to the logic of immediate circumstances.

The clerical or theological view favouring a providential interpretation of Islamic expansion, corresponding to the Old Testament interpretation of the Hebrew history and to the medieval philosophy of Christian history, has a faulty philological basis. The term Islam may be used in three senses: originally a religion, Islam later became a state, and finally a culture. Unlike Judaism and the old Buddhism, the religion of Islam proved as much of an aggressive and missionary religion as Christianity. Subsequently it built up a state. The Islam that conquered the northern regions was not the Islamic religion but the Islamic state. The Arabians burst forth upon an unsuspecting world as members of a national theocracy. It was Arabianism and not Muḥammadanism that triumphed first. Not until the second and third centuries of the Moslem era did the bulk of the people in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia profess the religion of Muḥammad. Between the military conquest of these regions and their religious conversion a long period intervened. And when they were converted the people turned primarily because of self-interest—to escape tribute and seek identification with the ruling class. As for Islam as a culture, it developed slowly after

the military conquests on a substratum composed of the core and heritage of the Syro-Aramaean, Persian and Hellenistic civilizations which had preceded it. With Islam the Near Orient not only recaptured the whole of its former political domain but regained in the realm of culture its ancient intellectual pre-eminence.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA

ABOUT the same time that Heraclius, newly hailed deliverer of Christendom and restorer of the unity of the Eastern Empire, was in Jerusalem reinstalling the true Cross,[1] which had just been recovered from the Persians, his troops beyond the Jordan reported an attack by an Arabian band which was repelled with little difficulty. Mu'tah, on the frontier of al-Balqā' to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, was the scene of the encounter. Zayd ibn-Ḥārithah, the adopted son of Muḥammad, was the leader; under him were 3000 men.[2] Zayd lost his life in the raid and the newly converted Khālid ibn-al-Walīd succeeded in leading the remnant of the shattered army back to al-Madīnah. The ostensible object of the raid was to avenge the martyrdom of the Prophet's emissary sent to the Ghassānid prince of Buṣra; the real one was to secure the coveted Mashrafīyah[3] swords manufactured at Mu'tah and neighbouring towns with a view to using them in the impending attack on Makkah. The event was naturally interpreted as one of the ordinary raids to which the settled peoples of the borderland had long been accustomed; but actually it was the first gun in a struggle that was not to cease until the proud Byzantine capital had fallen (1453) to the last representatives of Islam and the name of Muḥammad substituted for that of Christ on the walls of the most magnificent cathedral of Christendom, St. Sophia.

The Mu'tah engagement was the only campaign against Syria in the lifetime of the Prophet. The Tabūk[4] expedition in the following year (A.H. 9/630) led by him in person was bloodless, though it netted a few Jewish and Christian oases.

At the conclusion of the Riddah wars in the autumn of 633,

[1] Sept. 14, 629, still celebrated with bonfire in the Lebanon.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1610. Cf. Theophanes, p. 336.

[3] From *Mashārif al-Sha'm*, i.e. the highlands overlooking Syria. M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (Leyden, 1900), p. 5.

[4] Wāqidi, pp. 425 *seq.*; Balādhuri, p. 59 = Hitti, p. 92.

three detachments of about 3000 men each, led respectively by 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ, Yazīd ibn-abi-Sufyān and Shuraḥbīl ibn-Ḥasanah,[1] marched northward and began operations in southern and south-eastern Syria. Yazīd had as standard bearer his brother Mu'āwiyah, the future distinguished founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Yazīd and Shuraḥbīl took the direct Tabūk-Ma'ān route, whereas 'Amr, who in case of unified action was to be commander in chief, took the coast route via Aylah. The numbers of each detachment were later augmented to some 7500 men. Abu-'Ubaydah ibn-al-Jarrāḥ, soon to become generalissimo, probably headed one of the reinforcements and took the famous pilgrims' route which followed the older transport route from al-Madīnah to Damascus.

In the first encounter, at Wādi 'Arabah, the great depression south of the Dead Sea, Yazīd triumphed over Sergius the patrician of Palestine, whose headquarters were at Cæsarea (Qaysārīyah). On their retreat towards Ghazzah the remnant of the several thousand Byzantine troops under Sergius were overtaken at Dāthin and almost annihilated (February 4, 634). In other places, however, the natural advantages of the Byzantines were telling and the Moslem invaders were being harassed. Heraclius, the veteran of six years' campaigning which had cleared the Persians from Syria and Egypt, hastened from Edessa (al-Ruhā'), the home of his ancestors, to organize and dispatch to the south a fresh army under his brother Theodorus.

In the meantime Khālid ibn-al-Walīd, "the sword of Allah",[2] who was operating in al-'Irāq at the head of some five hundred Riddah veterans in co-operation with the banu-Shaybān, a subtribe of the Bakr ibn-Wā'il domiciled on the Persian border, was ordered by abu-Bakr to rush to the relief of his fellow generals on the Syrian front. Though a minor affair in itself and undertaken possibly without the knowledge of the caliph, chronologically the raid on al-'Irāq stands at the commencement of the Moslem military enterprises. But from the standpoint of al-Madīnah and al-Ḥijāz neighbouring Syria was the place of chief concern. Before abu-Bakr issued his orders al-Ḥīrah in al-'Irāq had capitulated to Khālid and his ally al-Muthanna ibn-

[1] Cf. al-Baṣri, *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, ed. W. N. Lees (Calcutta, 1853–4), pp. 8-11, 40-42.
[2] Wāqidi, p. 402; ibn-'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, ed. 'Abd-al-Qādir Badrān, vol. v (Damascus, 1332), pp. 92, 102.

Ḥārithah, the chief of the Shaybān Bedouins, for a consideration of 60,000 dirhams. This town with its Arab Christian kinglet was the earliest acquisition of Islam outside the peninsula and the first apple to fall from the Persian tree. 'Ayn al-Tamr, a fortified place in the desert north-west of al-Kūfah, had also been captured just before the famous march on Syria.

Khālid's perilous march

Khālid's itinerary through the desert presents many historical and geographical problems, for different authors have given us different routes and conflicting dates.[1] As reconstructed from a critical examination of all the sources[2] his march probably started from al-Ḥīrah (March 634) and led westward through the desert to the oasis of Dūmat[3] al-Jandal (modern al-Jawf), situated midway between al-'Irāq and Syria on the easiest route. Once in Dūmah he could have continued through Wādi Sirḥān (ancient Baṭn al-Sirr) to Buṣra, the first gateway of Syria; but forts lay on the way. Therefore Khālid took the north-western route from Dūmah to Qurāqir[4] on the eastern boundary of Wādi Sirḥān and thence pushed due northward to Suwa,[5] the second gateway of Syria, a journey of five days in an almost waterless desert. A certain Rāfi' ibn-'Umayr of the Ṭayyi' tribe acted as guide. Water for the troops was carried in bags; but for the horses the paunches of the old camels, later to be slaughtered for food, served as reservoirs.[6] The troops, five to eight hundred in all, rode camels; the few horses to be used at the time of the encounter were led alongside. At one spot Rāfi', with eyes so dazzled by the rays of the sun reflected from the sand that he could not see the expected sign for water, besought the men to look for a box-thorn (*'awsaj*). As they dug near it they struck damp sand whence water trickled forth, to the relief of the distressed army.

With dramatic suddenness Khālid appeared in the neighbourhood of Damascus (Dimashq) and directly in the rear of the Byzantine army after only eighteen days' journey. Here he

[1] Cf. Balādhuri, pp. 110-12; Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. ii, pp. 150-51; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2111-13, 2121-4; ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, p. 130; ibn-al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Ta'rīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. ii (Leyden, 1867), pp. 312-13.

[2] Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 553-73.

[3] Mentioned in Gen. 25 : 14, Is. 21 : 11.

[4] Modern Qulbān Qarāqir.

[5] Near modern Sab' Biyār (seven wells) north-east of Damascus.

[6] Ashurbanipal refers to enemy Arabs who "ripped open their riding-camels" to quench their thirst; Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 827; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 570.

began his marauding expeditions in the course of one of which he encountered and defeated the Christian forces of the Ghassānids at Marj Rāhiṭ[1] on their Easter Sunday. Thence Khālid continued his triumphal march against Buṣra (Eski-Shām or Old Damascus). Here he evidently succeeded in effecting a junction with the other Arabian forces whose bloody victory at Ajnādayn[2] on July 30, 634, had laid open before them practically all Palestine. With the junction of the forces Khālid assumed supreme command of the united army. Systematic campaigning now began. Buṣra, one of the Ghassānid capitals, fell without much resistance. Fiḥl (or Faḥl, Gr. Pella), east of the Jordan and commanding its crossing, followed suit on January 23, 635. The road towards the Syrian metropolis of Damascus was cleared by the rout of the enemy at Marj al-Ṣuffar[3] on February 25, 635. Two weeks later Khālid stood before the gate of the city reputed by tradition to be the oldest in the world and from whose walls Paul was let down in a basket on that memorable night of his flight. Damascus, soon to become the capital of the Islamic empire, surrendered in September 635, after six months' siege, through treachery on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, who included the grandfather of the celebrated St. John, of whom we shall later hear under the Umayyads. Abandoned by the Byzantine garrison, the civilian population of Damascus capitulated. The terms served as a model for future arrangements with the remaining Syro-Palestinian cities:

> In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Khālid ibn-al-Walīd would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city wall shall not be demolished, neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of His Prophet, the caliphs and the believers. So long as they pay the poll tax, nothing but good shall befall them.[4]

The poll tax was evidently one dinar and one *jarīb* (measure of wheat) on every head, which sum 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb later increased. Ba'labakk, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh (Epiphania) and other towns fell one after the other like ninepins. Nothing stood in

[1] A Ghassānid camp about 15 miles from Damascus, near 'Adhrā'.
[2] Or Jannābatayn, between al-Ramlah and Bayt Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis) on the hazzah-Jerusalem road.
[3] A plain 20 miles south of Damascus.
[4] Balādhuri, p. 121 = Hitti, p. 187.

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the way of the advancing conqueror. "The people of Shayzar [Larissa] went out to meet him accompanied by players on the tambourines and singers and bowed down before him."[1]

The decisive battle of Yarmūk

In the meantime Heraclius had mustered an army of some 50,000 again under his brother Theodorus, and was prepared for a decisive stand. Khālid relinquished for the time being Ḥimṣ, even Damascus and other strategic towns, and concentrated some 25,000 men[2] at the valley of Yarmūk,[3] the eastern tributary of the Jordan. Months of skirmishing came to a climax on August 20, 636, a hot day clouded by the wind-blown dust of one of the most torrid spots on earth and undoubtedly fixed upon by Arabian generalship. Before the terrific onslaught of the sons of the desert the efforts of the Byzantine troops, aided by the chants and prayers of their priests and the presence of their crosses,[4] proved of no avail. Those of the Byzantines and their Armenian and Arab mercenaries who were not slaughtered on the spot were relentlessly driven into the steep bed of the river and the Ruqqād valley; the few who managed to escape across it were almost annihilated on the other side. Theodorus himself fell and the imperial army was converted into a fleeing, panic-stricken mob. The fate of Syria was decided. One of the fairest provinces was for ever lost to the Eastern Empire. "Farewell, O Syria, and what an excellent country this is for the enemy!"[5] were Heraclius' words of adieu.

The turn of the administrator, the pacifier, now came. Abu-'Ubaydah, one of the most esteemed Companions and members of the Madīnese theocracy and hitherto a contingent leader on the Syrian front, was appointed by 'Umar governor-general and caliphal vice-regent to replace Khālid, against whom 'Umar seems to have harboured some personal feeling. Abu-'Ubaydah accompanied Khālid northward. No further serious resistance stood in the way of the Arabian arms until the natural limits of Syria, the Taurus Mountains, were reached, and no difficulty was experienced in reclaiming the cities previously conquered. A

[1] Balādhuri, p. 131 = Hitti, pp. 201-2.

[2] Neither the Arabic chronicles, which estimate the Byzantine army at between 100,000 and 240,000 and the Moslem army at about 40,000, nor the Greek records are reliable. Cf. Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, vol. iv (Paris, 1910), p. 416; tr. Chabot, vol. ii (Paris, 1901), p. 421.

[3] Near the junction of the Yarmūk and al-Ruqqād. Not to be confused with Jarmuth of Josh. 10 : 3, modern Khirbat Yarmūk, near Ajnādayn.

[4] Baṣri, p. 197; ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, p. 163. [5] Balādhuri, p. 137 = Hitti, p. 210.

statement attributed to the people of Ḥimṣ is representative of the sentiment cherished by the native Syrians towards the new conquerors: "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny under which we have been living".[1] Antioch, Aleppo and other northern towns were soon added to the list. Qinnasrīn (Chalcis) was the only city that was not easily dealt with. In the south only Jerusalem and Cæsarea, which was strictly Hellenized, held their gates stubbornly closed in the face of the invaders, the former till 638 and the latter till October 640. Cæsarea received help by sea which the Arabians had no means of intercepting, but after a siege of seven years it succumbed before the attack of Mu'āwiyah, aided by the treachery of a Jew within the walls. Between 633 and 640 all Syria from south to north was subdued.

This "easy conquest" [2] of the land had its own special causes. The Hellenistic culture imposed on the land since its conquest by Alexander (332 B.C.) was only skin-deep and limited to the urban population. The rural people remained ever conscious of cultural and racial differences between themselves and their masters. This racial antipathy between the Semitic population of Syria and the Greek rulers was augmented by sectarian differences. The Monophysite church of Syria insisted that Christ had but one nature instead of the two (divine and human) formulated by the Synod of Chalcedon (451) and accepted by the Greek church of Byzantium. The christological compromise of Heraclius, promulgated in 638 on the basis of a formula devised by Sergius[3] the patriarch of Constantinople, aimed at ignoring the question of the nature or natures in the person of Christ and emphasizing his one will (*thélēma*). Hence the name Monothelite for a Christian who accepted the new formula. Like other religious compromises this one neither pleased the orthodox nor satisfied the dissenters. Instead it resulted in the creation of a third problem and a new party. But the bulk of the population of Syria remained Monophysite. Behind their development and maintenance of a separate Syrian church there undoubtedly lay a submerged, semi-articulate feeling of nationality.

Just before the fall of Jerusalem the Caliph 'Umar came to the

The administration of the new territory

[1] Balādhuri, p. 137, l. 13 = Hitti, p. 211.

[2] Balādhuri, p. 116, l. 18, p. 126, ll. 13, 19 = Hitti, p. 179, l .17, p. 193, l. 22, p. 194, l. 7.

[3] A Syrian of Jacobite lineage.

military camp of al-Jābiyah, which lay north of the Yarmūk battlefield and whose name is still borne by the western gate of Damascus; his purpose was to solemnize the conquest, fix the status of the conquered, consult with his generalissimo, abu-'Ubaydah, whom he had substituted for Khālid after the Yarmūk battle, and lay down necessary regulations for the administration of the newly acquired territory. When Jerusalem fell it too was visited by 'Umar. As the patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, styled the "honey-tongued defender of the church", was showing the aged caliph round the holy places he was so impressed by the uncouth mien and shabby raiment of his Arabian visitor that he is said to have turned to an attendant and remarked in Greek, "Truly this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet as standing in the holy place".[1]

Soon abu-'Ubaydah fell victim at 'Amwās (or 'Amawās) to an epidemic which is said to have carried off 20,000 of his troops, and after the death of his successor, Yazīd, the power passed to the hands of the shrewd Mu'āwiyah.

Syria was now divided into four military districts (sing. *jund*) corresponding to the Roman and Byzantine provinces found at the time of the conquest. These were: Dimashq, Ḥimṣ, al-Urdunn (Jordan) comprising Galilee to the Syrian desert, and Filasṭīn (Palestine), the land south of the great plain of Esdraelon (Marj ibn-'Āmir). The northern district, Qinnasrīn, was added later by the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd I.

So swift and easy an acquisition of so strategic a territory from the first potentate of the age gave the newly rising power of Islam prestige in the eyes of the world and, what is more important, confidence in its own destiny. From Syria the hordes swept into Egypt and thence made their triumphant way through the rest of northern Africa. With Syria as a base the onward push to Armenia, northern Mesopotamia, Georgia and Ādharbayjān became possible, as did the raids and attacks which for many years to come were to be carried on against Asia Minor. With the help of Syrian troops Spain in far-off Europe was in less than a hundred years from the death of the Prophet brought within the ever widening circle of Islam.

[1] Theophanes, p. 339; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De administrando imperio", in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cxiii (Paris, 1864), p. 109. Sophronius was probably of Maronite origin.

CHAPTER XIII

AL-'IRĀQ AND PERSIA CONQUERED

WHEN Khālid in 634 made his memorable dash westward from al-Ḥīrah he left the 'Irāq front in the hands of his Bedouin ally al-Muthanna ibn-Ḥārithah, sheikh of the banu-Shaybān. In the meantime the Persians were preparing a counter-attack and succeeded in almost annihilating the Arabian bands at the Battle of the Bridge [1] near al-Ḥīrah, November 26, 634. Undaunted, al-Muthanna undertook a new raid and in October or November of the following year scored over the Persian general Mihrān a victory at al-Buwayb on the Euphrates. But al-Muthanna was no more than a Bedouin chief, with no Madīnese or Makkan connections, and had not heard of or accepted Islam until after the death of the Prophet. The Caliph 'Umar therefore chose Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, one of those Companions promised Paradise by Muḥammad at the conclusion of the Battle of Badr, as commander in chief and sent him at the head of new reinforcements to al-'Irāq. By that time the victory of Yarmūk had been won and the fate of Syria sealed. Sa'd with his 6000 men measured his strength for the first time with the Persian Rustam, the administrator of the empire, at al-Qādisīyah, not far from al-Ḥīrah. The day (the last of May or first of June 637) was extremely hot and was rendered dark by the wind-blown dust, a day not unlike that on which the battle of Yarmūk was fought. The same tactics were used with the same results. Rustam was killed, the large Sāsānid army dissolved in panic and all the fertile lowlands of al-'Irāq [2] west of the Tigris (Dijlah) lay open to the invaders. The welcome on the part of the Aramaean peasants was no less cordial than that tendered by the Syrian peasants, and for much the same reasons. The Semitic 'Irāqis

[1] Across the Euphrates. Balādhuri, pp. 251-2; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2194-2201.

[2] *'Irāq*, probably a loan-word from Pahlawi meaning "lowland", corresponds to Ar. *Sawād*, black land, used to bring out the contrast with the Arabian desert. Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 174; cf. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 60.

looked upon the Iranian masters as aliens and felt closer kinship with the newcomers. As Christians they had not been especially favoured by the followers of Zoroaster. For centuries before Islam petty Arab chiefdoms and kinglets had flourished on the 'Irāq-Arabian border. The Arab control of the valley of the two rivers was anticipated by intimate relations with its peoples dating to the early Babylonian era, by growing acquaintance with its culture and by the admixture of border Bedouins with its inhabitants. As in the case of Syria after Yarmūk an exodus of fresh Arabian tribes, attracted by the new economic advantages, took place into the newly conquered territory.

The Persian capital, Ctesiphon,[1] was Sa'd's next objective. With characteristic dash and energy he pushed ahead and at a convenient ford effected the crossing of the Tigris, much swollen by the spring floods. The feat was accomplished without loss of life to the army and was hailed as a miracle by Moslem chroniclers. In June 637 Sa'd made his triumphal entry into the capital whose garrison together with the emperor had deserted it. Arab chroniclers outdo themselves in their extravagant description of the booty and treasures captured therein. Their estimate is nine billion dirhams.[2]

The occupation of the greatest royal city in hither Asia brought the sons of barren Arabia into direct contact with the luxuries and comforts of the then modern high life. The *Īwān Kisra*, the royal palace with its spacious audience chamber, graceful arches and sumptuous furnishings and decorations—all celebrated in later Arabic poetry—was now at the disposal of Sa'd. Amusing as well as instructive are some of the anecdotes embedded in the Arabic chronicles which throw light upon the comparative culture of the two peoples. Camphor, never seen before, was naturally taken for salt and used as such in cooking.[3] "The yellow" (*al-ṣafrā'*, i.e. gold), something unfamiliar in Arabia, was offered by many in exchange for "the white" (*al-bayḍā'*, silver).[4] When an Arabian warrior at al-Ḥīrah was blamed for

[1] Arabic al-Madā'in, literally the cities, which included Seleucia and Ctesiphon on either side of the Tigris some 20 miles south-east of Baghdād.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2436; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ii, p. 400; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. iii, pp. 742-6.

[3] Ibn-al-Ṭiqṭaqa, *al-Fakhri*, ed. H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1895), p. 114.

[4] *Fakhri*, p. 115; cf. al-Dīnawari, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass (Leyden, 1888), p. 134.

selling a nobleman's daughter who fell as his share of booty for only 1000 dirhams, his reply was that he "never thought there was a number above ten hundred".[1]

After al-Qādisīyah and al-Madā'in the systematic conquest of the empire began from the newly founded military base at al-Baṣrah. By express command of the caliph the military camp of al-Kūfah, near older al-Ḥīrah, was to be the capital in preference to Ctesiphon, where Saʿd had built one of the first Moslem places of worship in al-ʿIrāq.

In the meantime the Sāsānid Yazdagird III and his imperial court were fleeing northward. Another futile stand (end of 637) at Jalūlā' on the fringe of the Persian highlands and all of al-ʿIrāq lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors. In 641 al-Mawṣil (Mosul), near the site of ancient Nineveh, was reached and captured. This brought to a successful culmination the expedition which was started from northern Syria by ʿIyāḍ ibn-Ghanm. In the same year the last great battle, that of Nihāwand (near ancient Ecbatana), was fought, with a nephew of Saʿd leading the Arabian forces, and resulted in a disastrous defeat of the last remnant of Yazdagird's army. Khūzistān (ancient Elam, later Susiana, modern ʿArabistān) was occupied in 640 from al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. In the meantime an attempt was made on the adjoining province of Pārs (Fāris, Persia proper),[2] on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, from al-Baḥrayn, which with al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah formed now a third military base of operation against Iran. The stiffening resistance of the non-Semitic population was finally broken by ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿĀmir, the governor of al-Baṣrah, who occupied Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), the chief city of Fāris, in 649–50.[3] After Fāris the turn of the great and distant province of Khurāsān, in the north-east, came; the path then lay open to the Oxus. The subjection of Mukrān, the coastal region of Baluchistan, shortly after 643 brought the Arabs to the very borders of India.

As early as 640 an attempt was made on Byzantine Armenia by ʿIyāḍ. About four years later an expedition set out from Syria

[1] Balādhuri, p. 244 = Hitti, p. 392; cf. *Fakhri*, pp. 114-15.

[2] The Persians called their country Īrān, of which Pārs (the home of its two greatest dynasties, the Achaemenian and the Sāsānid) was but the southern province. The Greeks corrupted old Pers. *Pārsa* to *Persis* and used it for the whole kingdom.

[3] See Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2545-51; Caetani, vol. iv, pp. 151-3, vol. v, pp. 19-27, vol. vii, pp. 219-20, 248-56.

under the leadership of Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah, but the district was not completely reduced till about 652.[1]

The military camp al-Kūfah became the capital of the newly conquered territories. Heedless of 'Umar's insistence on the old-fashioned simplicity characteristic of al-Ḥijāz, Sa'd erected here a residence modelled on the royal palace of Ctesiphon. The gates of the old capital were transported to the new, a symbolic custom practised repeatedly in the Arab East. Built first of reeds as barracks to house the soldiers and their families, the camp exchanged its huts for unbaked brick houses and soon grew into an important metropolis. Along with its sister camp al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah became the political and intellectual centre of Arab Mesopotamia until the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr built his world-famous city, Baghdād.

In 651 or 652 the young and ill-starred Yazdagird, fleeing with his crown and treasures, fell victim to the greed of one of his own people in a miller's hut near Marw (Pers. Marv).[2] With his death there came to an ignoble end the last ruler of an empire that had flourished for some twelve centuries, an empire that was not fully to rise again for eight hundred years or more.

This initial and inconclusive conquest of Persia took about a decade to achieve; the Moslem arms met with much more stubborn resistance than in Syria. In the campaign some 35,000–40,000 Arabians, inclusive of women, children and slaves, must have taken part. The Persians were Aryans, not Semites; they had enjoyed a national existence of their own for centuries and represented a well-organized military power that had been measuring swords with the Romans for over four hundred years. In the course of the following three centuries of Arab rule Arabic became the official language as well as the speech of cultured society and, to a limited extent, of ordinary parlance. But the old spirit of the subject nation was to rise again and restore its neglected tongue. Persia contributed a large share of the Qarmaṭian (Carmathian) movement which for many years shook the caliphate to its foundation; it also had much to do with the development of the Shī'ite sect and with the founding of the Fāṭimid dynasty which ruled Egypt for over two centuries. Its art, its literature, its philosophy, its medicine, became the common

[1] Consult Balādhuri, pp. 193-212; Caetani, vol. iv, pp. 50-53, vol. vii, pp. 453-4.
[2] Cf. Michel le Syrien, vol. iv, p. 418 = vol. ii, p. 424.

property of the Arab world and conquered the conquerors. Some of the most brilliant stars in the intellectual firmament of Islam during its first three centuries were Islamized Iranians.

While this column of Arabian troops was operating eastward under Saʿd another under the more illustrious ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣ was operating to the west. The latter was bringing within the horns of the rising crescent the people of the valley of the Nile and the Berbers of North Africa. Ostensibly religious, but mainly political and economic, this unparalleled Arabian expansion had now grown into an empire as far flung as that of Alexander, with the caliph at al-Madīnah trying to regulate the flow of a source whose tributaries, ever increasing in number and size, were swelling the stream beyond all control.

CHAPTER XIV

EGYPT, TRIPOLIS AND BARQAH ACQUIRED

THE strategic position of Egypt, lying so dangerously near to both Syria and al-Ḥijāz, the richness of its grain-producing soil, which made the land the granary of Constantinople, the fact that its capital Alexandria was the base of the Byzantine navy and that the country was the door to the rest of the North African corridor—all these considerations caused Arabian eyes to turn covetously towards the valley of the Nile quite early in the era of expansion.

The conquest of Egypt falls within the period of systematic campaigning rather than casual raiding. Seeking new fields in which to outshine his illustrious rival Khālid, ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣ, who in the Jāhilīyah days had made many a caravan trip to Egypt and was familiar with its cities and roads,[1] took advantage of the presence of ʿUmar in Jerusalem to secure his half-hearted authorization for a campaign against the ancient land of the Pharaohs. But when ʿUmar had returned to al-Madīnah and consulted with ʿUthmān and others who pointed out the risks and perils involved, he dispatched a messenger to halt the advance of the column. The caliphal message, we are told, overtook ʿAmr just before crossing the Egypt-Palestine border, but, scenting the unfavourable contents thereof and having in mind ʿUmar's previous instructions: "If my letter ordering thee to turn back from Egypt overtakes thee before entering any part of it then turn back; but if thou enter the land before the receipt of my letter, then proceed and solicit Allah's aid",[2] ʿAmr did not open the letter until he got to al-ʿArīsh (December 639). This ʿAmr was a Qurayshite, forty-five years old, warlike, fiery, eloquent and shrewd. He had already to his credit the conquest of Palestine west of the Jordan. The part he was later to play

[1] Ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), p. 53.

[2] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, pp. 168-9; cf. ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 56-7; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. vi, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams* (Berlin, 1899), p. 93.

in the capture of the caliphate for his bosom friend Mu'āwiyah won him the epithet "one of the four Arabian 'political geniuses' [*duhāt*] of Islam".[1] The route he took with his 4000 riders was the same beaten track along the coast trod by Abraham, Cambyses, Alexander, Antiochus, the Holy Family, Napoleon and Djemāl Pasha. It was the international highway of the ancient world connecting its most important centres of civilization.[2]

The first fortified place which the Arabian column struck—and that in the middle of January 640[3]—was al-Faramā' (Pelusium), the key to eastern Egypt. After about a month of resistance the city fell and its defences, probably not repaired since the recent Persian invasion (616) and occupation, were razed. Bilbays (variants Bilbīs, Balbīs) north-east of Cairo came next, and others followed suit. At last the strong castle of Babylon[4] (Bābilyūn), across from the isle of al-Rawḍah in the Nile, stood in the way of further progress. Cyrus (Ar. al-Muqawqis), who since the reoccupation of the country in 631 by Heraclius had been acting as patriarch of Alexandria and imperial representative in civil administration, hurried to Babylon with his commander in chief the Augustalis Theodorus and the troops. 'Amr pitched camp at 'Ayn Shams,[5] biding his time and awaiting reinforcements. Soon they came, headed by al-Zubayr ibn-al-'Awwām, the celebrated Companion of the Prophet, thus augmenting the Arabian column to about 10,000 men who were to oppose the 20,000 or so of the Byzantine army exclusive of the fortress garrison numbering about 5000. About midway between the two camps the encounter took place in July 640. The Byzantine army was utterly routed. Theodorus fled to Alexandria and Cyrus was shut up in Babylon. The siege was pressed by the Arabians, who had no engineering or mechanical devices for reducing the fort. The treacherous Cyrus secretly sought to buy off the besiegers, but to no avail. The usual three choices were offered: Islam, tribute or the sword.

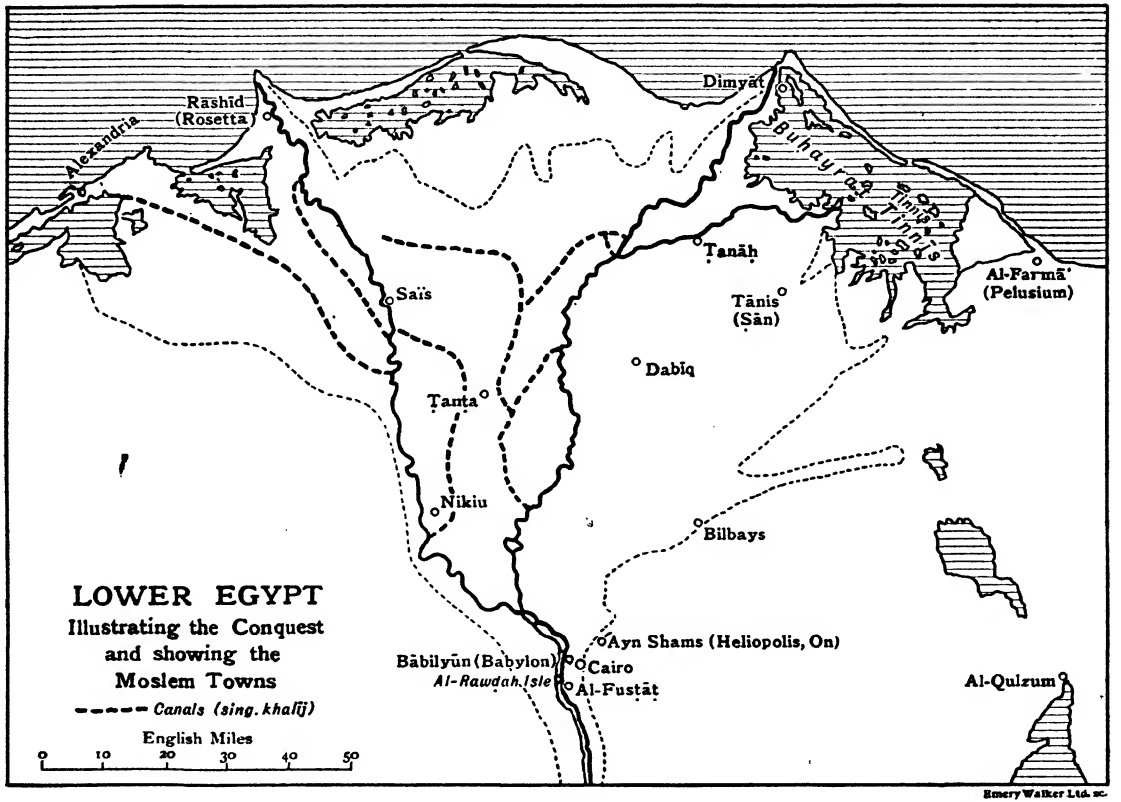
[1] Ibn-Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah* (Cairo, 1907), vol. v, p. 3.

[2] See Olmstead, *History of Palestine*, pp. 44-8.

[3] This as well as the other dates of the conquest of Egypt are not certain. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2592, l. 16, chooses Rabī' I, 16 (Ap. 637) as the date of the conquest of Egypt; cf. ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 53, 58.

[4] See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 245-7.

[5] Lit. "the spring of the sun", Heliopolis, On (Ōn) of the Old Testament and the hieroglyphic inscriptions.


Alexandria
Rāshīd (Rosetta)
Dimyāt
Buhayrat Tinnīs
Lake Tinnis
Tanāh
Al-Farmā' (Pelusium)
Tānis (Sān)
Saïs
Dabīq
Tanta
Nikiu
Bilbays
LOWER EGYPT
Illustrating the Conquest and showing the Moslem Towns
Canals (sing. khalīj)
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Ayn Shams (Heliopolis, On)
Bābilyūn (Babylon)
Al-Rawdah Isle
Cairo
Al-Fustāt
Al-Qulzum
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

The following words put in the mouth of Cyrus' envoys purport to sum up the impression created by the Arabians:

We have witnessed a people to each and every one of whom death is preferable to life, and humility to prominence, and to none of whom this world has the least attraction. They sit not except on the ground, and eat naught but on their knees. Their leader [*amīr*] is like unto one of them: the low cannot be distinguished from the high, nor the master from the slave. And when the time of prayer comes none of them absents himself, all wash their extremities and humbly observe their prayer.[1]

Asking for a delegation to meet him at al-Rawḍah to negotiate peace, Cyrus was shocked to receive one headed by a negro, ʿUbādah ibn-al-Ṣāmit. The three alternatives were reiterated. Cyrus agreed to pay tribute and hastened to Alexandria to forward the terms to the emperor. They were not pleasing to Heraclius, who charged his episcopal viceroy with treason and sent him into exile.

In the meantime the siege of Babylon was being carried on without intermission. At the end of seven months al-Zubayr with his comrades succeeded in filling a part of the moat, scaling the wall on a ladder and overpowering the guard as well as the garrison. The battle-cry of Islam, *Allāhu akbar* (God is most great), echoed victoriously in the halls of the fortress on April 6, 641.[2]

After reducing the eastern border of the Delta the iron grip of ʿAmr began to fasten itself on the apex. Nikiu (Ar. Naqyūs, modern Shabshīr) fell on May 13 and a bloody slaughter ensued. But Alexandria (al-Iskandarīyah), after Constantinople the finest and strongest city in the world, was still ahead.

With fresh recruits from Arabia swelling his army to about 20,000 ʿAmr found himself one morning gazing at the seemingly impregnable line of walls and towers guarding Egypt's capital and leading port. On one side rose the lofty Serapeum,[3] which once housed the temple of Serapis and the great library of Alexandria; on the other loomed the beautiful cathedral of St. Mark, once the Cæsarion[4] temple begun by Cleopatra in

[1] Ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, p. 65.

[2] Balādhuri, p. 213 = Hitti, p. 336; ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 61 *seq.*

[3] Called later by the Arabs ʿAmūd al-Sawāri, from Diocletian's pillar which still marks the spot. Maqrīzi, *Mawāʿiẓ*, ed. Wiet, vol. iii, pp. 128 *seq.*

[4] The Qaysārīyah of the Arabs. Ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 41, 42.

honour of Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus; farther west stood the two red Aswān-granite needles ascribed to Cleopatra, but in reality the work of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1450 B.C.), the same two which now adorn the Thames Embankment in London and Central Park in New York; and in the background towered the Pharos, flashing the sun's rays by day and its own fire by night and rightly considered one of the seven wonders of the world.[1] No doubt to the desert Arabs the impression of such a sight must have been not unlike that which the skyline of modern New York, with its towering skyscrapers, makes upon the immigrant.

Alexandria boasted a garrison some 50,000 strong. Behind it lay the whole strength of the Byzantine navy, of which the city was the base. The invaders, far inferior in number and in equipment, had not a single ship, no siege machines and no immediate source of supply for their man-power.

John of Nikiu, a contemporary authority, describes the first repulse the helpless Arabians suffered under the pounding of catapults from the high walls.[2] Leaving a contingent behind, ʿAmr fought his way back to Babylon and later engaged in a few marauding expeditions to Upper Egypt. After the death of Heraclius (February 641) his immature son Constans II (Qusṭanṭīn, 642–68) succeeded. Cyrus, restored to favour, returned to Alexandria in order to conclude peace. Hoping to administer the country for the Arabians independently of Constantinople, the bishop signed with ʿAmr in Babylon on November 8, 641, a treaty which may be termed the Treaty of Alexandria, accepting the payment of a fixed tribute of two dinars per adult head and a land tax payable in kind and agreeing not to allow a Byzantine army to return or attempt to recover the land. The city was evacuated in September 642. The Emperor Constans, weak and young, ratified the treaty which meant the transference of one of the fairest provinces of the empire to Arabian hands.

The glad tidings were sent to ʿUmar in al-Madīnah in the following words: "I have captured a city from the description of which I shall refrain. Suffice it to say that I have seized therein 4000 villas with 4000 baths, 40,000 poll-tax-paying Jews and

[1] See Maqrīzi, vol. iii, pp. 113-43; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. i, pp. 43-5.

[2] H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou. Texte éthiopien*, with translation (Paris, 1883), p. 450.

four hundred places of entertainment for the royalty."[1] The caliph entertained his general's messenger with bread and dates and held in the Prophet's Mosque a simple but dignified service of thanksgiving.

The native Copts of Egypt, we are informed by ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam[2] († 257=871), who gives us the earliest surviving account of the conquest of Egypt, were instructed from the very beginning by their bishop in Alexandria to offer no resistance to the invaders. This is not surprising in view of the religious persecution to which they as Monophysites had been subjected by the official Melkite (royal) church. For years Heraclius had tried, through his agent Cyrus, to forbid the Egyptian (Coptic) form of worship and to force his new Monothelite doctrine on a reluctant church. On account of his relentless persecution of the priesthood of the Coptic church Cyrus was regarded as the Antichrist by the later native tradition.

In accordance with 'Umar's policy the site on which 'Amr pitched his camp at Heliopolis became the new capital, receiving the name al-Fusṭāṭ[3] and corresponding to the military camps of al-Jābiyah in Syria, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah in al-'Irāq. There 'Amr erected a simple mosque, the first to rise in Egypt (641–2), which has survived in name until today and whose present form is the result of repeated rebuildings and additions. Al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo, Miṣr al-'Atīqah) continued to be the capital until the Fāṭimids in 969 built their Cairo (al-Qāhirah). In order to open a direct waterway to the holy cities of Arabia 'Amr now cleared the ancient Pharaonic canal which under the name Khalīj (canal of) Amīr al-Mu'minīn passed through Heliopolis and connected the Nile north of Babylon with al-Qulzum[4] on the Red Sea.[5] Trajan had cleared the canal, but through neglect it had silted up since his reign. After a few months of forced labour, and before the death of 'Umar in 644, twenty ships laden with Egyptian products were unloading their cargoes in Arabian ports.[6] This canal was later known as al-Khalīj al-Ḥākimi, after the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim († 1021), and under many other names continued to exist in some parts till the end of the nineteenth century.

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 82; cf. Zotenberg, p. 463. [2] Pp. 58-9.
[3] Latin *fossatum* = camp, through Byz. Gr. *phossatun*.
[4] The Klysma of antiquity, modern Suez.
[5] Cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 99. [6] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 177.

The old machinery of Byzantine administration, including the financial system, was—as one might expect—adopted by the new rulers with certain amendments in the line of centralization. The time-honoured policy of exploiting the fertile valley of the Nile and using it as a "milch cow" was maintained to the utmost, judging by the evidence furnished by newly discovered Egyptian papyri. Shortly before his death 'Umar, feeling that 'Amr was not securing enough revenue, put 'Abdullāh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ in charge of Upper Egypt. The new caliph, 'Uthmān, recalled 'Amr from the country and appointed (*ca.* 645) 'Abdullāh, who was his own foster brother, over all Egypt.

Toward the end of 645 the Alexandrians, restive under the new yoke, appealed to the Emperor Constans, who dispatched some 300 ships under Manuel, an Armenian, to reclaim the city.[1] The Arabian garrison of 1000 men was slaughtered and Alexandria was once more in Byzantine hands and a base for new attacks on Arab Egypt. 'Amr was immediately reinstated. He met the enemy near Nikiu, where the Byzantines suffered a heavy slaughter. Early in 646 the second capture of Alexandria took place. The impregnable walls of the city were demolished and the ancient Egyptian capital has ever since remained in Moslem hands.

The library of Alexandria

The story that by the caliph's order 'Amr for six long months fed the numerous bath furnaces of the city with the volumes of the Alexandrian library is one of those tales that make good fiction but bad history. The great Ptolemaic Library was burnt as early as 48 B.C. by Julius Cæsar. A later one, referred to as the Daughter Library, was destroyed about A.D. 389 as a result of an edict by the Emperor Theodosius. At the time of the Arab conquest, therefore, no library of importance existed in Alexandria and no contemporary writer ever brought the charge against 'Amr or 'Umar. 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādi,[2] who died as late as A.H. 629 (1231), seems to have been the first to relate the tale. Why he did it we do not know; however, his version was copied and amplified by later authors.[3]

[1] Balādhuri, p. 221 = Hitti, pp. 347-8.

[2] *Al-Ifādah w-al-I'tibār*, ed. and tr. (Latin) J. White (Oxford, 1800), p. 114.

[3] Al-Qifṭi, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 355-6; abu-al-Faraj ibn-al-'Ibri, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥāni (Beirūt, 1890), pp. 175-6; Maqrīzi, vol. iii, pp. 129-30. Consult Butler, pp. 401-26; Gibbon, *Decline*, ed. Bury, vol. v, pp. 452-5

After the conquest 'Uthmān wanted 'Amr to remain at the head of the army with 'Abdullāh as the financial administrator. The suggestion elicited from 'Amr the famous reply: "My position will then be that of one who holds the cow by its two horns while another milks it".[1] 'Abdullāh was thereupon reinstalled as caliphal vicegerent.

Less a soldier than a financier, 'Abdullāh now proceeded to carry on campaigns to the west and south mainly for booty. He succeeded in extending the boundaries in both directions. But his greatest performance was his part in the establishment of the first Moslem fleet, an honour which he shares with Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria. Alexandria was naturally the main dockyard for the Egyptian fleet. The maritime operations, whether from Egypt under 'Abdullāh or from Syria under Mu'āwiyah, were directed against the Byzantines. In 649 Mu'āwiyah seized Cyprus (Qubrus), another important Byzantine naval base too dangerously close to the Syrian coast for comfort. The first maritime victory was thus won for Islam and the first island was added to the Moslem state. Arwād (Aradus), close by the Syrian coast, was captured the following year. In 652 'Abdullāh repulsed the superior Greek fleet off Alexandria. Two years later Rhodes was pillaged by one of Mu'āwiyah's captains.[2] In 655[3] the Syro-Egyptian fleet of Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdullāh destroyed the Byzantine navy of about 500 ships off the Lycian coast near Phœnix. The Emperor Constans II, who led the fight in person, barely escaped with his life. This battle, known in Arabic as dhu-al-Ṣawārī[4] (that of the masts), sealed the fate of the Byzantine naval supremacy. But because of internal disorders the Moslems failed to press their victory and advance against Constantinople, the chief objective. In 668 or 669 a navy of 200 ships from Alexandria ventured as far as Sicily (Siqilliyah, Ṣiqillīyah) and pillaged it. The island had been sacked at least once before (652) by one of Mu'āwiyah's generals.[5] In Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdullāh Islam developed its first two admirals.[6]

That these naval expeditions were carried on almost in spite

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 178; cf. Balādhuri, p. 223 = Hitti, p. 351.

[2] A later expedition in A.H. 52 (672) is cited in Balādhuri, pp 235-6 = Hitti, pp. 375-6.

[3] Cf. C. H. Becker, art. "'Abd Allāh B. Sa'd", *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

[4] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 189-91. [5] Balādhuri, p. 235 = Hitti, p. 375.

[6] The details about the naval operations of the period, however, are lamentably meagre in Arabic sources.

of, rather than in co-operation with, the Madīnese caliphs is indicated by significant passages in the early sources. 'Umar wrote instructing 'Amr in Egypt: "Let no water intervene between me and thee, and do not camp in any place which I cannot reach riding on my mount".[1] 'Uthmān authorized Mu'āwiyah's expedition to Cyprus, after the latter had repeatedly emphasized the proximity of the island, only on condition that he take his wife along.[2]

The fall of Egypt left the Byzantine provinces bordering on its west defenceless; at the same time the continued occupation of Alexandria necessitated the conquest of those provinces. After the first fall of Alexandria and in order to protect his rear, 'Amr, with characteristic swiftness, pushed (642–3) at the head of his cavalry westward to the neighbouring Pentapolis and occupied Barqah without any resistance. He also received the submission of the Berber tribes of Tripolis, including the Lawātah.[3] His successor, 'Abdullāh, advanced through Tripolis and subjugated a part of Ifrīqiyah whose capital Carthage (Qarṭājannah) paid tribute.[4] 'Uthmān extended even to the pagan Berbers, not within the category of Scripturaries, the same privileges as those of the Dhimmah. Attempts were also made on Nubia (al-Nūbah) in the south, which with its pasturage was more like Arabia and better adapted than Egypt to a nomadic mode of life. For centuries before Islam a more or less continual Arabian infiltration into Egypt and even into the Sudan had been going on. In 652 'Abdullāh entered into treaty relations with the Nubians,[5] who were then far from being subdued. For centuries to come the Christian kingdom of Nubia, with Dongola as its capital and with a mixed population of Libyans and negroes, stood as a barrier against the farther southward onrush of Islam.

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 180. *Fakhri*, p. 114, reports that 'Umar wrote to Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ in al-'Irāq asking him to let no sea intervene between the caliph and the Moslems.

[2] Balādhuri, pp. 152-3 = Hitti, pp. 235-6.

[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 179.

[4] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 183.

[5] Balādhuri, pp. 237-8 = Hitti, pp. 379-81.

CHAPTER XV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW POSSESSIONS

How to administer such vast territories newly acquired and how to adapt the uncodified ordinances of a primitive Arabian society to the needs of a huge cosmopolitan conglomerate living under a multitude of conditions uncontemplated by the original lawgiver was the great task now confronting Islam. 'Umar was the first to address himself to this problem. He is represented by tradition as the one who solved it and therefore as the founder of the second theocracy of Islam—a sort of Islamic Utopia—which, however, was not destined to last long.

'Umar's constitution

'Umar made his starting-point the theory that in the peninsula itself none but the Moslem religion should ever be tolerated. To this end and in utter disregard of earlier treaties[1] he expelled, A.H. 14–15 (635–6), among others, the Jews of Khaybar,[2] who found abode in Jericho and other places, as well as the Christians of Najrān, who fled to Syria and al-'Irāq.[3] The second cardinal point in 'Umar's policy was to organize the Arabians, now all Moslems, into a complete religio-military commonwealth with its members keeping themselves pure and unmixed—a sort of martial aristocracy—and denying the privilege of citizenship to all non-Arabians. With this in view the Arabian Moslems were not to hold or cultivate landed property outside the peninsula. In the peninsula itself the native who owned land paid a kind of a tithe (*'ushr*) thereon. Accordingly the Arabian conquerors in Syria first lived in camps: al-Jābiyah, Ḥimṣ, 'Amwās, Ṭabarīyah[4] (for the Jordan district), and al-Ludd (Lydda) and later al-Ramlah for the Filasṭīn (Palestine) district. In Egypt they settled in al-Fusṭāṭ and the Alexandria camp. In al-'Irāq the newly built

[1] See Wāqidi, *Maghāzi*, pp. 391-2, and abu-Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo, 1346), pp. 85-6, for the terms the Prophet gave.

[2] An oasis about 100 miles north of al-Madīnah on the road to Syria.

[3] Balādhuri, p. 66 = Hitti, pp. 101-2.

[4] Modern Ṭabarayyah = Tiberias. 'Amwās or 'Amawās, ancient Emmaus, Lk. 24 : 13.

al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah served as headquarters.[1] In the conquered territories the subject peoples were left in their professions and the cultivation of the soil, occupying an inferior status and regarded as a kind of reserve for the benefit of the Moslems (*māddat al-Muslimīn*).[2] Even when converted to Islam a non-Arab was to occupy a position subsidiary to that of the Moslem Arabian.

As Dhimmis,[3] the subject peoples would enjoy the protection of the Moslems and have no military duty to perform, since they were barred by religion from service in the Moslem army; but they would have a heavy tribute to pay. Being outside the pale of Moslem law they were allowed the jurisdiction of their own canon laws as administered by the respective heads of their religious communities. This state of partial autonomy, recognized later by the sultans of Turkey, has been retained up to the present day in such countries as Syria and Palestine.

When a subject was converted to Islam he was freed, according to this primitive system ascribed by tradition to 'Umar, from all tributary obligations, including what was later termed poll tax. The land tax inhered in the land whenever the land was considered *fay'*, *waqf*, i.e. for the whole Moslem community, and the Moslem continued to pay it. The only exception to the *fay'* lands was constituted by those districts whose inhabitants, according to tradition, voluntarily surrendered to the Arab conquerors on condition that they be allowed to retain their lands. Such districts were called *dār al-ṣulḥ* (the territory of capitulation). Instead of the poll tax the convert incurred a new obligation, that of the zakāh (poor rate); but on the other hand he shared in the pensions and other benefits accruing to him as a Moslem.

Later developments, the result of many years of practice, were attributed by this tradition to the initiative of 'Umar. The fact is that the original part which the first caliphs and the early Moslem governors played in the imposition of taxes and the administration of finances could not have been great. The frame-

[1] In the first Moslem century a number of such military cantonments arose, including 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān, Shīrāz in Fāris, and Barqah and al-Qayrawān in North Africa.

[2] Yaḥya ibn-Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Juynboll (Leyden, 1896), p. 27.

[3] Or *Ahl al-Dhimmah* (people of the covenant or obligation), a term first applied only to *Ahl al-Kitāb*, i.e. the Jews, Christians and Ṣābians (not to be confused with Sabaeans) and later interpreted to include Zoroastrians and others.

work of the Byzantine provincial government in Syria and Egypt was continued in Allah's name, and no radical changes were introduced into the machinery of local administration in the former Persian domains. From the very beginning tribute varied according to the nature of the soil and the system that had prevailed in that locality under the old rule, whether Byzantine or Persian; it did not depend upon the acquisition of the land by capitulation (*ṣulḥan*) or by force (*'anwatan*) nor upon any legislative act on the part of 'Umar. Conquest by capitulation and conquest by force as used to explain the variation in taxation was a late legal fiction rather than the real cause thereof. Likewise the distinction between *jizyah* as poll tax and *kharāj* (probably from Gr. *chorēgia*) as land tax had not arisen at the time of the second caliph (634–44). The two words in this early period were used interchangeably and both meant tribute in general. In the Koran the only occurrence of the word *jizyah* is in sūr. 9 : 29, where the word has in no sense a legal meaning. The form *kharāj* occurs also only once in the Koran (23 : 74), and then in the sense of remuneration rather than land tax. Evidently the original terms made with the conquered people were well-nigh forgotten by the time the historians began to record those events, which they interpreted in the light of later conditions and developments.

The differentiation between the two forms of taxation implied in jizyah and kharāj was not made until the time of the late Umayyads. The land tax was paid in instalments and in kind from the produce of the land and from cattle, but never in the form of wine, pigs and dead animals. The poll tax was paid in a lump sum and as an index of lower status. The latter was generally four dinars[1] for the well-to-do, two for the middle class and one for the poor. In addition the subject people were liable to other exactions for the maintenance of Moslem troops. These taxes applied only to the able-bodied; women, children, beggars, monks, the aged, insane and incurably sick being exempt except when any of them had an independent income.

The third principle said to have been enunciated by 'Umar in consonance with the view of his advisers among the Com-

[1] From Greek-Latin *denarius*, the unit of gold currency in the caliphate, with a nominal value of about 10s., $2.40. In 'Umar's time the *dīnār* was the equivalent of 10 dirhams, later 12.

panions[1] was that only movable property and prisoners won as booty constituted *ghanīmah*[2] and belonged to the warriors as hitherto, but not the land. The land as well as all moneys received from subjects constituted *fay'*[3] and belonged to the Moslem community as a whole. Cultivators of *fay'* estates continued to be bound to pay land tax even if they adopted Islam. All such revenues were deposited in the public treasury, and whatever remained after the payment of the common expenses of administration and warfare had to be divided among the Moslems. In order to accomplish the distribution a census became necessary, the first census recorded in history for the distribution of state revenue. 'Ā'ishah headed the list with a pension of 12,000 dirhams[4] a year. After the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Prophet's family) came the Emigrants and Supporters, each with a subsidy according to his precedence in the profession of the new faith. About 5000 or 4000 dirhams per annum was the average allotment to each person in this category.[5] At the bottom came the mass of Arabian tribes arranged in the register according to military service and knowledge of the Koran. The minimum for an ordinary warrior was 500–600 dirhams; even women, children and clients[6] were included in the register and received annuities ranging from 200 to 600 dirhams. This institution of the *dīwān* (whence Fr. *douane*, for customhouse), or public registers of receipts and expenditures, with which 'Umar was credited was evidently borrowed from the Persian system, as ibn-al-Ṭiqṭaqa[7] asserts and as the word itself (from Pers. *dīwān*) indicates.

'Umar's military communistic constitution set up an ascendancy of Arabism and secured for the non-Arabian believer a status superior to that of the unbeliever. But it was too artificial to stand the test of time. Under 'Umar's immediate successor,

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 212.

[2] For a discussion of *ghanīmah* and *fay'* see al-Māwardi, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*, ed. M. Enger (Bonn, 1853), pp. 217-45; abu-Yūsuf, pp. 21-32.

[3] According to sūr. 8 : 42, only one-fifth of the booty was the share of Allah and the Prophet, i.e. the state's, the remaining four-fifths belonged to the warriors who secured it.

[4] Ar. *dirham* (Pers. *diram*, from Gr. *drachmē*), the unit of silver coinage in the Arab monetary system, had the nominal value of a pre-war French franc, about 10d. (19 cents in U.S. money), but naturally its real value varied a great deal.

[5] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 213-14; Māwardi, pp. 347-8; abu-Yūsuf, pp. 50-54; Balādhuri, pp. 450-51.

[6] *Mawāli*, sing. *mawla*, a non-Arab embracing Islam and affiliating himself with an Arabian tribe. His ill-defined rank placed him below the Moslem Arabians.

[7] *Fakhri*, p. 116; cf. Māwardi, pp. 343-4.

'Uthmān, permission was given to the sons of Arabia to hold landed property in the newly conquered territories. With the lapse of years the aristocracy of the Arabians was submerged by the rising tide of the Mawāli.

The army was the *ummah*, the whole nation, in action. Its *amīr* or commander in chief was the caliph in al-Madīnah, who delegated the authority to his lieutenants or generals. In the early stages the general who conquered a certain territory would also act as leader in prayer and as judge. Al-Balādhuri[1] tells us that 'Umar appointed a *qāḍi* (judge) for Damascus and the Jordan and another for Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn. If so he was the first caliph to establish the institution of judgeship.[2] The army

The division of the army into centre, two wings, vanguard and rear guard was already known at the time of Muḥammad and betrays Byzantine and Sāsānid influence. The *khamīs* (five) was the term used for describing this military unit. The cavalry covered the wings. In the division the tribal unit was preserved. Each tribe had its own standard, a cloth attached to a lance, borne by one of the bravest. The Prophet's banner was the *'uqāb* (eagle). The infantry used bow and arrow, sling, and sometimes shield and sword; the sword was carried in a scabbard flung over the right shoulder. The *ḥarbah* (javelin) was introduced later from Abyssinia. The chief weapon of the cavalry was the *rumḥ* (lance), the shafts of which, famous in Arabic literature as *khaṭṭi*, were so named after al-Khaṭṭ, the coast of al-Baḥrayn, where the bamboo was first grown and whither it was later imported from India. This, together with the bow and arrow, formed the two national weapons. The best swords were also made in India, whence the name *hindi*. The defensive armour was the coat of mail and the shield. The Arab armour was lighter than the Byzantine.[3]

The order of battle was primitive, in lines or rows and in compact array. Hostilities began with individual combats of distinguished champions who stepped forward out of the ranks and delivered a challenge. The Arabian warrior received higher remuneration than his Persian or Byzantine rival and was sure of a portion of the booty. Soldiering was not only the noblest and most pleasing profession in the sight of Allah but also the most

[1] P. 141 = Hitti, p. 217. [2] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 202, ll. 27-8.
[3] On Arab weapons see ibn-Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, vol. i, pp. 128-32.

profitable. The strength of the Moslem Arabian army lay neither in the superiority of its arms nor in the excellence of its organization but in its higher morale, to which religion undoubtedly contributed its share; in its powers of endurance, which the desert breeding fostered; and in its remarkable mobility, due mainly to camel transport.[1]

The so-called Arab civilization

By the conquest of the Fertile Crescent and the lands of Persia and Egypt the Arabians came into possession not only of geographical areas but of the earliest seats of civilization in the whole world. Thus the sons of the desert fell heir to these hoary cultures with their long traditions going back to Greco-Roman, Iranian, Pharaonic and Assyro-Babylonian times. In art and architecture, in philosophy, in medicine, in science and literature, in government, the original Arabians had nothing to teach and everything to learn. And what voracious appetites they proved to have! With an ever sharp sense of curiosity and with latent potentialities never aroused before, these Moslem Arabians in collaboration with and by the help of their subject peoples began now to assimilate, adapt and reproduce their intellectual and esthetic heritage. In Ctesiphon, Edessa, Nisibis, Damascus, Jerusalem and Alexandria they viewed, admired and copied the work of the architect, the artisan, the jeweller and the manufacturer. To all these centres of ancient culture they came, they saw and were conquered. Theirs was another instance in which the victor was made captive by the vanquished.

What we therefore call "Arab civilization" was Arabian neither in its origins and fundamental structure nor in its principal ethnic aspects. The purely Arabian contribution in it was in the linguistic and to a certain extent in the religious fields. Throughout the whole period of the caliphate the Syrians, the Persians, the Egyptians and others, as Moslem converts or as Christians and Jews, were the foremost bearers of the torch of enlightenment and learning just as the subjugated Greeks were in their relation to the victorious Romans. The Arab Islamic civilization was at bottom the Hellenized Aramaic and the Iranian civilizations as developed under the ægis of the caliphate and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. In another sense it was the logical continuation of the early Semitic

[1] For a comparison with the Byzantine army consult Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London, 1924), vol. i, pp. 208 *seq.*

civilization of the Fertile Crescent originated and developed by the Assyro-Babylonians, Phoenicians, Aramaeans and Hebrews. In it the unity of the Mediterranean civilization of Western Asia found its final culmination.

Character and achievements of the orthodox caliphs

The conquest of the world receiving its impulse under abu-Bakr reached its high-water mark under 'Umar and came to a temporary standstill under 'Ali, whose caliphate was too clouded with internal disturbances to admit of further expansion. At the end of a single generation after the Prophet the Moslem empire had extended from the Oxus to Syrtis Minor in northern Africa. Starting with nothing the Moslem Arabian caliphate had now grown to be the ruling power of the world.

Abu-Bakr (632–4), the conqueror and pacifier of Arabia, lived in patriarchal simplicity. In the first six months of his short reign he travelled back and forth daily from al-Sunḥ (where he lived in a modest household with his wife, Ḥabībah) to his capital al-Madīnah, and received no stipend since the state had at that time hardly any income.[1] All state business he transacted in the courtyard of the Prophet's Mosque. His personal qualities and unshaken faith in his son-in-law Muḥammad, who was three years his senior, make him one of the most attractive characters in nascent Islam and have won him the title of *al-Ṣiddīq* (the believer).[2] As a character he was endowed with much more strength and forcefulness than current tradition credits to him. Physically he is represented as of fair complexion, slender build and thin countenance; he dyed his beard and walked with a stoop.[3]

Simple and frugal in manner, his energetic and talented successor, 'Umar (634–44), who was of towering height, strong physique and bald-headed,[4] continued at least for some time after becoming caliph to support himself by trade and lived throughout his life in a style as unostentatious as that of a Bedouin sheikh. In fact 'Umar, whose name according to Moslem tradition is the greatest in early Islam after that of Muḥammad, has been idolized by Moslem writers for his piety, justice and patriarchal simplicity and treated as the personification of all the virtues a caliph ought to possess. His irreproach-

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 131-2; ibn-al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fi Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* (Cairo, 1286), vol. iii, p. 219.

[2] Usually translated "the veracious". But see ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 120-21.

[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 157.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 185.

able character became an exemplar for all conscientious successors to follow. He owned, we are told, one shirt and one mantle only, both conspicuous for their patchwork,[1] slept on a bed of palm leaves and had no concern other than the maintenance of the purity of the faith, the upholding of justice and the ascendancy and security of Islam and the Arabians. Arabic literature is replete with anecdotes extolling 'Umar's stern character. He is said to have scourged his own son to death[2] for drunkenness and immorality. Having in a fit of anger inflicted a number of stripes on a Bedouin who came seeking his succour against an oppressor, the caliph soon repented and asked the Bedouin to inflict the same number on him. But the latter refused. So 'Umar retired to his home with the following soliloquy:

> O son of al-Khaṭṭāb! humble thou wert and Allah hath elevated thee; astray, and Allah hath guided thee; weak, and Allah hath strengthened thee. Then He caused thee to rule over the necks of thy people, and when one of them came seeking thy aid, thou didst strike him! What wilt thou have to say to thy Lord when thou presentest thyself before Him?[3]

The one who fixed the Hijrah as the commencement of the Moslem era, presided over the conquest of large portions of the then known world, instituted the state register and organized the government of the new empire met a tragic and sudden death at the very zenith of his life when he was struck down (November 3, 644) by the poisoned dagger of a Christian Persian slave[4] in the midst of his own congregation.

'Uthmān, who committed the words of Allah to an unalterable form and whose reign saw the complete conquest of Iran, Ādharbayjān and parts of Armenia, was also a pious and well-meaning old man, but too weak to resist the importunities of his greedy kinsfolk. His foster brother, 'Abdullāh, formerly the Prophet's amanuensis, who had tampered with the words of revelation[5] and who was one of the ten proscribed by Muḥammad at the capture of Makkah, he appointed over Egypt; his half-brother, al-Walīd ibn-'Uqbah, who had spat in Muḥam-

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 237-9.
[2] Diyārbakri, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs* (Cairo, 1302), vol. ii, p. 281, ll. 3-4; al-Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. iv (Cairo, 1925), pp. 89-90.
[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, *op. cit.* vol. iv, p. 61.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2722-3; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 183.
[5] Koran 6 : 93; Bayḍāwi, vol. i, p. 300.

mad's face and had been condemned by the latter, he made governor of al-Kūfah; his cousin Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam, a future Umayyad caliph, he put in charge of the dīwān. Many important offices were filled by Umayyads, the caliph's family.[1] The caliph himself accepted presents from his governors or their partisans, including a beautiful maid offered by the governor of al-Baṣrah. Charges of nepotism became widespread. The feeling of discontent aroused by his unpopular administration was fanned by the three Qurayshite aspirants to the caliphate: ʿAli, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. The uprising started in al-Kūfah among ʿAli's followers and proved particularly strong in Egypt, which in April 655 sent some five hundred rebels to al-Madīnah. The insurgents shut the venerable octogenarian in his residence, and whilst he read the copy of the Koran[2] which he had once revised the house was stormed; Muḥammad, son of abu-Bakr his friend and predecessor, broke in and laid the first violent hand upon him.[3] Thus fell the first caliph whose blood was shed by Moslem hands (June 17, 656). The patriarchal epoch of Islam, during which the awe inspired by the Prophet and the hallowed association connected with al-Madīnah were still an active living force in the lives of the successors of Muḥammad, ended in a stream of blood let loose by the struggle for the now vacant throne, first between ʿAli and his close rivals, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and then between ʿAli and a new aspirant, Muʿāwiyah, the champion of the Umayyad cause of which the murdered ʿUthmān was a representative.

[1] Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. iv, pp. 223-4; ibn-Saʿd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 44; Masʿūdi, vol. iv, pp. 257 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah († 1377), vol. ii, pp. 10-11, claims that when he visited al-Baṣrah its mosque still preserved ʿUthmān's copy of the Koran with his blood staining the page on which occurs sūr. 2 : 131, where according to ibn-Saʿd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 52, the flowing blood of the wounded caliph stopped. See Quatremère in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 3, vol. vi (1838), pp. 41-5.

[3] Ibn-Saʿd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 51.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN 'ALI AND MU'ĀWIYAH FOR THE CALIPHATE

The elective caliphate

ABU-BAKR, one of the earliest supporters and staunchest friends of Muḥammad, whose *alter ego* he was and who had conducted the public prayers during the last illness of the Prophet, was designated (June 8, 632) Muḥammad's successor by some form of election in which those leaders present at the capital, al-Madīnah, took part. He was to assume all those duties and privileges of the Prophet with the exception of such as related to his prophetic office—which had ceased with Muḥammad's death.

The designation *khalīfat Rasūl Allāh* (the successor of the Messenger of Allah), applied in this case to abu-Bakr, may not have been used by him as a title. The term *khalīfah* occurs only twice in the Koran (2 : 28, 38 : 25); in neither case does it seem to have any technical significance or to carry any indication that it was intended to be applied to the successor of Muḥammad.

'Umar, the logical candidate after abu-Bakr, was designated by the latter as his successor and is said at first to have used the title with the designation *khalīfat khalīfat* (the caliph of the caliph of) *Rasūl Allāh*, which proved too long and was consequently abbreviated.[1] The second caliph (634–44) is credited with being the first to bear in his capacity as commander in chief of the Moslem armies the distinctive title *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the believers), the "Miramolin" of Christian medieval writers. Before his death 'Umar is represented as having nominated a board of six electors: 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib, 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān, al-Zubayr ibn-al-'Awwām, Ṭalḥah ibn-'Abdullāh, Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ and 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-'Awf,[2] with the stipulation that his own son be not elected to succeed him. The constitution of this board called al-Shūra (consultation), including the oldest and most distinguished

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 202.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 245 *seq.*

Companions surviving, showed that the ancient Arabian idea of a tribal chief had triumphed over that of the hereditary monarch.

In the case of the third caliph, 'Uthmān (644), seniority again determined his election over 'Ali. 'Uthmān represented the Umayyad aristocracy as against his two predecessors who represented the Emigrants. None of these caliphs founded a dynasty.

Subsequent to the murder of 'Uthmān, 'Ali was proclaimed the fourth caliph at the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah on June 24, 656. Practically the whole Moslem world acknowledged his succession. The new caliph was the first cousin of Muḥammad, the husband of his favourite daughter, Fāṭimah, the father of his only two surviving male descendants, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and either the second or third to believe in his prophethood. He was affable, pious and valiant. The party he represented, *ahl al-naṣṣ w-al-ta'yīn*[1] (people of divine ordinance and designation = the legitimists), had stoutly averred that from the beginning Allah and His Prophet had clearly designated 'Ali as the only legitimate successor but that the first three caliphs had cheated him out of his rightful office.

The caliphate of 'Ali

'Ali's first problem was to dispose of his two rivals to the high office he had just assumed, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who represented the Makkan party. Both Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr[2] had followers in al-Ḥijāz and al-'Irāq who refused to acknowledge 'Ali's successorship. 'Ā'ishah, the most beloved wife of the Prophet and now "the mother of the believers", who had connived at the insurrection against 'Uthmān, now joined the ranks of the insurgents against 'Ali at al-Baṣrah. The youthful 'Ā'ishah, who had married so young[3] that she brought toys with her from her father's (abu-Bakr's) home, hated 'Ali with all the bitterness of a wounded pride; for once, when she loitered behind the caravan of her husband, he had suspected her fidelity until Allah intervened in her favour through a revelation (sūr. 24 : 11-20). Outside of al-Baṣrah on December 9, 656, 'Ali met and defeated the coalition in a battle styled "the battle of the camel", after the camel on which 'Ā'ishah rode, which was the

[1] Shahrastāni, p. 15.
[2] Al-Zubayr's mother was a sister of the Prophet's father.
[3] At the age of nine or ten, according to ibn-Hishām, p. 1001.

rallying-point for the rebel warriors. Both rivals of 'Ali fell; he magnanimously mourned the fallen and had them honourably buried.[1] 'Ā'ishah was captured and treated most considerately and in a manner befitting her dignity as the "first lady" of the land. She was sent back to al-Madīnah. Thus came to an end the first, but by no means the last, encounter in which Moslem stood against Moslem in battle array. The dynastic wars that were to convulse Islam from time to time and occasionally shake it to its very foundation had just begun.

Ostensibly secure on his throne, 'Ali from his new capital al-Kūfah inaugurated his régime by dismissing most of the provincial governors appointed by his predecessor and exacting the oath of fealty from the others. With one of them, Mu'āwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān, governor of Syria and kinsman of 'Uthmān, he did not reckon. Mu'āwiyah now came out as the avenger of the martyred caliph. He exhibited in the Damascus mosque the blood-stained shirt of the murdered ruler and the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Nā'ilah as she tried to defend him.[2] With the tactics and eloquence of an Antony he endeavoured to play on Moslem emotions. Withholding his homage from 'Ali, Mu'āwiyah tried to corner him with this dilemma: Produce the assassins of the duly appointed successor of the Prophet or accept the position of an accomplice who is thereby disqualified from the caliphate. The issue, however, was more than a personal one; it transcended individual and even family affairs. The real question was whether al-Kūfah or Damascus, al-'Irāq or Syria, should be supreme in Islamic affairs. Al-Madīnah, which 'Ali had left soon after his installation in 656 never to revisit, was already out of the way. The weight of the far-flung conquest had shifted the centre of gravity to the north.

On the plain of Ṣiffīn south of al-Raqqah, on the west bank of the Euphrates, the two armies finally stood face to face: 'Ali with an army reported to have comprised 50,000 'Irāqis and Mu'āwiyah with his Syrians. In a half-hearted manner, for neither side was anxious to precipitate a final decision, the skirmishes dragged on for weeks. The final encounter took place on July 26, 657. Under the leadership of Mālik al-Ashtar, 'Ali's forces were on the point of victory when the shrewd, wily 'Amr

[1] A little village has grown around the tomb of al-Zubayr.
[2] *Fakhri*, pp. 125, 137.

ibn-al-ʿĀṣ, Muʿāwiyah's leader, resorted to a ruse. Copies of the Koran fastened to lances were suddenly seen thrust in the air—a gesture interpreted to mean an appeal from the decision of arms to the decision of the Koran. Hostilities ceased. Urged by his followers, the simple-hearted ʿAli accepted Muʿāwiyah's proposal to arbitrate the case and thus spare Moslem blood. The arbitration was, of course, to be "according to the word of Allah"[1]—whatever that may have meant.

Against his better judgment the caliph appointed as his personal representative abu-Mūsa al-Ashʿari, a man of undoubted piety but of lukewarm loyalty to the ʿAlid cause. Muʿāwiyah matched him with ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣ, who has been dubbed a political genius of the Arabs.[2] Armed each with a written document giving him full authorization to act and accompanied by four hundred witnesses each, the two arbiters (sing. *ḥakam*) held their public session in January 659 at Adhruḥ on the main caravan route between al-Madīnah and Damascus and half-way between Maʿān and Petra.

Exactly what transpired at this historical conference is difficult to ascertain. Various versions appear in different sources.[3] The current tradition is that the two umpires agreed to depose both principals, thus clearing the way for a "dark horse"; but after the elder of the two, abu-Mūsa, had stood up and declared the caliphate of his master null and void, ʿAmr betrayed his colleague and confirmed Muʿāwiyah. But the critical studies of Père Lammens,[4] preceded by those of Wellhausen,[5] tend to show that this tradition reflects the view of the ʿIrāqi school, to which most of our extant sources belong, which flourished under the ʿAbbāsids—the Umayyads' mortal enemies. What probably happened was that both referees deposed both principals, which left ʿAli the loser. Muʿāwiyah had no caliphate to be deposed from. He was but a governor of a province. The very fact of the arbitration itself had raised him to a level equivalent to that of ʿAli, whose position was thereby lowered to that of a mere pretender. The sentence of the judges deprived ʿAli of a real

[1] For the arbitration document see Dīnawari, pp. 206-8.

[2] Masʿūdi, vol. iv, p. 391. See below, p. 196. Cf. above, p. 161.

[3] Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 3340-60; Masʿūdi, vol. iv, pp. 392-402; Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, pp. 220-22; *Fakhri*, pp. 127-30.

[4] *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier* (Beirūt, 1907), ch. vii.

[5] *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), ch. ii = *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. Margaret G. Weir (Calcutta, 1927), ch. ii.

office, and Mu'āwiyah of a fictitious claim which he had not yet dared publicly to assert. Not until 661, two years after the curtain had been lowered on the arbitration farce, did Mu'āwiyah proclaim himself caliph at Jerusalem.

The acceptance of the principle of arbitration proved disastrous to 'Ali in more than one way: it alienated the sympathy of a large body of his own followers. These Khārijites[1] (seceders), as they were called, the earliest sect of Islam, proved his deadly foes. Adopting as a slogan *la ḥukma illa lillāh*[2] (arbitration belongs to Allah alone), they rose in arms to the number of 4000[3] under the leadership of 'Abdullāh ibn-Wahb al-Rāsibi. On the bank of the Nahrawān canal 'Ali attacked their camp (659) and almost annihilated them, but they rose again under various names and remained a thorn in the side of the caliphate till the 'Abbāsid period.

Early on January 24, 661, as 'Ali was on his way to the mosque at al-Kūfah he was struck on the forehead with a poisoned sabre. The weapon, which penetrated to the brain, was wielded by a Khārijite, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muljam, who was actuated by the desire to avenge certain relatives of a lady, a friend of his, who were slaughtered at Nahrawān. Tradition makes ibn-Muljam one of three accomplices who under oath at al-Ka'bah had concocted a plan to rid the Moslem community on the same day of its three disturbing elements: 'Ali, Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn-al-'Aṣ[4]—all of which sounds too dramatic to be true. The lonely spot near al-Kūfah where 'Ali was interred,[5] the present Mashhad 'Ali in al-Najaf, has developed into one of the great centres of pilgrimage in Islam.

To his Shī'ite partisans the fourth caliph soon became preeminently the saint of the sect, the Wali (friend and vicegerent) of Allah, just as Muḥammad had been the Prophet of Islam and the Messenger of Allah. 'Ali dead proved more effective than 'Ali living. As a canonized martyr he retrieved at once more

[1] Also called Ḥarūrīyah, from Ḥarūrā' (Ḥarawrā' in Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 246).
[2] *Fakhri*, p. 130. Cf. Koran, 12 : 70. [3] 12,000 in Shahrastāni, p. 86.
[4] Cf. Dīnawari, p. 227.
[5] The site, as the Shī'ite tradition asserts, was chosen in accordance with the dying wish of 'Ali, who ordered that his corpse be put on a loose camel and buried wherever the camel knelt. The place was kept secret during and after the Umayyad period until Hārūn al-Rashīd in 791 fell upon it by chance. For the first detailed account of the tomb see ibn-Ḥawqal, *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1872), p. 163.

than he had lost in a lifetime. Though lacking in those traits that constitute a leader and a politician, viz. alertness, foresight, resolution, expediency, he still possessed the qualities of an ideal Arabian. Valiant in battle, wise in counsel, eloquent in speech, true to his friends, magnanimous to his foes, he became both the paragon of Moslem nobility and chivalry (*futūwah*) and the Solomon of Arabic tradition, around whose name poems, proverbs, sermonettes and anecdotes innumerable have clustered. He had a swarthy complexion, large black eyes, bald head, thick and long white beard, and was corpulent and of medium stature.[1] His sabre dhu-al-Faqār (the cleaver of vertebræ), wielded by the Prophet on the memorable battlefield of Badr, has been immortalized in the words of the verse found engraved on many medieval Arab swords: *La sayfa illa dhu-al-Faqāri wa-la fata illa 'Ali* = "No sword can match dhu-al-Faqār, and no young warrior can compare with 'Ali!" The later *Fityān* movement, which developed ceremonies and insignia savouring of medieval European chivalry and the modern Scout movements, took 'Ali for its first *Fata* and model. Regarded as wise and brave by all the Islamic world, as idealistic and exemplary by many Fityān and dervish fraternities, as sinless and infallible by his partisans and even held to be the incarnation of the deity by the Ghulāh (extremists) among them, he whose worldly career was practically a failure has continued to exert a posthumous influence second only to that of the Prophet himself. The throngs of pilgrims that still stream to his *mashhad* at al-Najaf and to that of his son al-Ḥusayn, the Shī'ah arch-saint and martyr at near-by Karbalā', and the passion play enacted annually on the tenth of Muḥarram throughout the Shī'ah world testify to the possibility that death may avail a Messiah more than life.

Periods of the great caliphates

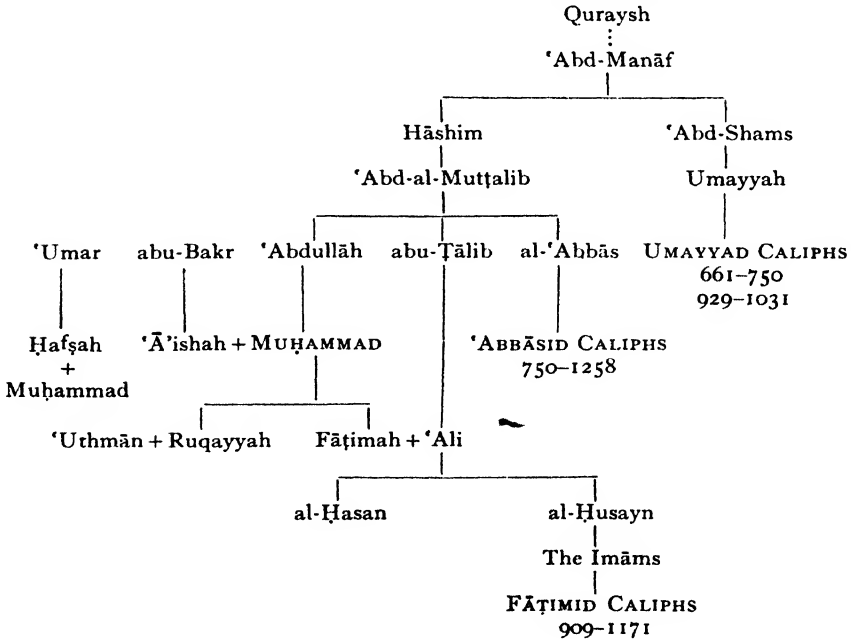
With the death of 'Ali (661) what may be termed the republican period of the caliphate, which began with abu-Bakr (632), came to an end. The four caliphs of this era are known to Arab historians as *al-Rāshidūn* (orthodox). The founder of the second caliphate, Mu'āwiyah the Umayyad, a man of the world, nominated his own son Yazīd as his successor and thus became the founder of a dynasty. The hereditary principle was thereby introduced into the caliphal succession never thereafter to be entirely

[1] Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 297.

abandoned. The Umayyad caliphate was the first dynasty (*mulk*) in the history of Islam. The fiction of election was preserved in the *bay'ah*[1] (literally "sale"), the ceremony by which the leaders of the people literally or figuratively took the hand of the new caliph as a sign of homage. The Umayyad caliphate (661–750) with its capital at Damascus was followed by the 'Abbāsid (750–1258) at Baghdād. The Fāṭimid caliphate (909–1171), whose main seat was Cairo, was the only Shī'ite one of primary importance. Another Umayyad caliphate at Cordova (Qurṭubah) in Spain lasted from 929 to 1031. The last great caliphate of Islam was non-Arab, that of the Ottoman Turks in Constantinople (*ca.* 1517–1924). In November 1922 the Grand National Assembly at Ankara declared Turkey a republic, deposed the Sultan-Caliph Muḥammad VI and made his cousin 'Abd-al-Majīd caliph, depriving him only of the sultanate. In March 1924 the caliphate itself was abolished.[2]

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, i.e. vol. i of *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar* (Cairo, 1284), pp. 174-5 = pp. 376-7 of Quatremère's ed., in *Notices et extraits* etc., vol. xvi (Paris, 1858), and pp. 424-6 of de Slane's tr., vol. xix (Paris, 1862).

[2] The subjoined tree shows the connection of the lines of caliphs:



The caliphate, a pre-eminently political office

We should here guard against the common fallacy that the caliphate was a religious office. In this regard analogies drawn from the headship of the Holy Roman Empire and from the modern Christian distinction between the spheres of temporal and religious powers are misleading. As *amīr al-mu'minīn*, commander of the believers, the military office of the caliph was emphasized. As *imām* (leader in public prayer) the caliph could and did lead the religious service and pronounce the Friday *khuṭbah* (sermon); but this was a function which the humblest of Moslems could perform. Succession to Muḥammad (*khilāfah*) meant succession to the sovereignty of the state. Muḥammad as a prophet, as an instrument of revelation, as a messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah, could have no successor. The caliph's relation to religion was merely that of a guardian. He defended the faith just as any European emperor was supposed to do, suppressed heresies, warred against unbelievers and extended the boundaries of the Dār al-Islām (the abode of Islam), in the performance of all of which he employed the power of his secular arm.[1]

Later theoretical legists, flourishing mostly in Makkah, al-Madīnah and other centres, and out of touch with the course of events in the Islamic capitals of Damascus, Baghdād and Cairo, worked out nicely-drawn qualifications, privileges and functions said to pertain to the caliph. Al-Māwardi[2] († 1058) in his utopian treatise on politics, al-Nasafi († 1310), ibn-Khaldūn († 1406) in his famous critical prolegomena[3] and later writers representing the Sunnite (orthodox) theory list the following caliphal qualifications: membership in the Quraysh family; being male and adult; soundness of body and mind; courage, energy and other traits of character necessary for the defence of the realm; and the winning of the allegiance of the community by an act of *bay'ah*. The Shī'ah, on the other hand, who make less of the caliphate and more of the imāmate, confine the office to the family of 'Ali, whom they hold was nominated by Muḥammad as his successor on the basis of a divine ordinance (*naṣṣ*) and whose qualifications passed on to his descendants preordained for the high office by Allah.[4] Among the caliphal functions according to the Sunnite school are: protection and main-

[1] Consult Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 9-41.
[2] Pp. 5-10. [3] *Muqaddamah*, p. 161.
[4] Shahrastāni, pp. 108-9; ibn-Khaldūn, pp. 164-5.

tenance of the faith and the territory of Islam (particularly the two sacred places—*al-ḥaramayn*—of Makkah and al-Madīnah) and in case of necessity the declaration of a holy war (*jihād*); appointment of state officials; collection of taxes and administration of public funds; punishment of wrongdoing and the execution of justice.[1] The privileges include the mention of the caliph's name in the Friday *khuṭbah* and on the coinage; the wearing of the *burdah* (the Prophet's mantle) on important state occasions; the custody of such holy relics as the staff, seal, shoe, tooth and hair that are said to have been Muḥammad's.[2]

Not until the latter part of the eighteenth century did the notion prevail in Europe that the Moslem caliph was a kind of pope with spiritual jurisdiction over the followers of Muḥammad throughout the world. In his *Tableau général de l'empire othoman* (Paris, 1788),[3] d'Ohsson, a Constantinople Armenian, was one of the first to give currency to this fallacy. The shrewd ʿAbd-al-Ḥamīd II made capital of the idea to strengthen his prestige in the eyes of the European powers who had by this time come to dominate most of the Moslems in Asia and Africa. An ill-defined movement had its inception in the latter part of the last century and under the name pan-Islamism (*al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmīyah*) exerted special effort to bring about some unity of action to oppose the Christian powers. With Turkey as its rallying-point it unduly stressed the ecumenical character of the caliphate.

[1] Māwardi, pp. 23-4; al-Nasafi, *ʿUmdat ʿAqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1843), pp. 28-9.

[2] As the last Moslem caliphs the Ottoman sultans had charge of these Prophetic treasures (*dhakhāʾir Nabawīyah*), which Sultan Salīm in 1517 brought to Constantinople upon his return from the conquest of Egypt. The relics have ever since been enshrined in a special pavilion within the stronghold of the Grand Seraglio and cherished as the priceless insignia of the exalted office of the caliphate.

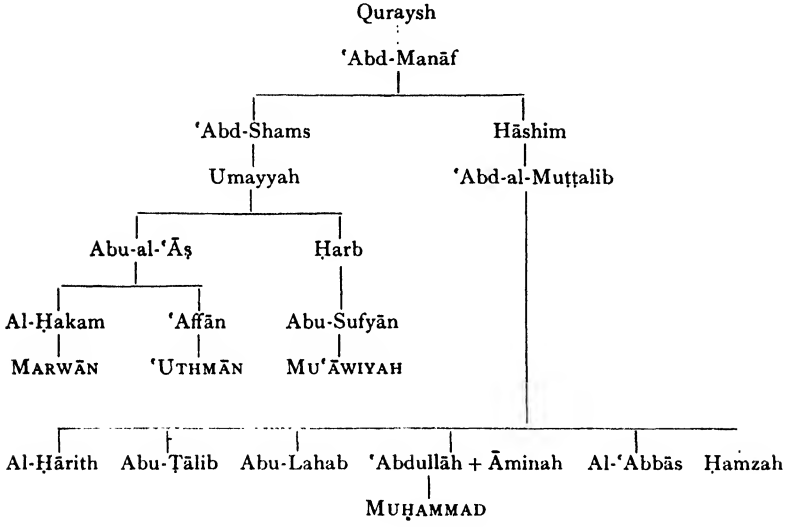
[3] Vol. i, pp. 213 *seq*

PART III

THE UMAYYAD AND ʿABBĀSID EMPIRES

CHAPTER XVII

THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE: MU'ĀWIYAH ESTABLISHES A DYNASTY



MU'ĀWIYAH was proclaimed caliph at Īliyā' (Jerusalem) in A.H. 40 (661).[1] With his accession the seat of the provincial government, Damascus, became the capital of the Moslem empire, though that empire was somewhat circumscribed. After the arbitration 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ, Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man, wrested Egypt from the 'Alids, but al-'Irāq declared al-Ḥasan, the eldest son of 'Ali and Fāṭimah, the legitimate successor of 'Ali, and both Makkah and al-Madīnah were lukewarm in their loyalty to the representations of the Sufyānids, who had failed to acknowledge Muḥammad until the fall of Makkah and whose Islam was therefore considered one of convenience rather than conviction. The interests of al-Ḥasan, who was more at home

The claimants to the caliphate disposed of

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 4; cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 14.

in the harem than on the throne, lay in fields other than those of imperial administration. It was not long before he abdicated in favour of his more able rival and retired to al-Madīnah to a life of ease and pleasure, a step which he was induced to take by Mu'āwiyah's guarantee of a magnificent subsidy and pension[1] which he himself had fixed and which included five million dirhams from the Kūfah treasury[2] plus the revenue of a district in Persia for the duration of his lifetime. Though he died at the age of forty-five (*ca.* 669), possibly poisoned[3] because of some harem intrigue, al-Ḥasan is said to have made and unmade no less than a hundred marriages, which earned him the title of *miṭlāq*[4] (great divorcer). The Shī'ah laid the fatal act at Mu'āwiyah's door and thus made al-Ḥasan a *shahīd* (martyr), in fact the "*sayyid* [lord] of all martyrs".

His younger brother al-Ḥusayn, who had also lived in retirement at al-Madīnah throughout the rule of Mu'āwiyah, in 680 refused to acknowledge Mu'āwiyah's son and successor Yazīd, and in response to the urgent and reiterated appeals of the 'Irāqis, who had declared him the legitimate caliph after al-Ḥasan and 'Ali, started at the head of a weak escort of relatives (including his harem and devoted followers) for al-Kūfah. 'Ubaydullāh, whose father Ziyād had been conveniently acknowledged by Mu'āwiyah as his brother, was now the Umayyad governor of al-'Irāq and had established outposts on all the roads leading from al-Ḥijāz to al-'Irāq. On the tenth of Muḥarram, A.H. 61 (October 10, 680), 'Umar, son of the distinguished general Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, in command of 4000 troops surrounded al-Ḥusayn with his insignificant band of some two hundred souls at Karbalā', about twenty-five miles north-west of al-Kūfah, and upon their refusal to surrender cut them down. The grandson of the Prophet fell dead with many wounds and his head was sent to Yazīd in Damascus. The head was given back to al-Ḥusayn's sister and son, who had gone with it to Damascus,[5] and was buried with the body in Karbalā'. In commemoration of al-Ḥusayn's "martyrdom" the Shī'ah Moslems have established the practice of annually observing the first ten days of Muḥarram as days of lamentation, and have

[1] See ibn-Ḥajar, vol. ii, p. 13; Dīnawari, p. 231.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 3.
[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 266.
[4] Ibn-'Asākir, vol. iv, p. 216, l. 21.
[5] Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. ii, p. 17.

developed a passion play stressing his "heroic" struggle and suffering. This annual passion play is enacted in two parts, one called *'Āshūrā'* (the tenth day) in al-Kāẓimayn (close by Baghdād) in memory of the battle, and the other forty days after the tenth of Muḥarram in Karbalā' entitled "the Return of the Head".

The blood of al-Ḥusayn, even more than that of his father, proved to be the seed of the Shī'ite "church". Shī'ism was born on the tenth of Muḥarram. From now on the imāmship in 'Ali's progeny became as much of a dogma in the Shī'ite creed as that of the prophethood of Muḥammad in Islam. *Yawm* (the day of) *Karbalā'* gave the Shī'ah a battle-cry summed up in the formula "vengeance for al-Ḥusayn", which ultimately proved one of the factors that undermined the Umayyad dynasty. In the other camp the Sunnites argued that Yazīd was *de facto* ruler and that to question his authority constituted a treason punishable with death. They insisted that the Shī'ites should not view the facts otherwise. But how a people actually do view an event is usually more important as a moving force in history than how they should view it. The great schism was made in Islam and the breach has never since been filled.

Although the Umayyads were for some time secure in the caliphate in so far as the 'Alids were concerned, the struggle was in reality three-cornered, for the third party was not yet eliminated. As long as the powerful Mu'āwiyah lived 'Abdullāh, a nephew of 'Ā'ishah and son of al-Zubayr who had fruitlessly disputed the caliphate with 'Ali, kept his peace in al-Madīnah. When Yazīd, well known for his frivolity and dissipation, succeeded to the throne 'Abdullāh declared openly against the new caliph and encouraged al-Ḥusayn to undertake the perilous step which cost him his life and left 'Abdullāh the sole claimant. All al-Ḥijāz proclaimed 'Abdullāh. Yazīd was quick to dispatch against the malcontents of al-Madīnah a disciplinary force which included many Christian Syrians, and was headed by the one-eyed Muslim ibn-'Uqbah, whose father had conquered North Africa and established al-Qayrawān[1] (670). The punitive expedition encamped on the volcanic plain of al-Ḥarrah east of al-Madīnah, gave battle on August 26, 683, and was victorious. The story of the three days in which the unchecked Damascene

[1] From Pers. *kārwān*, whence Eng. caravan.

soldiery sacked the city of the Prophet is apocryphal. The army then proceeded to Makkah. On the way Muslim died and was succeeded in the chief command by al-Ḥuṣayn ibn-Numayr al-Sakūni,[1] who had his catapults rain stones upon the Ḥaram (holy mosque) of Makkah on whose inviolable soil ibn-al-Zubayr had taken refuge. In the course of the siege the Ka'bah itself caught fire and was burned to the ground. The Black Stone was split in three pieces and the house of Allah looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women".[2] While these operations were proceeding Yazīd had died and ibn-Numayr, fearing consequent disorders in Syria, suspended on November 27, 683, the operations which had begun on September 24. The second civil war of Islam, which like the first between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah was also a dynastic war, came to a temporary halt.

Subsequent to the death of his rival and the consequent withdrawal of enemy troops from Arabian soil ibn-al-Zubayr was proclaimed caliph not only in al-Ḥijāz, where he had his seat, and in al-'Irāq, where his brother Muṣ'ab was made his representative, but in South Arabia and even in parts of Syria. Over Damascus, however, al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn-Qays al-Fihri, leader of the Qaysite (North Arabian) party which had favoured ibn-al-Zubayr, had been appointed by this caliph provisional regent. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was finally crushed in July 684, at Marj Rāhiṭ[3] —a second Ṣiffīn for the Umayyads—by his Kalbite (including the Yamanite or South Arabian) opponents, who supported the aged[4] Umayyad Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam. The Kalbites were Syro-Arabs domiciled in Syria before the Hijrah and mostly Christianized. Marwān (683–5), the cousin of 'Uthmān and formerly his secretary of state, then became the founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty. He followed Mu'āwiyah II (683), Yazīd's weak and sickly son, who had ruled

[1] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2220; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 299.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 427; al-Fākihi, *al-Muntaqa fi Akhbār umm-al-Qura*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 18 *seq.*; Azraqi, *Akhbār Makkah*, p. 32. The Ka'bah was rebuilt by ibn-al-Zubayr on the withdrawal of the Umayyad army.

[3] A plain east of the village Marj 'Adhrā' not far from Damascus. See *'Iqd*, vol. ii, pp. 320-21; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 201. These internal feuds between the Qays, representing the new emigrants from North Arabia, and the Kalb, who were ever the staunch supporters of the Umayyad cause, were among the events which precipitated the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. The Qaysi and Yamani parties figured even in the modern politics of Lebanon and Syria. See below, p. 281.

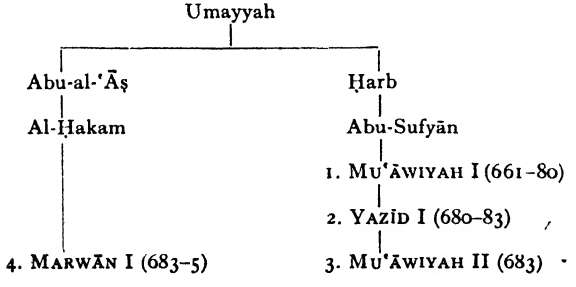
[4] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 304, l. 19.

only three months and left no successor.[1] But the defection of al-Ḥijāz under the rival caliph continued until Marwān's son and successor, 'Abd-al-Malik, sent his iron-handed general al-Ḥajjāj, formerly a schoolmaster in al-Ṭā'if, at the head of a Syrian army which gave the *coup de grâce* to the anti-caliphate. Beginning March 25, 692, al-Ḥajjāj pressed the siege against Makkah for six and a half months and used his catapults effectively.[2] Inspired by the heroic exhortation of his mother, Asmā',[3] daughter of abu-Bakr and sister of 'Ā'ishah, ibn-al-Zubayr fought valiantly but hopelessly until he was slain. His head was sent to Damascus[4] and his body, after hanging for some time on the gibbet, was delivered to his aged mother. With the death of ibn-al-Zubayr the last champion of the old faith passed away. 'Uthmān was fully avenged, if not by Muslim certainly by al-Ḥajjāj. The Anṣār's (Supporters') power was for ever broken. After this debacle a number of them began to leave Makkah and al-Madīnah to join the armies operating in North Africa, Spain and other theatres of war. Henceforth the history of Arabia begins to deal more with the effect of the outer world on the peninsula and less with the effect of the peninsula on the outer world. The vigour of the mother "island" had spent itself.

Mu'āwiyah, the model Arab sovereign

After gaining supremacy over the opposing parties Mu'āwiyah (661–80) was free to direct his efforts against the great enemy of Islam to the north-west, the Byzantines. In 'Akka (Acre) he found soon after the conquest of Syria well-equipped Byzantine shipyards (sing. *dār al-ṣinā'ah*, whence Eng. arsenal) which he utilized for building the Moslem navy. These dockyards were

[1] The subjoined tree shows the Sufyānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty in its relation to the founder of the Marwānid branch:



[2] Dīnawari, p. 320; ibn-'Asākir, vol. iv, p. 50 [3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 845-8.
[4] Ṭabarī, vol. ii, p. 852.

probably the second after those of Egypt in Islamic maritime history. The Syrian yards, according to al-Balādhuri,[1] were transferred by later Umayyads to Ṣūr (Tyre),[2] where they remained until the 'Abbāsid period. This fleet must undoubtedly have been manned by Greco-Syrians accustomed to seafaring. The Arabians of al-Ḥijāz, the mainstay of Islam, had only little acquaintance with the sea, for it was a principle of 'Umar's policy to let no body of water intervene between him and his lieutenants. Such a policy explains, for instance, why 'Umar would not authorize the proposed invasion of Cyprus (Qubrus) by Mu'āwiyah. It was 'Umar's successor, 'Uthmān, who was finally persuaded to yield a half-hearted assent to the invasion of the island; and it was in compliance with the caliph's order that Mu'āwiyah had his wife accompany him (649).[3] Her presence was proof positive of the proximity of Cyprus and of the contemplated ease with which it could be subdued.

Mu'āwiyah's reign witnessed not only the consolidation but the extension of the territories of the caliphate. To this period belongs the expansion in North Africa for which 'Uqbah ibn-Nāfi' was in the main responsible. In the east the complete conquest of Khurāsān was undertaken (663–71) from al-Baṣrah,[4] the Oxus was crossed and Bukhāra in far-away Turkestan raided (674). Thus Mu'āwiyah became not only the father of a dynasty but the second founder of the caliphate after 'Umar.

In securing his throne and extending the limits of Islamic dominion, Mu'āwiyah relied mainly upon Syrians, who were still chiefly Christian, and upon the Syro-Arabs, who were mainly Yamanites, to the exclusion of the new Moslem immigrants from al-Ḥijāz. Arabic chronicles dwell upon the sense of loyalty which the people of Syria cherished towards their new chief.[5] Though as a soldier he was certainly inferior to 'Ali, as a military organizer Mu'āwiyah was second to none of his contemporaries. He whipped the raw material which constituted his Syrian army into the first ordered and disciplined force known in Islamic warfare. He rid the military machine of its archaic tribal organization, a relic of the ancient patriarchal days. He abolished many

[1] P. 118 = Hitti, p. 181.
[2] Consult Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Boston, 1890), p. 342; cf. ibn-Jubayr, *Riḥlah* (Leyden, 1907), p. 305. [3] Above, p. 168.
[4] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 258; Balādhuri, p. 410; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 166 *seq.*
[5] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 3409-10; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, pp. 80, 104; cf. *'Iqd*, vol. i, p. 207, l. 31.

traditional features of the government and on the earlier Byzantine framework built a stable, well-organized state. Out of seeming chaos he developed an orderly Moslem society. Historians credit him with being the first in Islam to institute the bureau of registry and the first to interest himself in postal service, *al-barīd*,[1] which developed under 'Abd-al-Malik into a well-organized system knitting together the various parts of the far-flung empire. From among many other wives he chose as his favourite a Syro-Arab Kalbite of the banu-Baḥdal, Maysūn by name, who scorned court life at Damascus and yearned for the freedom of the desert. The verses attributed to her, though she may never have composed them, express the feeling of homesickness which many Bedouins who were now passing into an urban state must have experienced.[2]

Maysūn was a Jacobite Christian like her predecessor Nā'ilah, 'Uthmān's wife, who also belonged to the Kalb tribe. She often took her son Yazīd, subsequently the successor of Mu'āwiyah, to the *bādiyah* (Syrian desert), particularly to Palmyrena, in which her Bedouin tribe roamed and where the youthful crown prince became habituated to the chase, hard-riding, wine-bibbing and verse-making. Al-Bādiyah from this time on became the school of the Umayyad princes, where they acquired the pure Arabic[3] unadulterated with Aramaicisms and where they also escaped the recurrent city plagues. Later Umayyad caliphs, including 'Abd-al-Malik and al-Walīd II, continuing the tradition, built country residences on the border of the Syrian desert and called them "al-Bādiyahs".

Manṣūr ibn-Sarjūn (Gr. Sergius),[4] who figured in the treacherous surrender of Damascus at the time of the Arab invasion, was the scion of a prominent Christian family some of whose members had occupied the position of financial controller of the state in the last Byzantine period. Next to the supreme command of the army this office became the most important in the Arab government. The grandson of this Manṣūr was the illustrious St. John (Yūḥanna) the Damascene, who in his

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 148. See below, p. 322.
[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. i, p. 203; Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 195.
[3] *'Iqd*, vol. i, p. 293, l. 30.
[4] For the confusion in the Arabic chronicles between the name of this man and his son Sarjūn ibn-Manṣūr, consult Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 205, 228, 239; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, pp. 302, 306, 307, 312; cf. Theophanes, p. 365.

youth was a boon companion of Yazīd. The caliph's physician, ibn-Uthāl, was likewise a Christian, whom Mu'āwiyah made financial administrator of the province of Ḥimṣ[1]—an unprecedented appointment for a Christian in Moslem annals.[2] The Umayyad poet laureate, al-Akhṭal, another boon companion of Yazīd, belonged to the Taghlib Christian Arabs of al-Ḥīrah and was a friend of St. John. This poet of the court would enter the caliphal palace with a cross dangling from his neck and recite his poems to the delight of the Moslem caliph and his entourage. Jacobites and Maronites brought their religious disputes before the caliph,[3] who is reported by Theophanes[4] to have even rebuilt a Christian church in Edessa which had been demolished by an earthquake.

When in 676 Mu'āwiyah nominated his son Yazīd as his successor[5] and caused deputations to come from the provinces and take the oath of allegiance, he introduced into the caliphate the hereditary principle followed thereafter by the leading Moslem dynasties, including the 'Abbāsids. Following this precedent the reigning caliph would proclaim as his successor the one among his sons or kinsmen whom he considered most competent and would exact for him an anticipatory oath of fealty, first from the capital and then from the other principal towns of the empire.

No small measure of the success of the Caliph Mu'āwiyah should be attributed to the circle of collaborators with whom he surrounded himself, particularly 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ, the vicegerent over fertile Egypt, al-Mughīrah ibn-Shu'bah, the governor of turbulent al-Kūfah, and Ziyād ibn-Abīh, the ruler of malcontent al-Baṣrah. These three with their chief, Mu'āwiyah, constituted the four political geniuses (*duhāt*) of the Arab Moslems. Ziyād was at first styled ibn-Abīh because of the doubt which clouded the identity of his father. His mother was a slave of abu-Sufyān, Mu'āwiyah's father, but had passed into another man's possession before Ziyād was born. In a critical moment Mu'āwiyah acknowledged Ziyād as his legitimate brother.[6] Ziyād proved a

[1] Ibn-'Asākir, vol. v, p. 80.
[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 265 ;Wellhausen, *Reich*, p. 85, considers the report of this appointment fictitious.
[3] Wellhausen, *Reich*, p. 84.
[4] P. 356.
[5] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 174-7; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, pp. 69-73.
[6] Dīnawari, pp. 232-3; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 69-70; ibn-'Asākir, vol. v, p. 397.

great asset to his caliph brother. His unrelenting hand weighed heavily over al-Baṣrah, a centre of Shī'ism. After the death of al-Mughīrah he was elevated to the governorship of al-Kūfah, a position which made him the absolute ruler of the eastern part of the empire, including Arabia and Persia. With a trained body-guard 4000 strong who acted also as spies and police, he ruled tyrannically and tracked down mercilessly anyone who dared show favour to 'Ali's descendants or revile Mu'āwiyah.

In Mu'āwiyah the sense of *finesse politique* was developed to a degree probably higher than in any other caliph. To his Arab biographers his supreme virtue was his *ḥilm*,[1] that unusual ability to resort to force only when force was absolutely necessary and to use peaceful measures in all other instances. His prudent mildness by which he tried to disarm the enemy and shame the opposition, his slowness to anger and his absolute self-control left him under all circumstances master of the situation. "I apply not my sword", he is reported to have declared, "where my lash suffices, nor my lash where my tongue is enough. And even if there be one hair binding me to my fellowmen, I do not let it break: when they pull I loosen, and if they loosen I pull."[2] The following is a copy of a letter he is supposed to have forwarded to al-Ḥasan on the occasion of the latter's abdication: "I admit that because of thy blood relationship thou art more entitled to this high office than I. And if I were sure of thy greater ability to fulfil the duties involved I would unhesitatingly swear allegiance to thee. Now then, ask what thou wilt." Enclosed was a blank for al-Ḥasan to fill in, already signed by Mu'āwiyah.[3]

Despite many excellences Mu'āwiyah was no favourite with several of the historians whose works have come down to us. They regarded him as the first *malik* (king) in Islam; and to the true Arab the title was so abhorrent that it was applied almost exclusively to non-Arab potentates. The historians' attitude was a reflection of that of the puritans, who accused him of having secularized Islam and changed the *khilāfat al-nubū'ah* (the prophetic, i.e. theocratic, caliphate) to a *mulk*[4]—a temporal sovereignty. Among his profane creations, they point out, was

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 145; *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p. 304; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 410.
[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 283; *'Iqd*, vol. i, p. 10. [3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 5.
[4] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 169 *seq.*; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 257.

the *maqṣūrah*,[1] a sort of bower inside the mosque reserved for the exclusive use of the caliph. The Friday noon sermon (*khuṭbah*) he read while seated.[2] He was the first to institute a royal throne (*sarīr al-mulk*).[3] The Arabic annals, mostly composed in the ʿAbbāsid period or under Shīʿite influence, impugn his piety. The Syrian tradition, however, preserved in ibn-ʿAsākir, reveals him as a good Moslem. To his Umayyad successors he bequeathed a precedent of clemency, energy, astuteness and statesmanship which many tried to emulate,[4] though few succeeded. He was not only the first but also one of the best of Arab kings.

[1] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 265; Dīnawari, p. 229; Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 70, l. 20.

[2] Ibn-al-ʿIbri, p. 188.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 217; al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿsha*, vol. iv (Cairo, 1914), p. 6.

[4] Masʿūdi, vol. v, p. 78. Muʿāwiyah's tomb in the cemetery of [al-]Bāb al-Ṣaghīr at Damascus is still visited.

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSTILE RELATIONS WITH THE BYZANTINES

WHILE Mu'āwiyah was still insecure in his new position and had his hands full with domestic affairs he found it expedient to purchase (658 or 659) a truce from the Emperor Constans II (642–68) at the price of a yearly tribute mentioned by Theophanes[1] and referred to in passing by al-Balādhuri.[2] But soon afterward the tribute was repudiated and hostilities against the Byzantine possessions both by land and sea were pressed more zealously and persistently than by any of Mu'āwiyah's immediate successors. Twice did Mu'āwiyah stretch out his mighty arm against the enemy capital itself. The main object of these raids into *Bilād al-Rūm* (the territory of the Romans, Asia Minor) was of course the acquisition of booty, though the dim spectacle of Constantinople may have beckoned beyond in the distant background. Gradually the razzias became annual summer affairs and served the purpose of keeping the army physically fit and well trained. Yet the Arabs never succeeded in establishing a permanent foothold in Asia Minor. Their main energy was directed eastward and westward along the lines of least resistance. Otherwise the story of Arab-Byzantine relations in Asia Minor and even across the Hellespont might have been different. On the north the lofty ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus seem to have been eternally fixed by nature as the boundary line, and the Arabic language appears to have frozen upon their southern slopes. Though brought later by Saljūq and by Ottoman Turks within the political orbit of Islam, no part of Asia Minor ever became Arabic-speaking. Its basic population from earliest antiquity, beginning with Hittite days, has always been non-Semitic, and its climate has proved too rigorous for Arab civilization to strike deep root in its soil.

The long cordon of Moslem fortifications stretching from Malaṭyah (or Malaṭīyah, Melitene) by the upper Euphrates to

[1] P. 347. [2] P. 159, l. 1 = Hitti, p. 245.

Ṭarsūs near the Mediterranean coast and including Adhanah, al-Maṣṣīṣah (Mopsuestia) and Mar'ash (Germanicia) had its units all strategically situated at the intersections of military roads or at the entrances of narrow mountain passes. These strongholds with their environs were called *'awāṣim*. But *'awāṣim* in the narrower sense meant the inner, the southern, line of fortresses within the military marches in contradistinction to the outer, northern, strip of land called *thughūr*,[1] which shrank under the 'Abbāsids, reaching only from Awlās on the Mediterranean past Ṭarsūs to Sumaysāṭ (Samosata) on the Euphrates.[2] The line guarding Mesopotamia to the north-east was styled *al-thughūr al-Jazarīyah*; that guarding Syria, *al-thughūr al-Sha'mīyah*.[3] Ṭarsūs, which commanded the southern entrance of the celebrated pass across the Taurus known as the Cilician Gates and served as a military base for Arab attacks on the land of the Greeks, was no less than four hundred and fifty miles in a direct line from the Bosphorus. The other pass by which the mountain range of the Taurus could be traversed lay to the north-east and was called Darb al-Ḥadath. It led from Mar'ash north to Abulustayn[4] and was less frequented. These Arab marches formed a "no man's land" and their strongholds changed hands again and again as the tide of war ebbed or flowed. Under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids almost every foot was fought over repeatedly and bitterly; scarcely any land in Asia is more soaked in blood.

As early as A.H. 34 (655), while Mu'āwiyah was still governor of Syria under 'Uthmān, his fleet under Busr ibn-abi-Arṭāh[5] in co-operation with the Egyptian fleet under 'Abdullāh ibn-abi-Sarḥ met the Greek navy led by the Emperor Constans II, son of Heraclius, at Phoenix (modern Finike) on the Lycian coast and scored the first great naval victory of Islam. This maritime engagement is referred to in Arabic chronicles as dhu (or dhāt) -al-Ṣawāri (that of the masts).[6] The Arabs transformed

[1] Cf. Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 128.

[2] Iṣṭakhri, pp. 67-8. [3] Balādhuri, pp. 183 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*

[4] Yāqūt, vol. i, pp. 93-4; cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 133. The Byzantine name was Ablastha, the Greek Arabissus, late Arabic al-Bustān.

[5] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 189-90; ibn-Ḥajar, vol. i, 153.

[6] Either after the name of the place itself, which is said to have been rich in cypress trees from which masts (*ṣawāri*) could be fashioned, or because of the number of masts of the many ships engaged.

the sea fight into a hand-to-hand encounter by tying each Arab ship to a Byzantine vessel.[1] The battle proved a second Yarmūk; the Byzantine forces were completely destroyed.[2] Al-Ṭabari[3] describes the water of the sea as saturated with blood. The Arabs, however, did not take advantage of the victory and push on to Constantinople, probably because of the murder of ʿUthmān, which occurred about this time, and other concomitant civil disturbances.

Three times was Constantinople attacked by Umayyad forces, the only occasions on which Syro-Arabs ever succeeded in reaching the high triple walls of the mighty capital. The first was in A.H. 49 (669) under the leadership of the crown prince Yazīd, whose warriors were the first ever to set eyes on Byzantium.[4] Yazīd was sent by his father to support the land campaign of Faḍālah ibn-ʿUbayd al-Anṣāri, who had wintered (668–9) in Chalcedon (the Asiatic suburb of Byzantium), and as a response to those puritans who might look askance at Yazīd's intended nomination as successor to the reigning caliph. The siege laid by Yazīd and Faḍālah in the spring of 669 was raised in the summer of the same year; Byzantium had a new and energetic emperor, Constantine IV (668–85).

In legend Yazīd distinguished himself for bravery and fortitude below the walls of Constantinople and earned the title *fata al-ʿArab* (the young champion or hero of the Arabs). The *Aghāni*[5] relates that alternate shouts of jubilation were heard from two separate tents as the Arabs or the Byzantines made headway in the battle. On learning that one tent was occupied by the daughter of the king of the Rūm and the other by the daughter of Jabalah ibn-al-Ayham, Yazīd was spurred to extraordinary activity in order to seize the Ghassānid king's daughter. But the real legendary hero of the campaign was the aged abu-Ayyūb al-Anṣāri, the standard-bearer of the Prophet, who had harboured Muḥammad in al-Madīnah on the occasion of the Hijrah[6] and whose presence in Yazīd's contingent was desired more for the blessing it might bring than for its military value. In the course of the siege abu-Ayyūb died of dysentery and was buried before the walls of Constantinople. His tomb soon

[1] Ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥakam, p. 190, ll. 18-19.
[2] Theophanes, pp. 332, 345-6.
[3] Vol. i, p. 2868.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 86; cf. p. 27.
[5] Vol. xvi, p. 33.
[6] Balādhuri, p. 5 = Hitti, p. 19

became a shrine even for the Christian Greeks, who made pilgrimages to it in time of drought to pray for rain.[1] During the siege of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks, the tomb was miraculously discovered by rays of light—an episode comparable to the discovery of the holy lance at Antioch by the early Crusaders—and a mosque was built on the site. Thus did the Madīnese gentleman become a saint for three nations.

The second attack on Constantinople was made in the so-called seven years' war[2] (54–60/674–80), which was waged mainly between the two fleets before Constantinople. The Arabs had secured a naval base in the Sea of Marmora on the peninsula of Cyzicus,[3] evidently "the isle of Arwād"[4] in the Arab chronicles. This served as winter headquarters for the invading army, whence hostilities were resumed every spring. The Arab accounts of these campaigns are badly confused. The use of Greek fire is supposed to have saved the city. This highly combustible compound, which would burn even on water, was discovered by a Syrian refugee from Damascus named Callinicus. The Greek accounts dilate on the disastrous effect of this fire on the enemy ships. Agapius of Manbij,[5] who follows Theophanes, emphasizes the habitual use of Greek fire by the Byzantines, who were the first to employ it in warfare.

To this period also belongs the temporary occupation of Rhodes (Rūdis,[6] 672) and Crete (Iqrīṭish, 674). Rhodes was again temporarily occupied in 717–18. On a previous occasion (654) it had been pillaged by the Arabs, and two years later the remains of its once famous colossus were sold for old metal to a dealer who is said to have employed nine hundred camels to carry them away. Later it was again conquered by Arab adventurers from Spain.

On the death of Mu'āwiyah (680) the Arab fleet withdrew from the Bosphorus and Aegean waters, but attacks against "the territory of the Romans" were by no means relinquished.

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 2, p. 50; followed by Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 2324. Both authorities fix A.H. 52 as the year of his death.

[2] See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1899), vol. ii, p. 310, n. 4.

[3] Theophanes, pp. 353-4.

[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 163; Balādhuri, p. 236 = Hitti, p. 376.

[5] "Kitāb al-'Unwān," pt. 2, ed. A. Vasiliev, in *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1912), vol. viii, p. 492.

[6] Balādhuri, p. 236 = Hitti, p. 375.

We read of almost yearly summer incursions (*ṣā'ifah*), though none assumed importance until the caliphate of Sulaymān (715–17). Sulaymān considered himself the person referred to by the current *ḥadīth* that a caliph bearing a prophet's name was to conquer Constantinople. The second and last great siege of Constantinople was conducted (August 716–September 717 [1]) under his reign by the stubborn Maslamah, the caliph's brother. This remarkable siege, the most threatening of the Arab attacks, is the one best known because of the many descriptions extant. The besiegers were reinforced both by sea and by land and received aid from Egyptian ships. They were provided with naphtha and special siege artillery.[2] The chief of Maslamah's guard, ʿAbdullāh al-Baṭṭāl, particularly distinguished himself and won the title of champion of Islam. In the course of a later campaign (740 [3]) he was killed. In later tradition, as Sayyid Ghāzi, al-Baṭṭāl became one of the Turkish national heroes. His grave, at which a Baktāshi *takīyah* (monastery) with a mosque has risen, is still shown near Eski-Shahr (medieval Dorylæum). His was another instance of "an illustrious Moslem for whom Christians have raised a statue in one of their churches." [4]

At last Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717–40), a soldier of humble Syrian origin from Marʿash who knew Arabic as perfectly as Greek,[5] outwitted Maslamah and saved the capital. In connection with this siege we have the first historical reference to the chain which barred the way of the attacking fleet into the Golden Horn. The famous Greek fire and the attacks of the Bulgars wrought havoc in the ranks of the invaders. Famine, pestilence and the rigours of an unusually severe winter also did their share. But Maslamah persisted. The death of the caliph at Damascus did not deter him from pushing the siege. But the order of the new caliph, ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz (717–20), he had to heed. On the way back a tempest finished the work begun by the Byzantines; out of the 1800 vessels, if we are to believe Theophanes,[6] only five were spared to reach port in Syria. The Arab armada was gone. The Syrian founder of the Isaurian dynasty was hailed the saviour of Europe from the Arab Moslems as Heraclius, the Armenian founder of the Heraclean dynasty, had

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1346; cf. Bury, vol. ii, p. 401, n. 2.
[2] *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn w-al-Ḥadā'iq*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1871), pt. 3, p. 24.
[3] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1716.
[4] Masʿūdi, vol. viii, p. 74.
[5] *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, pt. 3, p. 25.
[6] Pp. 395, 399.

before him been declared the deliverer of Christendom from heathen Persia. Only on one other occasion after this did an Arab host venture to make its appearance within sight of Constantinople, and that when Hārūn, son of the Caliph al-Mahdi, encamped at Scutari (Chrysopolis) in 782 and the Empress Irene hastened to make peace by agreeing to pay tribute. The "city of Constantine" was not again to see a Moslem army beneath its walls until some seven centuries had passed and a new racial element, the Mongoloid Turks, had become the standard-bearers of the religion of Muḥammad.

Though ending in failure, this determined and energetic expedition by Maslamah, like the one preceding it, has left many a legendary souvenir, including tales of the building of a mosque by the caliph's brother in Constantinople,[1] of the erection by him of a fountain[2] and a mosque[3] at Abydos (Abdus) and of his entrance on horseback into St. Sophia. Writing in 985, al-Maqdisi[4] has this to say: "When Maslamah ibn-'Abd-al-Malik invaded the country of the Romans and penetrated into their territory he stipulated that the Byzantine dog should erect by his own palace in the Hippodrome (*maydān*) a special building to be occupied by the [Moslem] notables and noblemen when taken captive".[5]

The Mardaites

One factor in the check of the Arab policy of westward penetration was the activity of the Christian Mardaites (rebels) in the service of the Byzantine cause. A people of undetermined origin leading a semi-independent national life in the fastnesses of al-Lukkām (Amanus), these Jarājimah (less correctly Jurājimah), as they were also styled by the Arabs, furnished irregular troops and proved a thorn in the side of the Arab caliphate in Syria. On the Arab–Byzantine border they formed "a brass wall" [6] in

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fi Mulūk Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah*, ed. W. Popper (Berkeley, 1909–12), vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 40, ll. 12-13, refers to a Fāṭimid *khuṭbah* pronounced in this mosque. See ibn-al-Qalānisi, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirūt, 1908), p. 68, ll. 27-8. The mosque survived in tradition in the Mamlūk period.

[2] Ibn-Khurdādhbih, *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1889), p. 104, l. 1; Mas'ūdi, vol. ii, p. 317, calls the place *Andalus*.

[3] Ibn-al-Faqīh (al-Hamadhāni), *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1885), p. 145, l. 15; Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 374, refers to the town under the name *Andus*, a mistake for Abdus.

[4] P. 147.

[5] This building, al-Balāṭ, is referred to in Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 709, as being in use at the time of Sayf-al-Dawlah al-Ḥamdāni (944–67). For etymology of *balāṭ* see below, p. 501, n. 1.

[6] Theophanes, p. 364

defence of Asia Minor. About 666 their bands penetrated into the heart of Lebanon and became the nucleus around which many fugitives and malcontents, among whom were the Maronites, grouped themselves. Mu'āwiyah agreed to the payment of a heavy annual tribute to the Byzantine emperor in consideration of his withdrawal of support from this internal enemy, to whom he also agreed to pay a tax. About 689 Justinian II once more loosed the Mardaite highlanders on Syria, and 'Abd-al-Malik, following "the precedent of Mu'āwiyah",[1] accepted the new conditions laid down by the emperor and agreed to pay a thousand dinars weekly to the Jarājimah. Finally the majority of the invaders evacuated Syria and settled in the inner provinces or on the coast of Asia Minor, where they became seafarers; others remained and constituted one of the elements that entered into the composition of the Maronite community that still flourishes in the northern Lebanon.

[1] Balādhuri, p. 160, l. 8 = Hitti, p. 247, l. 28.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ZENITH OF UMAYYAD POWER

MARWĀN (683–5), the founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty, was succeeded by his son ʿAbd-al-Malik (685–705), the "father of kings". Under ʿAbd-al-Malik's rule and that of the four sons who succeeded him[1] the dynasty at Damascus reached the meridian of its power and glory. During the reigns of al-Walīd and Hishām the Islamic empire reached its greatest expansion, stretching from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pyrenees to the Indus and the confines of China —an extent hardly rivalled in ancient times and surpassed in modern times only by the British and Russian empires. To this glorious period belong the subjugation of Transoxiana, the reconquest and pacification of North Africa and the acquisition of the largest European country ever held by Arabs—Spain.

This era witnessed the nationalizing, or Arabicizing, of the administration, the introduction of the first purely Arab coinage, the development of the postal service and the erection of such monuments as the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem—the third holiest sanctuary in Islam.

At his accession and during his first decade as caliph ʿAbd-al-Malik was hemmed in by many foes, and like his great predecessor, Muʿāwiyah, whose counterpart he was, had to face enemies on various fronts. Yet when he died at the close of a second decade he passed on to his son al-Walīd a consolidated and pacified empire that included not only the whole world of Islam but also new conquests of his own. Al-Walīd proved a worthy successor of a capable father.

The acquisition of Syria, al-ʿIrāq, Persia and Egypt under ʿUmar and ʿUthmān having brought to an end the first stage in the history of Moslem conquest, the second now begins under ʿAbd-al-Malik and al-Walīd.

[1] Al-Walīd (705–15), Sulaymān (715–17), Yazīd II (720–24) and Hishām (724–743). ʿUmar (717–20), who interrupted the filial succession, was a son of ʿAbd-al-Malik's brother ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz.

The brilliant military achievements of these two reigns centre on the names of al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf al-Thaqafi in the east and Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr in the west.

An energetic viceroy: al-Ḥajjāj

Al-Ḥajjāj, the young schoolmaster of al-Ṭā'if[1] in al-Ḥijāz who had laid down the pen and taken up the sword in support of the tottering Umayyad throne, was appointed governor of Arabia after having crushed (692) at the age of thirty-one the formidable pretender 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Zubayr, who for nine years had held the title and power of caliph. In two years al-Ḥajjāj pacified al-Ḥijāz and with it al-Yaman and even al-Yamāmah to the east, and was in December 694 summoned by 'Abd-al-Malik to perform a similar task in turbulent and dissatisfied al-'Irāq, whose people were "men of schism and hypocrisy".[2] Here the 'Alids and the Khārijites had continually made trouble for the Umayyads. The unexpected arrival of al-Ḥajjāj at the famous mosque of al-Kūfah, in disguise and accompanied only by twelve cameleers, his brusque mounting of the pulpit and removal of the heavy turban which veiled his face, and his fiery oration, are among the most dramatic and popular episodes recounted in Arabic literature. The proclamation of his policy in unequivocal terms showed the 'Irāqis from the very start that his would be no kid-glove methods of dealing with a disloyal populace. Introducing his oration with a verse quoted from an ancient poet:

> "I am he who scattereth darkness and climbeth lofty summits.
> As I lift the turban from my face ye will know me",

the speaker continued, "O people of al-Kūfah! Certain am I that I see heads ripe for cutting, and verily I am the man to do it. Methinks I see blood between the turbans and the beards. . . ."[3]

In fact no head proved too mighty for the relentless Umayyad viceroy to crush, no neck too high for him to reach. Even Anas ibn-Mālik, the prolific traditionist and highly respected Companion of the Prophet, accused of sympathy with the opposition, had to wear around his neck a collar bearing the viceroy's seal.[4] Human lives to the number of 120,000[5] are said to have been

[1] Ibn-Rustah, p. 216; ibn-Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, p. 187.
[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 326; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 295.
[3] Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, pp. 215-16; cf. Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 326; Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 294.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 854-5.
[5] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 195; cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 382; *Tanbīh*, p. 318; Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1123.

sacrificed by this governor of al-'Irāq, who is represented by the Arab historians, most of whom, it should be noted, were Shī'ites or Sunnites writing during the 'Abbāsid régime, as a blood-thirsty tyrant, a veritable Nero. In addition to his blood-thirstiness, his gluttony and impiety are favourite themes with the historians.[1]

Justifiable or not, the drastic measures of al-Ḥajjāj did not fail to restore order both among the rebellious Baṣrans and Kūfans and throughout his vast viceroyalty, which included al-'Irāq and Persia. His lieutenants, led by al-Muhallab ibn-abi-Ṣufrah, practically exterminated (698 or 699) the Azraqis,[2] the most dangerous to Moslem unity of all the Khārijites, who under the leadership of Qaṭari ibn-al-Fujā'ah had acquired control of Karmān,[3] Fāris and other eastern provinces. On the opposite coast of the Persian Gulf, 'Umān, which in the days of the Prophet and 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ had been nominally brought under Islam, was now fully incorporated with the Umayyad realm. From his newly built capital on the west bank of the Tigris, Wāsiṭ (medial), so called from its half-way position between the two key cities of al-'Irāq—al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah[4]—the Syrian garrison of al-Ḥajjāj held all these territories in submission. His blind faith in his Syrian troops, like his untainted loyalty to the Umayyad cause, knew no bounds.

With his domain pacified and well rounded out, the energetic viceroy now felt free to authorize his lieutenants to penetrate further east. One of them, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath, a scion of the ancient royal line of Kindah and governor of Sijistān, who later led a frightful revolt against the authority of al-Ḥajjāj, was sent (699–700) against Zunbīl (less correctly Rutbīl),[5] the Turkish king of Kābul (in modern Afghanistan), who had refused to pay the customary tribute.[6] 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's campaign at the head of such a magnificently

[1] Dīnawari, *Akhbār*, pp. 320-22; Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, p. 218; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1122-3; ibn-'Asākir, vol. iv, p. 81.

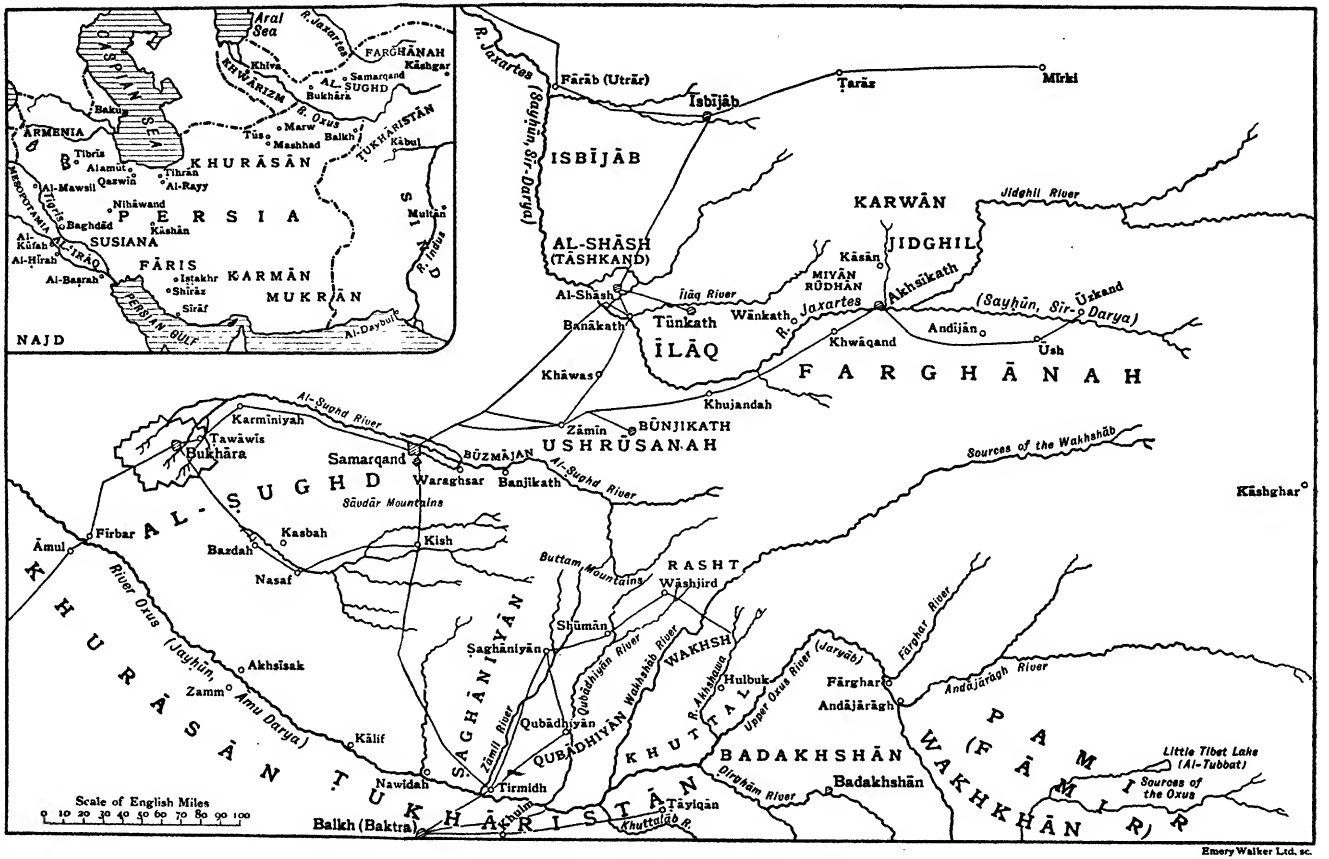
[2] So called from their first leader, Nāfi' ibn-al-Azraq, who taught that all followers of other than Khārijite doctrine were without exception infidels and doomed to death with their wives and children; Shahrastāni, pp. 89-90.

[3] Or Kirmān; Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 263.

[4] Yāqūt, vol. iv, pp. 881-2; cf. Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1125-6. The town is but a mound of ruins.

[5] Wellhausen, *Reich*, p. 144, n. 3.

[6] Almost all the subjects of this and other kings in Central Asia were Iranian, though the dynasties and armies were Turkish.



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PROVINCES OF THE OXUS AND JAXARTES

[To face page 209

equipped army that it was styled "the army of peacocks" [1] was entirely successful, but his exploits paled before those of Qutaybah ibn-Muslim and Muḥammad ibn-al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi, a cousin of al-Ḥajjāj. On the recommendation of al-Ḥajjāj, Qutaybah was in 704 appointed governor over Khurāsān with his capital at Marw; according to al-Balādhuri [2] and al-Ṭabari [3] he had under his command in Khurāsān, which he held as a subordinate of al-Ḥajjāj, 40,000 Arab troops from al-Baṣrah, 7000 from al-Kūfah and 7000 clients.

Conquests "beyond the river"

The Oxus,[4] which until now had formed the traditional, though not historical, boundary-line between "Īrān and Tūrān", i.e. between the Persian-speaking and the Turkish-speaking peoples, was now under al-Walīd crossed and a permanent Moslem foothold established beyond it. In a series of brilliant campaigns Qutaybah recovered (705) lower Ṭukhāristān with its capital, Balkh (the Baktra of the Greeks), conquered (706–9) Bukhāra in al-Ṣughd (Sogdiana) and the territory around it and reduced (710–12) Samarqand (also in al-Ṣughd) and Khwārizm (modern Khiva) to the west. In 713–15 he led an expedition into the Jaxartes provinces, particularly Farghānah, thus establishing nominal Moslem rule in what are in modern times known as the Central Asian khānates. The Jaxartes rather than the Oxus formed the natural political and racial frontier between Iranians and Turks, and its crossing constituted the first direct challenge by Islam to the Mongoloid peoples and the Buddhist religion, for Bukhāra, Balkh and Samarqand had Buddhist monasteries. In Samarqand Qutaybah fell upon a number of idols whose devotees expected instant destruction to overtake him who dared outrage them. Undeterred, the Moslem general set fire to the images with his own hand, an act which resulted in a number of conversions to Islam.[5] But no large numbers accepted the new faith until the pious caliphate of 'Umar II (717–20), when they were accorded the concession as Moslems of paying no tribute. Likewise the fire-temple of Bukhāra with its sanctuary was demolished. Thus Bukhāra with Samarqand and the province of Khwārizm were soon to become centres of Arabic culture, nurseries of Islam in Central Asia, corresponding to

[1] Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 314. [2] P. 423. [3] Vol. ii, pp. 1290-91.

[4] Modern Āmu-Darya, Ar. and Pers. Jayḥūn. Jayḥūn for the Oxus and Sayḥūn for its sister river, the Jaxartes (Sīr-Darya), are adaptations of Gihon and Pison of Gen. 2 : 13, 11.

[5] Balādhuri, p. 421.

Marw and Naysābūr (Pers. Nīshāpūr) in Khurāsān. Qutaybah is said by al-Ṭabari[1] and others to have conquered (715) Kāshghar in Chinese Turkestan and even to have reached China proper, but this tradition is evidently an anticipation of the later conquest by Naṣr ibn-Sayyār and his successors.[2] This Naṣr was appointed by the Caliph Hishām (724–43) as the first governor of Transoxiana and had to reconquer, between 738 and 740, most of the territory said to have been overrun earlier by Qutaybah. The Arab agents established by Qutaybah in the conquered provinces were merely military overseers and tax-collectors functioning side by side with the native rulers, who probably retained the civil administration. In 751 the Arabs occupied al-Shāsh (Tāshkand), north-east of Samarqand, thus definitely establishing the supremacy of Islam in Central Asia so firmly that it was not further disputed by the Chinese.[3]

Thus was Transoxiana (*ma warā' al-nahr*, what lies beyond the river) at last incorporated with the rising empire of the caliphs. The world of Islam was thereby brought into vital contact with a new racial element and a new culture in itself old—the Mongolian. We shall later deal at length with the significant part played by these fresh recruits to Islam.

Conquests in India

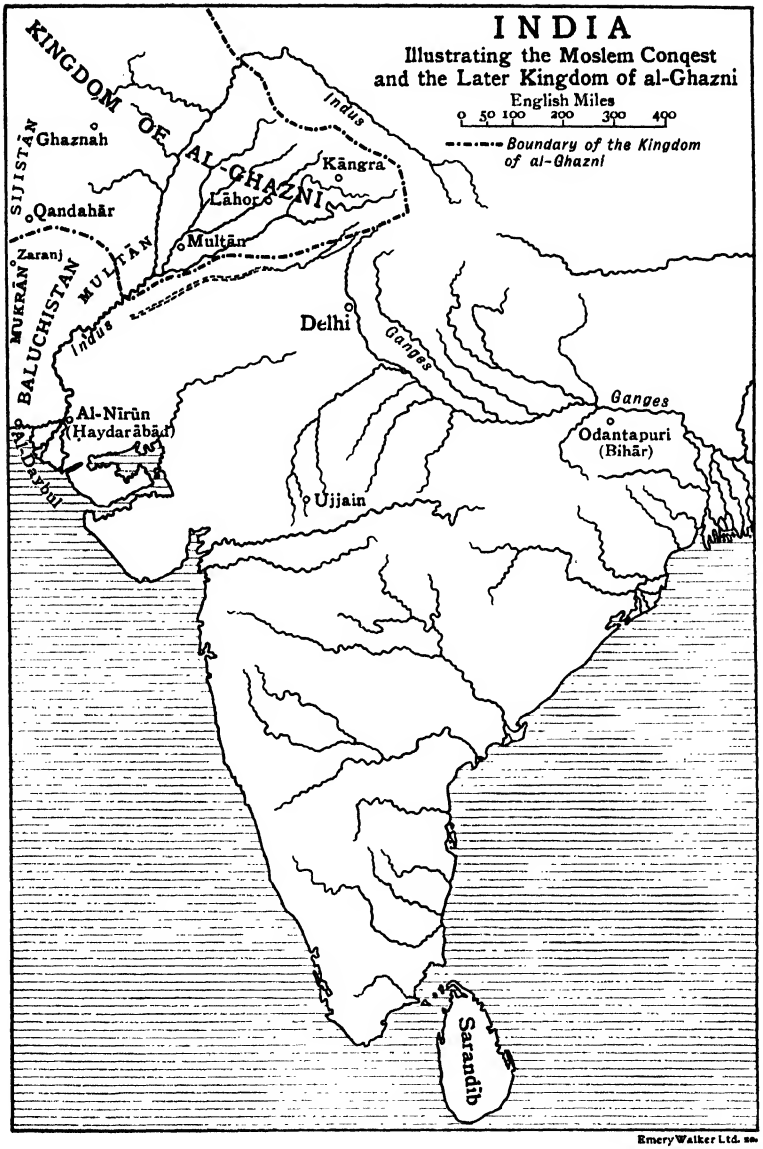
The other column in the eastern theatre of war was in the meantime moving southward under Muḥammad ibn-al-Qāsim. Advancing in 710 at the head of a considerable army, of which 6000 were Syrians, this cousin of al-Ḥajjāj subdued Mukrān, pushed on through what is now termed Baluchistan and in 711–12 reduced Sind, the lower valley and delta of the Indus (Sindhu). Among the cities captured here were the seaport al-Daybul, which had a statue of the Buddha (Ar. Budd) "rising to a height of forty cubits",[4] and al-Nīrūn (modern Ḥaydarābād). The conquest was extended (713) as far north as Multān in southern Panjāb, the seat of a renowned shrine of the Buddha,

[1] Vol. ii, p. 1275.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, vol. ii (1921), pp. 467-74.

[3] The native rulers of Samarqand, Khwārizm and Shāsh were perhaps related by marriage to the khān, or khāqān, of the Western Turks, though they appear in Arab histories with such Persian titles as *khudāh*, *shāh* and *dihqān*. The ruler of Sogdiana, residing at Samarqand, also bore the Persian title *ikhshīd*, as did the king of Farghānah. See ibn-Khurdādhbih, pp. 39-40; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 479. The Arabs applied the term "Turk" to any non-Persian people east of the Oxus.

[4] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 346.


INDIA
Illustrating the Moslem Conqest
and the Later Kingdom of al-Ghazni
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Boundary of the Kingdom of al-Ghazni
KINGDOM OF AL-GHAZNI
Indus
Ghaznah
SIJISTĀN
Qandahār
Zaranj
MUKRĀN
BALUCHISTAN
MULTĀN
Multān
Lāhor
Kāngra
Delhi
Ganges
Indus
Al-Nīrūn
(Haydarābād)
INDIA
Ujjain
Ganges
Odantapuri
(Bihār)
Sarandīb
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where the invaders found a large crowd of pilgrims, whom they took captive. This led to a permanent occupation of Sind and southern Panjāb, but the rest of India was unaffected until the close of the tenth century, when a fresh invasion began under Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. Thus were the Indian border provinces forever Islamized. Here the first major contact between Semitic Islam and Indian Buddhism was permanently established, just as farther north a similar contact was made with Turkish religions and culture. Al-Ḥajjāj had promised the governorship of China to whichever of his two great generals, Muḥammad or Qutaybah, should first set foot on its soil. But neither of them ever crossed the frontier. China proper, exclusive of Turkestan, with its present-day five to seven million Moslems, was never brought within the orbit of Islam. Sind in the south, like Kāshghar and Tāshkand in the north, now became and for ever remained the easternmost limit of the caliphate.

Against the Byzantines

While these major operations were going on in the east the Byzantine front was not entirely neglected. In the early part of his reign, and while ibn-al-Zubayr was contesting the caliphate, ʿAbd-al-Malik followed "the precedent of Muʿāwiyah"[1] in paying tribute (A.H. 70/689–90) to the "tyrant of the Romans", whose agents, the Christian Jarājimah of al-Lukkām, were then penetrating the Lebanon. But when the internal political horizon cleared hostilities were resumed with the eternal enemy. In 692 Justinian II was defeated near the Cilician Sebastopolis, and about 707 Tyana (al-Ṭuwānah), the most important fortress of Cappadocia, was taken. After capturing Sardis and Pergamos, Maslamah, as we learned before, undertook his memorable siege of Constantinople (August 716–September 717). The Moslem army which crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos was equipped with siege artillery, but the armada had to anchor near the walls of the city in the Sea of Marmora and in the Bosphorus, as passage into the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. This was the second time the Byzantine capital had been besieged by an Arab army (above, p. 203). Scarcity of provisions and attacks by the Bulgars forced the Arabs to retire after a whole year of beleaguering.[2] Armenia, which had been conquered for Muʿāwi-

[1] See above, p. 205. Balādhuri, p. 160.

[2] Consult Theophanes, pp. 386-99; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1314-17; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 17-19.

yah by Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah al-Fihri as early as 644–5, had later taken advantage of the ibn-al-Zubayr debacle to revolt, but was now again reduced.[1]

Conquests in northern Africa and southwestern Europe

The conquests on the western front under Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr and his lieutenants were no less brilliant and spectacular than those on the east by al-Ḥajjāj and his generals. Soon after the subjugation of Egypt (640 ff.) raids were carried westward into Ifrīqiyah,[2] but a thorough conquest of that territory was not undertaken until the foundation of al-Qayrawān in 670 by 'Uqbah ibn-Nāfi', an agent of Mu'āwiyah, who used it as a base for operations against the Berber tribes. 'Uqbah, who is said by tradition to have advanced until the waves of the Atlantic stopped his horse, suffered a martyr's death (683) near Biskra in modern Algeria, where his tomb has become a national shrine. Even then the Arab hold on Ifrīqiyah was so precarious that soon after 'Uqbah's death his successor had to evacuate the territory. Not until the governorship of Ḥassān ibn-al-Nu'mān al-Ghassāni (*ca.* 693–99) was an end put to Byzantine authority and Berber resistance. With the co-operation of a Moslem fleet, Ḥassān drove the Byzantines from Carthage (698) and other coast towns. He was then free to take the field against the Berbers, now led by a prophetess (Ar. *kāhinah*)[3] who exercised a mysterious influence over her followers. The heroine was at last defeated by treachery and killed near a well that still bears her name, Bīr al-Kāhinah.

Ḥassān, the reconqueror and pacifier of Ifrīqiyah, was followed by the famous Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr, under whom the government of the region, administered from al-Qayrawān, was made independent of Egypt and held directly from the caliph in Damascus. Mūsa, whose father (together with the grandfather of ibn-Isḥāq, the Prophet's biographer) was one of the Christian captives who fell into the hands of Khālid ibn-al-Walīd while they were studying the Gospels in the church at 'Ayn al-Tamr,[4] extended

[1] Balādhuri, pp. 205 *seq.* = Hitti, pp. 322 *seq.*

[2] More exact than "Ifrīqīyah"; name borrowed by Arabs from Romans and given to the eastern part of Barbary, the word Maghrib being reserved for the western part. Today the term Ifrīqiyah includes the whole continent of Africa.

[3] Balādhuri, p. 229; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vii, pp. 8-9; ibn-'Idhāri, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fi Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy (Leyden, 1848), vol. i, pp. 20-24. That she belonged to a Jewish tribe is doubtful.

[4] According to other authorities Mūsa was a Lakhmid; still others claim he was a Yamanite. Cf. Balādhuri, p. 230; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, p. 24.

the boundaries of his province as far as Tangier. This brought Islam definitely and permanently into contact with another racial group, the Berbers. The latter belonged to the Hamitic branch of the white family, and in prehistoric times probably formed one stock with the Semites.[1] At the time of the Moslem conquest most of the Berbers on the strip of fertile land bordering on the sea had become Christians. In this region Tertullian, St. Cyprian and above all St. Augustine became princes among early Christian fathers. Otherwise the population was not deeply touched by Roman civilization, for the Romans and Byzantines lived mainly in towns on the coast and represented a culture that was quite alien to the mentality of these nomadic and semi-nomadic North Africans. On the other hand Islam had a special attraction for people in such a cultural stage as that of the Berbers; moreover, the Semitic Arabs, akin to the early Phoenicians who had colonized parts of northern Africa and developed in Carthage a formidable rival to Rome, readily established intimate relations with their Hamitic cousins. Punic survived in country places until shortly before the Moslem conquest. This explains the seemingly inexplicable miracle of Islam in Arabicizing the language and Islamizing the religion of these semi-barbarous hordes and using them as fresh relays in the race toward further conquests. Thus did the blood of the conquerors find fresh ethnic strains for its enrichment, the Arabic tongue a vast field for conquest and rising Islam a new foothold in its climb toward world supremacy.

After the subjugation of the North African coast as far as the Atlantic by Mūsa,[2] the way was open for the conquest of the neighbouring south-western part of Europe. In 711 Ṭāriq, a Berber freedman and lieutenant of Mūsa, took the momentous step of crossing into Spain on a marauding expedition. The raid developed into a conquest of the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) (below, pp. 493 *seq.*). This constituted the last and most sensational of the major campaigns of the Arabs and resulted in the addition to the Moslem world of the largest European territory ever held by them. After the capture of several towns in southern Gaul the advance of the Arab-Berber army was checked in 732 between

[1] Eng. "Berber", generally considered as coming ultimately from Ar. *Barbar*, may have come, together with the Arabic form, from L. *barbari* (originally Gr.), barbarians, applied in current usage by the Latinized cities of Roman Africa to all natives who did not adopt the Latin tongue.

[2] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 203-5.

Tours and Poitiers by Charles Martel. This point marks the north-western limit of Arab penetration.

The year 732 marked the first centennial of the Prophet's death. From this vantage point in history and geography let us pause to view the general situation. One hundred years after the death of the founder of Islam his followers were the masters of an empire greater than that of Rome at its zenith, an empire extending from the Bay of Biscay to the Indus and the confines of China and from the Aral Sea to the upper cataracts of the Nile, and the name of the prophet-son of Arabia, joined with the name of almighty Allah, was being called five times a day from thousands of minarets scattered over south-western Europe, northern Africa and western and central Asia. Damascus, which young Muḥammad according to tradition hesitated to enter because he wished to enter paradise only once, had become the capital of this huge empire.[1] In the heart of the city, set like a pearl in the emerald girdle of its gardens, stood the glittering palace of the Umayyads, commanding a view of flourishing plain which extended south-westward to Mount Hermon[2] with its turban of perpetual snow. Al-Khaḍrā'[3] (the green one) was its name. Its builder was none other than Mu'āwiyah, founder of the dynasty, and it stood beside the Umayyad Mosque which al-Walīd had newly adorned and made into that jewel of architecture which still attracts lovers of beauty. In the audience chamber a square seat covered with richly embroidered cushions formed the caliphal throne, on which during formal audiences the caliph, in gorgeous flowing robes, sat cross-legged. On the right stood his paternal relatives in a row according to seniority, on the left his maternal relatives.[4] Courtiers, poets and petitioners stood behind. The more formal audiences were held in the glorious Umayyad Mosque, even at the present day one of the most magnificent places of worship in the world. In some such setting must the Caliph Sulaymān, who had just ascended the throne, have received Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr and Ṭāriq, the conquerors of Spain, with their vast train of prisoners[5] including members of

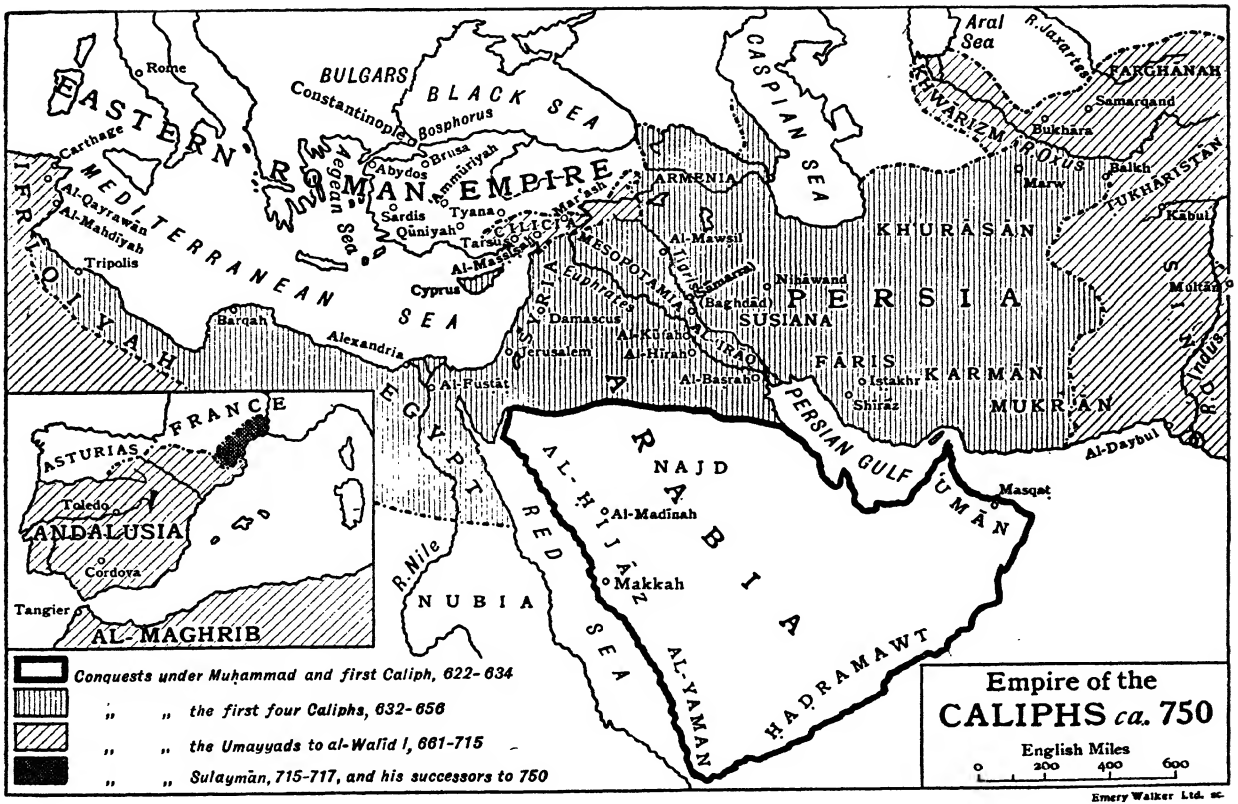
[1] For other traditions extolling Damascus see ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, pp. 46 *seq.*

[2] *Jabal al-Shaykh*, mountain of the greyhead.

[3] Ibn-Jubayr, p. 269, l. 3; "al-Qubbah al-Khaḍrā", the green dome, in *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 159.

[4] *Aghāni*, vol. iv, p. 80.

[5] 30,000 according to al-Maqqari, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Dozy, Wright *et al.* (Leyden, 1855), vol. i, p. 144; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 448.


Empire of the
CALIPHS ca. 750
English Miles
0 200 400 600
Conquests under Muḥammad and first Caliph, 622-634
" " the first four Caliphs, 632-656
" " the Umayyads to al-Walīd I, 661-715
" " Sulaymān, 715-717, and his successors to 750
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
BULGARS
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
R. Jaxartes
FARGHĀNAH
Samarqand
Bukhāra
KHWĀRIZM
R. Oxus
Balkh
TUKHĀRISTĀN
Marw
Kābul
Multān
SINDH
Indus
KHURĀSĀN
PERSIA
FĀRIS
KARMĀN
MUKRĀN
Istakhr
Shīrāz
Al-Daybul
Masqaṭ
'UMĀN
PERSIAN GULF
SUSIANA
Nihāwand
Baghdād
Al-Mawṣil
Tigris
Samarrā
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
AL-'IRĀQ
Al-Kūfah
Al-Hīrah
Al-Baṣrah
ARMENIA
Cyprus
Al-Massīṣah
Tarsus
CILICIA
Mar'ash
Tyana
Qūniyah
Sardis
Abydos
Brusa
Ammūriyah
Bosphorus
Constantinople
Aegean Sea
Rome
Carthage
Al-Qayrawān
Al-Mahdiyah
Tripolis
IFRIQIYAH
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Barqah
Alexandria
Al-Fustāt
EGYPT
SYRIA
Damascus
Jerusalem
ARABIA
NAJD
Al-Madīnah
AL-ḤIJĀZ
Makkah
AL-YAMAN
HADRAMAWT
RED SEA
R. Nile
NUBIA
FRANCE
ASTURIAS
Toledo
ANDALUSIA
Cordova
Tangier
AL-MAGHRIB
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

the fair-haired Gothic royalty and undreamt-of treasures. If any single episode can exemplify the zenith of Umayyad glory it is this.

Nationalizing the state

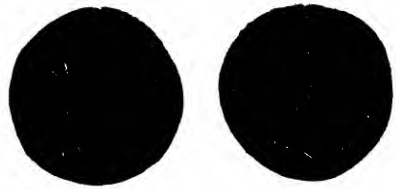
The Arabicization of the state under ʿAbd-al-Malik and al-Walīd consisted in changing the language of the public registers (*dīwān*) from Greek to Arabic in Damascus and from Pahlawi to Arabic in al-ʿIrāq and the eastern provinces and in the creation of an Arabic coinage. With the change of language a change in personnel naturally took place. The early conquerors, fresh from the desert and ignorant of book-keeping and finance, had to retain in the exchequer the Greek-writing officials in Syria and the Persian-writing officials in al-ʿIrāq and Persia who were familiar with the work. But now the situation had changed. Undoubtedly certain non-Arab officials who by this time had mastered the Arabic language were retained, as was the old system itself. The transition must have been slow, beginning under ʿAbd-al-Malik and continuing during the reign of his successor. This is probably the reason why some authorities ascribe the change to the father and others to the son.[1] The step was part of a well-planned policy and not due to any such trivial cause as that put forth by al-Balādhuri—the urination of a Greek clerk in an inkwell.[2] In al-ʿIrāq and its eastern dependencies it was evidently the famous al-Ḥajjāj who initiated the change.

In pre-Islamic days Roman and Persian money was current in al-Ḥijāz, together with a few Ḥimyarite silver coins bearing the Attic owl. ʿUmar, Muʿāwiyah and the other early caliphs contented themselves with this foreign coinage already in circulation[3] and perhaps in some cases stamped on it certain koranic superscriptions. A few gold and silver pieces were struck before the time of ʿAbd-al-Malik, but those were imitations of Byzantine and Persian types. ʿAbd-al-Malik struck at Damascus, in 695, the first gold dinars and silver dirhams which were purely Arabic.[4] His viceroy in al-ʿIrāq, al-Ḥajjāj, minted silver in al-Kūfah in the following year.[5]

Besides instituting a purely Islamic coinage and Arabicizing the administration of the empire, ʿAbd-al-Malik developed a

[1] Balādhuri, pp. 193, 300-301; Māwardi, pp. 349-50; *ʿIqd*, vol. ii, p. 322.
[2] P. 193 = Hitti, p. 301.
[3] Balādhuri, pp. 465-6.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 939; Balādhuri, p. 240.
[5] Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 886.

regular postal service,[1] using relays of horses for the conveyance of travellers and dispatches between Damascus and the provincial capitals. The service was designed primarily to meet the needs of government officials and their correspondence, and the postmasters were charged among other duties with the task of keeping the caliph posted on all important happenings in their respective territories.



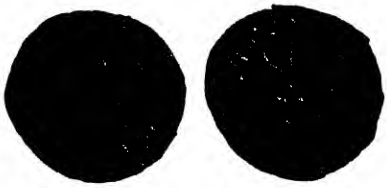
From "Katalog der orientalischen Münzen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin" (Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin)

AN IMITATION IN GOLD OF A BYZANTINE COIN WITH ARABIC INSCRIPTION

Retaining on the obverse the figures of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine, and Heracleonas, and on the reverse a modified Byzantine cross. No mint name is given.

Fiscal and other reforms

In connection with the monetary changes it may be well to note the fiscal and administrative reforms that took place at this time. In principle no Moslem, whatever his nationality might be, was under obligation to pay any tax other than the zakāh or poor rate, though in practice the privilege was often limited to Arab Moslems. Taking advantage of this theory many new converts to Islam, particularly from al-ʿIrāq and Khurāsān, now began to leave the villages where they had worked as agriculturists and flock to the cities, hoping thereby to join the army as *mawāli* (clients).[2] This constituted a double loss to the treasury, for at conversion their taxes were greatly reduced and upon becoming soldiers they were entitled to a special subsidy. Al-Ḥajjāj took the necessary measures to restore such men to their farms[3] and reimposed on them the high tribute they had paid before conversion,



From "Katalog der orientalischen Münzen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin" (Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin)

COPPER COIN OF ʿABD-AL-MALIK

Bearing on the obverse his image and his name and on the reverse ☩ on four steps together with the *shahādah* and the mint name, Baʿlabakk. An imitation of the Byzantine dinar.

[1] Al-ʿUmari, *al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1312), p. 185.
[2] This word, used later for freedmen, had at this time no connotation of inferiority.
[3] Mubarrad, p. 286.

which included the equivalent of kharāj (land tax) and jizyah (poll tax). He even made Arabs who acquired property in a kharāj territory pay the usual land tax.

The Caliph 'Umar II (717–20) tried to remedy the resultant dissatisfaction among the Neo-Moslems by re-establishing the old principle of his earlier namesake that a Moslem, whether Arab or *mawla*, need pay no tribute whatsoever, but he insisted that the kharāj land was the joint property of the Moslem community.[1] He thus prohibited after the year A.H. 100 (718–19) the sale of kharāj lands to Arabs and Moslems and declared that if the owner of such land be converted his property should revert to the village community and he might continue to use it as a leaseholder.

Though inspired by the best of intentions, 'Umar's policy was not successful. It diminished the revenues of the state and increased the number of clients in the cities.[2] Many Berbers and Persians embraced Islam to enjoy the pecuniary privileges thus accorded them. Later practice reverted to the system of al-Ḥajjāj, with minor modifications. It was not until then that the distinction was drawn between jizyah, a burden which "falls off with the acceptance of Islam", and kharāj, which does not. Since the jizyah was a comparatively small item, the treasury continued to receive its main income from the kharāj and did not in the long run appreciably suffer.

Other cultural and agricultural reforms are attributed to the versatility and energy of al-Ḥajjāj. He dug a number of new canals and restored the large one between the Tigris and the Euphrates. He drained and tilled submerged or uncultivated lands. He contributed to the introduction of diacritical marks into Arabic orthography to distinguish such similarly written letters as *bā'*, *tā'* and *thā'*, *dāl* and *dhāl*, and to the adaptation from Syriac of vowel signs, *ḍammah* (*u*), *fatḥah* (*a*) and *kasrah* (*i*), inserted above and below the consonants.[3] In this orthographic reform he was prompted by the desire to prevent errors in the

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. v, pp. 262, 277; ibn-'Asākir, vol. iv, p. 80; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 362; ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrat 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz* (Cairo, 1331), pp. 88-9.

[2] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrat 'Umar*, pp. 99-100.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Cairo, 1299), vol. i, pp. 220 21 = de Slane, *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (Paris, 1842), vol. i, pp. 359-60; cf. Suyūṭi, *Itqān*, vol. ii, p. 171; Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns* (Göttingen, 1860), pp. 305-9.

recitation of the sacred text, of which he evidently prepared a critical revision. He who started life as a schoolmaster never lost interest in literature and oratory. His patronage of poetry and science was notable. The Bedouin satirist Jarīr, who with his rivals al-Farazdaq and al-Akhṭal formed the poetical triumvirate of the Umayyad period, was his panegyrist as well as poet laureate of the Caliph 'Umar. His physician was a Christian named Tayādhūq.[1] The "slave of Thaqīf", as he was dubbed by his 'Irāqi enemies, died in Wāsiṭ, June 714, at the age of fifty-three, leaving a name that is undoubtedly one of the greatest in the annals of Islam.

Architectural monuments

Among the outstanding achievements of the period were the many architectural monuments, some of which have survived to the present day.

In Palestine the Caliph Sulaymān built on the ruins of a more ancient town the city of al-Ramlah,[2] which he made his residence. Traces of his palace could be seen there until the time of the World War, and the minaret of his White Mosque (which after the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem became the third leading sanctuary of Syria) as rebuilt by the Mamlūks in the early part of the fourteenth century is still standing. With Sulaymān the imperial capital ceased to be the home of the caliphs. Hishām resided in al-Ruṣāfah, a Roman settlement near al-Raqqah. In 691 'Abd-al-Malik erected in Jerusalem the magnificent Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah), wrongly styled by Europeans "the Mosque of 'Umar", in order to divert thither the pilgrimage from Makkah which was held by his rival ibn-al-Zubayr. That 'Abd-al-Malik was the builder is attested by the Kufic inscription still preserved round the dome. Over a century later the structure underwent restoration by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–33), who unscrupuously substituted his own name for that of 'Abd-al-Malik but inadvertently forgot to change the date.[3] The 'Abbāsid architect set close together the letters of the new name, crowding them into the narrow space originally occupied by the name of

[1] Or Tiyādhūq, Gr. Theodocus. Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 194.

[2] Balādhuri, p. 143 = Hitti, p. 220.

[3] The inscription in its present form runs as follows: HATH BUILT THIS DOME THE SERVANT OF GOD 'ABD[ULLĀH AL-IMĀM AL-MA'MŪN CO]MMANDER OF THE BELIEVERS IN THE YEAR TWO AND SEVENTY.—MAY GOD ACCEPT OF HIM AND FAVOUR HIM! AMEN.

ʿAbd-al-Malik.[1] Close by the Dome and in the southern section of the sacred area ʿAbd-al-Malik erected another mosque, possibly on the site of an earlier church. Local usage designates this mosque al-Masjid al-Aqṣa (the further mosque[2]), but the term is also used in a more general sense to include the whole collection of sacred buildings on that area. Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (the noble sanctuary) is another name for this group, only less sacred than the two Ḥarams of Makkah and al-Madīnah.

The greatest Umayyad builder, however, was al-Walīd, son of ʿAbd-al-Malik, whose rule was one of comparative peace and opulence. So great was this caliph's penchant for building that during his reign whenever people in Damascus met together fine buildings formed the chief topic of conversation, as cookery and the fair sex did under Sulaymān, and religion and the Koran under ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz.[3] This al-Walīd, who lived only forty years, enlarged and beautified the great mosque of Makkah,[4] rebuilt that of al-Madīnah, erected in Syria a number of schools and places of worship and endowed institutions for the lepers, the lame and the blind.[5] He was perhaps the first ruler in medieval times to build hospitals for persons with chronic diseases, and the many lazar houses which later grew up in the West followed the Moslem precedent.[6] From a church in Baʿlabakk al-Walīd removed a dome of gilded brass which he set over the dome of his father's mosque in Jerusalem. But his greatest accomplishment was the conversion in Damascus of the site of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, which he seized from his Christian subjects, into one of the sublimest places of worship in the world. This Umayyad Mosque is still considered the fourth holiest sanctuary of Islam, after the three Ḥarams of Makkah, al-Madīnah and Jerusalem. Before al-Walīd the Moslems shared a part of the sacred enclosure with its Christian owners. To justify the seizure later tradition claimed that the eastern half of the city was captured by force and the western by capitulation and that the two Moslem contingents, each

[1] De Vogüé, *Le temple de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1864), pp. 85-6, was the first to discover the falsification.

[2] From a reference to the site in Koran 17 : 1. Al-Burāq made a stop there. *Fakhri*, p. 173, makes al-Walīd the builder of al-Aqṣa.

[3] *Fakhri*, p. 173; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1272-3.

[4] Balādhuri, p. 47 = Hitti, p. 76.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1271; ibn-al-Faqīh, pp. 106-7.

[6] Consult Hitti, art. "Chivalry: Arabic", *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*.

without knowing what the other had done, met in the metropolitan cathedral. The cathedral stood on the site of an earlier Roman temple almost in the centre of the town. Over the lintel of the southern portal of the enclosure, long since walled up, an ancient inscription in Greek can still be read: "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations".[1]

Of the remaining caliphs in this period of Umayyad glory there is little to be said save of 'Umar II (717–20) and Hishām. 'Umar was entirely under the influence of the theologians and has enjoyed through the ages a reputation for piety and asceticism that stands in glaring contrast with the alleged impiety of the Umayyad régime. He was, in fact, the Umayyad saint. To the later tradition, which expected a *mab'ūth* (one sent) to appear every hundred years to renovate Islam, he became the one sent "at the head" of the second century (A.H. 100), just as al-Shāfi'i stood "at the head" of the third. His biographer[2] tells us that 'Umar wore clothes with so many patches and mingled with his subjects on such free terms that when a stranger came to petition him he would find it difficult to recognize the caliph. When one of his agents wrote that his fiscal reforms in favour of new converts would deplete the treasury 'Umar replied, "Glad would I be, by Allah, to see everybody become Moslem, so that thou and I would have to till the soil with our own hands to earn a living."[3] 'Umar discontinued the practice established in the time of Mu'āwiyah of cursing 'Ali from the pulpit at the Friday prayers.[4] The piety of 'Umar, who died at the age of thirty-nine, saved his grave from the desecration which was visited by the 'Abbāsids upon the other tombs of the preceding dynasty.

With Hishām (724–43), the fourth son of 'Abd-al-Malik, the Umayyad golden age came to a close. After Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik, Hishām was rightly considered by Arab authorities the third and last statesman of the house of Umayyah.[5] When his young son Mu'āwiyah, ancestor of the Spanish Umayyads, fell from his horse while hunting and was killed, the

[1] Cf. Ps. 145 : 13; Heb. 1 : 8.

[2] Ibn-al-Jawzi, pp. 173-4, 145 *seq.*

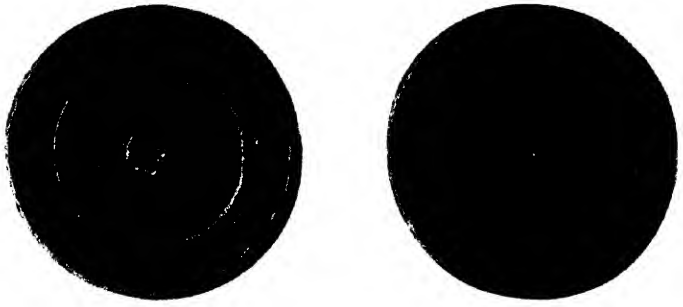
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 99-100. *Kitāb al-'Uyūn w-al-Ḥadā'iq fi Akhbār al-Ḥaqā'iq*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1865), p. 4.

[4] *Fakhri*, p. 176.

[5] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 479; cf. Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 393; ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 185; abu-al-Fidā', vol. i, p. 216; *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, p. 69.

father's comment was, "I brought him up for the caliphate and he pursues a fox!" [1] His governor of al-ʿIrāq, Khālid ibn-ʿAbdullāh al-Qasri, under whom the region prospered especially through the engineering and drainage works of Ḥassān al-Nabaṭi, appropriated for himself a surplus of 13,000,000 dirhams after squandering revenue to nearly three times that sum.[2] Subsequently Khālid met the same fate that befell others like him—he was apprehended in 738, jailed, tortured and required to give an account of the state moneys and make repayments. His case is only one illustration of that maladministration and corruption in the body politic which helped to undermine the Umayyad throne and render its occupants an easy prey for their ʿAbbāsid rivals.

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1738-9.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1642; Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 387.



By courtesy of E. T. Newell
From "Numismatic Notes and Monographs," No. 87 (New York, 1939).

A BYZANTINE WEIGHT VALIDATED
BY AL-WALĪD (†715)

Bearing on the obverse a cross with the inscription ΓB, i.e. two ounces, and on the reverse a Kufic inscription stating that the caliph has recognized this as equivalent to two *wuqīyahs*. Probably the earliest inscribed Moslem weight thus far found.

CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE UMAYYADS

THE administrative divisions of the empire in Umayyad and even ʿAbbāsid times corresponded in general to the provinces of the preceding Byzantine and Persian empires. They comprised: (1) Syria-Palestine; (2) al-Kūfah, including al-ʿIrāq; (3) al-Baṣrah with Persia, Sijistān, Khurāsān, al-Baḥrayn, ʿUmān and probably Najd and al-Yamāmah; (4) Armenia; (5) al-Ḥijāz; (6) Karmān and the frontier districts of India; (7) Egypt; (8) Ifrīqiyah; (9) al-Yaman and the rest of South Arabia.[1] Gradually combinations were made and five viceroyalties resulted. Muʿāwiyah combined al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah into one viceroyalty,[2] that of al-ʿIrāq, which included most of Persia and eastern Arabia and had al-Kūfah for its capital. Later the viceroy of al-ʿIrāq was to have a deputy governor for Khurāsān and Transoxiana, usually residing at Marw, and another for Sind and Panjāb. Likewise al-Ḥijāz, al-Yaman and Central Arabia were combined into another viceroyalty. Al-Jazīrah (the northern part of the land between the Tigris and Euphrates) with Armenia, Ādharbayjān and parts of eastern Asia Minor formed the third. Lower and Upper Egypt constituted the fourth. Ifrīqiyah, which embraced northern Africa west of Egypt, Spain, Sicily and other adjacent islands formed the fifth viceroyalty with al-Qayrawān as its seat of government.

The threefold governmental functions of political administration, tax collection and religious leadership were now directed as a rule by three different officials. The viceroy (*amīr*, *ṣāḥib*) would appoint his own *ʿāmil* (agent, prefect) over any particular district and simply forward the name to the caliph. Under Hishām (724–43) we find the newly appointed governor of Armenia and

[1] Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, pp. 4, 10, 15, 17, 134-41; Alfred von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, vol. i (Vienna, 1875), pp. 162-3.

[2] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 272.

Ādharbayjān remaining in Damascus and sending a *nā'ib* (accredited deputy) in his stead. The viceroy had full charge of political and military administration in his province, but quite often the revenues were under a special officer, *ṣāḥib al-kharāj*, responsible directly to the caliph. Mu'āwiyah was apparently the first to appoint such an officer, whom he sent to al-Kūfah.[1] Previously the government of a province in the Moslem empire had meant chiefly its financial administration.

The revenue of the state was derived from the same sources as under the orthodox caliphate, chief among which was tribute from subject peoples. In the provinces all expenses of local administration, state annuities, soldiers' stipends and miscellaneous services were met from the local income, and only the balance went to the caliphal treasury. Mu'āwiyah's measure of deducting the zakāh, about 2½ per cent., from the fixed annuities of the Moslems,[2] bears a close resemblance to the income tax of a modern state.

The judiciary had to do with Moslems only, all non-Moslems being allowed autonomy under their own religious heads. This explains why there were judges only in large cities. The Prophet and the early caliphs administered justice in person, as did their generals and prefects in the provinces, for the various functions of government were as yet undifferentiated. The first purely judicial officials in the provinces received their appointment from the governors. Under the 'Abbāsids appointment by the caliphs became more common. Tradition, however, credits 'Umar with having appointed a judge (*qāḍī*) over Egypt as early as A.H. 23 (643).[3] After 661 we find in that country a regular series of judges succeeding one another. They were always recruited from the *faqīh* class, whose members were scholars learned in the Koran and Moslem tradition. Besides deciding cases they administered pious foundations (*waqf*) and the estates of orphans and imbeciles.

Discovering that some of his signed correspondence was being forged, Mu'āwiyah created a bureau of registry,[4] a kind of state chancery, whose duty it was to make and preserve one copy of

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 4, l. 24. [2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 276, l. 10.

[3] Al-Kindi, *Kitāb al-Wulāh*, ed. R. Guest (Beirūt, 1908), pp. 300-301. See also ibn-Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. i, p. 61.

[4] *Dīwān al-khātim*, "bureau of the signet". Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 205-6; *Fakhri*, p. 149.

each official document before sealing and dispatching the original. By the time of 'Abd-al-Malik the Umayyads had developed a state archive in Damascus.[1]

Military organization

The Umayyad army was modelled in its general organization after that of the Byzantines. The division was into five corps: centre, two wings, vanguard and rearguard. The formation as of old was in lines. This general plan continued until the time of the last caliph, Marwān II (744–50), who abandoned the old division and introduced the small compact body of troops called *kurdūs* (cohort).[2] In outfit and armour the Arab warrior was hard to distinguish from the Greek. The weapons were essentially the same. The cavalry used plain and rounded saddles not unlike those of the Byzantines and precisely like the ones still in fashion in the Near East. The heavy artillery was represented by the ballista (*'arrādah*), the mangonel (*manjanīq*) and the battering-ram (*dabbābah*, *kabsh*). Such heavy engines and siege machines together with the baggage were carried on camels behind the army.

The forces kept at Damascus were chiefly Syrians and Syrianized Arabians. Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah were the main recruiting grounds for the army of all the eastern provinces. Under the Sufyānids the standing army numbered 60,000, entailing a yearly expenditure of 60,000,000 dirhams, including family stipends.[3] Yazīd III (744) reduced all annuities by 10 per cent. and thereby won the sobriquet *nāqiṣ* (diminisher, also deficient).[4] Under the last Umayyad the army is said to have reached 120,000,[5] a figure which is probably a mistake for 12,000.

The arab navy was likewise an imitation of the Byzantine model. The fighting unit was a galley with a minimum of twenty-five seats on each of the two lower decks. Each seat held two men, and the hundred or more rowers in each ship were armed. But those who specialized in fighting took up their positions on the upper deck.

Royal life

The evenings of the caliphs were set apart for entertainment and social intercourse. Mu'āwiyah was particularly fond of

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 239.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1944; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 165, l. 16 (cf. p. 195. ll. 25-7); ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 267, ll. 7-8.

[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 195.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 220; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 401.

[5] *Fakhri*, p. 197; abu-al-Fidā', vol. i, p. 222. See below, p. 285.

listening to historical narratives and anecdotes, preferably South Arabian, and poetical recitations. To satisfy this desire he imported from al-Yaman a story-teller, ʿAbīd ibn-Sharyah, who entertained the caliph through many long nights with tales of the heroes of the past. The favourite drink was rose sherbet, celebrated in Arabic song[1] and still enjoyed in Damascus and other Eastern towns. It was relished particularly by the women.

Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd was the first confirmed drunkard among the caliphs and won the title *Yazīd al-khumūr*, the Yazīd of wines.[2] One of his pranks was the training of a pet monkey, abu-Qays, to participate in his drinking bouts.[3] Yazīd, we are told, drank daily, whereas al-Walīd I contented himself with drinking every other day; Hishām, once every Friday after the divine service, and ʿAbd-al-Malik only once a month, but then so heavily that he perforce disburdened himself by the use of emetics.[4] Yazīd II felt such attachment to two of his singing girls, Sallāmah and Ḥabābah, that when the latter was choked on a grape which he playfully threw into her mouth the passionate young caliph fretted himself to death.[5] But the palm for drinking should be handed to his son al-Walīd II (743–4), an incorrigible libertine, who is said to have gone swimming habitually in a pool of wine of which he would gulp enough to lower the surface appreciably.[6] Al-Walīd is reported to have opened the Koran one day, and as his eye fell upon the verse "And every froward potentate was brought to naught",[7] he shot the sacred book to pieces with his bow and arrow, meanwhile repeating in defiance two verses of his own composition.[8]

This caliph spent his time in his desert castles, one of which stood by al-Qaryatayn, midway between Damascus and Palmyra. The *Aghāni*[9] has preserved for us an eye-witness's report of one of his debauched drinking parties. As always, dancing, singing and music served as the handmaids of drinking. When the caliph

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. xv, p. 48, l. 12.
[2] *ʿIqd*, vol. iii, p. 403; Nuwayri, *Nihāyah*, vol. iv, p. 91.
[3] Masʿūdi, vol. v, p. 157.
[4] Most of our information about the lighter side of the caliphs' lives comes from *Aghāni*, primarily a literary work, and similar books, which should not be taken too literally. *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 3, gives this criterion for the choice of data: "elegance that pleases the onlooker and entertains the hearer".
[5] *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (1865), pp. 40-41; cf. *Aghāni*, vol. xiii, p. 165.
[6] Al-Nawāji, *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* (Cairo, 1299), p. 98.
[7] Sūr. 14: 18. [8] *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 115. [9] Vol. ii, p. 72.

was one of those who maintained reasonable self-respect he screened himself behind curtains which separated him from the entertainers. Otherwise, as in the case of al-Walīd, he joined the party on a footing of equality.[1]

Such festivities as these were nevertheless not entirely lacking in cultural value. They undoubtedly encouraged the development of poetry, music and the esthetic side of life in general and were not always mere orgies.

Among the more innocent and fashionable pastimes which engaged the interest of the caliphs and their courtiers were hunting, horse-racing and dicing. Polo, which became a favourite sport under the 'Abbāsids, was probably introduced from Persia towards the end of the Umayyad period, and cock-fights at the time were not infrequent. The chase was a sport early developed in Arabia, where the sloughi (*salūqi*, from Salūq in al-Yaman) dog was at first exclusively used. The cheetah (*fahd*) came on the scene later. Legend makes Kulayb ibn-Rabī'ah, hero of the War of Basūs, the first Arabian to use it in hunting. The Persians and Indians had trained this animal long before the Arabians. Yazīd I, son of Mu'āwiyah, was the first great hunter in Islam and the first who trained the cheetah to ride on the croup of a horse. He adorned his hunting dogs with gold anklets and assigned to each a special slave.[2] Horse-racing was extremely popular among the Umayyads. Al-Walīd, son of 'Abd-al-Malik, was one of the first caliphs to institute and patronize public races.[3] His brother and successor, Sulaymān, had just completed arrangements for a national competition in horse-racing when death overtook him.[4] In one of the courses organized by their brother Hishām the number of racers from the royal and other stables reached 4000, " which finds no parallel in pre-Islamic or Islamic annals".[5] A favourite daughter of this caliph kept horses for racing.[6]

The ladies of the royal household seem to have enjoyed a relatively large degree of freedom. A Makkan poet, abu-Dahbal al-Jumaḥi, did not hesitate to address love poems to 'Ātikah, the beautiful daughter of Mu'āwiyah, of whom he had caught a glimpse through the lifted veils and curtains as she was on a pil-

[1] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Tāj fi Akhlāq al-Mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zaki (Cairo, 1914), p. 32.
[2] *Fakhri*, p. 76.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 13-17.
[4] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrat 'Umar*, p. 56.
[5] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 466.
[6] *Kitāb al-'Uyūn* (1865), p. 69, l. 12.

grimage and whom he later followed to her father's capital. The caliph had at last to "cut off the tongue of the poet" by offering him a subsidy and finding him a suitable wife.[1] Another poet, the handsome Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, ventured to make love to one of the wives of al-Walīd I in Damascus in spite of the threats of the caliph, and finally paid for his audacity with his life.[2] The influence exercised by the shrewd and pretty ʿĀtikah, granddaughter of Muʿāwiyah, over her husband-caliph, ʿAbd-al-Malik, may be illustrated by the story which tells how she locked her door when angry with the caliph and refused to open it until a favourite courtier came weeping and falsely said that one of his two sons had killed the other and that the caliph was intent on executing the fratricide.[3] The harem system, with its concomitant auxiliary of eunuchs, was not, it seems, fully instituted until the time of al-Walīd II.[4] The first eunuchs were mostly Greeks and were evidently introduced into the Arab world following the Byzantine precedent.[5]

The capital

It is safe to assume that Damascus has not much changed its general tone of life and character since its days as the Umayyad capital. Then, as now, in the narrow, covered streets the Damascene with his wide trousers, red pointed shoes and huge turban could be seen rubbing shoulders with the sun-tanned Bedouin in his loose gown surmounted by *kūfīyah* (head shawl) and *ʿiqāl* (head band) and occasionally meeting a European-dressed *Ifranji*.[6] Here and there the aristocrat, the well-to-do Damascene, might be seen on horseback cloaked in a white silk *ʿabā'* and armed with a sword or lance. A few women, and those all veiled, cross the streets; others stealthily peep through the latticed windows of their homes overlooking the bazaars and public squares. Sherbet sellers and sweetmeat vendors raise their voices to the highest pitch in competition with the incessant tramp of the passers-by and the multitude of donkeys and camels laden with the varied products of the desert and the sown. The city atmosphere is charged with every kind of smell which the olfactory sense is capable of perceiving.

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. vi, pp. 158-61.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 36 *seq.*, vol. xi, p. 49.
[3] Masʿūdi, vol. v, pp. 273-5.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. iv, pp. 78-9.
[5] J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), pp. 120 *seq.*; Charles Diehl, *Byzance: grandeur et décadence* (Paris, 1919), p. 154.
[6] A Frank, a word used for all Europeans; especially common during the Crusades.

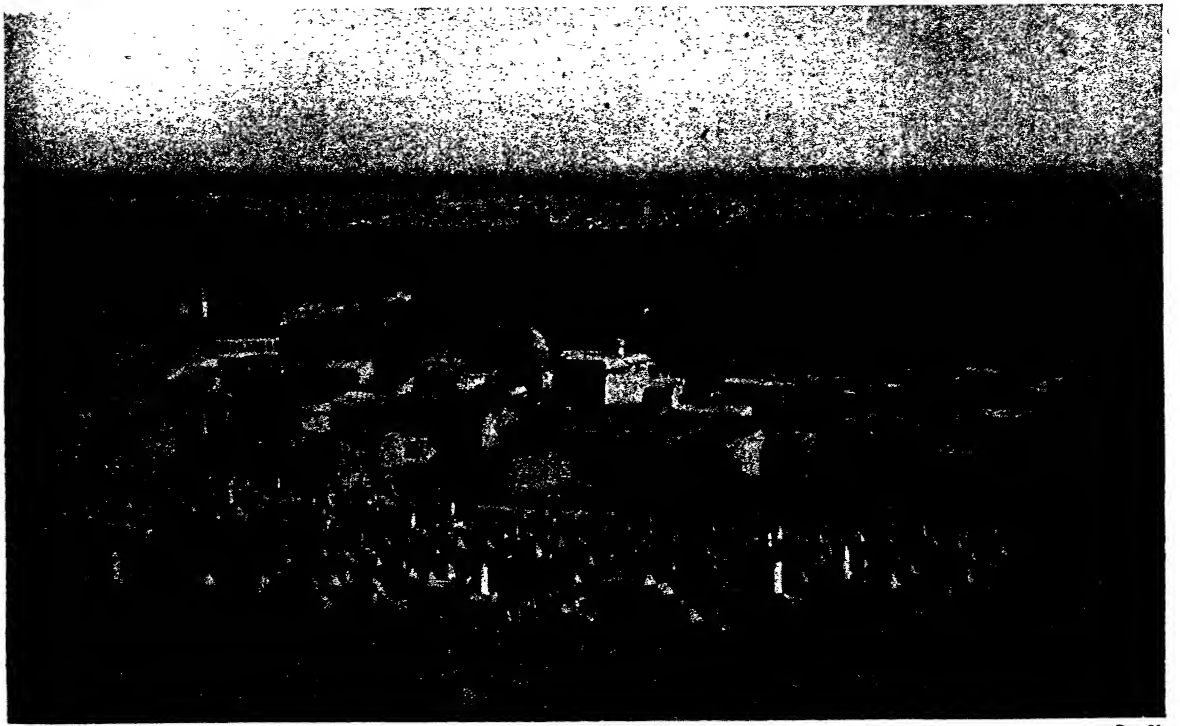


Photo *Bonfils*

DAMASCUS TODAY, AS SEEN FROM AL-ṢĀLIḤĪYAH

As in other cities the Arabians lived in separate quarters of their own according to their tribal affiliation. In Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Aleppo (Ḥalab) and other towns these *ḥārahs* (quarters) are still well marked. The doorway of each house opened from the street into a courtyard in the centre of which usually stood a large water-basin with a flowing jet emitting from time to time a veil-like spray. An orange or citron tree grew by the basin. The rooms surrounded the courtyard, which in larger houses was provided with a cloister. It is to the eternal glory of the banu-Umayyah that they supplied Damascus with a water system which was unexcelled in the contemporary Orient and still continues to function. Yazīd's name is borne today by a canal, Nahr Yazīd, which this son of Mu'āwiyah dug from the Barada, or more probably widened,[1] in order to perfect the irrigation of the Ghūṭah. This rich oasis outside Damascus with its luxurious gardens owes its very existence to the Barada. Besides the Nahr Yazīd, the Barada sends off four other arms or channels which spread fertility and freshness throughout the town.

Society

The population throughout the empire was divided into four social classes. The highest consisted naturally of the ruling Moslems headed by the caliphal household and the aristocracy of Arabian conquerors. Exactly how numerous was this class cannot be ascertained. Under al-Walīd I the number of annuities apportioned to Arabian Moslems in Damascus and its district (*jund*) reached 45,000.[2] Under Marwān I, Ḥimṣ and its district registered 20,000 pensions. The number of converted Moslems could not have been great before the restrictions imposed by 'Umar II. Although the capital of the caliphate may have presented by the end of the Umayyad period the aspect of a Moslem town, Syria as a whole remained largely Christian until the third Moslem century. The small towns and villages and especially the mountainous regions—always the home of the lost cause—preserved their native features and ancient cultural patterns. In fact the Lebanon remained Christian in faith and Syriac in speech for centuries after the conquest. Only the physical conflict had ended with the conquest; the religious, the racial,

[1] Consult Iṣṭakhri, p. 59; cf. H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas: 'Oyoûn et-Tawârîkh, par Mohammad ebn Châker", *Journal asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. vii (1896), p. 400.

[2] Consult H. Lammens, *La Syrie: précis historique* (Beirūt, 1921), vol. i, pp. 119-20.

the social and above all the linguistic conflicts were just beginning.

Clients

Next below the Arabian Moslems came the Neo-Moslems, who by force or persuasion had professed Islam and were thereby admitted in theory, though not in practice, to the full rights of Islamic citizenship. Here Arabian chauvinism, pitted against theoretical claims, proved too strong for those claims to be realized. There is no doubt that throughout practically all the period of the Umayyads, holders of land, whether believers or unbelievers, were made to pay kharāj (land tax). There is no evidence of mass conversion to Islam in the provinces until after such stringent regulations as those of 'Umar II and the 'Abbāsid al-Mutawakkil (847–61). In Egypt resistance to the new religion was always least obstinate. The revenue of that country was reduced from fourteen million dinars in the time of 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ to five in the time of Mu'āwiyah and later to four under the 'Abbāsid Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809).[1] In al-'Irāq it fell from a hundred million under 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb to forty million in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik.[2] One of the causes for the decline of state revenue was undoubtedly conversion to Islam. Under the early 'Abbāsids, the Egyptians, Persians and Aramaeans who had accepted Islam began to outnumber the Moslems of Arabian origin.

Reduced to the position of clients (*mawāli*), these neophyte Moslems formed the lowest stratum of Moslem society, a status which they bitterly resented. This explains our finding them in many cases espousing such causes as the Shī'ite in al-'Irāq or the Khārijite in Persia. Some of them, however, as often happens, proved religiously "more royal than the king", and their zeal for the new faith, bordering on fanaticism, made them persecute non-Moslems. Among the most intolerant early Moslems were some of these converts from Christianity and Judaism.

Within the Moslem society these clients were naturally the first to devote themselves to learned studies and fine arts, for they represented the longer tradition of culture. As they outshone the Moslem Arabians in the intellectual field they began to contest with them the political leadership. Through their intermarriages

[1] Al-Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), p. 339.

[2] Cf. Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 277; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd ed. (London, 1913), p. 81.

with the conquering stock they served to dilute the Arabian blood and ultimately make that element inconspicuous amidst the mixture of varied racial strains.

The third class was made up of members of tolerated sects, professors of revealed religions, the so-called *ahl al-dhimmah*, i.e. the Christians, Jews and Ṣābians with whom the Moslems had made covenant. The Ṣābians, who were identical with the Mandeans, the so-called Christians of St. John who still survive in the marshy district at the mouth of the Euphrates, are mentioned thrice in the Koran (2 : 59, 5 : 73, 22 : 17). From this it would appear that Muḥammad regarded them as believers in the true God. This recognition of tolerated religions, whose devotees were to be disarmed and compelled to pay tribute in return for Moslem protection, was the chief political innovation of Muḥammad and was largely due to the esteem in which the Prophet held the Bible and partly to the aristocratic connections of the banu-Ghassān, Bakr, Taghlib and other Christian tribes. Dhimmis

In this status the dhimmis enjoyed, against the payment of land and capitation taxes, a wide measure of toleration. Even in matters of civil and criminal judicial procedure, except where a Moslem was involved, these people were practically under their own spiritual heads. Moslem law was too sacred to be applicable to them. Essential parts of this system were still in force as late as the Ottoman period and have survived to the present day in the mandates of Syria and Palestine.

Originally confined to the *ahl al-kitāb* (Scripturaries) of the Koran[1] who came under the rule of Islam, the tolerated status was later extended by the Moslems to include the fire-worshipping Zoroastrians (*Majūs*), the heathen of Ḥarrān and the pagan Berbers. Though not devotees of a revealed religion and thus technically outside the pale of protection, the Persian Zoroastrians and the North African Berbers were offered by the Moslem invaders the three choices: Islam, the sword or tribute, rather than the first two only. Here, where the sword of Islam was not long enough to reach all the necks involved, technicality gave way to expediency. In such inaccessible regions as the Lebanon the Christians remained always in the ascendant and defied even ʿAbd-al-Malik at the height of the Umayyad caliphate.[2] Throughout all Syria the Christians were well treated under the

[1] Sūrs. 9 : 29; 2 : 99, 103; 3 : 62-65, etc.

[2] See above, p. 205.

banu-Umayyah until the reign of the pious 'Umar II. As we have already learned, Mu'āwiyah's wife was a Christian, as were his poet, physician and secretary of finance. We read of only one conspicuous exception, that of al-Walīd I, who put to death the chief of the Christian Arab tribe of the banu-Taghlib for refusing to profess Islam.[1] Even in Egypt Copts rose several times against their Moslem overlords before they finally succumbed in the days of the 'Abbāsid al-Ma'mūn (813–33).[2]

"The covenant of 'Umar"

The fame of 'Umar II does not rest solely on his piety or on his remission of taxes imposed on neophyte Moslems. 'Umar was the first caliph and the only Umayyad to impose humiliating restrictions on Christian subjects—measures wrongly ascribed to his earlier namesake and maternal great-grandfather, 'Umar I. This so-called "covenant of 'Umar", implying 'Umar I, is recorded in several forms,[3] mostly in later sources; and the provisions presuppose closer intercourse between Moslems and Christians than was possible in the early days of the conquest. The most striking regulations issued by this Umayyad caliph were the excluding of Christians from public offices, prohibiting their wearing turbans, requiring them to cut their forelocks, to don distinctive clothes with girdles of leather, to ride without saddles or only on pack saddles, to erect no places of worship and not to lift their voices in time of prayer. According to his decree if a Moslem killed a Christian his penalty was only a fine and no Christian's testimony against a Moslem in courts could be accepted. The Jews were evidently also included under some of these restrictions and excluded from governmental positions.[4] That many of these enactments were not long in force is indicated by the fact that Khālid ibn-'Abdullāh al-Qasri, governor of al-'Irāq under Hishām, built a church in al-Kūfah to please his Christian mother,[5] granted Christians and Jews the privilege of building places of worship and even appointed Zoroastrians to posts in the government.

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. x, p. 99. H. Lammens in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. iv (1894), pp. 438-9.

[2] Kindi, pp. 73, 81, 96, 116, 117; Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq, 1270), vol. ii, p. 497.

[3] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 151-2; ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, pp. 178-80; al-Ibshīhi, *al-Mustaṭraf* (Cairo, 1314), vol. i, pp. 100-101.

[4] Abu-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, pp. 152-3; ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrat 'Umar*, p. 100; *'Iqd*, vol. ii, pp. 339-40; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 49; A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 5-35.

[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 302 = de Slane, vol. i, p. 485.

Slaves

At the bottom of society stood the slaves.[1] Islam preserved the ancient Semitic institution of slavery, the legality of which the Old Testament admitted, but it appreciably ameliorated the condition of the slave. Canon law forbade the Moslem to enslave his co-religionist, but promised no liberty to an alien slave who adopted Islam. Slaves in early Islam were recruited from prisoners of war, including women and children, unless ransomed, and by purchase or raiding. Soon the slave trade became very brisk and lucrative in all Moslem lands. Some slaves from East or Central Africa were black; others from Farghānah or Chinese Turkestan were yellow; still others from the Near East or from eastern and southern Europe were white. The Spanish slaves, called *Ṣaqālibah*,[2] from Spanish *esclavo*, fetched about a thousand dinars each, while Turkish slaves fetched only six hundred apiece. According to Islamic law the offspring of a female slave by another slave, by any man other than her master, or by her master in case he does not acknowledge the fatherhood of the child, is likewise a slave; but the offspring of a male slave by a freewoman is free.

An idea of the number of slaves flooding the Moslem empire as a result of conquest may be gained from such exaggerated figures, as the following: Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr took 300,000 captives from Ifrīqiyah, one-fifth of whom he forwarded to al-Walīd,[3] and from the Gothic nobility in Spain he captured 30,000 virgins;[4] Qutaybah's captives from Sogdiana alone numbered 100,000;[5] al-Zubayr ibn-al-'Awwām bequeathed among other chattels one thousand male and female slaves.[6] The famous Makkan poet of love, 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah († *ca.* 719), had many more than seventy slaves.[7] For an Umayyad prince to maintain a retinue of about a thousand slaves was nothing extraordinary. Even the private in the Syrian army at the battle of Ṣiffīn had from one to ten servants waiting on him.[8]

Between the master and the female slave concubinage, but not legal marriage, was permissible. The children of such a union

[1] Ar. *'abd* (pl. *'abīd*), especially if black; otherwise *mamlūk* (pl. *mamālīk*), possessed.

[2] Same term used by the Arabs for the Slavs. See below, p. 525.

[3] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 148.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 448.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 454.

[6] Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 254.

[7] *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 37.

[8] Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 387. Consult Jurji Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh al-Tamaddun al Islāmi*, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1922), vol. v, pp. 22 *seq.*

belonged to the master and were therefore free; but the status of the concubine was thereby raised only to that of *umm-walad* (mother of children), who could neither be sold by her husband-master nor given away and who at his death was declared free. In the melting-pot process which resulted in the amalgamation of Arabians and foreigners, the slave trade undoubtedly played an extremely important rôle.

The liberation of slaves was always looked upon as a good work (*qurbah*) entitling the master to a special reward in the next world. When liberated the slave enjoyed the status of a client to his former master, now his patron. In case the patron died without heirs the client inherited his estate.

Al-Madīnah and Makkah

The quiet life of al-Madīnah, rendered venerable by its early Moslem association, attracted thither would-be scholars devoted to the study of the mementos of its sacred past and to the collecting of legal and ritual enactments. The city containing the burial-place of the Prophet thus became the first centre of Islamic tradition, which under such men as Anas ibn-Mālik († between 709 and 711) and ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb[1] († 693) developed into a science of the first order.

The school of Makkah owes its reputation to ʿAbdullāh ibn-al-ʿAbbās, surnamed abu-al-ʿAbbās († *ca.* 688), a cousin of the Prophet and ancestor of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, a man who was so universally admired for his knowledge of profane and sacred tradition and jurisprudence and for his skill in commenting on the Koran that he won the enviable title of *ḥibr al-ummah* (the sage of the community). Modern criticism, however, has exposed him as a first-class fabricator of ḥadīths.

Under the Umayyads the two cities of al-Ḥijāz entirely changed their aspect. To al-Madīnah, the forsaken capital of Arabia, now retired many of those anxious to keep aloof from the turmoil of political activity or desirous of enjoying undisturbed the great fortunes which the wars of conquest had gained for them. Following al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, a large number of *nouveaux riches* flocked there. Inside the city arose palaces and outside it villas, all swarming with servants and slaves and providing their occupants with every variety of luxury.[2] Makkah shared with its

[1] Eldest son of the second caliph. As a traditionist he is considered more reliable than ibn-Mālik, whose collection has been preserved in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal.

[2] Masʿūdi, vol. iv, pp. 254-5.

sister city this attractiveness for lovers of pleasure. As life in the two cities became more luxurious its excesses became more notorious.[1] Pilgrims from all over the Moslem world brought every year vast fresh supplies of money. What a contrast to the primitive times when the Caliph 'Umar's agent arrived from al-Baḥrayn claiming to be the bearer of tribute amounting to 500,000 dirhams! The caliph questioned the possibility of such a figure, and when doubly assured that it was "a hundred thousand five times", he summoned the people and proclaimed, "O ye men, we have just received an enormous sum. If ye wish we shall give each his share by measure, otherwise by count."[2]

With this increased flow of wealth the two Hōly Cities became less holy. They developed into a centre of worldly pleasure and gaiety and a home of secular Arab music and song. In Makkah was established a kind of clubhouse patronized by guests who, we are told, had facilities for hanging their outer garments on pegs—apparently an innovation for al-Ḥijāz—before indulging in chess, backgammon, dice or reading.[3] To al-Madīnah Persian and Byzantine slave songstresses (*qiyān*) flocked in increasing numbers. Amorous poetry kept pace with other new developments. Houses of ill repute (*buyūt al-qiyān*) flourished in al-Madīnah and were patronized by no less a poet than al-Farazdaq of national fame.[4] As these female slaves sang and played soft melodies for the entertainment of their wealthy masters and guests, the latter, attired in colourful robes, reclined on square mattresses or cushions while they inhaled the perfume of burning spices and sipped from silver goblets the ruddy wines of Syria.

Al-Madīnah boasted under the early Marwānids the proud and beautiful Sayyidah[5] Sukaynah († 735), daughter of the martyred al-Ḥusayn and granddaughter of 'Ali, one of the most remarkable women of the age.

Sukaynah's rank and learning combined with her fondness for song and poetry and her charm, good taste and quick-wittedness to make her the arbiter of fashion, beauty and literature in the region of the sacred cities. Sukaynah was noted for her jests and hoaxes.[6] The crude humour appreciated even in the high society of the time is illustrated by the occasion when she

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. xxi, p. 197.
[2] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 216.
[3] *Aghāni*, vol. iv, p. 52; cf. below, p. 339.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. xxi, p. 197.
[5] "Lady", a title originally reserved for the descendants of 'Ali and Fāṭimah.
[6] *Aghāni*, vol. xiv, pp. 164-5; vol. xvii, pp. 97, 101-2.

made an old Persian sheikh sit on a basket of eggs and cluck like a hen, to the merriment of her incoming guests. On another she sent word to the chief of police that a Syrian had broken into her apartment; when the chief himself and his aide arrived in haste they found her maid holding a flea.[1] Then as now Syria was evidently noted for its fleas. The brilliant assemblies of poets and jurists held in her residence, a sort of salon, never failed to be enlivened by her sallies of repartee. Special pride she took in her ancestry, in her daughter, whom she liked to bedeck with jewels, and in her own hair, which she had her own peculiar way of dressing. This coiffure *à la* Sukaynah (*ṭurrah Sukaynīyah*)[2] became popular among men and was at a later date strictly prohibited by the puritan Caliph 'Umar II,[3] one of whose brothers had married Sukaynah without consummating the union. As for the successive husbands whom the charms of this lady captivated for a longer or shorter period, they could hardly be counted on the fingers of two hands.[4] In more than one instance she made complete freedom of action a condition precedent to marriage.

Sukaynah had a rival in al-Ṭā'if, the famous summer resort of Makkah and al-Madīnah, whose patricians witnessed a number of striking scenes and episodes centring on 'Ā'ishah bint-Ṭalḥah. 'Ā'ishah's father was a distinguished Companion of the Prophet; her mother was a granddaughter of abu-Bakr and sister of 'Ā'ishah, Muḥammad's favourite wife. This daughter of Ṭalḥah combined with noble descent a rare beauty and a proud and lofty spirit—the three qualities most highly prized in a woman by the Arabs. No favour she requested could very well be refused. Her appearance in public was even more impressive than that of Sukaynah.[5] Once when she was on a pilgrimage to Makkah she asked the master of ceremonies, who was also the governor of the town, to defer the public religious service until she had completed the last of the seven prescribed processions around the Ka'bah. This the gallant governor of course did, which resulted in his dismissal from office by the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik.[6] 'Ā'ishah's record of marriages included

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. xiv, p. 166; vol. xvii, p. 94. [2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 377.
[3] *Aghāni*, vol. xiv, p. 165.
[4] Compare their lists in ibn-Sa'd, vol. viii, p. 349; ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 101, 109-10, 113, 122, 289-90; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 377; *Aghāni*, vol. xiv, pp. 168-72.
[5] *Aghāni*, vol. x, p. 60. [6] *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 103.

only three.[1] When her second husband, Muṣ'ab ibn-al-Zubayr, who had also married Sukaynah and is said to have given each a million dirhams as dowry,[2] took her to task for never veiling her face her characteristic reply was, "Since God, may He remain blessed and exalted, hath put upon me the stamp of beauty, it is my wish that the public should view that beauty and thereby recognize His grace unto them. Under no conditions, therefore, will I veil myself."[3]

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. viii, p. 342. [2] *Aghāni*, vol. iii, p. 122.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. x, p. 54.

CHAPTER XXI

INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS OF LIFE UNDER THE UMAYYADS

THE invaders from the desert brought with them no tradition of learning, no heritage of culture, to the lands they conquered. In Syria, in Egypt, in al-ʿIrāq, in Persia, they sat as pupils at the feet of the peoples they subdued. And what acquisitive pupils they proved to be!

The closeness of the Umayyad period to the Jāhilīyah age, its many wars, civil and foreign, and the unsettled social and economic conditions of the Moslem world—all these militated against the possibility of intellectual development in that early epoch. But the seed was then sown and the tree of knowledge which came into full bloom under the early ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād certainly had its roots in this preceding period of Greek, Syrian and Persian culture. The Umayyad age, therefore, was in general one of incubation.

As Persians, Syrians, Copts, Berbers and others flocked within the fold of Islam and intermarried with the Arabians the original high wall raised earlier between Arabians and non-Arabians tumbled down. The nationality of the Moslem receded into the background. No matter what his nationality may originally have been, the follower of Muḥammad now passed for an Arab. An Arab henceforth became one who professed Islam and spoke and wrote the Arabic tongue, regardless of his racial affiliation. This is one of the most significant facts in the history of Islamic civilization. When we therefore speak of "Arab medicine" or "Arab philosophy" or "Arab mathematics" we do not mean the medical science, philosophy or mathematics that are necessarily the product of the Arabian mind or developed by people living in the Arabian peninsula, but that body of knowledge enshrined in books written in the Arabic language by men who flourished chiefly during the caliphate and were themselves Persians, Syrians, Egyptians or Arabians, Christian, Jewish or Moslem,

and who may have drawn some of their material from Greek, Aramaean, Indo-Persian or other sources.

Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah

As the two sister cities of al-Ḥijāz, Makkah and al-Madīnah, became under the Umayyads the home of music and song, love and poetry, so did the twin cities of al-'Irāq, al-Baṣrah[1] and al-Kūfah, develop during this period into centres of the most animated intellectual activity in the Moslem world.

Arabic grammar

These two capitals of al-'Irāq, as we have learned before, were originally military camps built by order of the Caliph 'Umar in the Moslem year 17 (638).[2] Al-Kūfah, the former capital of 'Ali, arose not far from the ruins of ancient Babylon and in a sense fell heir to its neighbour, al-Ḥīrah, the Lakhmid capital. Through favoured location, commerce and immigration the sister towns soon grew into wealthy and populous cities of over a hundred thousand inhabitants. Al-Baṣrah, from which Khurāsān was governed under the Umayyads, is said to have reached as early as the year 50 (670) a total population of 300,000 and to have had at a later date 120,000 (!) canals.[3] Here on the borderland of Persia the scientific study of the Arabic language and grammar was begun and carried on mainly for foreign converts and partly by them. The first impulse came from the desire to supply the linguistic needs of Neo-Moslems who wanted to study the Koran, hold government positions and converse with the conquerors. In addition, the ever-widening gap between the classical language of the Koran and the everyday vernacular corrupted by Syriac, Persian and other tongues and dialects was partly responsible for evoking such linguistic interest.

It was by no mere chance, therefore, that the legendary founder of Arabic grammar, abu-al-Aswad al-Du'ali († 688), should have flourished in al-Baṣrah. According to the famous biographer ibn-Khallikān[4] it was "'Ali who laid down for al-Du'ali this principle: The parts of speech are three—noun, verb and particle, and told him to found a complete treatise thereon". This he successfully did. Arabic grammar, however, shows slow and

[1] Eng. Bassora. Present-day al-Baṣrah lies six miles to the north-east of the ancient city.

[2] Al-Kūfah may have been built one or two years after al-Baṣrah; Yāqūt, vol. iv, pp. 322-3.

[3] Iṣṭakhri, p. 80; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 159.

[4] Vol. i, pp. 429-30 = de Slane, vol. i, p. 663.

long development and bears striking marks of the influence of Greek logic. Al-Du'ali was followed by al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad, another Baṣrite scholar, who died about 791. To al-Khalīl, who was the first to compile an Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, biographers attribute the discovery of Arabic prosody and its rules, which still hold sway today. His pupil the Persian Sībawayh († *ca.* 793) composed the first systematic textbook on Arabic grammar, known by the honorific title *al-Kitāb* (the book), which has ever since been the basis of all native studies of the subject.

Religious tradition and canon law

The study of the Koran and the necessity of expounding it gave rise to the twin sciences of philology and lexicography as well as to that most characteristically Moslem literary activity —the science of tradition (*ḥadīth*, literally "narrative"). In its technical sense a tradition is an act or saying attributed to the Prophet or to one of his Companions. The Koran and tradition provided the foundation upon which theology and *fiqh* (law), the obverse and reverse of sacred law, were raised. Law in Islam is more intimately related to religion than to jurisprudence as modern lawyers understand it. Roman law, directly or through the Talmud and other media, did undoubtedly affect Umayyad legislation, but to what extent has not been fully ascertained. In fact, of this period, from which hardly any literature has come down to us, we know only a few of the traditionists and jurists, the most renowned of whom were al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri and ibn-Shihāb al-Zuhri († 742). The latter, who traced his descent to the Prophet's tribe, was always so deeply absorbed in his studies to the neglect of all worldly concerns that his wife once remarked, "By Allah, these books of yours are worse to me than three rival wives possibly could be!" [1] Al-Baṣri was highly esteemed as a transmitter of tradition, since he was believed to have known personally seventy of those who took part in the battle of Badr. Most of the religious movements within Islam trace their origin back to al-Baṣri. The Sufis felt throughout the ages the lasting influence of his ascetic piety, the orthodox Sunnis never tire of quoting his devout sayings and even the Mu'tazilites reckon him as one of themselves. No wonder the populace of al-Baṣrah turned out in a body to follow his funeral on Friday the tenth of October 728, and none was left to attend or conduct the afternoon prayer in

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 223; abu-al-Fidā', vol. i, pp. 215-16.

the mosque that day—"an unprecedented happening in the history of Islam".[1]

The contributions of the fickle and unorthodox Kūfans, many of whom were Shī'ites or 'Alids, to Arabic philology and Moslem learning were almost, but not quite, as brilliant as those of their neighbours the Baṣrites. Rivalry between the scholars of the two camps developed two well-recognized schools of Arabic grammar and literature. Among the celebrated Companions, regarded as authorities on Moslem tradition, who settled in al-Kūfah during the caliphates of 'Umar and 'Uthmān was the red-haired, thin-legged 'Abdullāh ibn-Mas'ūd (*ca.* 653), who is said to have been responsible for eight hundred and forty-eight traditions.[2] It was a peculiar feature of ibn-Mas'ūd, when giving information about the Prophet, to tremble, exude sweat from his forehead and express himself with deliberate and hesitant caution, lest he transmit something inexact.[3] Equally distinguished among the Kūfan traditionists was 'Āmir ibn-Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bi († *ca.* 728), one of the many South Arabians who gained eminence in the early days of Islam, who is said to have heard traditions from some hundred and fifty Companions[4] which he related from memory without putting down a single line in black and white. Withal, the general judgment of modern critics is quite favourable in regard to his trustworthiness. The most eminent of al-Sha'bi's pupils was the great abu-Ḥanīfah. We have it on the authority of al-Sha'bi that he himself was sent by the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik on an important mission to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople.

It was under the 'Abbāsids, as we shall see later, that these twin cities of al-'Irāq reached their highest level of intellectual endeavour and achievement. In their later development the 'Irāq schools of tradition and jurisprudence were not swayed by the old conservative traditions as were the schools of al-Ḥijāz.

History-writing

Arabic historiography, which also began at this time, started in the form of tradition (*ḥadīth*). It was therefore one of the earliest disciplines cultivated by the Arab Moslems. The desire of the early caliphs to scan the proceedings of kings and rulers

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 228.
[2] Al-Nawawi, *Taḥdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842–7), p. 370.
[3] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 110-11.
[4] Al-Sam'āni, *al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth (Leyden, 1912), fol. 334 recto; cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 436.

before their time, the interest of the believers in collecting the old stories about the Prophet and his Companions—which stories became the bases of later books on biography (*sīrah*) and conquests (*maghāzi*)—the necessity of ascertaining the genealogical relationship of each Moslem Arab in order to determine the amount of stipend he received from the public treasury, the elucidation of passages in Arabic poetry and the identification of persons and places cited in religious works, the anxiety of the subject peoples to record the past achievements of their races as a counterpoise to Arab chauvinism—all these provided the stimulus for historical research. Among the early distinguished story-tellers was the semi-legendary South Arabian ʿAbīd (ʿUbayd) ibn-Sharyah, who on the invitation of Muʿāwiyah went to Damascus to inform the caliph about "the early kings of the Arabians and their races".[1] ʿAbīd composed for his royal patron a number of works on his specialty, one of which, the *Kitāb al-Mulūk wa-Akhbār al-Māḍīn* (the book of kings and the history of the ancients), was in wide circulation at the time of the historian al-Masʿūdi[2] († 956). Another of those versed in the "science of origins" (*ʿilm al-awā'il*) was Wahb ibn-Munabbih († in Ṣanʿā', *ca.* 728), a Yamanite Jew of Persian origin who probably professed Islam and one of whose works has recently been published.[3] Wahb, whose trustworthiness is open to grave question, became one of the chief sources of information, or rather misinformation, about pre-Islamic South Arabia and foreign lands.[4] Still another was Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (Kaʿb of the rabbis, † 652 or 654 in Ḥimṣ), also a Yamanite Jew, who accepted Islam under one of the first two caliphs and acted as teacher and counsellor to the court of Muʿāwiyah when the latter was still governor of Syria.[5] Thus did Kaʿb become the earliest authority for the Jewish-Moslem traditions. Through Kaʿb, ibn-Munabbih and other Jewish converts a number of talmudic stories ultimately found their way into Moslem tradition and were incorporated with Arabic historical lore.

[1] Al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1872), p. 89, l. 26; cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 365.

[2] Vol. iv, p. 89.

[3] *Al-Tījān fi Mulūk Ḥimyar* (Ḥaydarābād, 1347), with a supplement (pp. 311-489) entitled "Akhbār ʿAbīd", by ʿAbīd.

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 106-7; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 2493-4; Nawawi, p. 619.

[5] Consult Nawawi, p. 523; ibn-Saʿd, vol. vii, pt. 2, p. 156; ibn-Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 219.

In the Umayyad-period we can also detect the rudiments of many of those religio-philosophical movements which were later to shake Islam to its very foundation. In the first half of the eighth century there flourished in al-Baṣrah a certain Wāṣil ibn-'Aṭā' († 748), the founder of the famous school of rationalism termed Mu'tazilah. The Mu'tazilites (seceders, schismatics) were so called because of their major doctrine that he who commits a mortal sin (*kabīrah*) secedes from the ranks of the believers but does not become an unbeliever; he occupies a medial position between the two.[1] Wāṣil was a pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, who inclined for a time to the doctrine of free will, which doctrine became another cardinal point in Mu'tazilite belief. This doctrine of free will was at the time held by a group called Qadarites (from *qadar* = power) as opposed to the Jabrites (from *jabr* = compulsion).[2] The Qadarites represent a reaction against the harsh predestinarianism of Islam, a corollary of God's almightiness so strongly emphasized in the Koran,[3] and betrays Christian Greek influence. The Qadarites were the earliest school of philosophy in Islam, and how widely spread their ideas were may be inferred from the fact that two of the Umayyad caliphs, Mu'āwiyah II and Yazīd III, were Qadarites.[4]

To the cardinal doctrine of free will the Mu'tazilites added another: the denial of the coexistence with God of the divine attributes, such as power, wisdom and life, on the ground that such conceptions would destroy the unity of God. Hence the Mu'tazilites' favourite appellation for themselves: "the partisans of justice and unity". This rationalistic movement attained significant importance under the 'Abbāsids, especially al-Ma'mūn (813–33), as we shall see later. Intellectually, Baghdād began where al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah ended.

St. John of Damascus

One of the principal agents through whom Christian lore and Greek thought at this time found their way into Islam was St. John of Damascus (Joannes Damascenus), surnamed Chrysorrhoas (golden-tongued), as his earlier Antiochene namesake was surnamed Chrysostom. Although he wrote in Greek, John was

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 22, vii, p. 234. Cf. Shahrastāni, p. 33; Baghdādi, *Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Istanbul, 1928), vol. i, p. 335; *Mukhtaṣar al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, ed. Hitti (Cairo, 1924), p. 98; al-Nawbakhti, *Firaq al-Shī'ah*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931), p. 5.

[2] Cf. al-Îji, *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*, ed. Th. Soerensen (Leipzig, 1848), pp. 334, 362.

[3] Sūrs. 3 : 25-26, 15 : 21, 42 : 26, 43 : 10, 54 : 49, etc.; cf. ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iii, p. 31.

[4] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 190; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 402.

not a Greek but a Syrian who spoke Aramaic at home and knew, in addition to both of these languages, Arabic. His grandfather Manṣūr ibn-Sarjūn was the financial administrator of Damascus at the time of its Arab conquest and connived with its bishop in surrendering the town. He kept his position under the Moslems and John's father succeeded to the office. As a young man John was the boon companion of Mu'āwiyah's son Yazīd and later followed his father in that most important office in the Arab government. This he held until the caliphate of Hishām (724–43), when he retired to a life of asceticism and devotion in the monastery of St. Sāba near Jerusalem. Here he died about 748. Among St. John's works is a dialogue with a "Saracen" on the divinity of Christ and the freedom of human will which is intended to be an apology for Christianity, a manual for the guidance of Christians in their arguments with the Moslems. John himself probably held many such debates in the presence of the caliph. His influence is not hard to detect in the formation of the Qadarite school. To St. John tradition ascribes the story of the ascetic Barlaam and the Hindu prince Josaphat, perhaps the most famous religious romance of the Middle Ages. Modern critics recognize the story as a Christian version of an episode in the life of the Buddha, who under the name Josaphat (or Ioasaph) was, strange as it may seem, canonized by both the Latin and the Greek Churches. Thus did the Buddha twice become a Christian saint. The writer of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat was evidently an obscure monk by the name of John who lived in St. Sāba in the sixth century. Mention is made in the *Fihrist*[1] of a *Kitāb al-Budd* (the book of Buddha) and of a *Kitāb Būdāsaf*, both of which were evidently translated from a Pahlawi original and were not based on the Greek romance. John Damascene is considered the greatest and last theologian of the Oriental Greek Church. In ecclesiastical literature the hymns he composed (some of which are still used in Protestant hymnals) mark the highest attainment of beauty by Christian Church poets. As hymnologist, theologian, orator, polemic writer and codifier of Byzantine art he stands out as an ornament to the body of the Church under the caliphate.

Khārijites

The Qadarite was the earliest philosophical school of thought in Islam, but the Khārijites formed the earliest religio-political

[1] P. 305.

sect. These deadly opponents of 'Ali, once his supporters, repeatedly arose in armed opposition to the prerogative conferred on the Quraysh that the caliph should be one of their number.[1] In endeavouring to maintain the primitive, democratic principles of Islam the puritanical Khārijites caused rivers of blood to flow in the first three Moslem centuries. In course of time they forbade the cult of saints with the attendant local pilgrimages and prohibited Sufi fraternities. Today they survive in the form of a subdivision called Ibāḍite (commonly Abāḍite), after ibn-Ibāḍ[2] (second half of first Moslem century), the most tolerant of the Khārijite founders of sub-sects, and are scattered in Algeria, Tripolitania and 'Umān, whence they later crossed to Zanzibar.

Murji'ites

Another sect, but of minor importance, which arose in the Umayyad age was the Murji'ite, whose fundamental article of faith consisted in the suspension (*irjā'*) of judgment against believers who commit sins and in not declaring them infidels.[3] More specifically, the Murji'ites refused to see in the suppression of religious law by the Umayyad caliphs a justifiable cause for denying that house the homage due them as the *de facto* political leaders of Islam. To the followers of this doctrine the fact that the Umayyads were nominally Moslems sufficed. 'Uthmān and 'Ali as well as Mu'āwiyah were all servants of God, and by God alone must they be judged. In general, Murji'ite influence was on the side of tolerance. The most illustrious representative of the moderate wing of this school was the great divine abu-Ḥanīfah († 767), who founded the first of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence in Islam.

The Shī'ah

The Shī'ah, one of the two hostile camps into which early Islam split on the issue of the caliphate, took definite form during the Umayyad period. The imāmship then became, and has since continued to be, the differentiating element between Sunnites (orthodox) and Shī'ites. The persistence with which the Shī'ah clings to its basic belief in 'Ali and 'Ali's sons as the true imāms, not unlike the persistence of the Roman Catholic Church in the dogma of its relation to Peter and his successors, has ever remained its distinguishing feature. The founder of Islam made a revelation, the Koran, the intermediary between God and man;

[1] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Naqd al-'Ilm w-al-'Ulamā'* (Cairo, 1340), p. 102.
[2] Shahrastāni, p. 100; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 87-8; Iji, p. 356.
[3] Cf. Baghdādi, *op. cit.* pp. 122-3; ibn-Ḥazm, vol. ii, p. 89.

the Shī'ah made the intermediary a person, the imām.[1] To "I believe in Allah the one God" and "I believe in the revelation of the Koran, which is uncreated from eternity", the Shī'ites now added a new article of faith: "I believe that the imām especially chosen by Allah as the bearer of a part of the divine being is the leader to salvation".

The institution of the imāmate was a product of theocratic opposition to the profane conception of might. According to its theory, as opposed to the Sunnite view,[2] the imām is the sole legitimate head of the Moslem community, divinely designated for the supreme office. He is a lineal descendant of Muḥammad through Fāṭimah and 'Ali. He is a spiritual and religious leader as well as a secular one, endowed with a mysterious power transmitted to him from his predecessor.[3] As such he stands far superior to any other human being and enjoys impeccability (*'iṣmah*).[4] Extremists among the Shī'ah went so far as to consider the imām, on account of this divine and luminous essence, the incarnation of God himself.[5] To them 'Ali and his descendent imāms constitute a continuous divine revelation in human form. A later ultra-Shī'ite sect even held that Gabriel mistook Muḥammad for 'Ali,[6] who was originally intended for the reception of the revelation. In all this the Shī'ite stands in opposition to the Sunnite creed.

How much Shī'ah in its birth and evolution owed to Persian notions and how much to Judaeo-Christian ideas is hard to ascertain. The Mahdi hypothesis which developed later and involved the expectation of a saviour-leader who will usher in a new era of liberty and prosperity was undoubtedly a reflex of Messianic and allied ideas. The enigmatic 'Abdullāh ibn-Saba', who was converted to Islam during the caliphate of 'Uthmān and embarrassed 'Ali with his excessive veneration, thus be-

[1] From an Arabic stem meaning to precede, to lead. The term, which occurs in the Koran (2:118, 15:79, 25:74, 36:11) in no technical sense, is ordinarily applied to the person who in the canonical services indicates the ritual movements. Originally the Prophet, and after him the caliphs or their delegates, filled this office. Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 159-60.

[2] For this view consult Īji, pp. 296 *seq.*

[3] Shahrastāni, pp. 108-9; Mas'ūdi, vol. i, p. 70.

[4] Immunity from error and sin is ascribed in varying degrees by Sunnites to the prophets only, especially to Muḥammad. Ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iv, pp. 2-25; I. Goldziher in *Der Islam*, vol. iii (1912), pp. 238-45; Īji, pp. 218 *seq.*

[5] See below, pp. 440 *seq.*

[6] Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 157; ibn-al-Jawzi, *Naqd*, pp. 103-4.

coming the founder of extreme Shī'ism,[1] was a Yamanite Jew. Gnosticism also undoubtedly contributed its share to the development of the imāmate conception. Of all the lands of Islam, al-'Irāq proved the most fertile soil for the germination of 'Alid doctrines, and to the present day Persia with its seven millions is the bulwark of the Shī'ite sect.[2] Within the Shī'ite community itself an almost unlimited number of minor sects arose. Different members of "the house of the Prophet" (*ahl al-bayt*, i.e. 'Ali and his descendants) became the natural centre of attraction for all sorts of non-conformists and malcontents, economic, social, political and religious. Many of the heterodoxies which arose in the first century of Islam and were in themselves a veiled protest against the victorious religion of the Arabians gradually gravitated to the bosom of Shī'ah as the representative of opposition to the established order. The Ismā'ilites, the Qarmaṭians, the Druzes, the Nuṣayris and the like, with whom we shall deal later, were all offshoots from the Shī'ite sect.

Oratory

Public speaking in its several forms was cultivated during the Umayyad epoch as never before and attained a height unsurpassed in later times. The *khaṭīb* used it as an instrument of religion in his Friday noon sermons, the general resorted to it as a means of arousing military enthusiasm among his troops and the provincial governor depended upon it for instilling patriotic feeling in his subjects. In an age with no special facilities for propaganda, oratory provided an excellent channel for spreading ideas and kindling emotions. The highly ethical orations of 'Ali, with their rhymes and wise sayings, the sermonettes of the ascetic al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri († 728) delivered in the presence of the Caliph 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz and preserved by the latter's biographer,[3] the military and patriotic speeches of Ziyād ibn-Abīh and the fiery al-Ḥajjāj—all these are among the most valuable literary treasures handed down to us from that early age.[4]

[1] Ījī, p. 343.

[2] In all there are today some 14,000,000 Shī'ites, about 6 per cent. of the Moslem body, two millions of whom live in British India, one and a half millions in al-'Irāq, one million in al-Yaman, where they are known by the name of Zaydites, 130,000 in Lebanon and Syria, where they go by the name of Matāwilah (i.e. partisans [of 'Ali]). Ultra-Shī'ite sects, including the Ismā'ilites, Druzes, Nuṣayris, Yazīdis and 'Ali-Ilāhis, swell the total to approximately 20,000,000, about 9 per cent. of the whole Moslem body.

[3] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrah*, pp. 121-6.

[4] Consult ibn-Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. ii, pp. 231-52; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1927), vol. i, pp. 177 *seq.*, vol. ii, pp. 47 *seq.*; *'Iqd*, vol. ii, pp. 172 *seq.*

Correspondence

Political correspondence under the orthodox caliphs was so brief and to the point that we hardly have an official note more than a few lines in length.[1] To 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (i.e. the scribe, † 750), secretary of the last Umayyad caliphs, is ascribed by ibn-Khallikān[2] the introduction of the flowery, long-drawn-out style with its conventional, polite phraseology betraying Persian influence. This affected style became a model for future generations of writers. A favourite Arabic saying had it that "the art of epistolary composition [*inshā'*] began with 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd and ended with ibn-al-'Amīd".[3] Persian literary influence can also be detected in the many wise sayings and proverbs attributed to 'Ali, to his lieutenant al-Aḥnaf (the bandy-legged)[4] ibn-Qays († after 687) and even to Aktham ibn-Ṣayfi of pre-Islamic reputation, one of whose titles was "the sage [*ḥakīm*] of the Arabians".[5]

Poetry

The greatest intellectual measure of progress achieved under the Umayyads, however, was undoubtedly in the field of poetical composition. That the birth of Islam was not favourable to the chief of the Muses is evinced by the fact that the glorious period of conquest and expansion inspired no poet in a nation of poets. With the accession of the worldly Umayyads the old connections with the goddesses of wine, song and poetry were re-established. For the first time the poet of love makes his full appearance in Arabic. While many pre-Islamic bards did preface their long pieces (*qaṣīdahs*) with a few verses of erotic character, yet none of them could be said to have specialized in love poetry (*ghazal*). From this amatory prelude (*nasīb*) of the early *qaṣīdahs* Arabic lyric poetry arose under the influence of Persian singers and after their example.

The peninsular school has 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah[6] († *ca.* 719) as its chief exponent. This prince of erotic poetry, "the Ovid of Arabia", was a Qurayshite born of a Christian mother,[7] who made it his business to make love to the beautiful damsels pil-

[1] For specimens consult Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. vi, pp. 388-91.
[2] Vol. i, p. 550; cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 81.
[3] A vizir of Rukn-al-Dawlah the Buwayhid.
[4] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. i, p. 58. See ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 216; Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 438-9.
[5] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 153; cf. *Aghāni*, vol. xv, p. 73, l. 28. See Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. ii, p. 63.
[6] His *Dīwān*, ed. Paul Schwarz, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–9).
[7] *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 32.

grimaging in Makkah and al-Madīnah as well as to such charming residents as the famous Sukaynah.[1] In language of intense passion and exquisite felicity he immortalized his feeling towards the fair sex. The freshness and chivalry of his verse stand in marked contrast to the primitive passion of Imru'-al-Qays on the one hand and to the stereotyped sentiment of a later age on the other.[2]

If 'Umar represented free love in poetry, his contemporary Jamīl († 701) of the banu-'Udhrah, a Christian tribe of Yamanite origin settled in al-Ḥijāz, stood for pure and innocent love of the platonic type. Jamīl's verses, all addressed to his sweetheart Buthaynah, who belonged to the same tribe,[3] breathe a spirit of tenderness unparalleled in that age. Because of their esthetic value and simple unaffected language they have since been set to music by many Arabic singers. Like Jamīl al-'Udhri, the semi-mythical Majnūn Layla,[4] whose original name is said to have been Qays ibn-al-Mulawwaḥ,[5] represents the lyric type of poetical composition. Qays, according to legend, became infatuated to the point of madness (whence his surname *majnūn*) with a woman of the same tribe named Layla, who reciprocated his love but was obliged to marry another to satisfy her father. Crazed with despair, Qays passes the rest of his life wandering half-naked among the hills and valleys of his native Najd singing the beauty of his beloved and yearning for a sight of her. Only when her name was mentioned would he return to his normal self.[6] Thus did Majnūn Layla become the hero of numberless Arabic, Persian and Turkish romances extolling the power of undying love. Undoubtedly many of the poems attached to the names of Jamīl and Majnūn were not actually composed by them but were originally ballads and folk-songs.

Besides love poetry, political poetry made its appearance under Umayyad auspices. The first occasion was the request made of Miskīn al-Dārimi to compose and sing publicly verses commemorating the nomination of Yazīd to the caliphate.[7] To this

[1] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 349.
[2] See W. G. Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions* (London, 1872), p. 279.
[3] Consult ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 260-68; *Aghāni*, vol. vii, pp. 77-110.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 169, quoted by ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 148.
[5] Al-Kutubi, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Būlāq, 1283), vol. ii, p. 172, makes the date of his death about A.H. 80 = 699.
[6] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 358-62.
[7] *Aghāni*, vol. xviii, pp. 71-2; cf. ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 347.

period also belongs the first attempt to compile ancient pre-Islamic poetry, which attempt was undertaken by Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (i.e. the transmitter, *ca.* 713–72).[1] Ḥammād was born in al-Kūfah of a Daylami (Persian) prisoner of war[2] and spoke Arabic with an accent, but he was one of those famed in Arabic annals for possessing phenomenal memories. In answer to a question by al-Walīd II he offered to recite of the *jāhilīyah* poems alone, rhyming in each of the letters of the alphabet, one hundred different odes for each letter. After listening in person and by proxy to 2900 *qaṣīdahs*, as we are told, al-Walīd felt satisfied and ordered 100,000 dirhams for the reciter.[3] Ḥammād's great merit, no doubt, was his collection of the famous Golden Odes, otherwise called Mu'allaqāt.

The provincial school of poetry in the Umayyad period was headed by al-Farazdaq (*ca.* 640–732) and Jarīr († *ca.* 729), that of the capital by al-Akhṭal (*ca.* 640–*ca.* 710). All three were born and brought up in al-'Irāq. They were satirists as well as panegyrists. As poets the trio stand in the very front rank among those with whom Arab criticism has found nothing to compare since their time. Al-Akhṭal, the Christian, was the champion of the Umayyad cause against the theocratic party;[4] al-Farazdaq, the dissolute, was the poet laureate of 'Abd-al-Malik and his sons al-Walīd, Sulaymān[5] and Yazīd; Jarīr, the greatest satirist of the age, was the court poet of al-Ḥajjāj.[6] In their panegyrics, on which they lived rather than on their lampoons, these poets performed the same function as the party press today. Al-Farazdaq[7] and Jarīr often attacked each other in the most virulent and abusive language, and al-Akhṭal as a rule sided with the former. How lightly Christianity sat on the heart of the wine-bibbing Akhṭal is illustrated by the words of consolation he addressed to his pregnant wife as she rushed to touch the garment

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 91; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 294.

[2] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 268.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 292; *Aghāni*, vol. v, pp. 164-5. See *'Iqd*, vol. iii, pp. 137-8.

[4] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 301-4.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 297-8. For Farazdaq's eulogies of his patron caliphs see his *Dīwān*, ed. R. Boucher (Paris, 1875), *passim*.

[6] Ibn-Qutaybah, p. 287. For samples of his encomiums see his *Dīwān* (Cairo, 1313), vol. i.

[7] On him see *Aghāni*, vol. viii, pp. 186-97, vol. xix, pp. 2-52; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 136-46 = de Slane, vol. iii, pp. 612-28; Joseph Hell, *Das Leben des Farazdak* (Leipzig, 1903).

of a passing bishop and succeeded only in reaching the tail of the donkey he was riding: "He and the tail of his ass—there is no difference!"[1]

Education of the formal type was not common in those days. Education
To the early Umayyad princes the *bādiyah*, Syrian desert, acted as a sort of school to which they sent their young sons to acquire the pure Arabic tongue and become well versed in poetry. It was thither that Mu'āwiyah sent his son and future successor Yazīd. The public considered him educated who could read and write his native language, use the bow and arrow and swim. Such a person was styled *al-kāmil*, the perfect one.[2] The value of swimming was enhanced by life on the Mediterranean coast. The ethical ideals of education as gleaned from the literature bearing on the subject were courage, endurance in time of trouble (*ṣabr*), observance of the rights and obligations of neighbourliness (*jiwār*), manliness (*murū'ah*), generosity and hospitality, regard for women and fulfilment of solemn promises. Many of these will be recognized as the virtues highly prized in Bedouin life.

After the time of 'Abd-al-Malik the tutor or preceptor (*mu'addib*), usually a client or a Christian, became a standing figure in the court. The tutor of this caliph's sons received the following injunction from their father: "Teach them to swim and accustom them to little sleep".[3] 'Umar II took his children so severely to task for violating the rules of Arabic grammar that he was inclined to use corporal punishment.[4] Significant are the instructions he communicated officially to their tutor: "Let the first moral lesson impressed upon them be hatred of means of amusement, whose initiative is from the devil and whose consequence is the wrath of God".[5]

The public desiring to secure an education, as education went in those days, patronized the mosques where classes centring on the Koran and ḥadīth were given. The earliest teachers in Islam were therefore the Koran readers (*qurrā'*). As early as the year 17 (638) the Caliph 'Umar sent such teachers in all

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. vii, p. 183.
[2] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 2, p. 91, ll. 10-11, cf. vol. v, p. 309, ll. 7 *seq.*; *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 165, l. 9.
[3] Mubarrad, p. 77, ll. 6-7.
[4] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, ed. Margoliouth, vol. i (Leyden, 1907), pp. 25-6.
[5] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Sīrah*, pp. 257-8. Consult, Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. ii, pp. 138-43.

directions and ordered the people to meet with them on Fridays in the mosques. 'Umar II sent as chief judge to Egypt Yazīd ibn-abi-Ḥabīb († 746), who is said to have been the first to distinguish himself as teacher there.[1] In al-Kūfah we read of a certain al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn-Muzāḥim[2] († 723), who kept an elementary school (*kuttāb*) and made no charges for instruction.[3] In the second Moslem century we even hear of a Bedouin settling in al-Baṣrah and conducting a school where fees were charged.[4]

Science

"Science," the Arabs say, ascribing the words to the Prophet, "is twofold: that which relates to religion and that which relates to the body [i.e. medicine]."

The peninsular medicine was very primitive indeed. Legitimate remedies mingled with magical practices and talismans against the evil eye. A few prescriptions limiting treatment to the use of honey, cupping and bleeding embedded in traditions termed "the Prophet's medicine" have been preserved and handed down to posterity. The critical ibn-Khaldūn in his famous *Muqaddamah*[5] speaks slightingly of this type of medicine, declaring that the Prophet was sent to teach religious laws and principles rather than medication.

Scientific Arab medicine springs from sources mainly Greek and partly Persian. Persian medicine itself was influenced by Greek tradition. The list of Arabian physicians in the first century of Islam is headed by al-Ḥārith ibn-Kaladah († *ca.* 634) of al-Ṭā'if, who studied in Persia.[6] Al-Ḥārith was the first scientifically trained man in the peninsula and won the honorary title of "the doctor of the Arabians".[7] In the art of healing he was succeeded, as was customary, by his son al-Naḍr, whose mother was the Prophet's maternal aunt.[8]

By the time of the Arab conquest of Western Asia, Greek science was no more a living force. It was rather a tradition in the hands of Greek- or Syriac-writing commentators and practitioners. The court doctors of the Umayyads belonged to this group. Outstanding among them were ibn-Uthāl, the Christian

[1] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. i, p. 134; cf. Kindi, *Wulāh*, p. 89.
[2] Mentioned by Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. i, p. 175, as a tutor to 'Abd-al-Malik's sons.
[3] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. vi, p. 210. [4] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, p. 239. [5] P. 412.
[6] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1882), vol. i, p. 109; ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 156.
[7] Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 156-7; Qifṭi, *Ḥukamā'*, p. 161.
[8] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 113; cf. Nawawi, *Tahdhīb*, p. 593.

physician of Mu'āwiyah,[1] and Tayādhūq, the evidently Greek physician of al-Ḥajjāj.[2] Some of Tayādhūq's aphorisms have been preserved, but none of the three or four books ascribed to him. A Jewish physician of Persian origin, Māsarjawayh of al-Baṣrah, who flourished in the first days of Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam, translated (683) into Arabic a Syriac treatise on medicine originally composed in Greek by a Christian priest in Alexandria, Ahrūn by name,[3] and was thus responsible for the earliest scientific book in the language of Islam. The Caliph al-Walīd is credited with having segregated persons afflicted with leprosy and with having made special provision for their treatment.[4] 'Umar II is said to have transferred the schools of medicine from Alexandria, where the Greek tradition flourished, to Antioch and Ḥarrān.[5]

Alchemy

Alchemy, like medicine, one of the few sciences in which the Arabs later made a distinct contribution, was one of the disciplines early developed. Khālid († 704 or 708), the son of the second Umayyad caliph and the "philosopher [*ḥakīm*] of the Marwānids", was according to the *Fihrist*[6] (our oldest and best source of information) the first in Islam to have translations made from Greek and Coptic books on alchemy, medicine and astrology. Though proved legendary,[7] the ascription of this activity to Khālid is significant, since it points out the truth that the Arabs drew their scientific knowledge from the older Greek sources and received their first impulse therefrom. With the name of this Umayyad prince legend associates the name of the famous Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān (Latinized Geber); but Jābir flourished later, about 776, and will be dealt with under the 'Abbāsids. Likewise the astrological and alchemical treatises ascribed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (700–765),[8] a descendant of 'Ali and one of the twelve imāms of the Shī'ah, have been discredited by critical modern scholarship.[9] The most unfortunate fact about the intellectual

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 116.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 121; see above, p. 220.
[3] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 192.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 195; Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1196.
[5] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 116, ll. 25-6.
[6] Pp. 242, 354.
[7] Julius Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, I. *Chālid Ibn Jazīd Ibn Mu'āwija* (Heidelberg, 1924), pp. 8 *seq.*
[8] *Fihrist*, p. 317, l. 25; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 185 = de Slane, vol. i, p. 300; Ḥājji Khalfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub w-al-Funūn*, ed. Fluegel, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 581, 604, vol. iii (London, 1842), pp. 53, 128.
[9] J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, II. *Ga'far Alṣādiq, der Sechste Imām* (Heidelberg, 1924), pp. 49-59.

life under the Umayyads is that it left no extant traces in the form of documents from which we can properly evaluate it.

Architecture

If there ever was an indigenous Arabian architecture it could have existed only in al-Yaman, concerning which our present state of investigation and exploration is as yet unable to afford sufficient data. Even then South Arabian art could not have played much of a part in the northern life of the peninsula. Here the tent was the ordinary dwelling, the open air the temple and the desert sands the tomb. The inhabitant of the rare oasis had, as he still has today, a rude architecture represented by buildings of sun-dried brick covered with flat roofs of palm wood and clay, devoid of decoration and ornament and suited only to the simplest needs. Even the Ḥijāz national shrine, al-Ka'bah, was nothing but a primitive cube-like structure with no roof. As the structure stood at the time of Muḥammad it was the work of a Coptic Christian carpenter who used wood salvaged from the wreck of some Byzantine ships cast ashore at Juddah. The rock-cut tombs of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ (ancient al-Ḥijr), the picturesque chambers carved in the multi-coloured sand cliffs of Petra, the colonnaded and arched palaces and sanctuaries of Palmyra, such churches as the magnificent one rebuilt by the Ghassānid phylarch al-Mundhir ibn-al-Ḥārith on the grave of the martyred St. Sergius at al-Ruṣāfah—all these indeed reveal a high order of artistic technique, but it is a technique borrowed from Hellenized Egypt and Syria and is not characteristically Arabian.

Architecture, as the first and most permanent of the arts, has in its religious variety always been the principal representative of the building art. The place of worship, literally the home of the deity, is the first structure on which the newly awakened soul strives to impress a loftier character than that required to satisfy the material needs of a human habitation. In the case of the Moslem Arabs art found its supreme expression in religious architecture. The Moslem architects, or the men they employed, evolved a scheme of building, simple and dignified, based on earlier patterns but singularly expressive of the spirit of the new religion. Thus we have in the mosque (from Ar. *masjid*, a place to prostrate oneself) an epitome of the history of the development of Islamic civilization in its interracial and international relationships. Perhaps no clearer example could be cited to illustrate

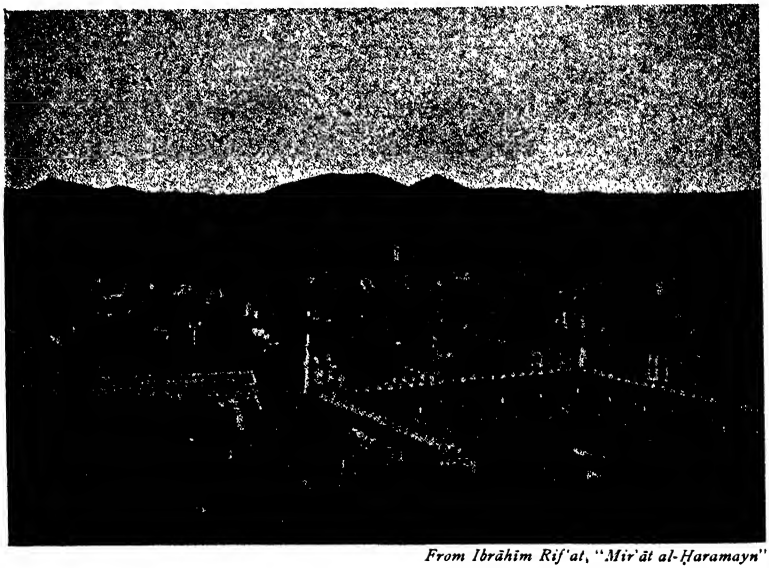
Photo *Bonfils*

INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

the cultural interplay between Islam and its neighbours than the mosque.

The Mosque of al-Madīnah

The simple mosque of Muḥammad at al-Madīnah rather than the Makkan sanctuary fortuitously became the general prototype of the congregational mosque in the first century of Islam. This mosque consisted of a courtyard open to the sky enclosed by walls of sun-baked clay.[1] As a protection from the sun the Prophet later extended the flat roof from the adjacent buildings



From Ibrāhim Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

THE MOSQUE OF MAKKAH SEEN FROM THE EAST

to cover the whole open court. The roof consisted of palm trunks used as columns to support a cover of palm fronds and mud.[2] A palm trunk fixed in the ground served first as a pulpit (*minbar*)[3] for the Prophet to stand on while addressing the congregation.[4] This was later replaced by a small platform of tamarisk wood with three steps copied from those seen in Christian churches in Syria.

[1] Ibn-Hishām, pp. 336-7.

[2] Balādhuri, p. 6; Bukhāri, vol. i, pp. 106-7.

[3] In *Orientalische Studien. Theodor Nöldeke*, ed. C. Bezold (Giessen, 1906), vol. i, pp. 331 *seq.*, C. H. Becker has shown that the *minbar* was originally a raised seat or throne used by the ruler and not associated with worship.

[4] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 9; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina* (Göttingen, 1860), p. 63; cf. Bukhāri, vol. i, p. 107.

Whether the Prophet found it necessary to erect an indicator (*miḥrāb*) of the direction of prayer (*qiblah*) in his mosque is not certain. In reciting their prayers the worshippers arranged themselves in ranks parallel to and facing the wall, originally toward Jerusalem and later toward Makkah.[1] From the top of the flat roof the Abyssinian Bilāl with his stentorian voice called the believers to prayer.[2] Here, then, we have in their simplest forms almost all the rudiments of a congregational mosque—a court, some cover to shelter the worshipper and a pulpit.

The subsequent advance of the Arabians fanwise through Western Asia and North Africa brought them into possession

From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

THE INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF AL-MADĪNAH

of numberless standing and ruined structures representing a high artistic development and, what is more essential, it put them in control of the living technical knowledge and skill inherited by members of the conquered races from ages past. This technique, applied to the religious needs of the Moslem community as indicated by the Madīnah Mosque and modified by local conditions in different regions, produced in course of time what has been variously designated Saracenic, Arabian, Moslem and Mohammedan[3] art. The structural material, whether stone, brick

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 3-5.

[2] One or two years after his arrival in al-Madīnah the Prophet decided on the *adhān* as the formal call to prayer after considering the possibility of using the *nāqūs* (wooden gong) as in the Christian churches. Ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 7.

[3] Modern Moslems object to the use of this term because of its parallelism to the term "Christian" applied to the worshippers of Christ, while they, as they maintain, are not worshippers of Muḥammad.

or clay, was in each case determined by what had prevailed in the particular locality. In Syria Moslem architecture was influenced by the pre-existent Christian Syro-Byzantine style with its native and Roman antecedents. In Mesopotamia and Persia it was affected by the Nestorian and Sāsānid forms based on an earlier native tradition. In Egypt many decorative motifs were supplied by the local Copts. Thus there gradually developed a number of distinct schools of Arab art: (1) Syro-Egyptian, following the Greco-Roman and native precedents; (2) 'Irāqo-Persian, based on Sāsānid and ancient Chaldaean and Assyrian styles; (3) Spanish and North African, showing native Christian and Visigothic influence and often called Moorish or Maghribi; and (4) Indian, bearing clear marks of the Hindu style. In China the mosque is almost a replica of the Buddhist temple.

Early mosques in the provinces

The first mosque erected in a conquered land was that of al-Baṣrah built by 'Utbah ibn-Ghazwān (637 or 638), who also founded the city itself as a winter camp for the army. This place of prayer was at first an open space fenced round with reeds. The edifice was later rebuilt of clay and sun-dried bricks (*libn*) by abu-Mūsa al-Ash'ari, 'Umar's governor, who covered the roof with grass.[1] In 638 or 639 the invading general, Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, established the other military camp, al-Kūfah, with a simple mosque as its centre. Close by the mosque stood the governor's residence (*dār al-imārah*). As in al-Baṣrah, the mosque was originally an open square with walls of reed and later of clay and sun-dried bricks.[2] Ziyād, the viceroy of Mu'āwiyah, rebuilt this mosque with a colonnade following the Sāsānid model. In other respects the mosque conformed to the type fortuitously formulated by Muḥammad in al-Madīnah. No trace is left of this structure or of the Baṣrah mosque. Of the 'Ali mosque in al-Kūfah, erected about 656 and visited in 1184 by the famous Andalusian traveller ibn-Jubayr,[3] little is known.

The third important camp in Islam was that of 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ in al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo). Here in 642 'Amr laid out the first Moslem place of prayer in Africa. In its original form 'Amr's mosque, of which there is likewise no trace,[4] was like the others a simple quadrangle with no niche (*miḥrāb*) to indicate the direc-

[1] Balādhuri, pp. 346-7, 350; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. i, p. 642.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2489; Yāqūt, vol. iv, pp. 323-4.
[3] Pp. 211-12.
[4] For the many early rebuildings it underwent see Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 899-900.

tion of prayer and with no minaret (*mi'dhanah*). 'Amr equipped it later with a pulpit built and presented by the Christian king of Nubia.[1] The next important mosque was that of 'Uqbah ibn-Nāfi' in al-Qayrawān (670–75) which, like al-Fusṭāṭ, was a military camp. 'Uqbah started with the mosque and government house as a centre and grouped the people's dwellings around them.[2] The mosque was rebuilt several times by his successors and finally by the Aghlabid Ziyādat-Allāh I (817–38), since whose days it has stood as one of the greatest sanctuaries in Islam.

In those cases where Moslems established themselves in towns already standing, use was made of older structures. In al-Madā'in, Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ used the *Īwān* (arched hall) of the Persian emperor as a place of worship.[3] In Damascus the Cathedral of St. John was rebuilt into a mosque by al-Walīd I.[4] But in Ḥimṣ the same building is said to have been used in common as a mosque and as a church.[5]

The *miḥrāb*, a recess or niche in the wall of the mosque indicating the direction of prayer, was a later addition into the equipment of the mosque taken over from the church. Al-Walīd and his governor, 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz, are usually credited with its introduction,[6] though some credit Mu'āwiyah.[7] The Madīnah Mosque was evidently the first to get a *miḥrāb*. The *miḥrāb* rapidly became a common feature of all mosques and like the Christian altar appropriated for itself the largest measure of sacredness. As such it became the recipient of the varied forms of decoration lavished on it by the believers and may therefore be considered the standard for determining the quality of the continually changing styles of Islamic decorative art.

A profane innovation in the mosque for which Mu'āwiyah[8] is generally blamed is the *maqṣūrah*, a fenced-off part in the interior of the mosque reserved for the use of the caliph. Different

[1] Maqrīzi (Būlāq), vol. ii, p. 248, l. 30.
[2] Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 213.
[3] Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2443, 2451.
[4] Balādhuri, p. 125; Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 591; ibn-Jubayr, p. 262.
[5] Iṣṭakhri, p. 61; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 117; Maqdisi, p. 156.
[6] Maqrīzi, vol. ii, p. 247, ll. 16-17; Maqdisi, p. 80, l. 17; ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, pp. 271, 272; ibn-Duqmāq, *al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār*, ed. Vollers (Būlāq, 1893), pt. iv, p. 62, l. 12; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 149.
[7] Ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 109, l. 2.
[8] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 571. Others ascribe it to Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam (Balādhuri, p. 6, l. 16 = Hitti, p. 20) or to 'Uthmān (Maqrīzi, vol. ii, p. 247, l. 32).

reasons have been assigned for its introduction, the chief being protection for the person of the caliph after the Khārijite attempt upon his life.[1] The *maqṣūrah* was evidently used by the caliphs for retirement and rest or for deliberation.[2]

Like the *miḥrāb*, the minaret was introduced by the Umayyads. Syria was therefore the original home of the minaret. Here the minaret took the form of the native watch-tower or of its successor the church tower, which was square.[3]

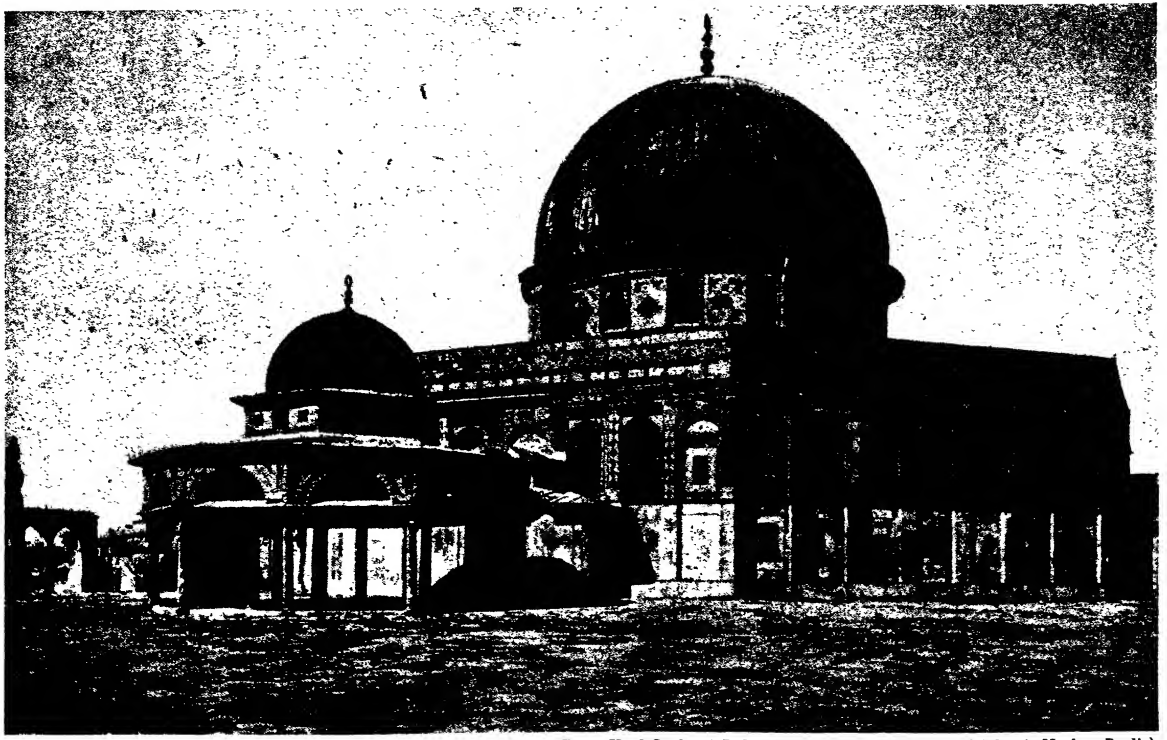
One of the earliest authorities[4] to mention a minaret on the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus explicitly states that it had been a watch-tower (*nāṭūr*) belonging to the Cathedral of St. John. In Egypt the minaret is said to have been introduced by a governor of Mu'āwiyah who provided each of the four corners of the Mosque of 'Amr in al-Fusṭāṭ with one.[5] In al-'Irāq the Baṣrah Mosque was provided by Mu'āwiyah's governor, Ziyād, with a stone minaret.[6] But it was again the famous Umayyad builder, al-Walīd, who was probably responsible for many minarets in Syria and al-Ḥijāz. Al-Walīd's governor, 'Umar, introduced the new feature into the Madīnah Mosque.[7] After his time minarets became more and more numerous.

While the square stone minaret of Syria was the oldest in Islam and served as prototype for others, especially in North Africa and Spain, it was not the only type developed. Moslem minarets followed the traditional shape of the towers of the country in which they arose. In Egypt minarets for many centuries were built only of brick and the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, the Pharos, is said by some to have exercised some architectural influence. In al-'Irāq a ninth-century Moslem tower-minaret at Sāmarra on the Tigris reflects the ancient Assyrian *ziggurat* (high place) with its seven stories representing the sun, the moon and the five planets then known.[8]

The Dome of the Rock

Because of its biblical association and as the first *qiblah* of Islam[9] and the traditional stopping-place of Muḥammad on

[1] Dīnawari, p. 229; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 224-6; cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 3465, ll. 8-9.
[2] Cf. *Aghāni*, vol. xvii, p. 116, l. 6.
[3] Maqdisi, p. 182, ll. 8-9.
[4] Ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 108; cf. ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, p. 203.
[5] Maqrīzi, vol. ii, p. 248.
[6] Balādhuri, p. 348.
[7] Wüstenfeld, *Stadt*, p. 75; ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, p. 272.
[8] Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 1915), pp. 376-7. See below, pp. 418-19.
[9] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 3; see Koran 2 : 136, 138.



From Karl Gröber, "Palästina, Arabien und Syrien" (Atlantis-Verlag, Berlin)

THE DOME OF THE ROCK AND THE DOME OF THE CHAIN

his famous nocturnal journey heavenward, Jerusalem very early acquired special sanctity in the eyes of all Moslems.[1] In 638 when the Caliph 'Umar visited the city he possibly erected a simple place of worship of timber or brick on the Moriah hill, where once stood the Temple of Solomon and later a heathen sanctuary and a Christian church. When 'Abd-al-Malik felt the need for a centre of worship that should outshine the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,[2] rival the Mosque of Makkah then in the hands of the anti-caliph 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Zubayr and deviate therefrom the current of pilgrimage,[3] he built in 691 on the same site in Jerusalem the Dome of the Rock, wrongly called the "Mosque of 'Umar". The Dome therefore stands on one of the most sacred spots on earth, a spot hallowed by Jewish, heathen, Christian and Moslem associations and considered by tradition the place where Abraham intended to sacrifice his son Isaac. The Kufic inscription round its dome, a part of which was later falsified by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn,[4] is one of the oldest Islamic writings extant.[5] 'Abd-al-Malik used materials derived from the Christian buildings that had stood there before they were destroyed or damaged by Chosroes II in 614 and employed native craftsmen, some of whom may have been of Byzantine origin. Here was a radical change from the old pattern, involving the introduction of mosaic and other decorative motifs and a dome intended to surpass the beautiful cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[6] The result was an architectural monument of such noble beauty that it has scarcely been surpassed anywhere. To the Moslems the Dome of the Rock is more than a place of archæological interest and artistic value—it is a living symbol of their faith. Although it has gone through a few changes and repairs, particularly as a result of the terrific earthquake of 1016,[7] the Dome has preserved in general its original form and is therefore the earliest Moslem monument surviving. The oldest description of it is that of ibn-al-Faqīh,[8] written about 903, followed by that of al-Maqdisi[9] written about 985.

[1] For Jerusalem as the scene of judgment day see Nuwayri, vol. i, pp. 334 *seq.*
[2] Maqdisi, p. 159. [3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 311. [4] See above, p. 220.
[5] In the Arab Museum at Cairo is a tombstone found in the cemetery of Old Cairo bearing a Kufic inscription dated A.H. 31/651–2. See Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Hawāri in *al-Hilāl*, vol. xxxviii (1930), pp. 1179-91.
[6] Maqdisi, p. 159. The Dome was modelled after the cathedral of Buṣra. Cf. M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (Oxford, 1924), p. 37.
[7] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 209. [8] Pp. 100-101. [9] Pp. 169-71.

The Aqṣa Mosque

The Dome is the shrine of which the Aqṣa Mosque is the sanctuary. The term al-Masjid al-Aqṣa, as we have learned before, is used in Arabic literature in a general sense to include the whole collection of sacred buildings comprising the Dome itself, the tombs, dervish monasteries (sing. *takīyah* or *zāwiyah*) and public fountains (sing. *sabīl*) erected by many caliphs from ʿAbd-al-Malik to the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent which cover an area of some thirty-four acres. Strictly, the word Aqṣa is applied to the mosque built by ʿAbd-al-Malik not far from the Dome. In its construction use was made of the ruins of St. Mary's Church of Justinian, which stood on that site until demolished by Chosroes. The Aqṣa was rebuilt about 771 by the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr following an earthquake, and was later modified by the Crusaders. Saladin restored it (1187) to Islam. As in the case of the Dome our earliest description of it dates from ibn-al-Faqīh[1] and al-Maqdisi.[2]

The Umayyad Mosque

In 705 ʿAbd-al-Malik's son al-Walīd took over the site of the basilica of Damascus dedicated to St. John, originally a temple of Jupiter, and built there the grand mosque named after the Umayyads.[3] How much of the Christian construction was preserved in al-Walīd's mosque is difficult to ascertain. The two southern minarets stand on ancient church towers which belonged to the old basilica,[4] but the northern minaret, used as a beacon tower, was certainly constructed by al-Walīd and became the model for similar structures in Syria, North Africa and Spain. It is the oldest purely Moslem minaret surviving. The three naves and a transept, above which rises the great dome, with their mosaics, are also the work of this caliph who, we are told, employed Persian and Indian craftsmen as well as Greek artisans provided by the emperor of Constantinople.[5] Papyri recently discovered show that material and skilled workmen were imported from Egypt.[6] The walls were sumptuously decorated with marbles and mosaics. The geographer al-Maqdisi,[7] who visited the mosque in the latter part of the tenth century, speaks

[1] P. 100. [2] Pp. 168-9.

[3] Among the present leading mosques of Aleppo, Ḥimṣ and Beirūt are some which were churches in the past.

[4] Cf. Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 593.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1194; Maqdisi, p. 158; ibn-ʿAsākir, vol. i, p. 202; ibn-Jubayr, p. 261.

[6] H. I. Bell in *Der Islam*, vol. ii (1911), pp. 274, 374.

[7] P. 157; see also Iṣṭakhri, p. 57; ibn-Rustah, p. 326.

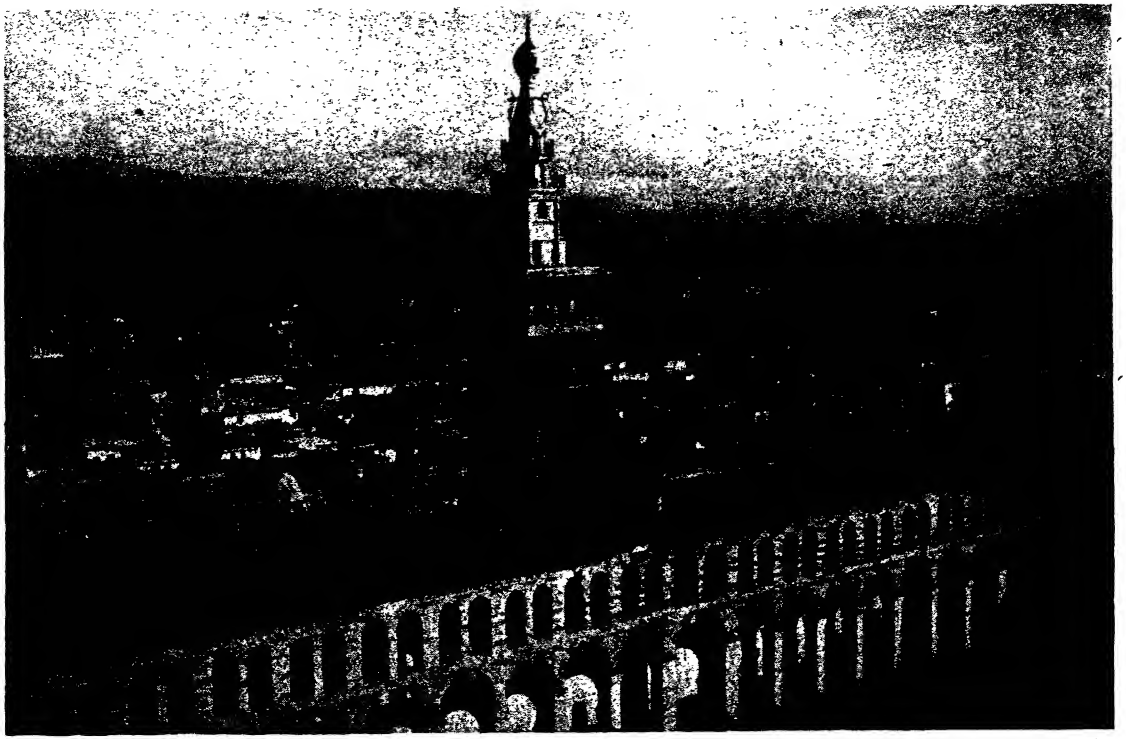


Photo *Bonfils*

UMAYYAD MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS: THE COLONNADE AND NORTHERN MINARET

of its mosaics of gold and precious stones representing trees and cities and bearing beautiful inscriptions. These same representations, covered later by some pious caliph, were rediscovered in 1928.[1] In this mosque we find the first appearance of the semicircular niche for prayer (*miḥrāb*). Here the horseshoe arch is also apparent. The vignette decorations served as a model for those of the great Qayrawān Mosque as remodelled by the Aghlabids in the ninth century. Though it was burned in 1069, again in 1400 by Tamerlane and for the last time in 1893, the Umayyad Mosque has always held its place in Moslem imagination as the fourth wonder of the world.[2] It is also considered the fourth sanctuary in Islam (above, p. 221).

In the period between the first primitive place of worship of al-Madīnah and the two sumptuous mosques of Jerusalem and Damascus the evolution of the Moslem congregational (*jamā'ah*) mosque was rendered complete. The congregational mosque, be it noted, has always been more than a building for devotion; it serves as a general assembly hall and as a political and educational forum.[3] The physical needs of the congregation are now amply provided for by a sheltered sanctuary and a covered approach; the ritual needs are met by the minarets, niches, pulpits and outside fountains for ablution; and the political needs by a majesty of plan and splendour of ornament that help to serve notice on the world that the followers of the new faith are in nowise behind those who worship in the grand cathedrals of Christendom.

Palaces: Quṣayr 'Amrah

In architectural fields other than the religious the Umayyads left but few monuments. Chief among these are the desert palaces erected by princes of the caliphal family. Most of the caliphs themselves, like the Ghassānid rulers before them, had country seats, and apart from Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik hardly any of them lived in Damascus. In the capital itself nothing is left of the Khaḍrā',[4] the imperial residence adjoining the great mosque, nor are any traces left of al-Ḥajjāj's residence of the same name, al-Qubbah al-Khaḍrā',[5] in Wāsiṭ. But the

[1] E. de Lorey and M. van Berchem, *Les mosaïques de la mosquée des Omayyades à Damas* (Paris, 1930). K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. I (Oxford, 1932), pp. 119-20.

[2] Ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 106; ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, p. 198; Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 591.

[3] In recent years the principal outbreaks against European authority in Syria and Egypt have had their inception in the Friday mosque meetings.

[4] See above, p. 215. Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 224.

[5] Balādhuri, p. 290; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 360; Ya'qūbi, p. 322.

From B. Moritz, "Bilder aus Palästina, Nord-Arabien und dem Sinai" (Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin)

FAÇADE OF AL-MUSHATTA

fringes of the Syrian desert are strewn with the remains of palaces which were originally either Roman fortresses on the *limes* repaired and remodelled by Umayyad architects or which were erected by those architects on Byzantine and Persian patterns. The ruins of a palace known by the modern name of al-Ukhaydir lie not far from 'Ayn al-Tamr on the eastern side of the Syrian desert, but it is not certain whether they belong to a late Umayyad or an early 'Abbāsid structure.[1] On the south-western edge of the desert the remains are more numerous. Here Yazīd, son of 'Abd-al-Malik, either built or restored a palace called Muwaqqar,[2] of which few remains are left. His son al-Walīd II, who was addicted to the chase and less innocent pastimes, occupied the neighbouring Qasṭal[3] and al-Azraq,[4] both Roman posts in Transjordan. To this same Caliph al-Walīd II is ascribed the building of another palace in this region known by the modern name al-Mushatta (al-Mashta),[5] which was the first in this region to be visited by archæologists The structure was left unfinished at the death of its caliph-builder. The magnificently carved façade of this beautiful château is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.[6] The best known palace in this group is, however, Quṣayr (the little castle of) 'Amrah, lying east of the Jordan in a direct line from the northern edge of the Dead Sea. This castle, probably built between 712 and 715 by al-Walīd I, was discovered for the learned world by Alois Musil[7] in 1898. The name is presumably modern, since we see no trace of it in Arabic literature. What makes this building especially remarkable is the extraordinary mural paintings to be discussed in the next section.

Painting

Most theologians of Islam maintained that the representation of men and animals was the prerogative of God alone and

[1] Gertrude L. Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir* (Oxford, 1914), p. 167.

[2] Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 687. Al-Balqā', where the palace stood, was the southern region of the eastern Jordan district and comprised ancient Moab.

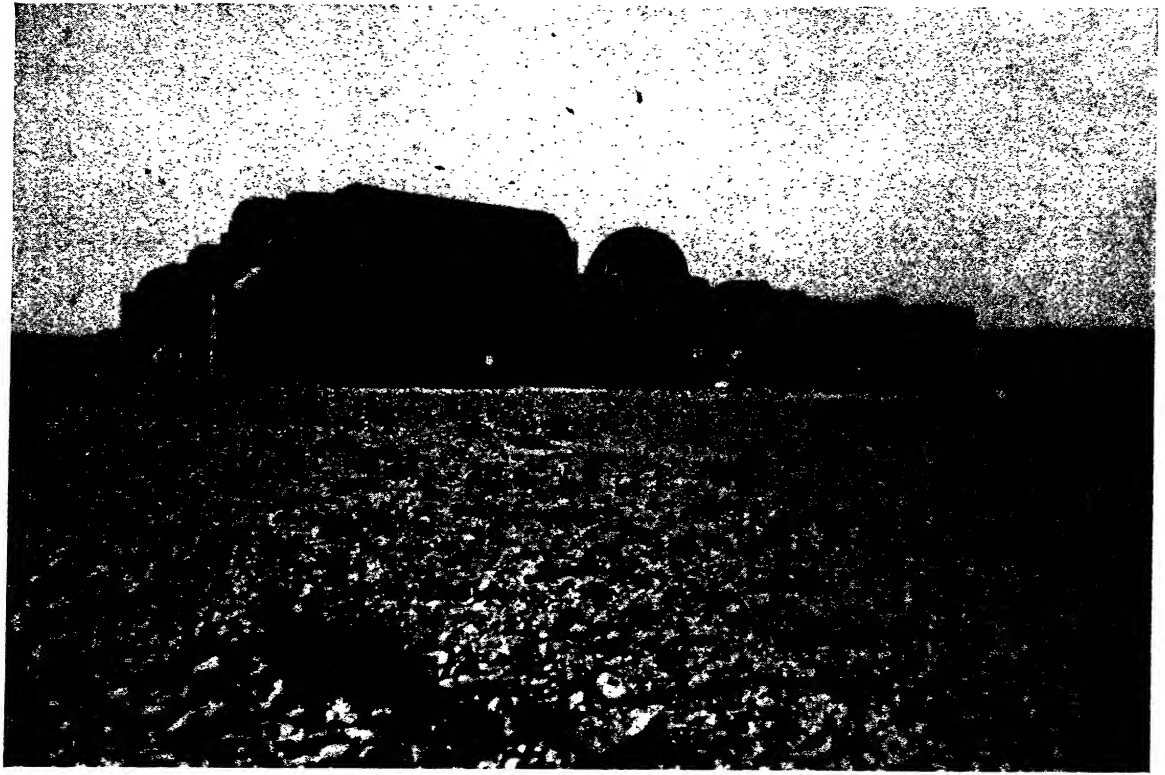
[3] From Latin *castellum*, castle. Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 95.

[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1743.

[5] Bedouin pronunciation Mshatta, winter resort.

[6] Consult R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. ii (Strassburg, 1905), pp. 105-70; B. Schulz and J. Strzygowski, "Mschatta", *Jahrbuch der königlich-preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xxv (1904), pp. 205-373.

[7] *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra und andere Schlösser östlich von Moab*, pt. 1 (Vienna, 1902), pp. 5 *seq.*; Musil, *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, I. *Textband* (Vienna, 1907). Musil considered al-Walīd II the builder.



From B. Moritz, "Bilder aus Palästina, Nord-Arabien und dem Sinai" (Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin)

QUṢAYR ʿAMRAH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

considered him who intruded on this domain a blasphemer. This hostile attitude toward representational art, a corollary of the uncompromising monotheism of the Koran and its prohibition of idolatry, derives its direct sanction from a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet is reported to have declared that those to be most severely punished on the day of judgment are the painters.[1] The term used, *muṣawwirūn* (portrayers), would apply to sculptors as well. No representation of human beings therefore occurs anywhere on mosques, though in a few cases we find it on palaces and in books. Almost all decorative motifs in Moslem art are derived from the vegetable kingdom or from geometrical figures. The success achieved in later ages in this field is evinced by the term "arabesque" applied to this style of decoration in most of the European languages. But the Arabians themselves had no developed feeling for either plastic or pictorial art, as their remains in the peninsula and the literary descriptions of their sanctuaries clearly indicate. What we call Moslem art was eclectic in its origin, motifs and execution, mostly the product of the artistic genius of the subjugated peoples, but developed under Moslem auspices and peculiarly adapted to the demands of the Moslem religion.

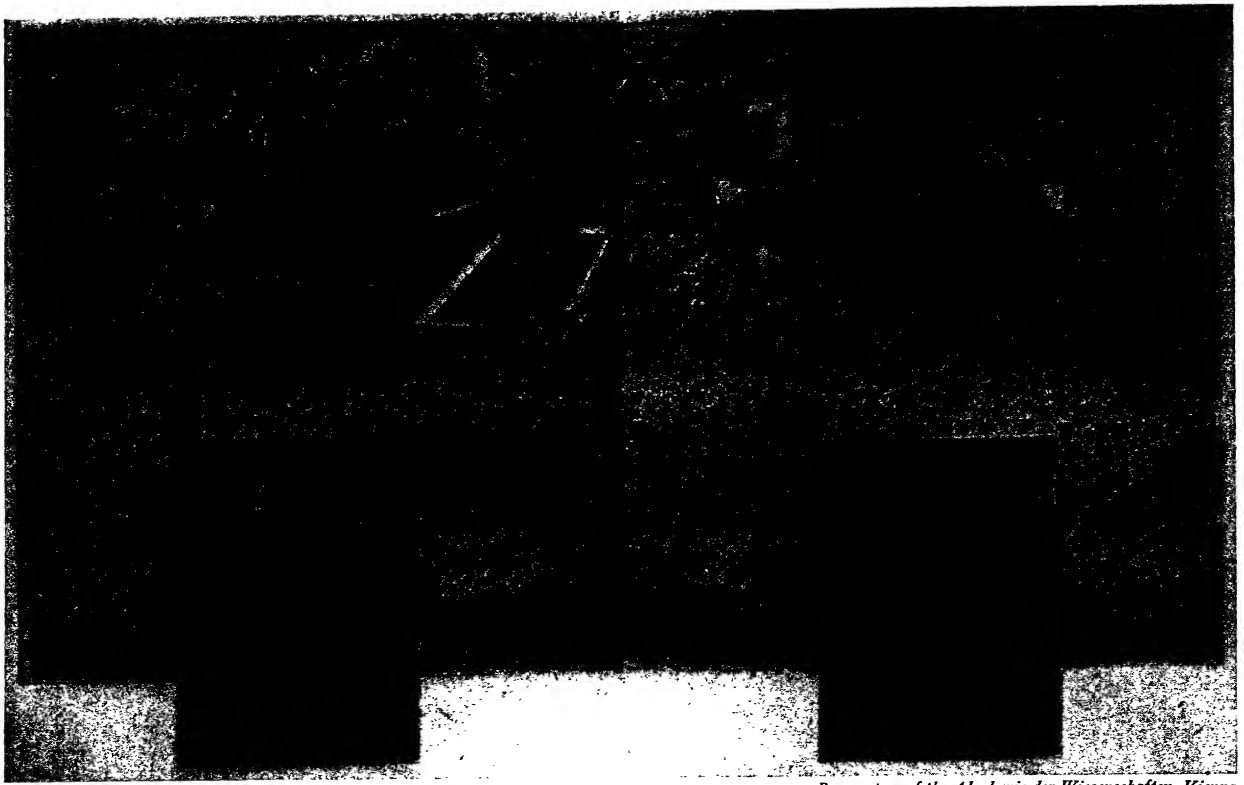
The earliest illustrations of Moslem pictorial art are the frescoes of Quṣayr ʿAmrah, which suggest workmanship of Christian painters. On the walls of this Transjordanian pleasure-house and bath of the Umayyads are pictures of six royal personages, including the caliph himself and his enemy Roderick, the last Visigothic king of Spain. Other symbolic figures represent Victory, Philosophy, History and Poetry. A hunting-scene depicts a lion attacking a wild ass. A number of nude pictures represent dancers, musicians and merrymakers. The ornament consists of draperies, foliage growing out of vases, vines, palm trees with clusters of fruit, laurel and birds of the desert. The inscriptions are mostly Arabic, with few names in Greek. Nowhere else in the Moslem world have pictures been preserved in such perfect condition.

Music

In pre-Islamic time the Arabians had various types of song: caravan, martial, religious and amorous. Traces of the primitive religious hymns are still preserved in the *talbiyah*[2] of the

[1] Bukhāri, vol. vii, p. 61.

[2] The recitation of the hymn beginning with "*Labbayka*" (here I am); Bukhāri, vol. ii, p. 135.



By courtesy of the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna

PICTURES ON WEST WALL OF THE MAIN HALL OF THE QUṢAYR ʿAMRAH

From a painting by L. Mielich

pilgrimage ceremony. The *inshād*, or chanting of poetry, is maintained in the cantillation (*tajwīd*) of the Koran. But the caravan song, *ḥudā'*, was their favourite and, in their estimation, the first form of singing. The *ḥudā'*—so goes the legend in al-Mas'ūdi [1]—originated when one of the founders of the race, Muḍar ibn-Ma'add,[2] fell from his camel, fractured his hand and in his beautiful voice began to cry, "Yā-yadāh! Yā-yadāh!" (O, my hand! O, my hand!), which synchronized with the steps of the camel and kept it moving. It was this cry that created the metre of *rajaz* used in caravan songs and the simplest of all poetical metres.

The South Arabians undoubtedly had their own types of song and musical instruments [3] about which very little is known, but it is doubtful whether that tradition formed a part of the heritage of the Northern, and consequently the Moslem, Arabians. The pre-Islamic inhabitants of al-Ḥijāz used as their principal instruments the square tambourine (*duff*), the flute (*qaṣabah*, *qaṣṣābah*) and the reed pipe or oboe (*zamr*, *mizmār*).[4] They also knew the skin-bellied lute (*mizhar*).[5] At about the time of the Prophet foreign musical influences were beginning to tell. The Ghassānid princes kept choruses of Greek girl singers. The Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah had the Persian wooden-bellied lute (*'ūd*, whence Eng. "lute"), which the Ḥijāzis borrowed. One tradition makes al-Naḍr ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-Kaladah, the physician and poet-minstrel whose pagan recitals competed with the revelations of Muḥammad in winning the favour of the people,[6] responsible for the introduction of this instrument into Makkah from al-Ḥīrah.[7] Another tradition credits ibn-Surayj († *ca.* 726) with introducing this Persian lute. He is said to have seen it for the first time in the hands of Persian workers brought to Arabia in 684 by 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Zubayr to rebuild the Ka'bah.[8] Later the wood-wind instrument called in Persian *nāy* (vertical flute) was likewise borrowed, together with the name, as the researches of Henry G. Farmer [9] indicate. Evidently

[1] Vol. viii, p. 92.
[2] Cf. "Almodad" in 1 Ch. 1 : 20.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 93.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. ii, p. 175.
[5] *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 237; Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 93.
[6] He is supposed to be the one referred to in sūr. 31 : 5-6.
[7] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 93-4.
[8] *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 98.
[9] In *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1929), pp. 119 *seq.*, pp. 489 *seq.*; *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (London, 1929), p. 7.

most of the Jāhilīyah professional singers were female, and the *Aghāni*,[1] itself a book of songs, has handed down to us the names of a few of them. Some of the elegies mourning the famous hero Ṣakhr by his sister al-Khansā', a contemporary of the Prophet and celebrated as the greatest poetess of the Arabs, were evidently composed as songs.[2] Most of the pre-Islamic poets evidently sang their compositions to music.

Muḥammad's denunciation of poets[3] was not directed against them as such but merely as the mouthpiece of heathenism. The Prophet may have looked with disfavour upon music also because of its association with pagan religious rites. According to a *ḥadīth* he is said to have declared the musical instrument to be the devil's muezzin, serving to call men to his worship.[4] Most Moslem legists and theologians frowned on music; some condemned it in all its aspects; a few looked upon it as religiously unpraiseworthy (*makrūh*), though not actually sinful (*ḥarām*); but the view of the masses was better expressed in the adage, "Wine is as the body, music as the soul, and joy is their offspring".[5]

Soon after the first awe inspired by Islam had worn off the tendency of social change in al-Ḥijāz veered toward the esthetic side, especially under 'Uthmān, the first caliph with a taste for wealth and display. Harmony between voice and instrument was then learned. What the Arabic authors style *al-ghinā' al-mutqan* or *al-raqīq*, artistic or elegant singing, that highly developed type in which there is application of rhythm (*īqā'*) to the melody of song, became well established in al-Ḥijāz. Male professional musicians appear for the first time under the sobriquet *mukhannathūn*, i.e. effeminate, men who dyed their hands and affected the manners of women. Such a man was Ṭuways (the little peacock, 632–710) of al-Madīnah, considered the father of song in Islam. Ṭuways is supposed to have introduced rhythm into Arabic music and to have been the first to sing in that language to the accompaniment of an instrument, the tambourine.[6]

[1] Vol. viii, p. 3, vol. x, p. 48. [2] *Aghāni*, vol. xiii, p. 140. [3] Sūr. 26 : 224-6.
[4] Consult Nuwayri, *Nihāyah*, vol. iv, pp. 132-5; Farmer, *Arabian Music*, pp. 24-5; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leyden, 1927), p. 173.
[5] Nawāji, p. 178. Consult Nuwayri, vol. iv, pp. 136 *seq.*
[6] *Aghāni*, vol. ii, pp. 170, 171, 173.

The first generation of Moslem singers, headed by Ṭuways, consisted of foreign libertines. Ṭuways left a progeny of students, chief among whom was ibn-Surayj (*ca.* 634–726), regarded as one of the four great singers of Islam.[1] Besides crediting him with the introduction of the Persian lute tradition ascribes to him the use of the baton for directing musical performances. Ibn-Surayj was a freedman, the son of a Turk, and enjoyed the patronage of the famous beauty Sukaynah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn. He counted among his teachers the Makkan negro client Sa'īd ibn-Misjaḥ (or Musajjaḥ, † *ca.* 714). Sa'īd, the first Makkan musician and perhaps the greatest of the Umayyad period, is said to have travelled in Syria and Persia and to have been the first to put Byzantine and Persian songs into Arabic.[2] He is evidently the one who systematized Arabian musical theory and practice of classical times. Another student of his was al-Gharīḍ,[3] a half-breed Berber who, as a slave of Sukaynah, was also trained by ibn-Surayj[4] and, after his second master, attained the enviable rank of one of the four singers of Islam. The other two were ibn-Muḥriz († *ca.* 715), of Persian origin, popularly dubbed "the cymbalist [*ṣannāj*] of the Arabs",[5] and Ma'bad († 743), a Madīnese mulatto who was a special favourite at the courts of al-Walīd I, Yazīd II and al-Walīd II.[6] Before settling in the capital Ma'bad had wandered as a minstrel all over Arabia. Among the songstresses (*qiyān*) Jamīlah († *ca.* 720), a Madīnese freedwoman, was the artistic queen of the first generation.[7] Her residence proved a centre of attraction for the leading musicians and singers of Makkah and al-Madīnah, many of whom were her pupils; conspicuous among the frequent auditors at her concerts was the poet of love, 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah. Among her pupils she counted Ḥabābah and Sallāmah, the favourites of Yazīd II. The crowning event of Jamīlah's picturesque career was her imposing pilgrimage to Makkah at the head of a gorgeous procession of singers and songstresses, poets and musicians, admirers and friends, all in gala dress and on richly caparisoned mounts.[8]

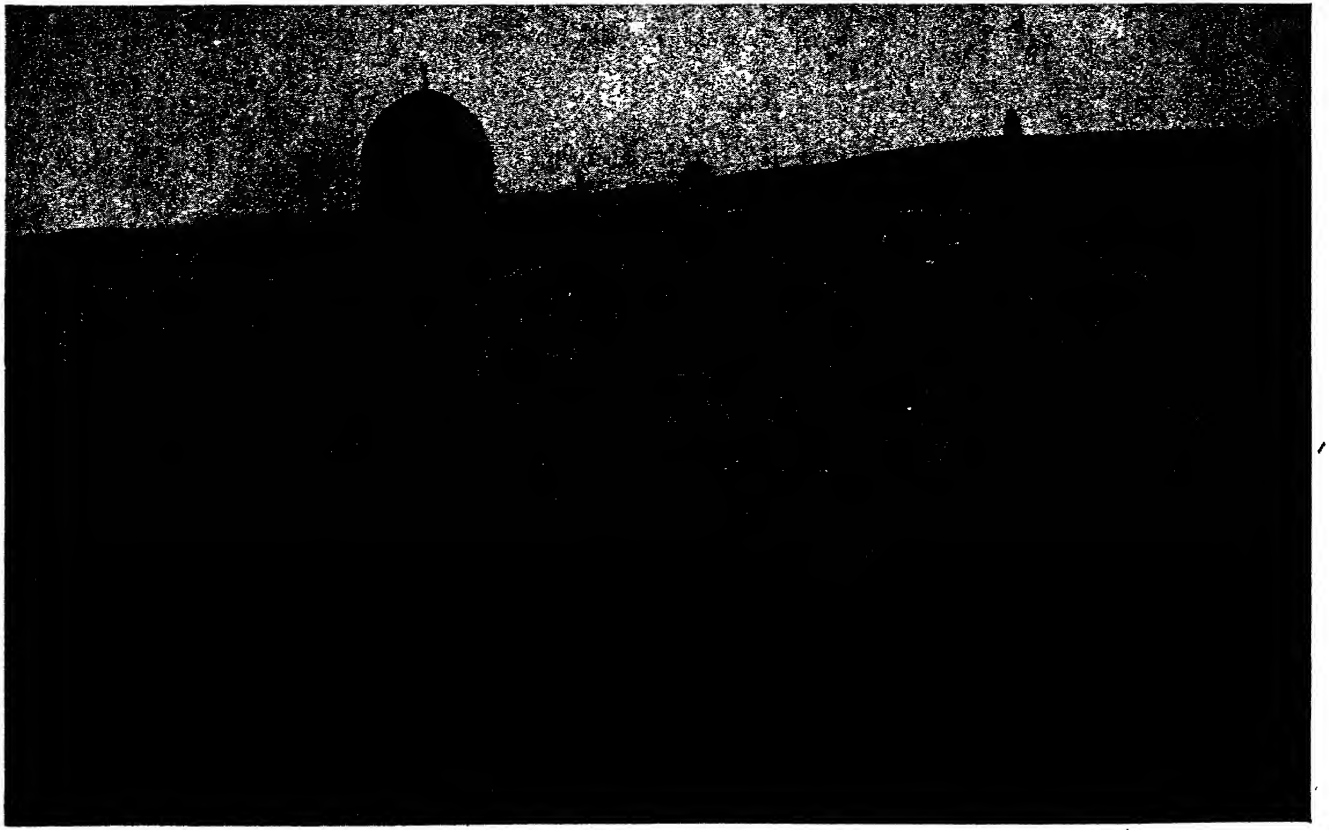
Occasional concerts and brilliant musical events held in the

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. i, p. 98.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 84.
[3] His first name was 'Abd-al-Malik. *Gharīḍ* means "the good singer".
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. i, pp. 99-100.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 151.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 19 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.* vol. vii, pp. 124 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.* vol. vii, p. 135.

homes of aristocratic ladies attracted throngs of dilettanti. The wood-bellied lute introduced from Persia through al-Ḥīrah had by this time partly superseded the native skin-bellied lute. Another favourite stringed instrument was the *mi'zafah*, a kind of psaltery. The wind instruments included the flute (*qaṣabah*) and reed pipe (*mizmār*) as well as the horn (*būq*). The percussion instruments were represented by the square tambourine, especially favoured by the women, and by the drum (*ṭabl*) and cymbals or castanets (*ṣunūj*). Notes, when known, were transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to another and have consequently been entirely lost. The *Aghāni* is replete with verses set to music under the Umayyads, yet it has preserved not a solitary note for us. On the occasion of a visit to al-Ḥijāz by the Christian Ḥunayn al-Ḥīri, dean of the 'Irāq singers, such a crowd gathered at the residence of Sukaynah to hear him that the porch on which they met collapsed, resulting in the death of the distinguished visiting artist.[1] The holy pilgrimage, with all the celebrities it brought from different parts of the Moslem world, afforded the Ḥijāz musicians and singers an annual opportunity for the display of their talent. It was customary for them on special occasions to meet the caravan and perform en route. The *Aghāni* has left us a description of a pilgrimage-parade in which 'Umar ibn-abi-Rabī'ah, the representative of the poetical spirit of the age, clad in his finest attire and flirting with female wayfarers, took the leading part. In his company was ibn-Surayj, whose singing of 'Umar's verses distracted the pilgrims from the observance of their ritualistic ceremonies.[2]

Thus did Makkah, and more particularly al-Madīnah, become in the Umayyad period a nursery of song and a conservatory for music.[3] As such they supplied the court of Damascus with an ever-increasing stream of talent. In vain did the conservatives and ulema press their objections, linking music and song with wine-bibbing and gaming as forbidden pleasures (*malāhi*) and quoting Prophetic *ḥadīths* which place such diversions among the most powerful means by which the devil seduces men. The tide could not be stemmed; the Muses stood too high in public favour to suffer from such verbal attacks. Their devotees could quote equally striking sayings ascribed to the Prophet[4] and

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. ii, p. 127. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 102. [3] *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 237.
[4] Ghazzāli, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo, 1334), vol. ii, pp. 238 *seq.*



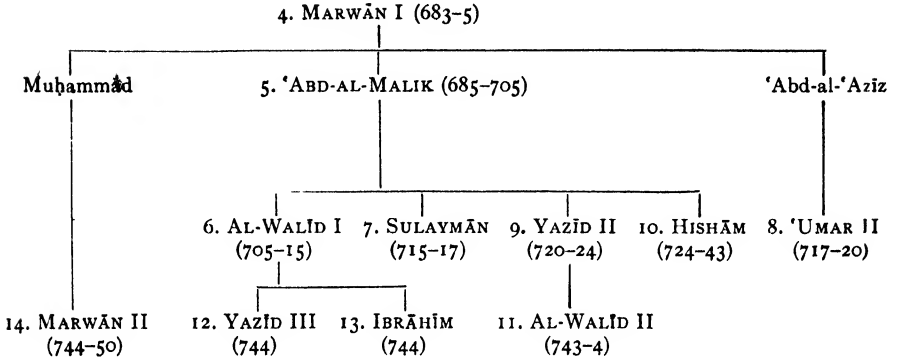
THE ḤARAM AREA FROM THE NORTH-WEST WITH THE AQṢA MOSQUÉ IN THE BACKGROUND

might very well argue that poetry, music and song did not always tend to debase, that they contributed their share to the refinement of social intercourse and to the sublimation of the relationships between the sexes.[1] It was the second Umayyad caliph, Yazīd I, himself a composer, who introduced singing and musical instruments into the Damascus court.[2] He initiated the practice of holding grand festivities in the royal palace which featured wine and song, for ever after inseparable in Islam. 'Abd-al-Malik patronized ibn-Misjaḥ of the Ḥijāz school. His son al-Walīd, the patron of arts, summoned ibn-Surayj and Ma'bad to the capital, where they were received with great honour. Yazīd II, successor of the austere and puritanical 'Umar, reinstated poetry and music in public favour through his Ḥabābah and Sallāmah.[3] Hishām bestowed his patronage on Ḥunayn of al-Ḥīrah. The pleasure-loving Walīd II, himself a player on the lute and composer of songs, welcomed to his court a host of musician-singers, including the noted Ma'bad.[4] His reign coincided with the blossoming of music in the twin cities of al-Ḥijāz. So widely spread was the cultivation of the musical art under the last Umayyads that it provided their enemies, the 'Abbāsid faction, with an effective argument in their propaganda to undermine the house of "ungodly usurpers".

[1] *'Iqd*, vol. iii, pp. 225-6; Nawāji, pp. 177-9.
[2] *Aghāni*, vol. xvi, p. 70; cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. v, pp. 156-7.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, pp. 446 *seq.* [4] *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 4.

CHAPTER XXII

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY



A tree showing the genealogical relationship of the Marwānid caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty

ARAB authorities highly esteem Hishām and, as we learned before, rightly rank him after Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik as the third and last true statesman of the banu-Umayyah. His four successors, with the exception of Marwān II, who ended the dynasty, proved incapable if not dissolute or degenerate. Even before the time of Hishām it became the fashion for the caliph, as exemplified by Yazīd II, to pass his time in the chase and over his wine cup and to be absorbed more in music and poetry than in the Koran and state affairs. The eunuch system, which made the harem institution possible, was now fully developed. Indulgence in luxury due to increased wealth and a superabundance of slaves was rife. Even the reigning family could no longer boast pure Arabian blood. Yazīd III (744) was the first caliph in Islam born of a slave mother.[1] His two successors were also sons of such freed women.[2] Such evils among

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1874; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 401; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 31-2. See below, p. 332.

[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 403, 404.

the ruling class were only too symptomatic of general moral turpitude. The characteristic vices of civilization, especially those involving wine, women and song, had seized upon the sons of the desert and were beginning to sap the vitality of the youthful Arab society.

Qays *versus* Yaman

The ancient and typical weakness of Arabian social life, with its over-emphasis on individualism, tribal spirit and feuds (*'aṣabīyah*), was again reasserting itself. Such bonds as Islam had temporarily provided for holding in check the centrifugal forces latent in social life organized on a large scale were now becoming loose. Beginning with 'Uthmān, the hitherto repressed family spirit began to assert itself.

North Arabian tribes had before Islam emigrated into al-'Irāq, where they established the Diyār Rabī'ah (the abode of the Rabī'ah tribe) along the Tigris, and the Diyār Muḍar (the abode of the Muḍar tribe) along the Euphrates. The first place among the banu-Muḍar was held by the Qays clan. Other tribes who had settled in Syria originally came from South Arabia and were therefore called Yamanites. In the Yamanite party of Syria the leading faction was the banu-Kalb. The Arabs of Khurāsān, the north-eastern province of Persia, were mainly colonists from al-Baṣrah and were therefore mostly North Arabians; the leading tribe there was Tamīm, corresponding to Qays in the Euphrates region. In Khurāsān the Yamanite party went by the appellation of Azdite, after the name of the leading family. In other regions the Qaysites were called Nizārites or Ma'addites.[1] But no matter what name these tribes went by the alignment was usually that of North Arabian against South Arabian tribes. Conscious of some deep-rooted racial distinction, the North Arabians, who traced their descent to Ishmael and styled themselves 'Adnāni, were never fully amalgamated with the South Arabians, who carried their pedigree back to Qaḥṭān, the Joktan of Genesis 10 : 25 *seq*. The Qaysites became in course of time the nucleus of one political party, and the Yamanites of another.

Mu'āwiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, raised his Syrian throne on Yamanite shoulders. His son and successor,

[1] On Arab tribes consult ibn-Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme* (Göttingen, 1852); and *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der arabischen Stämme* (Göttingen, 1853).

Yazīd, whose mother, Maysūn, belonged to the Kalbites of the Yamanite party, contracted a marriage with a Kalbite woman. The jealous Qaysites refused to recognize his successor, Mu'āwiyah II, and declared for the pseudo-caliph ibn-al-Zubayr. The decisive victory of the Kalbites over the Qaysites at Marj Rāhiṭ (684) secured the throne for Marwān, the father of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad house. Under al-Walīd I Qaysite power reached its culmination in al-Ḥajjāj and his cousin Muḥammad, the conqueror of India, and in Qutaybah, the subduer of Central Asia. Al-Walīd's brother Sulaymān favoured the Yamanites. Yazīd II, however, under the influence of his Muḍari mother patronized the Qaysite party, as did al-Walīd II; Yazīd III relied upon Yamani arms in wresting the sceptre from the hands of his predecessor, al-Walīd II. Thus did the caliph in the latter part of the Umayyad period appear to be rather the head of a particular party than the sovereign of a united empire.

The polarization of the Moslem world by this Arab dualism of Qays and Yaman, who also appear under other names, became now complete. It precipitated the downfall of the dynasty and its ill effects were manifest in years to come and in widely separated places. The district of Damascus itself was once the scene of relentless warfare for two years all because, as we are told,[1] a Ma'addite had filched a water-melon from a Yamanite's garden. In distant Murcia in Spain blood is said to have flowed for several years because a Muḍarite picked a vine leaf from the yard of a Yamanite.[2] Everywhere, in the capital as well as in the provinces, on the banks of the Indus, the shores of Sicily and the borders of the Sahara, the ancestral feud, transformed into an alignment of two political parties, one against the other, made itself felt. It proved a potent factor in ultimately arresting the progress of Moslem arms in France and in the decline of the Andalusian caliphate. In Lebanon and Palestine the issue seems to have remained a living one until modern times, for we know of pitched battles fought between the two parties as late as the early part of the eighteenth century.

The problem of succession

The lack of any definite and fixed rule of hereditary succession to the caliphal throne caused no small measure of national disturbance. Mu'āwiyah initiated the wise and far-sighted policy

[1] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 14.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, *Bayān*, vol. ii, p. 84.

of nominating his son as his successor, but the antiquated Arabian tribal principle of seniority in succession stood in constant conflict with the natural ambition of the ruling father to pass the sovereignty on to his son. Homage by the people became the only sure title to the throne. Of the fourteen Umayyad caliphs only four—Mu'āwiyah I, Yazīd I, Marwān I and 'Abd-al-Malik—had their sons as immediate successors. The already complicated problem was rendered more complicated by the precedent established when the founder of the Marwānid branch designated his son 'Abd-al-Malik as his successor, to be followed by his other son 'Abd-al-'Azīz.[1] Once in power, 'Abd-al-Malik did the natural thing: he tried to divert the succession from his brother 'Abd-al-'Azīz to his own son al-Walīd, in the meantime designating his other son, Sulaymān, as the second nominee.[2] Al-Walīd in his turn made an unsuccessful effort to deprive his brother Sulaymān of his right in favour of his own son. All these manœuvres were, of course, far from being conducive to the stability and continuity of the régime.

The partisans of 'Ali

The dissentient Shī'ites, who never acquiesced in the rule of the "Umayyad usurpers" and never forgave them the wrong they perpetrated against 'Ali and al-Ḥusayn, became now more active than ever. Their whole-hearted devotion to the descendants of the Prophet made them the focus of popular sympathy. To their camp rallied many of those who were dissatisfied politically, economically or socially with the rule of the banu-Umayyah. In al-'Irāq, where the majority of the population had by now become Shī'ah, opposition to Syrian rule, which arose originally out of the feeling that it deprived their country of its national independence, now took on a religious colour. In the Sunnite ranks themselves, the piétists charged the caliphs with worldliness and neglect of koranic and traditional law and were everywhere ready to give religious sanction to any opposition that might be raised.

'Abbāsid claimants

Still another destructive force was in operation. The 'Abbāsids, descendants of an uncle of the Prophet, al-'Abbās ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-Hāshim, began to press their claim to the throne. Cleverly they made common cause with the 'Alids by emphasizing the rights of the house of Hāshim. The Shī'ah regarded this family as consisting primarily of the descendants of 'Ali, but

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 306. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 334-5.

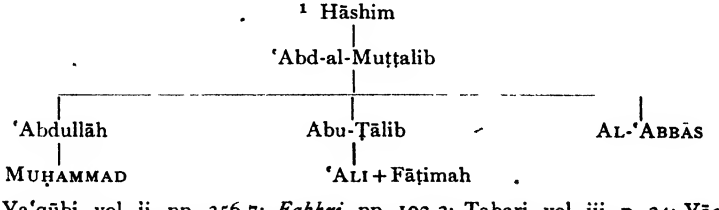
the ʿAbbāsids included themselves as members of the Hāshimite branch of the Quraysh and therefore closer to the Prophet than the banu-Umayyah.[1]

Taking advantage of the widespread discontent and posing as defenders of the true faith, the descendants of al-ʿAbbās soon became the champions and leaders of the anti-Umayyad movement. For their headquarters and seat of propaganda they chose a little village south of the Dead Sea, al-Ḥumaymah[2] by name, seemingly harmless and aloof from the rest of the world but in reality strategically close to the caravan route and the junction of the pilgrim roads. Here the stage was set for the earliest and most subtle propagandist movement in political Islam.

The Khurāsānians

Non-Arabian Moslems in general and Persian Moslems in particular had good reason for dissatisfaction. Far from being granted the expected economic and social equality with Arabian Moslems, they were instead generally reduced to the position of clients and were not always exempted from the capitation tax paid by non-Moslems. What made them more discontented was the consciousness that they represented a higher and more ancient culture, a fact acknowledged even by the Arabians themselves. It was among such discontented neophytes that the Shīʿite-ʿAbbāsid seed found fertile soil. From al-ʿIrāq, always loyal to the ʿAlid cause, the Shīʿah doctrine spread into Persia and struck root especially in the north-eastern province, Khurāsān, which was then much larger than now. In Persia the way had been somewhat prepared by the Azd-Muḍar feud perpetuated by the Arabs. But deeper forces were at work. Under the guise of Shīʿah Islam, Iranianism was revivifying itself.

The zero hour in the life of the Umayyad dynasty approached when a coalition was effected between the Shīʿite, Khurāsānian and ʿAbbāsid forces which was utilized by the last for their own



[2] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, pp. 356-7; *Fakhri*, pp. 192-3; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 34; Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 342; Musil, *Northern Heǧâz*, pp. 56-61 and map in pocket.

advantage. This coalition was headed by abu-al-'Abbās, a great-great-grandson of al-'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet. Under his leadership revolutionary Islam opposed the existing order with a feigned ideal of theocracy and a promise of return to orthodoxy. On June 9, 747, the long-meditated revolt broke out when the 'Abbāsid agent in Khurāsān, abu-Muslim, a Persian freedman of obscure origin,[1] unfurled the black banner, originally the standard of Muḥammad but now the 'Abbāsid emblem. At the head of the Azd (Yamani) tribe he entered the capital, Marw, but the majority of his adherents were Iranian peasants and clients rather than Arabs.[2] In vain did Naṣr ibn-Sayyār, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, appeal to Marwān II for aid. In a pathetic letter he had recourse to poetry.[3] But Marwān, though in personal energy and capacity superior to his immediate predecessors, made no response, for his hands were full with an uprising at home which had spread from Palestine to Ḥimṣ. It was the same old trouble between Qaysites and Yamanites which, exploited by ambitious aspirants to the caliphate, had assumed the proportions of civil war under his two predecessors Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm. Yazīd had made matters worse by espousing the Qadarite doctrine. Ibrāhīm headed the Yamanite party. Marwān II, favoured by the Qaysites, had committed the fatal mistake of transferring not only his residence but also the state bureaux to Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia, thus alienating the sympathies of all Syrians. Besides the Syrians, the mainstay of Umayyad power, the Khārijites of al-'Irāq—ever the deadly enemy of established order—were now in open rebellion.[4] In Spain the ancestral feuds were rending in pieces that western-most province of Islam. For three years the sexagenarian caliph, who previous to his accession had won the sobriquet Marwān al-Ḥimār (the ass) for his unfailing perseverance in warfare,[5] held the field against the Syrian and Khārijite insurgents and proved himself an able general. To him as the military organizer of these campaigns is ascribed the change from fighting in lines (*ṣufūf*), a practice hallowed by association with the Prophet's method of warfare, to that of cohorts (*karādīs*), small units more compact and at the same time more mobile. But it was too late

[1] Cf. *Fakhri*, p. 186. [2] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1953 *seq.*; Dīnawari, pp. 359 *seq.*
[3] *Fakhri*, p. 194; Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 251.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, pp. 1943-9. [5] *Fakhri*, p. 184.

for him to redeem the general situation. The sun of the banu-Umayyah was fast approaching its setting.

The fall of the capital of Khurāsān, Marw, was followed in 749 by the fall of the leading city of al-ʿIrāq, al-Kūfah, the hiding-place of abu-al-ʿAbbās, which surrendered to the insurgents without much opposition. Here on Thursday, October 30, 749, public homage was paid in the chief mosque to abu-al-ʿAbbās as caliph.[1] The first ʿAbbāsid caliph was thus enthroned. Everywhere the white banner of the Umayyads was in retreat before the black banner of the ʿAbbāsids and their confederates. Marwān resolved on a last, desperate stand. With 12,000[2] men he advanced from Ḥarrān and was met (January 750) on the left bank of the Greater Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, by the enemy forces headed by ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿAli, an uncle of the new caliph. The will to win and the expectation of victory were no longer on the side of the Syrian army and its defeat was decisive. After the battle of the Zāb Syria lay at the feet of the ʿAbbāsid victors. Its leading towns, one after the other, opened their gates to ʿAbdullāh and his Khurāsāni troops. Only at Damascus was it found necessary to lay siege, but the proud capital surrendered on April 26, 750, after a few days. From Palestine ʿAbdullāh sent a detachment in pursuit of the fugitive caliph, who was caught and killed (August 5, 750) outside a church in which he had sought refuge at Būṣīr[3] (Busiris) in Egypt, where his tomb is still pointed out. His head and, according to al-Masʿūdi,[4] the insignia of the caliphate were sent to abu-al-ʿAbbās.

The final blow

The ʿAbbāsids now embarked upon a policy of exterminating the Umayyad house. Their general ʿAbdullāh shrank from no measure necessary for wiping out the kindred enemy root and branch. On June 25, 750, he invited eighty of them to a banquet at abu-Fuṭrus, ancient Antipatris on the ʿAwjā' River near Jaffa, and in the course of the feast had them all cut down. After spreading leathern covers over the dead and dying he and his lieutenants continued their repast to the accompaniment of

[1] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, pp. 417-18; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 27-33; Masʿūdi, vol. vi, pp. 87, 98.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 47 (cf. p. 45). See above, p. 226.
[3] Also Abūṣīr, probably Būṣīr al-Malaq in the Fayyūm. Consult Sāwīrus ibn-al-Muqaffaʿ, *Siyar al-Baṭārikah al-Iskandarānīyīn*, ed. C. F. Seybold (Hamburg, 1912), pp. 181 *seq.*; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 49-50.
[4] Vol. vi, p. 77.

human groans.[1] Agents and spies were sent all over the Moslem world to hunt down fugitive scions of the fallen family, some of whom "sought refuge in the bowels of the earth".[2] The dramatic escape of the youthful 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Mu'āwiyah ibn-Hishām to Spain, where he succeeded in establishing a new and brilliant Umayyad dynasty, belongs to a later chapter. Even the dead were not to escape the ruthless chastisement meted out by the 'Abbāsids. The remains of the caliphs in Damascus, Qinnasrīn and other places were exhumed by 'Abdullāh and desecrated. The corpse of Sulaymān was dug out from Dābiq. That of Hishām was disentombed from al-Ruṣāfah, where it was found embalmed, and after being scourged eighty times was burned to ashes.[3] Only the tomb of the pious 'Umar II escaped violation.

With the fall of the Umayyads the glory of Syria passed away, its hegemony ended. The Syrians awoke too late to the realization that the centre of gravity in Islam had left their land and shifted eastward, and though they made several armed attempts to regain their former importance all proved futile. At last they set their hopes on an expected Sufyāni,[4] a sort of Messiah, to come and deliver them from the yoke of their 'Irāqi oppressors. To the present day one hears Moslems in Syria referring to a forthcoming descendant of Mu'āwiyah. But the Umayyad fall meant more than this. The truly Arab period in the history of Islam had now passed and the first purely Arab phase of the Islamic empire began to move rapidly toward its close. The 'Abbāsid government called itself *dawlah*,[5] new era, and a new era it was. The 'Irāqis felt freed from Syrian tutelage. The Shī'ites considered themselves avenged. The clients became emancipated. Al-Kūfah, on the border of Persia, was made the new capital. Khurāsānians formed the caliphal bodyguard and

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 425-6; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 76; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 329-30; Mubarrad, p. 707; *Aghāni*, vol. iv, p. 161; cf. *ibid.* pp. 92-6; *Fakhri*, pp. 203-4; Theophanes, p. 427. Compare the story of Jehu's extermination of Ahab's house (2 K. 9 : 14-34) and the destruction of the Mamlūks of Egypt by Muḥammad 'Ali (Jurji Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth*, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1925, vol. ii, pp. 160-62).

[2] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 120.

[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. v, p. 471; cf. Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 427-8. See *Fakhri*, p. 204.

[4] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1320; ibn-Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam wa-Ta'āqub al-Himam*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, vol. ii (Leyden, 1871), p. 526; Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 1000; *Aghāni*, vol. xvi, p. 88; H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirūt, 1930), pp. 391-408.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 85, ll. 16, 17, p. 115, l. 9.

Persians occupied the chief posts in the government. The original Arabian aristocracy was replaced by a hierarchy of officers drawn from the whole gamut of races under the caliphate. The old Arabian Moslems and the new foreign converts were beginning to coalesce and shade off into each other. Arabianism fell, but Islam continued, and under the guise of international Islam Iranianism marched triumphantly on.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE 'ABBĀSID DYNASTY

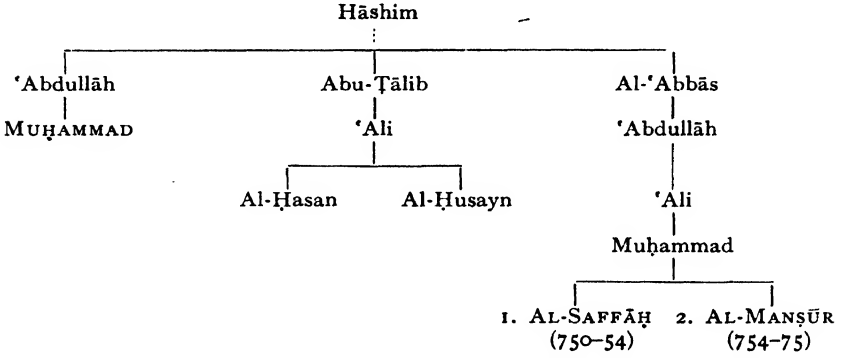
THE third act in the great political drama of Islam opens with the Caliph abu-al-'Abbās (750–54) playing the chief rôle. Al-'Irāq is the stage. In his inaugural *khuṭbah*, delivered the preceding year in the mosque of al-Kūfah, the first 'Abbāsid caliph referred to himself as *al-saffāḥ*,[1] the bloodshedder, which became his sobriquet. This was ominous, since the incoming dynasty, much more than the outgoing, depended upon force in the execution of its policies. For the first time in the history of Islam the leathern spread beside the caliph's seat, which served as a carpet for the use of the executioner, became a necessary adjunct of the imperial throne. This al-Saffāḥ became the founder of the most celebrated and longest-lived dynasty in Islam, the third, after the Orthodox (Rāshidūn) and the Umayyad. From 750 to 1258 the successors of abu-al-'Abbās reigned, though they did not always rule.

At the time of its achievement the 'Abbāsid victory was generally hailed as representing the substitution of the true conception of the caliphate, the idea of a theocratic state, for the purely secular state (*mulk*) of the Umayyads. As a mark of the religious character of his exalted office, the caliph now donned on such ceremonial occasions as the day of his accession and the time of the Friday prayer the mantle (*burdah*) once worn by his distant cousin, the Prophet.[2] He surrounded himself with men versed in canon law whom he patronized and whose advice on matters of state affairs he sought. The highly organized machinery for propaganda which helped to undermine public confidence in the Umayyad régime was now cleverly directed toward permanently entrenching the 'Abbāsids in public favour. From the very beginning the idea was cultivated that authority should

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 30, l. 20; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 316.

[2] The genealogical tree on the following page makes clear the relationship between the 'Abbāsids and Muḥammad.

remain forever in 'Abbāsid hands, to be finally delivered to Jesus (*'Īsa*), the Messiah.[1] Later the theory was promulgated that if this caliphate were destroyed the whole universe would be disorganized.[2] As a matter of fact the religious change was more apparent than real; although unlike his Umayyad predecessor he assumed piety and feigned religiosity, the Baghdād caliph proved as worldly-minded as he of Damascus whom he had displaced. In one respect there was a fundamental difference: the Umayyad empire was Arab, the 'Abbāsid was more inter-



Tree showing the relationship between the 'Abbāsids and Muḥammad

national. The 'Abbāsid was an empire of Neo-Moslems in which the Arabs formed only one of the many component races.

There were also other differences. For the first time in its history the caliphate was not coterminous with Islam. Spain and North Africa, 'Umān, Sind and even Khurāsān[3] did not fully acknowledge the new caliph. Egypt's acknowledgment was more nominal than real. Wāsiṭ, the Umayyad capital of al-'Irāq, held out for eleven months.[4] Syria was in constant turmoil, chiefly as a result of the outrages perpetrated against its royal house. The 'Abbāsid-'Alid alliance cemented solely by a feeling of common hatred toward a mighty foe could not long survive the overthrow of that foe. Those 'Alids who had naïvely thought the 'Abbāsids were fighting the battle for them were soon to be disillusioned.

Feeling insecure in the fickle and pro-'Alid Kūfah, al-Saffāḥ built a courtly residence, al-Hāshimīyah[5] (after Hāshim, an early

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 33; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 318.
[2] See below, p. 487. [3] Dīnawari, p. 373.
[4] Dīnawari, pp. 367-72; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 61-6; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 338.
[5] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 429; Dīnawari, pp. 372-3.

ancestor of the family), in al-Anbār.[1] Al-Kūfah's sister city, al-Baṣrah, was avoided for the same reason, also because of its southern situation, which made it unsuitable for a centre of a kingdom. In his newly erected capital al-Saffāḥ died (754) of smallpox in his early thirties.[2]

Al-Manṣūr, the real founder of the dynasty

His brother and successor, abu-Ja'far (754–75), who now assumed the honorific title al-Manṣūr (rendered victorious [by God]), proved one of the greatest, though most unscrupulous, of the 'Abbāsids. He, rather than al-Saffāḥ, was the one who firmly established the new dynasty. All the thirty-five caliphs who succeeded were his lineal descendants. His uncle 'Abdullāh, the hero of the Zāb and under al-Saffāḥ the governor of Syria, now disputed the caliphate with his nephew, but was defeated (November 754) by abu-Muslim at Niṣībīn (Nisibis). After seven years' imprisonment he was ceremoniously conducted into a house the foundations of which had been purposely laid on salt surrounded by water, which buried him under its ruins.[3] Immediately after the victory of Niṣībīn the turn of abu-Muslim himself came. On his way back to his province, Khurāsān, which he ruled almost independently, abu-Muslim was induced to turn aside from his march and visit the caliphal court. The Khurāsāni leader, to whose sword after that of 'Abdullāh the 'Abbāsids owed their throne, was attacked while having an audience with the caliph and treacherously put to death.[4] A curious new sect of Persian extremists, the Rāwandīyah, who tried to identify the caliph with God, were mercilessly put down (758).[5] The revolt of the disgruntled Shī'ah, headed by Ibrāhīm and by his brother Muḥammad, surnamed al-Nafs al-Zakīyah (the pure soul), the great-grandsons of al-Ḥasan,[6] was ruthlessly crushed. Muḥammad was killed and gibbeted (December 6, 762) in al-Madīnah; Ibrāhīm was decapitated (February 14, 763) near the unruly Kūfah and his head dispatched to the caliph.[7] To the irreconcilable 'Alids the 'Abbāsid caliphs were usurpers, the rightful caliphs, imāms, being the descendants of 'Ali and Fāṭimah.

[1] On the left bank of the Euphrates, in the north of al-'Irāq. The site is today quite waste.

[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 434; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 87-8.

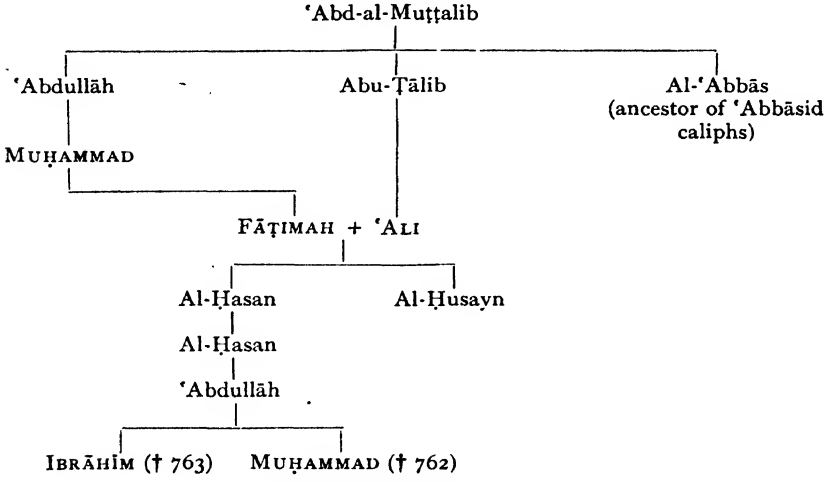
[3] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 330. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 105-17; Dīnawari, pp. 376-8.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 129-33; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 26, 54 *seq.*; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 37. Rāwand was a town near Iṣbahān.

[6] See genealogical tree on following page.

[7] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 245-65, 315-16; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 189-203; Dīnawari, p. 381.

The 'Alids never ceased to exercise a disruptive influence on the body politic of Islam, and persisted in claiming for their imāms a certain measure of hereditary wisdom derived from the Prophet, as well as a sort of special divine illumination. In Khurāsān the insurrection of Sunbād the Magian (755), who came out as the avenger of abu-Muslim, and that of Ustādhsīs (767–8), were quenched;[1] Persia, where strong national sentiments were interwoven with ancient Zoroastrian and Mazdakian religious ideas, was at least temporarily pacified. Thus was the greater part of the Islamic empire once more consolidated, with the



The descendants of 'Ali

exception of North Africa, where the caliph's authority did not extend much beyond al-Qayrawān, and of Spain, where the 'Abbāsid caliph found in the Umayyad 'Abd-al-Raḥmān (whose mother, like al-Manṣūr's,[2] was a Berber slave) more than his match.

With the domestic situation well in hand the baneful frontier wars with the eternal enemy to the west, the Byzantines, which had been carried on intermittently for over a century, were resumed in the nature of raids on neighbouring strongholds. The ruined border fortresses (*thughūr*) of Malaṭyah (Melitene) in Lesser Armenia and al-Maṣṣīṣah in Cilicia were restored.[3] Even

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 119-20, 354-8; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 441-2; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 368-9.

[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 436; ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 191.

[3] Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 238, l. 5.

the naphtha springs of Baku[1] were reached and a tax levied on them. Mountainous Ṭabaristān, south of the Caspian (Baḥr al-Khazar), where a family of high functionaries of the defunct Sāsānid empire had maintained a virtually independent rule, was now temporarily annexed.[2] On the Indian frontier Qandahār (al-Qunduhār), among other places, was reduced, and a statue of the Buddha found in it was demolished.[3] In fact, al-Manṣūr's lieutenants carried their raids as far as Kashmīr (Ar. Qashmīr), the rich and extensive valley of the north-west Himalaya. A fleet was dispatched (770) from al-Baṣrah to the delta of the Indus to chastise pirates who had ventured to plunder Juddah.

Dār al-Salām

In 762 al-Manṣūr, who had his residence at al-Hāshimīyah between al-Kūfah and al-Ḥīrah,[4] laid the foundation stone of his new capital, Baghdād, scene of the legendary adventures so brilliantly commemorated by Shahrazād in *The Thousand and One Nights*. The site was an ancient one occupied by a Sāsānid village of the same name,[5] meaning "given by God". Al-Manṣūr fixed on the site after canvassing a number of others "because", said he, "it is excellent as a military camp. Besides, here is the Tigris to put us in touch with lands as far as China and bring us all that the seas yield as well as the food products of Mesopotamia, Armenia and their environs. Then there is the Euphrates to carry for us all that Syria, al-Raqqah and adjacent lands have to offer."[6] In the construction of his city, completed in four years, al-Manṣūr spent some 4,883,000 dirhams[7] and employed about a hundred thousand architects, craftsmen and labourers drawn from Syria, Mesopotamia and other parts of the empire.[8]

Dār al-Salām (abode of peace), which was the official name given by al-Manṣūr to his city, lay on the west bank of the Tigris in that same valley which had furnished sites for some of the mightiest capitals of the ancient world. It was circular in form, whence the name the Round City (*al-mudawwarah*), with double brick walls, a deep moat and a third innermost wall rising

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. ii, p. 25; Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 477.
[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 446-7.
[3] Balādhuri, p. 445; Yāqūt, vol. iv, pp. 183-4; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 449.
[4] Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 237.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 235; Balādhuri, p. 294 = Hitti, p. 457.
[6] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 272.
[7] Al-Khaṭīb (al-Baghdādi), *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vol. i (Cairo, 1931), pp. 69-70; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 326; Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 683.
[8] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 276; Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 238; Khaṭīb, vol. i, pp. 66-7.

ninety feet and surrounding the central area. The walls had four equidistant gates from which four highways, starting from the centre of the circle, radiated like the spokes of a wheel to the four corners of the empire. The whole thus formed concentric circles with the caliphal palace, styled the Golden Gate (*bāb al-dhahab*) on account of its gilded entrance, or the Green Dome (*al-qubbah al-khaḍrā'*), as the hub. Beside the palace stood the great mosque. The dome of the audience chamber, after which the imperial palace was named, rose to a height of one hundred and thirty feet. Later tradition topped it by the figure of a mounted man holding a lance which in time of danger pointed the direction from which the enemy might be expected.[1] But Yāqūt, quick to detect the fallacy, remarks that the figure necessarily pointed always in some direction, which would mean the existence of a constant enemy threatening the city, and declares the Moslems "too intelligent to believe such fabrications".[2] The adjacent ruins of the Sāsānid capital, Ctesiphon, served as the main quarry for the new city and furnished the necessary building material, while brick was also made on the spot. Before his death al-Manṣūr built on the bank of the Tigris outside the walls another palace, Qaṣr al-Khuld (palace of eternity), so called because its gardens were supposed to rival those of Paradise (Koran 25 : 16-17), and farther north a third palace called al-Ruṣāfah (causeway), which was intended for the crown prince, the caliph's son al-Mahdi.

The horoscope under which al-Manṣūr started the building of this military post for himself, his family and his Khurāsānian bodyguard certainly proved fully as auspicious as predicted by the court astrologer.[3] In a few years the town grew into an emporium of trade and commerce and a political centre of the greatest international importance. As if called into existence by a magician's wand this city of al-Manṣūr fell heir to the power and prestige of Ctesiphon, Babylon, Nineveh, Ur and other capitals of the ancient Orient, attained a degree of prestige and splendour unrivalled in the Middle Ages, except perhaps by Constantinople, and after many vicissitudes was recently resuscitated as the capital of the new 'Irāqi kingdom under a truly Arabian king, Fayṣal.

[1] Khaṭīb, vol. i, p. 73. [2] Vol. i, p. 683.
[3] Yāqūt, vol. i, pp. 684-5; Khaṭīb, vol. i, pp. 67-8.

The new location opened the way for ideas from the East. Here the caliphs built up a government modelled on Sāsānid Chosroism. Arab Islam succumbed to Persian influence; the caliphate became more of a revival of Iranian despotism and less of an Arabian sheikhdom. Gradually Persian titles, Persian wines and wives, Persian mistresses, Persian songs, as well as Persian ideas and thoughts, won the day. Al-Manṣūr, we are told, was the first to adopt the characteristic Persian head-gear (pl. *qalānis*), in which he was naturally followed by his subjects.[1] Persian influence, it should be noted, softened the rough edges of the primitive Arabian life and paved the way for a new era distinguished by the cultivation of science and scholarly pursuits. In two fields only did the Arabian hold his own: Islam remained the religion of the state and Arabic continued to be the official language of the state registers.

A Persian vizirial family

Under al-Manṣūr the vizirate, a Persian office, appears for the first time in Islamic government. Khālid ibn-Barmak was the first incumbent of that high office.[2] Khālid's mother was a prisoner whom Qutaybah ibn-Muslim captured (705) in Balkh; his father was a *barmak*, i.e. chief priest, in a Buddhist monastery in the same place.[3] Khālid was on such intimate terms with al-Saffāḥ that his daughter was nursed by the wife of the former caliph, whose daughter was likewise nursed by Khālid's wife.[4] Early under the 'Abbāsid régime Khālid rose to the headship of the department of finance (*dīwān al-kharāj*). In 765 he received the governorship of Ṭabaristān, where he crushed a dangerous uprising.[5] In his old age he distinguished himself at the capture of a Byzantine fortress.[6] Though not actually a vizir,[7] a minister in the later sense of the term, this official of Persian origin seems to have acted on various occasions as counsellor for the caliph and became the founder of an illustrious family of vizirs.

On October 7, 775, al-Manṣūr died near Makkah while on a pilgrimage. He was over sixty years of age. One hundred graves were dug for him near the Holy City, but he was secretly interred in another which no enemy might find and desecrate.[8] He was a

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 371.
[2] Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 290, where *wazīr* for al-Hamdāni is probably used in same sense as in *sūr*. 20 : 30.
[3] Ibn-al-Faqīh, pp. 322-4; Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1181; Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 818.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 840.
[5] Ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 314.
[6] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 497.
[7] Cf. *Fakhri*, pp. 206, 211: Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 340; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 290.
[8] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 13.

slender, tall man, dark of complexion and thin-bearded.[1] Austere in nature and stern in manner, he stands in marked contrast to the type represented by his successors. But his policies continued for many generations to guide those who came after him just as those of Mu'āwiyah had guided the Umayyads.

To Khālid's son Yaḥya, al-Manṣūr's successor, al-Mahdi (775–85), entrusted the education of his son Hārūn. When Hārūn, following the brief reign of his brother al-Hādi (785–6), became caliph he appointed the Barmakid, whom he still respectfully called "father", as vizir with unrestricted power. Yaḥya, who died in 805, and his two sons al-Faḍl and Ja'far practically ruled the empire from 786 to 803.[2]

These Barmakids had their palaces in eastern Baghdād, where they lived in grand style. Here Ja'far's palace, al-Ja'fari, became the nucleus of a large group of magnificent residences later occupied by al-Ma'mūn and transformed into the Caliphal Palace (*dār al-khilāfah*). The buildings stood by the Tigris with spacious gardens behind enclosing many minor structures within their precincts. Fabulous fortunes were amassed by the members of the Barmakid family. Even what they saw fit to bestow on their clients, panegyrists and partisans was enough to make such protégés wealthy. Their generosity was proverbial. Even today in all the Arabic-speaking lands the word *barmaki* is used as a synonym of generous, and "as munificent as Ja'far"[3] is a simile that is everywhere well understood.

A number of canals,[4] mosques and other public works owe their existence to the initiative and munificence of the Barmakids. Al-Faḍl is credited with being the first in Islam to introduce the use of lamps in the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān. Ja'far acquired great fame for eloquence, literary ability and penmanship.[5] Chiefly because of him Arab historians regard the Barmakids as the founders of the class designated "people of the pen" (*ahl al-qalam*). But he was more than a man of letters. He was a leader of fashion, and the long neck which he possessed is said to have been responsible for the introduction of the custom of wearing high collars.[6] Ja'far's intimacy with the

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 391; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 14; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 341.
[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 520. [3] Consult ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 185 *seq.*
[4] See Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 645, ll. 18-19; Balādhuri, p. 363.
[5] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 843; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 361.
[6] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. iii, p. 201.

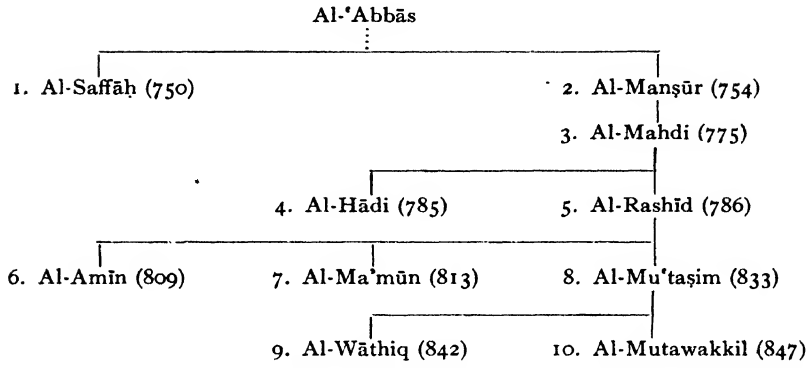
Caliph Hārūn was not pleasing to his father, Yaḥya, as it was suspiciously immoral.[1]

The time at last came for the caliph to rid himself of this Persian tutelage. The Shī'ite Barmakids were getting too powerful for the strong-willed Hārūn (786–809), in whose caliphal firmament there could not be two suns. First the thirty-seven-year-old Ja'far was slain in 803; his severed head was impaled on one bridge of Baghdād and the two halves of his body on the other two bridges.[2] The usual reason given by historians is that the caliph had allowed him, as a boon companion, to marry in name only his favourite sister, al-'Abbāsah, but discovered later while on a holy pilgrimage that she had secretly given birth to a son whom she concealed in Makkah.[3] The aged Yaḥya, together with his distinguished son al-Faḍl and his other two sons, were all apprehended and cast into prison. Both Yaḥya and al-Faḍl died in confinement. All the property of the family, said to have amounted to 30,676,000 (dinars) in cash exclusive of farms, palaces and furniture, was confiscated.[4] Thus the celebrated house founded by Khālid al-Barmaki fell, never to rise again.

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 674-6.
[2] *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 28; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 680.
[3] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 676-7; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 387-94; *Fakhri*, p. 288. Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, pp. 223-4; *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, pt. 3, pp. 306-8.
[4] *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 28.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GOLDEN PRIME OF THE 'ABBĀSIDS



THE 'Abbāsid dynasty, like others in Moslem history, attained its most brilliant period of political and intellectual life soon after its establishment. The Baghdād caliphate founded by al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr reached its prime in the period between the reigns of the third caliph, al-Mahdi, and the ninth, al-Wāthiq, more particularly in the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his son al-Ma'mūn. It was chiefly because of these two luminous caliphs that the 'Abbāsid dynasty acquired a halo in popular imagination and became the most celebrated in the history of Islam. The dictum quoted by the anthologist al-Tha'ālibi[1] († 1038) that of the 'Abbāsid caliphs "the opener" was al-Manṣūr, "the middler" was al-Ma'mūn and "the closer" was al-Mu'taḍid (892–902) is therefore not far from the historical truth. After al-Wāthiq the state starts on its downward course until under the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim, the thirty-seventh of the line, it meets its final destruction at the hands of the Mongols in 1258. An idea of the degree of power and glory and progress attained by the 'Abbāsid caliphate at its highest and best may be gained from a scrutiny of its foreign relations, a study of court and aristo-

[1] *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 71.

cratic life in its capital, Baghdād, and a survey of the unparalleled intellectual awakening that culminated under the patronage of al-Ma'mūn.

Relations with the Franks

The ninth century opened with two imperial names standing supreme in world affairs: Charlemagne in the West and Hārūn al-Rashīd in the East. Of the two Hārūn was undoubtedly the more powerful and represented the higher culture. The mutual friendly relations into which these two contemporaries entered were, of course, prompted by self-interest; Charlemagne cultivated Hārūn as a possible ally against hostile Byzantium and Hārūn desired to use Charlemagne against his rivals and deadly foes, the neighbouring Umayyads of Spain, who had succeeded in establishing a mighty and prosperous state. This reciprocity of cordial feelings found expression, according to Western writers, in the exchange of a number of embassies and presents. A Frankish author who knew Charlemagne personally and is sometimes referred to as his secretary relates that the envoys of the great king of the West returned home with rich gifts from "the king of Persia, Aaron", which included fabrics, aromatics and an elephant.[1] This account is based on the *Annales royales*,[2] which further speaks of an intricate clock as among the gifts from Baghdād. But the account of the pipe organ sent to Charlemagne by Hārūn, like many other charming bits of history, is fictitious. Its story is apparently based on a mistranslation of the term *clepsydra* in the sources, which in reality meant a device for measuring time by water and referred to the clock presented. Likewise the story of the keys of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre delivered by Hārūn's consent to Charlemagne has been discredited.[3]

The strange thing about this exchange of embassies and gifts, said to have taken place between 797 and 806, is the utter silence of Moslem authors regarding it. While reference is made to various other diplomatic exchanges and courtesies, none is made to this. The *'Iqd*[4] cites several cases of correspondence between Umayyad caliphs and Byzantine emperors and speaks of a delegation from "the king of India" which brought Hārūn

[1] Éginhard, *Vie de Charlemagne*, ed. and tr. L. Halphen (Paris, 1923), p. 47.

[2] "Annales regni Francorum", ed. G. H. Pertzii and F. Kurze in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 43 (Hanover, 1895), pp. 114, 123-4.

[3] See below, pp. 635-6. Cf. Louis Bréhier in *Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, Congrès français de Syrie. Séances et travaux*, fasc. 2 (1919), pp. 15-39.

[4] Vol. i, pp. 197-8.

valuable presents and was received with great pomp. Another source[1] states that Hārūn's son al-Ma'mūn received an especially rich gift from his contemporary "the king of the Romans", possibly Michael II.

With the Byzantines

The more-than-century-old struggle between the caliphate and the Byzantine empire was resumed by the third caliph, al-Mahdi (775–85), but the engagements were of less frequency and success. The internal conflicts that convulsed the Arab state and resulted in the transference of the capital to distant Baghdād had made it possible for Constantine V (741–75) to push the imperial border farther east along the entire boundary of Asia Minor and Armenia.[2] The Moslem line of frontier fortifications (*thughūr*) extending from Syria to Armenia retreated as the Byzantine line opposite advanced.

Al-Mahdi, the first 'Abbāsid caliph to resume the "holy war" against the Byzantines, initiated a brilliant and successful attack against the enemy capital itself. Hārūn, his young son and future successor, commanded the expedition. In 782[3] the Arab forces reached the Bosphorus,[4] if not Constantinople itself; and Irene, who held the regency in the name of her son Constantine VI, was forced to sue for peace and conclude a singularly humiliating treaty involving the payment of a tribute of 70,000 to 90,000 dinars in semi-annual instalments.[5] It was in the course of this campaign that Hārūn so distinguished himself that his father gave him the honorific title al-Rashīd (the straightforward or upright) and designated him the second heir apparent to the throne, after his elder brother Mūsa al-Hādi.

This proved the last time that a hostile Arab army stood before the walls of the proud capital. In all there were four distinct expeditions which reached Byzantium; the first three were sent under the Umayyads by Mu'āwiyah and by Sulaymān.[6] Of the four only two involved real sieges of the city: one by Yazīd (49/669) and the other by Maslamah (98/716). Turkish tradition,

[1] Kutubi, *Fawāt*, vol. i, p. 307, ll. 12-13.

[2] A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, tr. S. Ragozin, vol. i (Madison, 1928), p. 291; Charles Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, tr. G. B. Ives (Princeton, 1925), p. 55.

[3] *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*, pt. 3, p. 278, dates the expedition 163 (A.D. 780), Ya'qūbi (vol. ii, pp. 478, 486) 164 and Ṭabari (vol. iii, pp. 503-4) 165.

[4] Theophanes, who wrote in 813, says (p. 456) that Hārūn advanced as far as Chrysopolis, on the site of modern Scutari.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 504.

[6] See above, pp. 200 *seq.*

however, makes the sieges seven to nine in number, of which two are ascribed to Hārūn. In the *Arabian Nights* and other Arabic romances of chivalry the Moslem expeditions against Constantinople form the subject of themes highly coloured and developed during the period of the Crusades.

Irene (797–802), who had seized the throne and become "the first instance in Byzantine history of a woman who ruled with full authority of supreme power",[1] was succeeded by Nicephorus I[2] (802–11), who repudiated the terms of the treaty contracted by the empress and even demanded from the caliph, now al-Rashīd, the return of the tribute already paid. Inflamed with rage, al-Rashīd called for pen and ink and wrote on the back of the scornful epistle:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.
From Hārūn, the commander of the believers, to Nicephorus, the dog of a Roman.
Verily I have read thy letter, O son of an infidel mother. As for the answer it shall be for thine eye to see, not for thine ear to hear. Salam.[3]

True to his word, Hārūn started at once a series of campaigns directed from his favourite town of residence, al-Raqqah, situated beside the Euphrates and commanding the Syrian frontier. These expeditions ravaged Asia Minor and culminated in the capture of Heraclea (Ar. Hiraqlah) and Tyana (al-Ṭuwānah) in 806 and the imposition, in addition to the tribute, of an ignominious tax on the emperor himself and on each member of his household.[4] This event and date in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd may be taken as marking the topmost point ever reached by 'Abbāsid power.

After 806 there was only one serious attempt at securing a footing beyond the Taurus, and that by al-Mu'taṣim in 838. Though al-Mu'taṣim's huge army, "equipped as no caliph's army before had ever been equipped",[5] penetrated into the heart

[1] Vasiliev, vol. i, p. 287.

[2] Niqfūr of Arabic sources. He was of Arab origin; possibly a descendant of Jabalah the Ghassānid; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 695; Michel le Syrien, *Chronicle*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, vol. iii (Paris, 1905), p. 15. Irene, whom he dethroned, was the last of the Isaurian or Syrian dynasty (717–802) founded by Leo III (717–41), who with his successors headed the iconoclastic movement which bears traces of Moslem influence. Theophanes, p. 405, calls Leo "the Saracen-minded".

[3] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 696.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 696, 709-10; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 519, l. 14, p. 523, l. 2; Dīnawari, pp. 386-7; Mas'ūdi, vol. ii, pp. 337-52.

[5] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1236.

of "the land of the Romans" and temporarily occupied Amorium (Amorion, Ar. 'Ammūriyah), the birthplace of the founder of the then ruling dynasty,[1] the attempt on the whole was unsuccessful. The Arab forces expected to march upon Constantinople but returned on the receipt of alarming reports of a military conspiracy at home. The reigning emperor, Theophilus (829–42), so feared the loss of his capital that he dispatched envoys to Venice, to the Frankish king and to the Umayyad court in Spain soliciting aid. Theophilus had once before been threatened from the east when al-Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn, took the field in person but met his death (833) near Tarsus. After al-Mu'taṣim no serious offensive on the Arab side was ever undertaken. Those of his successors who sent armies across the border aimed at plunder rather than conquest. In no case did the collision assume significance or occur deep in the land. Yet throughout the ninth century the hostile contacts, though of minor importance, occurred with almost annual regularity on the eastern border-line. One Arab geographer[2] informs us that it was the practice then to make three raids each year: one in winter covering the end of February and the beginning of March, another in spring lasting thirty days from May 10, and a third in summer extending over a period of sixty days from July 10. Such raids served to keep the military forces in good trim and netted profitable spoils. But the original Arabian national motive, and to a large extent the religious impulse which figured in the early campaigns of Islam, had now become far less important factors. The internal weakening of the Moslem state was beginning to tell in its foreign relations. One of the petty dynasties, the Ḥamdānid in Aleppo, which arose about the middle of the tenth century at the expense of the caliphate, did take up the cudgels against Byzantium. But of that we shall hear later.

The glory that was Baghdād

History and legend unite in placing the most brilliant period of Baghdād during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809). Though less than half a century old, Baghdād had by that time grown from nothingness to a world centre of prodigious wealth and international significance, standing alone as the rival of Byzantium. Its splendour kept pace with the prosperity of the empire of which it was the capital. It was then

[1] Michel le Syrien, vol. iii, p. 72.

[2] Qudāmah, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1889), p. 259.

that Baghdād became "a city with no peer throughout the whole world".[1]

The royal palace with its many annexes for harems, eunuchs and special functionaries occupied one-third of the Round City. Particularly impressive was its audience chamber with its rugs, curtains and cushions, the best the Orient could produce. The caliph's cousin-wife, Zubaydah, who in tradition shares with her husband the halo of glory and distinction bestowed by later generations, would tolerate at her table no vessels not made of gold or silver and studded with gems. She set the fashion for the smart set and was the first to ornament her shoes with precious stones.[2] In one holy pilgrimage she is reported to have spent three million dinars, which included the expense of supplying Makkah with water from a spring twenty-five miles away.[3]

Zubaydah had a rival in the beauteous 'Ulayyah, daughter of al-Mahdi and half-sister of Hārūn, who to cover a blemish on her forehead devised a fillet set with jewels which, as the fillet *à la* 'Ulayyah, was soon adopted by the world of fashion as the ornament of the day.[4]

Especially on ceremonial occasions, such as the installation of the caliph, weddings, pilgrimages and receptions for foreign envoys, did the courtly wealth and magnificence find its fullest display. The marriage ceremony of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to the eighteen-year-old Būrān,[5] daughter of his vizir, al-Ḥasan ibn-Sahl, was celebrated in 825 with such fabulous expenditure of money that it has lived in Arabic literature as one of the unforgettable extravaganzas of the age. At the nuptials a thousand pearls of unique size, we are told, were showered from a gold tray upon the couple who sat on a golden mat studded with pearls and sapphires. A two-hundred-rotl candle of ambergris turned the night into day. Balls of musk, each containing a ticket naming an estate or a slave or some such gift, were showered on the royal princes and dignitaries.[6] In 917 the Caliph al-Muqtadir received in his palace with great ceremony and pomp the envoys of the young Constantine VII, whose mission evidently

[1] Khaṭīb, vol. i, p. 119.
[2] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 298-9.
[3] Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 337; Burckhardt, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 196.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. ix, p. 83.
[5] She was ten years old when betrothed to al-Ma'mūn; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 166.
[6] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1081-4; Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, pp. 65-6; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 279; Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, pp. 73-4; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 144-5.

involved the exchange and ransom of prisoners.[1] The caliphal array included 160,000 cavalry and footmen, 7000 black and white eunuchs and 700 chamberlains. In the parade a hundred lions marched, and in the caliphal palace hung 38,000 curtains, of which 12,500 were gilded, besides 22,000 rugs. The envoys were so struck with awe and admiration that they first mistook the chamberlain's office and then the vizir's for the royal audience chamber. Especially impressed were they with the Hall of the Tree (*dār al-shajarah*) which housed an artificial tree of gold and silver weighing 500,000 drams, in the branches of which were lodged birds of the same precious metals so constructed that they chirped by automatic devices. In the garden they marvelled at the artificially dwarfed palm trees which by skilled cultivation yielded dates of rare varieties.[2]

Like a magnet the princely munificence of Hārūn, the *beau idéal* of Islamic kingship, and of his immediate successors attracted to the capital poets, wits, musicians, singers, dancers, trainers of fighting dogs and cocks and others who could amuse, interest or entertain. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili, Siyāṭ and ibn-Jāmiʿ led the roster of musician-singers. The libertine poet abu-Nuwās, the boon companion of al-Rashīd and his comrade on many a nocturnal adventure, has depicted for us in unforgettable terms the colourful court life of this period of glory. The pages of *al-Aghāni* abound with illustrative anecdotes whose nucleus of truth is not hard to discern. According to one story the Caliph al-Amīn (809–13) one evening bestowed on his uncle Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi, a professional singer, the sum of 300,000 dinars for chanting a few verses of abu-Nuwās'. This raised the gratuities thus far received by Ibrāhīm from the caliph to 20,000,000 dirhams, all of which did not amount to more than the land tax of few districts.[3] Al-Amīn, of whom ibn-al-Athīr[4] found nothing praiseworthy to record, had a number of special barges shaped like animals built for his parties on the Tigris. One of these vessels looked like a dolphin, another like a lion, a third like an eagle; the cost of one was 3,000,000 dirhams.[5] We read in the *Aghāni*[6] of a picturesque all-night ballet conducted under the Caliph al-Amīn's personal direction in which a large number of

[1] Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 193.
[2] Khaṭīb, vol. i, pp. 100-105; abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 73; Yāqūt, vol. ii, pp. 520-21.
[3] *Aghāni*, vol. ix, p. 71. See below, p. 321.
[4] Vol. vi, p. 207.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 206; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 951-3.
[6] Vol. xvi, pp. 138-9.

beautiful girl dancers performed in rhythmic unison to the soft harmony of music and were joined in their singing by all those who attended. Al-Mas'ūdi[1] relates that on the occasion of a dinner given by Ibrāhīm in honour of his brother al-Rashīd, the caliph was served with a dish of fish in which the slices looked exceedingly small. In explanation the host remarked that the slices were fishes' tongues, and the waiter added that the cost of the hundred and fifty tongues in the dish was over a thousand dirhams. Even when stripped of the adventitious glow cast by Oriental romance and fancy, enough of the splendour of court life in Baghdād remains to arouse our astonishment.

Next to the royal master in high and luxurious living came the members of the 'Abbāsid family, the vizirs, officials, functionaries and other satellites of the imperial household. Members of the Hāshimite tribe, to which the 'Abbāsids belonged, received large regular stipends from the state treasury until the practice was discontinued by al-Mu'taṣim (833–42).[2] Al-Rashīd's mother, al-Khayzurān, is said to have had an income of 160,000,000 dirhams.[3] A certain Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān, whose property was confiscated on his death by al-Rashīd, left 50,000,000 dirhams in cash and a daily income of 100,000 dirhams from his real estate.[4] The scale on which the Barmakids lived could not have been much lower than that of the caliphal household itself. As for the humdrum life of the ordinary citizen in Baghdād and the feelings that surged in the breast of the common man, we find little in the sources with the possible exception of the poetical works of the ascetic abu-al-'Atāhiyah.

When al-Ma'mūn in 819, after six years of civil war with his elder brother al-Amīn (who had been designated to the successorship by their father) and with his uncle Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi, who also claimed the throne, made his victorious entry into Baghdād a large part of the city lay in ruins. We hear no more of the Round City. As caliph, al-Ma'mūn took up his abode in the Ja'fari palace, originally built for Ja'far al-Barmaki on the east side of the river. But it was not long before the town rose again to eminence as a commercial and intellectual centre. The natural successor to a long line of distinguished metropolitan towns which flourished in the Tigris-Euphrates valley beginning with

[1] Vol. vi, pp. 349-50.
[2] Cf. Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 16.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 289.
[4] *Ibid.*

Ur and Babylon and ending with Ctesiphon, the 'Abbāsid capital could not be easily suppressed. Its advantageous position as a shipping centre made all parts of the then charted world accessible to it. Along its miles of wharves lay hundreds of vessels, including ships of war and pleasure craft and varying from Chinese junks to native rafts of inflated sheepskins, not unlike those of our present day, which were floated down from al-Mawṣil. Into the bazaars of the city came porcelain, silk and musk from China; spices, minerals and dyes from India and the Malay Archipelago; rubies, lapis lazuli, fabrics and slaves from the lands of the Turks in Central Asia; honey, wax, furs and white slaves from Scandinavia and Russia; ivory, gold dust and black slaves from eastern Africa. Chinese wares had a special bazaar devoted to their sale. The provinces of the empire itself sent by caravan or sea their domestic products: rice, grain and linen from Egypt; glass, metal ware and fruits from Syria; brocade, pearls and weapons from Arabia; silks, perfumes and vegetables from Persia.[1] Communication between the east and west sides of the city was assured by three main pontoon bridges like the Baghdād bridges of today. Al-Khaṭīb[2] devotes a section of his history to the bridges of Baghdād and another to its canals (*anhār*). From Baghdād and other export centres Arab merchants shipped to the Far East, Europe and Africa fabrics, jewellery, metal mirrors, glass beads, spices, etc.[3] The hoards of Arab coins recently found in places as far north as Russia, Finland,[4] Sweden and Germany testify to the world-wide commercial activity of the Moslems of this and the later period. The adventures of Sindbād the Sailor, which form one of the best-known tales in *The Thousand and One Nights*, have long been recognized as based upon actual reports of voyages made by Moslem merchants.

Merchants played a leading part in the Baghdād community. Members of each craft and trade had their shops in the same market (*sūq*),[5] as in the present day. The monotony of street life was interrupted from time to time by the occasional passage of a wedding or circumcision procession. Professional men—physicians, lawyers, teachers, writers and the like—began to occupy a conspicuous place under the patronage of al-Ma'mūn.

[1] Consult Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate, passim*. See below, pp. 343, 351.
[2] Vol. i, pp. 111-17.
[3] See below, pp. 345 *seq*.
[4] The museum at Helsinki contains many such coins.
[5] Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 246.

By the time al-Nadīm composed (988) his monumental *al-Fihrist*, a sort of catalogue of existing Arabic works, there were abundant manuscripts dealing even with such subjects as hypnotism, jugglery, sword-swallowing and glass-chewing.[1] Ibn-Khallikān[2] has fortunately left us a cross section of the daily routine of a member of the learned fraternity, Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq, which indicates that scholarship had a considerable market value in those days. We are first shown Ḥunayn, after his daily ride, at the public bath, where attendants poured water over him. On emerging he put on a lounging-robe, sipped a drink, ate a biscuit and lay down, sometimes falling asleep. The siesta over, he burned perfume to fumigate his person and ordered a dinner which generally consisted of soup, fattened chicken and bread. Then he resumed his sleep and on waking drank four rotls of old wine, to which he added quinces and Syrian apples if he felt the desire for fresh fruits.

Intellectual awakening

The victory of Moslem arms under al-Mahdi and al-Rashīd over the inveterate Byzantine enemy undoubtedly shed its lustre on this period, the luxurious scale of living made this period popular in history and in fiction, but what has rendered this age especially illustrious in world annals is the fact that it witnessed the most momentous intellectual awakening in the history of Islam and one of the most significant in the whole history of thought and culture. The awakening was due in a large measure to foreign influences, partly Indo-Persian and Syrian but mainly Hellenic, and was marked by translations into Arabic from Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac and Greek. Starting with very little science, philosophy or literature of his own, the Arabian Moslem, who brought with him from the desert a keen sense of intellectual curiosity, a voracious appetite for learning and many latent faculties, soon became, as we have learned before, the beneficiary and heir of the older and more cultured peoples whom he conquered or encountered. As in Syria he adopted the already existing Aramaic civilization, itself influenced by the later Greek, so did he in al-ʿIrāq adopt the same civilization influenced by the Persian. In three-quarters of a century after the establishment of Baghdād the Arabic-reading world was in possession of the chief philosophical works of Aristotle, of the leading Neo-Platonic commentators, and of most of the medical writings of Galen, as well

[1] P. 312. [2] Vol. i, p. 298.

as of Persian and Indian scientific works.[1] In only a few decades Arab scholars assimilated what had taken the Greeks centuries to develop. In absorbing the main features of both Hellenic and Persian cultures Islam, to be sure, lost most of its own original character, which breathed the spirit of the desert and bore the stamp of Arabian nationalism, but it thereby took an important place in the medieval cultural unit which linked southern Europe with the Near East. This culture, it should be remembered, was fed by a single stream, a stream with sources in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Phoenicia and Judaea, all flowing to Greece and now returning to the East in the form of Hellenism. We shall later see how this same stream was re-diverted into Europe by the Arabs in Spain and Sicily, whence it helped create the Renaissance of Europe.

India acted as an early source of inspiration, especially in wisdom literature and mathematics. About A.H. 154 (771) an Indian traveller introduced into Baghdād a treatise on astronomy, a *Siddhānta* (Ar. *Sindhind*), which by order of al-Manṣūr was translated by Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Fazāri († between 796 and 806), who subsequently became the first astronomer in Islam.[2] The stars had of course interested the Arabians since desert days, but no scientific study of them was undertaken until this time. Islam added its impetus to the study of astronomy as a means for fixing the direction in which prayer should be conducted Ka'bah-ward. The famous al-Khwārizmi († *ca.* 850) based his widely known astronomical tables (*zīj*) on al-Fazāri's work and syncretized the Indian and Greek systems of astronomy, at the same time adding his own contribution. Among other translations of astronomical works at this period were those from Persian into Arabic by al-Faḍl ibn-Nawbakht[3] († *ca.* 815), the chief librarian of al-Rashīd.[4] India

This same Indian traveller had also brought a treatise on mathematics by means of which the numerals called in Europe

[1] Since the latter part of the nineteenth century the modern Arab Orient has been passing through a similar period of translation, mainly from French and English.

[2] Ṣā'id ibn-Aḥmad (al-Qāḍi al-Andalusi), *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. L. Cheikho (Beirūt, 1912), pp. 49-50; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. vi, p. 268; Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 290-91.

[3] Pers. *nawbakht*, good luck. Many members of this family distinguished themselves in the science of the stars. Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 317, 318 (where the name occurs as Nībakht or Naybakht), 1364.

[4] *Fihrist*, p. 274.

Arabic and by the Arabs Indian (*Hindī*) entered the Moslem world.[1] Later, in the ninth century, the Indians made another important contribution to Arabic mathematical science, the decimal system.

Persia

Except in the arts and *belles-lettres* Persia did not have much that was original to contribute. The esthetic temperament of its Iranian population was a sorely needed element in the cultural life of the Semitic Arabians. Next to the artistic, the literary—rather than the scientific or philosophical—was the influence most clearly felt from Persia. The earliest literary work in Arabic that has come down to us is *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* (fables of Bidpai), a translation from Pahlawi (Middle Persian) which was itself a rendition from Sanskrit. The original work was brought to Persia from India, together with the game of chess, in the reign of Anūsharwān (531–78). What gives the Arabic version special significance is the fact that the Persian was lost, as was the Sanskrit original, though the material in an expanded form can still be found in the *Panchatantra*. The Arabic version therefore became the basis of all existing translations into some forty languages, including, besides European tongues, Hebrew, Turkish, Ethiopic, Icelandic and Malay. This book, intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal fables, was done into Arabic by ibn-al-Muqaffa',[2] a Zoroastrian convert to Islam whose suspect orthodoxy brought about his death by fire *ca.* 757.

Ibn-al-Muqaffa''s translation was in itself a stylistic work of art, and ever since the 'Abbāsid age Arabic prose has borne the impress of Persian style in its extravagant elegance, colourful imagery and flowery expression. The ancient Arabic style with its virile, pointed and terse form of expression was replaced to a large extent by the polished and affected diction of the Sāsānid period. Such Arabic literary works as *al-Aghāni*, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* and al-Ṭurṭūshi's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*[3] teem with references to earlier Indo-Persian sources, especially when dealing with etiquette, wisdom, polity and history. Arabic historiography, as we shall see, was modelled after Persian patterns.

[1] See below, pp. 573 *seq.*

[2] For printed editions of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* see Sylvester de Sacy's (Paris, 1816), reprinted in Būlāq, 1249; Khalīl al-Yāziji's 2nd ed. (Beirūt, 1888); L. Cheikho's (Beirūt, 1905). On ibn-al-Muqaffa' consult *Fihrist*, p. 118; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 266-9.

[3] Published in Cairo, 1289, 1306, etc.

In 765 the Caliph al-Manṣūr, afflicted with a stomach disease which had baffled his physicians, summoned from Jundi-Shāpūr[1] the dean of its hospital, the Nestorian Jūrjīs[2] (George) ibn-Bakhtīshū' († *ca.* 771). Jundi-Shāpūr was noted for its academy of medicine and philosophy founded about 555 by the great Anūsharwān. The science of the institution was based on the ancient Greek tradition, but the language of instruction was Aramaic. Jūrjīs soon won the confidence of the caliph and became the court physician, though he retained his Christian faith. Invited by the caliph to embrace Islam his retort was that he preferred the company of his fathers, be they in heaven or in hell.[3] Ibn-Bakhtīshū' became in Baghdād the founder of a brilliant family which for six or seven generations, covering a period of two centuries and a half, with many ups and downs, exercised an almost continuous monopoly over the court medical practice. Scientific lore in those days, like jewellery-making and other forms of craftsmanship, was considered an exclusive family affair and transmitted from father to son. Jūrjīs' son Bakhtīshū' († 801) was chief physician of the Baghdād hospital under al-Rashīd. Bakhtīshū''s son Jibrīl (Gabriel), who successfully treated a favourite slave of al-Rashīd for hysterical paralysis by pretending to disrobe her in public, was appointed the caliph's private physician in 805.[4]

Hellenism

At the time of the Arab conquest of the Fertile Crescent the intellectual legacy of Greece was unquestionably the most precious treasure at hand. Hellenism consequently became the most vital of all foreign influences in Arab life. Edessa (al-Ruhā'), the principal centre of Christian Syrians; Ḥarrān, the headquarters of the heathen Syrians who in and after the ninth century claimed to be Ṣābians (Ar. Ṣābi'ah or Ṣābi'ūn);[5] Antioch, one of the many ancient Greek colonies; Alexandria, the meeting-place of Occidental and Oriental philosophy; and the numberless cloisters of Syria and Mesopotamia where not only ecclesiastical

[1] Ar. Jundaysābūr. The city, founded by the Sāsānid Shāpūr I, whence the name, which may mean "conquered by Shāpūr", stood on the site of the modern village Shāhābād in Khūzistān, south-western Persia.

[2] Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 296; ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 213-15. "Bakht", which ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah (vol. i, p. 125) takes for a Syriac word meaning "servant", is for Pahlawi *bōkht*, "hath delivered", making the family name mean "Jesus hath delivered".

[3] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 215, copied by ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 125.

[4] Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 226-7; Qifṭi, pp. 134-5.

[5] See below, p. 357.

but scientific and philosophic studies were cultivated, all served as centres radiating Hellenistic stimuli. The various raids into "the land of the Romans", particularly under Hārūn, resulted in the introduction, among other objects of booty, of Greek manuscripts, chiefly from Amorium and Ancyra[1] (Ankara). Al-Ma'mūn is credited with the dispatch of emissaries as far as Constantinople, to the Emperor Leo the Armenian himself, in quest of Greek works. Even al-Manṣūr is said to have received in response to his request from the Byzantine emperor a number of books, including Euclid.[2] But the Arabians knew no Greek and had at first to depend upon translations made by their subjects, Jewish, heathen and more particularly Nestorian Christian. These Syrian Nestorians, who translated first into Syriac and then from Syriac into Arabic, thus became the strongest link between Hellenism and Islam and consequently the earliest Oriental purveyors of Greek culture to the world at large. Before Hellenism could find access to the Arab mind it had to pass through a Syriac version.

The apogee of Greek influence was reached under al-Ma'mūn. The rationalistic tendencies of this caliph and his espousal of the Mu'tazilite cause, which maintained that religious texts should agree with the judgments of reason, led him to seek justification for his position in the philosophical works of the Greeks. The way the *Fihrist*[3] expresses it is that Aristotle appeared to him in a dream and assured him that there was no real difference between reason and religious law. In pursuance of his policy al-Ma'mūn in 830 established in Baghdād his famous Bayt al-Ḥikmah (house of wisdom), a combination library, academy and translation bureau which in many respects proved the most important educational institution since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B.C. Down to this time sporadic translation work had been done independently by Christians, Jews and recent converts to Islam. Beginning with al-Ma'mūn and continuing under his immediate successors the work was centred mainly in the newly founded academy. The 'Abbāsid era of translation lasted about a century after 750. Since most of the translators were Aramaic-speaking many of the Greek works were first done into Aramaic (Syriac)

[1] Ar. Anqirah; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 486.
[2] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 401. [3] P. 243.

before their rendition into Arabic. In the case of many difficult passages in the original the translation was made word by word, and where no Arabic equivalent was found or known the Greek term was simply transliterated with some adaptation.[1]

The translators into Arabic did not interest themselves in Greek productions of the literary type. No close contact was therefore established between the Arab mind and Greek drama, Greek poetry and Greek history. In that field Persian influence remained paramount. Homer's Iliad was partially translated by Thāwafīl (Theophilus) ibn-Tūma of al-Ruhā' († 785),[2] the Maronite astrologer of al-Mahdi, but the impression it left in its Arabic garb seems to have been nil; the translation did not even survive. It was first Greek medicine as represented by Galen († *ca.* A.D. 200) and Paul of Aegina (fl. *ca.* A.D. 650),[3] Greek mathematics and allied sciences for which Euclid (fl. *ca.* 300 B.C.) and Ptolemy (fl. first half of second Christian century) stood, Greek philosophy as originated by Plato and Aristotle and expounded by later Neo-Platonists, that served as the starting-point of this voyage of intellectual discovery.

Translators

One of the pioneer translators from Greek was abu-Yaḥya ibn-al-Baṭrīq († between 796 and 806), who is credited with having translated for al-Manṣūr the major works of Galen and Hippocrates (fl. *ca.* 436 B.C.) and for another patron Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*.[4] The *Elements* of Euclid and the *Almagest*, Arabic *al-Majisṭi* or *al-Mijisṭi* (originally from Gr. *megistē*, greatest), the great astronomical work of Ptolemy,[5] may have also been translated about the same time if a report in al-Mas'ūdi[6] is correct. But evidently all these early translations were not properly done and had to be revised or remade under al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. Another early translator was the Syrian Christian Yūḥanna (Yaḥya) ibn-Māsawayh[7] († 857), a pupil of Jibrīl

[1] Hence such Arabic words as *arithmāṭīqi* (arithmetic), *jūmaṭrīya* (geometry), *jighrāfīyah* (geography), *mūsīqi* (music), *falsafah* (philosophy), *asṭurlāb* (astrolabe), *athīr* (ether), *iksīr* (elixir), *ibrīz* (pure gold), *maghnaṭīs* (magnet), *urghun* (organ). Consult abu-'Abdullāh al-Khwārizmi, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten (Leyden, 1895), index; *Fihrist, passim; Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, ed. Khayr-al-Dīn al-Zirikli (Cairo, 1928), *passim*.

[2] Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 41, 220.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 176.

[4] *Fihrist*, p. 273.

[5] Ya'qūbi, vol. i, pp. 150-51.

[6] Vol. viii, p. 291. Cf. below, pp. 314-15.

[7] Latin Mesuë (Mesua), or Mesuë Major (the Elder) to distinguish him from Mesuë the Younger (Māsawayh al-Māridīni), the Jacobite physician who flourished at the court of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in Cairo and died in 1015.

ibn-Bakhtīshū' and a teacher of Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq, who is said to have translated for al-Rashīd certain manuscripts, mainly medical, which the caliph had brought back from Ancyra and Amorium.[1] Yūḥanna served also under the successors of al-Rashīd. Once when offended by a court favourite his retort was, "If the folly wherewith thou art afflicted were converted into intelligence and divided amongst a hundred beetles, each would then become more intelligent than Aristotle!"[2]

Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq

The sheikh of the translators, as the Arabs express it, was Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq (Joannitius, 809–73), one of the greatest scholars and noblest characters of the age. Ḥunayn was an 'Ibādi, i.e. a Nestorian Christian from al-Ḥīrah, and as a youth acted as dispenser to the physician ibn-Māsawayh. Taking as a challenge a chiding remark by the master that the people of al-Ḥīrah had no business with medicine and that he had better go and change money in the bazaar,[3] the lad left the service of ibn-Māsawayh in tears, but intent upon the study of Greek. He was then sent by the three scholarly sons of Mūsa ibn-Shākir, who were carrying on independent research work, into various Greek-speaking lands in quest of manuscripts, and later entered the service of Jibrīl ibn-Bakhtīshū', physician-in-ordinary to al-Ma'mūn. Subsequently this caliph appointed Ḥunayn superintendent of his library-academy, and in this capacity Ḥunayn had charge of all the scientific translation work, in which he enjoyed the collaboration of his son Isḥāq[4] and his nephew Ḥubaysh ibn-al-Ḥasan,[5] whom he trained. Of the numerous works ascribed to him some should undoubtedly be credited to these two assistants and to other students and members of his school, such as 'Īsa ibn-Yaḥya[6] and Mūsa ibn-Khālid.[7] In many cases Ḥunayn evidently did the initial translation from Greek into Syriac and his colleagues took the second step and translated from Syriac into Arabic.[8] Aristotle's *Hermeneutica*, for instance, was first done from Greek into Syriac by the father

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 227; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 175 *seq.*; Qifṭi, p. 380.
[2] *Fihrist*, p. 295.
[3] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 250; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 185.
[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 116 = de Slane, vol. i, pp. 187-8.
[5] Nicknamed al-A'sam, because of a lame hand. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 187, 203; *Fihrist*, p. 297; ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 252.
[6] *Fihrist*, p. 297.
[7] He also translated from Persian into Arabic, *ibid.* p. 244, l. 28.
[8] *Fihrist*, p. 249.

and then from Syriac into Arabic by the son Isḥāq, who was the better Arabist[1] and who became the greatest translator of Aristotle's works. Among other books in Arabic Ḥunayn is supposed to have prepared translations of Galen, Hippocrates and Dioscorides (fl. *ca.* A.D. 50) as well as of Plato's *Republic* (*Siyāsah*)[2] and Aristotle's *Categories* (*Maqūlāt*),[3] *Physics* (*Ṭabī'īyāt*) and *Magna Moralia* (*Khulqīyāt*).[4] Among these his chief work was the rendition into Syriac and Arabic of almost all of Galen's scientific output.[5] Seven books of Galen's anatomy, lost in the original Greek, have luckily been preserved in Arabic.[6] Ḥunayn's Arabic version of the Old Testament from the Greek Septuagint[7] did not survive.

Ḥunayn's ability as a translator may be attested by the report that when in the service of the sons of ibn-Shākir he and other translators received about 500 dinars (about £250) per month and that al-Ma'mūn paid him in gold the weight of the books he translated. But he reached the summit of his glory not only as a translator but as a practitioner when he was appointed by al-Mutawakkil (847–61) as his private physician. His patron, however, once committed him to jail for a year for refusing the offer of rich rewards to concoct a poison for an enemy. When brought again before the caliph and threatened with death his reply was, "I have skill only in what is beneficial, and have studied naught else".[8] Asked by the caliph, who then claimed that he was simply testing his physician's integrity, as to what prevented him from preparing the deadly poison, Ḥunayn replied:

> Two things: my religion and my profession. My religion decrees that we should do good even to our enemies, how much more to our friends. And my profession is instituted for the benefit of humanity and limited to their relief and cure. Besides, every physician is under oath never to give anyone a deadly medicine.[9]

Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq al-'Ibādi was judged by ibn-al-'Ibri and al-Qifṭi "a source of science and a mine of virtue", and by

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 298, copied by Qifṭi, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 246, l. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 248.
[4] Qifṭi, pp. 38, 42.
[5] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 188-9; Qifṭi, pp. 94-5.
[6] For a MS. of another work, *al-Ṣinā'ah al-Ṣaghīrah*, comprising ten of the sixteen canonical works of Galen and dated 572 (A.D. 1176), see Hitti, Faris and 'Abd-al-Malik, *Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1938), no. 1075.
[7] Qifṭi, p. 99.
[8] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 187-8; ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 251.
[9] Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 251-2.

Leclerc "la plus grande figure du IXe siècle", and even "une des plus belles intelligences et un des plus beaux caractères que l'on rencontre dans l'histoire".[1]

Thābit ibn-Qurrah

Just as Ḥunayn stood at the head of the Nestorian group of translators, so did Thābit ibn-Qurrah[2] (*ca.* 836–901) lead another group, recruited from among the heathen Ṣābians[3] of Ḥarrān (ancient Carrhae). These Ṣābians were star-worshippers and as such had interested themselves in astronomy and mathematics from time immemorial. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil their native town became the seat of a school of philosophy and medicine which had been previously transferred from Alexandria to Antioch. In this milieu Thābit and his disciples flourished. They are credited with having translated the bulk of the Greek mathematical and astronomical works, including those of Archimedes († 212 B.C.) and of Apollonius of Perga (b. *ca.* 262 B.C.).[4] They also improved on earlier translations. The translation of Euclid by Ḥunayn, for example, was revised by Thābit.[5] Thābit found a patron in the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (892–902), whose personal friend and table companion he soon became.[6] In his great work Thābit was succeeded by his two sons Ibrāhīm and Sinān († 943), his two grandsons Thābit († 973)[7] and Ibrāhīm († 946)[8] and one great-grandson, abu-al-Faraj,[9] all of whom distinguished themselves as scientists. But the greatest Ṣābian name after Thābit's was that of al-Battāni († 929, the Albategnius or Albatenius of Latin authors), whose first name, abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad (ibn-Jābir ibn-Sinān), indicates his conversion to Islam. Al-Battāni's fame, however, rests on his original work as an astronomer, as he was not a translator.

The Ḥarrānian school of mathematical and astronomical translators had as its forerunners al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Maṭar (fl. between 786 and 833), generally credited with making the first translation of Euclid's *Elements* and one of the first of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Of the former work he evidently prepared two versions, one for al-Rashīd and the other for al-Ma'mūn,[10]

[1] L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (Paris, 1876), vol. i, p. 139.
[2] His *al-Dhakhīrah fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb* was edited by G. Sobhy (Cairo, 1928).
[3] In reality pseudo-Ṣābians. See below, p. 358.
[4] *Fihrist*, p. 267.
[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 177, 298.
[6] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 216.
[7] *Ibid.* pp. 224-6.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 226; Qifṭi, pp. 57-9; *Fihrist*, p. 272.
[9] Qifṭi, p. 428.
[10] *Fihrist*, p. 265.

before Ḥunayn prepared his. Al-Ḥajjāj's version of the notable astronomical work *Almagest* was made in 829–30 from an earlier Syriac version. The first attempt at the *Almagest* had been made as early as the days of Yaḥya ibn-Khālid ibn-Barmak,[1] al-Rashīd's vizir, but the result was not satisfactory. A later adaptation of this work was undertaken by abu-al-Wafā' Muḥammad al-Būzjāni al-Ḥāsib[2] (940–97 or 998), one of the greatest Moslem astronomers and mathematicians. Another late translator of mathematical and philosophical works was Qusṭa ibn-Lūqa († *ca.* 923), a Christian of Ba'labakk, whose list of original works in the *Fihrist*[3] numbers thirty-four.

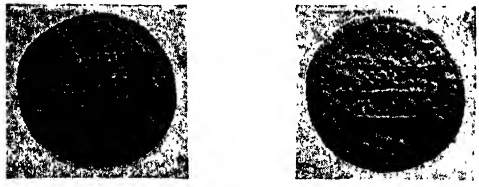
The latter part of the tenth century saw the rise of Jacobite, or Monophysite, translators represented by Yaḥya ibn-'Adi, who was born in Takrīt in 893 and died in Baghdād in 974, and abu-'Ali 'Īsa ibn-Zur'ah of Baghdād († 1008).[4] Yaḥya, who became the archbishop of his church, declared once to the author of the *Fihrist*[5] that he copied in a day and a night an average of a hundred leaves. The Jacobite authors busied themselves with the revision of existing editions of Aristotelian works or the preparation of fresh translations thereof. They were, moreover, the chief influence in introducing Neo-Platonic speculations and mysticism into the Arabic world.

Before the age of translation was brought to an end practically all the extant works of Aristotle, many of which were of course spurious, had become accessible to the Arabic reader. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah,[6] and after him al-Qifṭi,[7] cite no less than a hundred works attributed to "the philosopher of the Greeks". All this took place while Europe was almost totally ignorant of Greek thought and science. For while in the East al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn were delving into Greek and Persian philosophy their contemporaries in the West, Charlemagne and his lords, were dabbling in the art of writing their names. Aristotle's logical *Organon*, which in Arabic included Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as well as Porphyry's *Isagoge*, soon took its place side by side with Arabic grammar as the basis of humanistic studies in Islam. This position it has maintained to the present day.

[1] *Fihrist*, pp. 267-8. Cf. above, p. 311.
[2] Būzjān in Qūhistān was his birthplace; *ḥāsib* means "mathematician".
[3] P. 295. Cf. Qifṭi, pp. 262-3.
[4] *Fihrist*, p. 264; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 235-6; Qifṭi, pp. 245-6.
[5] P. 264. [6] Vol. i, pp. 57 *seq.* [7] Pp. 34 *seq.*

Moslems accepted the idea of Neo-Platonic commentators that the teachings of Aristotle and Plato (Aflāṭūn) were substantially the same. Especially in Sufism, Moslem mysticism, did the influence of Neo-Platonism manifest itself. Through Avicenna (ibn-Sīna) and Averroës (ibn-Rushd), as we shall later see, Platonism and Aristotelianism found their way into Latin and exercised a determining influence upon medieval European scholasticism.

This long and fruitful age of translation under the early 'Abbāsids was followed by one of original contribution which we shall discuss in a later chapter. By the tenth century Arabic, which in pre-Islamic days was only a language of poetry and after Muḥammad mainly a language of revelation and religion, had become metamorphosed in a remarkable and unprecedented way into a pliant medium for expressing scientific thought and conveying philosophic ideas of the highest order. In the meantime it had established itself as the language of diplomacy and polite intercourse from Central Asia, through the whole length of Northern Africa, to Spain. Ever since that time the peoples of al-'Irāq, Syria and Palestine as well as of Egypt, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco have expressed their best thought in the tongue of the Arabians.



British Museum
From H. W. C. Davis, "Mediæval England" (Clarendon Press)

ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COIN IMITATING AN ARAB DINAR OF THE YEAR 157 (A.D. 774)

It bears on the obverse the *shahādah* and on the reverse OFFA REX inscribed upside down

CHAPTER XXV

THE 'ABBĀSID STATE

AT the head of the state stood the caliph, who was, in theory at least, the fountainhead of all power. He could and did delegate the exercise of his civil authority to a vizir (*wazīr*), of his judicial power to a judge (*qāḍi*), of his military function to a general (*amīr*), but the caliph himself ever remained the final arbiter of all governmental affairs. In their imperial conduct and function the early caliphs of Baghdād followed the older Persian pattern. Taking advantage of the popular reaction against the ungodliness of the later Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids made their début with emphasis on the religious character and dignity of their office as an imāmate, an emphasis which in later years increased in inverse proportion to their actual power. With the eighth caliph, al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh (833–42), and continuing till the end of the dynasty, they began to assume honorific titles compounded with *Allāh*. In the period of decline their subjects started to shower on them such extravagant titles as *khalīfat Allāh* (God's caliph) and later *ẓill Allāh 'ala al-arḍ* (God's shadow on earth). These were evidently first bestowed on al-Mutawakkil (847–61),[1] and persisted until the last days of the Ottoman caliphate. The 'Abbāsid caliph

The ill-defined hereditary principle of succession instituted by the Umayyad caliphs was followed throughout the 'Abbāsid régime with the same evil results. The reigning caliph would designate as his successor that one of his sons whom he favoured or considered competent, or any of his kinsmen whom he regarded as best qualified. Al-Saffāḥ nominated his brother al-Manṣūr, who was succeeded by his son al-Mahdi.[2] Al-Mahdi was succeeded by his eldest son, al-Hādi, who was followed by his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd.[3] Hārūn designated his oldest son, al-Amīn, as his first successor, and his younger but more talented

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, p. 278.
[2] See Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 437 *seq.*, 472 *seq.*; *Fakhri*, p. 236.
[3] *Fakhri*, pp. 261-2; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 523.

son, al-Ma'mūn, as his second successor. He divided the empire between the two, reserving for al-Ma'mūn the government of Khurāsān with Marw (Marv) for his capital.[1] After a bitter struggle which ended in the assassination of al-Amīn (September 813), al-Ma'mūn usurped the caliphate. Four years later, when he donned the green of the Shī'ah in preference to the black of the 'Abbāsids and designated an 'Alid, 'Ali al-Riḍa, as heir apparent, the enraged Baghdādis elected (July 817) al-Ma'mūn's uncle Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi as caliph. Not until 819, six years after the death of his predecessor, did al-Ma'mūn succeed in effecting an entry into the capital of the empire. Shortly before his death al-Ma'mūn, ignoring his son al-'Abbās, designated his brother al-Mu'taṣim as his successor, thus almost precipitating a revolt on the part of the army, with whom the son was a special favourite. Al-Mu'taṣim was followed by his son al-Wāthiq († 847), with whom the period of 'Abbāsid glory ended. Of the first twenty-four caliphs, whose reign covered almost two centuries and a half (750–991), only six were immediately succeeded by a son.

Attached to the person of the caliph was the chamberlain (*ḥājib*), whose duty consisted in introducing accredited envoys and dignitaries into the caliphal presence and whose influence naturally became great. There was also the executioner, an outstanding figure in the Baghdād court. Vaulted underground chambers used for torture appear for the first time in Arab history. The court astrologer, like the executioner an importation from Persia, became an indispensable adjunct of the 'Abbāsid throne.

Vizir

Next to the caliph stood the vizir (*wazīr*), whose office was of Persian origin.[2] The vizir acted as the caliph's *alter ego* and grew in power as his chief indulged increasingly in the pleasures of the harem. In the diploma appointing his vizir the Caliph al-Nāṣir (1180–1225) has given a perfect expression to the theory of "divine right" of kingship working by proxy:

> Muḥammad ibn-Barz al-Qummi is our representative throughout the land and amongst our subjects. Therefore he who obeys him obeys us; and he who obeys us obeys God, and God shall cause him who obeys Him to enter Paradise. As for the one who, on the other hand, disobeys

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 500 *seq.*; *Fakhri*, p. 292; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 345.
[2] Cf. ibn-al-'Abbās, *Āthār al-Uwal fi Tartīb al-Duwal* (Cairo, 1295), p. 62.

our vizir, he disobeys us; and he who disobeys us disobeys God, and God shall cause him who disobeys Him to enter hell-fire.[1]

As in the case of the Barmakids the vizir was often all-powerful, appointing and deposing governors and judges, theoretically, of course, with the consent of the caliph, and even transmitting his own office according to the hereditary principle. It was customary for the vizir to confiscate the property of the governor who fell from grace, as it was customary for the governor himself to appropriate the estates of inferior officials and private citizens and for the caliph in his turn to mete out the same penalty to the deposed vizir.[2] Indeed, the forfeiture of possessions was often accompanied by loss of life. Finally a special "bureau of confiscation"[3] was instituted as a regular governmental department. In the days of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid the vizir received a monthly salary of a thousand dinars. Al-Māwardi[4] and other legal theorists distinguish between two varieties of vizirate: a *tafwīḍ* (with full authority, unlimited) and a *tanfīdh* (with executive power only, limited). The unlimited vizir exercised all the powers of sovereignty with the exception of the appointment of his successor; the limited vizir took no initiative but confined his duties to the execution of the caliph's orders and the following of his instructions. After the time of al-Muqtadir (908–32) the vizir was supplanted by the *amīr al-umarā'*, commander of the commanders, an office which was subsequently held by the Buwayhids.

Bureau of taxes

The vizir, in reality grand vizir, presided over the council, whose membership included the various heads of the departments of state. Sometimes those heads were also designated vizirs, but their rank was always subordinate to that of the real vizir. Under the 'Abbāsids the governmental machinery became much more complicated than heretofore, though greater order was brought into state affairs, especially in the system of taxation and the administration of justice. Since finances constituted the main concern of the government the bureau of taxes (*dīwān al-kharāj*), or department of finance, remained, as under the Umayyads, the most important unit; its chief, often referred to

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 205.
[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 19-20.
[3] Cf. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Tuḥfat al-Umarā' fi Ta'rīkh al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirūt, 1904), p. 306.
[4] Pp. 33-47.

as "master of taxes", continued to be an outstanding figure in the government of the caliph.

The sources of revenue for the state included zakāh, the only legal tax obligatory on every Moslem. Zakāh was imposed on arable lands, herds, gold and silver, commercial wares and other forms of property capable of augmentation through natural increase or by investment. Moslems, as we learned before, paid no poll tax. The official tax-gatherer looked after lands, herds and the like, but personal effects, including gold and silver, were left to the individual's private conscience. All money collected from believers was disbursed from the central treasury for the benefit of believers: the poor, the orphan, the stranger, volunteers for the holy war and slaves and captives to be ransomed. The other main sources of public income were tribute from foreign enemies, truce money, capitation tax from non-Moslem subjects (*jizyah*), land tax (*kharāj*)[1] and tithes levied upon merchandise owned by non-Moslems and imported into Moslem territory. Of these items the land tax was always the largest and constituted the main source of income from unbelievers. All this revenue was at this time referred to as *fay'* (cf. Koran 59 : 7) and applied by the caliph to the payment of the troops, the maintenance of mosques, roads and bridges and for the general good of the Moslem community.[2]

The varying reports of the state revenue that have come down to us from the 'Abbāsid period testify to great prosperity during the first century of the régime, which made it possible for the caliphs to live on the grand scale described above, and to a steady decline in revenue during each succeeding century. Three such reports have been preserved for us: the oldest, in ibn-Khaldūn, showing the income under al-Ma'mūn; the second, in Qudāmah, for the revenue a few years later, possibly under al-Mu'taṣim; and the third, in ibn-Khurdādhbih, indicating the proceeds in the first half of the third Moslem century. According to ibn-Khaldūn[3] the

[1] By this time the differentiation between *jizyah* and *kharāj* had been clearly made. See above, p. 171. In later times the *jizyah* corresponded to *al-badal al-'askari* (scutage), which the Ottomans exacted from their non-Moslem subjects for exemption from military service.

[2] Māwardi, pp. 366 *seq.*

[3] *Muqaddamah*, pp. 150-51. Cf. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i, p. 376; Alfred von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, vol. i (Vienna, 1875), pp. 356 *seq.* It is obvious that ibn-Khaldūn's list, like the other two, is neither clear nor accurate.

annual land tax paid by al-Sawād (lower 'Irāq, ancient Babylonia) in cash, other than what was paid in kind, amounted in the days of al-Ma'mūn to 27,800,000 dirhams; by Khurāsān, 28,000,000; by Egypt, 23,040,000; by Syria-Palestine,[1] 14,724,000; and by all the provinces of the empire, 331,929,008 dirhams exclusive of taxes in kind. From Qudāmah's[2] balance-sheet it may be gathered that the income in both cash and kind from al-Sawād was equivalent to 130,200,000 dirhams;[3] from Khurāsān, 37,000,000; from Egypt, including Alexandria, 37,500,000; from Syria-Palestine, including Ḥimṣ, 15,860,000; and from the whole empire, 388,291,350 dirhams, which includes taxes in kind. Ibn-Khurdādhbih[4] lists a number of items from which we may calculate that the tax of al-Sawād in cash and kind was the equivalent of 78,319,340 dirhams;[5] of Khurāsān and dependencies, 44,846,000; of Syria-Palestine,[6] 29,850,000; and of the whole empire, 299,265,340.[7] As for the expenditures, we have no sufficient data in the scattered references to warrant definite conclusions. But we are told that when al-Manṣūr died the central treasury contained 600,000,000 dirhams and 14,000,000 dinars;[8] when al-Rashīd died it had over 900,000,000,[9] and at the death of al-Muktafi (908) the public treasures including jewellery, furniture and real estate amounted to 100,000,000 dinars.[10]

Other governmental bureaux

Besides the bureau of taxes the 'Abbāsid government had an audit or accounts office (*dīwān al-zimām*) introduced by al-Mahdi; a board of correspondence or chancery office (*dīwān al-tawqī'*) which handled all official letters, political documents and imperial mandates and diplomas; a board for the inspection of grievances; a police department and a postal department.

The board for the inspection of grievances (*dīwān al-naẓar fi al-maẓālim*) was a kind of court of appeal or supreme court intended to set aright cases of miscarriage of justice in the

[1] Qinnasrīn, Damascus, the Jordan and Palestine, the taxes of which are given as 1,227,000 dinars.

[2] *Kharāj*, pp. 237-52.

[3] In cash alone 8,095,800 dirhams; Qudāmah, pp. 249, 239. As a matter of fact he gives different figures in different places and on his lists the totals do not tally with the itemized statements.

[4] *Passim*.

[5] In cash alone about 8,456,840 dirhams; ibn-Khurdādhbih, pp. 5 *seq*.

[6] Qinnasrīn and other frontier towns, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, the Jordan and Palestine.

[7] Zaydān, *Tamaddun*, vol. ii, p. 61. Cf. Huart, vol. i, p. 376.

[8] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 233.

[9] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 764.

[10] Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 72.

administrative and political departments. Its origin goes back to the Umayyad days, for al-Māwardi[1] tells us that 'Abd-al-Malik was the first caliph to devote a special day for the direct hearing by himself of appeals and complaints made by his subjects. 'Umar II zealously followed the precedent.[2] This practice was evidently introduced by al-Mahdi into the 'Abbāsid régime. His successors al-Hādi, Hārūn, al-Ma'mūn and those who followed received such complaints in public audience; al-Muhtadi (869–70) was the last to keep up the custom. The Norman king Roger II (1130–54) introduced this institution into Sicily, where it struck root in European soil.[3]

The police department (*dīwān al-shurṭah*) was headed by a high official designated *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*, who acted as chief of police and the royal bodyguard and in later times occasionally held the rank of vizir. Each large city had its own special police who also held military rank and were as a rule well paid. The chief of municipal police was called *muḥtasib*, for he acted as overseer of markets and morals. It was his duty to see that proper weights and measures were used in trade, that legitimate debts were paid (though he had no judicial power), that approved morals were maintained and that acts forbidden by law, such as gambling, usury and public sale of wine, were not committed. Al-Māwardi[4] enumerates, among other interesting duties of this prefect of police, the maintenance of the recognized standards of public morality between the two sexes and the chastisement of those who dyed their grey beards black with a view to gaining the favour of the ladies.

A significant feature of the 'Abbāsid government was the postal department,[5] of which the chief was called *ṣāḥib al-barīd*. Among the Umayyads Mu'āwiyah, as we have already learned, was the first to interest himself in the postal service, 'Abd-al-Malik extended it throughout the empire and al-Walīd made use of it for his building operations. Historians credit Hārūn with

[1] P. 131. Cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. i, p. 46.

[2] Māwardi, p. 131. Cf. Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 367. Consult al-Bayhaqi, *al-Maḥāsin w-al-Masāwi'*, ed. F. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), pp. 525 *seq.*

[3] M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. Nallino, vol. iii (Catania, 1937–9), p. 452; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 420.

[4] Pp. 417-18, 431.

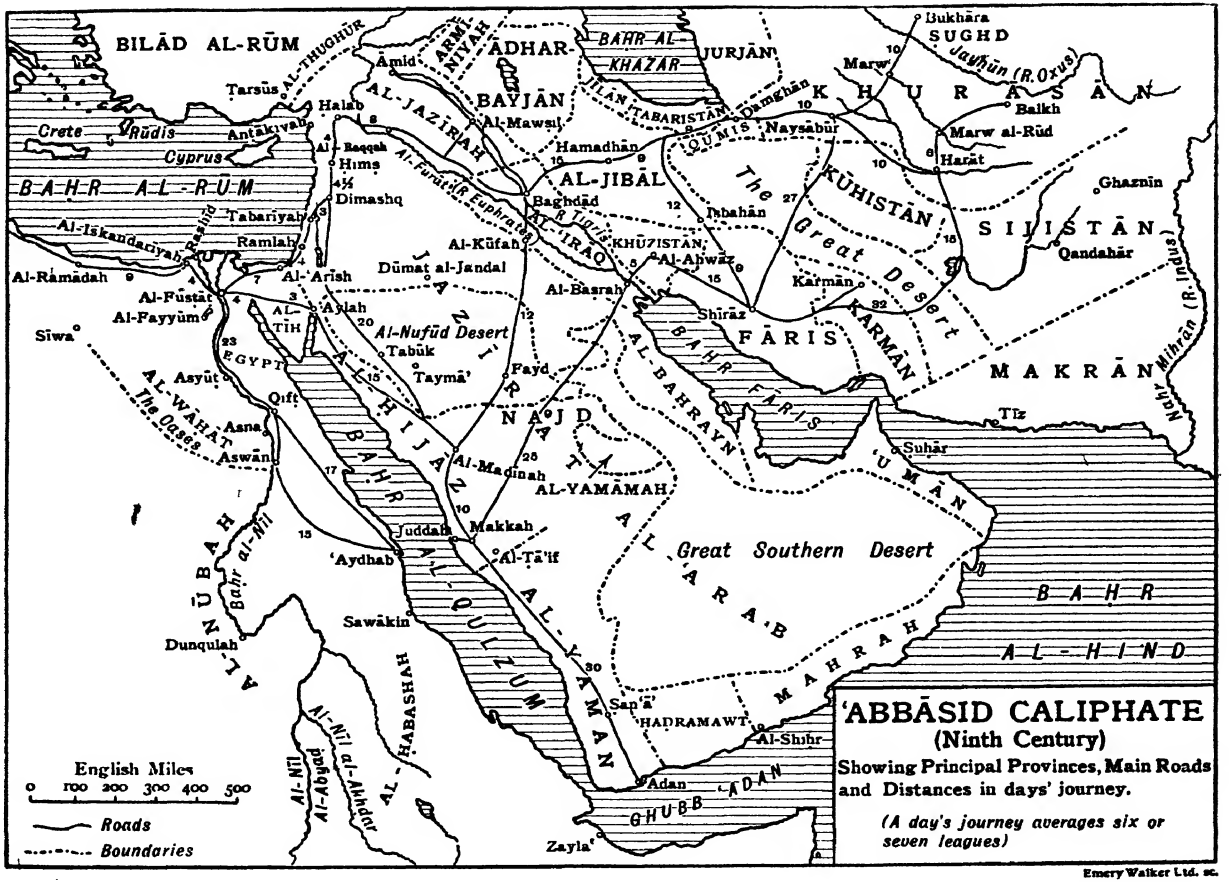
[5] *Dīwān al-barīd*, bureau of post. Ar. *barīd* is a Semitic word not related to Latin *veredus*; cf. Pers. *birdan*, a swift horse, Ar. *birdhawn*, horse of burden. Cf. Esth. 8 : 10; Iṣfahāni, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 39.

having organized the service on a new basis through his Barmakid counsellor Yaḥya. Though primarily designed to serve the interests of the state, the postal institution did in a limited way handle private correspondence.[1] Each provincial capital was provided with a post office. Routes connected the imperial capital with the leading centres of the empire[2] and systems of relays covered these routes. In all there must have been hundreds of such relay routes. In Persia the relays consisted of mules and horses; in Syria and Arabia camels were used.[3] The *barīd* was also employed for the conveyance of newly appointed governors to their respective provinces and for the transportation of troops with their baggage.[4] The public could make use of it on the payment of a substantial sum.

Pigeons were trained and used as letter-carriers. The first recorded instance relates to the news of the capture of the rebel Bābik, chief of the Khurrami[5] sect, carried to al-Mu'taṣim by this method in 837.[6]

The postal headquarters in Baghdād had itineraries of the whole empire indicating the various stations and the intervening distances. These itineraries assisted travellers, merchants and pilgrims and laid the basis of later geographical research. Early Arab students of geography made use of such postal directories in the composition of their works. One of the leaders among them, ibn-Khurdādhbih († *ca.* 912), whose *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, based on material in the state archives, proved an important source for historical topography, was himself *ṣāḥib al-barīd* for the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in al-Jibāl (ancient Media). This elaborate road system which radiated from the imperial capital was an inheritance from the earlier Persian empire. In it the most famous of the trunk roads was the Khurāsān highway, which stretched north-east through Hamadhān, al-Rayy, Naysābūr, Ṭūs, Marw, Bukhāra, Samarqand, and connected Baghdād with the frontier towns of the Jaxartes and the borders of China. From the principal cities along this highway cross-roads branched off north and south. To the present day the Persian post roads

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 93, ll. 5-6.
[2] Ibn-Khurdādhbih, *passim*.
[3] Cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 49, ll. 11-12.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. iv, pp. 373-4.
[5] So called from a district in Persia where the sect evidently arose as a result of the execution of the famous abu-Muslim al-Khurāsāni. Some of them denied that abu-Muslim was dead and foretold his return to spread justice in the world. Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 186; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 162 *seq.*; *Fihrist*, p. 342.
[6] Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, pp. 126-7.



'ABBĀSID CALIPHATE
(Ninth Century)

Showing Principal Provinces, Main Roads and Distances in days' journey.

(A day's journey averages six or seven leagues)

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

centring in Ṭihrān (Teheran), near ancient al-Rayy, follow the same old tracks. Another main road led from Baghdād down the Tigris through Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah to al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān and thence to Shīrāz in Fāris. Likewise this road sent off east and west branches which connected its towns with other centres of population and ultimately with the Khurāsān trunk. These roads were frequented by pilgrims, who from Baghdād could take the pilgrim route to Makkah through al-Kūfah or al-Baṣrah. For the benefit of pilgrims and travellers caravanserais, hospices and cisterns dotted the main roads. Such khāns along the Khurāsān road were built as early as the days of 'Umar II.[1] A third highway linked Baghdād with al-Mawṣil, Āmid (Diyār-Bakr) and the frontier fortresses. On the north-west Baghdād was connected with Damascus and other Syrian towns through al-Anbār and al-Raqqah.

The postmaster-general had another important function besides looking after the imperial mail and supervising the various postal establishments; he was the chief of an espionage system to which the whole postal service was subordinated. As such his full title was *ṣāḥib al-barīd w-al-akhbār*,[2] controller of the post and intelligence service. In this capacity he acted as an inspector-general and direct confidential agent of the central government. The provincial postmaster reported to him or to the caliph directly on the conduct and activities of the government officials in his province, not excluding the governor himself. Such a report, submitted to al-Mutawakkil against a governor of Baghdād who brought back with him from a pilgrimage to Makkah a beautiful slave girl "with whom he amuses himself from noon till night to the neglect of the affairs of the state", has come down to us in a late source.[3] Al-Manṣūr employed in his espionage system merchants, pedlars and travellers who acted as detectives; al-Rashīd and other caliphs did the same.[4] Al-Ma'mūn is said to have had in his intelligence service in Baghdād some 1700 aged women. Especially was "the land of the Romans" covered with 'Abbāsid spies of both sexes disguised as traders, travellers and physicians.

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 44; Nawawi, *Tahdhīb*, p. 468, l. 16.
[2] Qudāmah, p. 184.
[3] Atlīdi, *I'lām al-Nās* (Cairo, 1297), p. 161.
[4] Cf. *Aghāni*, vol. xv, p. 36, l. 14; Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, pp. 234, 466, 498, 512, 514, 567.

Judicial administration

The dispensing of justice, always considered in Moslem communities a religious duty, was entrusted by the ʿAbbāsid caliph or his vizir to a member of the *faqīh* (theologian) class, who thus became a *qāḍi*,[1] or if in Baghdād a *qāḍi al-quḍāh* (chief judge). The first to receive the title of *qāḍi al-quḍāh* was the famous abu-Yūsuf († *ca.* 798), who served under al-Mahdi and his two sons al-Hādi and Hārūn.[2] The judge, according to the theory of Moslem law, had to be male, adult, in full possession of his mental faculties, a free citizen, Moslem in faith, irreproachable in character, sound of sight and hearing and well versed in the prescriptions of law,[3] all of which was of course canon law. Non-Moslems, as noted before, were in matters of civil right under the jurisdiction of their own ecclesiastical heads or magistrates. Al-Māwardi [4] distinguishes between two types of judgeship: one in which the authority is general and absolute (*ʿāmmah muṭlaqah*) and the other in which the authority is special and limited (*khāṣṣah*). The chief duties of the qāḍi of the first class consisted in deciding cases, acting as guardian for orphans, lunatics and minors, administering pious foundations, imposing punishments on violators of the religious law, appointing judicial deputies (sing. *nāʾib*) in the various provinces and presiding under certain conditions at the Friday congregational prayers. In the early history of the institution the provincial judges held their appointment from the governors, but in the fourth Moslem century those judges were usually deputies of the chief qāḍi in Baghdād. Under al-Maʾmūn the pay of the judge of Egypt is said by a late authority [5] to have reached 4000 dirhams a month. The judge of the second class, one with special and limited authority, had his power restricted in accordance with the diploma of appointment from the caliph, vizir or governor.[6]

Military organization

The Arab caliphate never maintained a large standing army in the strict sense of the term, well organized, under strict discipline and subject to regular instruction and drill. The caliphal bodyguard (*ḥaras*) were almost the only regular troops and formed the nucleus around which clustered bands under

[1] Transliterated in at least thirteen different ways, six of which occur in official British documents: *qadi, qazi, kazi, cadi, al-kali, kathi.*

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 334 = de Slane, vol. iv, p. 273.

[3] Māwardi, pp. 107-11.

[4] Pp. 117-25.

[5] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 100, l. 4.

[6] Consult Richard Gottheil in *Revue des études ethnographiques* (1908), pp. 385-93.

their own chiefs, besides mercenaries and adventurers, and general levies of which the units were tribes or districts. The regulars (*jund*) who were permanently on active service were referred to as *murtaziqah* (regularly paid), for they were in the pay of the government. Others were designated *mutaṭawwiʿah*[1] (volunteers) and received rations only while on duty. The volunteer ranks were recruited from among the Bedouins as well as from the peasants and townspeople. Members of the bodyguard received higher pay and were equipped with better armour and uniforms. In the reign of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph the average pay of the foot soldier was, besides the usual rations and allowances, about 960 dirhams a year,[2] the horseman receiving double that amount. Under al-Maʾmūn, when the empire reached its height, the ʿIrāq army is said to have numbered 125,000, of whom the infantry received only 240 dirhams a year[3] and the cavalry twice as much. And when it is remembered that al-Manṣūr paid his master builder at the founding of Baghdād the equivalent of about a dirham a day and the ordinary labourer about a third of a dirham,[4] it becomes clear how comparatively well paid the military career was.

The regulars under the early ʿAbbāsids were composed of infantry (*ḥarbīyah*)[5] armed with spears, swords and shields, of archers (*rāmiyah*) and of cavalry (*fursān*) wearing helmets and breast-plates and equipped with long lances and battle-axes. Al-Mutawakkil introduced the practice of wearing the sword in the Persian fashion round the waist in preference to the old Arabian way of carrying it over the shoulder.[6] Each corps of archers had attached to it a body of naphtha-throwers (*naffāṭūn*) who wore fireproof suits and hurled incendiary material at the enemy.[7] Engineers in charge of the siege machinery, including catapults, mangonels and battering-rams, accompanied the army. One such engineer, ibn-Ṣābir al-Manjanīqi, who flourished

[1] Or *muṭṭawwiʿah*, Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1008 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 260.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 41, ll. 17-18, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 322, ll. 14-15.

[3] When al-Maʾmūn was fighting his brother he had to restore the standard 960 dirhams, which sum was likewise paid by his brother. Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 830, ll. 7-8, p. 867, l. 14.

[4] Khaṭīb, vol. i, p. 70; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 326.

[5] Mentioned by Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 998 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 238, l. 17, p. 245, ll. 23, 26.

[6] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 275.

[7] *Aghāni*, vol. xvii, p. 45; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 260, l. 20.

later under al-Nāṣir (1180–1225), left an unfinished book which treats of the art of warfare in all its details.[1] Field hospitals and ambulances in the shape of litters carried by camels accompanied the army when in the field. As usual, Hārūn is the caliph credited with introducing these features and pressing science into the service of warfare.

During the ʿAbbāsid régime, which, as we have seen before, owed its rise to Persian rather than Arab arms, the Arabian element lost its military, as it did its political, predominance. Under the first caliphs the bodyguard, the strong arm of the military machine, was largely composed of Khurāṣāni troops. The Arab soldiery formed two divisions: one of North Arabians, Muḍarite, and the other of South Arabians, Yamanite. New converts to Islam attached themselves to some Arabian tribe as clients and thus formed a part of the military organization of that tribe. Al-Muʿtaṣim added a new division made up of Turks, originally his slaves, from Farghānah and other regions of Central Asia.[2] This new imperial bodyguard soon became the terror of the whole capital, and in 836 the caliph had to build a new town, Sāmarra, to which he transferred his seat of government. After the death of al-Muntaṣir (861–2) these Turks began to play the part of a prætorian guard and exercise a determining influence on affairs of the state.

In Roman-Byzantine fashion every ten men of the army under al-Maʾmūn, al-Mustaʿīn and other ʿAbbāsid caliphs were commanded by an *ʿarīf* (corresponding to the decurion), every fifty by a *khalīfah*, and every hundred by a *qāʾid* (corresponding to the centurion).[3] At the head of a corps of 10,000, comprising ten battalions, stood the *amīr* (general). A body of a hundred men formed a company or squadron and several such companies constituted a cohort (*kurdūs*). Von Kremer[4] has reconstructed for us a realistic picture of an Arab army of those days on the march.

Throughout its first century the ʿAbbāsid caliphate depended for its very existence on a strong and contented soldiery, which was used not only for suppressing revolts in Syria, Persia and

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 397. [2] Masʿūdi, vol. vii, p. 118.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 299, l. 7. Cf. Masʿūdī, vol. vi, p. 452; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1799.

[4] *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, pp. 227-9 = S. Khuda Bukhsh, *The Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 333-5.

Central Asia but for waging aggressive war against the Byzantines. "Two things", in the opinion of a modern scholar,[1] "rendered the Saracens of the tenth century dangerous foes,—their numbers and their extraordinary powers of locomotion." But that was not all. In the treatise on military tactics attributed to the Emperor Leo VI the Wise[2] (886–912) we are told: "Of all the [barbarous] nations they [the Saracens] are the best advised and most prudent in their military operations". The following passage from the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus[3] (913–59) describes the impression left by the Arabs on their Byzantine foes: "They are powerful and warlike, so that if only a thousand of them occupy a camp it is impossible to dislodge them. They do not ride horses but camels." From statements in these and other Byzantine sources such as the work on military tactics composed by the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963–9) it is evident that cold and rainy weather was distasteful to the Arab warriors, that once their line was broken in action they usually lacked the necessary discipline to restore it and that their foot was in general a mere rabble of plunderers ineffective as a fighting machine. Yet it is evident that the Byzantines looked upon the Arabs, whom they called infidels and barbarous, as their most formidable enemy. In the course of the tenth century, however, this enemy grew less and less dangerous until by its end the Byzantines were habitually taking the offensive and threatening even Damascus and Baghdād.

The decline of the 'Abbāsid military power began with the introduction by al-Mutawakkil of the foreign units, which contributed to the destruction of the necessary conditions for the upkeep of the morale and *esprit de corps*. Later on al-Muqtadir (908–32) initiated the policy of farming out provinces to governors or military commanders who were to pay their troops from local state funds and not from the depleted imperial treasury. Under the Buwayhid régime soldiers received grants in the form of lands instead of pay in cash. This sowed the seeds of a feudal military system which was further developed under the Saljūqs. It then became customary for governors and generals to receive as grants towns or districts over which they

[1] Oman, *Art of War*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 209.
[2] "Tactica", Constitutio xviii, § 123, in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cvii.
[3] "De administrando imperio", caput xv, in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cxiii.

ruled with absolute power, paying the Saljūq sultan a yearly tribute and, in time of war, marching under his banner with a fixed number of troops equipped and supported by themselves.

The governor

The Umayyad partition of the empire into provinces under governors (sing. *amīr* or *'āmil*), a division based on earlier Byzantine and Persian models, was not radically changed under the 'Abbāsids. The 'Abbāsid list of provinces varied from time to time and the political classification may not always have tallied with the geographical as preserved in al-Iṣṭakhri, ibn-Ḥawqal, ibn-al-Faqīh and similar works; but the following seem to have been the chief provinces under the early caliphs of Baghdād: (1) Africa west of the Libyan Desert together with Sicily; (2) Egypt; (3) Syria and Palestine, which were sometimes separated; (4) al-Ḥijāz and al-Yamāmah (Central Arabia); (5) al-Yaman or Southern Arabia;[1] (6) al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān, with al-Baṣrah in al-'Irāq for its capital; (7) al-Sawād, or al-'Irāq (Lower Mesopotamia), whose leading cities after Baghdād were al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ; (8) al-Jazīrah (i.e. the island, rather the peninsula, ancient Assyria), whose capital was al-Mawṣil (Mosul); (9) Ādharbayjān, of which Ardabīl, Tibrīz and Marāghah were the leading towns; (10) al-Jibāl (the mountains, ancient Media), later called al-'Irāq al-'Ajami (the Persian 'Irāq),[2] of which the principal cities were Hamadhān (ancient Ecbatana), al-Rayy and Iṣbahān (Iṣfahān, Ispahān); (11) Khūzistān, with al-Ahwāz and Tustar[3] as chief towns; (12) Fāris, of which Shīrāz was the capital; (13) Karmān, whose present capital bears the same name; (14) Mukrān, which included modern Baluchistan and extended to the highlands overlooking the Indus valley; (15) Sijistān or Sīstān, whose capital was Zaranj; (16-20) Qūhistān, Qūmis, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān and Armenia; (21) Khurāsān, which included what has now become the north-western part of Afghanistan and whose leading cities were Naysābūr, Marw, Harāt (Herat) and Balkh; (22) Khwārizm, whose early capital was Kāth; (23) al-Ṣughd (ancient Sogdiana) between the Oxus and Jaxartes, having two famous cities, Bukhāra and Samarqand; (24, etc.) Farghānah, al-Shāsh

[1] These five provinces were often referred to as *aqālīm al-maghrib*, the occidental provinces, in contradistinction to the rest referred to as *aqālīm al-mashriq*, the oriental provinces.

[2] In contrast to al-'Irāq al-'Arabi (the Arabian 'Irāq), i.e. Lower Mesopotamia.

[3] Called Shustar or Shushtar by the Persians.

(modern Tāshkand) and other Turkish lands.[1] The Ottoman Turkish vilayets in Western Asia, it may be noticed, correspond geographically to the old Arab provinces.

In spite of all efforts on the part of the imperial capital, decentralization was the unavoidable consequence of such a far-flung domain with difficult means of intercommunication. In all local affairs the governor's authority tended to become supreme and his office hereditary. In theory he held his position during the pleasure of the vizir, who recommended his appointment to the caliph, and went out of office when that vizir was removed. As in the case of the vizirate al-Māwardi[2] distinguishes between two varieties of governorship: one, *imārah 'āmmah* (general amīrate), in which the incumbent held supreme direction of military affairs, right of nomination and control of the judiciary, levying of taxes, maintenance of public security, safeguarding the state religion against innovation, administration of police and presiding at public prayers on Friday; and the other of the more restricted type (*khāṣṣah*, special), in which the governor had no jurisdiction over judges and taxes. But all this classification was largely theoretical, as the authority of the provincial governor increased in direct proportion to the personal ability of the governor, the weakness of the caliph and the distance from the federal capital. The local income from the provinces was in almost every case applied to meet the governmental expenses of that province. If the expenses were less than the local income the governor remitted the balance to the caliphal treasury. The administration of justice was in the hands of a provincial qāḍi assisted by a number of deputies stationed in the various sub-divisions of the provinces.

[1] Compare list of provinces as given here with lists in Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 1-9; Zaydān, *Tamaddun*, vol. ii, pp. 37-44; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 184.

[2] Pp. 47-54.

CHAPTER XXVI

'ABBĀSID SOCIETY

THE primitive tribal system, the basic pattern of Arabian social organisation, entirely broke down under the 'Abbāsids, who owed their throne to foreign elements. Even the caliphs in such matters as the choice of wives and mothers for their children set no value on Arabian blood. Among the 'Abbāsids only three caliphs were sons of free mothers: abu-al-'Abbās, al-Mahdi and al-Amīn,[1] of whom the last enjoyed the unique distinction of having both parents from the Prophet's family.[2] Among the Umayyads the twelfth caliph, Yazīd III, was the first whose mother was a non-Arab. But she was at least supposedly a descendant of the last Persian emperor, Yazdagird, and was captured by Qutaybah in Sogdiana and presented by al-Ḥajjāj to the Caliph al-Walīd. Among the 'Abbāsids al-Manṣūr's mother was a Berber slave; al-Ma'mun's a Persian slave; al-Wāthiq's and al-Muhtadi's were Greek; al-Muntaṣir's was a Greco-Abyssinian; al-Musta'īn's a Slav (*ṣaqlabīyah*); al-Muktafi's as well as al-Muqtadir's were Turkish slaves; and al-Mustaḍī''s Armenian.[3] Hārūn's mother, another foreign slave, was the famous al-Khayzurān—the first woman to exercise any appreciable influence in 'Abbāsid caliphal affairs.[4]

In bringing about this fusion of the Arabians with their subject peoples polygamy, concubinage and the slave trade proved effective methods. As the pure Arabian element receded into the background non-Arabs, half-breeds and sons of freed women began to take their place. Soon the Arabian aristocracy was superseded by a hierarchy of officials representing diverse nationalities, at first preponderantly Persian and later Turkish.

[1] Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 75. [2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 937, ll. 12-13.
[3] See Tha'ālibi, pp. 75-7; Mas'ūdi, *passim*.
[4] For the part she was suspected of having played in the death of her son, the Caliph al-Hādi, and the succession of her other and favourite son, al-Rashīd, consult Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 569 *seq.*, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 67 *seq.* Cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 282-3.

A bard gave expression to the proud Arabian sentiment when he sang:

Sons of concubines have become
So numerous amongst us;
Lead me, O God, to a land
Where I shall see no bastards.[1]

Unfortunately Arab historians had their interest too much centred in the caliph's affairs and political happenings to leave us an adequate picture of the social and economic life of the common people in those days. But from sporadic, incidental passages in their works, from mainly literary sources and from ordinary life in the conservative Moslem Orient of today, it is not impossible to reconstruct an outline of that picture.

Home life

The early 'Abbāsid woman enjoyed the same measure of liberty as her Umayyad sister; but toward the end of the tenth century, under the Buwayhids, the system of strict seclusion and absolute segregation of the sexes had become general. Not only do we read of women in the high circles of that early period achieving distinction and exercising influence in state affairs—such as al-Khayzurān, al-Mahdi's wife and al-Rashīd's mother; 'Ulayyah, daughter of al-Mahdi; Zubaydah, al-Rashīd's wife and al-Amīn's mother; and Būrān, al-Ma'mūn's wife—but of Arab maidens going to war and commanding troops, composing poetry and competing with men in literary pursuits or enlivening society with their wit, musical talent and vocal accomplishments. Such was 'Ubaydah al-Ṭunbūrīyah (i.e. the pandore-lady), who won national fame in the days of al-Mu'taṣim as a beauty, a singer and a musician.[2]

In the period of decline, characterized by excessive concubinage, laxity of sex morality and indulgence in luxury, the position of woman sank to the low level we find in the *Arabian Nights*. There woman is represented as the personification of cunning and intrigue and as the repository of all base sentiments and unworthy thoughts. In an extraordinary letter of condolence to a friend who had lost his daughter, abu-Bakr al-Khwārizmi († *ca.* 993 or 1002), the first author to leave a collection of literary correspondence, asserts: "We are in an age in which if one of us . . . should marry his daughter to a grave he would acquire thereby the best of sons-in-law".[3]

[1] Mubarrad, p. 302. [2] *Aghāni*, vol. xix, pp. 134-7.
[3] *Rasā'i* (Constantinople, 1297), p. 20.

Marriage has been regarded almost universally in Islam as a positive duty, the neglect of which is subject to severe reproach, and the gift of children, especially if sons, a boon from God. A wife's first duty consisted in the service of her husband, the care of the children and the management of household affairs; any spare time would be occupied with spinning and weaving. The fashionable head-dress for women, introduced by 'Ulayyah, half-sister of al-Rashīd, was evidently a dome-shaped cap, round the bottom of which was a circlet that could be adorned with jewels. Among other objects of feminine adornment were anklets (sing. *khalkhāl*) and bracelets (*asāwir*).

Men's clothing has varied but little since those days. The common head-gear was the black high-peaked hat, *qalansuwah*, made of felt or wool and introduced by al-Manṣūr.[1] Wide trousers (*sarāwīl*) of Persian origin,[2] shirt, vest and jacket (*qufṭān*),[3] with outer mantle (*'abā'* or *jubbah*[4]), completed the wardrobe of a gentleman.[5] The theologians, following the instructions of abu-Yūsuf, al-Rashīd's distinguished judge, wore distinctive black turbans and mantles (*ṭaylasān*).[6]

Judging by the erotic expressions of the poets of the age the early Arabian ideals of feminine beauty seem not to have suffered much change. Al-Nuwayri devotes a goodly portion of one volume of his literary encyclopædia[7] to quotations descriptive of such physical charms. The woman's stature should be like the bamboo (*khayzurān*) among plants, her face as round as the full moon, her hair darker than the night, her cheeks white and rosy with a mole not unlike a drop of ambergris upon a plate of alabaster, her eyes intensely black without any adventitious antimony (*kuḥl*) and large like those of a wild deer, her eyelids drowsy or languid (*saqīm*), her mouth small with teeth like

[1] Above, p. 294. The red fez, *ṭarbūsh*, still worn in Moslem lands, is a modern article.

[2] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. iii, p. 9; Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, pp. 203-4.

[3] Dozy, pp. 162-3.

[4] This Arabic word has worked its way from Spanish, where we find it in a late tenth-century dictionary, into the rest of the Romance languages and thence into English and the other Germanic languages as well as the Slavonic. In English it has left an interesting survival in the word "gibbet", meaning "gallows".

[5] This style of dress is still followed by the older generation in Lebanon and Syria.

[6] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 334 = de Slane, vol. iv, p. 273; *Aghāni*, vol. v, p. 109, ll. 23-4, vol. vi, p. 69, l. 23; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 4, l. 23.

[7] *Nihāyah*, vol. ii, pp. 18 *seq.* For an illustration of the wealth of the Arabic language in terms describing women see ibn-Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* (Cairo, 1319), pp. 119 *seq.*

pearls set in coral, her bosom pomegranate-like, her hips wide and her fingers tapering, with the extremities dyed with vermilion henna (*ḥinnā'*).

The most conspicuous piece of furniture now came to be the *dīwān*, a sofa extending along three sides of the room. Raised seats in the form of chairs were introduced under the earlier dynasty, but cushions laid on small square mattresses (from Ar. *maṭraḥ*) on the floor where one could comfortably squat remained popular. Hand-woven carpets covered the floor. Food was served on large round trays of brass set on a low table in front of the *dīwān* or the floor cushions. In the homes of the well-to-do the trays were of silver and the table of wood inlaid with ebony, mother-of-pearl or tortoise-shell—not unlike those still manufactured in Damascus. Those same people who had once enjoyed scorpions, beetles and weasels as a luxury,[1] who thought rice a venomous food[2] and used flattened bread for writing material,[3] by this time had their gastronomic tastes whetted for the delicacies of the civilized world, including such Persian dishes as the greatly desired stew, *sikbāj*, and the rich sweets, *fālūdhaj*. Their chickens were now fed on shelled nuts, almonds and milk. In summer, houses were cooled by ice.[4] Non-alcoholic drinks in the form of sherbet,[5] consisting of water sweetened with sugar and flavoured with extracts of violets, bananas, roses or mulberries, were served, but of course not exclusively. Coffee did not attain vogue until the fifteenth century[6] and tobacco was unknown before the discovery of the New World. A ninth- to tenth-century author[7] has left us a work intended to give an exposition of the sentiments and manners of a man of culture (*ẓarīf*), a gentleman, in that period. He is one in possession of polite behaviour (*adab*), manly virtue (*murū'ah*) and elegant manners (*ẓarf*), who abstains from joking, holds fellowship with the right

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 170. [2] Ibn-al-Faqīh, pp. 187-8.

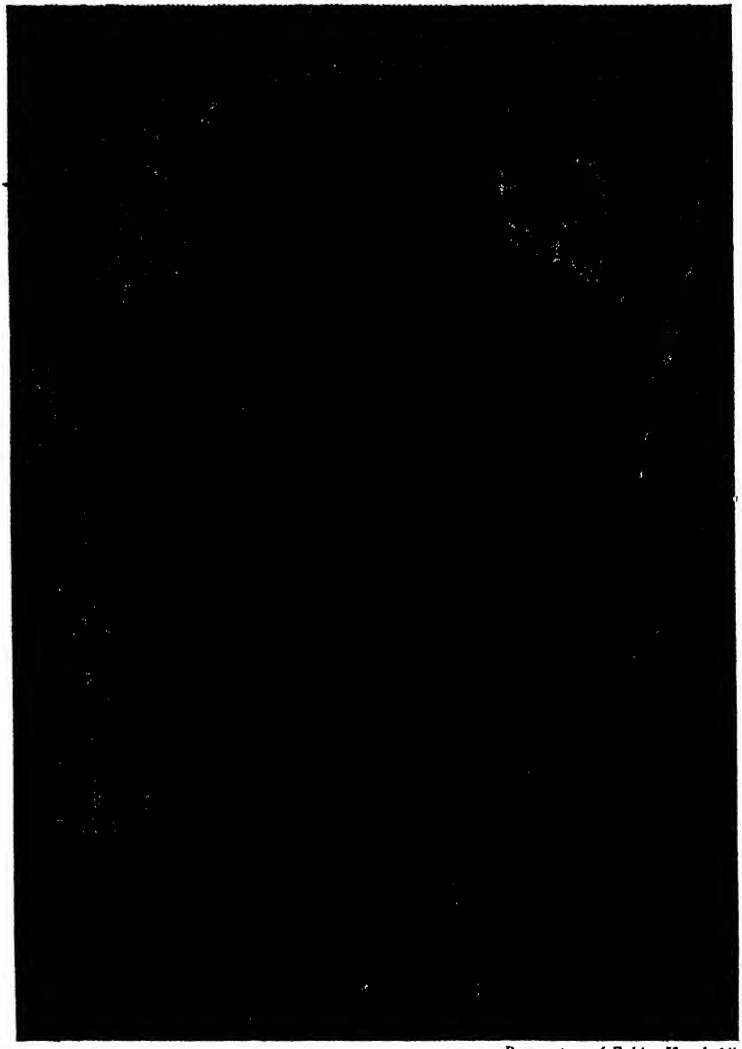
[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 144. Cf. above, p. 156.

[4] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 139-40. Pp. 82-3 quote from an earlier source a prescription which "can solidify water even in June or July".

[5] From Ar. *sharbah*, drink. Eng. "syrup" comes from a cognate word *sharāb*.

[6] Introduced into South Arabia in the fourteenth century, coffee became domesticated in Makkah early in the fifteenth century, and in the first decade of the sixteenth century was first known in Cairo through Sufis from al-Yaman, who used it at the Azhar Mosque to produce the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotions. See above, p. 19.

[7] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashsha*, ed. R. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), pp. 1, 12, 33, 37, 124, 125, 129-31, 142.



By courtesy of Fahim Kouchakji

A TWELFTH- OR THIRTEENTH-CENTURY VASE FROM AL-RAQQAH, ONCE PART-TIME CAPITAL OF HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD

It is of turquoise greenish-blue colour, forty-nine centimetres high

comrades, has high standards of veracity, is scrupulous in the fulfilment of his promises, keeps a secret, wears unsoiled and unpatched clothes, and at the table takes small mouthfuls, converses or laughs but little, chews his food slowly, licks not his fingers, avoids garlic and onions and refrains from using the toothpick in toilet rooms, baths, public meetings and on the streets.

Alcoholic drinks were often indulged in both in company and in private. Judging by the countless stories of revelry in such works as the *Aghāni* and the *Arabian Nights* and by the numerous songs and poems in praise of wine (*khamrīyāt*) by the debauched abu-Nuwās († *ca.* 810), the one-day caliph, ibn-al-Mu'tazz († 908), and similar bards, prohibition, one of the distinctive features of Moslem religion, did no more prohibit then than did the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Even caliphs, vizirs, princes and judges paid no heed to the religious injunction.[1] Scholars, poets, singers and musicians were especially desired as boon companions. This practice, which was of Persian origin,[2] became an established institution under the early 'Abbāsids and developed professionals under al-Rashīd. Other than this caliph, al-Hādi, al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil were given to drink; al-Manṣūr and al-Muhtadi were opposed to it. Indeed al-Nawāji[3] despairs of finding room in his book for all the caliphs, vizirs and secretaries addicted to the use of the forbidden beverage. *Khamr*, made of dates, was the favourite. Ibn-Khaldūn argues that such personages as al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn used only *nabīdh*,[4] prepared by soaking grapes, raisins or dates in water and allowing the juice to ferment slightly. Such drink was judged legal under certain conditions by at least one school of Moslem jurisprudence, the Ḥanafite. Muḥammad himself drank it, especially before it was three days old.[5]

[1] See Nuwayri, *Nihāyah*, vol. iv, pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] Jāḥiẓ, *Tāj*, pp. 23, 72; Nawāji, *Ḥalbah*, p. 26. [3] P. 99, ll. 24-7.

[4] *Muqaddamah*, p. 16. *Khamr* is the term used in the Koran (5 : 92-3) for the prohibited drink. What provides opportunity for the exercise of ingenuity on the part of interpreters is firstly the fact that at the time of the Prophet there was not in al-Madīnah any *khamr* of grapes, the beverage of its inhabitants being prepared from dates; and secondly that these juices do not ferment until a certain time lapses unless they are treated by special methods. Consult *'Iqd*, vol. iii, pp. 405-14.

[5] *Mishkāh*, vol. ii, pp. 172-3; ibn-Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), vol. i, pp. 240, 287, 320; Bukhāri, vol. vi, p. 232.

Convivial parties featuring "the daughter of the vine" and song were not uncommon. At these drinking-bouts (sing. *majlis al-shirāb*[1]) the host and guests perfumed their beards with civet or rose-water and wore special garments of bright colours (*thiyāb al-munādamah*). The room was made fragrant by ambergris or aloes-wood burning in a censer. The songstresses who participated in such gatherings were mostly slaves of loose character, as illustrated by many stories,[2] who constituted the gravest menace to the morals of the youth of the age.[3] The description of a certain home in al-Kūfah during the reign of al-Manṣūr sounds more like that of a *café chantant*, with Sallāmah al-Zarqā' (the blue-eyed) as its prima donna.[4] The laity had access to wine in the Christian monasteries and the special bars conducted mainly by Jews. Christians and Jews were the "bootleggers" of the time.

Paths

"Cleanliness is a part of faith"—so runs a Prophetic tradition that is still on every lip in Moslem lands. Arabia had no baths that we hear of before Muḥammad. He himself is represented as prejudiced against them and as having permitted men to enter them for purposes of cleanliness only, each wearing a cloth. In the time we are studying, however, public baths (sing. *ḥammām*) had become popular not only for ceremonial ablutions and for their salutary effects, but also as resorts of amusement and mere luxury. Women were allowed their use on specially reserved days. Baghdād, according to al-Khaṭīb,[5] boasted in the days of al-Muqtadir (908–32) some 27,000 public baths, and in other times even 60,000,[6] all of which—like most figures in Arabic sources—seem highly exaggerated. Al-Yaʿqūbi[7] makes the number 10,000 not long after the foundation of Baghdād. The Moorish traveller ibn-Baṭṭūṭah,[8] who visited Baghdād in 1327, found in each of the thirteen quarters composing its west side two or three baths of the most elaborate kind, each supplied with hot and cold running water.

Then as now the bath-house comprised several chambers with mosaic pavements and marble-lined inner walls clustering round a large central chamber. This innermost chamber, crowned by

[1] Nawāji, p. 38.
[2] *Aghāni*, vol. xi, pp. 98-9, vol. xviii, pp. 182-9.
[3] Washshā', pp. 92 *seq.*
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. xiii, pp. 128 *seq.* Cf. Nuwayri, vol. v, pp. 72 *seq.*
[5] *Taʾrīkh*, vol. i, pp. 118-19.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 117.
[7] *Buldān*, p. 250, ll. 9-10, cf. p. 254, ll. 8-9.
[8] Vol. ii, pp. 105-7.

a dome studded with small round glazed apertures for the admission of light, was heated by steam rising from a central jet of water in the middle of a basin. The outer rooms were used for lounging and for enjoying drinks and refreshments.

Pastimes

Sports, like the fine arts, have throughout history been an appendage more of Indo-European than Semitic civilization. Engaging in them involves physical exertion for its own sake, which could not very well become a desideratum for the son of Arabia with his utilitarian temperament and the warmness of the climate.

Under the caliphate certain indoor games became popular. Reference has already been made to a sort of club-house in Makkah under the Umayyads provided with facilities for playing chess, backgammon and dice. As with several other innovations, al-Rashīd is credited with being the first 'Abbāsid caliph to have played and encouraged chess.[1] Chess (Ar. *shiṭranj*, ultimately from Sanskrit), originally an Indian game,[2] soon became the favourite indoor pastime of the aristocracy, displacing dice. This caliph is supposed to have included among his presents to Charlemagne a chess-board, just as in the Crusading period the Old Man of the Mountain presented another to St. Louis. Among other games played with a board was backgammon (*nard*, trick-track), also of Indian origin.[3]

Notable in the list of outdoor sports were archery, polo (*jūkān*, from Pers. *chawgān*,[4] bent stick), ball and mallets (*ṣawlajān*, pall-mall, a sort of croquet or hockey), fencing, javelin-throwing (*jarīd*), horse-racing and above all hunting. Among the qualifications of a prospective boon companion al-Jāḥiẓ[5] lists ability in archery, hunting, playing ball and chess—in all of which the companion may equal his royal master with no fear of affronting him. Among the caliphs particularly fond of polo was al-Mu'taṣim, whose Turkish general, al-Afshīn, once refused to play against him because he did not want to be against the commander of the believers even in a game.[6] References are made to a ball game in which a broad piece of wood (*ṭabṭāb*) was used.[7] Could

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 296. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 159-61. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 157-8.

[4] Cf. "chicane", name given to an old game in Languedoc and elsewhere played on foot with a mallet and a ball of hard wood.

[5] *Tāj*, p. 72. For other qualifications consult Nawāji, pp. 25 *seq.*

[6] Ibn-al-'Abbās, *Āthār al-Uwal*, p. 130.

[7] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 296, l. 2. Cf. *Āthār*, p. 129, ll. 3-4.

this be tennis in its rudimentary form?[1] Al-Mas'ūdi[2] has preserved for us the description of a horse-race at al-Raqqah in which a courser of al-Rashīd's won first place, to the enthusiastic delight of the caliph, who witnessed the event. In the *'Iqd*[3] we find a number of poems in description and honour of prize-winning horses. Betting, as we learn from this same source, enlivened such races.

In the 'Abbāsid period, as in the earlier one, hunting was the favourite outdoor pastime of caliphs and princes. Al-Amīn was particularly fond of hunting lions,[4] and a brother of his met his death pursuing wild boars.[5] Both abu-Muslim al-Khurāsāni and al-Mu'taṣim were fond of hunting with the cheetah. The number of early Arabic books dealing with hunting, trapping and falconry testify to the keen interest in these sports.

Falconry and hawking were introduced into Arabia from Persia, as the Arabic vocabulary relating to these sports indicates. They became particularly favoured in the later period of the caliphate[6] and in that of the Crusades.[7] Hunting with the falcon (*bāz*) or sparrow-hawk (*bāshiq*) is still practised in Persia, al-'Irāq, Dayr al-Zūr and the 'Alawite region of Syria in practically the same manner as described in the *Arabian Nights*. For gazelles or antelopes, hares, partridges, wild geese, ducks and *qaṭa* (a species of grouse), hawks and falcons were employed and assisted in the case of big game by dogs. The first thing for a Moslem hunter to do after seizing his prey would be to cut its throat; otherwise its flesh would be unlawful.[8] Under certain conditions the hunting-party would form a circuit (*ḥalqah*) surrounding and closing in on the spot in which the game happened to abound. Al-Mu'taṣim built a horseshoe-shaped wall touching the Tigris at its two extremities and used his

[1] The word "tennis", generally supposed to have come from the French verb *tenez* = take heed, is probably from "Tinnīs", the Arabic name of an Egyptian city in the Delta noted in the Middle Ages for its linen fabrics, which may have been used for making tennis balls. See Malcolm D. Whitman, *Tennis: Origins and Mysteries* (New York, 1932), pp. 24-32.

[2] Vol. vi, pp. 348-9.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 63-5.

[4] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 432-3.

[5] *Aghāni*, vol. ix, p. 97, ll. 27-9.

[6] *Fihrist*, p. 315, and ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 172, vol. iii, p. 209, mention a number of Arabic books on hunting and falconry.

[7] For one of the earliest treatments of this subject in Arabic see Usāmah ibn-Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, ed. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 191-226; tr. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York, 1929), pp. 221-54.

[8] Koran 2 : 168, 5 : 4, 16 : 116.

circuit of men to drive the game inside, thus shutting it in between the wall and the river.[1] Al-Musta'ṣim also used the circuit technique in his chase, as did the Saljūqs.[2] Among other late caliphs al-Mustanjid (1160–70) organized a number of regular hunting-parties. Certain caliphs and rulers kept wild beasts such as lions and tigers for striking awe into the hearts of their subjects and visitors;[3] others had dogs and monkeys for pets. A son of al-Muqtadir's vizir, who resided in Cairo and held a high position in its government, had for a hobby the collecting of serpents, scorpions and other venomous animals, which he kept under good care in a special building near his palace.[4]

Slaves

At the head of the social register stood the caliph and his family, the government officials, the scions of the Hāshimite clan and the satellites of all these groups. In this last class we may include the soldiers and bodyguards, the favoured friends and boon companions, as well as the clients and servants.

The servants were almost all slaves recruited from non-Moslem peoples and captured by force, taken prisoner in time of war or purchased in time of peace. Some were negroes, others were Turks and still others were white. The white slaves (*mamālīk*) were mainly Greeks and Slavs, Armenians and Berbers. Certain slaves were eunuchs (*khiṣyān*) attached to the service of the harem. Others, termed *ghilmān*, who might also be eunuchs, were the recipients of special favours from their masters, wore rich and attractive uniforms and often beautified and perfumed their bodies in effeminate fashion. We read of *ghilmān* in the reign of al-Rashīd;[5] but it was evidently al-Amīn who, following Persian precedent, established in the Arabic world the *ghilmān* institution for the practice of unnatural sexual relations.[6] A judge under al-Ma'mūn used four hundred such youths.[7] Poets like abu-Nuwās did not disdain to give public expression to their perverted passions and to address amorous pieces of their composition to "beardless young boys".

The maidens (*jawārī*) among slaves were also used as singers, dancers and concubines, and some of them exerted appreciable influence over their caliph masters. Such was dhāt-al-Khāl (she

[1] *Fakhri*, pp. 73-4.
[2] *Āthār al-Uwal*, p. 135.
[3] *Fakhri*, p. 30; *'Iqd*, vol. i, p. 198, ll. 4 *seq.*
[4] Kutubi, vol. i, pp. 134-5.
[5] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 669; same in ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 120.
[6] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 950, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 205.
[7] Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, p. 47.

of the mole), whom al-Rashīd had bought for 70,000 dirhams and in a fit of jealousy bestowed on one of his male servants. Having taken an oath to grant her request on a certain day, no matter what the request might be, al-Rashīd is said to have appointed her husband governor over Fāris for seven years.[1] In order to wean him from another singing-girl to whom he became attached, al-Rashīd's wife Zubaydah presented her husband with ten maidens, one of whom became the mother of al-Ma'mūn and another of al-Mu'taṣim.[2] The legendary story of Tawaddud, the beautiful and talented slave girl in *The Thousand and One Nights* (nights 437–62) whom al-Rashīd was willing to purchase for 100,000 dinars after she had passed with flying colours a searching test before his savants in medicine, law, astronomy, philosophy, music and mathematics—to say nothing of rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history and the Koran—illustrates how highly cultured some of these maids must have been. Al-Amīn's contribution consisted in promoting a corps of female pages, the members of which bobbed their hair, dressed like boys and wore silk turbans. The innovation soon became popular with both the higher and the lower classes of society.[3] An eye-witness reports that when on a Palm Sunday he called on al-Ma'mūn he found in his presence twenty Greek maidens, all bedecked and adorned, dancing with gold crosses on their necks and olive branches and palm leaves in their hands. The distribution of 3000 dinars among the dancers brought the affair to a grand finale.[4]

An idea of the prevalence of slavery may be obtained from the high figures used in enumerating those in the caliphal household. The palace of al-Muqtadir (908–32), we are told, housed 11,000 Greek and Sudanese eunuchs.[5] Al-Mutawakkil, according to a report, had 4000 concubines, all of whom shared his nuptial bed.[6] On one occasion this caliph received as a present two hundred slaves from one of his generals.[7] It was customary for governors and generals to send presents, including girls received or exacted from among their subjects, to the caliph or vizir;[8]

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. xv, p. 80, quoted by Nuwayri, vol. v, pp. 889.
[2] *Aghāni*, vol. xvi, p. 137.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 299.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. xix, pp. 138-9.
[5] *Fakhri*, p. 352.
[6] Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, p. 276.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. vii, p. 281.
[8] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 211-12; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 627, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 86.

failure to do so was interpreted as a sign of rebellion. Al-Ma'mūn devised the scheme of sending some of his trusted slaves as presents, expecting them to act as spies on the suspect recipients or to do away with them in case of necessity.[1]

Economic life: commerce

The commonalty was composed of an upper class bordering on the aristocracy and comprised littérateurs and belletrists, learned men, artists, merchants, craftsmen and professionals, and of a lower class forming the majority of the nation and made up of farmers, herdsmen and country folk who represented the native population and now enjoyed the status of dhimmis. In the following chapter we shall treat of the intellectual class at some length. Suffice it to note here that the general stage of culture in the period of 'Abbāsid primacy was by no means low.

The wide extent of the empire and the high level which civilization attained necessitated extensive international trade. The early merchants were Christians, Jews[2] and Zoroastrians, but these were later largely superseded by Moslems and Arabs, who did not disdain trade as they did agriculture. Such ports as Baghdād, al-Baṣrah, Sīrāf,[3] Cairo and Alexandria soon developed into centres of active land and maritime commerce.

Eastward, Moslem traders ventured as far as China, which according to Arab tradition was reached from al-Baṣrah as early as the days of the second 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr.[4] The earliest Arabic source treating of the subject of Arab and Persian maritime communication with India and China is a report of voyages by Sulaymān al-Tājir (the merchant) and other Moslem traders in the third Moslem century.[5] This trade was based on silk, the earliest of China's magnificent gifts to the West, and usually followed what has been styled "the great silk way"[6] going through Samarqand and Chinese Turkestan, a region less traversed today by civilized man than almost any other part of the habitable world. Goods were generally transported by relays; few caravans went the whole distance. But diplomatic relations were certainly established before the time of Arab traders.

[1] *'Iqd*, vol. i, p. 196.

[2] Consult ibn-Khurdādhbih, pp. 153-4.

[3] A town in Persia on the Persian Gulf. The people of Sīrāf and 'Umān (Mas'ūdi, vol. i, pp. 281-2) were among the best-known mariners of the early 'Abbāsid period.

[4] Cf. Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China* (London, 1910), pp. 5-36.

[5] *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh* [*sic*], ed. Langlès (Paris, 1811); tr. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine* (Paris, 1922).

[6] Thomas F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward* (New York, 1925), pp. 85 *seq.*

Legend makes Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, the conqueror of Persia, the envoy sent by the Prophet to China. Sa'd's "grave" is still revered in Canton. Many of the inscriptions on the old Chinese monuments relating to Islam in China are clearly forgeries prompted by religious pride.[1] By the middle of the eighth century several embassies had been exchanged, but whether the members travelled by sea or by land is not known. In the Chinese records of that century the *amīr al-mu'minīn* is called *hanmi-mo-mo-ni*; abu-al-'Abbās, the first 'Abbāsid caliph, *A-bo-lo-ba*; and Hārūn, *A-lun*. In the time of these caliphs a number of Moslems settled in China. At first such Moslems appear under the name *Ta-shih*[2] and later under the title *Hui-Hui* (Muḥammadans).[3] The first European mention of Saracens in China appears to be that of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century.[4]

Westward, Moslem merchants reached Morocco and Spain. A thousand years before de Lesseps an Arab caliph, Hārūn, entertained the idea of digging a canal through the Isthmus of Suez.[5] Arab Mediterranean trade, however, never rose to great prominence. The Black Sea was likewise inhospitable to it, though in the tenth century brisk land trade is noticed with the peoples of the Volga regions to the north. But the Caspian Sea, because of its proximity to the Persian centres and the prosperous cities of Samarqand and Bukhāra with their hinterland, was the scene of some commercial intercourse. Moslem merchants carried with them dates, sugar, cotton and woollen fabrics, steel tools and glassware; they imported, among other commodities, spices, camphor and silk from farther Asia, and ivory, ebony and negro slaves from Africa.

An idea of the fortunes amassed by the Rothschilds and Rockefellers of the age may be gained from the case of the Baghdād jeweller ibn-al-Jaṣṣāṣ, who remained wealthy after al-Muqtadir had confiscated 16,000,000 dinars of his property, and became the first of a family of distinguished jewel merchants.[6] Certain Baṣrah merchants whose ships carried goods to distant parts of the world had an annual income of more than a

[1] See Paul Pelliot in *Journal asiatique* (1913), vol. ii, pp. 177-91.

[2] From Pahlawi *Tājik*, modern *Tāzi*, Arab. The term is evidently a Persianized form of Ṭayyi', an Arab tribe.

[3] Consult Isaac Mason in *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. lx (1929), pp. 42-78.

[4] For Moslem settlements in Korea (al-Shīla) see ibn-Khurdādhbih, pp. 70, 170.

[5] Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, pp. 98-9.

[6] Kutubi, vol. i, p. 177.

million dirhams each. An uneducated miller of al-Baṣrah and Baghdād could afford to distribute as daily alms among the poor a hundred dinars, and was later appointed by al-Mu'taṣim as his vizir.[1] In Sīrāf the home of the average merchant cost over ten thousand dinars, some over thirty thousand dinars; and many maritime traders were worth 4,000,000 dinars each.[2] Some of these Sīrāf merchants "spent their lives on the water", and al-Iṣṭakhri[3] heard of one who had spent forty years on board ship.

Industry

No commercial activity could have reached such dimensions had it not rested on extensive home industry and agriculture. Hand industry flourished in various parts of the empire. In Western Asia it centred chiefly in the manufacture of rugs, tapestry, silk, cotton and woollen fabrics, satin, brocade (*dībāj*), sofa (from Ar. *ṣuffah*) and cushion covers, as well as other articles of furniture and kitchen utensils. The many looms of Persia and al-'Irāq turned out carpets and textiles maintained at a high standard by distinctive marks. Al-Musta'īn's mother had a rug specially ordered for her at a cost of 130,000,000 dirhams, bearing figures of all sorts of birds in gold which had rubies and other precious stones for eyes.[4] A quarter in Baghdād named after 'Attāb, an Umayyad prince who was its most distinguished resident, gave its name to a striped fabric, *'attābi*,[5] first manufactured there in the twelfth century. The fabric was imitated by the Arabs in Spain and under the trade name *tabi* became popular in France, Italy and other lands of Europe. The term survives in "tabby", applied to streaked or marked cats. Al-Kūfah produced the silk and partly silk kerchiefs for the head that are still worn under the name *kūfīyah*. Tawwaj, Fasa and other towns of Fāris boasted a number of high-class factories where carpets, embroideries, brocades and robes of honour—a mark of distinction in the East—were manufactured for the sole use of the royalty.[6] Such products were known as *ṭirāz* (from Pers.) and bore the name or cipher of the sultan or caliph embroidered on them. In Tustar and al-Sūs in Khūzistān[7]

[1] *Fakhri*, pp. 321-2.
[2] Iṣṭakhri, pp. 127, 139; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 198; Maqdisi, p. 426.
[3] P. 138. [4] Ibshīhi, vol. i, p. 144.
[5] Mentioned in Maqdisi, p. 323, l. 20; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 261, l. 13; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. i, p. 822, l. 22 (where it is misspelt).
[6] Iṣṭakhri, p. 153. Cf. Maqdisi, pp. 442-3. [7] Maqdisi, pp. 402, 407-9.

(ancient Susiana) were a number of factories famous for the embroidery of damask[1] figured with gold and for curtains made of spun silk (*khazz*). Their camel- and goat-hair fabrics as well as their spun-silk cloaks were widely known. Shīrāz yielded striped woollen cloaks, also gauzes and brocades. Under the name of "taffeta" European ladies of the Middle Ages bought in their native shops the Persian silken cloth *tāftah*. Khurāsān and Armenia were famous for their spreads, hangings and sofa and cushion covers. In Central Asia, that great emporium of the early Middle Ages, Bukhāra was especially noted for its prayer-rugs. A complete conception of the development of industry and trade in Transoxiana may be gained from the list of exports from the various towns given by al-Maqdisi:[2] soap, carpets, copper lamps, pewter ware, felt cloaks, furs, amber, honey, falcons, scissors, needles, knives, swords, bows, meats, Slavonic and Turkish slaves, etc. Tables, sofas, lamps, chandeliers, vases, earthenware and kitchen utensils were also made in Syria and Egypt. The Egyptian fabrics termed *dimyāṭi* (after Dimyāṭ), *dabīqi* (after Dabīq) and *tinnīsi* (after Tinnīs)[3] were world-renowned and imitated in Persia. The ancient industrial arts of Pharaonic days survived in an attenuated form in the manufactures of the Copts.

The glass of Sidon, Tyre and other Syrian towns, a survival of the ancient Phoenician industry which after the Egyptian was the oldest glass industry in history, was proverbial for its clarity and thinness.[4] In its enamelled and variegated varieties Syrian glass as a result of the Crusades became the forerunner of the stained glass in the cathedrals of Europe. Glass and metal vases of Syrian workmanship were in great demand as articles of utility and luxury. Sconces of glass bearing enamelled inscriptions in various colours hung in mosques and palaces. Damascus was the centre of an extensive mosaic and *qāshāni* industry. *Qāshāni*[5] (colloquial *qīshāni*), a name derived from Kāshān[6] in Media, was given to square or hexagonal glazed tiles, sometimes figured

[1] This fabric was originally made in Damascus, whence the name.

[2] Pp. 323-6.

[3] Yāqūt, vol. ii, pp. 603, 548, vol. i, p. 882; Maqdisi, pp. 201, 433, ll. 16-17, 443, l. 5. See below, p. 631.

[4] Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 95.

[5] Mentioned in ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, p. 415, vol. ii, pp. 46, 130, 225, 297, vol. iii, p. 79.

[6] Ar. Qāshān; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 15.

with conventional flowers and used in exterior and interior decoration of buildings and walls. The predominant colours were indigo blue, turquoise blue, green and less often red and yellow. The art, as ancient as the Elamites and Assyrians, survived in Damascus until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Worthy of special note is the manufacture of writing-paper, introduced in the middle of the eighth century into Samarqand from China.[1] The paper of Samarqand, which was captured by the Moslems in 704, was considered matchless.[2] Before the close of that century Baghdād saw its first paper-mill. Gradually others for making paper followed: Egypt had its factory about 900 or earlier, Morocco about 1100, Spain about 1150; and various kinds of paper, white and coloured, were produced. Al-Muʿtaṣim, credited with opening new soap and glass factories in Baghdād, Sāmarra and other towns, is said to have encouraged the paper industry. The oldest Arabic paper manuscript that has come down to us is one on tradition entitled *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, by abu-ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn-Sallām († 837), dated dhu-al-Qaʿdah, A.H. 252 (November 13–December 12, 866) and preserved in the Leyden University Library.[3] The oldest by a Christian author is a theological treatise by abu-Qurrah[4] († *ca.* 820) dated Rabīʿ I, A.H. 264 (Nov. 11–Dec. 10, 877) and preserved in the British Museum. From Moslem Spain and from Italy, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the manufacture of paper finally worked its way into Christian Europe, where with the later discovery of printing from movable type (1450–55) it made possible the measure of popular education which Europe and America now enjoy.

The jeweller's art also had its day. Pearls, sapphires, rubies, emeralds and diamonds were favourites with the royalty; turquoise, carnelian and onyx with the lower classes. One of the best-known gems in Arab history is the big ruby, once owned by several Persian monarchs, on which Hārūn inscribed his name after acquiring it for 40,000 dinars.[5] The ruby was so large and brilliant that " if it were put in the night-time in a dark

[1] Consult Friedrich Hirth, *Chinesische Studien* (Munich and Leipzig, 1890), vol. i, pp. 259-71. See below, p. 414. Paper money, also of Chinese origin, was printed (1294) in Chinese and Arabic at Tibrīz, the only place in the Moslem world with an early record of block printing. [2] Thaʿālibi, p. 126; Maqdisi, p. 326, ll. 3-4.

[3] William Wright, *The Palæographical Society, Oriental Series* (London, 1875–83), pl. vi.

[4] Theodorus abu Ḳurra, *De Cultu Imaginum*, ed. and tr. I. Arendzen (Bonn, 1897).

[5] Masʿūdi, vol. vii, p. 376. Cf. *Fakhri*, pp. 352-3; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 602, l. 12.

room it would shine like a lamp". Hārūn's sister, as we learned before, wore jewels on her head-dress and his wife had them on her shoes. Yaḥya ibn-Khālid the Barmakid once offered 7,000,000 dirhams to a Baghdād merchant for a jewel-box made of precious stones, but the offer was refused.[1] Al-Muktafi is said to have left 20,000,000 dinars' worth of jewels and perfumes.[2] At a gorgeous royal banquet given by al-Mutawakkil, and considered together with al-Ma'mūn's wedding "two occasions that have no third in Islam",[3] tables and trays of gold studded with gems were used. Even ibn-Khaldūn, who claims that the 'Abbāsids could not have indulged in luxurious modes of living, accepts the extraordinary display of gold and jewellery at al-Ma'mūn's marriage ceremony.[4] According to al-Mas'ūdi,[5] al-Mu'tazz (866–9), the thirteenth 'Abbāsid caliph, was the first to appear on horseback in gilded armour on a golden saddle, all caliphs before him having used silver decorations. One of the last caliphs to possess much jewellery was al-Muqtadir (908–32), who confiscated the property of the founder of the richest jewellery house in Baghdād[6] and came into possession of the famous red ruby of Hārūn, as well as the equally famous "unique pearl" weighing three *mithqāls* (miskal) and other gems, all of which he squandered.[7]

The leading mineral resources of the empire which made the jeweller's industry possible included gold and silver from Khurāsān, which also yielded marble and mercury;[8] rubies, lapis lazuli and azurite from Transoxiana;[9] lead and silver from Karmān;[10] pearls from al-Baḥrayn;[11] turquoise from Naysābūr, whose mine in the latter half of the tenth century was farmed out for 758,720 dirhams a year;[12] carnelian from Ṣan'ā';[13] and iron from Mt. Lebanon.[14] Other mineral resources included kaolin and marble from Tibrīz, antimony from the vicinity of Iṣbahān,[15]

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 703. [2] Tha'ālibi, p. 72. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 72-3.
[4] *Muqaddamah*, p. 15, ll 20 *seq.*, pp. 144-5.
[5] Vol. vii, pp. 401-2, quoted by ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 15.
[6] Above, p. 344.
[7] *Fakhri*, p. 353. The "unique pearl" is also mentioned by ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 38, l. 7. Cf. Maqdisi, p. 101, l. 16. [8] Maqdisi, p. 326.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 303. "Lazuli", as well as "azure", comes through Latin from Ar. *lāzaward* and ultimately from Pers. *lāzhuward*.
[10] Ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 206. [11] Maqdisi, p. 101. [12] *Ibid.* p. 341, n.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 101. [14] *Ibid.* p. 184, l. 3.
[15] Iṣṭakhri, p. 203; Tha'ālibi, *Laṭā'if*, p. 110. Ar. *kuḥl*, perhaps "galena", consult H. E. Stapleton *et al.* in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. viii (1927), p. 352.

bitumen and naphtha from Georgia, marble and sulphur from Syria-Palestine,[1] asbestos from Transoxiana[2] and mercury, pitch and tar from Farghānah.[3]

Agriculture

Agriculture received great impetus under the early 'Abbāsids because their capital itself lay in a most favoured spot, the alluvial plain commonly known under the name of al-Sawād; because they realized that farming was the chief source of the state income; and because the tilling of the land was almost wholly in the hands of the native inhabitants, whose status was somewhat improved under the new régime. Deserted farms and ruined villages in different parts of the empire were gradually rehabilitated and restored. The lower region of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, the richest in the whole empire after Egypt and the traditional site of the garden of Eden, was the object of special attention on the part of the central government. Canals from the Euphrates, either old and now re-opened or else entirely new, formed a "veritable network".[4] The first great canal, called Nahr 'Īsa after a relative of al-Manṣūr who had re-excavated it, connected the Euphrates at al-Anbār in the north-west with the Tigris at Baghdād. One of the main branches of the Nahr 'Īsa was the Ṣarāh. The second great transverse canal was the Nahr Ṣarṣar, which entered the Tigris above al-Madā'in. The third was the Nahr al-Malik ("river of the king"), which flowed into the Tigris below al-Madā'in.[5] Lower down the two rivers came the Nahr Kūtha and the Great Ṣarāh,[6] which threw off a number of irrigation channels. Another canal, the Dujayl (diminutive of Dijlah, the Tigris), which originally connected the Tigris with the Euphrates, had become silted up by the tenth century, and the name was given to a new channel, a loop canal, which started from the Tigris below al-Qādisīyah and rejoined it farther south after sending off a number of branches.[7] Other less important canals included the Nahr al-Ṣilah dug in Wāsiṭ by al-Mahdi.[8] Arab geographers speak of caliphs "digging" or "opening" "rivers", when in most cases the process involved

[1] Maqdisi, p. 184. [2] *Ibid.* p. 303, ll. 13-15. [3] Ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 362.
[4] Iṣṭakhri, p. 85, l. 3; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 166, l. 2.
[5] For these canals see Iṣṭakhri, pp. 84-5; same in ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 165-6; Maqdisi, p. 124; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. i, pp. 91, 111 *seq.*; Guy Le Strange, "Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn-Serapion", *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1895), pp. 255-315.
[6] Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 377-8. [7] Iṣṭakhri, pp. 77-8; Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 555.
[8] Balādhuri, p. 291 = Hitti, p. 451; Qudāmah, p. 241.

was one of re-digging or re-opening canals that had existed since Babylonian days. In al-'Irāq as well as Egypt the task consisted mainly in keeping the ancient systems in order. Even before the World War, when the Ottoman government commissioned Sir William Willcocks to study the irrigation problem of al-'Irāq, his report stressed the necessity of clearing the old watercourses rather than constructing new ones.[1] It should be noted, however, that the face of the alluvial Sawād has greatly changed since 'Abbāsid days and that both the Tigris and the Euphrates have considerably shifted their courses in historical times.

The staple crops of al-'Irāq consisted of barley and wheat, rice, dates, sesame, cotton and flax. Especially fertile was the alluvial plain to the south, al-Sawād, where quantities of fruit and vegetables, both of the cold and the hot regions, were grown. Nuts, oranges, egg-plants, sugar-cane, lupines and such flowers as roses and violets were produced in abundance.

Khurāsān vied with al-'Irāq and Egypt as a rich agricultural country. A review of the revenue sheets discussed above[2] would indicate that it yielded one of the largest kharājs of the empire. Politically it embraced, at least for some time, Transoxiana and Sijistān, and was therefore a great source of man-power as well. No wonder, then, that we hear it referred to in the presence of al-Ma'mūn as "the whole empire".[3]

The land round Bukhāra, in the judgment of Arab geographers, was, especially under the Sāmānids in the 900's, a veritable garden.[4] Here, between Samarqand and Bukhāra, lay the Wādi al-Ṣughd (the valley of Sogdiana), one of the "four earthly paradises", the other three being the Shi'b Bawwān (gap of Bavvān in Fāris), the gardens of the Ubullah Canal, extending from al-Baṣrah to the south-east,[5] and the orchards (*ghūṭah*) of Damascus.[6] In these gardens flourished several varieties of fruits, vegetables and flowers, such as dates, apples, apricots,[7] peaches, plums, lemons, oranges, figs, grapes, olives, almonds, pomegranates, egg-plants, radishes, cucumbers, roses and basil

[1] William Willcocks, *Irrigation of Mesopotamia* (London, 1917), pp. xvii *seq.*, 11 *seq.*

[2] P. 321.

[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 555, l. 4.

[4] Iṣṭakhri, pp. 305 *seq.*, copied by ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 355 *seq.*

[5] Iṣṭakhri, p. 81; same in ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 160; Maqdisi, pp. 117-18.

[6] Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 751, vol. iii, p. 394; cf. vol. i, p. 97, ll. 15-16.

[7] For etymology see below, p. 528, n. 6. The plant itself was a native of China.

(*rayḥān*). Water-melons were exported from Khwārizm to the courts of al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthiq in lead moulds packed with ice; such fruit would sell in Baghdād for seven hundred dirhams each.[1] In fact most of the fruit trees and vegetables grown at present in Western Asia were known at the time, with the exception of mangoes, potatoes, tomatoes and similar plants introduced in recent times from the New World and distant European colonies. The orange tree, allied to the citron and lemon, had its native habitat in India or Malay, whence it spread at this time into Western Asia, the adjoining lands of the Mediterranean basin and eventually through the Arabs in Spain into Europe.[2] The sugar-cane plantations of Fāris and al-Ahwāz,[3] with their noted refineries, were about this time followed by similar ones on the Syrian coast, from which place the Crusaders later introduced the cane and the sugar[4] into Europe. Thus did this sweet commodity, probably of Bengalese origin, which has since become an indispensable ingredient in the daily food of civilized man, work its way westward.

Horticulture was not limited to fruits and vegetables. The cultivation of flowers was also promoted, not only in small home gardens round fountains musical with jetting, splashing water, but on a large scale for commercial purposes. The preparation of perfumes or essences from roses, water-lilies, oranges, violets and the like flourished in Damascus, Shīrāz, Jūr and other towns. The whole district of Jūr, or Fīrūzābād, in Fāris was noted for its attar (Ar. *'iṭr*) of red roses.[5] Rose-water from Jūr was exported as far as China eastward and al-Maghrib westward.[6] Fāris included in its kharāj 30,000 bottles of the essence of red roses, which were sent annually to the caliph in Baghdād.[7] Sābūr (Pers. Shāpūr) and its valley produced ten world-famous varieties of perfumed oils, or unguents, extracted from the violet, water-lily, narcissus, palm flower, iris, white lily, myrtle, sweet marjoram, lemon and orange flowers.[8] Among

[1] Tha'ālibi, p. 129.

[2] Eng. "orange" comes through Sp. from Ar. *nāranj*, from Pers. *nārang*. "Lemon" is Ar. *laymūn*, Pers. *līmūn* (see below, p. 665).

[3] Tha'ālibi, p. 107.

[4] Ar. *sukkar*; "candy" comes from Ar. *qandah*, *qandi*, which is Pers. *qand*. "Cane" is also of Semitic origin corresponding to Ar. *qanāh*, reed, but was separately introduced into European languages.

[5] In Syria red roses are still called *ward jūri*.

[6] Ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 213; Iṣṭakhri, pp. 152-3.

[7] Tha'ālibi, pp. 109-10.

[8] Maqdisi, p. 443.

these the violet extract was the most popular in the Moslem world, as the following words put in the mouth of the Prophet would indicate: "The excellence of the extract of violets above all other extracts is as the excellence of me above all the rest of creation".[1]

Among flowers the rose seems to have been the favourite. In the opinion of the cultured slave girl Tawaddud, whose ideas may be taken as an index of popular opinion between the tenth and twelfth centuries, roses and violets are the best scents; pomegranate and citron the best fruits; and endive the best vegetable.[2] The popular esteem in which the rose is held found expression in a tradition ascribed to Muḥammad: "The white rose was created from my sweat on the night of the nocturnal journey [*miʿrāj*], the red rose from the sweat of Gabriel and the yellow rose from that of al-Burāq".[3] With the words "I am the king of sultans and the rose is the king of the sweet-scented flowers; each of us therefore is worthy of the other", al-Mutawakkil is said to have so monopolized the cultivation of roses for his own enjoyment that in his time that flower could be seen nowhere except in his palace.[4]

The rose and the violet had a rival in the myrtle. "Adam was hurled down from Paradise with three things", claims a Prophetic tradition: "a myrtle tree, which is the chief of sweet-scented plants in the world; an ear of wheat, which is the chief food of the world; and a date, which is the chief of the fruits of this world."[5] Other highly desired flowers were the narcissus, gillyflower, jasmine, poppy and safflower.

As an index of interest in agriculture mention might be made of the several books on plants, including translations from Greek, listed in the *Fihrist*,[6] the few books on attar[7] and the spurious work of ibn-Waḥshīyah entitled *al-Filāḥah al-Nabaṭīyah*.

Dhimmis: Christians

The agricultural class, who constituted the bulk of the population of the empire and its chief source of revenue, were the original inhabitants of the land, now reduced to the position of

[1] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 242.
[2] *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* (*Thousand and One Nights*), no. 453. Cf. nos. 864, 865.
[3] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 236.
[4] Nawāji, p. 235; Suyūṭi, vol. ii, p. 236.
[5] Suyūṭi, vol. ii, p. 245. Consult Edward W. Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, vol. i (London, 1839), pp. 219 *seq.* (in n. 22 to ch. iii).
[6] P. 78, ll. 12, 23, p. 79, l. 3, p. 83, l. 16, p. 252, ll. 9-10.
[7] *Fihrist*, p. 317.

dhimmis. The Arab considered it below his dignity to engage in agricultural pursuits. Originally Scripturaries, viz. Christians, Jews and Ṣābians, the dhimmis had their status widened, as we learned before, to include Zoroastrians, Manichaeans, Ḥarrān Ṣābians and others—all of whom were now treated on a par with those with whom a compact for religious tolerance had been made. In country places and on their farms these dhimmis clung to their ancient cultural patterns and preserved their native languages: Aramaic and Syriac in Syria and al-'Irāq, Iranian in Persia and Coptic in Egypt. Many of those who embraced Islam moved to the cities.

Even in cities Christians and Jews often held important financial, clerical and professional positions. This often led to open jealousy on the part of the Moslem populace and found expression in official enactments. But most of this discriminating legislation remained "ink on paper" and was not consistently enforced.

The first caliph, as we have seen, to order Christians and Jews to don distinctive dress and to exclude them from public offices was the pious Umayyad, 'Umar II, whose pact has often been erroneously ascribed to 'Umar I. Among the 'Abbāsids Hārūn was evidently the first to re-enact some of the old measures. In 807 he ordered all churches in border-lands, together with those erected subsequent to the Moslem conquest, demolished and commanded members of the tolerated sects to wear the prescribed garb.[1] The stringent regulations against dhimmis culminated in the time of al-Mutawakkil, who in 850 and 854 decreed that Christians and Jews should affix wooden images of devils to their houses, level their graves even with the ground, wear outer garments of honey-colour, i.e. yellow, put two honey-coloured patches on the wear of their slaves, one sewn on the back and the other on the front, and ride only on mules and asses with wooden saddles marked by two pomegranate-like balls on the cantle.[2] It was on account of this distinctive dress that the dhimmi acquired the epithet "spotted".[3] One other grave disability under which the dhimmis laboured was a ruling of the Moslem jurists of the period that the testimony of a

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 712-13; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 141.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1389-93, 1419.
[3] Cf. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. i, p. 79, ll. 27-8.

Christian or a Jew could not be accepted against a Moslem; for the Jews and Christians had once corrupted the text of their scripture, as the Koran charges,[1] and therefore could no more be trusted. The last caliph to renew in an aggravated form the hostile measures against dhimmis was the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim (996–1021).

That in spite of these restrictions the Christians under the caliphs enjoyed on the whole a large measure of toleration may be inferred from several episodes. A number of religious debates similar to those staged in the presence of Muʿāwiyah and ʿAbd-al-Malik were held in the presence of the ʿAbbāsids. The text of an apology for Christianity delivered in 781 by Timothy, patriarch of the Nestorians, before al-Mahdi has come down to us,[2] as has also the famous treatise by al-Kindi[3] professing to be a contemporary account of a controversy held about 819 before al-Maʾmūn on the comparative merits of Islam and Christianity. The religious discussions of ʿAli al-Ṭabari († 854–5) in his *Kitāb al-Dīn w-al-Dawlah*,[4] a semi-official defence and exposition of Islam written at the court with the assistance of al-Mutawakkil, is temperate, singularly free from heat and passion and abounds in references to the Bible, evidently the Syriac version or its early Arabic translation. At the time al-Nadīm wrote his *Fihrist* (988) both the Old and New Testaments were already in existence in Arabic in more than one version.[5] In fact we are told that a certain Aḥmad ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-Salām had translated the Bible into Arabic as early as the days of Hārūn.[6] There is evidence to show that even in the latter part of the seventh century parts of the Bible had been rendered into Arabic either from Syriac or from the Greek Septuagint. Al-Ṭabari[7] notes under A.H. 61 that ʿAbdullāh, son of the conqueror of Egypt, had read the Book of Daniel. But the first important Arabic translation of the Old Testament was that of Saʿīd al-Fayyūmi (Saadia Gaon, 892–942) of Egypt, which has remained to this day the version for all Arabic-speaking Jews. These translations aroused the interest of Moslems in the controversial points, and we find al-Jāḥiẓ († 869) among the many

[1] Sūrs. 2 : 70, 5 : 16-18.

[2] A. Mingana in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 12 (Manchester, 1928), pp. 137-298.

[3] *Risālat ʿAbd-al-Masīḥ* (London, 1870), 2nd ed. (London, 1885).

[4] Ed. A. Mingana (Cairo, 1923); tr. Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire* (Manchester, 1922).

[5] *Fihrist*, p. 23.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 22. This may have been a partial translation.

[7] Vol. ii, p. 399.

who penned answers to Christians. We even read of Christian vizirs in the latter half of the ninth century, such as 'Abdūn ibn-Ṣā'id, in whose honour a judge in Baghdād rose up in public, thus receiving the disapproval of the spectators.[1] Al-Muttaqi (940–44) had a Christian vizir,[2] as did one of the Buwayhids.[3] Al-Mu'taḍid (892–902) had a Christian as head of the war office.[4] Such Christian high officials received the usual marks of honour, for we find certain Moslems objecting to kissing their hands. Most of the personal physicians of the caliphs, as will be remembered, were members of the Nestorian church. A recently published charter of protection granted to the Nestorians in 1138 by al-Muktafi[5] throws fresh light on the cordial relations between official Islam and official Christianity in that period.

Nestorians

The Christian subjects of the 'Abbāsid caliphs belonged for the most part to the two Syrian churches considered heterodox and commonly called Jacobite and Nestorian, with the Nestorians predominant in al-'Irāq. The Nestorian patriarch or catholicos (corrupted into Ar. *jāthilīq*, *jāthalīq*) had the right of residence in Baghdād, a privilege which the Jacobites had always sought in vain. Round the patriarchate styled Dayr al-Rūm[6] (the monastery of the Romans, i.e. Christians) there grew in Baghdād a Christian quarter called Dār (abode of) al-Rūm. Under the catholicos' jurisdiction there flourished seven metropolitans, including those of al-Baṣrah, al-Mawṣil and Niṣībīn (Nisibis), each with two or three bishops under him. The patriarch-elect received his investiture from the caliph, by whom he was recognized as the official head of all Christians in the empire. In 912–13 the catholicos succeeded in making the caliph prevent the Jacobite patriarch, whose seat was Antioch, from transferring his residence to Baghdād.[7] The main political charge against the Jacobites was that they sympathized with the Byzantines. But the Jacobites had a monastery in Baghdād[8] and a metro-

[1] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, p. 259.
[2] Al-Tanūkhi, *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah* (Cairo, 1904), vol. ii, p. 149.
[3] Naṣr ibn-Hārūn was the Buwayhid vizir. See Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. Margoliouth, vol. ii (Cairo and Oxford, 1915), pp. 408, 412.
[4] Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, p. 95.
[5] A. Mingana in *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, vol. 10 (1926), pp. 127-33.
[6] Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. ii, p. 662.
[7] On the Monophysite and Jacobite patriarchs see Assemani (al-Sam'āni), *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii (Rome, 1721).
[8] Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 662, l. 18.

politan seat in Takrīt, not far from the capital. In all, Yāqūt[1] lists half a dozen monasteries in east Baghdād, apart from those on the west side.

The Copts of Egypt, as we have noted before, belonged to the Jacobite communion. The Nubian church was likewise Jacobite and acknowledged the primacy of the patriarch of Alexandria. Along the narrow coast west of Egypt, Christianity had a following among the Berbers, but the majority of the inland population had their local cults corresponding to their tribal divisions.

One of the most remarkable features of Christianity under the caliphs was its possession of enough vitality to make it an aggressive church, sending its missionaries as far as India and China. Al-Nadīm[2] reports an interesting interview which he himself held with one such missionary returned from China, whom he met in the Christian quarter[3] of Baghdād. The famous stela at Sian Fu, China, erected in 781 to commemorate the names and labours of sixty-seven Nestorian missionaries,[4] together with the affiliation of the Christian church in India, that of the "Christians of St. Thomas" in Malabar near Madras, with the patriarchate in Baghdād, bear witness to the evangelistic zeal of the East Syrian Church under the Moslems. It is also recognized that the existing characters of Mongol and Manchu are lineal descendants of the original Uighurian forms, which were certainly derived from the Syriac alphabet as used by the Nestorians.

Jews

As one of the "protected" peoples the Jews fared on the whole even better than the Christians, and that in spite of several unfavourable references in the Koran.[5] They were fewer and did not therefore present such a problem. In 985 al-Maqdisi[6] found most of the money-changers and bankers in Syria to be Jews, and most of the clerks and physicians Christians. Under several caliphs, particularly al-Mu'taḍid (892–902), we read of more than one Jew in the capital and the provinces assuming responsible state positions. In Baghdād itself the Jews maintained a

[1] Under *dayr*. [2] P. 349.

[3] *Dār al-Rūm*, which Flügel, the editor, in his notes erroneously makes Constantinople.

[4] Consult P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo, 1937), pp. 10 *seq*.

[5] Sūrs. 2 : 70-73; 5 : 16, 66-9. [6] P. 183.

good-sized colony[1] which continued to flourish until the fall of the city. Benjamin of Tudela,[2] who visited the colony in 1170, found it in possession of ten rabbinical schools and twenty-three[3] synagogues; the principal one, adorned with variegated marble, was richly ornamented with gold and silver. Benjamin depicts in glowing colours the high esteem in which the head of the Babylonian Jews was held as a descendant of David and head of the community (Aram. *rēsh gālūtha*, prince of captivity[4] or exilarch), in fact as chief of all Jews owing allegiance to the Baghdād caliphate. Just as the catholicos exercised a certain measure of jurisdiction over all Christians in the empire, so did the exilarch over his co-religionists. The "prince of captivity" seems to have lived in affluence and owned gardens, houses and rich plantations. On his way to an audience with the caliph he appeared dressed in embroidered silk, wore a white turban gleaming with gems and was accompanied by a retinue of horsemen. Ahead of him marched a herald calling out: "Make way before our lord the son of David!"

Ṣābians

The Mandeans,[5] the genuine Ṣābians[6] of Arabic writers, were a Judaeo-Christian sect who also called themselves *Naṣoraiē d'Yaḥya*, the Naṣoreans[7] (i.e. the observants) of St. John, and therefore became erroneously known to the modern world as the Christians of St. John (the Baptist). The Mandeans practised the rite of baptism after birth, before marriage and on various other occasions. They inhabited the lower plains of Babylonia, and as a sect they go back to the first century after Christ. Palestine was perhaps the original home of this and other baptist communities. Their language, Mandaic, is a dialect of Aramaic and its script bears close resemblance to the Nabataean and Palmyrene. Mentioned thrice in the Koran, these Babylonian Ṣābians acquired a dhimmi status and were classified by

[1] Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 1045.

[2] *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, tr. and ed. A. Asher, vol. i (London and Berlin, 1840), pp. 100-105.

[3] Other contemporaneous travellers make the number only three, which is more credible.

[4] Some of the Baghdād Jews might well have been the descendants of those carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 586 B.C.

[5] This word is derived from Aramaic *yada'*, to know; the sect was Gnostic.

[6] Ar. *Ṣābi'ah*, or *Ṣābi'ūn*, sing. *Ṣābi'* from Mandaic (Aram.) *Ṣābī'*, immerser; no etymological connection with *Saba'*, the name of the great people in south-western Arabia.

[7] Wrongly rendered Nazarenes, i.e. Christians.

Moslems as a "protected" sect. According to the *Fihrist*[1] they included the *mughtasilah* (those who wash themselves), who occupied the marshes of lower al-'Irāq. The community still survives to the number of five thousand in the swampy lands near al-Baṣrah. Living in the neighbourhood of rivers is necessitated by the fact that immersion in flowing water is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic, feature of their religious practice. In modern Baghdād the Ṣābians are represented by the so-called 'Amārah silversmiths, makers of the *mīnā'* work.

Quite distinct from these Babylonian Ṣābians were the pseudo-Ṣābians of Ḥarrān.[2] Arab writers confuse the two. The Ḥarrān Ṣābians were in reality star-worshippers who under the Moslems adopted the name "Ṣābians" to secure the advantages of toleration accorded by the Koran. This name has stuck to them ever since, and the curious sect continued to flourish close to the headquarters of the caliphate until the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Mongols destroyed their last temple. Undoubtedly the intellectual merits and scientific services of some of its illustrious men helped to gain Moslem protection.[3] Reference has already been made to Thābit ibn-Qurrah and other great Ḥarrānian astronomers. Thābit's son Sinān was forced by the Caliph al-Qāhir to embrace Islam.[4] Among other Ṣābian luminaries were abu-Isḥāq ibn-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', secretary of both al-Muṭī' (946–74) and al-Ṭā'i' (974–91); al-Battāni, the astronomer; ibn-Waḥshīyah (fl. *ca.* 900), author of the book on Nabataean agriculture; and possibly Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān, the alchemist. The last three, however, professed Islam.[5]

Magians and other dualists

The Zoroastrians (*Majūs*), mentioned only once in the Koran (22 : 17), could not have been included among the Scripturaries in Muḥammad's mind. But in the ḥadīth and by Moslem legists they are treated as such; the term "Ṣābians" was interpreted to cover them. Practical politics and expediency, as we learned before, made it necessary that the dhimmi status be accorded such a large body of population as that which occupied Iran. After the conquest Zoroastrianism, which was the state religion,

[1] P. 340, l. 26; Mas'ūdi, vol. ii, p. 112.
[2] Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, pp. 61-71, devotes a section to them.
[3] *Fihrist*, p. 272, l. 11.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 302, quoted by ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 220-21.
[5] For more on the Ṣābians consult D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1856).

continued to exist and its fire-temples remained standing not only in all the Iranian provinces but in al-'Irāq, India and places east of Persia.[1] The Zoroastrians in India are still represented by the Parsis,[2] whose ancestors emigrated from Persia early in the eighth century. Zoroastrianism yielded a number of distinguished converts to Islam, the earliest among whom was ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Certain phases of early Islamic theology were either a reaction against dualism or an imitation of its attitudes.

The Manichaeans, at first mistaken by the Moslems for Christians or Zoroastrians, obtained later the status of a tolerated community. The Persian Mani († A.D. 273 or 274) and his teaching seem to have held a special fascination for the followers of Muḥammad, for we see that both al-Mahdi and al-Hādi issued strict measures against the tendency in that direction. Even the last Umayyad caliph, whose tutor was put to death as a *zindīq*, was suspected of Manichaeism.[3] In 780 al-Mahdi crucified a number of crypto-Manichaeans in Aleppo,[4] and during the last two years of his reign instituted an inquisition against them in Baghdād.[5] Al-Hādi continued the persecution begun by his predecessor.[6] Al-Rashīd likewise appointed a special officer to conduct an inquisition against such dualists.[7] But many Manichaeans and even communistic Mazdakites[8] seem to have survived. And although the Koran[9] entitles idol worshippers to no consideration, practical Islam connived at minor communities in Northern Africa and Central Asia which were too insignificant to attract public attention, and found it impossible to exterminate paganism in India.

The so-called "Moslem conquests" which were effected mainly under the orthodox caliphs were in reality, as noted

The Islamization of the empire

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 86.

[2] Name derived from Pārs (Fārs), modern Fāris. See above, p. 157, n. 2.

[3] *Fihrist*, pp. 337-8. Early Arab writers applied the term *zindīq* (from Pahlawi *zandīk*) to any Moslem whose religious ideas partook of the dogmatic conceptions of the Persians in general and the Manichaeans in particular. In later usage *zindīq* came to mean any person with liberal views, a free-thinker. Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i (New York, 1902), pp. 159-60. Cf. above, p. 84, n. 2.

[4] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 499. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 519-20, 588. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 548-51.

[7] Arabic sources including *Fihrist*, pp. 327 *seq.*, Shahrastāni, pp. 188 *seq.*, and Ya'qūbi, vol. i, pp. 180-82, are among the oldest and best we have on Manichaeism. For a modern treatment consult A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism* (New York, 1932).

[8] See Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 885-6, 897; Shahrastāni, pp. 192 *seq.*; Browne, vol. i, pp. 166-72. [9] Sūrs. 4 : 116-20, 21 : 98-100, 66 : 9.

before, the conquest of Arab arms and Arab nationals. They netted the military and political subjugation of Persia, the Fertile Crescent and north-eastern Africa. During the first century of 'Abbāsid rule the conquests entered upon their second stage, the victory of Islam as a religion. It was in the course of this stage that the bulk of the population of the empire was converted to the new religion. Many conversions were, to be sure, concurrent with the early military conquests, but such a country as Syria continued to present the aspect of a Christian land throughout the whole Umayyad period. The situation now, however, began perceptibly to change. The intolerant legislation of al-Rashīd and al-Mutawakkil undoubtedly contributed its quota of fresh converts. Cases of individual and collective forcible conversion added to their numbers; five thousand of the Christian banu-Tanūkh whom al-Mahdi saw near Aleppo responded to his orders and embraced Islam.[1] But the process of conversion in its normal working was more gradual and peaceful, though also inescapable. Self-interest dictated it. To escape the payment of the humiliating tribute and other disabilities, to secure social prestige or political influence, to enjoy a larger measure of freedom and security, these were the strong motives in operation.

Persia remained unconverted to Islam until well into the third century after its inclusion in the Arab empire. It counts among its population today some 9000 Zoroastrians. The population of northern al-'Irāq early in the tenth century was still, in the opinion of ibn-al-Faqīh,[2] "Moslem in name but Christian in character". Mt. Lebanon has maintained until the present day a Christian majority. Egypt, which had embraced Christianity but very lightly in the fourth century, proved one of the easiest countries to Islamize. Its Copts today form but a small minority. The Nubian kingdom, which had been Christianized in the middle of the sixth century, was still Christian in the twelfth century[3] and even in the latter part of the fourteenth.[4] The conversion to Islam of the Berbers and North Africans, whose

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and tr. P. J. Bruns and G. G. Kirsch (Leipzig, 1789), vol. ii (text), p. 133=vol. i, pp. 134-5.
[2] *Buldān*, p. 315, l. 9.
[3] Al-Idrīsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and tr. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1864–66), p. 27 (text)=p. 32 (tr.).
[4] Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. iv, pp. 396.

church, as we have before noted, had produced several illustrious champions of Christian orthodoxy, was begun with no marked success by 'Uqbah after the founding of al-Qayrawān in 670 as a permanent base of military operation and centre of Islamic influence. It was carried out in the following century according to a new plan of enlisting the Berbers in the Moslem army and thus winning them over by the new prospects of booty. The Berbers formed the nucleus of the armed forces which completed the conquest of West Africa and effected the subjugation of Spain. But even in their case we find three centuries after the Arab conquest some forty bishoprics left[1] of the church which once comprised five hundred. Here the final triumph of Islam was not achieved till the twelfth century, though certain Kabyls (from Ar. *qabā'il*, tribes) of Algeria had the Andalusian Moors, driven out after the fall of Granada in 1492, to thank for their conversion.

The conquest of Arabic

The third stage in the series of conquests was the linguistic one: the victory of the Arabic tongue over the native languages of the subjugated peoples. This was the latest and slowest. It was in this field of struggle that the subject races presented the greatest measure of resistance. They proved, as is often the case, more ready to give up their political and even religious loyalties than their linguistic ones. The complete victory of Arabic as the language of common usage was not assured until the latter part of the 'Abbāsid period. In Persia Arabic became for some time after the military conquest the language of learning and society, but it never succeeded in displacing permanently the Iranian speech. In al-'Irāq and Syria the transition from one Semitic tongue, the Aramaic, to another, the Arabic, was of course easier. In the out-of-the-way places, however, such as the Lebanons with their preponderant Christian population, the native Syriac put up a desperate fight and has lingered until modern times. Indeed Syriac is still spoken in Ma'lūla and two other villages in Anti-Lebanon. With its disappearance Aramaic has left in the colloquial Arabic unmistakable traces noticeable in vocabulary, accent and grammatical structure.[2]

Arabic as the language of learning, it should be noted, won

[1] De Mas Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Paris, 1886), pp. 27-8; Arnold, *Preaching*, pp. 126 *seq.*

[2] Hitti, *al-Lughāt al-Sāmīyah* (Beirūt, 1922), pp. 30-46.

its day before Arabic as the vernacular. In the preceding chapter we have seen how fresh streams of thought from Byzantium, Persia and India resulted in a new concentration of culture in the 800's in Baghdād, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, comparable only to that of Alexandria in earlier times, and rendered Arabic, never used before for scientific purposes, the vehicle of the Arab civilization. We shall now proceed to trace that cultural movement.

CHAPTER XXVII

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY PROGRESS

THE epoch of translation (*ca.* 750–850), discussed in a previous chapter (XXIV), was followed by one of creative activity; for the Arabs not only assimilated the ancient lore of Persia and the classical heritage of Greece but adapted both to their own peculiar needs and ways of thinking. In medicine and philosophy their independent work was less conspicuous than in alchemy, astronomy, mathematics and geography. In law, theology, philology and linguistics as Arabs and Moslems they carried on original thinking and research. Their translations, transmuted in no small degree by the Arab mind during the course of several centuries, were transmitted, together with many new contributions, to Europe through Syria, Spain and Sicily and laid the basis of that canon of knowledge which dominated medieval European thought. And transmission, from the standpoint of the history of culture, is no less essential than origination, for had the researches of Aristotle, Galen and Ptolemy been lost to posterity the world would have been as poor as if they had never been produced.

Medicine

The line of demarcation between translated and original work is not always clearly drawn. Many of the translators were also contributors. Such was the case with Yūḥanna ibn-Māsawayh (777–857) and Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq (809–73). The former, a Christian physician and pupil of Jibrīl ibn-Bakhtīshūʿ, failing to obtain human subjects for dissection, a practice which was never encouraged by Islam, had recourse to apes, one of which came from Nubia in 836 as a present to al-Muʿtaṣim.[1] Under these conditions little progress was made in the science of anatomy, except possibly in studying the anatomical structure of the eye. The prevalence of eye diseases in the sunny climate of al-ʿIrāq and other Moslem lands concentrated early medical attention on this subject. From the pen of ibn-Māsawayh we

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. i, p. 178.

have the oldest systematic treatise on ophthalmology extant in Arabic.[1] A book entitled *al-'Ashr Maqālāt fi al-'Ayn* (the ten treatises on the eye) and ascribed to his pupil Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq has recently been published with an English translation[2] as the earliest existing text-book of ophthalmology.

Arab interest in the curative science found expression in the Prophetic tradition that made science twofold: theology and medicine. The physician was at the same time metaphysician, philosopher and sage, and the title *ḥakīm* was indifferently applied to him in all these capacities. The case of the Nestorian Jibrīl ibn-Bakhtīshū' († *ca.* 830), who was court physician of al-Rashīd, al-Mamūn and the Barmakids and is said to have amassed a fortune of 88,800,000 dirhams,[3] shows that the medical profession was a paying one. As private physician of al-Rashīd Jibrīl received, we are told, 100,000 dirhams for bleeding the caliph twice a year and an equal sum for administering a semi-annual purgative draught. The Bakhtīshū' family produced six or seven generations of distinguished physicians, the last of whom flourished in the second half of the eleventh century.

In the curative use of drugs some remarkable advances were made at this time by the Arabs. It was they who established the first apothecary shops, founded the earliest school of pharmacy and produced the first pharmacopœia. Several pharmacological treatises were composed, beginning with those of the world-famed Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān, the father of Arabic alchemy, who flourished about 776. As early as the days of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim pharmacists had to pass some kind of examination.[4] Like druggists, physicians also were required to submit to a test. Following a case of malpractice Sinān ibn-Thābit ibn-Qurrah was ordered by al-Muqtadir in 931 to examine all practising physicians and grant certificates (sing. *ijāzah*) only to those who satisfied him. Over eight hundred and sixty such men in Baghdād passed the test and the capital rid itself of its quacks.[5] On the orders of al-Muqtadir's virtuous vizir 'Ali ibn-'Īsa, Sinān organized a staff of physicians who would go from place to

[1] *Daghal al-'Ayn* (the disorder of the eye), MS.; one copy is in Taymūr Pasha's library, Cairo, another in Leningrad.
[2] By Max Meyerhof (Cairo, 1928).
[3] Qifṭi, p. 143.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 188-9.
[5] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 222; Qifṭi, p. 191.

place carrying drugs and administering relief to ailing people. Other physicians made daily visits to jails.[1] Such facts show an intelligent interest in public hygiene unknown to the rest of the world at that time. In his efforts to raise the scientific standard of the medical profession and in his efficient administration of the Baghdād hospital lay Sinān's chief title to fame. This hospital, the first in Islam, was created by Hārūn al-Rashīd at the beginning of the ninth century, following the Persian model, as the Arabic name *bīmāristān*[2] indicates. Not long afterwards other hospitals to the number of thirty-four grew up throughout the Moslem world. Cairo saw its first hospital under ibn-Ṭūlūn[3] about 872, an institution which survived until the fifteenth century. Travelling clinics made their appearance in the eleventh century. Moslem hospitals had special wards for women and each had its own dispensary. Some were equipped with medical libraries and offered courses in medicine.

The most notable medical authors who followed the epoch of the great translators were Persian in nationality but Arab in language: ʿAli al-Ṭabari, al-Rāzi, ʿAli ibn-al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsi and ibn-Sīna. The portraits of two of these, al-Rāzi and ibn-Sīna, adorn the great hall of the School of Medicine at the University of Paris. ʿAli al-Ṭabari

ʿAli ibn-Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabari, who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, was originally a Christian from Ṭabaristān, as he tells us in his *Kitāb al-Dīn* and as his father's name indicates.[4] In the reign of al-Mutawakkil he turned Moslem and became a physician to the caliph himself, under whom he produced in 850 his *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* (paradise of wisdom), one of the oldest Arabic compendiums of medicine. This work includes to some extent philosophy and astronomy and is based on Greek and Hindu sources. Among ʿAli's distinguished pupils was the theologian-philosopher and physician, al-Rāzi.

Abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Zakarīyā' al-Rāzi (Rhazes, 865–925), so called after the place of his birth, al-Rayy, not far from Ṭihrān, the capital of modern Persia, was probably "the greatest Al-Rāzi

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. i, p. 221; Qifṭi, pp. 193-4.

[2] Pers. *bīmār*, sick + *stān*, place of.

[3] Ibn-Duqmāq, pt. iv, p. 99.

[4] Pp. 124-5 = *Book of Religion*, p. 147. See also *Fihrist*, p. 296; cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 503, l. 25. "Rabban" in his father's name, which made scholars think that he was of Jewish origin, is obviously Syriac for "our master", as ʿAli explains in his introduction to *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah fi al-Ṭibb*, ed. Muḥammad Z. Ṣiddīqi (Berlin, 1928).

and most original of all the Muslim physicians, and one of the most prolific as an author".[1] In selecting a new site for the great hospital[2] at Baghdād, of which he was chief physician, he is said to have hung up shreds of meat in different places, choosing the spot where they showed the least signs of putrefaction.[3] He is also considered the inventor of the seton in surgery. The *Fihrist*[4] lists one hundred and thirteen major and twenty-eight minor works by al-Rāzi, of which twelve deal with alchemy. One of his principal works on alchemy, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* (the book of secrets), after having passed through numerous editorial hands was rendered into Latin by the eminent translator Gerard of Cremona († 1187) and became a chief source of chemical knowledge until superseded in the fourteenth century by Jābir's (Geber's) works. Under the title *De spiritibus et corporibus* it was quoted by Roger Bacon. While still in Persia al-Rāzi wrote for Manṣūr ibn-Isḥāq al-Sāmāni of Sijistān a monumental work in ten volumes, named after his patron *Kitāb al-Manṣūri*, of which a Latin translation (*Liber Almansoris*) appeared in Milan in the eighties of the fifteenth century. Parts of it have been recently done into French and German. Of his monographs one of the best known is a treatise on smallpox and measles (*al-Judari w-al-Ḥaṣbah*), the earliest of its kind and rightly considered an ornament to the medical literature of the Arabs. In it we find the first clinical account of smallpox.[5]

Translated into Latin in Venice (1565) and later into several modern languages, this treatise served to establish al-Rāzi's reputation as one of the keenest original thinkers and greatest clinicians not only of Islam but of the Middle Ages. His most important work, however, was *al-Ḥāwi* (the comprehensive book), first translated into Latin under the auspices of Charles I of Anjou by the Sicilian Jewish physician Faraj ben-Sālim in 1279. Under the title *Continens* it was repeatedly printed from 1486 onwards, a fifth edition appearing in Venice in 1542. As the name indicates, this book was meant to be encyclopædic in its range of medical information. It sums up the knowledge the

[1] Edward G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 44.

[2] Wrongly referred to by later writers as "al-'Aḍudi", after the Buwayhid ruler 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah, who established on its site his own hospital.

[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 309-10.

[4] Pp. 299-302.

[5] Ed. Cornelius Van Dyck (London, 1866, and Beirūt, 1872); tr. W. A. Greenhill, *A Treatise on the Small-Pox and Measles* (London, 1848).

Arabs possessed at that time of Greek, Persian and Hindu medicine and adds some fresh contributions. Printed when printing was still in its infancy, these medical works of al-Rāzi exercised for centuries a remarkable influence over the minds of the Latin West.

'Ali ibn-al-'Abbās (Haly Abbas, † 994), originally a Zoroastrian as his last name, al-Majūsi (the Magian), indicates, distinguished himself as the author of *al-Kitāb al-Maliki* (the royal book, *Liber regius*), which he composed for the great Buwayhid 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah Fanna Khusraw, who reigned 949–83.[1] This work, also called *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'ah al-Ṭibbīyah*, a "noble thesaurus comprehending the science and practice of Medicine",[2] was more concise than *al-Ḥāwi* and was diligently studied until superseded by ibn-Sīna's *al-Qānūn*. The best parts of *al-Maliki* are devoted to dietetics and materia medica. Among its original contributions are a rudimentary conception of the capillary system and a proof that in the act of parturition the child does not come out by itself but is pushed out by the muscular contractions of the womb.

Ibn-Sīna

The most illustrious name in Arabic medical annals after al-Rāzi's is that of ibn-Sīna (Latin Avicenna, through Heb. Aven Sīna, 980–1037), called by the Arabs *al-shaykh al-ra'īs*, "the sheikh and prince" (of the learned).[3] Al-Rāzi was more of a physician than ibn-Sīna, but ibn-Sīna was more of a philosopher. In this physician, philosopher, philologist and poet Arab science culminates and is, one might say, incarnated.

Abu-'Ali al-Ḥusayn, to use his first name, was the son of an Ismā'īli, 'Abdullāh. Born near Bukhāra, he spent all his life in the eastern part of the Moslem world and was buried in Hamadhān, where his grave is still shown. As a young man he had the good fortune to cure the Sāmānid sultan of Bukhāra, Nūḥ ibn-Manṣūr (reigned 976–97), and was therefore given the privilege of using the ruler's remarkable library. Endowed with extraordinary powers of absorbing and retaining knowledge, this Moslem Persian scholar devoured the contents of the royal library and at the early age of twenty-one was in a position to embark on his career of writing. This included the systematizing

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 236-7; Qifṭi, p. 232.

[2] Qifṭi, p. 232. For a complete MS. copy dated 586 (A.D. 1190) see Hitti, Faris and 'Abd-al-Malik, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, supp. no. 1.

[3] Also called *al-mu'allim al-thāni*, the second teacher (after Aristotle).

of the knowledge of his time. Al-Qifṭi[1] lists only twenty-one major and twenty-four minor works of ibn-Sīna; other titles swell the total to ninety-nine, dealing with philosophy, medicine, geometry, astronomy, theology, philology and art. Of these his best-known poetical production is a lengthy ode describing "the descent of the soul into the body from the higher sphere" and is still memorized by young students in the Arabic East. Among his scientific works the leading two are the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* (book of healing), a philosophical encyclopædia based upon the Aristotelian tradition as modified by Neo-Platonic influences and Moslem theology, and *al-Qānūn fi al-Ṭibb*, which represents the final codification of Greco-Arabic medical thought. The Arabic text of the *Qānūn* was published in Rome in 1593 and was therefore one of the earliest Arabic books to see print.[2] Translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century, this *Canon*, with its encyclopædic contents, its systematic arrangement and philosophic plan, soon worked its way into a position of pre-eminence in the medical literature of the age, displacing the works of Galen, al-Rāzi and al-Majūsi and becoming the text-book for medical education in the schools of Europe. In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century it passed through fifteen Latin editions and one Hebrew. In recent years a partial translation into English was made.[3] The book distinguishes mediastinitis from pleurisy and recognizes the contagious nature of phthisis and the spreading of diseases by water and soil. It gives a scientific diagnosis of ankylostomiasis and attributes it to an intestinal worm. Its materia medica considers some seven hundred and sixty drugs. From the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries this work served as the chief guide to medical science in the West and it is still in occasional use in the Moslem East. In the words of Dr. Osler[4] it has remained "a medical bible for a longer period than any other work".

Among the lesser lights in the medical firmament mention may be made of 'Ali ibn-'Īsa (Jesu Haly), the most famous

[1] P. 418. Cf. ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 18-20; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 273-4; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. i (Weimar, 1898), pp. 453-8.

[2] The first edition of a compendium of *al-Shifā'* appeared as a supplement to this work.

[3] O. Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna* (London, 1930).

[4] William Osler, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine* (New Haven, 1922), p. 98.

oculist (*kaḥḥāl*) of the Arabs. 'Ali, a Christian, flourished in Baghdād in the first half of the eleventh century, a century and a half after the court physician of al-Mu'tamid, whose name, 'Īsa ibn-'Ali,[1] is often confused with his. Of the thirty-two medieval Arabic works on ophthalmology his *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*[2] (a note for oculists), which has survived in its complete and original form, is one of the oldest and worthiest. Only the two treatises by ibn-Māsawayh and Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq antedate it. The *Tadhkirah* carefully describes one hundred and thirty eye diseases. It was done once into Hebrew and twice into Latin and is still in use in the East.

Another physician of the second class was ibn-Jazlah (Bengesla, Byngezla, † 1100), originally a Christian,[3] who wrote a medical synopsis entitled *Taqwīm al-Abdān fi Tadbīr al-Insān* (tables of the body with regard to the physical management of man) modelled on the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* by another Christian physician, ibn-Buṭlān,[4] who died in Antioch about 1063. In a *Taqwīm* diseases are arranged as are the stars in astronomical tables. Ibn-Jazlah's work was translated into Latin at Strassburg in 1532. The last physician to be mentioned in this series is Ya'qūb ibn-akhi-Ḥizām, the stable-master of al-Mu'taḍid (892–902), who composed a treatise on horsemanship (*al-Furūsīyah wa-Shiyāt al-Khayl*) which is the first Arabic work of its kind. It contains some rudiments of the veterinary art and has survived in a manuscript now preserved in the British Museum.[5]

Philosophy

To the Arabs philosophy (*falsafah*) was a knowledge of the true cause of things as they really are, in so far as it is possible to ascertain them by human faculties. In essence their philosophy was Greek, modified by the thought of the conquered peoples and by other Eastern influences, adapted to the mental proclivities of Islam and expressed through the medium of Arabic. These Arabs believed Aristotle's works to have represented a complete codification of Greek philosophical lore, as Galen's represented Greek medical lore. Greek philosophy and medicine meant then,

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 297; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 203.

[2] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, p. 247. Translated, not from the original Arabic, by Carey A. Wood, *The Tadhkirat of Ali ibn Isa* (Chicago, 1936).

[3] *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 255; Qifṭi, p. 365; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 255.

[4] Hitti, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 214-16; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 241 *seq*; Qifṭi, pp. 294 *seq.*

[5] *Fihrist*, p. 315, mentions an ibn-akhi-Ḥizām, perhaps a son of Ya'qūb.

of course, all that the West possessed. As Moslems the Arabs believed that the Koran and Islamic theology were the summation of religious law and experience. Their original contribution, therefore, was made in the borderland between philosophy and religion on one hand and philosophy and medicine on the other. In course of time Arab authors came to apply the word *falāsifah* or *ḥukamā'* (philosophers or sages) to those philosophers among them whose speculations were not limited by religion, reserving the term *mutakallimūn* or *ahl al-kalām* (speech-makers, dialecticians) for those whose system was conditioned by subordination to revealed religion. The *mutakallimūn*, who corresponded to the scholastic writers of Christian Europe, set forth their theories in the form of propositions and were therefore called by that title. *Kalām* came slowly to mean theology and *mutakallim* became a synonym for theologian. Al-Ghazzāli was primarily a theologian and will be dealt with later. The greatest names in the field of early Arab philosophy were those of al-Kindi, al-Fārābi and ibn-Sīna.

Al-Kindi

Al-Kindi, abu-Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn-Isḥāq, was born in al-Kūfah about the middle of the ninth century and flourished in Baghdād. His pure Arabian descent earned him the title "the philosopher of the Arabs", and indeed he was the first and last example of an Aristotelian student in the Eastern caliphate who sprang from Arabian stock. Eclectic in his system, al-Kindi endeavoured in Neo-Platonic fashion to combine the views of Plato and Aristotle and regarded the Neo-Pythagorean mathematics as the basis of all science. Al-Kindi was more than a philosopher. He was astrologer, alchemist, optician and music theorist. No less than two hundred and sixty-five works are ascribed to him, but most of them unhappily have been lost. His principal work on geometrical and physiological optics, based on the *Optics* of Euclid in Theon's recension, was widely used in both East and West until superseded by the greater work of ibn-al-Haytham. In its Latin translation, *De aspectibus*, it influenced Roger Bacon. Al-Kindi's three or four treatises on the theory of music are the earliest extant works in Arabic showing the influence of Greek writers on that subject. In one of these treatises al-Kindi describes rhythm (*īqā'*) as a constituent part of Arabic music. Measured song, or mensural music, must therefore have been known to the Moslems centuries before it was introduced into Christian

Europe.[1] Of al-Kindi's writings more have survived in Latin translations, including those of Gerard of Cremona, than in the Arabic original.

The harmonization of Greek philosophy with Islam begun by al-Kindi, an Arab, was continued by al-Fārābi, a Turk, and completed in the East by ibn-Sīna, a Persian. Al-Fārābi

Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṭarhkān abu-Naṣr al-Fārābi[2] (Alpharabius) was born in Transoxiana, educated under a Christian physician and a Christian translator in Baghdād and flourished as a Sufi at Aleppo in the brilliant court of Sayf-al-Dawlah al-Ḥamdāni. He died at Damascus in 950 at the age of about eighty. His system of philosophy, as revealed by his several treatises on Plato and Aristotle, was a syncretism of Platonism, Aristotelianism and Sufism and won him the enviable title of "the second teacher" (*al-mu'allim al-thāni*), after the great Stagirite. Besides a number of commentaries on Aristotle and other Greek philosophers, al-Fārābi composed various psychological, political and metaphysical works, of which the best-known are the *Risālat Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*[3] (epistle containing bezels of wisdom) and the *Risālah fi Ārā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* (epistle regarding the opinions of the people of the superior city).[4] In the latter and in his *al-Siyāsah al-Madanīyah* (political economy), al-Fārābi, inspired by Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*, presents his conception of a model city, which he conceives as a hierarchical organism analogous to the human body. The sovereign, who corresponds to the heart, is served by functionaries who are themselves served by others still lower. In his ideal city the object of association is the happiness of its citizens, and the sovereign is perfect morally and intellectually.

Al-Fārābi's other writings reveal him as a fair physician and mathematician, an occult scientist and an excellent musician. In fact he is considered the greatest of all Arabic music theorists. Besides his treatment of music in two of his compendiums of the sciences, he devotes three major works to the subject, of which

[1] See below, p. 600.

[2] From Fārāb in Turkestan. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 134; Qifṭi, p. 277.

[3] Published by Friedrich Dieterici in his *Die Philosophie der Araber im IX. und X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, vol. xiv (Leyden, 1890), pp. 66-83.

[4] Published at Cairo, 1323, and also by Dieterici, *Philosophie der Araber*, vol. xvi (Leyden, 1895), who also translated it as *Der Musterstaat von Alfārābi* (Leyden, 1900).

the leading is the *Kitāb al-Mūsīqi al-Kabīr* (the great book of music).[1] In the presence of his patron Sayf-al-Dawlah he is said to have been able to play his lute so as to cast his hearers into a fit of laughter, draw tears from their eyes or set them all asleep, including even the doorkeepers.[2] Ancient chants attributed to him are still sung by the Mawlawi dervishes.

After al-Fārābi it was ibn-Sīna († 1037) who contributed the most important works in Arabic on the theory of music. Ibn-Sīna, already treated with the medical men, was indebted to al-Fārābi in his philosophical views. In the judgment of ibn-Khallikān[3] "no Moslem ever reached in the philosophical sciences the same rank as al-Fārābi; and it was by the study of his writings and by the imitation of his style that ibn-Sīna attained proficiency and rendered his own work so useful". It was ibn-Sīna, however, who placed the sum-total of Greek wisdom, codified by his own ingenuity, at the disposal of the educated Moslem world in an intelligible form. Through him the Greek system, particularly that of Philo, was rendered capable of incorporation with Islam.

The Brethren of Sincerity

About the middle of the fourth Moslem century (*ca.* 970) there flourished in al-Baṣrah an interesting eclectic school of popular philosophy, with leanings toward Pythagorean speculations, known as Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (the brethren of sincerity). The appellation is presumably taken from the story of the ringdove in *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* in which it is related that a group of animals by acting as faithful friends (*ikhwān al-ṣafā'*[4]) to one another escaped the snares of the hunter.[5]

The Ikhwān, who had a branch in Baghdād, formed not only a philosophical but also a religio-political association with ultra-Shīʿite, probably Ismāʿīlite, views and were opposed to the existing political order, which they evidently aimed to overthrow by undermining the popular intellectual system and religious beliefs. Hence arises the obscurity surrounding their activities and

[1] Extracts by J. P. N. Land appeared in *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes*, pt. 2, sec. 1 (Leyden, 1885), pp. 100-168. Fr. tr. by Rodolphe d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, vols. i, ii, *al-Fārābī* (Paris, 1930–35). Hitti, Faris and ʿAbd-al-Malik, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, no. 1984.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 501.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 499 = de Slane, vol. iii, p. 307.

[4] From this it would appear that the usual rendition, "the brethren of purity", "les frères de la pureté", "die lauteren Brüder", is not exact.

[5] I. Goldziher in *Der Islam*, vol. *j* (1910), pp. 22-6.

membership. A collection of their epistles, *Rasā'il*,[1] arranged in encyclopædic fashion survives, bearing some obscure names as collaborators. The epistles number fifty-two and treat of mathematics, astronomy, geography, music, ethics, philosophy, embodying the sum-total of knowledge that a cultured man of that age was supposed to acquire. The first fifty-one epistles lead up to the last, which is a summation of all sciences. The language of the epistles shows that Arabic had by that time become an adequate instrument for expressing scientific thought in all its various aspects. Al-Ghazzāli was influenced by the Ikhwān's writings,[2] and Rashīd-al-Dīn Sinān ibn-Sulaymān, the chief of the Assassins in Syria, used them diligently.[3] When in Baghdād abu-al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, the great Syrian poet-philosopher, attended the association's Friday meetings.[4] Abu-Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdi († 1023[5]), the famous Mu'tazilite who with al-Rāwandi († 915) and al-Ma'arri († 1057) formed the trinity of arch-heretics in Islam,[6] was a pupil if not an active member of the fraternity.

Astronomy and mathematics

The scientific study of astronomy in Islam was begun, as we have already learned, under the influence of an Indian work, the *Siddhānta* (Ar. *Sindhind*), brought to Baghdād (771), translated by Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Fazāri and used as a model by later scholars. Pahlawi tables (*zīk*) compiled in the Sāsānid period were soon added in translated form (*zīj*). The Greek influence, last in order of time, was first in importance. An early translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was followed by two superior ones: the one by al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Maṭar completed in A.H. 212 (827–8) and the other by Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq revised by Thābit ibn-Qurrah († 901). Early in the ninth century the first regular observations (*raṣd*) with fairly accurate instruments were made in Jundaysābūr (south-west Persia). In connection with his Bayt al-Ḥikmah, al-Ma'mūn erected at Baghdād near the Shammāsīyah gate an astronomical observatory under the directorship

[1] Dieterici issued and translated a great part of the text in his *Die Philosophie der Araber*, 16 vols. (Leipzig and Leyden, 1858–1895). The last Oriental edition is that of Khayr-al-Dīn al-Zirikli, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1928).

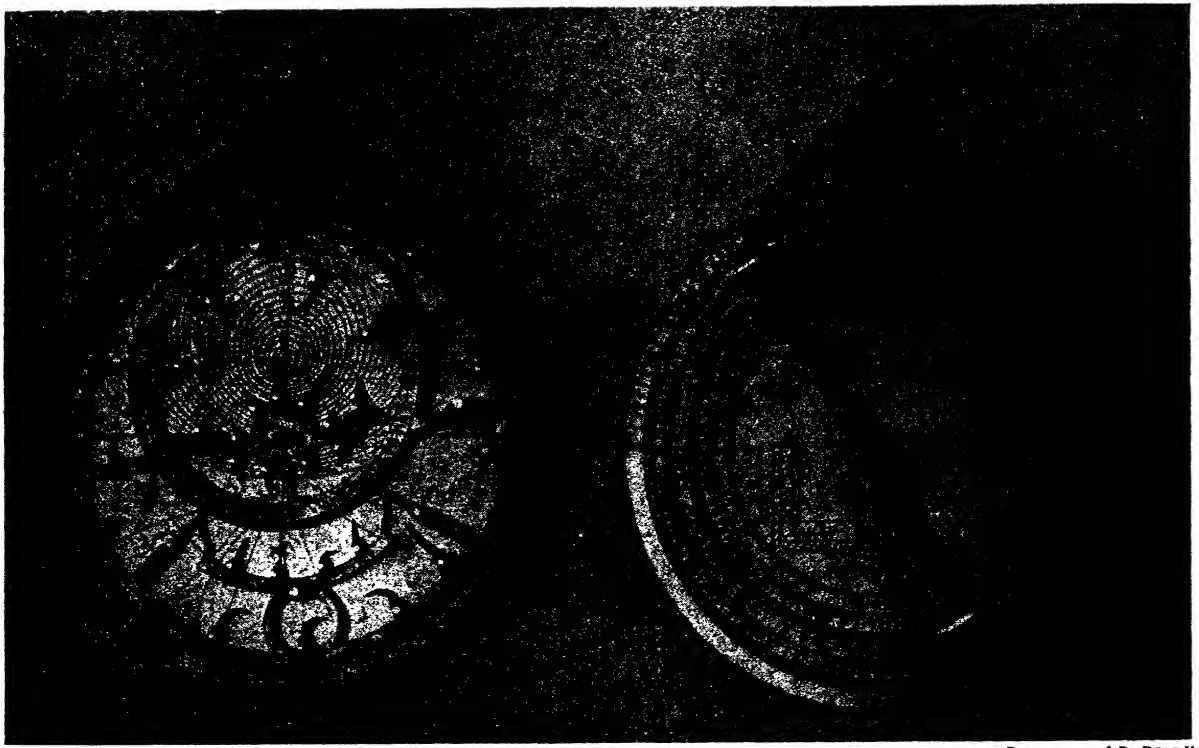
[2] Cf. *Iḥyā'*, vol. ii, p. 254, ll. 8-12, p. 262, ll. 18-20, with *Rasā'il*, vol. i, p. 180.

[3] M. C. Defrémery in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 5, vol. v (1855), pp. 5-6.

[4] Consult his *Dīwān: Siqṭ al-Zand*, ed. Shākir Shuqayr (Beirūt, 1884), p. 112, l. 15, p. 104, ll. 4-5.

[5] Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 470; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. v, p. 381.

[6] Al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah al-Kubra* (Cairo, 1906), vol. iv, p. 3.



By courtesy of B. Bārūdī

AN ASTROLABE DATED A.H. 1010 (A.D. 1601–2)

1. Face; 2. Back

of a converted Jew, Sind ibn-ʿAli, and Yaḥya ibn-abi-Manṣūr († 830 or 831).[1] Here the caliph's astronomers "not only made systematic observation of the celestial movements, but also verified with remarkably precise results all the fundamental elements of the *Almagest*: the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes, the length of the solar year, etc."[2] To this observatory al-Ma'mūn soon added another on Mt. Qāsiyūn outside of Damascus.[3] The equipment in those days consisted of quadrant, astrolabe, dial and globes. Ibrāhīm al-Fazāri († *ca.* 777) was the first Moslem to construct an astrolabe,[4] undoubtedly on the Greek model, as the Arabic name (*asṭurlāb*) indicates. One of the earliest Arabic treatises on this instrument was written by ʿAli ibn-ʿĪsa al-Asṭurlābi (maker of astrolabes), who flourished in Baghdād and Damascus before 830.

Al-Ma'mūn's astronomers performed one of the most delicate geodetic operations—the measuring of the length of a terrestrial degree. The object was to determine the size of the earth and its circumference on the assumption that the earth was round. The measurement, carried out on the plain of Sinjār north of the Euphrates and also near Palmyra, yielded $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles as the length of a degree of the meridian—a remarkably accurate result, exceeding the real length of the degree at that place by about 2877 feet. This would make the circumference of the earth 20,400 miles and its diameter 6500. Among the astronomer-mathematicians who took part in this operation was the noted al-Khwārizmi, whose tables (*zīj*), revised in the second century by the distinguished astronomer of Spain Maslamah al-Majrīṭi († *ca.* 1007) and translated into Latin in 1126 by Adelard of Bath, became the bases for other works both in the East and the West. Such Arab astronomical tables replaced all their Greek and Indian predecessors and came to be used even in China.

Another eminent astronomer of the period was abu-al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad[5] al-Farghāni (Alfraganus), of Farghānah in Transoxiana, who in 861 superintended for al-Mutawakkil the erection of a Nilometer at al-Fusṭāṭ.[6] Al-Farghāni's principal work, usually

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 275.
[2] C. A. Nallino, art. "Astronomy", *Encyclopædia of Islām*. Cf. Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 50-51.
[3] Ibn-al-ʿIbri, p. 237.
[4] *Fihrist*, p. 273.
[5] "Muḥammad" in *Fihrist*, p. 279; followed by Qifti, p. 286.
[6] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. i, p. 207.

referred to as *al-Mudkhil ila 'Ilm Hay'at al-Aflāk*,[1] was done into Latin in 1135 by John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona, and also into Hebrew. In Arabic it has survived in several manuscripts under different titles.[2]

In addition to the Ma'mūni observatory, one was operated by the three sons of Mūsa ibn-Shākir (850–70) in their house at Baghdād. The Buwayhid Sultan Sharaf-al-Dawlah (982–89) instituted another in his Baghdād palace, where 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfi († 986), Aḥmad al-Ṣāghāni († 990) and abu-al-Wafā' († 997)[3] worked. In the court of another Buwayhid, Rukn-al-Dawlah (932–76) of al-Rayy, flourished abu-Ja'far al-Khāzin of Khurāsān,[4] who ascertained the obliquity of the ecliptic and solved a problem in Archimedes which leads to a cubic equation. Other astronomers made a systematic study of the heavens in Shīrāz, Naysābūr and Samarqand.

Al-Battāni

Between 877 and 918 abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-Jābir al-Battāni[5] (Albatenius), originally a Ṣābian from Ḥarrān and unquestionably the greatest astronomer of his nationality and time and one of the greatest in Islam, made his observations and studies in al-Raqqah. Al-Battāni was an original research worker. He made several emendations to Ptolemy and rectified the calculations for the orbits of the moon and certain planets. He proved the possibility of annular eclipses of the sun and determined with greater accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropical year and of the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun.[6]

Al-Bīrūni

At Ghaznah in eastern Afghanistan lived abu-al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad al-Bīrūni[7] (973–1048), considered the most original and profound thinker that Islam has produced in the domain of the physical and mathematical sciences. Here this Arabic author of Persian origin produced in 1030 for his patron Sultan Mas'ūd, son of the famous Maḥmūd, an account of the whole science of astronomy entitled *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi fi*

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 236; Qifṭi, p. 78.
[2] See Hitti, Faris and 'Abd-al-Malik, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, no. 967.
[3] *Fihrist*, p. 283; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 97; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 508-9.
[4] Qifṭi, p. 396; *Fihrist*, pp. 266, 282. [5] *Fihrist*, p. 279.
[6] His astronomical work *al-Zīj al-Ṣābi'* was edited by C. A. Nallino (Rome, 1899).
[7] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 20-21; ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 324-5. His surname is derived from Bīrūn (Pers. for outside), a suburb of Khwārizm, though an autograph on a manuscript title-page reproduced in *Islamic Culture*, vol. vi (1932), facing p. 534, spells "al-Bayrūni".

al-Hay'ah w-al-Nujūm. In the same year he composed a short catechism of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology entitled *al-Tafhīm li-Awā'il Ṣinā'at al-Tanjīm*. His first work was *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah 'an al-Qurūn al-Khāliyah*,[1] dealing chiefly with the calendars and eras of ancient peoples. In these works al-Bīrūni discusses intelligently the then debatable theory of the earth's rotation on its axis and makes accurate determination of latitudes and longitudes. Al-Bīrūni, who was a Shī'ite with agnostic leanings, sojourned in India[2] and was charmed by Hindu philosophy. Among his scientific contributions are an explanation of the working of natural springs by the hydrostatic principle, the suggestion that the Indus valley must have been an ancient sea basin filled up with alluvium, and the description of several monstrosities, including what we call Siamese twins.[3]

'Umar al-Khayyām

Of the Saljūq sultans, Jalāl-al-Dīn Malikshāh patronized astronomical studies. He established in 467 (1074–5) at al-Rayy or at Naysābūr an observatory where there was introduced into the civil calendar an important reform based on an accurate determination of the length of the tropical year. To this task of reforming the old Persian calendar he called to his new observatory the celebrated 'Umar al-Khayyām.[4] Born between 1038 and 1048 at Naysābūr, where he died in 1123–4, 'Umar is known to the world primarily as a Persian poet[5] and free-thinker; very few realize that he was a first-class mathematician and astronomer as well. The researches of al-Khayyām and his collaborators resulted in the production of the calendar named after his patron *al-Ta'rīkh al-Jalāli*, which is even more accurate than the Gregorian calendar. The latter leads to an error of one day in 3330 years, whereas al-Khayyām's apparently leads to an error of one day in about 5000 years.

One year after he had destroyed Baghdād, Hūlāgu commenced (1259) the construction near Lake Urmiyah of the great Marāghah observatory, whose first director was the illustrious

[1] Ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1878); tr. Sachau (London, 1879).

[2] See his account *Taḥqīq Ma li-al-Hind*, ed. E. Sachau (London, 1887); tr. Sachau (London, 1888), 2 vols. (reprinted London, 1910).

[3] In a still unpublished work of his the first reference to tea in other than Chinese works occurs; F. Krenkow in *Majallat al-Majma'*, vol. xiii (1935), p. 388.

[4] Full Arabic name abu-al-Fatḥ 'Umar ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmi (the tent-maker). On his life see Qifṭi, pp. 243-4; Qazwīni, *Āthār*, p. 318.

[5] His *Rubā'iyāt* (quatrains), done first into English by FitzGerald (London, 1859), have since appeared in French, German, Italian, Danish and Arabic translations.

Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūsi[1] († 1274), the last of 'Abbāsid astronomer-philosophers. The instruments at this observatory were much admired and included an armillary sphere, a mural quadrant and a solstitial armil. In this observatory Naṣīr-al-Dīn compiled new astronomical tables called *al-Zīj al-Īl-Khāni* in honour of Hūlāgu, the first Īl-Khān. The tables became popular throughout Asia, even in China. The foundations of this short-lived observatory are still extant. Close by it stood a library, also built by Hūlāgu, and said to have contained 400,000 volumes (?). Most of these books were pillaged by the Mongol armies from Syria, al-'Irāq and Persia.

Astrology

In astrology, a handmaid of astronomy, abu-Ma'shar († 886), a native of Balkh in Khurāsān who flourished at Baghdād, was the most distinguished figure.[2] He is the one most frequently cited as an authority in the Christian Middle Ages and under the name Albumasar figured as a prophet in the iconography. Four of his works were translated into Latin in the twelfth century by John of Seville and Adelard of Bath. Apart from his fantastic belief in astral influence as the cause of the birth, events of life and death of everything, abu-Ma'shar communicated to Europe the laws of the tides, which in a treatise he explained on the basis of the relation to the moon's rising and setting.

Several of the Moslem works on astronomy were translated in course of time into Latin, especially in Spain, and exercised a determining influence on the development of the science in Christian Europe.

The Arabic numerals

The same Hindu scholar who brought to the court of al-Manṣūr the astronomical work *Sindhind* is credited with having also introduced Hindu arithmetical lore with its numeral system (called in Arabic *Hindi*) and the zero.[3] Al-Fazāri's translation of the Hindu works was therefore responsible for making the

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 500; Rashīd-al-Dīn Faḍl-Allāh, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. and tr. by Quatremère as *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, vol. i (Paris, 1836), pp. 324 *seq.* (where the name occurs as Naṣīr-al-Dīn).

[2] *Fihrist*, p. 277; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 198-9.

[3] G. Cœdès in *Bulletin School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vi (1931), pp. 323-8, notes the appearance of the Arabic figures and the zero early in the seventh Christian century in Indo-China, long before its appearance in India proper. Both "zero", which came to English from an Italian form, and "cipher", which appeared in English about 200 years earlier, come from Ar. *ṣifr*, which is a translation of a Sanskrit word meaning "empty". According to a Syriac source cited by F. Nau in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 10, vol. xvi (1910), pp. 225 *seq.*, the numerals were known to a Syrian at the monastery of Qinnasrīn in 662.

numerals known to Islam. The tables of al-Khwārizmi and Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib († between 867 and 874) probably spread the use of them throughout the Arabic world. But the Arab mathematicians and astronomers were slow to adopt the ingenious Hindu invention. As late as the eleventh century we find abu-Bakr Muḥammad al-Karaji (wrongly Karkhi, † between 1019 and 1029) still writing out in his *al-Kāfi fi al-Ḥisāb* (the sufficient in arithmetic) all numbers in words. Others, following the old Semitic and Greek practice, used the letters of the alphabet, *ḥisāb al-jummal*. Aḥmad al-Nasawi [1] († *ca.* 1040), whose *al-Muqni' fi al-Ḥisāb al-Hindi* (the convincer on Hindu calculation) explains the division of fractions and the extraction of the square and cubic roots in an almost modern manner, used the Indian numerals as had al-Khwārizmi before him.

Al-Khwārizmi

This al-Khwārizmi,[2] Muḥammad ibn-Mūsa (780–*ca.* 850), was the principal figure in the early history of Arabic mathematics. One of the greatest scientific minds of Islam, he influenced mathematical thought to a greater extent than any other medieval writer. Apart from compiling the oldest astronomical tables,[3] al-Khwārizmi composed the oldest work on arithmetic, known only in a translation, and the oldest work on algebra. The last, *Ḥisāb al-Jabr w-al-Muqābalah* (the calculation of integration and equation), presented through over eight hundred examples, some of which were anticipated by Neo-Babylonians, was his chief work, but was lost in Arabic. Translated in the twelfth century into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, this work of al-Khwārizmi was used until the sixteenth century as the principal mathematical text-book of European universities and served to introduce into Europe the science of algebra, and with it the name. Al-Khwārizmi's works were also responsible for the introduction into the West of the Arabic numerals called algorisms after him.[4] Among later mathematicians influenced by al-Khwārizmi are 'Umar al-Khayyām, Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa († after 1240) and Master Jacob of Florence, whose Italian treatise on mathematics, dated 1307, contains, as does one of Leonardo's

[1] From Nasa in Khurāsān.

[2] Khwārizm, where he was born, is modern Khīva, a country on the lower course of the Āmu-Darya (ancient Oxus). Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1364, calls him al-Majūsi, i.e. the descendant of a Magian.

[3] Consult *Fihrist*, p. 274, copied by Qifṭi, p. 286. Cf. ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 237.

[4] "Augrim", "augrym", in Chaucer, *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, pt. i, § 7 and § 8.

works, the six types of quadratic equations given by the Moslem mathematician. Al-Khayyām's algebra,[1] which marks a considerable advance on that of al-Khwārizmi, contains geometric and algebraic solutions of equations of the second degree and an admirable classification of equations.

Alchemy

After materia medica, astronomy and mathematics the Arabs made their greatest scientific contribution in chemistry. In the study of chemistry and other physical sciences the Arabs introduced the objective experiment, a decided improvement over the hazy speculation of the Greeks. Accurate in the observation of phenomena and diligent in the accumulation of facts, the Arabs nevertheless found it difficult to project proper hypotheses and draw truly scientific conclusions. The final elaboration of a system was the weakest point in their intellectual armour.

The father of Arabic alchemy[2] was Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān[3] (Geber), who flourished in al-Kūfah about 776. His name, after that of al-Rāzi († 925), is the greatest in the field of medieval chemical science. Legend makes the Umayyad prince Khālid ibn-Yazīd ibn-Mu'āwiyah († 704) and the sixth imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq of al-Madīnah († 765), his teachers. Like his Egyptian and Greek forerunners Jābir acted on the assumption that base metals such as tin, lead, iron and copper could be transmuted into gold or silver by means of a mysterious substance, to the search for which he devoted his energy. He more clearly recognized and stated the importance of experimentation than any other early alchemist and made noteworthy advance in both the theory and practice of chemistry. Some two centuries after his death, as a street was being rebuilt in al-Kūfah, his laboratory was found and in it a mortar and a large piece of gold were unearthed. Western tradition credits him with the discovery of several chemical compounds not mentioned in the twenty-two surviving Arabic works that bear his name.[4] Five of these works ascribed to Jābir, including *Kitāb al-Raḥmah* (the book of mercy), *Kitāb al-Tajmī'* (of concentration) and *al-Zi'baq al-Sharqi* (of

[1] Tr. Daoud S. Kasir, *The Algebra of Omar Khayyam* (New York, 1932).

[2] This word is Ar. *al-kīmiyā'*, which goes back through Gr. to an ancient Egyptian word meaning "black".

[3] Said to have been a Ṣābian converted to Islam, possibly Shī'ah; was, according to others, descended from the famous South Arabian tribe al-Azd. *Fihrist*, pp. 354-5; Qifṭi, pp. 160-61.

[4] Ḥājji Khalfah, *passim*, cites twenty-seven works.

Eastern mercury) have been published. It is evident that the vast majority of the hundred extant alchemical works in Arabic and in Latin which pass under his name are spurious. Nevertheless, the works to which his name was attached were after the fourteenth century the most influential chemical treatises in both Europe and Asia. Of a few contributions we are certain. Jābir described scientifically the two principal operations of chemistry: calcination and reduction. He improved on the methods for evaporation, sublimation, melting and crystallization. He knew how to prepare crude sulphuric and nitric acids and mix them supposedly with salt so as to produce aqua regia, in which gold and silver could be dissolved. In general he modified the Aristotelian theory of the constituents of metal in a way that survived, with slight alterations, until the beginning of modern chemistry in the eighteenth century.

Later Moslem chemists acclaim ibn-Ḥayyān as their master. Even the best among them, e.g. the Arabic-writing Persian poet-statesman al-Ṭughrā'i[1] († *ca.* 1121) and abu-al-Qāsim al-'Irāqi, who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century,[2] made very little improvement on his methods. They continued the quest for the two alchemical will-o'-the-wisps: the philosopher's stone[3] and the elixir[4] of life. In fact in no branch of pure or physical science was any appreciable advance made after 'Abbāsid days. The Moslems of today, if dependent on their own books, would have even less than their distant ancestors in the eleventh century. In medicine, philosophy, mathematics, botany and other disciplines a certain point was reached, and then followed a standstill. Reverence for the past with its traditions, both religious and scientific, has bound the Arab intellect with fetters which it is only now beginning to shake off. It should, however, be noted to the eternal glory of medieval Islam that it succeeded for the first time in the history of human thought in harmonizing and reconciling monotheism, the greatest contri-

[1] Famous for his *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam*, the ode rhyming in *l* for the non-Arabs. *Ṭughrā'i* means "chancellor", the one who writes at the top of state papers the elegant flourish containing name and title of the ruler issuing the document. Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 284 *seq.*

[2] See Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. iii, p. 218, vol. v, p. 47, vol. vi, p. 304. His *al-'Ilm al-Muktasab fi Zirā'at al-Dhahab* (knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold) was edited and Englished by E. J. Holmyard (Paris, 1923).

[3] *Al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*, literally "the red sulphur".

[4] From Ar. *al-iksīr*, originally Gr.

bution of the ancient Semitic world, with Greek philosophy, the greatest contribution of the ancient Indo-European world, thus leading Christian Europe towards the modern point of view.[1]

In the field of natural history the Arabs' least striking success was in zoology, though the Spanish Moslems made a distinct contribution in botany, as we shall later see. Arabic writers on the animal kingdom were primarily literary men whose works consisted of collections of names and epithets given by the Arabs to animals and illustrated by quotations from the poets. The study of the horse formed one conspicuous exception and was developed almost to the rank of a science. A number of special monographs were composed on this animal, enumerating its varieties, naming the parts of its body, describing its colours and designating its desirable and undesirable qualities.[2]

Al-Jāḥiẓ

An early representative of the zoological and anthropological sciences was abu-'Uthmān 'Amr ibn-Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (the goggle-eyed, † 868–9), who flourished in al-Baṣrah and whose *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (book of animals) is more theological and folkloric than biological. This work, in which the author quotes Aristotle, contains germs of later theories of evolution, adaptation and animal psychology. Al-Jāḥiẓ knew how to obtain ammonia from animal offal by dry distillation. His influence over later zoologists, e.g. the Arabic-writing Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī[3] († 1283) and the Egyptian al-Damīri († 1405)—both of whom treated zoology as a branch of philology and literature—is manifest. Al-Damīri is the greatest Arab zoologist.[4] But the influence of al-Jāḥiẓ as a radical theologian and man of letters is greater. He founded a Mu'tazilite sect bearing his name[5] and was one of the most productive and frequently quoted scholars in Arabic literature.[6] His originality, wit, satire and learning made him widely known, but his repulsive ugliness made the Caliph al-

[1] See below, p. 580.

[2] Consult al-Aṣma'i, *Kitāb al-Khayl*, ed. August Haffner (Vienna, 1895); ibn-Durayd in William Wright, *Opuscula Arabica* (Leyden, 1859); al-Kalbi, *Nasab al-Khayl fi al-Jāhilīyah w-al-Islām* and al-A'rābi, *Asmā' Khayl al-'Arab wa-Fursāniha*, ed. G. Levi della Vida (Leyden, 1928).

[3] His leading work is *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* (the wonders of creation and the oddities of existence), ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848).

[4] His *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (animal life) was printed in Cairo several times; tr. into English by A. S. G. Jayakar (London, 1906, 1908), vol. i and vol. ii, pt. 1.

[5] Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 117-18.

[6] Yāqūt, vol. vi, pp. 75-8, lists over 120 books from his pen.

Mutawakkil change his mind about appointing him tutor to his sons.[1]

Lapidaries

In mineralogy, which stood in close relation to alchemy, the Arabs made little progress. Their fondness for precious stones and their interest in the occult qualities of minerals explains the many lapidaries, over fifty, composed by Arabic authors. Of these the oldest extant is that of 'Uṭārid ibn-Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib (possibly al-Kātib[2]) of the ninth century, but the best known is *Azhār al-Afkār fi Jawāhir al-Aḥjār* (the flowers of thought on precious stones) by Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Tīfāshi,[3] who died in Cairo, 1253. Al-Tīfāshi discusses twenty-four precious stones: their origin, geography, purity, price, medicinal and magical values and, except for Pliny and the spurious Aristotelian lapidary, quotes only Arabic sources. The famous al-Bīrūni with almost complete accuracy determined the specific gravity of eighteen precious stones and metals.

Geography

The institution of the holy pilgrimage, the orientation of the mosques towards Makkah and the need for determining the direction of the Ka'bah at the time of prayer gave religious impetus to the Moslem study of geography. Astrology, which necessitated the determining of the latitudes and longitudes of all places throughout the world, added its scientific influence. Moslem traders between the seventh and ninth centuries reached China on the east both by sea and by land, attained the island of Zanzibar and the farthest coasts of Africa on the south, penetrated Russia on the north and were checked in their advance westward only by the dreaded waters of the "Sea of Darkness" (Atlantic). The reports of returning merchants naturally aroused popular interest in distant lands and alien peoples. Sulaymān al-Tājir (the merchant) of Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf, the account of whose journeys into the Far East was written by an anonymous author in 851, gives us the first Arabic description of China and the coast-lands of India. Sulaymān reports the use of finger-prints as signatures by the Chinese.[4] From this and similar narratives there gradually

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 108-9.

[2] *Fihrist*, p. 278. His work *Manāfi' al-Aḥjār* (the uses of precious stones) is preserved in manuscript form in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 1893-5), no. 2775[3].

[3] Ed. and tr. (Italian) Antonio Raineri (Biscia) (Florence, 1818).

[4] *Silsilat al-Tawārikh*, ed. Langlès, p. 44. Cf. Eng. tr. by E. Renaudot (London, 1733), p. 26.

evolved the stories that have clustered round the name of Sindbād the Sailor. The earliest reliable account of Russia is that of Aḥmad ibn-Faḍlān ibn-Ḥammād, sent in 921 by al-Muqtadir to the king of the Bulgars, who resided along the Volga. Most of his account is reproduced in Yāqūt's monumental geographical dictionary, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*. Al-Mas'ūdi[1] refers to Moslem traders in al-Dīr, probably Bohemia, in the heart of Europe.

Greek antecedents

Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated into Arabic either directly or through Syriac several times, notably by Ya'qūb ibn-Isḥāq al-Kindi before 874 and by Thābit ibn-Qurrah, who died in 901. With this as a model the celebrated Khwārizmi composed his *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*[2] (image of the earth), which served as a basis for later works and stimulated geographical studies and the composition of original treatises. Al-Khwārizmi's work was accompanied by an "image of the earth", a map executed by him and sixty-nine other scholars at the instigation of al-Ma'mūn—the first map of the heavens and the world in Islam. Al-Mas'ūdi,[3] who flourished in the first half of the tenth century, consulted this map. Al-Khwārizmi's geography continued to influence Moslem authors down to the fourteenth century, as is illustrated by abu-al-Fidā'.

"World cupola"

In the meantime the early Arab geographers had gained from India the notion that there was a world centre which they styled *arīn*,[4] a corruption of the name of the Indian town Ujjayinī (Ozēnē in Ptolemy's *Geography*), where there had been an astronomical observatory and on the meridian of which the "world cupola"[5] or "summit" was supposed to lie. This *arīn* they located on the equator between the extremes of east and west. The western prime meridian was thought by them to be 90° from this mythical place. Moslem geographers in general measured longitude from the prime meridian used by Ptolemy, that of the islands now called the Canaries.

The first independent geographical treatises in Arabic took the form of road books in which itineraries occupied a prominent place. Ibn-Khurdādhbih († *ca.* 912), of Persian descent, director

[1] Vol. iii, p. 64. [2] Ed. Hans v. Mžik (Leipzig, 1926). [3] Vol. ii, p. 308.

[4] Variants *Ujjain*, *Uzayn*, *Udhayn*, etc. Ibn-Rustah, p. 22, l. 17; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 225, l. 2; abu-al-Fidā', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 376, ll. 8, 12.

[5] *Qubbat al-arḍ*, abu-al-Fidā', pp. 375, 376; ibn-Rustah, p. 22, ll. 17 *seq.*; Bīrūni, *Taḥqīq*, p. 158.

of the post and intelligence service in al-Jibāl (Media), initiated the series with his *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*,[1] the first edition of which appeared about 846. This work, especially valuable for its historical topography, was used by ibn-al-Faqīh, ibn-Ḥawqal, al-Maqdisi and later geographical writers. In 891–2 the Shī'ite ibn-Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbi,[2] who flourished in Armenia and Khurāsān, produced his *Kitāb al-Buldān*[3] (book of countries), which struck a new note in emphasizing topographical and economical detail. Soon after 928 Qudāmah, who was born a Christian but adopted Islam and held office as revenue accountant in the central administration at Baghdād, completed his *al-Kharāj*, which discusses the division of the caliphate into provinces, the organization of the postal service and the taxation for each district. Another Arab geographer of Persian origin, ibn-Rustah, compiled about 903 his *al-A'lāq al-Nafīsah*[4] (precious bags of travelling provisions). In that same year ibn-al-Faqīh al-Hamadhāni, so called from his birthplace, completed his *Kitāb al-Buldān*,[5] a comprehensive geography often quoted by al-Maqdisi and Yāqūt.

Literary geographers

The great systematic geographers of the Arabs do not make their appearance until the advent of al-Iṣṭakhri, ibn-Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisi in the middle of the fourth Moslem century. Born in Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), al-Iṣṭakhri flourished about 950 and produced his *Masālik al-Mamālik*[6] with coloured maps for each country. This work was an elaboration of the geographical system established by abu-Zayd al-Balkhi († 934), who flourished at the Sāmānid court and whose work has not been preserved. The system initiated by al-Balkhi and al-Iṣṭakhri paid little attention to countries outside Islam and made the text largely a description of the accompanying maps. Its representatives were travellers themselves. Al-Iṣṭakhri is the second writer to mention windmills (in Sijistān), the first reference to them having been made by al-Mas'ūdi.[7] At al-Iṣṭakhri's request ibn-Ḥawqal (fl. 943–77), who travelled as far as Spain, revised the maps and text of his geography. Ibn-Ḥawqal later rewrote the whole book

[1] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1889).
[2] Al-'Abbāsi; Yāqūt, vol. ii, pp. 156-7.
[3] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892).
[4] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1891–2).
[5] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1885).
[6] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1870).
[7] Vol. ii, p. 80. For an illustration see Dimashqi, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Aja'ib al-Barr w-al-Baḥr* (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 182.

and issued it under his own name as *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*.[1] To this same school belongs the more original work of al-Maqdisi (or al-Muqaddasi), so called because he was born in Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*). This geographer visited all the Moslem lands except Spain, Sijistān and India and in 985–6 embodied an account of his twenty years of travel in a delightful work, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*[2] (the best of classification for the knowledge of climates), which contains much valuable and fresh information.

In this same period flourished the Yamanite geographer and archæologist al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad al-Ḥamdāni, who died (945) in a prison at Ṣan'ā' and whose two works *al-Iklīl*[3] and *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*[4] constitute an important contribution to our knowledge of pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. The globe-trotter al-Mas'ūdi, who flourished in this period, we shall treat of with the historians. In the mineralogical part of their epistles[5] the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', who also belong to this time, elaborated a theory of cosmic cycles by which cultivated lands become desert, desert lands become cultivated, steppes change into seas and seas change into steppes or mountains.

Yāqūt

Before the close of the 'Abbāsid age lived the greatest of the Eastern Moslem geographers, Yāqūt[6] ibn-'Abdullāh al-Ḥamawi (1179–1229), author of the geographical dictionary *Mu'jam al-Buldān*,[7] often cited in the foregoing pages, and of the equally important dictionary of literati *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*. Born in Asia Minor of Greek parents, young Yāqūt was bought in Baghdād by a merchant from Ḥamāh (hence his surname al-Ḥamawi) who, after giving him a good education and employing him for several years as a travelling clerk, enfranchised him. To support himself Yāqūt roamed from place to place copying and selling manuscripts. In 1219–20 he had to flee before the Tartar invasion of Khwārizm "as naked as he shall be when raised from the dust of the grave on the day of the resurrection".[8] The first

[1] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873). Certain orientalists wrongly suppose that he went to Spain as a secret agent for the Fāṭimids.
[2] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1877).
[3] Ed. al-Karmali (Baghdād, 1931).
[4] Ed. D. H. Müller, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1884–91).
[5] Ed. Zirikli, vol. ii, pp. 80 *seq.* Cf. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 3.
[6] The word means "ruby". Slaves were often given names of precious things, e.g. Lu'lu' (pearl), Jawhar (gem).
[7] Ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866–73).
[8] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 162 = de Slane, vol. iv, p. 10.

draft of his geographical dictionary was drawn at al-Mawṣil in 1224 and the final redaction was completed in 1228 at Aleppo, where he died. This *Mu'jam*, in which names of places are alphabetically arranged, is a veritable encyclopædia, containing, in addition to the whole fund of geographical knowledge of the age, valuable information on history, ethnography and natural science.

Literary Islamic geography left no direct impression on European medieval thought, as the works of these geographers found no translators into Latin. Certain aspects of astronomical geography, including an approximately correct theory of the causation of tides, worked out by abu-Ma'shar, and of the length of the terrestrial degree, did find their way into the West, the latter through a translation of al-Farghāni's work on astronomy. Likewise fragments of the geographical lore of the Greeks as exemplified by Aristotle and Ptolemy were reintroduced to the West through the Arabs. But most of the contribution of the Arab geographers failed to pass on. This contribution included descriptive geography of the Far East, East and Sudanese Africa and the steppe land of Russia; more accurate cartography, especially in the form of world maps; and provincial geography, where one country is taken as a unit and the relation between the lives of the people and the physical environment is shown. The primary interest of the Latin Occident in Arabic books had for its object the preparation of calendars, star tables and horoscopes and the interpretation of the hidden meaning in the words of the Scriptures through commentaries on Aristotle. The bulk of this scientific material, whether astronomical, astrological or geographical, penetrated the West through Spanish and Sicilian channels. The contributions of al-Biṭrūji of Cordova, al-Zarqāli of Toledo and al-Idrīsi of Palermo will be discussed under Spain and Sicily.

Historiography

The majority of the earliest historical writings surviving in Arabic date from the 'Abbāsid period. Few of those composed under the Umayyads have been preserved. The first subject-matter came, as we have learned before, from the oral legends and anecdotes relating to pre-Islamic days and from the religious traditions which clustered round the name and life of the Prophet. In the pre-Islamic field Hishām al-Kalbi of al-Kūfah († 819) particularly distinguished himself. Of the one hundred

and twenty-nine works listed in *al-Fihrist*[1] as his, only three have survived;[2] but extracts from others can be found quoted by al-Ṭabari, Yāqūt and other historical writers.

The first work based upon religious traditions was the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, the biography of the Prophet by Muḥammad ibn-Isḥāq of al-Madīnah, whose grandfather Yasār was among the Christian children captured in 633 by Khālid ibn-al-Walīd at 'Ayn al-Tamr in al-'Irāq.[3] This biography by ibn-Isḥāq, who died in Baghdād about 767, has come down to us only in the later recension of ibn-Hishām,[4] who died in 834 at Cairo.[5] Then came works dealing with the early wars and conquests of Islam, the *Maghāzi* by Mūsa ibn-'Uqbah[6] († 758), by al-Wāqidi[7] († 823), both of al-Madīnah, and by others. From the pen of ibn-Sa'd, who died in Baghdād in 845 and is known as the secretary of al-Wāqidi,[8] we have the first great book of classified biographies[9] containing sketches of the lives of the Prophet, the Companions and their Successors (*al-tābi'ūn*) down to his own time. Two of the leading historians of the Moslem conquests were the Egyptian ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam († 870–71), whose *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbāruha*[10] is the earliest extant document on the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, and the Arabic-writing Persian Aḥmad ibn-Yaḥya al-Balādhuri († 892), whose main works were the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*[11] and the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*[12] (book of the lineages of nobles). The latter was one of the first to integrate the many stories of the conquests of various cities and lands into one comprehensive whole, thus ending the era in which the monograph was the typical form of historical composition.

Early formal historians

The time was now ripe for formal historical composition based on these legends, traditions, biographies, genealogies and

[1] Pp. 95-8.
[2] Of these the best-known is the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zaki (Cairo, 1914).
[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 282.
[4] Ed. Wüstenfeld, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1858–60).
[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 520.
[6] Compiled by ibn-Qāḍi Shuhbah in 1387.
[7] Ed. von Kremer (Calcutta, 1856). See ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 324-6.
[8] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 326.
[9] Ed. Sachau *et al.*, 9 vols. (Leyden and Berlin, 1905–28).
[10] Ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922).
[11] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866); tr. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916), first part; second part, F. C. Murgotten (New York, 1924).
[12] Ed. W. Ahlwardt, vol. xi (Greifswald, 1883); S. D. F. Goitein, vol. v (Jerusalem, 1936); Max Schloessinger, vol. iv B (Jerusalem, 1938).

narratives. The model was evidently Persian and was provided by such works as the Pahlawi *Khudhāy-nāmah* (the book of kings), which had been turned into Arabic by ibn-al-Muqaffa' († 757) under the title *Siyar Mulūk al-'Ajam*. The concept of a world history in which early events are but a prelude to the history of Islam goes back to Jewish-Christian tradition. The form of presentation, however, continued to be that of the stereotyped Islamic tradition.[1] Each event is related in the words of eye-witnesses or contemporaries and transmitted to the final narrator, the author, through a chain of intermediary reporters. This technique served to develop exactitude, as did also the insistence on dating occurrences even to the month and day. But the authenticity of the reported fact generally depended upon the continuity of this chain (*isnād*) and the confidence in the integrity of each reporter rather than upon a critical examination of the fact itself. Apart from the use of personal judgment in the choice of the series of authorities and in the arrangement of the data, the historian exercised very little power of analysis, criticism, comparison or inference.

Among the first formal historians was ibn-Qutaybah, properly Muḥammad ibn-Muslim al-Dīnawari.[2] Ibn-Qutaybah died at Baghdād in 889 after producing his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*[3] (book of knowledge), a manual of history. Another was his contemporary abu-Ḥanīfah Aḥmad ibn-Dāwūd al-Dīnawari[4] († 895), who flourished in Iṣbahān (Iṣfahān) and Dīnawar (in the Persian 'Irāq). His principal work was *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*[5] (long narratives), a universal history from the Persian point of view. Both were of Iranian extraction and produced several literary and philological works besides histories. At the same time flourished the geographer and historian ibn-Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbi, whose compendium of universal history[6] ending in A.H. 258 (872) preserves the ancient and unfalsified Shī'ite tradition. To this group belongs Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahāni, who worked in Iṣbahān, where he died *ca.* 961, and whose rather critical annals[7] became

[1] See below, p. 394.
[2] See *Fihrist*, pp. 77-8; Nawawi, *Tahdhīb*, p. 771; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, fol. 443a.
[3] Ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850).
[4] See *Fihrist*, p. 78; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. i, pp. 123-7.
[5] Ed. Vladimir Guirgass (Leyden, 1888).
[6] *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1883).
[7] *Ta'rīkh Sini Mulūk al-Arḍ w-al-Anbiyā'*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1844); tr. into Latin by Gottwaldt (Leipzig, 1848).

known comparatively early in modern Europe. Another great historian of Persian stock was Miskawayh[1] († 1030), who held a high office in the court of the Buwayhid 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah and compiled a universal history[2] reaching down to A.H. 369 (979–80). Miskawayh, who was also a philosopher and physician, ranks among the leading Moslem historians, of whom the two greatest were undoubtedly al-Ṭabari and al-Mas'ūdi.

Al-Ṭabari

The fame of abu-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn-Jarīr al-Ṭabari (838–923), who was born in Ṭabaristān, that mountainous district of Persia along the south coast of the Caspian Sea, rests on his remarkably elaborate and accurate history *Akhbār al-Rusul w-al-Mulūk*[3] (annals of the apostles and kings), as well as on his commentary on the Koran.[4] In his commentary, originally composed on a far larger scale, he made not only the earliest but the largest collection of exegetical traditions. This became a standard work upon which later koranic commentators drew. His monumental work on universal history, the first complete one in the Arabic tongue, likewise served as a source for later historians such as Miskawayh, ibn-al-Athīr and abu-al-Fidā'. Like most Moslem historians, al-Ṭabari arranges the events chronologically, tabulating them under the successive years of the Hijrah. In fact his history begins with the creation of the world and goes down to A.H. 302 (915). The same annalistic method was used by al-Wāqidi and others before him as well as by Miskawayh, ibn-al-Athīr, abu-al-Fidā'[5] (1273–1331) and al-Dhahabi[6] (1274–1348) after him. The original edition of al-Ṭabari's history is said to have been ten times as long as the surviving edition. His favourite method of presenting the narrative is that of the religious tradition, by *isnād*. Besides making use of the literary sources extant in his day, such as the works of ibn-Isḥāq, al-Kalbi, al-Wāqidi, ibn-Sa'd and ibn-al-Muqaffa' and of several historical translations from Persian, al-Ṭabari procured data for his history from oral traditions collected during his travels and from the lectures of the sheikhs under whom he studied in

[1] Less correctly "ibn-Miskawayh"; Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 88; Qifṭi, p. 331.

[2] *Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. A. F. Amedroz, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1914–21); tr. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Experiences of the Nations*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1921).

[3] Ed. de Goeje *et al.*, 15 vols. (Leyden, 1879–1901).

[4] *Jāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols. (Būlāq, 1323–9).

[5] See his *Ta'rīkh*, also called *al-Mukhtaṣar fi Akhbār al-Bashar*, 4 vols. (Constantinople, 1286).

[6] See his *Duwal al-Islām*, 2 vols. (Ḥaydarābād, 1337).

Baghdād and other intellectual centres. His journeys in quest of learning covered Persia, al-ʿIrāq, Syria and Egypt.[1] On one occasion he was forced to sell the sleeves of his shirt to buy bread for sustenance. An idea of his industry and enthusiasm for learning may be gained from the popular tradition that during forty years al-Ṭabari wrote forty sheets every day.[2]

Abu-al-Ḥasan ʿAli al-Masʿūdi,[3] styled the "Herodotus of the Arabs", inaugurated among the Arabs the topical method of writing history. Instead of grouping his events round years he grouped them round dynasties, kings and peoples, a treatment followed by ibn-Khaldūn and minor historians. He was also one of the first to make good use of the historical anecdote. Young al-Masʿūdi, who belonged to the rationalistic school of Muʿtazilites, undertook the usual scholar's "journey in quest of learning" which carried him from his native Baghdād[4] into almost every country of Asia and even into Zanzibar. It is doubtful, however, whether he reached China and Madagascar. The last decade of his life he spent in Syria and Egypt compiling the material thus collected into a thirty-volume work, which has survived in an epitome entitled *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*[5] (meadows of gold and mines of gems) brought down to A.H. 336 (947). In this encyclopædic historico-geographical work the author with catholicity and truly scientific curiosity carried his researches beyond the typically Moslem subjects into Indo-Persian, Roman and Jewish history and religion. Before his death at al-Fusṭāṭ in 956 al-Masʿūdi summarized his philosophy of history and nature and the current philosophers' views on the gradation between minerals, plants and animals[6] in a work, comparable to Pliny's, entitled *al-Tanbīh w-al-Ishrāf*.[7] Al-Masʿūdi

Arabic historical composition reached its highest point in al-Ṭabari and al-Masʿūdi, and after Miskawayh († 1030) started on a rapid decline. ʿIzz-al-Dīn ibn-al-Athīr[8] (1160–1234) abridged in his *al-Kāmil fi al-Taʾrīkh*[9] (the complete book

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 234.
[2] Yāqūt, vol. vi, p. 424.
[3] A descendant of ʿAbdullāh ibn-Masʿūd.
[4] *Fihrist*, p. 154, wrongly makes him a native of al-Maghrib. Cf. Yāqūt, vol. v, p. 148.
[5] Ed. and tr. de Meynard and de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris, 1861–77).
[6] Cf. Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil*, vol. i, pp. 247-8.
[7] Ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1893–4).
[8] Born in Jazīrat ibn-ʿUmar on the Tigris, flourished in al-Mawṣil. Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 35-6.
[9] Ed. C. J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Leyden, 1867–74).

of chronicles) al-Ṭabari's work and continued the narrative to 1231. The period dealing with the Crusades is an original contribution. Ibn-al-Athīr produced another important work, *Usd al-Ghābah*[1] (the lions of the thicket), a collection of 7500 biographies of the Companions. His contemporary Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzi[2] (1186–1257), who was born in Baghdād and whose father was a Turkish slave, wrote among other works the *Mir'āt al-Zamān fi Ta'rīkh al-Ayyām*, a universal history from Creation to 1256.[3] To this late 'Abbāsid period belongs the chief judge of Syria, ibn-Khallikān († 1282), the first Moslem to compose what we might term a dictionary of national biography. Before him Yāqūt had issued his dictionary of literati and ibn-'Asākir († 1177) had sketched in eighty volumes the biographies of distinguished men connected with his native town, Damascus.[4]

Like most other treasures of historical and geographical lore written in a foreign tongue the works of al-Ṭabari, al-Mas'ūdi, ibn-al-Athīr and their confrères remained inaccessible to medieval Occidental readers. In modern times many have been translated in part or in full into modern European tongues. This, however, does not mean that the Arabic authors made no contribution to the social sciences. In appreciating their work in this and other disciplines Sarton[5] enthusiastically declares: "The main task of mankind was accomplished by Muslims. The greatest philosopher, al-Fārābī, was a Muslim; the greatest mathematicians, Abū Kāmil[6] and Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān,[7] were Muslims; the greatest geographer and encyclopædist, al-Mas'ūdī, was a Muslim; the greatest historian, al-Ṭabarī, was still a Muslim".

Theology

We now come to those intellectual activities evoked by the predilections of the Arabs as Arabs and Moslems. Foremost among the sciences thus developed were theology, tradition,

[1] 5 vols. (Cairo, 1280).

[2] This surname he owes to his famous maternal grandfather, ibn-al-Jawzi († 1201).

[3] Extracts ed. and tr. in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens orientaux*, vol. iii (Paris, 1884). Pt. 8 was reproduced in facsimile by James R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907).

[4] *Al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, ed. 'Abd-al-Qādir Badrān and Aḥmad 'Ubayd (Damascus, 1329–51), first seven volumes.

[5] *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. i (Baltimore, 1927), p. 624.

[6] Shujā' ibn-Aslam of Egypt, who at the beginning of the tenth century perfected al-Khwārizmi's algebra.

[7] Grandson of Thābit ibn-Qurrah, lived 908–46. His quadrature of the parabola was the simplest ever made before the invention of integral calculus.

jurisprudence, philology and linguistics. Most of the scholars in this field were of Arab descent, in contrast to the physicians, astronomers, mathematicians and alchemists cited above, who were of Syrian, Jewish or Persian origin.

The attention and interest of the Moslem Arabs were drawn quite early to those branches of learning motivated by the religious impulse. The necessity of comprehending and explaining the Koran soon became the basis of intensive theologic as well as linguistic study. Contact with Christendom provoked in the first century at Damascus theological speculation leading to the rise of the Murji'ite and Qadarite schools of thought.[1]

Next to the holy Koran, the sunnah,[2] i.e. the deeds, utterances and silent approval (*taqrīr*) of the Prophet, stood as the most important doctrinal source. Transmitted at first orally, this sunnah of Muḥammad was fixed during the second century in the form of written ḥadīths. A ḥadīth, therefore, is a record of an action or saying of the Prophet. In a more general sense it may be used also for a record of an action or saying of any of his Companions or their Successors.[3] Though not equally canonical with the Koran, the Prophetic ḥadīth nevertheless exerted an equally great influence over the development of Islamic thought. In the ḥadīth Muḥammad speaks; in the Koran Allah speaks. In the ḥadīth the meaning only is inspired; in the Koran the meaning and the word are inspired. The bases of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) as well as of theology are firstly in the Koran, secondly in the ḥadīth. Among all peoples Moslems stand unique in having developed a science (*'ilm*) out of their mass of religious traditions (*ḥadīths*).

The science of ḥadīth

To the pious Moslem the science of ḥadīth soon became the science par excellence.[4] It was primarily in its quest that the would-be scholar, in response to the famous Prophetic tradition, "Seek ye learning though it be in China", undertook long and tiresome journeys throughout the extensive domains of the caliphate. Such journeys (*al-riḥlah fi ṭalab al-'ilm*)[5]

[1] Other Moslem sects will be treated in the following chapter.

[2] Etymologically meaning "custom," "use", the word has developed several technical meanings. In opposition to Shī'ah, it is used for the theory and practice of the catholic Moslem community.

[3] See above, p. 242.

[4] Consult the chapter on *'ilm* in Bukhāri, vol. i, pp. 19 *seq.*

[5] Consult ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 476; Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 68-9.

were elevated into acts of consummate piety; he who lost his life through their perils was likened to him who lost it in the holy war.

In the course of the first two and a half centuries after Muḥammad the records of his sayings and doings increased in number and copiousness. Whenever an issue—religious, political or sociological—arose each party sought to find authority for its views in some word or decision of the Prophet, be it real or fictitious. The political rivalry between 'Ali and abu-Bakr, the struggle between Mu'āwiyah and 'Ali, the enmity between the 'Abbāsids and Umayyads, the burning question of superiority between Arabs and non-Arabs—these and similar exigencies provided ample opportunity for the fabrication of ḥadīths and motivated their dissemination. Moreover, the manufacture of ḥadīths had commercial value and many teachers thrived on it. Before his execution at al-Kūfah in 772, ibn-abi-al-'Awjā' confessed to having circulated 4000 traditions of his own invention.[1] In general more weight is attached to the Madīnese than to the Kūfan school of traditions, yet here again not all transmitters are above suspicion. Abu-Hurayrah, for instance, a Companion of the Prophet and a most zealous propagator of his words and deeds, reputedly transmitted over 5300 ḥadīths,[2] many of which were unquestionably foisted on him after his death. 'Ā'ishah transmitted 2210 traditions, Anas ibn-Mālik 2286 and 'Abdullāh ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb 1630.[3]

Every perfect ḥadīth consists of two parts: a chain of authorities (*isnād*) and a text (*matn*). The text follows the chain and should be in direct address: A related (*ḥaddatha*) to me that B related to him, on the authority of C, on the authority of D, on the authority of E, who said . . . . The same formula was used in historiography and in wisdom literature. In all these fields criticism was usually external, being limited to a consideration of the reputation of the transmitters, who are at the same time guarantors, and to the possibility of their forming an uninterrupted chain leading back to the Prophet. On the basis of such criticism ḥadīths are classified as genuine (*ṣaḥīḥ*), fair (*ḥasan*)

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 376, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 3. Cf. Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 164.

[2] Ibn-Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, vol. vii, p. 201. His title "abu-Hurayrah", "father of the kitten", was due to his fondness for cats; ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 141; ibn-Sa'd, vol. iv, pt. 2, p. 55.

[3] Nawawi, pp. 165, 358.

and weak (*ḍa'īf*).[1] The ludicrous extreme to which this external criticism may lead is illustrated in the story of a traditionist who accepted a large cup of wine offered him by a Christian, and when reminded that this was a prohibited drink bought by the Christian's slave from a Jew his excuse was: "We traditionists consider as authority such men as Sufyān ibn-'Uyaynah and Yazīd ibn-Hārūn. Are we then to believe a Christian, on the authority of his slave, on the authority of a Jew? By Allah, I drank it only because of its weak *isnād*!"[2]

The third Moslem century saw the compilation of the various collections of ḥadīths into six books which have since become standard. Of "the six books" the first and most authoritative is that of Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl al-Bukhāri (810–70).[3] Al-Bukhāri, who was a Persian, selected out of the 600,000 traditions he collected from 1000 sheikhs in the course of sixteen years of travel and labour in Persia, al-'Irāq, Syria, al-Ḥijāz and Egypt some 7275 traditions[4] which he classified according to subject-matter, such as prayer, pilgrimage and holy war. Before committing a tradition to writing it was al-Bukhāri's wont to perform the ceremonial ablution and prayer.[5] His collection has acquired a quasi-sacred character. An oath taken on it is valid, as if taken on the Koran itself. Next to the Koran this is the book that has exerted the greatest influence over the Moslem mind. Its author's tomb outside of Samarqand is still visited by pilgrims who accord him the next rank in Islam after Muḥammad. The six canonical books

Al-Bukhāri's corpus of traditions came near finding a rival in the collection of Muslim ibn-al-Ḥajjāj († 875) of Naysābūr, a work on which Islam has conferred the same title, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, the genuine collection. The contents of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are almost identical with al-Bukhāri's, though the *isnād* may vary. Next to these "two genuine books" come four others which Moslems have elevated to canonical rank. These are the *Sunan* of abu-Dāwūd of al-Baṣrah († 888), the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhi († *ca.* 892), the *Sunan* of ibn-Mājah of Qazwīn († 886) and the *Sunan* of al-Nasā'i, who died at Makkah in 915.[6]

[1] Consult ibn-'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. ii, pp. 18 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 370 *seq.*

[2] Nawāji, *Ḥalbah*, p. 17.

[3] *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8 vols. (Būlāq, 1296).

[4] Nawawi, pp. 93, 95-6.

[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 231.

[6] Various editions of these works, but none critical, have been printed or lithographed in Egypt and India.

Besides clarifying and supplementing the Koran, the ḥadīth literature provided the Moslem community with apostolic precept and example covering the whole range of man's duty. Even such trivial questions as the proper way of cutting a watermelon before eating it or cleaning the teeth with a toothpick—"proper" from the standpoint of the Prophetic practice—did not escape the traditionists' researches. The nocturnal journey vaguely reported in one solitary koranic verse (17:1) developed in the ḥadīth an extensive and colourful crop of elaborate traditions with which the Occident has long been familiar as reflected in the pages of Dante. The ḥadīth literature further served as a vehicle for transmitting wise sayings, anecdotes, parables and miracles—all ascribed to Muḥammad—from various secular and religious sources, including the New Testament. In abu-Dāwūd[1] a version of the Lord's Prayer is put in Muḥammad's mouth. In al-Bukhāri[2] and Muslim,[3] Muḥammad, on the authority of abu-Hurayrah, upon whom many such pious and edifying sayings are fathered, once commended "him who gives alms only in secret, so that his left hand knows not what his right hand does". Nothing could better illustrate the general receptivity and hospitality of Islam as a system. In the ḥadīth lore the Moslem home found its fireside literature and the Moslem community its Talmud.

Jurisprudence

After the Romans the Arabs were the only medieval people who cultivated the science of jurisprudence and evolved therefrom an independent system. Their system, *fiqh*[4] as they called it, was primarily based on the Koran and the sunnah (i.e. ḥadīth), styled *uṣūl* (roots, fundamental principles) and influenced by the Greco-Roman system. *Fiqh* was the science through which the canon law of Islam (*sharī'ah*[5]), the totality of Allah's commandments as revealed in the Koran and elaborated in the ḥadīth, was communicated to later generations. These commandments embrace regulations relative to ritual and worship (*'ibādāt*), civil and legal obligations (*mu'āmalāt*) and punishments (*'uqūbāt*).

Of the six thousand texts or thereabouts in the Koran only about two hundred, most of which occur in the Madīnese portion,

[1] (Cairo, 1280), vol. ii, p. 101.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 105.
[3] (Delhi, 1319), vol. i, p. 331.
[4] Literally "knowledge", "wisdom".
[5] Literally "road to the watering-place", "clear path to be followed".

especially sūrahs two and four, may be classed as strictly legislative. It soon became evident that these statutes were not sufficient to cover all cases—civil, criminal, political, financial—which might and did arise under the new conditions and varied situations encountered in Syria, al-ʿIrāq and other conquered territories. Ḥence the necessity for speculation. Speculation gave rise to two new fundamental principles: *qiyās*, i.e. analogical deduction, and *ijmāʿ*, i.e. catholic consent. Thus did Moslem jurisprudence come to have two new roots in addition to the Koran and tradition: analogy and consensus of opinion. As for *raʾy*, i.e. private judgment, though often resorted to, it was never quite elevated to the rank of a fifth fundamental principle. A traditional discourse between the Prophet and his appointee as qāḍi over al-Yaman, Muʿādh ibn-Jabal, sums up the Magna Charta of Islamic legal fundamentals:

Muḥammad: "How wilt thou decide when a question arises?"
Muʿādh: "According to the Book of Allah".
Muḥammad: "And if thou findest naught therein?"
Muʿādh: "According to the sunnah of the Messenger of Allah".
Muḥammad: "And if thou findest naught therein?"
Muʿādh: "Then shall I apply my own reasoning".[1]

The four orthodox schools

The leader of the ʿIrāq school, which insisted on the right of juridical speculation in contrast to the Madīnah school, which attached special importance to ḥadīth,[2] was abu-Ḥanīfah, properly al-Nuʿmān ibn-Thābit. Abu-Ḥanīfah was the grandson of a Persian slave,[3] flourished in al-Kūfah and Baghdād and died in 767. A merchant by profession, abu-Ḥanīfah became the first and most influential jurist in Islam. His teachings he imparted orally to his disciples, one of whom, abu-Yūsuf († 798), has preserved for us in his *Kitāb al-Kharāj*[4] the chief views of the master. Abu-Ḥanīfah did not actually introduce, though he emphasized strongly, the principle of analogical deduction leading to what we call legal fiction. He also insisted upon the right of "preference" (*istiḥsān*),[5] departure from analogy on grounds of equity. Like his competitor Mālik of al-Madīnah he had no idea of forming a juridical school (*madhhab*, rite), yet abu-Ḥanīfah became the founder of the earliest, largest and most

[1] Shahrastāni, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 160-61; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 372.
[3] *Fihrist*, p. 201; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 74. [4] (Cairo, 1346.)
[5] The *istiḥsān* of the Ḥanafite school, the *istiṣlāḥ* (principle of public advantage) of the Mālikite school, and the *raʾy* are often treated as synonyms of *qiyās* (analogy).

tolerant school of Islam. To his rite almost one half of the world of Sunnite Islam adheres. It was officially recognized in the territories of the defunct Ottoman empire as well as in India and Central Asia. As a system of religio-juridical thought von Kremer considers it "the highest and loftiest achievement of which Islam was capable".[1]

The leader of the Madīnah school, supposedly better acquainted with the Prophet's life and frame of mind, was Mālik ibn-Anas (*ca.* 715–95[2]), whose *al-Muwaṭṭa'*[3] (the levelled path), next to the compendium of Zayd ibn-'Ali[4] († 743), is the oldest surviving corpus of Moslem law. This monumental work, with its 1700 juridical traditions, codified the sunnah, outlined the first formula of the *ijmā'* (consensus of opinion) as prevalent in al-Madīnah and became the canon for the Mālikite rite. This rite drove from the Maghrib and Andalusia the two minor systems of al-Awzā'i († 774) and of al-Ẓāhiri[5] (815–83) and to the present day prevails throughout northern Africa, with the exception of Lower Egypt, and in eastern Arabia. After abu-Ḥanīfah and Mālik juridico-theological studies so developed as to become the most extensively cultivated branch of Arabic learning.

Between the liberal 'Irāq and the conservative Madīnah schools there arose one which professed to have found the golden mean by accepting speculation with certain reservations. This is the Shāfi'ite school, whose founder was Muḥammad ibn-Idrīs al-Shāfi'i. Born in Ghazzah (767), al-Shāfi'i, who belonged to the Quraysh family, studied under Mālik in al-Madīnah, but the main scenes of his activity were Baghdād and Cairo.[6] He died in 820 at Cairo, where his tomb at the foot of al-Muqaṭṭam is still the object of pilgrimage. The Shāfi'i rite still dominates Lower Egypt, eastern Africa, Palestine, western and southern Arabia, the coastal regions of India and the East Indies. Its adherents number about 73,000,000 as against 118,000,000 Ḥanafites, 30,000,000 Mālikites and 3,000,000 Ḥanbalites.

[1] *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 497.
[2] Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 201.
[3] Delhi, 1302. See also his *al-Mudawwanah al-Kubra* (Cairo, 1323), 16 vols.
[4] *Majmū' al-Fiqh*, ed. E. Griffini (Milan, 1919).
[5] Dāwūd ibn-Khalaf al-Iṣbahāni (ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 312), surnamed al-Ẓāhiri because he regarded only the literal (*ẓāhir*) meaning of the Koran and ḥadīth as authoritative. Though his teachings found a most gifted protagonist in ibn-Ḥazm of Cordova (994–1064), yet they did not survive.
[6] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. vi, pp. 367 *seq.*; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 215-16.

The last of the four rites into which the whole Moslem community, exclusive of the Shī'ah, has divided itself is the Ḥanbalite, which takes its name from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, a student of al-Shāfi'i and a representative of uncompromising adherence to the letter of the ḥadīth. Ibn-Ḥanbal's conservatism served as the bulwark of orthodoxy in Baghdād against the Mu'tazilite innovations. Though subjected to the inquisition (*miḥnah*) and put in chains under al-Ma'mūn, scourged and imprisoned by al-Mu'taṣim, ibn-Ḥanbal stubbornly refused to recant and allowed no modification in the traditional form of confession.[1] The 800,000 men and 60,000 women who are estimated to have attended his funeral in 855 at Baghdād[2] testify to the hold this stalwart champion of orthodoxy had on public imagination. Posterity venerated his tomb as that of a saint and honoured him with the same title, imām, bestowed upon abu-Ḥanīfah, Mālik and al-Shāfi'i. For a long time the collection of over 28,000 traditions, *Musnad*,[3] ascribed to him, enjoyed special renown. Today, however, the Ḥanbalite rite claims no considerable following outside of the Wahhābis.

In the principle of *ijmā'*, elaborated by al-Shāfi'i, the Moslem community hit upon a most useful theological expedient which has enabled its members to adapt their institutions and beliefs to varied and novel situations in a changing world. In a community where no church, no clergy and no central authority are recognized, deference to public opinion naturally assumes an important rôle. It was through this principle that the vulgate text of the Koran was canonized, the six canonical books of ḥadīths were approved, the miracles of the Prophet were accepted, lithographic reproductions of the Koran were authorized and the necessity of belonging to the Quraysh was dispensed with in favour of the Ottoman caliphs. The Shī'ites, it should be remembered, have their own rite and do not accept *ijmā'*. To it they oppose the absolute authority and judgment of the infallible imāms, all descendants of 'Ali. With the above four rites, which crystallized traditional dogma and everything necessary for doctrinal and juridical development, the door of *ijtihād*, the right of further interpreting the Koran and the sunnah or of forming a new opinion by applying analogy, was for ever closed to the

[1] Ibn-'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. ii, pp. 41 *seq.*
[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 28. [3] 6 vols. (Cairo, 1313).

Sunnite community; but the Shī'ites still have their *mujtahids*, learned men who are qualified to act as spokesmen for the sublime and hidden imām and to interpret his ideas.

The indebtedness of the Islamic juridical system to the Roman-Byzantine laws, which had been for centuries naturalized in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, has not yet been made the object of the study it deserves by competent scholarship. Certain orientalists see Roman influence not only in particular regulations but also, and what is more important, in questions of principle and methodology. The Justinian Code recognized the method of analogical deduction and private judgment. Certain Byzantine regulations may have left their impress upon the Islamic statutes of purchase, sale and other commercial relationships; others relating to guardianship and will, letting and hiring may have passed through Judaic, rabbinical or talmudic, channels. But it is surprising that the Roman influence is not better marked in the system of the Syrian al-Awzā'i († 774), who laboured in Beirūt,[1] as late as the sixth century still the seat of a flourishing school of Roman law, and came very near establishing a fifth rite.

Ethics

The prescriptions of the canon law (*sharī'ah*) discussed above regulate for the Moslem his entire life in its religious, political and social aspects. They govern his marital and civic relations as well as his relations with non-Moslems. Accordingly ethical conduct derives its sanctions and inhibitions from the sacred law. All man's acts are classified under five legal categories: (1) what is considered absolute duty (*farḍ*), embracing actions the commission of which is rewarded and the omission punished by law; (2) commendable or meritorious actions (*mustaḥabb*), the performance of which is rewarded but the omission not punished; (3) permissible actions (*jā'iz*, *mubāḥ*), which are legally indifferent; (4) reprehensible actions (*makrūh*), which are disapproved but not punishable; (5) forbidden actions (*ḥarām*), the doing of which calls for punishment.

Ethical works based on the Koran and tradition, though numerous, do not exhaust all the material in Arabic literature dealing with morals (*akhlāq*).[2] There are at least three other types. Several works deal with good morals and refinement of spirit and deportment (*adab*). These are based mainly on Indo-

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 493.

[2] See Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. i, pp. 200-205.

Persian anecdotes, proverbs and wise sayings. *Al-Durrah al-Yatīmah*[1] by ibn-al-Muqaffa' (executed *ca.*757), which eulogizes temperance, courage, liberality and proficiency in discourse and business, may be taken as a specimen of this type. A similarly popular philosophy of morality is found in the fables and proverbs of Luqmān, the Æsop of the Arabs. An ethical treatise by the celebrated constitutional theorist of Baghdād, al-Māwardi († 1058),[2] rich in wise sayings of the Prophet and the Companions, is still popular as a text-book in Egyptian and Syrian schools. Another type of work is philosophical, ultimately going back to Aristotle through Neo-Platonic and Neo-Pythagorean sources. These Greek works, headed by Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* translated as *Kitāb al-Akhlāq* by Ḥunayn or his son Isḥāq,[3] laid the foundation of Arabic moral philosophy (*'ilm al-akhlāq*), whose aim, like that of Aristotle and Plato, was to facilitate the attainment of earthly felicity. Of this school the most notable representative was the historian Miskawayh, whose *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*[4] is the best ethical work of the strictly philosophical or Neo-Platonic type composed by a Moslem. We also have in the epistles of the Brethren of Sincerity, of which the ninth is devoted to *akhlāq*, a characteristic deposit of Greek ethics pervaded by astrological and metaphysico-psychological speculation. The Brethren show special enthusiasm for Christ and Socrates as examples of the moral man, though to the Sunnites Muḥammad and to the Shī'ites 'Ali are the perfect men. The third type of ethics may be styled the mystico-psychological. Its exponents were al-Ghazzāli and various Sufi authors whom we shall consider in a forthcoming chapter. In all these Moslem moral philosophies certain virtues such as resignation, contentment and endurance are admired; vices are treated as maladies of the soul with the moral philosopher as the physician; and the classification is founded on the analysis of the faculties of the soul, each faculty having its own virtue and its own vice.

Literature

In the early centuries of the 'Abbāsid power an interesting movement developed among the subjected races, particularly the Persians, whose object it was to combat the feeling of

[1] Ed. Shakīb Arislān (Cairo).
[2] *Adab al-Dunya w-al-Dīn*, 16th ed. (Cairo, 1925).
[3] Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 252.
[4] Several Cairo editions, none of them critical.

superiority which those Moslems of Arabian descent, real or claimed, had long manifested. The movement took its name Shu'ūbīyah (belonging to the peoples, non-Arabs) from a koranic verse (49 : 13) the purport of which was to inculcate the brotherhood and equality of all Moslems. Whilst among the Khārijites and the Shī'ites it took dynastic and political aspects, and among some Persians it took religious aspects involving heresy and *zindīqism*, yet the form which al-Shu'ūbīyah assumed in general was that of literary controversy. It derided the Arab pretensions to intellectual superiority and claimed for non-Arabs superiority in poetry and literature. The non-Arab cause was championed by such leaders as al-Bīrūni and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahāni, whilst the Arab side was represented by several of Arabian as well as others of Persian extraction, including al-Jāḥiẓ,[1] ibn-Durayd,[2] ibn-Qutaybah and al-Balādhuri. It was in connection with such controversial questions that some of the earliest original pieces of Arabic literature were composed.

What we call "Arabic literature" was no more Arabian than the Latin literature of the Middle Ages was Italian. Its producers were men of the most varied ethnic origins[3] and in its totality it represents the enduring monument of a civilization rather than of a people. Even such disciplines as philology, linguistics, lexicography and grammar, which were primarily Arabian in origin and spirit and in which the Arabs made their chief original contribution, recruited some of their most distinguished scholars from the non-Arab stock. Al-Jawhari († *ca.* 1008), whose lexicon,[4] arranged in the alphabetical order of the final radical letters of the words, served as a model for later lexicographers, was a Turk from Fārāb.[5] His contemporary ibn-Jinni († 1002), who adorned the Ḥamdānid court at Aleppo and whose chief merit was a philosophical treatment of philology, was the son of a Greek slave.[6]

Belles-lettres

Arabic literature in the narrow sense of *adab* (belles-lettres) began with al-Jāḥiẓ († 868–9), the shēkh of the Baṣrah littérateurs, and reached its culmination in the fourth and fifth

[1] *Bayān*, vol. iii, pp. 9 *seq.*

[2] A lexicographer, died at Baghdād, 933. He wrote against the Shu'ūbīyah *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854).

[3] In his *Muqaddamah*, pp. 477-9, ibn-Khaldūn has a chapter headed "Most of the learned men in Islam were non-Arabians".

[4] *Ṣiḥāḥ*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1292).

[5] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, p. 266.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. v, p. 15.

Moslem centuries in the works of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni (969–1008), al-Tha'ālibi[1] of Naysābūr (961–1038) and al-Ḥarīri (1054–1122). One characteristic feature of prose-writing in this period was the tendency, in response to Persian influence, to be affected and ornate. The terse, incisive and simple expression of early days had gone for ever. It was supplanted by polished and elegant style, rich in elaborate similes and replete with rhymes. The whole period was marked by a predominance of humanistic over scientific studies. Intellectually it was a period of decline. It supported a literary proletariat, many of whose members, with no independent means of livelihood, roamed from place to place ready to give battle over linguistic issues and grammatical technicalities or to measure poetical swords over trivial matters with a view to winning favours from wealthy patrons. This period also saw the rise of a new form of literary expression, the *maqāmah*.

Badī' al-Zamān (wonder of the age) al-Hamadhāni is credited with the creation of the *maqāmah* (assembly), a kind of dramatic anecdote in the telling of which the author subordinates substance to form and does his utmost to display his poetical ability, learning and eloquence. In reality such a form of composition as the *maqāmah* could not have been the creation of any one man; it was a natural development of rhymed prose and flowery diction as represented by ibn-Durayd and earlier stylists. Al-Hamadhāni's work[2] served as a model for al-Ḥarīri of al-Baṣrah,[3] whose *Maqāmāt*[4] for more than seven centuries were esteemed as the chief treasure, next to the Koran, of the literary Arabic tongue. In these *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīri and other writers there is much more than the elegant form and rhetorical anecdote which most readers consider the only significant feature. The anecdote itself is often used as a subtle and indirect way of criticizing the existing social order and drawing a wholesome moral. Since the days of al-Hamadhāni and al-Ḥarīri the *maqāmah* has become the most perfect form of literary and dramatic presentation in Arabic, a language which has never

[1] The name means furrier; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 522. His best-known work is *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, 4 vols. (Damascus, 1302), an anthology of contemporary poets.

[2] *Maqāmāt*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abduh (Beirūt, 1889).

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 68.

[4] Ed. de Sacy, 2 vols. (Paris, 1847–53); tr. into English by Theodore Preston (London, 1850).

produced real drama. Early Spanish and Italian tales of the realistic or picaresque type display clear affinities with the Arabic *maqāmah*.

Before the *maqāmah* was developed Arabic literature saw the rise of its greatest literary historian, abu-al-Faraj al-Iṣbahāni, or al-Iṣfahāni (*ca.* 897–967), a lineal descendant of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph. Abu-al-Faraj flourished in Aleppo, where he produced his *Kitāb al-Aghāni*[1] (book of songs), a veritable treasury of poetry and literature and an indispensable source for the study of Moslem civilization. In his *Muqaddamah*[2] ibn-Khaldūn rightly calls it "the register of the Arabs" and "the final resource of the student of belles-lettres". His Aleppine patron Sayf-al-Dawlah al-Ḥamdāni bestowed on the author a thousand gold pieces as a reward for this work,[3] and the Andalusian al-Ḥakam II sent him a like sum. A Buwayhid vizir, al-Ṣāḥib ibn-'Abbād († 995), who is said to have been wont to take with him on his journeys thirty camel-loads of books, dispensed with them all on receiving a copy of *al-Aghāni*, which he thereafter carried about alone.[4]

The Arabian Nights

In this period, shortly before the middle of the tenth century, the first draft of what later became *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah*[5] (a thousand and one nights) was made in al-'Irāq. The basis of this draft, prepared by al-Jahshiyāri[6] († 942), was an old Persian work, *Hazār Afsāna* (thousand tales), containing several stories of Indian origin. Al-Jahshiyāri added other tales from local story-tellers.[7] The *Afsāna* provided the general plot and framework as well as the nomenclature for the leading heroes and heroines, including Shahrazād. As time went on additions were made from numberless sources: Indian, Greek, Hebrew, Egyptian and the like. Oriental folk-tales of every description were absorbed in the course of centuries. The court of Hārūn al-Rashīd provided a large quota of humorous anecdotes and love romances. The final form was not taken by the *Nights* until the later Mamlūk period in Egypt. Its heterogeneous character has inspired the

[1] 20 vols. (Būlāq, 1285); Brünnow edited vol. 21 (Leyden, 1888) and Guidi issued index (Leyden, 1900).

[2] P. 487. [3] Yāqūt, vol. v, p. 150; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 11.

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 11, cf. vol. i, p. 133.

[5] Būlāq editions A. H. 1251 (1835) and 1279 fixed the vulgate Arabic text.

[6] Better known for his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' w-al-Kuttāb*, ed. Hans v. Mžik (Leipzig, 1926).

[7] *Fihrist*, p. 304. Cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 90.

facetious words of a modern critic who has described the *Arabian Nights* as Persian tales told after the manner of Buddha by Queen Esther [1] to "Haroun Alraschid" in Cairo during the fourteenth century of the Christian era. First translated into French by Galland,[2] the *Nights* have worked their way into all the principal languages of modern Europe and Asia and have taken their place as the most popular piece of Arabic literature in the West, vastly more popular than in the Moslem East itself. In English the first important translation, incomplete but accurate, is that of Edward William Lane.[3] It has a valuable and full commentary and has gone through several editions. John Payne's translation,[4] the best in English, is complete but has no commentary. In his rendition Sir Richard F. Burton[5] follows Payne's except in the poetical part and endeavours to improve on it by attempting to reproduce the Oriental flavour of the original.

Poetry

The pre-Islamic poetry of the heroic age of the jāhilīyah provided models for the Umayyad bards, whose imitations of the antique odes were treated as classical by the ʿAbbāsid poets. The pietistic spirit fostered by the new régime of the banu-al-ʿAbbās, the foreign cultural and religious influences streaming mainly from Persia, and the patronage of the caliphs under whom the poets flourished and whom they were expected to laud and glorify, tended to produce deviation from the old trodden paths of classicism and develop new forms of poetical expression. Nevertheless poesy proved the most conservative of all Arab arts. Throughout the ages it never ceased to breathe the spirit of the desert. Even modern Arabic versifiers of Cairo, Damascus and Baghdād feel no incongruity in introducing their odes by apostrophizing the deserted encampments (*aṭlāl*) of the beloved, whose eyes they still liken to those of wild cows (*maha*). Other than poetry, law—particularly in its marital ordinances—is perhaps the only field in which the old desert elements have succeeded in perpetuating themselves.

The earliest exponent of the new style in poetry was the blind Persian Bashshār ibn-Burd, who was put to death in 783 under al-Mahdi, according to some for satirizing his vizir but more

[1] Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 304, l. 16, with Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 688, ll. 1, 12-13, and p. 689, l. 1.
[2] 12 vols. (Paris, 1704–17).
[3] 3 vols. (London, 1839–41). Ed. with illustrations by E. S. Poole, 3 vols. (London, 1859). Rev. by E. S. Poole, 3 vols. (London, 1883). Several later reprints.
[4] 9 vols. (London, 1882–4). [5] 16 vols. (London and "Benares", 1885–8)

probably on account of his *zindīqism*, Zoroastrian or Manichaean secret views. Bashshār, who once thanked Allah for having made him blind "so that I need not see that which I hate",[1] was a rebel against the archaic formulas of ancient poetry.[2] Another early representative of the new school was the half-Persian abu-Nuwās[3] († *ca.* 810), the boon companion of Hārūn and al-Amīn and the poet in whose songs love and wine found their best expression. The name of abu-Nuwās has lived to the present day in the Arabic world as a synonym for clown; in reality he has few rivals in amorous sentiment, erotic expression and elegant diction. He is the lyric and bacchic poet par excellence of the Moslem world. The many songs on the beauty of boys attributed to this dissolute favourite of the 'Abbāsid court, as well as his poems in praise of wine (*khamrīyāt*), which have not ceased to enchant those who read and drink, throw interesting light upon contemporaneous aristocratic life.[4] The *ghazal* of abu-Nuwās, short poems of love ranging from five to fifteen verses, follow the model of Persian bards, who developed this verse form long before the Arabs.

Just as the witty and licentious abu-Nuwās represented the lighter side of court life, so did his ascetic contemporary abu-al-'Atāhiyah[5] (748–*ca.* 828), a potter by profession, give expression to pessimistic meditations on mortality which the common man of religious mentality entertained. The soul of this scion of the Bedouin tribe of 'Anazah rebelled against the frivolous high life of Baghdād, where he lived, and although Hārūn assigned to him a yearly stipend of 50,000 dirhams, he adopted the garb of a dervish and produced those ascetic and religious poems (*zuhdīyāt*) which entitle him to the position of father of Arabic sacred poetry.[6]

The provinces, particularly Syria, reared during the 'Abbāsid period a number of first-class poets, among whom the most renowned were abu-Tammām († *ca.* 845) and abu-al-'Alā'.

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. iii, p. 22.

[2] Consult the collection edited by Aḥmad H. al-Qirni as *Bashshār ibn-Burd: Shi'ruhu wa-Akhbāruhu* (Cairo, 1925); *Aghāni*, vol. iii, pp. 19-73, vol. vi, pp. 47-53; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 157; ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 476-9.

[3] Al-Ḥasan ibn-Hāni'; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 240.

[4] Consult his *Dīwān*, ed. Maḥmūd Wāṣif (Cairo, 1898); *Aghāni*, vol. xviii, pp. 2-8; ibn-Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 501-25.

[5] Ismā'īl ibn-al-Qāsim. On his life see *Aghāni*, vol. iii, pp. 126-83; Mas'ūdi, vol. vi. pp. 240-50, 333-40, vol. vii, pp. 81-7; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 125-30.

[6] Consult his *Dīwān* (Beirūt, 1887).

Abu-Tammām's father, who kept a wine shop in Damascus, was a Christian by the name of Thādus (Thaddaios), which the son changed to Aws when he embraced Islam.[1] Abu-Tammām was a court poet in Baghdād. but his title to fame rests rather upon his compilation *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*,[2] poems celebrating valour in battle. This *Dīwān* embraces gems of Arabic poetry. The collection of *Ḥamāsah*[3] poems of the same description by the other court poet, al-Buḥturi (820–97), is inferior to that of abu-Tammām, after which it was modelled.

The patronage accorded by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, vizirs and governors to poets, whom they employed as encomiasts, not only made the panegyric (*madīḥ*) an especially favourite form of poetical composition but led poets to prostitute their art, and resulted in that false glitter and empty bombast often said to be characteristic of Arabic poetry. ʿAbbāsid poetry, not unlike Arabic poetry of other periods, was moreover mainly subjective and provincial in character, full of local colour but unable to soar above time and place to gain a position among the timeless and landless offspring of the Muses.

[1] See *Aghāni*, vol. xv, pp. 99-108; Masʿūdi, vol. vii, pp. 147-67; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 214-18.

[2] Ed. as *Ashʿār al-Ḥamāsah* by Freytag (Bonn, 1828), supplemented by a commentary in 2 vols. (Bonn, 1847–51).

[3] Photographic reproduction with indexes by Geyer and Margoliouth (Leyden, 1909).

THE OLDEST REPRESENTATION OF THE CAESAREAN SECTION

From al-Bīrūni, *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, MS. dated A.H. 707 (1307–8), in the Library of the University of Edinburgh

CHAPTER XXVIII

EDUCATION

THE child's education began at home. As soon as he could speak it was the father's duty to teach him "the word" (*al-kalimah*): *La ilāh illa Allāh* (no god but Allah). When six years old the child was held responsible for the ritual prayer. It was then that his formal education began.[1]

Elementary

The elementary school (*kuttāb*) was an adjunct of the mosque, if not the mosque itself. Its curriculum centred upon the Koran as a reading text-book. With reading went writing. On visiting Damascus in 1184 ibn-Jubayr[2] noticed that the writing exercises by the pupils were not from the Koran but from secular poetry, for the act of erasing the word of Allah might discredit it. Together with reading and penmanship the students were taught Arabic grammar, stories about the prophets—particularly ḥadīths relating to Muḥammad—the elementary principles of arithmetic, and poems, but not of erotic character. Throughout the whole curriculum memory work was especially emphasized. Deserving pupils in the elementary schools of Baghdād were often rewarded by being paraded through the streets on camels whilst almonds were thrown at them. In one instance the shower had tragic results by destroying the eye of a young scholar.[3] Similar scenes enacted in honour of young pupils who have memorized the Koran are not infrequent today in Moslem lands. In certain cases the scholars were granted a whole or partial holiday whenever one of them had finally mastered a section of the Koran.

Girls were welcome to all the religious instruction in the lower grades of which their minds were capable, but there was no special desire to guide them further along the flowery and thorny path of knowledge. For after all was not the centre of a woman's sphere the spindle?[4] The children of the wealthy had private

[1] Cf. Ghazzāli, *Iḥyā'*, vol. i, p. 83.
[2] P. 272.
[3] *Aghāni*, vol. xviii, p. 101.
[4] Cf. Mubarrad, p. 150, l. 3.

tutors (sing. *mu'addib*) who instructed them in religion, polite literature and the art of versification. Very commonly these tutors were of foreign extraction. The ideals of aristocratic education may be ascertained from the instructions given by al-Rashīd to the tutor of his son al-Amīn :

> Be not strict to the extent of stifling his faculties or lenient to the point of making him enjoy idleness and accustom himself thereto. Straighten him as much as thou canst through kindness and gentleness, but fail not to resort to force and severity should he not respond.[1]

The rod was considered a necessary part of a teacher's equipment and, as is evident from the above, had the caliph's approval for use on his children. In his chapter on the parental management of children in *Risālat al-Siyāsah*,[2] ibn-Sīna speaks of "seeking the aid of the hand" as a valuable auxiliary of the educator's art.

The teacher in the elementary school, called *mu'allim*, sometimes *faqīh* on account of his theological training, came to occupy a rather low status socially. "Seek no advice from teachers, shepherds and those who sit much among women",[3] admonished a favourite adage. A judge under al-Ma'mūn went so far as to refuse to admit teachers' testimonies as satisfactory evidence in court. A whole body of anecdotes in Arabic literature developed round the teacher as a dunce. "More foolish than a teacher of an elementary school"[4] acquired proverbial usage. But the higher grade of teachers were on the whole highly respected. They evidently were organized into a sort of a guild, and the master would grant a recognized certificate (*ijāzah*) to those students who satisfactorily passed the prescribed course of study under him. In his treatise on pedagogy al-Zarnūji,[5] who wrote in 1203, devotes a section to the high regard in which a student should hold the profession of teaching, quoting the adage attributed to 'Ali: "I am the slave of him who hath taught me even one letter". Al-Zarnūji's is the best known of some two score Arabic treatises on education, most of which have survived in manuscript form.[6]

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, pp. 321-2; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 475-6.
[2] Ed. Luwīs Ma'lūf in *al-Mashriq*, vol. ix (1906), p. 1074.
[3] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. i, p. 173. [4] *Loc. cit.*
[5] *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim Ṭarīq al-Ta'allum*, ed. C. Caspari (Leipzig, 1838), pp. 14-19. See also Ghazzāli, vol. i, pp. 8-11.
[6] For a list see Khalīl A. Totah, *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education* (New York, 1926), pp. 67-76.

Institutions of higher education

The first prominent institution for higher learning in Islam was the Bayt al-Ḥikmah (the house of wisdom) founded by al-Ma'mūn (830) in his capital. Besides serving as a translation bureau this institute functioned as an academy and public library and had an observatory connected with it. The observatories, which sprang up at this time, it should be remembered, were also schools for teaching astronomy, just as the hospitals, which also made their first appearance at this period, served as centres for medical studies. But the first real academy in Islam[1] which made provision for the physical needs of its students and became a model for later institutions of higher learning was the Niẓāmīyah, founded in 1065–7 by the enlightened Niẓām-al-Mulk, the Persian vizir of the Saljūq Sultans Alp Arslān and Malikshāh and the patron of 'Umar al-Khayyām. The Saljūqs, like the Buwayhids and other non-Arab sultans who usurped the sovereign power in Islam, vied with each other in patronizing the arts and higher education, perhaps as a means of ingratiating themselves with the populace. The Niẓāmīyah was consecrated as a theological seminary (*madrasah*), particularly for the study of the Shāfi'i rite and the orthodox Ash'ari system. In it the Koran and old poetry formed the backbone of the study of the humanities (*'ilm al-adab*), precisely as the classics did later in the European universities. The students boarded in this academy and many of them held endowed scholarships. It is claimed that certain details of its organization appear to have been copied by the early universities of Europe.[2] That the students cherished a measure of *esprit de corps* is evidenced by the rough treatment accorded a representative of the court who came to seal the door of a room formerly occupied by a scholar who died in 1187 leaving no heirs.[3]

The Niẓāmīyah was a theological institution recognized by the state. Ibn-al-Athīr[4] cites the incident of a lecturer (*mudarris*) who received his appointment but could not perform his duty pending confirmation from the caliph. Evidently one lecturer was appointed at a time.[5] The lecturer had under him two or more *répétiteurs* (sing. *mu'īd*, repeater)[6] whose duty consisted in reading over the lecture after class and explaining it to

[1] Consult Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 156-7. Cf. Qazwīni, *Āthār*, p. 276.
[2] Reuben Levy, *A Baghdād Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 193.
[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, p. 115.
[4] Vol. xi, p. 100.
[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 123.
[6] See ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 430.

the less-gifted students. Ibn-Jubayr[1] once attended a lecture delivered after the mid-afternoon prayers by the ranking professor. The lecturer stood on a platform while the students sat on stools and plied him with written and oral questions till evening prayer. It was in this Niẓāmīyah that al-Ghazzāli lectured for four years (1091–5).[2] In the chapter on learning with which he introduced his *Iḥyā'*[3] al-Ghazzāli combated the idea that the imparting of knowledge was the object of education and emphasized the necessity of stimulating the moral consciousness of the student, thus becoming the first author in Islam to bring the problem of education into organic relation with a profound ethical system. Among the later eminent teachers of the Niẓāmīyah was Bahā'-al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's (Saladin's) biographer, who tells us in his reminiscences, as reported in ibn-Khallikān,[4] that to sharpen their memories a group of students once drank such a heavy dose of an infusion of anacardia[5] kernels that one of them lost his wits entirely and came naked to the class. When amidst the laughter of the class he was asked for an explanation, he gravely replied that he and his companions had tried the anacardia infusion, which made them all insane with the exception of himself, who had happily kept his senses.

Al-Niẓāmīyah survived the catastrophe that befell the capital at its capture by Hūlāgu in 1258, as it survived the later invasions by the Tartars, and was finally merged with its younger sister, al-Mustanṣirīyah, about two years after Tīmūr Lang (Tamerlane) captured Baghdād in 1393. Al-Mustanṣirīyah derived its name from the next-to-last caliph, al-Mustanṣir,[6] who built it in 1234 as a seminary for the four orthodox rites. The building had a clock (doubtless of the clepsydra type) at the entrance, was equipped with baths and kitchens and included a hospital and a library. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah,[7] who visited Baghdād in 1327, gives us a detailed description of the building. This structure, almost the only one surviving from 'Abbāsid days, is today used as a customs warehouse.

[1] Pp. 219-20.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 246; *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl* (Cairo, 1329), pp. 29-30.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 43-9; *Ayyuha al-Walad*, ed. and tr. Hammer-Purgstall (Vienna, 1838); tr. (Eng.) G. H. Scherer (Beirūt, 1933).

[4] Vol. iii, pp. 435 *seq.*

[5] Ar. *balādhur*, from Pers. *balādur*. The celebrated historian al-Balādhuri is said to have died as a result of drinking the juice of the anacardia (cashew nut). Hence his surname.

[6] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 179.

[7] Vol. ii, pp. 108-9.

Besides the Niẓāmīyah of Baghdād the Saljūq vizir is credited with establishing several other seminaries in Naysābūr and other towns of the empire. Prior to Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn he was the greatest patron of higher education in Islam. The Niẓāmīyah type of *madrasah* spread over Khurāsān, al-'Irāq and Syria. Founding a *madrasah* was always considered a meritorious act in Islam. This explains the large number of such institutions reported by travellers. Ibn-Jubayr[1] counted in Baghdād about thirty schools; in Damascus, which then enjoyed its golden age under Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, about twenty; in al-Mawṣil, six or more; and in Ḥimṣ only one.

In all these higher institutions of theology the science of tradition lay at the basis of the curriculum, and memory work was especially stressed. In those days of no diaries and no memoranda the retentive faculties must have been developed to phenomenal limits, if we are to believe the sources. Al-Ghazzālī earned his title *ḥujjat al-Islām* (the authority of Islam) by memorizing 300,000 traditions. Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, it is said, knew by heart 1,000,000.[2] Al-Bukhāri was tested by one hundred traditions in which the chain of authorities (*isnād*) of the one was affixed to the text (*matn*) of the other—all of which he straightened out nicely from memory.[3] Poets vied with traditionists in memory work. Having read a copy of a book loaned him by a bookseller, al-Mutanabbi' saw no more reason for buying the book, for its contents were already stored in his mind. Anecdotes of a similar nature are told to prove the prodigious memories of abu-Tammām and al-Ma'arri.

Adult education

Adult education was nowhere carried on in a systematic way, but the mosques in almost all Moslem towns served as important educational centres. When a visitor came to a new city he could make his way to the congregational mosque confident that he could attend lectures on ḥadīth. This is what al-Maqdisi[4] tells us he did on visiting distant al-Sūs. This travelling geographer of the tenth century found in his native Palestine and in Syria, Egypt and Fāris many circles (sing. *ḥalqah*) or assemblies (sing. *majlis*) centring upon *faqīhs*, Koran readers and littérateurs in the mosques.[5] The Imām al-Shāfi'i presided at such a *ḥalqah*

[1] P. 229, l. 10, p. 283, l. 8, p. 236, ll. 1-2, p. 258, l. 20.
[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 28.
[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 230-31.
[4] P. 415.
[5] Maqdisi, pp. 182, 179, l. 20, pp. 205, 439, l. 11.

at the Mosque of 'Amr at al-Fusṭāṭ, where he taught various subjects every morning till his death in 820.[1] Ibn-Ḥawqal[2] mentions similar assemblies in Sijistān. Not only religious but linguistic and poetical subjects were treated in these assemblies.[3] Every Moslem had free admission to such lectures in the mosques, which remained until the eleventh century the extension school of Islam.

These mosque circles bring to mind another type of coterie, chiefly literary, which met in the homes of the aristocracy and cultured society under the name of *majālis al-adab*,[4] literary salons. These gatherings begin to appear early under the 'Abbāsids. In the presence of several early caliphs poetical contests, religious debates and literary conferences were often held. We owe a few surviving works to such debates.[5]

Libraries

Mosques also functioned as repositories for books. Through gifts and bequests mosque libraries became especially rich in religious literature. Among others the historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi (1002–71) willed his books "as a *waqf* [mortmain] for the Moslems", but they were housed in the home of a friend of his.[6] Other libraries established by dignitaries or men of wealth as semi-public institutions housed collections bearing on logic, philosophy, astronomy and other sciences.[7] Scholars and men of standing had no difficulty in finding access even to private collections. Al-Mawṣil had before the middle of the tenth century a library, built by one of its citizens, where students were even supplied with free paper.[8] The library (*khizānat al-kutub*) founded in Shīrāz by the Buwayhid 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah (977–82) had its books arranged in cases and listed in catalogues and was administered by a regular staff.[9] In the same century al-Baṣrah had a library whose founder granted stipends for scholars working in it.[10] In al-Rayy there flourished at the same time a "home of books" with over four hundred camel-loads of manuscripts listed in a ten-volume catalogue.[11] Libraries were used as meeting-places for scientific discussion and debate. Yāqūt spent three years collecting material for his geographical dictionary from the

[1] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. vi, p. 383; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. i, p. 136. [2] P. 317.
[3] Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 135, ll. 14-16, vol. vi, p. 432, ll. 14-16.
[4] *Aghāni*, vol. xviii, p. 101. [5] See above, p. 354.
[6] Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 252, vol. iv, p. 287.
[7] For an illustration see *ibid.* vol. v, p. 467.
[8] Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 420. [9] Maqdisi, p. 449. See also Yāqūt, vol. v, p. 446.
[10] Maqdisi, p. 413. [11] Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 315.

libraries of Marw and Khwārizm, whence he fled in 1220 at the approach of the Mongol hordes of Chingīz Khān, who committed all these libraries to the flames.

Bookshops

The bookshop as a commercial and educational agency also makes its appearance early under the 'Abbāsids. Al-Ya'qūbi[1] asserts that in his time (891) the capital boasted over a hundred book-dealers congregated in one street. Many of these shops, like their modern successors in Cairo and Damascus, were but small booths by the mosques, but some were undoubtedly large enough to act as centres for connoisseurs and bibliophiles. The booksellers themselves were often calligraphers, copyists and literati who used their shops not only as stores and ateliers but as centres for literary discussion. They occupied a not inconspicuous place in society. Yāqūt started on his career as a book-dealer's clerk. Al-Nadīm († 995), also called al-Warrāq (stationer), was evidently himself a librarian or book-dealer to whose catalogue we possibly owe that scholarly and remarkable work *al-Fihrist*. In this work[2] we read of an 'Irāqi bibliophile whose large trunk housed treasures of manuscripts which included parchments, Egyptian papyri, Chinese paper and leather scrolls, each bearing the name of the scribe attested by the notes of from five to six generations of learned men.

Paper

The common writing-material was parchment or papyrus down to the beginning of the third Moslem century. Certain official documents written on parchment and looted in the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn were later washed clean and sold again.[3] After the beginning of the third century some Chinese paper was imported into al-'Irāq, but soon the paper industry became indigenous. It was first into Samarqand, as we have already pointed out, that certain Chinese prisoners introduced in 751 the art of manufacturing paper from flax, linen or hemp rags.[4] The ancient Arabic word for paper, *kāghad*, is probably of Chinese origin through Persian. From Samarqand the industry soon passed to al-'Irāq. At the instance of the Barmakid al-Faḍl ibn-Yaḥya, who had been governor of Khurāsān in 794, the first paper-mill was established in Baghdād.[5] His brother Ja'far, Hārūn's vizir, had parchment replaced by paper in the

[1] P. 245. [2] P. 40. [3] *Fihrist*, p. 21.
[4] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1928), pp. 236-7. Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 21.
[5] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 352.

government offices.[1] Other Moslem towns erected mills on the plan of those in Samarqand. A native factory arose in Tihāmah for the manufacture of paper from vegetable fibre.[2] At the time of al-Maqdisi[3] the Samarqand product was still considered the finest. But in the following century, the eleventh, even better paper was manufactured in such Syrian towns as Tripoli.[4] From Western Asia the industry made its way at the end of the ninth century into the Delta of Egypt, where several towns had been for a long time exporting to the Greek-speaking lands papyrus for writing-material under the name *qarāṭīs*.[5] By the end of the tenth century paper had succeeded in entirely displacing papyrus and parchment throughout the Moslem world.

General level of culture

That there was an élite of highly educated men under the first 'Abbāsids is fully recognized, but how high the general level of culture was among the masses is not so easy to determine. A story about a starving scholar of Baghdād who hesitated to sell his books even when his daughter was taken ill has been preserved in Yāqūt.[6] The answers submitted by the educated slave girl Tawaddud to the questions of the savants as reported in *The Thousand and One Nights* (nos. 438-61) may be taken as an index of the degree of knowledge attained by the cultured person after Hārūn and down to the twelfth century. According to Tawaddud intellect is of two kinds: one innate and the other acquired. Its seat is the heart, where God deposits it and whence it ascends to the brain. Man has three hundred and sixty veins, two hundred and forty bones and five senses. He is compounded of four elements: water, earth, fire and air. The stomach lies in front of the heart, to which the lungs are ventilators. The liver is the seat of compassion; the spleen, of laughter; and the two kidneys, of cunning. The head has five faculties: sensation, imagination, will, fancy and retention. The stomach is the home of all disease, and diet is the source of all healing. The planets are seven: the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.[7]

[1] Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, vol. ii, p. 34. Cf. Qalqashandi, vol. ii, pp. 475-6.
[2] See *Fihrist*, p. 40, l. 23. [3] P. 326.
[4] Nāsir-i-Khusraw, *Sefer Nāmeh*, ed. and tr. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1881), text p. 12, tr. p. 41.
[5] Sing. *qirṭās*, from Gr. *chartēs*. See Ya'qūbi, p. 338, ll. 8, 13; Qalqashandi, vol. ii, p. 474. See above, p. 347. [6] Vol. i, pp. 38-9.
[7] The very same planets of the Ptolemaic system. The last five were those known to the Assyrians and Babylonians; Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia*, p. 261.

From T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, "The Islamic Book," by permission of the Pegasus Press, Paris

A SILVER PORTRAIT COIN OF AL-MUTAWAKKIL (OF THE YEAR 855) WITH A TWO-POINTED BEARD, WEARING A LOW CAP OF THE SĀSĀNID TYPE

(Original in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINE ARTS

IN his art as in his poetry the Arab, a Semite, revealed himself with a keen appreciation of the particular and the subjective and with a delicate sense for detail, but with no particular capacity for harmonizing and unifying the various parts into a great and united whole. However, in architecture and painting particularly, he did not so early attain a certain degree of progress, and stand still for ever after, as he did in his sciences after the tenth century.

Architecture

Of the architectural monuments which once adorned the city of al-Manṣūr and al-Rashīd no trace has been left, whereas two of the noblest surviving structures of Islam, the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus and the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, date from the earlier Umayyad period. The caliphal palace called the Golden Gate (*bāb al-dhahab*) or Green Dome (*al-qubbah al-khaḍrā'*) erected by the founder of Baghdād, as well as his Palace of Eternity (*qaṣr al-khuld*) and the Ruṣāfah

palace, built for the crown prince al-Mahdi;[1] the palaces of the Barmakids at al-Shammāsīyah;[2] the palace of the Pleiades (*al-thurayya*), on which al-Mu'taḍid (892–902), who restored Baghdād as capital after Sāmarra, spent 400,000 dinars,[3] and his adjoining palace styled the Crown (*al-tāj*),[4] completed by his son al-Muktafi (902–8); the unique mansion of al-Muqtadir (908–32) designated the Hall of the Tree (*dār al-shajarah*) on account of the gold and silver tree that stood in its pond; the Buwayhid mansion known by the name al-Mu'izzīyah after Mu'izz-al-Dawlah (932–67), which cost 1,000,000 dinars[5]—all these and many others like them left no remains to give us an inkling of the splendour that was theirs. So complete was the destruction wrought by the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, by the final devastation of the capital by Hūlāgu in 1258 and by natural causes that even the sites of most of these palaces cannot today be identified.

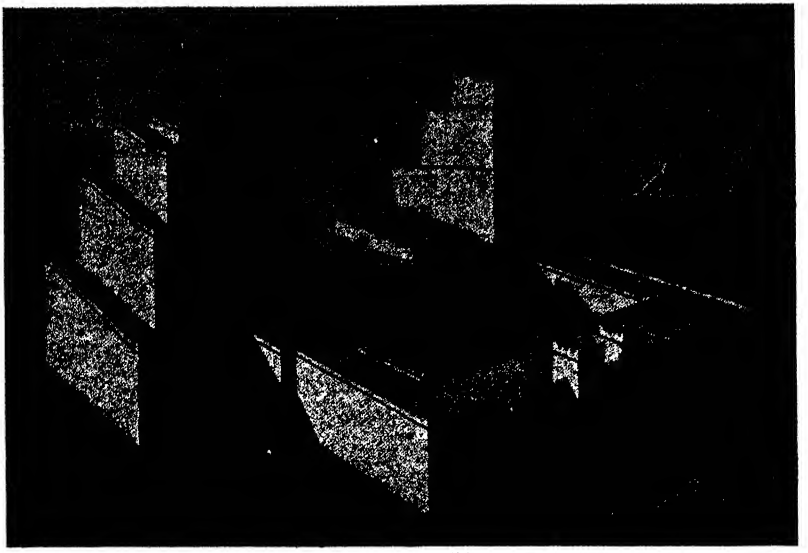
Outside of the capital no 'Abbāsid ruin can be dated with any degree of probability prior to the reigns of al-Mu'taṣim (833–42), founder of Sāmarra, and of his son al-Mutawakkil (847–861), the builder of its great mosque.[6] This congregational mosque, which cost 700,000 dinars,[7] was rectangular and the multifoil arches of its windows suggest Indian influence. Neither here nor in the mosque at abu-Dulaf (also of the mid-ninth century) near Sāmarra has any trace been found of the *miḥrāb* (prayer niche) in the *qiblah* wall. The wall *miḥrāb* seems to have been a Syrian invention, suggested in all likelihood by the apse in the Christian church.[8] Outside, against the wall of the great mosque of Sāmarra, rose a tower which is analogous to the ancient Babylonian *ziggurat*.[9] This tower was copied by ibn-Ṭūlūn for the minaret of his mosque (876–9), in which the pointed arch appears for the third time in Egypt, after the repaired mosque of 'Amr (827) and the Nilometer (861). Such 'Abbāsid remains as have survived at al-Raqqah, of the late

[1] Al-Khaṭīb (al-Baghdādi), vol. i, pp. 82-3.
[2] One of the eastern quarters of Baghdād.
[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 116. This palace was destroyed two centuries later.
[4] Khaṭīb, vol. i, pp. 99 *seq.*
[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 256.
[6] Ya'qūbi, p. 260; Maqdisi, p. 122.
[7] Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iii, p. 17.
[8] Ernest T. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture, 623 to 1516* (London, 1926), p. 54; cf. Ernst Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1912), p. 10. See above, p. 261.
[9] Above, p. 262. This ancient minaret with its spiral outside stairway still exists under the name Malwīyah (the bent one).

From Ernst Herzfeld, "Erster Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra" (Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin)

THE MALWĪYAH TOWER OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT SĀMARRA, NINTH CHRISTIAN CENTURY

eighth century, and at Sāmarra carry on the tradition of Asiatic, more particularly Persian, architecture in contrast to the Umayyad structures which bear clear traces of Byzantine-Syrian art. Under the Sāsānid dynasty (A.D. 226–641) a distinctive type of Persian architecture was developed, with ovoid or elliptical domes, semicircular arches, spiral towers, indented



From Andrae, "Der Anu-Adad-Tempel" (Hinrichs, Leipzig)

STAGE TOWERS, *ZIGGURAT*, OF THE ANU-ADAD TEMPLE AT ASHUR (A RECONSTRUCTION)

battlements, glazed wall-tiles and metal-covered roofs. This type became one of the most powerful factors in the formation of ʿAbbāsid art.

Painting

The theologians' hostility to all forms of representational art[1] did no more stop its development along Islamic lines than did the more explicit koranic injunction against wine enforce prohibition in Moslem society. We have already noticed that al-Manṣūr set upon the dome of his palace the figure of a horseman which might have served as a weathercock, that al-Amīn had his pleasure boats on the Tigris fashioned like lions, eagles and dolphins and that al-Muqtadir had a gold and silver tree with eighteen branches planted in a huge tank in his palace.

[1] See above, pp. 269-71.

On either side of the tank stood the statues of fifteen horsemen, dressed in brocade and armed with lances, constantly moving as though in combat.

The builder of Sāmarra (836), the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, had the walls of his palace there ornamented like those of Quṣayr 'Amrah with frescoes of nude female figures and hunting-scenes, probably the work of Christian artists. His second successor, al-Mutawakkil, under whom this temporary capital reached its zenith,[1] employed for the mural decoration of his palace Byzantine painters who had no scruples against including among the many pictures a church with monks.[2]

In Islam painting was pressed into the service of religion at a rather late date and never became its handmaid as it did in Buddhism and Christianity. The earliest record of any pictorial representation of the Prophet was noted by an Arabian traveller of the late ninth century who saw it in the Chinese court,[3] but it may well have been produced by Nestorians. The many representations of the Burāq seem to have taken for their prototype, through Persian channels, Greek centaurs or the human-headed, winged beasts of the earlier Assyrians. Moslem religious painting, however, does not make its full appearance until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its derivation was evidently from the art of the Oriental Christian churches, particularly the Jacobite and the Nestorian, as the researches of Arnold have shown,[4] and developed from book-decoration. In miniature illustration the Manichaean influence is sometimes dominant.[5] The Syrian-Egyptian Maqrīzi († 1442) was the first Moslem author to attempt a history of Islamic painters, but his work has unhappily been lost—so little has been the interest in the subject.

The earliest Arabic manuscripts with miniatures that have thus far become available for study do not date before the thirteenth Christian century. These manuscripts are *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* and al-Ḥarīri's *Maqāmāt*, whose decorations reveal artists who either worked under the influence of traditions derived from a Christian source or were Christians themselves.

[1] His buildings are discussed by Ya'qūbi, pp. 266-7, and by Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 17-18, who estimates that they cost al-Mutawakkil 294,000,000 dirhams.

[2] Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), pls. lxi, lxiii.

[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. i, pp. 315-18.

[4] *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), ch. iii.

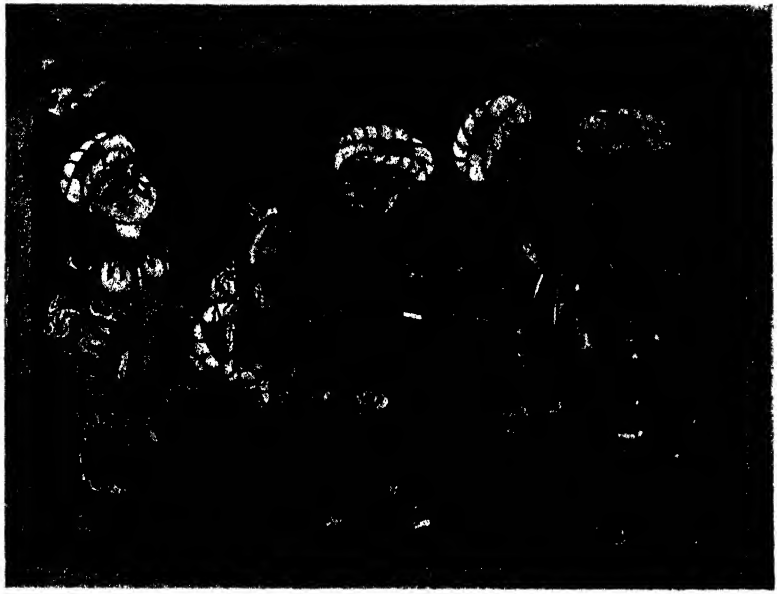
[5] Thomas W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (London, 1929) p. 2.

By courtesy of Edinburgh University Library

THE MONK BAḤĪRA RECOGNIZING THE PROPHETIC MISSION OF MUḤAMMAD

Original in Rashīd-al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, MS. dated A.H. 710 (1310–11),
Edinburgh University Library, Arabic No. 20

Such Moslems as cared to ignore the teaching of their theologians had first to employ Jacobite or Nestorian painters until the Moslems themselves had time to develop their independent artists. Persia with its old Indo-Iranian instincts and traditions was particularly fertile in the early production of such independent painters. But the prevailing idea that this production was



From Arnold and Grohmann, "The Islamic Book" (The Pegasus Press)

A ṢCENE FROM AL-ḤARĪRI, *MAQĀMAH* 19
MS., dated A.H. 734 (1334), in the National Library, Vienna

due to non-conformist Shīʿite tendencies cannot be sound in view of the fact that Shīʿism did not prevail in Persia to the extent of becoming the state religion until the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 1502.

Industrial arts

Since early antiquity the Persians have proved themselves masters of decorative design and colour. Through their efforts the industrial arts of Islam attained a high degree of excellence. Carpet-weaving, as old as Pharaonic Egypt, was especially developed. Hunting and garden scenes were favoured in rug designs, and alum was used in the dye to render the many colours fast. Decorated silk fabrics, the product of Moslem hand-looms

in Egypt and Syria, were so highly prized in Europe that they were chosen by Crusaders and other Westerners, above all textiles, as wrappings for relics of saints.

In ceramics, another art as ancient as Egypt and Susa, the reproduction of the human form and of animals and plants as well as geometric and epigraphic figures, attained a beauty of decorative style unsurpassed in any other Moslem art.[1] In spite of the prejudicial attitude of legists, which crystallized in the second and third Moslem centuries against plastic as well as pictorial art, pottery and metal-work continued to produce distinctive pieces second to none in the Middle Ages. Qāshāni tile, decorated with conventional flowers, which was introduced from Persia to Damascus, found great vogue, together with mosaic work, in exterior and interior decoration of buildings. Better than any others, Arabic characters lent themselves to decorative designs and became a powerful motif in Islamic art. Particularly in Antioch, Aleppo, Damascus and such ancient Phoenician towns as Tyre were the processes of enamelling and gilding glass perfected. Among the treasures of the Louvre, the British Museum and the Arab Museum of Cairo are exquisite pieces from Sāmarra and al-Fusṭāṭ, including plates, cups, vases, ewers and lamps for home and mosque use, painted with brilliant iridescent lustres or covered with metallic glazes of changing rainbow hue.

Calligraphy

The art of calligraphy, which drew its prestige from its object to perpetuate the word of God, and enjoyed the approval of the Koran (68 : 1, 96 : 4), arose in the second or third Moslem century and soon became the most highly prized art.[2] It was entirely Islamic and its influence on painting was appreciable. Through it the Moslem sought a channel for his esthetic nature, which could not express itself through the representation of animate objects. The calligrapher held a position of dignity and honour far above the painter. Even rulers sought to win religious merit by copying the Koran. Arabic books of history and literature have preserved for us with honourable mention the names of several calligraphers, but kept their silence in the case of architects, painters and metal-workers. Among the founders of Arabic calligraphy were al-Rayḥāni[3] (Rīḥāni, † 834), who flourished

[1] Gaston Migeon, *Les arts musulmans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 36-7.
[2] See Qalqashandi, vol. iii, pp. 5 *seq.*, vol. ii, pp. 430 *seq.*
[3] *Fihrist*, p. 119; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. v, pp. 268 *seq.*

under al-Ma'mūn and perfected the style named after him; ibn-Muqlah (886–940), the 'Abbāsid vizir whose hand was cut off by the Caliph al-Rāḍi and who could still write elegantly with his left hand and even by attaching a pen to the stump of his right one;[1] and ibn-al-Bawwāb[2] († 1022 or 1032), the son of a porter of the audience chamber of Baghdād and inventor of the *muḥaqqaq* style. The last penman of the 'Abbāsid period to achieve distinction was Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimi, the court calligraphist of the last 'Abbāsid caliph, from whose name the Yāqūti style derives its designation. Judging by the surviving specimens of the penmanship of Yāqūt[3] and other renowned calligraphers of yore the artistic merits cannot be placed high. Calligraphy is perhaps the only Arab art which today has Christian and Moslem representatives in Constantinople, Cairo, Beirūt and Damascus whose productions excel in elegance and beauty any masterpieces that the ancients ever produced.

Not only calligraphy but its associate arts, colour decoration, illumination, and the whole craft of bookbinding, owed their genesis and bloom to their relation to the sacred book. Under the late 'Abbāsids began the art of book-decoration and Koran illumination which reached its highest development in the Saljūq and Mamlūk periods. Here again the pictorial art of the Nestorians and Jacobites was evidently the main influencing factor. The Moslem gilder (*mudhahhib*), who thus arose after the calligrapher, ranked second to him in importance. After the Koran the art was extended to include profane manuscripts.

Music

The legists' disapproval of music was no more effective in Baghdād than it had been before in Damascus. The 'Abbāsid al-Mahdi began where the last Umayyads ended. He invited and patronized Siyāṭ[4] of Makkah (739–85), "whose song warmed the chilled more than a hot bath",[5] and his pupil Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili (742–804), who after his master became the patriarch of classical music. When young, Ibrāhīm, a descendant of a noble Persian family,[6] was kidnapped outside al-Mawṣil and during his detention learned some of the brigands' songs. He was the

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 472; *Fakhri*, pp. 368, 370-71; Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 150, ll. 8-10.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 31 *seq.*; Nuwayri, vol. vii, pp. 3-4.

[3] See B. Moritz, *Arabic Palæography* (Cairo, 1905), pl. 89.

[4] 'Abdullāh ibn-Wahb, a freedman of Khuzā'ah; *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 7.

[5] *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 8, ll. 4-5, quoted by Nuwayri, vol. iv, p. 289.

[6] *Fihrist*, p. 140; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 14; Nuwayri, vol. iv, p. 320.

first to beat the rhythm with a wand[1] and could detect one girl among thirty lute-players and ask her to tighten the second string of her ill-tuned instrument.[2] Later, al-Rashīd took Ibrāhīm into his service as boon companion, bestowed on him 150,000 dirhams and assigned him a monthly salary of 10,000 dirhams. From his patron the artist received occasional presents, one of which is said to have amounted to 100,000 dirhams for a single song. Ibrāhīm had an inferior rival in ibn-Jāmiʿ, a Qurayshite and stepson of Siyāṭ. In the judgment of the *ʿIqd* "Ibrāhīm was the greatest of the musicians in versatility, but ibn-Jāmiʿ had the sweetest note".[3] When a favoured court minstrel was asked by Hārūn for his opinion of ibn-Jāmiʿ, his reply was: "How can I describe honey, which is sweet however you taste it?"[4]

The refined and dazzling court of al-Rashīd patronized music and singing, as it did science and art, to the extent of becoming the centre of a galaxy of musical stars.[5] Salaried musicians accompanied by men and women slave singers thrived in it and furnished the theme for numberless fantastic anecdotes immortalized in the pages of the *Aghāni*,[6] *ʿIqd*, *Fihrist*, *Nihāyah*, and, above all, the *Arabian Nights*. Two thousand such singers took part in a musical festival under the caliph's patronage. His son al-Amīn held a similar night entertainment in which the personnel of the palace, both male and female, danced till dawn.[7] While the army of al-Ma'mūn was investing Baghdād al-Amīn sat pathetically in his palace on the bank of the Tigris listening to his favourite singing girls.[8]

Another protégé of al-Rashīd was Mukhāriq († *ca.* 845), a pupil of Ibrāhīm. When young, Mukhāriq was bought by a woman singer who heard him in his father's butcher shop crying in his beautiful and powerful voice his father's meats. He later passed into the possession of Hārūn, who freed him, rewarded him with 100,000 dinars[9] and honoured him with a seat by the caliph's side. One evening he went out on the Tigris and

[1] *ʿIqd*, vol. iii, p. 240, l. 4. Cf. above, p. 275.
[2] *Aghāni*, vol. v, p. 41.
[3] Vol. iii, p. 239.
[4] *Loc. cit.* Cf. *Aghāni*, vol. vi, p. 12.
[5] *ʿIqd*, vol. iii, pp. 239 *seq.*
[6] Besides being a treasure-house of information on almost every phase of Arab social life, this "book of songs" is also a history of music from pre-Islamic days to the time of the author, al-Iṣfahāni (897–967), the greatest music historian the Arabs produced.
[7] Above, p. 303.
[8] Masʿūdi, vol. vi, pp. 426-30.
[9] *Aghāni*, vol. xxi, p. 226, vol. viii, p. 20.

started to sing. Immediately torches began to move to and fro in the streets of Baghdād in the hands of people anxious to hear the master-singer.[1]

Al-Ma'mūn and al-Mutawakkil had as a cup companion Isḥāq ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili (767–850), dean of the musicians of his age.[2] After his father, Isḥāq personified the spirit of classical Arabic music. As an all-round musician he was "the greatest that Islām had produced".[3] He claimed, as did also his father and Ziryāb, that it was the *jinn* who prompted his melodies.

These and other *virtuosi* of the halcyon days who won undying fame as companions to the caliphs were more than musicians; they were endowed with keen wits and retentive memories well stocked with choice verses of poetry and delightful anecdotes. They were singers, composers, poets and scholars well versed in the scientific lore of the day. Under them stood the instrumentalists (sing. *ālāti*), among whom the lute was generally most favoured; the viol (*rabāb*) was used by inferior performers. Then came the singing girls (*qaynah*), who as a rule performed while concealed behind curtains. Such singing girls came to be a necessary adornment of the harem and their keeping and training developed into an important industry. For one educated by Isḥāq, a messenger of the governor of Egypt offered 30,000 dinars, which sum was matched by an envoy of the Byzantine emperor and increased to 40,000 by a messenger of the ruler of Khurāsān. Isḥāq solved the problem by freeing the girl and marrying her.[4]

The caliphal house in Baghdād, more than that of Damascus, developed several distinguished lutanists, singers and composers. Of all the ʿAbbāsids Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi, brother of Hārūn and in 817 rival caliph of al-Ma'mūn, acquired the greatest fame as musician-singer.[5] Al-Wāthiq (842–7), who performed on the lute and composed a hundred melodies,[6] was the first caliph musician. After him both al-Muntaṣir (861–2) and al-Muʿtazz (866–9) showed some poetical and musical talent.[7] But the only real caliph musician was al-Muʿtamid (870–92), in whose

[1] *Aghāni*, vol. xxi, pp. 237-8. Cf. Nuwayri, *Nihāyah*, vol. iv, p. 307.
[2] See ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 114 *seq.*; *Fihrist*, pp. 140-41; *Aghāni*, vol. v, pp. 52 *seq.*; Nuwayri, vol. v, pp. 1 *seq.*
[3] Farmer, *Arabian Music*, p. 125.
[4] *Fakhri*, pp. 276-9.
[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 12 *seq.*; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1030 *seq.*
[6] *Aghāni*, vol. viii, p. 163, quoted by Nuwayri, vol. iv, p. 198.
[7] Nuwayri, vol. iv, p. 199.

presence the geographer ibn-Khurdādhbih delivered his oration on music, a notable contribution to our knowledge of its state at that time.[1]

Among the many Greek works translated in the golden age of the ʿAbbāsids were a few dealing with the speculative theory of music. Two such Aristotelian works were done into Arabic under the titles *Kitāb al-Masāʾil* (*Problemata*) and *Kitāb fi al-Nafs* (*De anima*)[2] by the famous Nestorian physician Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq (809–73), who also translated a work by Galen under the title *Kitāb al-Ṣawt* (*De voce*). Euclid had two titles ascribed to him in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Nagham* (book of melody), a pseudo-Euclidian work, and *Kitāb al-Qānūn* (canon).[3] Aristoxenus, of the fourth century B.C., was known chiefly by his *Kitāb al-Īqāʿ* (rhythm)[4] and Nicomachus, Aristotle's son, through *Kitāb al-Mūsīqi al-Kabīr* (opus major on music).[5] The Brethren of Sincerity (tenth century), some of whom were evidently musical theorists, classified music as a branch of mathematics and venerated Pythagoras as the founder of its theory.[6] It was from these and other Greek works that the Arab authors acquired their first scientific ideas on music and became schooled in the physical and physiological aspects of the theory of sound. The scientific-mathematical side of Arab music was therefore derived from the Greek, but the practical side, as the researches of Farmer[7] have shown, had purely Arabian models. About this time the word *mūsīqi*, later *mūsīqa* (music), was borrowed from the Greek and applied to the theoretical aspects of the science, leaving the older Arabic term *ghināʾ*, used hitherto for both song and music, to the practical art. *Qītār* (guitar) and *urghun* (organ), as names of instruments, and other technical terms of Greek origin now appear in Arabic. The organ was clearly an importation from the Byzantines. Two organ constructors flourished in the twelfth century, abu-al-Majd ibn-abi-al-Ḥakam († 1180) of Damascus and abu-Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥya al-Bayāsi, who was attached to the service of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn.[8]

Musical theorists

[1] Masʿūdi, vol. viii, pp. 88-103.
[2] Possibly translated by Ḥunayn's son Isḥāq († 910).
[3] *Fihrist*, p. 266; Qifṭi, p. 65.
[4] *Fihrist*, p. 270. [5] *Ibid.* p. 269. [6] *Rasāʾil*, vol. i, p. 153.
[7] *Arabian Music*, pp. 200-201; "Music" in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Oxford, 1931), pp. 356 *seq.*
[8] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. ii, pp. 155, 163.

Musical writers after the Greek school were led by the philosopher al-Kindi, who flourished in the second half of the ninth century and whose works, as noted before, bear the earliest traces of Greek influence. Al-Kindi is credited with six works, in one of which we find the first definite use of notation among the Arabs. Not only al-Kindi but several of the leading Moslem philosophers and physicians were musical theorists as well. Al-Rāzi (865–925) composed at least one such work, cited by ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah.[1] Al-Fārābi († 950), himself an accomplished lute performer, was the greatest writer on the theory of music during the Middle Ages. Besides writing commentaries on various lost works of Euclid he produced three original works. Of these *Kitāb al-Mūsīqi al-Kabīr*[2] was the most authoritative in the East. In the West his compendium of sciences, *Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm*[3] (*De scientiis*), being the earliest and best known of the works dealing with music to be rendered into Latin, exerted powerful influence. Besides the writings of al-Fārābi those of ibn-Sīna († 1037), who abridged earlier works and included in his *al-Shifā'* a study of music, and of ibn-Rushd († 1198) were translated into Latin and became text-books in Western Europe. As for al-Ghazzāli († 1111), it was his defence of *al-samā'* (music and song)[4] that caused music to play such an important part in the ritual of the Sufi fraternities.

Most of these technical treatises unhappily have been lost in the original. Arabic music, with its notation and its two constituent elements of *nagham* (melodic modes) and *īqā'* (rhythmic modes), has been therefore transmitted by word of mouth only and has been finally lost. Arabic chants today are scant in melody but strong in rhythm, and no modern person can interpret properly the few surviving works on classical music or understand fully the meaning of their ancient designations of rhythm and their scientific terminology. Many such terms may be traced to Persian and Indian origins.

[1] Vol. i, p. 320, l. 26. [2] See above, p. 372, n. 1.
[3] Ed. 'Uthmān Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1931).
[4] *Iḥyā'*, vol. ii, pp. 238 *seq.*

CHAPTER XXX

MOSLEM SECTS

WE have dwelt at some length on the first two and a half centuries of the 'Abbāsid period (750–1000) because this was a formative period during which Moslem civilization received that distinctive stamp which it has retained down to our time. In theology and law, in science and philosophy, in literature and the humanities, Islam is today virtually what it was nine centuries ago. Its schools of thought, developed then, have persisted in some form to the present day. Among those schools the sects are the most important.

Rationalism *versus* orthodoxy

The rationalistic Mu'tazilah movement, which had its inception under the Umayyads, assumed significant importance under the early 'Abbāsids, particularly under al-Ma'mūn, whose philosophical interests and proclivities raised the new creed to a state religion. Under the influence of his Mu'tazilite judge ibn-abi-Duwād,[1] al-Ma'mūn issued in 827 a momentous proclamation declaring the dogma of "the creation [*khalq*] of the Koran", in opposition to the orthodox view of its eternal character as the uncreated word of God in the sense that in its actual form, in its Arabic language, the Koran is the identical reproduction of a celestial original.[2] This new dogma of "the creation of the Koran" soon became the touchstone of Moslem belief. Even judges had to pass its test. In 833 the caliph issued his infamous edict that no qāḍi who did not subscribe to the view of the creation of the Koran could hold his office or be appointed to one. At the same time he instituted the *miḥnah*, an inquisitorial tribunal for the trial and conviction of those who denied his dogma.[3] Thus by a strange irony of fate did the movement which was supposed to stand for free-thought become a deadly instrument for suppressing thought.

[1] See Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 38-45; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1139 *seq.*
[2] See above, pp. 123-4.
[3] A copy of his orders is preserved in Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1112-16.

Moslem inquisition

This was not the first time Islam persecuted heresy. The Umayyad Hishām (724–43) had ordered the execution of al-Jaʿd ibn-Dirham for teaching that the Koran was created[1] and had put to death Ghaylān al-Dimashqi (the Damascene) for maintaining the doctrine of free will;[2] and both al-Mahdi and al-Hādi had crucified a number of *zindīqs*.[3] But this *miḥnah* of al-Maʾmūn was the first systematic inquisition into heresy and the earliest formal attempt to stamp it out.

The leading victim of the *miḥnah* was Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal,[4] whose bold and stubborn championship of the cause of conservative orthodoxy constitutes one of the glamorous pages in its history. The persecution of the orthodox continued under al-Maʾmūn's two successors. But in the second year of his reign, 848, al-Mutawakkil turned the tables on the Muʿtazilites and restored the old dogma.

Among the leaders of the Muʿtazilite school of this period was al-Naẓẓām († *ca.* 845). This "sheikh of the Muʿtazilites" endeavoured to check the Persian dualistic tendencies in Islam and proclaimed that doubt was the first absolute requirement of knowledge.[5] His system recalls in the main Anaxagoras. Al-Naẓẓām counted among his pupils the encyclopædist al-Jāḥiẓ of al-Baṣrah († 868–9).[6] Another early leader was Muʿammar ibn-ʿAbbād al-Sulami[7] († *ca.* 835), a Qadarite who entertained Indian ideas.

The Ashʿarite system prevails

On the theological side the man credited with exploding the Muʿtazilite theories and re-establishing the orthodox creed which has since become the heritage of Sunni Islam was abu-al-Ḥasan ʿAli al-Ashʿari of Baghdād († 935–6),[8] a descendant of the arbitrator abu-Mūsa. "Al-Muʿtazilah", in the words of a pious Moslem, "carried their heads high, but their dominion ended when God sent al-Ashʿari." Starting as a pupil of the Muʿtazilite theologian al-Jubbāʾi[9] († 915–16), al-Ashʿari later in life changed

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 196-7.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 197; Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1733.
[3] See above, p. 359.
[4] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1131 *seq.*
[5] For his "heresies" see Shahrastāni, pp. 37-42; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 102-9.
[6] Ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iv, p. 148; al-Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb-al Intiṣār*, ed. H. S. Nyberg (Cairo, 1925), index.
[7] Consult Shahrastāni, pp. 46-8; Baghdādi, pp. 109-10.
[8] See his *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn*, ed. H. Ritter (Constantinople, 1929), pp. 155-278; Shahrastāni, pp. 65-75.
[9] See Shahrastāni, pp. 54 *seq.*; Baghdādi, p. 121.

fronts[1] and used in his polemics against his former masters the same weapons of logical and philosophical argumentation which they had introduced and developed. Thus he became, in addition to his other achievements, the founder of scholastic theology in Islam (*kalām*). After him the scholastic attempt to reconcile religious doctrine with Greek thought became the supreme feature of Moslem intellectual life as it was of medieval Christian life. To al-Ash'ari is also attributed the introduction of the formula *bila kayf* (without modality), according to which one is expected to accept the anthropomorphic expressions in the Koran without any explanation demanded or given. This new principle served as a damper on free-thought and research. It was with a view to propagating the Ash'ari system of theology that the famous Niẓāmīyah seminary was established by the Saljūq vizir.

Al-Ash'ari was followed by al-Ghazzāli[2] (L. Algazel), unquestionably the greatest theologian of Islam and one of its noblest and most original thinkers. It was al-Ghazzāli who fixed the ultimate form of the Ash'arīyah and established its dicta as the universal creed of Islam. This "father of the church in Islam" has since become the final authority for Sunnite orthodoxy. Moslems say that if there could have been a prophet after Muḥammad, al-Ghazzāli would have been the man. Al-Ghazzāli

Abu-Ḥāmid al-Ghazzāli was born in 1058 at Ṭūs, Khurāsān, where he died in 1111. He reproduced in his religious experience all the spiritual phases developed by Islam. Here are his own words:

> Ever since I was under twenty (now I am over fifty) . . . I have not ceased to investigate every dogma or belief. No Bāṭinite did I come across without desiring to investigate his esotericism; no Ẓāhirite, without wishing to acquire the gist of his literalism; no philosopher,[3] without wanting to learn the essence of his philosophy; no dialectical theologian [*mutakallim*], without striving to ascertain the object of his dialectics and theology; no Sufi, without coveting to probe the secret of his Sufism; no ascetic, without trying to delve into the origin of his asceticism; no atheistic *zindīq*, without groping for the causes of his bold atheism and *zindīqism*. Such was the unquenchable thirst of my soul for investigation from the early days of my youth, an

[1] *Fihrist*, p. 181.

[2] From *ghazzāl* (spinner), less correctly al-Ghazāli; Muḥammad ibn-abi-Shanab in *Majallat al-Majma'*, vol. vii (1927), pp. 224-6. Cf. Duncan B. Macdonald in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1902), pp. 18-22.

[3] Neo-Platonist.

instinct and a temperament implanted in me by God through no choice of mine.[1]

Starting his religious life as orthodox, al-Ghazzāli soon turned Sufi, and when still under twenty he had broken with all the past. In 1091 he was appointed lecturer at the Niẓāmīyah in Baghdād, where he became a sceptic. Four years later he returned to Sufism after a terrific spiritual struggle that left him a physical and moral wreck. Intellectualism had failed him. As a dervish he roamed from place to place enjoying peace of soul and acquiescence of mind. After about twelve years of retirement in various places, including two years of retreat in Syria and a holy pilgrimage, he returned to Baghdād to preach and teach. There he composed his masterpiece *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*[2] (the revivification of the sciences of religion). The mysticism of this work vitalized the law, its orthodoxy leavened the doctrine of Islam. In it and in such other works of his as *Fātiḥat al-ʿUlūm*,[3] *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*,[4] *al-Iqtiṣād fi al-Iʿtiqād*,[5] orthodox speculation reached its culminating point. These works deposed fiqh from the high rank it had usurped, employed Greek dialectic to found a pragmatic system and made philosophy palatable to the orthodox school of theologians. Partly translated into Latin before 1150, they exerted marked influence on Jewish and Christian scholasticism. Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest theologians of Christianity, and later Pascal were indirectly affected by the ideas of al-Ghazzāli, who of all Moslem thinkers came nearest to subscribing to Christian views. The scholastic shell constructed by al-Ashʿari and al-Ghazzāli has held Islam to the present day, but Christendom succeeded in breaking through its scholasticism, particularly at the time of the Protestant Revolt. Since then the West and the East have parted company, the former progressing while the latter stood still.

Sufism

Sufism[6] is the form which mysticism has taken in Islam. It is

[1] *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, ed. A. Schmölders (Paris, 1842), pp. 4-5; cf. C. Field, *The Confessions of Al Ghazzali* (London, 1909), pp. 12-13. The autobiographical part of this work runs almost parallel with the experience of St. Augustine.

[2] 4 vols. (Cairo, 1334). There are several other editions.

[3] (Cairo, 1322.) [4] Ed. M. Bouyges (Beirūt, 1927). [5] 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1327).

[6] From Ar. *ṣūf*, wool, to denote the practice of assuming a woollen robe on entering the mystic life. Theodor Nöldeke in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 48 (1894), pp. 45-8.

not so much a set of doctrines as it is a mode of thinking and feeling in the religious domain. Moslem mysticism represents a reaction against the intellectualism of Islam and the Koran and the formalism which developed as a consequence. Psychologically its basis should be sought in the human aspiration to a personal, direct approach to, and a more intense experience of, the deity and religious truth. Like other Islamic movements Sufism traces its origin to the Koran and the ḥadīth. Such verses as 4 : 96, 9 : 113, 33 : 47, condemning "greed after the chance good things of this present life", commending "those who turn to God" and emphasizing "trust in God, for God is a sufficient guardian", are not lacking in the Koran. Muḥammad's own relation to God had a mystical aspect, namely, a direct consciousness of divine presence, and the Sufis came to consider themselves the true interpreters of the esoteric teaching of the Prophet as preserved in the ḥadīth.

Beginning simply as an ascetic life, mainly contemplative, such as was commonly practised by Christian monks, Sufism during and after the second Islamic century developed into a syncretic movement, absorbing many elements from Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism and Buddhism, and passing through mystical, theosophical and pantheistic stages. Wool (*ṣūf*) was adopted as a dress in imitation of Christian monks, from whom was also borrowed the ideal of celibacy which orthodox Islam never encouraged. The practice of solitary meditations and prolonged vigils likewise show Syrian monastic influence. The Sufi fraternity (*ṭarīqah*,[1] right way), which developed in the thirteenth century, with its master (*shaykh*) and novice (*murīd*), corresponding to the Christian relation of clergy and beginner, approaches the monastic orders, notwithstanding the apocryphal tradition "no monasticism [*rahbānīyah*] in Islam". The fraternity's religious service called *dhikr*[2] is the only elaborate ritual in Islam and betrays Christian litanies as a source.[3] The Sufi eschatological traditions with their Antichrist[4] suggest that the fraternities found many recruits among those newly converted to Islam from the older forms of monotheism.

Asceticism

The term Sufi appears first in Arabic literature in the middle of the ninth century applied to a certain class of ascetics.[5] The

[1] Sūr. 46 : 29 *seq.* [2] Remembrance and mention of God's name; sūr. 33 : 41.
[3] Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London, 1914), p. 10.
[4] *Al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*, from Aramaic *Meshīḥa Daggāla*. Cf. Matt. 24 : 24; Rev. 13 : 1-18; Dan. 11 : 36. [5] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, vol. i, p. 233.

first individual on whom the name Sufi was bestowed, and that by later tradition, was the famous occultist Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān (fl. *ca.* 776), who professed an ascetic doctrine of his own. His contemporary Ibrāḥīm ibn-Adham of Balkh († *ca.* 777) may be taken as a type of this early quietist asceticism (*zuhd*). In the Sufi legend of his conversion, evidently modelled upon the story of Buddha,[1] Ibrāhīm appears as a king's son who, while hunting, heard some mysterious voice warning him that he was not created for such a purpose. Thereupon the princely sportsman dismounted and for ever abandoned the path of worldly pomp for that of asceticism and piety. According to another legend his conversion came as a result of having observed from the window of his palace a beggar contentedly enjoying a meal of stale bread soaked in water and seasoned with coarse salt. When assured by the beggar that he was fully satisfied, Ibrāhīm put on hair-cloth and took to a wandering life.[2] After his Sufi conversion, Ibrāhīm migrated to Syria, where Sufism had its earliest organization, and lived by his own labour.

Mysticism

Under the stimulus of Christian as well as Hellenistic ideas Moslem asceticism became mystical in the second Moslem century; that is, it began to be regarded by its devotees as an emotional means of purifying the human soul, so that it may know and love God and be united with Him, rather than as a means for winning His reward in a future world. This Sufi knowledge (*maʿrifah*) of God is a form of gnosis achieved by the inner light of the individual soul, in contrast to the knowledge (*ʿilm*) of Him by the intellect or through acquiescence in the accepted tradition. The doctrine of gnosis was developed by abu-Sulaymān al-Dārāni († 849–50), whose tomb in Dārayya near Damascus was still an object of pilgrimage in the days of Yāqūt.[3] But the first Sufi of the mystic, as opposed to the ascetic, school was Maʿrūf al-Karkhi, of the Baghdād school, who died in 815. Originally a Christian, or possibly a Ṣābian,[4] Maʿrūf was described as a God-intoxicated man and venerated as a saint. His tomb at Baghdād on the west bank of the Tigris is still a great resort for pilgrims and at the time of al-Qushayri[5] († 1074)

[1] T. Duka in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1904), pp. 132 *seq.*

[2] See ibn-ʿAsākir, vol. ii, pp. 167-96; Kutubi, vol. i, pp. 3-5; al-Qushayri, *al-Risālah* (Cairo, 1284), pp. 9-10.

[3] *Buldān*, vol. ii, p. 536.

[4] Cf. al-Hujwīri, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson (Leyden, 1911), p. 114.

[5] *Risālah*, p. 12.

prayer at it was considered a sure remedy for the sick. According to the mystic principle nothing really exists but God, God is eternal beauty, and the path leading to Him is love. Love thus becomes the essence of mysticism.

Theosophy

From speculative mysticism, Sufism advanced to theosophy. In effecting this transition, which took place during the period of translation from Greek, Hellenistic influence was paramount. The exponent of Sufi theosophy was dhu-al-Nūn [1] al-Miṣri (i.e. the Egyptian), of Nubian parents,[2] who died at al-Jīzah (Gizeh) in 860. Sufis in general consider this ascetic the originator of their doctrine. They number him among their first *quṭbs* (pivots of the universe) and follow the mention of his name by the invocation "May God sanctify his inmost soul [*sirr*]!" It was dhu-al-Nūn who gave Sufism its permanent shape. He introduced the idea that the true knowledge of God is attained by one means only, ecstasy (*wajd*). Al-Mas'ūdi[3] tells us that dhu-al-Nūn was wont to wander amid the ruined monuments of his native Egypt endeavouring to decipher their mysterious figures as a key to the lost sciences of antiquity.

Pantheism

The step from theosophy to pantheism was not difficult and was made chiefly under Indo-Iranian influences. The *Aghāni*[4] has preserved for us at least one portrayal of an unmistakable Buddhistic view of life, and the *zindīq* monks described by al-Jāḥiẓ[5] were either Indian sadhus, Buddhist monks or their imitators.[6] A Persian, Bāyazīd[7] al-Bisṭāmi († *ca.* 875), whose grandfather was a Magian, probably introduced the doctrine of *fanā'*, self-annihilation, possibly a reflection of Buddhist Nirvana. Another Persian, al-Ḥallāj (the carder), was in 922 flogged, exposed on a gibbet, then decapitated and burned by the 'Abbāsid inquisition for having declared, "I am the Truth" (i.e. God). His "crucifixion" made him the great Sufi martyr. His mystic theory is made clear in these verses:

[1] "The man of the fish", applied to Jonah in Koran 21 : 87. Dhu-al-Nūn's real name was Thawbān abu-al-Fayḍ ibn-Ibrāhīm.

[2] Qushayri, p. 10; Hujwīri, p. 100.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 401-2.

[4] Vol. iii, p. 24, ll. 27-8.

[5] *Ḥayawān*, vol. iv, pp. 146-7.

[6] Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ed. F. Babinger (Heidelberg, 1925), p. 160.

[7] Tur. pronunciation of Ar. abu-Yazīd. See Qushayri, pp. 17-18; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 429.

I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I.
We are two souls dwelling in one body.
When thou seest me, thou seest Him:
And when thou seest Him, thou seest us both.[1]

Al-Ḥallāj's tomb in west Baghdād stands till now as that of a saint. But the greatest monist and pantheist Sufi was Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-ʿArabi (1165–1240) of Spain, whose tomb at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn in Damascus is today enclosed in a large mosque bearing his name. Unlike such orthodox Sufis as al-Ghazzāli and al-Junayd of Baghdād († 910),[2] ibn-ʿArabi endeavoured to reduce Sufism to a science which he intended to have reserved for circles of initiates. The development of the pantheistic idea that all is God was due to him.

Mystic poetry and philosophy

In the field of mystic poetry the Arabs produced only one great name, that of the Egyptian ibn-al-Fāriḍ, 1181–1235, whose masterpiece is a long ode (rhyming in *t*)[3] forming an exquisite hymn of divine love. On the other hand, almost all Persian poets of the first order, e.g. Saʿdi, Ḥāfiẓ and al-Rūmi, were mystics. But in the field of philosophic Sufism the Arabic-writing world can claim two of the greatest intellects Islam ever produced, al-Fārābi and al-Ghazzāli. It was the latter who reconciled Sufism, with its many unorthodox practices, with Islam and grafted mysticism upon its intellectualism.

Fraternal orders

For the first five Islamic centuries, that form of religious experience termed Sufism stood almost entirely on an individual basis. Small circles of disciples and followers did cluster round the personality or memory of some inspiring teacher, as in the case of al-Ḥallāj, but such organized bodies were local in provenience and not of permanent character. Before the close of the twelfth Christian century self-perpetuating corporations began to appear. The first fraternity (*ṭarīqah*) established on such a principle was the Qādirite, so named after the Persian ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jīlāni or al-Jīli (1077–1166),[4] who flourished in

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 261. Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 80; Louis Massignon, *al-Ḥallāj: martyr mystique de l'Islam* (Paris, 1922), vol. ii, p. 518.

[2] Qushayri, pp. 24-5; Hujwīri, pp. 128-30.

[3] *Dīwān*, ed. Amīn Khūri, 3rd ed. (Beirūt, 1894), pp. 65-132; tr. almost entirely by Nicholson, *Studies*, pp. 199-266.

[4] The best extant biography is in al-Dhahabi, "Ta'rīkh al-Islām", D. S. Margoliouth in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1907), pp. 267-310. On his miracles see Shaṭṭanawfi, *Bahjat al-Asrār* (Cairo, 1304), which has on its margin 78 sermons of al-Jīlāni entitled *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*.

Baghdād. The order, one of the most tolerant and charitable, now claims followers throughout the whole Moslem world, including Algeria, Java and Guinea. The second fraternity in order of antiquity was the Rifāʿite, founded by Aḥmad al-Rifāʿi († 1175), whose members, like those of other fraternities, can perform strange feats, such as swallowing glowing embers, live serpents and glass, or passing needles and knives through their bodies. Then came the Mawlawites, commonly known as the whirling dervishes, whose order centres upon the great Persian poet Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Rūmi, who died in Qūniyah (Konieh) in 1273. In opposition to the general Moslem practice al-Rūmi gave an important place to music in the ceremonies of his order. The order has always had as its superior one of his descendants who lived in Qūniyah. The superior enjoyed the privilege of girding the new sultan-caliph of Turkey with his sword.

Various other independent fraternities developed in various countries at different times, ranging in their Sufism from ascetic quietism to pantheistic antinomianism. In most instances the founder of the order became himself the centre of a cult, invested with divine or quasi-divine powers, and the headquarters of his order developed into a foyer of saint-worship. In Africa the strongest religious brotherhood is the Shādhilite,[1] founded by ʿAli al-Shādhili († 1258), which is especially strong in Morocco and Tunis and has sub-orders under special names. Islam in Morocco is characterized by saint-worship to a greater degree than perhaps in any other country. The modern Sanūsi brotherhood, with headquarters in the oasis of Kufra and formerly in Jaghbūb, was founded in 1837 by the Algerian Shaykh al-Sanūsi and is clearly distinguishable from the preceding orders in being a congregation-state with political and military as well as religious aims. The leading native fraternity of Egypt is the Badawi, after Aḥmad al-Badawi († 1276), whose centre is at Ṭanṭa. In Turkey one of the strongest orders is the Baktāshi, noted for its connection with the Janissaries. This order, which arose early in the sixteenth century, encourages celibacy, reveres ʿAli and shows traces of Christian influence in its theology. It seems to represent a sect rather than a Sufi fraternity. Besides inheriting the old religions of Asia Minor the dervish orders of that country have

[1] On this see abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili, *Qawānīn Ḥikam al-Ishrāq* (Damascus, 1309); tr. Edward J. Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (Princeton, 1938).

preserved traces of shamanism, which the early Turks brought with them from Central Asia.

The Sufi orders represent the only ecclesiastical organization in Islam. The members, commonly called dervishes,[1] live in special quarters, termed *takīyah*, *zāwiyah* or *ribāṭ*, which at the same time serve as social centres, a function which the mosque fails to perform. The fraternity may have, in addition to the masters and neophytes, a third class of affiliated lay members who are subject to the guidance of the superior of the order.

The rosary

Besides introducing a form of monasticism and ritual[2] the Sufis made other contributions to Islam. They were evidently responsible for the diffusion of the rosary (*subḥah*) among Moslems.[3] Today only the puritanical Wahhābis eschew the rosary, regarding it as an innovation (*bidʿah*). Of Hindu origin, this instrument of devotion was probably borrowed by the Sufis from the Eastern Christian churches and not directly from India. During the Crusades the rosary found its way into the Roman Catholic West. The first mention of the rosary in Arabic literature was made by the poet laureate abu-Nuwās († *ca.* 810).[4] The celebrated mystic al-Junayd († 910) of Baghdād used it as a means of attaining a state of ecstasy, and when once a critic remonstrated with him for the use of such an innovation despite his reputation for sanctity, al-Junayd replied: "I will not renounce a path that has led me to God".[5]

The cult of saints

Moreover, Sufism founded and popularized the cult of sainthood. Veneration of saints finds no sanction in the Koran. It sprang up, following the Christian practice, in response to the mystic call and to meet the need of bridging the gap between man and God in Islamic theology. While there is no formal canonization in Islam, popular acclaim based upon the performance of miracles (*karāmāt*) constitutes a saint (*wali*, friend of God). By the twelfth century the original feeling common to both Sunnites and Shiʿites that the invocation of saints was an idolatrous form of worship had been dissipated by a philosophical reconciliation of sainthood with orthodox principles, effected mainly through Sufi influence. When it came to the

[1] Ar. *darwīsh*, from Pers., "one who seeks doors", a mendicant.

[2] For a criticism by an orthodox Moslem see ibn-al-Jawzi, *Naqd*, pp. 262 *seq.*

[3] Ignaz Goldziher in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. xxi (1890), pp. 295-300; *Vorlesungen*, p. 164.

[4] *Dīwān*, p. 108, l. 18. Cf. ibn-Qutaybah, *al-Shiʿr*, p. 508, l. *z*. [5] Qushayri, p. 25.

question of rank among "the friends of Allah", the chivalrous Sufis maintained the principle of complete equality between the sexes.[1] They, for instance, accorded Rābi'ah al-'Adawīyah (*ca.* 717–801) of al-Baṣrah, a mystic woman of noble life and lovely character, first place in the list of saints. Since then Rābi'ah has become "the saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiology". When young she was sold as a slave, but on seeing a radiance round her while she prayed her master freed her. She refused to marry and lived a life of extreme asceticism and other-worldliness. She soon became a revered guide along "the mystic way", inculcating penitence, patience, gratitude, holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (*tawakkul*) upon God. Asked whether she hated Satan, Rābi'ah replied: "My love for God leaves no room for hating Satan". When in a dream the Prophet asked her whether she loved him, her reply was: "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught or loving any save Him".[2] On another occasion she declared: "I have not served God from fear of God . . . or love of Paradise . . . but only for the love of Him and the desire for Him".[3]

An impassioned prayer by one of those lovers of God, al-Suhrawardi, who at the age of thirty-six (A.D. 1191) was executed as a heretic at Aleppo by order of the viceroy al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and his father, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, makes plain the indebtedness of Sufi theosophy to Neo-Platonism as well as to Christianity.[4]

Shī'ah

Another religious movement that took its final form under the 'Abbāsids and developed offshoots that played decisive rôles in the history of Islam and the caliphate was the Shī'ah. The partisans of 'Ali fared no better under the 'Abbāsid régime than under the Umayyad, and that in spite of the fact that they had been an important factor in establishing the former at the expense of the latter. The smiles of al-Ma'mūn, who even went so far as to don their colour, green, and proclaim as heir apparent one of their imāms, 'Ali al-Riḍa,[5] proved of no permanent

[1] Abu Nu'aym († 1038) devotes a section of his voluminous *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, vol. ii (Cairo, 1933), pp. 39-79, to women Sufis and saints.

[2] Farīd-al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, vol. i (Leyden, 1905), p. 67.

[3] Abu-Ṭālib (al-Makki), *Qūt al-Qulūb* (Cairo, 1932), vol. iii, p. 83. For more on Rābi'ah consult Margaret Smith, *Rābi'a the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islām* (Cambridge, 1928).

[4] Louis Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1929), pp. 111-12. See below, p. 586.

[5] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 544-5.

avail. Soon came al-Mutawakkil, who in 850 resumed the early practice of persecuting the Shī'ah; he destroyed the tomb of 'Ali at al-Najaf and the more venerated one of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā',[1] thereby earning the everlasting hatred of all Shī'ites. In 1029 the Caliph al-Qādir drove a Shī'ite leader out of his Baghdād mosque and installed in his place a Sunnite.[2] This general hostility led the Shī'ites to the adoption of the principle of dissimulation (*taqīyah*[3]), i.e. dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury. The legitimacy of dissimulation as an ethical principle had already been recognized by some Khārijites,[4] but the Shī'ites made it a fundamental tenet. They contributed to it the further point that when a believer finds himself in a position where his adversaries are in the ascendancy, not only may he profess outwardly the form of the prevailing religion but he must do so as a measure of protection for himself and his co-religionists.[5]

Although a suppressed minority and perpetrators of unsuccessful, though not always unheroic, rebellions against the established order, the non-conformist Shī'ites persisted openly and under cover of *taqīyah* in according their allegiance to whom rightful allegiance (*walāyah*) was due, namely, an imām descended from 'Ali. Unlike the Sunnite caliph the Shī'ite imām had inherited from Muḥammad not only his temporal sovereignty but the prerogative of interpreting the law. In that capacity he was an infallible teacher and to his infallibility (*'iṣmah*)[6] he added the divine gift of impeccability.[7] Contrary to the Sunnite and the Sufi doctrine the Shī'ites maintained that religious certainty could only be gained from the instruction of such an imām divinely protected against error and sin. 'Ali, their first imām, was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan and then by his other son, al-Ḥusayn,[8] whose line is the more celebrated one. The last nine of the twelve imāms to whom the Twelvers

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 325; Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, pp. 302-3.
[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 278.
[3] Literally "caution", "fear". Koran, 3 : 27.
[4] Shahrastāni, p. 92, l. 15, p. 93, l. 6.
[5] Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 203.
[6] See above, p. 248. Baghdādi, *Uṣūl*, vol. i, pp. 277-9.
[7] Shahrastāni, pp. 108-9; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 164-5.
[8] The numberless descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are distinguished from other Moslems by the titles *sharīf* (noble) and *sayyid* (lord) respectively and by the right to wear green turbans. The Sharīfs of Makkah, whose scion was the Sunnite King Fayṣal of al-'Irāq, as well as the Sharīfs of Morocco, represent the line of the eldest son of Fāṭimah.

(*Ithna ʿAsharīyah*), the main body of the Shīʿah, swore allegiance, were descendants of al-Ḥusayn. Of these nine, four are said to have met death successively by poison: Jaʿfar (765) in al-Madīnah, Mūsa[1] (799) in Baghdād, ʿAli al-Riḍa[2] (818) in Ṭūs and Muḥammad al-Jawād (835) in Baghdād. Others fell fighting against the authority of the caliphs or at the hands of executioners. Since the youthful twelfth imām, Muḥammad, "disappeared" (264/878) in the cave of the great mosque at Sāmarra without leaving offspring, he became "the hidden [*mustatir*]" or "the expected [*muntaẓar*] imām".[3] As such he is considered immune from death and in a temporary state of occultation (*ghaybah*). In due time he will appear as the Mahdi (divinely guided one) to restore true Islam, conquer the whole world and usher in a short millennium before the end of all things. Though hidden, this twelfth imām has always been "the master of the time" (*qā'im al-zamān*). In Persia the Twelver Shīʿah was established in 1502 by the Ṣafawids, who claimed descent from the seventh imām, Mūsa al-Kāẓim. Since then the shah has been considered as simply the *locum tenens* of the hidden imām and the *mujtahids* (higher theologians) as his spokesmen and intermediaries with men.

Thus did the imām-mahdi dogma become an essential part of Shīʿite creed. Even today it forms the main line of demarcation between Shīʿite and Sunnite Islam. While the Sunnites do look forward to a future restorer of the faith, they neither emphasize his importance in their eschatology nor call him mahdi.[4]

The Shīʿah soil proved most fertile for the development of heterodoxies. According to a tradition Muḥammad once said, "The Israelites have been divided into seventy-one or -two sects, and so have the Christians, but my community shall be divided into seventy-three".[5] Of these sects many were offshoots from the Shīʿah. Ismāʿilites

The Twelvers were not the only group among the imāmite

[1] Cf. Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 499.

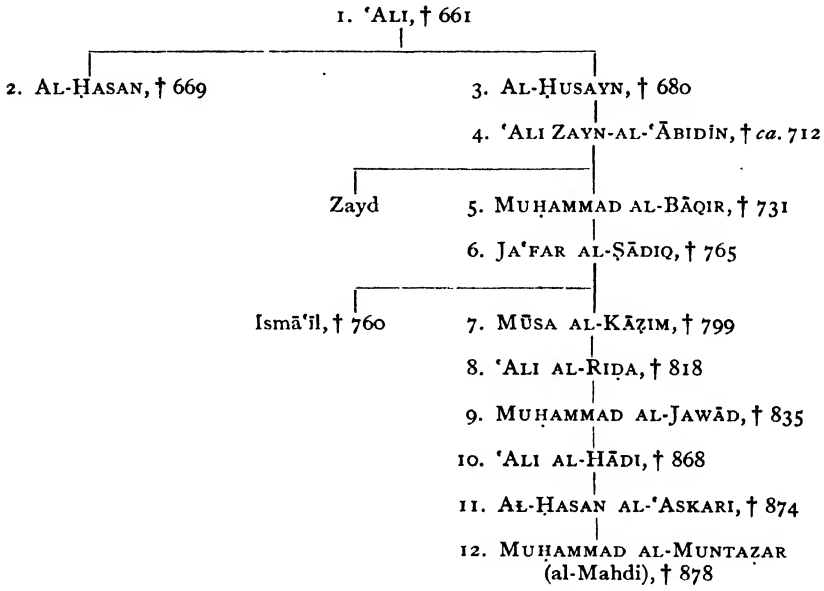
[2] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 551; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 577.

[3] Shahrastāni, p. 128; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 60-61; ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iv, p. 138; al-Nawbakhti, *Firaq al-Shīʿah*, ed. Hellmut Ritter (Constantinople, 1931), pp. 84-5. Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 166. The cave (*sirdāb*) is still shown among the ruins of Sāmarra.

[4] See genealogical tree on next page. The belief in the return of the Mahdi lent itself to imposture and produced many pretenders in all periods of Moslem history.

[5] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Naqd*, pp. 10 ; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 15.

Shī'ah. Another group agreed with the Twelvers as to the succession down to the sixth imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, but at this point diverged, making Ja'far's eldest son, Ismā'īl († 760), in preference to his brother Mūsa, the seventh and last imām. This sect restricted the number of visible imāms to seven and were therefore called Seveners (*Sab'īyah*). Ja'far had designated Ismā'īl as his successor, but having learned of Ismā'īl's intemperance



Tree showing the Relationship of the Twelve Imāms

changed his decision in favour of his second son, Mūsa. The majority of the Shī'ah acquiesced in the change and continued the imāmate in Mūsa al-Kāẓim, who thus became number seven in the series of the twelve visible imāms. But others, claiming that the imām as an infallible being could not prejudice his case by such a thing as drinking wine, remained loyal to Ismā'īl, who predeceased his father by five years. To these Seveners, also called Ismā'īlites, Ismā'īl became the hidden Mahdi.[1]

In the Ismā'īliyah system, as in the Pythagorean system of old, the number seven assumed sacred importance. The Seveners

[1] Nawbakhti, pp. 57-8; Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 58; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 167-8.

"periodicated" all cosmic and historical happenings by this number. In their gnostic cosmogony, partly based on Neo-Platonism, the steps of emanation were seven: (1) God; (2) the universal mind (*ʿaql*); (3) the universal soul (*nafs*); (4) primeval matter; (5) space; (6) time; (7) the world of earth and man. This world was favoured with seven legislating prophets (sing. *nāṭiq*): Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus (*ʿĪsa*), Muḥammad and Muḥammad al-Tāmm, son of Ismāʿīl. In between each two of these legislating prophets they inserted seven silent ones (sing. *ṣāmit*), of whom the first was the "foundation" (*asās*). The silent prophets included such men as Ishmael, Aaron, Peter and ʿAli. Parallel to them ran another lower hierarchy, arranged in sevens or twelves, of propaganda leaders (sing. *ḥujjah*) and simple missionaries (sing. *dāʿī*).[1]

The Ismāʿīlites organized one of the most subtle and effective means of politico-religious propaganda that the world of Islam ever experienced. From their places of retreat they began to send out missionaries to traverse the Moslem world preaching the doctrine known as *bāṭin*[2] (inner, esoteric). According to the unorganized schools of thought, called Bāṭinites by the orthodox, the Koran should be interpreted allegorically and religious truth could be ascertained by the discovery of an inner meaning of which the outer form (*ẓāhir*) was but a veil intended to keep that truth from the eyes of the uninitiate. Quietly and cautiously the novice was initiated under oath of secrecy in the esoteric doctrines, including such recondite ones as the formation of the universe by emanation from the divine essence, transmigration of souls, the immanence of the Divinity in Ismāʿīl and the expectation of his early return (*rajʿah*) as the Mahdi. Initiation is said to have involved seven to nine graded stages[3] which recall modern Freemasonry.

Qarmatians

This esoteric system found an able enthusiast in one ʿAbdullāh, whose father, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, of obscure origin, had practised as an oculist (*qaddāḥ*) in al-Ahwāz before moving to Jerusalem. It was ʿAbdullāh who perfected the religio-political system of the Ismāʿīlites just delineated. From his headquarters,

[1] Shahrastāni, pp. 145-7; al-Īji, *al-Mawāqif*, vol. viii (Cairo, 1327), pp. 388-9. Consult W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature* (London, 1933).

[2] Baghdādi, *Uṣūl*, pp. 329-30; Shahrastāni, pp. 147 *seq.*; ibn-al-Jawzi, p. 108.

[3] Initiatory illumination transmitted to the adept by degrees was practised before this time by the Manichaeans and certain Greek schools of thought.

first at al-Baṣrah and later at Salamyah[1] in northern Syria, he and his successors sent secret missionaries who systematically made their starting-point the arousing of scepticism in the would-be follower. They would then direct his attention to the great Mahdi soon to make his public appearance. Taking advantage of the growing enmity between Arab and Persian Moslems, this son of a humble Persian oculist conceived the audacious project of uniting in a secret society, with grades of initiation, both conquered and conquerors, who as free-thinkers would see in religion a scheme to destroy the caliphate and give 'Abdullāh or his descendants the throne—a project as astounding in its conception as it was rapid in its execution and certain in its partial success. For it was this scheme that culminated in the rise of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Tunis and Egypt.

Before his death, about 874,[2] 'Abdullāh had found a most zealous pupil and proselytizer in Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ,[3] an 'Irāqi peasant who had read in the stars that the Iranians were going to regain the empire of the Arabs.[4] Ḥamdān became the founder of the Bāṭini sect known after him as the Qarmaṭian. In this movement the ancient feud between the native peasantry and the sons of the desert evidently found expression. About 890 the founder built himself, near al-Kūfah, an official residence, Dār al-Hijrah[5] (refuge for emigrants), which became the headquarters of the new movement. Active propaganda among the native masses, especially the so-called Nabataean peasants and artisans, as well as among the Arabs themselves, swelled the number of members in the new sect. Fundamentally the organization was a secret society based on a system of communism. Initiation was necessary for admission. The new community supported itself from a common fund created through contributions which were seemingly voluntary but in reality a series of taxes, each heavier than the preceding. Qarmaṭ even went so far as to prescribe community of wives and property (*ulfah*).[6] In their theology these "Bolsheviks of Islam", as they are called by

[1] See Iṣṭakhri, p. 61; ibn-al-Faqīh, p. 110; Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 123. The less authentic and modern form is Salamīyah; Maqdisi, p. 190; ibn-Khurdādhbih, pp. 76, 98.

[2] A century earlier according to a note in al-Juwayni, *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahán-Gushá*, ed. Mīrza M. al-Qazwīni, pt. 3 (Leyden, 1937), p. 315.

[3] Etymology of this word doubtful; probably not Arabic meaning "to walk with short steps" (Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, p. 171; *Fihrist*, p. 187, l. 9; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, fol. 448b) but Aramaic; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 2125, 2127; ibn-al-Jawzi, p. 110.

[4] *Fihrist*, p. 188.

[5] Cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 136.

[6] For other sects with same views see ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iv, p. 143, ll. 13-14.

some modern writers, used an allegorical catechism based on the Koran and supposedly adapted to all creeds, all races and all castes. They emphasized tolerance and equality, organized workers and artisans into guilds (*ṣinf*) and in their ceremonial had the ritual of a guild. The earliest sketch of the organization of Moslem guilds occurs in the eighth epistle of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', themselves probably Qarmaṭians. This trade guild movement, in the opinion of Massignon, reached the West and influenced the formation of European guilds and Freemasonry.[1]

The Qarmaṭian movement with its communistic, revolutionary tendencies developed into a most malicious growth in the body politic of Islam. To shed the blood of their opponents, even if Moslem, the Qarmaṭians considered legitimate. Before they were fully organized they had a hand in the servile war of the Zanj (negroes) at al-Baṣrah which between 868 and 883 shook the caliphate to its very foundation. Under the leadership of abu-Sa'īd al-Ḥasan al-Jannābi,[2] originally a missionary of Qarmaṭ,[3] they succeeded in founding (899) an independent state on the western shore of the Persian Gulf with al-Aḥsā'[4] for their capital. Soon this state became at once the bulwark of their power and the terror of the caliphate in Baghdād. From their new headquarters they conducted a series of terrible raids on the neighbouring lands. Al-Jannābi himself subjected al-Yamāmah about 903 and invaded 'Umān. His son and successor, abu-Ṭāhir Sulaymān, laid waste most of lower al-'Irāq and cut the pilgrim routes.[5] His atrocities culminated in 930 in the seizure of Makkah and the carrying off of the Black Stone.[6] After an absence of some twenty years this most sacred relic of Islam was returned (951) to al-Ka'bah by order of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr.[7] Between the tenth and eleventh centuries the followers of Qarmaṭ and al-Jannābi from their headquarters at Salamyah kept Syria and al-'Irāq drenched in blood.[8] Even distant Khurāsān

[1] Art. "Ḳarmaṭians", *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

[2] Jannāb was a town in Fāris near the mouth of a river emptying into the Persian Gulf; Iṣṭakhri, p. 34.

[3] Ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 210.

[4] Modern al-Hufūf. Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 63.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. viii, pp. 124-5, 132-3, 158-9, 232.

[6] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, vol. i (Oxford, 1920), p. 201; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 153-4.

[7] Cf. Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 176-7; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 153-4.

[8] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 2217 *seq.*; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, pp. 371-6; Miskawayh, vol. ii, pp. 108-9.

and al-Yaman, because of the Qarmaṭian activity, formed lasting hotbeds of discontent.

The Assassins

The Qarmaṭian state fell but its doctrine was passed on to the Fāṭimids of Egypt, from one of whom Druzism sprang, and later to the Neo-Ismā'īlites or Assassins[1] of Alamūt and Syria. The Assassin movement, called the "new propaganda" [2] by its members, was inaugurated by al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ († 1124), probably a Persian from Ṭūs, who claimed descent from the Ḥimyarite kings of South Arabia. The motives were evidently personal ambition and desire for vengeance on the part of the heresiarch. As a young man in al-Rayy,[3] al-Ḥasan received instruction in the Bāṭinite system, and after spending a year and a half in Egypt returned to his native land as a Fāṭimid missionary.[4] Here in 1090 he gained possession of the strong mountain fortress Alamūt, north-west of Qazwīn. Strategically situated on an extension of the Alburz chain, 10,200 feet above sea-level, and on the difficult but shortest road between the shores of the Caspian and the Persian highlands, this "eagle's nest", as the name probably means, gave ibn-al-Ṣabbāḥ and his successors a central stronghold of primary importance. Its possession was the first historical fact in the life of the new order.

From Alamūt the grand master (*dā'i al-du'āh*) with his disciples made surprise raids in various directions which netted other fortresses. In pursuit of their ends they made free and treacherous use of the dagger, reducing assassination to an art. Their secret organization, based on Ismā'īlite antecedents, developed an agnosticism which aimed to emancipate the initiate from the trammels of doctrine, enlightened him as to the superfluity of prophets and encouraged him to believe nothing and dare all. Below the grand master stood the grand priors (sing. *al-dā'i al-kabīr*) each in charge of a particular district. After these came the ordinary propagandists. The lowest degree of the order comprised the *fidā'is*,[5] who stood ready to execute whatever orders the grand master issued. A graphic, though late

[1] From Ar. *ḥashshāshūn*, those addicted to the use of *ḥashīsh*, a stupefying hemp.
[2] *Al-da'wah al-jadīdah*; Shahrastāni, p. 150.
[3] Hence his surname al-Rāzi; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 369.
[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 304, vol. x, p. 161.
[5] Variant *fidāwi*, one ready to offer his life for a cause. Cf. ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, pp. 166-7.

and second-hand, description of the method by which the master of Alamūt is said to have hypnotized his "self-sacrificing ones" with the use of *ḥashīsh* has come down to us from Marco Polo, who passed in that neighbourhood in 1271 or 1272. After describing in glowing terms the magnificent garden surrounding the elegant pavilions and palaces built by the grand master at Alamūt, Polo proceeds:

> Now no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his ASHISHIN. There was a fortress at the entrance to the Garden, strong enough to resist all the world, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering.... Then he would introduce them into his Garden, some four, or six, or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke they found themselves in the Garden.
>
> When therefore they awoke, and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed that it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them to their hearts' content....
>
> So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth: "Go thou and slay So and So; and when thou returnest my Angels shall bear thee into Paradise. And shouldst thou die, natheless even so will I send my Angels to carry thee back into Paradise."[1]

The assassination in 1092 of the illustrious vizir of the Saljūq sultanate, Niẓām-al-Mulk, by a *fidā'i* disguised as a Sufi,[2] was the first of a series of mysterious murders which plunged the Moslem world into terror. When in the same year the Saljūq Sultan Malikshāh bestirred himself and sent a disciplinary force against the fortress, its garrison made a night sortie and repelled the besieging army. Other attempts by caliphs and sultans proved equally futile until finally the Mongolian Hūlāgu, who destroyed the caliphate, seized the fortress in 1256 together with its subsidiary castles in Persia.[3]

As early as the last years of the eleventh century the Assassins had succeeded in setting firm foot in Syria and winning as convert the Saljūq prince of Aleppo, Riḍwān ibn-Tutush († 1113). By

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, tr. Henry Yule, 2nd ed. (London, 1875), vol. i, pp. 146-9. Cf. a strikingly similar description of a corresponding ceremony at Maṣyād ascribed to ibn-Khallikān in *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. iii (Vienna, 1813), ed. and tr. Hammer, pp. 201-6.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 256; see below, p. 478.

[3] Since the Assassin books and records were then destroyed, our information about this strange and spectacular order is derived mainly from hostile sources.

1140 they had captured the hill fortress of Maṣyād[1] and many others in northern Syria, including al-Kahf, al-Qadmūs and al-'Ullayqah.[2] Even Shayzar (modern Sayjar) on the Orontes was temporarily occupied by the Assassins, whom Usāmah[3] calls Ismā'īlites. One of their most famous masters in Syria was Rashīd-al-Dīn Sinān († 1192), who resided at Maṣyād and bore the title *shaykh al-jabal*, translated by the Crusades' chroniclers as "le vieux de la montagne"[4] (the old man of the mountain). It was Rashīd's henchmen who struck awe and terror into the hearts of the Crusaders. After the capture of Maṣyād in 1260 by the Mongols, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars in 1272 dealt the Syrian Assassins the final blow. Since then the Assassins have been sparsely scattered through northern Syria, Persia, 'Umān, Zanzibar and especially India, where they number about a hundred and fifty thousand and go by the name of Khojas or Mawlas.[5] They all acknowledge as titular head the Āgha Khān of Bombay, who claims descent through the last grand master of Alamūt from Ismā'īl, the seventh imām, receives over a tenth of the revenues of his followers, even in Syria, and spends most of his time as a sportsman between Paris and London.

Nuṣayris

The Nuṣayris of northern Syria, who antedate the Druzes of Lebanon, form another of the surviving Ismā'īlite sects. They are so named after Muḥammad ibn-Nuṣayr, of the end of the ninth century, a partisan of the eleventh 'Alid imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askari († 874).[6] According to Dussaud[7] the followers of ibn-Nuṣayr present a remarkable example of a group passing directly from paganism to Ismā'īlism. This explains the points of marked difference between them and the main body of Ismā'īlites.

The Nuṣayris, in company with other sects of extreme Shī'ites but unlike the Ismā'īlites, consider 'Ali the incarnation

[1] Variants Maṣyāf, Maṣyāth. It stood on the eastern side of the Nuṣayrīyah Mountain. Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, p. 52; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 16.

[2] Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, p. 166.

[3] *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 159-60 = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 190.

[4] Cf. William of Tyre, "Historia rerum" in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. i (Paris, 1844), p. 996.

[5] Other than these the Dāwūdis of Gujarāt in India, who number over a hundred thousand, are likewise Ismā'īlites, but are not followers of the Āgha Khān. On the Dāwūdis see D. Menant in *Revue du monde musulman*, vol. x (1910), pp. 472 *seq.*

[6] The first important references to ibn-Nuṣayr and his followers occur in the manuscripts of Ḥamzah and other Druze polemicists of the early eleventh century.

[7] René Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs* (Paris, 1900), p. 51.

of the deity.[1] Hence the name 'Alawites given them since the French mandate was established in their territory. Unlike the Druzes and other Moslem sects they possess a liturgy and have adopted a number of Christian festivals, including Christmas and Easter. Some of them bear Christian names such as Matta (Matthew), Yūḥanna (John) and Hīlānah (Helen). In addition to these borrowings from Christian sources their religion, which they practise with even greater secrecy than the Druzes, has retained clear remnants of their former pagan beliefs. Today some three hundred thousand adepts of this system, mostly peasants, inhabit the mountainous region of northern and central Syria and are scattered as far as Turkish Cilicia.

Other Shī'ite heterodoxies

The Nuṣayris, Assassins, Druzes, Qarmaṭians and similar Ismā'īlite sects are considered even by the Shī'ites themselves, that is by the Twelvers, who form the bulk of the Shī'ite group, as extremists (*ghulāh*), mainly because they compromise the divinity of God and disregard the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood.[2] Among the *ghulāh* is a sect which has gone so far as to declare that Gabriel mistook Muḥammad for 'Ali when he called him to his prophetic mission.[3] Of the ultra-Shī'ite sects which had a late development may be mentioned the Takhtajis (woodcutters) of western Anatolia, the 'Ali-Ilāhis ('Ali-deifiers) of Persia and Turkestan, their close of kin the Qizil-bāsh (red-heads) of the east of Anatolia and the Baktāshis of Turkey and Albania.

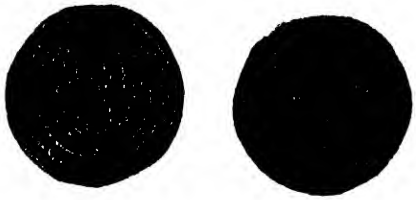
On the opposite wing stand the Zaydis of al-Yaman, the partisans of Zayd,[4] grandson of al-Ḥusayn, whom they regard as the founder of their sect. Of all the Shī'ite sects this is the nearest akin to the Sunnites and in some respects the most tolerant. Between the *ghulāh* on the one hand and the Zaydis on the other the Twelvers occupy the middle ground of Shī'ism. Contrary to other Shī'ite groups the Zaydis believe in no hidden imām, practise no temporary marriage (*mut'ah*) and allow no dissimulation (*taqīyah*). But they share with all other Shī'ite groups hostility to Sufism. In all, the Shī'ites with their sub-sects do not form more than twenty-two million people or nine per cent. of the body of Islam.

[1] Shahrastāni, pp. 143-5.

[2] For other extremists consult Baghdādi, ed. Hitti, pp. 145 *seq.*; Shahrastāni, pp. 132 *seq.*; ibn-Ḥazm, vol. iv, pp. 140 *seq.*; Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, vol. i, pp. 5-16.

[3] Baghdādi, p. 157.

[4] Consult the genealogical tree above, p. 442.



From Stanley Lane-Poole, "History of Egypt" (Methuen & Co. Ltd.)

DINAR OF AḤMAD IBN-ṬŪLŪN, MIṢR, A.D. 881

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CALIPHATE DISMEMBERED: PETTY DYNASTIES IN THE WEST

1. In Spain

FIVE years after the foundation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate the youthful ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, sole distinguished scion of the Umayyads to escape the general massacre which signalized the accession of the new régime, reached Cordova in far-off Spain. A year later, in 756, he established there a brilliant dynasty. The first province was thereby for ever stripped off the ʿAbbāsid empire, still in its infancy. Others were soon to follow.

2. The Idrīsids

In 785 Idrīs ibn-ʿAbdullāh, a great-grandson of al-Ḥasan, participated in one of those recurring ʿAlid revolts in al-Madīnah. The insurrection was suppressed and he fled to Morocco (al-Maghrib),[1] where he succeeded in founding a kingdom bearing his name that lasted for almost two centuries (788–974). The Idrīsids,[2] whose principal capital was Fās (Fez),[3] were the first Shīʿite dynasty in history. They drew their strength from the

[1] Yaʿqūbi, vol. ii, p. 488; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 12-14; ibn-ʿIdhāri, *Bayān*, vol. i, pp. 72 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*; tr. E. Fagnan, vol. i (Algier, 1901), pp. 96 *seq.*, 303 *seq.*

[2] Consult Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (London, 1893, reproduced 1925), p. 35; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), p. 65.

[3] The city was built by Idrīs. Ibn-abi-Zarʿ (al-Fāsi), *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās fi Akhbār Mulūk al-Maghrib*, ed. J. H. Tornberg (Upsala, 1843), p. 15; tr. Tornberg, *Annales regum Mauritaniae* (Upsala, 1845), pp. 21 *seq.*

Berbers, who though Sunnite were ever ready to espouse a schismatic cause. Hemmed in between the Fāṭimids of Egypt and the Umayyads of Spain, their dynasty finally succumbed under the fatal blows of a general of the Caliph al-Ḥakam II (961–76) of Cordova.[1]

3. The Aghlabids

As the Shī'ite Idrīsids were carving for themselves a domain in the western part of North Africa, the Sunnite Aghlabids were doing likewise to the east. Over the territory called Ifrīqiyah (Africa Minor, i.e. Tunis), a corruption of Latin "Africa", Hārūn al-Rashīd had appointed in 800 Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Aghlab as governor.[2] Ibn-al-Aghlab (800–811) ruled as an independent sovereign, and after the year of his appointment no 'Abbāsid caliph exercised authority beyond the western frontier of Egypt. The Aghlabids contented themselves with the title *amīr*, but seldom bothered to inscribe the caliph's name on their coinage even as a token of his spiritual suzerainty. From their capital, al-Qayrawān, heir to Carthage, they dominated in their century of power (800–909) the mid-Mediterranean.

Many of Ibrāhīm's successors proved as energetic as he. The dynasty became one of the pivotal points of history in the long conflict between Asia and Europe. With their well-equipped fleet they harried the coasts of Italy, France, Corsica and Sardinia. One of them, Ziyādat-Allāh I (817–38), sent against Byzantine Sicily in 827 an expedition which had been preceded by many piratical raids. This and succeeding expeditions resulted in the complete conquest of the island by 902.[3] Sicily, as we shall see, became an advantageous base for operations against the mainland, particularly Italy. Besides Sicily, Malta and Sardinia were seized, mainly by pirates whose raids extended as far as Rome. At the same time Moslem pirates from Crete were repeatedly raiding the isles of the Aegean Sea and by the middle of the tenth century were harassing the coasts of Greece. Three Kufic inscriptions lately discovered in Athens reveal the existence of an Arab settlement there which may have survived until the early tenth century.[4]

[1] Ibn-abi-Zar', pp. 56-7.
[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 106 *seq.*; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, p. 83.
[3] See ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 235 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 198-204.
[4] D. G. Kampouroglous, "The Saracens in Athens", *Social Science Abstracts*, vol. ii (1930), no. 273; G. Soteriou, "Arabic Remains in Athens in Byzantine Times", *ibid.* no. 2360.

The great Mosque of al-Qayrawān, still standing as a rival to the famous mosques of the East, was begun under this Ziyādat-Allāh and completed by Ibrāhīm II (874–902). The site was that on which the primitive edifice of 'Uqbah, founder of al-Qayrawān, had stood. 'Uqbah's mosque had been adorned by one of his successors with pillars of marble from the ruins of Carthage, which were again utilized in the Aghlabid structure. The square minaret of this mosque, also a relic of the earlier structure of Umayyad days and therefore the oldest surviving in Africa, introduced into north-western Africa the Syrian form which was never displaced by the slighter and more fantastic forms of Persian ancestry and Egyptian development. In the Syrian type stone was used as against brick in the other. Thanks to this mosque, al-Qayrawān became the fourth holy city of Islam, ranking after Makkah, al-Madīnah and Jerusalem—one of the four gates of the Moslem Paradise.

It was under the Aghlabids that the final transformation of Ifrīqiyah from an outwardly Latin-speaking, Christianity-professing land to an Arabic-speaking, Islam-professing region took place. Like a house of cards Latin North Africa, which supplied St. Augustine with his cultural environment, collapsed never to rise again. The transformation was perhaps more complete than in any other region thus far reduced by Moslem arms. Such opposition as was raised later came from unsubdued Berber tribes and took the form of schismatic and heretical Moslem sectarianism.

The last Aghlabid was Ziyādat-Allāh III (903–9),[1] who in 909 took to flight before the Fāṭimid advance without offering any resistance.[2] The story of the Fāṭimids, who in 909 succeeded the Aghlabids in North Africa and in 969 displaced the Ikhshīdids in Egypt and southern Syria, belongs to a later chapter. The Ikhshīdids, whose history we shall soon sketch, were preceded by the Ṭūlūnid dynasty.

4. The Ṭūlūnids

The founder of the short-lived Ṭūlūnid dynasty (*dawlah*, 868–905) in Egypt and Syria was Aḥmad ibn-Ṭūlūn, whose father, a Turk from Farghānah, was sent in 815 by the Sāmānid ruler of Bukhāra as a present to al-Ma'mūn.[3] In 868 Aḥmad went

[1] For other Aghlabids see Lane-Poole, p. 37; de Zambaur, pp. 67, 68.
[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, pp. 142-6; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 205-7; ibn-abi-Zar', p. 61.
[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 295, vol. iv, p. 297.

to Egypt as lieutenant to its governor. Here he soon made himself independent.[1] When hard pressed for money by the Zanj rebellion, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (870–92) demanded but received no financial aid from his Egyptian lieutenant. This event was a turning-point in the life of Egypt. It marked the emergence in the Nile valley of an independent state which maintained its sovereignty throughout the Middle Ages. Heretofore Egypt's rich revenues went partly into Baghdād and partly into the pockets of successive governors, who were primarily tax-farmers. Now money remained in the country and was spent in glorifying the reigning house. Down to the time of ibn-Ṭūlūn as many as a hundred different Moslem governors, with an average of about two years and a quarter of incumbency,[2] had succeeded one another in the exploitation of the land. Egypt profited by the Ṭūlūnid régime and entered upon an era of comparative prosperity.

Ibn-Ṭūlūn (868–84) gave his new state a rigid military organization. For the maintenance of authority he depended upon an army of a hundred thousand whose core consisted of a bodyguard of Turkish and negro slaves. From his troops, as well as from his slaves and subjects, he exacted an oath of personal allegiance.[3] When in 877 the governor of Syria died Aḥmad occupied the neighbouring country without much opposition.[4] For the first time since Ptolemaic days Egypt had become a sovereign state, and for the first time since Pharaonic days it ruled Syria. To maintain his hold on Syria Aḥmad developed a naval base at 'Akka (Acre).[5] For many centuries to come Syria continued to be ruled from the valley of the Nile.

Public works

The Ṭūlūnid régime interested itself in irrigation, the most vital factor in the economic life of the land. Aḥmad improved the Nilometer on the isle of al-Rawḍah, near Cairo. This measuring instrument was first built by an Umayyad governor in 716 superseding the more ancient one of Memphis.[6] The régime was the first since the Arab conquest to make Moslem Egypt famed as a centre of art and as a seat of a splendid court. Al-Qaṭā'i'[7] (the wards), the new quarter of al-Fusṭāṭ, the capital,

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 615 *seq.*; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1697.
[2] Cf. lists in Kindi, ed. Guest, pp. 6-212; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 2-10; de Zambaur, pp. 25-7.
[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 624.
[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 300-301; Kindi, pp. 219 *seq.*
[5] Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 707-8.
[6] Maqrīzi, ed. Wiet, vol. i, pp. 247-50.
[7] Maqrīzi (Būlāq), vol. i, pp. 313 *seq.*

was adorned with magnificent buildings. One of them was the sixty-thousand-dinar hospital (*bīmāristān*) built by Aḥmad.[1] The mosque that still bears the name of Aḥmad ibn-Ṭūlūn is one of the principal religious monuments of Islam. It shows, especially in its minaret—the oldest in Egypt—the architectural influence of the school of Sāmarra, where Aḥmad had spent his youth. The structure cost 120,000 dinars[2] and is remarkable for the use of brick piers and for the early use of the pointed arch (above, p. 417). About one-seventeenth of the Koran is inscribed in beautiful Kufic characters on the wooden frieze round the inside of the building just below the flat timbered roof.[3]

The palace of Khumārawayh (884–95), Aḥmad's extravagant son[4] and successor, with its "golden hall", whose walls were covered with gold and decorated with bas-reliefs of himself, his wives and his songstresses,[5] was one of the most remarkable Islamic structures. The figures of Khumārawayh and his wives, wearing gold crowns, were life-size and carved in wood. Such representation of living persons is exceedingly rare in Islamic art. The palace stood amidst a garden rich in sweet-smelling flowers planted in beds which were shaped to spell Arabic words, and in exotic trees growing round gilded water tanks.[6] Other outstanding features were an aviary[7] and a zoological garden,[8] but the chief wonder of the palace was a pool of quicksilver in its courtyard. Leather cushions inflated with air were moored on the surface of this pool by silken cords fastened to silver columns; on these the dynast used to lie, rocking agreeably to alleviate insomnia and induce slumber. Traces of the quicksilver were found in later years on the site.[9] Shortly before his violent death Khumārawayh gave his daughter Qaṭr-al-Nada (dewdrop) in marriage to the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid, settled on her a dowry of a million dirhams and presented her with one thousand mortars of gold and other things "the like of which

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, vol. ii (Leyden, 1855), p. 11; Kindi, p. 216.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 97; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 8.

[3] The best description of this mosque was written about 1420 by Maqrīzi (Būlāq), vol. ii, pp. 265 *seq.*; utilized by Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 152-4.

[4] One of seventeen sons and thirty-three children; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 21; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 11.

[5] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, pp. 57-8; Maqrīzi, vol. i, pp. 316-17.

[6] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 56.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 56-7.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 60-61.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 58-9; Maqrīzi, vol. i, p. 317.

had never been given before".[1] On account of his extravagance and luxuries Khumārawayh was held impious by the orthodox. He could, it is claimed, drink four rotls of Egyptian wine at one sitting.[2] It is related that as his body was being lowered into its grave the seven Koran readers appointed to recite the sacred book on the adjacent tomb of his father happened to be chanting: "Seize ye him and drag him into the mid-fire of hell".[3]

The Ṭūlūnid dynasty was the earliest manifestation of a political crystallization in the unruly and heretofore inarticulate Turkish element in the heart of the caliphate. Other and more important Turkish dynasties were soon to follow. The case of Aḥmad ibn-Ṭūlūn was typical of the founders of the many states on the ruins of the caliphate. These states broke off entirely from the central government or remained only nominally dependent upon the caliph in Baghdād. Aḥmad served as an example of what could be done in the matter of achieving military and political power at the expense of a bulky and unwieldy caliphate through the strong-handed and confident ambition of a subject soldier and his slave satellites. But the Ṭūlūnid, as well as the Ikhshīdid and most of the other dynasties, had no national basis in the lands over which they ruled and therefore were short-lived. Their weakness consisted in the absence of a strong coherent body of supporters of their own race. The rulers were themselves intruders who were obliged to recruit their bodyguards, which were their armies, from various alien sources. Such a rule can only be maintained by men of outstanding personal influence, and no sooner does the mighty arm of the founder relax or pass away than disintegration sets in. No wonder that we find the state founded by ibn-Ṭūlūn reverting to the ʿAbbāsids under his son and fourth successor, Shaybān (904–5).[4]

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 310. Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 307-8; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 2145-6; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 55.

[2] Tanūkhi, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, vol. i (London, 1921), p. 261.

[3] Sūr. 44 : 47.

[4] Kindi, pp. 247-8. Subjoined is a Ṭūlūnid tree:

1. AḤMAD IBN-ṬŪLŪN (868–84)
2. KHUMĀRAWAYH (884–95)
3. JAYSH (895–6)
4. HĀRŪN (896–904)
Qaṭr-al-Nada
5. SHAYBĀN (904–5)

5. The Ikhshīdids

After a brief interval of precarious 'Abbāsid sway in Egypt and Syria, another Turkish dynasty of Farghānah origin,[1] the Ikhshīdid (935–69), was established at al-Fusṭāṭ. The founder, Muḥammad ibn-Ṭughj (935–46), after arranging the disorganized affairs of Egypt,[2] received in 939 from the Caliph al-Rāḍi the old Iranian princely title *ikhshīd*. In the next two years al-Ikhshīd, following the Ṭūlūnid precedent, added Syria-Palestine to his quasi-independent state. In the following year both Makkah and al-Madīnah were incorporated. Henceforth the fate of al-Ḥijāz, a debatable land between east and west, was for several centuries linked with that of Egypt.

A negro eunuch

The two sons who succeeded Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd ruled only in name, the reins of the government being held by the able Abyssinian eunuch abu-al-Misk Kāfūr (musky camphor). Originally purchased by al-Ikhshīd from an oil merchant for the equivalent of about eight pounds, Kāfūr became the sole ruler from 966 to 968.[3] He successfully defended Egypt and Syria against the rising power of another petty dynasty in the north, the Ḥamdānid. His name has been immortalized in the verses first sung in praise of him, later in ridicule, by the greatest poet of his age, al-Mutanabbi',[4] the panegyrist of Kāfūr's adversary, Sayf-al-Dawlah al-Ḥamdāni. The case of this black slave rising from the humblest origin to wield absolute power was the first but not the last in Islamic history. Like other dynasts the Ikhshīdids, and especially their founder, made lavish use of state moneys to curry favour with their subjects. The daily provision for Muḥammad's kitchen included, we are told, a hundred sheep, a hundred lambs, two hundred and fifty geese, five hundred fowls, a thousand pigeons and a hundred jars of sweets. When it was poetically explained to Kāfūr that the recurrent earthquakes of that time were due to Egypt's dancing with joy at his excellences the proud Abyssinian rewarded the would-be seismographer with a thousand dinars. Otherwise the Ikhshīdids made no contribution to the artistic and literary life of their domain and

[1] Ibn-Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib fi Ḥula al-Maghrib*, ed. K. L. Tallqvist (Leyden, 1899), p. 5.

[2] Kindi, p. 288; Miskawayh, vol. i, pp. 332, 366, n.; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 270.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 185-9; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 314-15; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 373.

[4] *Dīwān*, ed. Fr. Dieterici (Berlin, 1861), pp. 623-732; ibn-Sa'īd, pp. 45-6.

no public works have been left by them. The last representative of this dynasty was an eleven-year-old boy, abu-al-Fawāris Aḥmad, who in 969 lost the country to the illustrious Fāṭimid general, Jawhar.[1]

6. The Ḥamdānids

The Ikhshīdids of Egypt had strong rivals in the Shī'ite Ḥamdānids to the north. Originally established in northern Mesopotamia with al-Mawṣil for their capital (929–91), the Ḥamdānids, who were descendants of Ḥamdān ibn-Ḥamdūn[2] of the Taghlib tribe, advanced in 944 into northern Syria and under the leadership of the future Sayf-al-Dawlah (the sword of the dynasty) wrested Aleppo (Ḥalab) and Ḥimṣ from the Ikhshīdid lieutenant in charge. Syria, which never forgot its past glory under the Umayyads, had ever been a hotbed of dissatisfaction and rebellion against the 'Abbāsid régime. Sayf-al-Dawlah (944–67) of Aleppo became the founder of a north Syrian dynasty which lasted until 1003. His second successor, Sa'īd-al-Dawlah (991–1001), however, was a vassal of the Fāṭimids of Egypt. Hard pressed between the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids, the Ḥamdānids[3] in that year gave way in favour of the latter.

Literary efflorescence

Sayf-al-Dawlah owes his fame in Arab annals primarily to his munificent patronage of learning and, in a smaller measure,

[1] Ṭughj

1. MUḤAMMAD AL-IKHSHĪD (935–46)

2. ABU-AL-QĀSIM UNŪJŪR (946–60)
3. 'ALI (960–66)
4. ABU-AL-MISK KĀFŪR (966–8)
5. AḤMAD (968–9)

The stars indicate a master-slave relationship.

"Unūjūr" is transmitted in several variants. Cf. ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, p. 315; Kindi, p. 294; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 314; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 343; Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 104. See also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, pt. iv (Göttingen, 1876), p. 37.

[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 2141.

[3] 1. Sayf-al-Dawlah abu-al-Ḥasan 'Ali (944–67)

2. Sa'd-al-Dawlah abu-al-Ma'āli Sharīf (967–91)

3. Sa'īd-al-Dawlah abu-al-Faḍā'il Sa'īd (991–1001)

4a. Abu-al-Ḥasan 'Ali (1001–3)
4b. Abu-al-Ma'āli Sharīf (1001–3)

to his taking up the cudgels against the Christian enemies of Islam after those cudgels had been laid down by other Moslem hands. The literary circle of this Ḥamdānid, himself a poet,[1] recalls the days of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. It included the celebrated philosopher-musician al-Fārābi, whose modest daily needs were met by a pension of four dirhams from the state treasury; the distinguished historian of literature and music, al-Iṣbahāni, who presented to his patron the autograph manuscript of his monumental *Aghāni* and received in reward a thousand pieces of gold; the eloquent court preacher ibn-Nubātah († 984), whose elegant sermons[2] in rhymed prose fired the zeal of his hearers for prosecuting the holy war against Byzantium; and above all the poet laureate al-Mutanabbi' (915–65), whose bombastic and ornate style with its flowery rhetoric and improbable metaphors renders him to the present day the most popular and most widely quoted poet in the Moslem world.[3] An early authority calls his poetry "the height of perfection".[4] Al-Mutanabbi'[5] (prophecy claimant), son of a water-carrier in al-Kūfah, was so named because in his youth he claimed the gift of prophecy among the Bedouins of Syria. His poetical rival in Aleppo was a cousin of Sayf-al-Dawlah, abu-Firās al-Ḥamdāni.[6] Estranged for a time from his Ḥamdānid patron, al-Mutanabbi' sought and received the protection of the Ikshīdid Kāfūr, in whom he was later disappointed.

As a late product of this ephemeral renaissance in northern Syria we may count the "philosopher of poets and poet of philosophers" abu-al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri (973–1057), who gave expression to the sceptical and pessimistic sentiments of an age of social decay and political anarchy in Islam. A descendant of the Yamani tribe of Tanūkh, abu-al-'Alā' was born and died in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, whence his surname, and there his humble tomb can still be seen. When four years old he was stricken with

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 66-8; Tanūkhi, p. 134.

[2] *Khuṭab*, which have appeared in several Cairo and Beirūt editions.

[3] His *Dīwān* was edited by Dieterici and later by Nāṣīf al-Yāziji (Beirūt, 1882). The thousandth anniversary of his death (A.H. 354) was commemorated in 1936 in Damascus and London.

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 63. For an early critical view see Tha'ālibi, *Yatīmah*, vol. i, pp. 78-164.

[5] Properly abu-al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn-Ḥusayn.

[6] *Dīwān*, ed. Nakhlah Qalfāṭ (Beirūt, 1900); tr. in part, Rudolph Dvořák as *Abû Firâs: ein arabischer Dichter und Held* (Leyden, 1895). See also Tha'ālibi, vol. i, pp. 22-62.

smallpox, which cost him his sight, but for which compensation was made by the development of a prodigious memory. In 1009 abu-al-'Alā' went to Baghdād, where he spent about a year and seven months and became inoculated with the ideas of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' as well as with others of Indian origin. On his return home he adopted a vegetarian diet and a life of comparative seclusion. His late works, particularly his *Luzūmīyāt*[1] and *Risālat al-Ghufrān*[2] (treatise on forgiveness) reveal him as one who took reason for his guide and pessimistic scepticism for his philosophy. It was this *Risālah* that is claimed to have exercised a determining influence over Dante in his *Divine Comedy*.[3] His quatrains[4] have been partly done into English. Parallels have repeatedly been drawn between this Syrian poet and the Persian 'Umar al-Khayyām, who died about sixty years after him and shows decided marks of having been influenced by his predecessor. Al-Mutannabi' and al-Ma'arri close the period of great Arab poetry. Since that day hardly any Moslem poet has been able to achieve more than local eminence.

Raids into "the land of the Romans"

After making his position secure in northern Syria, "the sword of the Ḥamdānid dynasty", beginning in 947, conducted annual campaigns into Asia Minor. Until his death twenty years later not a year passed without some engagement with the Greeks.[5] At first fortune smiled on Sayf's efforts. He seized Mar'ash among other border towns. But the brilliant leadership of Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces,[6] both future emperors, saved the day for Byzantium. In 961 Nicephorus captured the capital, Aleppo, with the exception of the citadel, put over ten thousand of its youth and all the captives to the sword and destroyed the palace of Sayf-al-Dawlah. But after eight or nine days he retired.[7] After he became emperor (963–9) his troops wrested Cyprus from the Arabs and occupied Cilicia.[8] Thus was the road

[1] *Al-Luzūmīyāt aw Luzūm Ma la Yalzam*, ed. 'Azīz Zand, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1891, 1895); tr. Ameen Rihani (New York, 1918).

[2] Ed. Kāmil Kīlāni, 2 pts. (Cairo, 1923); partially translated by R. A. Nicholson in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1900), pp. 637-720; (1902), pp. 75-101, 337-62, 813-47.

[3] Asín, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, tr. Sunderland.

[4] *Rubā'īyāt*, stanzas of four lines in which first, second and fourth rhyme; originally a Persian form of composition.

[5] See Yaḥya ibn-Sa'īd al-Anṭāki, "Ta'rīkh", ed. and tr. (Fr.) I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. xviii, pp. 768 *seq.*

[6] "Ibn-Shamshaqīq" of Arab chronicles; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 407; abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 110, l. 20.

[7] Miskawayh, vol. ii, pp. 192-4; Yaḥya, pp. 786-7. [8] Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 527.

open again to Syria. In the last year of his reign his army seized Antioch, long coveted as a city of patriarchs, saints and councils and as a religious peer of Byzantium itself. The city remained in Byzantine hands from 969 till 1084. Soon after the occupation of Antioch, Nicephorus' general entered Aleppo and exacted from Sayf's son and successor, Sa'd-al-Dawlah (967–91), a humiliating treaty.[1] The Emperor John Tzimisces (969–76) adopted the policy of consolidating and insuring the conquests in Cilicia and northern Syria, and set for his final goal the freeing of Jerusalem. To this end he started from Antioch on a real crusade, entered Damascus, but did not penetrate far into Palestine. Early in his reign the refractory banu-Ḥabīb of Niṣībīn, cousins of the Ḥamdānids, 12,000 strong, left their homes on account of the high taxes, embraced Christianity and joined the Byzantines in their attacks on Moslem lands.[2] Tzimisces' successor, Basil II (976–1025), though troubled by the Arabs of North Africa, who at this time were in possession of Sicily and many Aegean islands, took the field in person to defend the Syrian possessions now threatened by the Fāṭimids of Egypt. But at the outset of the eleventh century he signed a treaty of peace with the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim and no further serious collision took place. The efforts of Basil II, preceded by those of Nicephorus and Tzimisces, extended the eastern boundary of the Byzantine empire at the expense of Islam as far as the Euphrates and into the heart of northern Syria.[3] Their reigns covered "the most brilliant period in the history of Byzantine relations with the eastern Muslims".[4]

[1] Yaḥya, pp. 823-4.
[2] Ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 140-41.
[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 440-41.
[4] Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire*, vol. i, p. 381.

CHAPTER XXXII

SUNDRY DYNASTIES IN THE EAST

WHILE petty dynasties, mostly of Arab origin, were parcelling out the domains of the caliph in the west, the same process was being carried forward by others, chiefly Turkish or Persian, in the east.

1. The Ṭāhirids

The first to establish a quasi-independent state east of Baghdād was the once trusted general of al-Ma'mūn, Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn of Khurāsān, who had victoriously led his master's army against al-Amīn. In this war the one-eyed Ṭāhir is said to have used the sword so effectively with both hands that al-Ma'mūn [1] nicknamed him dhu-al-Yamīnayn (ambidextrous) and a poet described him as the warrior "minus one eye, plus an extra right arm".[2] The descendant of a Persian slave, Ṭāhir was rewarded in 820 by al-Ma'mūn with the governorship of all lands east of Baghdād, with the centre of his power in Khurāsān. Before his death two years later in his capital, Marw, Ṭāhir had omitted mention of the caliph's name in the Friday prayer.[3] Though nominally vassals of the caliph, Ṭāhir's successors extended their dominion as far as the Indian frontier. They moved the seat of government to Naysābūr, where they remained in power till 872,[4] when they were superseded by the Ṣaffārids.

2. The Ṣaffārids

The Ṣaffārid dynasty, which originated in Sijistān and reigned in Persia for forty-one years (867–908), owes its foundation to one Ya'qūb ibn-al-Layth al-Ṣaffār (867–78). Al-Ṣaffār (coppersmith) was a coppersmith by profession and a brigand by avocation. His chivalrous and efficient conduct as head of a band of outlaws attracted the favourable attention of the caliph's governor over Sijistān, who thereupon entrusted him with the

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 829; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 424. Cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. vi, p. 423.
[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 422; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 270.
[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 255, 270.
[4] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 42; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1880.

command of his troops.[1] Al-Ṣaffār eventually succeeded his benefactor and added to his domains almost all Persia and the outskirts of India, even threatening Baghdād itself under the Caliph al-Mu'tamid.[2] The Sāmānids fell heir to a large portion of the Ṣaffārid state.[3]

3. The Sāmānids

The Sāmānids of Transoxiana and Persia (874–999) were descended from Sāmān, a Zoroastrian noble of Balkh. The founder of the dynasty was Naṣr ibn-Aḥmad (874–92), a great-grandson of Sāmān, but the one who established its power was Naṣr's brother Ismā'īl (892–907), who in 900 wrested Khurāsān from the Ṣaffārids.[4] Starting as Moslem sub-governors under the Ṭāhirids, the Sāmānids under Naṣr II ibn-Aḥmad[5] (913–43), fourth in the line, extended their kingdom to its greatest limits, including under their sceptre Sijistān, Karmān, Jurjān, al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān, in addition to Transoxiana and Khurāsān. Though outwardly professing loyalty to the 'Abbāsids, the dynasty was virtually independent. In the eyes of the Baghdād caliph its members were *amīrs* (governors) or even *'āmils* (tax collectors), but within their own territory their authority was undisputed.

It was under the Sāmānids that the final subjugation of Transoxiana to Moslem rule was effected. Their capital, Bukhāra, and their leading city, Samarqand, almost eclipsed Baghdād as centres of learning and art. Not only Arabic but Persian scholarship was protected and fostered. It was to a Sāmānid prince, abu-Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr ibn-Isḥāq of Sijistān, a nephew of the second ruler, that the illustrious al-Rāzi dedicated his book on medicine entitled *al-Manṣūri* in honour of his patron. It was in response to a summons from the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ II (976–97)[6] that young ibn-Sīna, still in his teens, visited Bukhāra and was accorded free access to the rich royal library,[7] where he acquired that seemingly inexhaustible fund of knowledge. From this

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 124-5; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 350-51; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 605; Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, *Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne, vol. i (Leyden, 1910), p. 373; tr. (abr.) Browne, vol. ii (Leyden, 1913), p. 72.

[2] Iṣṭakhri, pp. 245-7.

[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 41-5; Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1698-1706, 1880-87.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 192-5, 346-7, vol. viii, pp. 4-6; Iṣfahāni, ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 236-7; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 2194; *Tarikh-i-Sistan*, ed. Bahār (Teheran, 1935), p. 256.

[5] Consult Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, pp. 381-3 = vol. ii, p. 74; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 58-60, 154-6.

[6] Consult ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 69 *seq.*

[7] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 4.

epoch modern Persian literature takes its rise. Suffice it to recall that Firdawsi († 1020) wrote his first poetry in this period and that Bal'ami, the vizir of Manṣūr I [1] (961–76), translated an abridgment of al-Ṭabari's history [2] and thus produced one of the oldest extant prose works in Persian. Ever since the Moslem conquest Persians had used Arabic as the medium of literary expression, but with these writers the brilliant Moslem literature of Persia began its development.

Though one of the most enlightened of the Iranian dynasties, the Sāmānid was not free from those elements which proved fatal to others of the same period. To the usual problems presented by a turbulent military aristocracy and a precarious dynastic succession was now added a new danger, that of the Turkish nomads to the north. Even within the state power was gradually slipping into the hands of Turkish slaves with whom the Sāmānids had filled their court. The Sāmānid territory south of the Oxus was absorbed in 994 by the Ghaznawids, who rose to power under one of these slaves. The territory north of the river was seized by the so-called Īlek (Īlāq) Khāns of Turkestan, who in 990 captured Bukhāra and nine years later gave the *coup de grâce* to the expiring Sāmānid dynasty. Thus for the first but not the last time we note Turanian hordes of Central Asia thrusting themselves to the forefront of Islamic affairs. The struggle between Iranians and Turanians for the mastery of the borderland of Islam in the fourth Moslem century was but a prelude to graver developments. We shall hereafter see these Turks play an increasingly important rôle in world affairs until they finally absorb most of the powers of the caliph of Baghdād, in fact until they establish their own caliphate, the Ottoman, in "Baghdād on the Bosphorus".

4. Ghaznawids

Among the Turkish slaves whom the Sāmānids delighted to honour with high governmental posts was one Alptigīn, who started his career as a member of the bodyguard. Soon he rose to the headship of the guard [3] and thence was promoted in 961 to the governorship of Khurāsān. Shortly afterwards, however, he fell out of favour with the new Sāmānid ruler and betook himself to the eastern border of the kingdom. Here in 962 he captured

[1] A flattering description of the internal conditions under him has been left by an eye-witness, ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 341-2, 344-5.

[2] Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, p. 385=vol. ii, p. 75.

[3] Ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 13, 14, refers to him as *Albtakīn, ḥājib ṣāḥib Khurāsān.*

Ghaznah, in Afghanistan, from its native rulers and established an independent realm [1] which developed into the Ghaznawid empire of Afghanistan and Panjāb (962–1186). The real founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty, however, was Subuktigīn (976–97), a slave and son-in-law of Alptigīn. The sixteen Ghaznawids who succeeded him were his lineal descendants. Subuktigīn widened his territory to include Peshāwar in India and also Khurāsān in Persia, which he first held under the Sāmānids.

Maḥmūd of Ghaznah

The most distinguished member of the dynasty was Subuktigīn's son Maḥmūd (999–1030). The location of his capital, Ghaznah, on the crest of a high plateau overlooking the plains of northern India, into which it possessed easy access through the valley of Kābul, gave him an advantageous position for a series of campaigns eastward. Between 1001 and 1024 Maḥmūd conducted no less than seventeen campaigns into India, which resulted in the annexation of the Panjāb, with its centre, Lahore, of Multān and of part of Sind.[2] In the Panjāb Moslem influence was now permanently established. From these raids Maḥmūd returned with fabulously rich spoils from the Hindu temples and won an enviable distinction among his contemporaries as the idol-breaker and champion of orthodox iconoclastic Islam. He was one of the first in Moslem history to receive, and that about 1001, the title *al-ghāzi*, bestowed on him who distinguished himself in war against unbelievers.

Maḥmūd likewise extended the western borders of his domains. Here he wrested the Persian 'Irāq, including al-Rayy and Iṣbahān, from the Shī'ite Buwayhids, who at the time had the caliph under their control. As a Sunnite, Maḥmūd had from the time of his accession acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Caliph al-Qādir (991–1031),[3] from whom he later received the title Yamīn-al-Dawlah (the right arm of the state).[4] On their coins he and his immediate successors satisfied themselves with the title *amīr* (governor) or *sayyid* (chief). Though Maḥmūd is credited with being the first in Islam to be designated *sulṭān*,[5] evidence from coins shows that this high designation was first

[1] Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, p. 393 = vol. ii, p. 78.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 395 *seq.*; Bīrūni, *Taḥqīq*, p. 11; M. Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 86 *seq.*

[3] See Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Ta'rikh al-Wuzarā'* (supplement to Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, vol. iii), ed. Amedroz, pp. 341-5.

[4] Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, p. 395.

[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 92.

officially borne by the Saljūq rulers.[1] At their greatest extent Maḥmūd's dominions, besides northern India in the east and the Persian 'Irāq in the west, included all Khurāsān, Ṭukhāristān with its centre Balkh, part of Transoxiana in the north and Sijistān in the south.[2] He adorned his capital with magnificent buildings,[3] founded and endowed a large academy and made his munificent court the chief resort of poets and men of learning. His assemblage of literary genius included the Arab historian al-'Utbi[4] († 1036), the celebrated scientific and historical author al-Bīrūni and the illustrious Persian poet Firdawsi, the millennial anniversary of whose birth was celebrated in 1934–5 in Asia, Europe and America. On dedicating his great epic, the *Shāh-nāmah*, to Maḥmūd and receiving only 60,000 dirhams instead of dinars for its 60,000 verses, Firdawsi denounced his patron in a scathing satire and had to flee for his life.

The rise of the Ghaznawid dynasty represents the first victory of the Turkish element in its struggle against the Iranian element for ultimate mastery in Islam. Yet the Ghaznawid state did not differ radically from the Sāmānid or the Ṣaffārid state. It was loosely held by force of arms, and as soon as the powerful hand wielding the sword relaxed the component parts were certain to fall away. This is what happened after Maḥmūd's death. The provinces of the east gradually separated themselves from the capital in the highlands, thus beginning the series of independent Moslem dynasties of India. In the north and west the Khāns of Turkestan and the Great Saljūqs of Persia parcelled out the Ghaznawid domain. In the centre the hardy Ghūrids of Afghanistan dealt the final blows and in 1186 destroyed the last Ghaznawids in Lahore.

The imperial guard

While the wings of the 'Abbāsid eagle were being clipped at both extremities, a dagger clutched in Perso-Turkish hands was pointed at its heart. Under the domination of the Shī'ite Persian Buwayhids, and after them of the Sunnite Turkish Saljūqs, the caliph had little left except the capital and even there his authority was shadowy. The rise of an unruly imperial guard, followed by a revolt of negro slaves, undermined the central

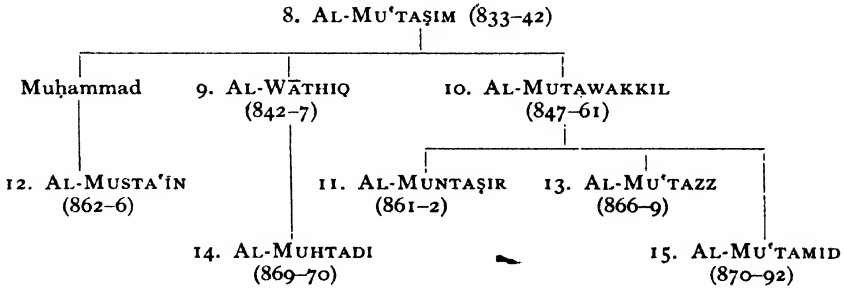
[1] See below, p. 474.
[2] Hilāl al-Ṣābi', pp. 340, 386.
[3] See S. Flury in *Syria*, vol. vi (1925), pp. 61-90.
[4] His *Kitāb-i-Yamini*, tr. James Reynolds (London, 1858), extols the glorious reign of Maḥmūd.

authority and paved the way for the advent of the Buwayhid régime.

It was the eighth 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Mu'taṣim (833–42), son of Hārūn by a Turkish slave, who first surrounded himself with a bodyguard of Turkish recruits from Transoxiana. The guard numbered four thousand. Originally brought in to counterbalance the influence of the soldiers from Khurāsān, to whom the 'Abbāsids owed the caliphate, the yearly import of Turks became an even greater menace to its integrity. Al-Manṣūr's "city of peace" became a city of turmoil. Facing the danger of a native uprising in Baghdād against the haughty and oppressive conduct of his guard, the caliph in 836 removed his seat of government sixty miles farther up the Tigris to Sāmarra.[1] Originally Assyrian, the name was changed by him to Surra Man Ra'a (pleased is he who sees it) under which name it appears as a mint city on 'Abbāsid coins. It was wittily whispered at the time that what the new name really meant was "he who sees it (with the Turks settled therein) is pleased (with Baghdād well rid of them)".

Sāmarra was beautified by palaces and mosques erected mainly by al-Mu'taṣim and his son al-Mutawakkil (847–61). It remained the capital for fifty-six years (836–92), during the reigns of eight successive caliphs, and its ruins are the most imposing 'Abbāsid monuments extant.[2]

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS AT SĀMARRA



The rise of this body of predominantly Turkish soldiery, which played a part in the caliphate not unlike that of the

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1179-81; Mas'ūdi, vol. vii, pp. 118 *seq.*; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iii, pp. 16-17.

[2] Maqdisi, pp. 122-3; Ernst Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra* (Berlin, 1923).

prætorian guard in Rome and the Janissaries in Turkey, marked the beginning of the end of caliphal power. The caliph lived in his new capital almost as their prisoner. The murder of al-Mutawakkil by them in December 861, at the instigation of his son,[1] was the first in a series of events in the course of which the mighty structure of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty—already shaken—stood face to face with imminent collapse. Al-Mutawakkil was the first caliph in the period of decline. After him we find caliphs made and unmade by troops, chiefly Turkish, under generals mostly slaves, striving for mastery. Through their influence over these slaves the women of the court came to play an important political rôle and thus added to the confusion. In the case of the weak and vacillating al-Mustaʿīn (862–6), who eventually fled to Baghdād pursued by his guard after he had been besieged and forced to abdicate, his slave-mother shared with two Turkish generals the supreme power.[2] The mother of his successor al-Muʿtazz (866–9) refused to pay out the 50,000 dinars which might have saved the life of her caliph son, though she kept in a subterranean cellar a cache of 1,000,000 dinars in addition to priceless jewellery.[3] For two centuries the history of the disintegrating caliphate presents a confused picture of nominal rulers ascending the throne with no power and descending to the grave unregretted. Peace and security, if anywhere, were enjoyed only in those outlying provinces where a governor, practically independent, held the reins with an iron hand.

A servile war

One of the most spectacular and sanguinary episodes of the period was the rebellion of the Zanj[4] slaves. These were negroes imported from East Africa and employed in the saltpetre mines on the lower Euphrates. The leader (*ṣāḥib al-Zanj*) was one ʿAli ibn-Muḥammad, a wily pretender, probably of Arab origin. Taking advantage of disturbed conditions in the capital and the uprising of the discontented and wretched miners, he claimed in September 869 that he was an ʿAlid called to their deliverance by visions and occult science. One band of slaves after another rallied under the banner of the new Messiah—"the rogue" and "Allah's enemy" of our main informant, al-Ṭabari.[5] Army after

[1] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1452-65; abbr. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 60-64.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1512-13, copied by ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 80-81.
[3] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1718-19.
[4] From Pers. Zang (Ethiopia), whence Zangbār, Ar. Zanjabār, corrupted to Zanzibar.
[5] Vol. iii, pp. 1785, 1786.

army was sent to suppress the strange rebellion, but being on favourable and familiar territory, a patchwork of marshes intersected with canals, the negroes overcame them all and, in accordance with a Khārijite doctrine now adopted by their leader, mercilessly put all prisoners and non-combatants to the sword.[1] During fourteen years (870–83) of the reign of al-Mu'tamid (870–92) this servile war raged. The estimates of those who perished vary, some exceeding half a million. After one engagement the unclaimed heads of Moslems were so numerous that the negroes dumped them into a canal which carried them into al-Baṣrah, where they could be identified by relatives and friends.[2] Al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ, al-Ahwāz and al-Ubullah lay desolate. Not until the caliph's brother al-Muwaffaq had taken personal charge of the operations was the backbone of opposition broken. In 883 al-Mukhtārah, the fortress built by the leader, was stormed and he himself slain. "Thus ended one of the bloodiest and most destructive rebellions which the history of Western Asia records."[3] It was in the course of this war that Egypt, one of the first and fairest provinces, fell away from the caliphate under the rule of ibn-Ṭūlūn.

The *amīr al-umarā'* in power

The restoration of Baghdād as capital under al-Mu'taḍid (892–902), after ephemeral Sāmarra had functioned as such for over half a century, changed the scene but not the current of events. The real power continued to slip from caliphal to military hands. The period saw the rise of 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Mu'tazz, who after contesting the caliphate with his second cousin al-Muqtadir had the unique distinction of holding office under the title al-Murtaḍa for one day only (December 17, 908), after which he was deposed and killed. The one-day caliph was more of a poet and belletrist than a politician. Of his many works cited by *al-Fihrist*[4] and ibn-Khallikān[5] only a few have survived.

The twenty-four years of al-Muqtadir's reign (908–32) were marked by the rise and fall of thirteen vizirs, some of whom were put to death.[6] To add to the confusion the caliph's Turkish mother constantly interfered in state affairs. One of these vizirs was ibn-Muqlah, a founder of Arabic calligraphy.[7] Another was

[1] Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 31, 58-61.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1785-6.
[3] Nöldeke, *Sketches*, tr. Black, p. 174.
[4] P. 116.
[5] Vol. i, p. 462.
[6] *Fakhri*, pp. 360 *seq.*
[7] Miskawayh, vol. i, pp. 185 *seq.*; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, pp. 109, 326, 359-60.

'Ali ibn-'Īsa, who in an age of corruption and oppression under a régime of cruelty and torture stands alone in his integrity and ability. In the two vizirates of 'Ali, which lasted five years, he materially improved the finances of the state by rigid economy and set an example of high efficiency which found no imitators.[1] It was during the caliphate of al-Muqtadir that both the Fāṭimid 'Ubaydullāh (909) in North Africa and the Umayyad 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III (929) in Spain assumed the dignity and insignia of the caliphate, thus creating the unusual phenomenon of three recognized rival caliphs in the Moslem world at the same time. The weak and incapable al-Muqtadir (lit. the mighty [by the help of God]) left the affairs of the state in the hands of his chief of bodyguard Mu'nis al-Muẓaffar,[2] a eunuch on whom he bestowed a newly created title, *amīr al-umarā'* (the commander of the commanders). Mu'nis soon became the real ruler. He dethroned al-Muqtadir and appointed his half-brother al-Qāhir.[3] After a brief restoration al-Muqtadir met his death at the hands of Berber soldiers who carried his head in triumph to their leader, Mu'nis.[4] Al-Qāhir (932–4) fared no better than his predecessor. When deposed the second time he was blinded and was last seen begging for alms in the streets of Baghdād.[5] Two of his successors, al-Muttaqi (940–44) and al-Mustakfi (944–6), followed him through the same process into the realm of darkness—all through the influence of the *amīr al-umarā'*.[6] At one time Baghdād presented the spectacle of three personages who had once held the highest office in Islam but were now deposed, blinded and objects of public charity. The *amīr al-umarā'* of al-Rāḍi (934–40) went so far as to have his name joined with the caliph's in the Friday prayer—a novel procedure in Islamic history.[7] Al-Rāḍi was one of the few caliphs of the period to escape deposition, but he did not escape death at the hands of the soldiery. By the Arab annalists he was considered "the last of the real caliphs", by which they meant the last to deliver the

[1] See Harold Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī Ibn 'Īsà, "the Good Vizier"* (Cambridge, 1928).

[2] "The victorious." Miskawayh, vol. i, p. 76; Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 2199.

[3] Miskawayh, vol. i, p. 193; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 147-8.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 179.

[5] Miskawayh, vol. i, pp. 291-2; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 209, 211, 332-3; *Fakhri*, p. 375; Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, pp. 287 *seq.*

[6] Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 72; Mas'ūdi, vol. viii, p. 409.

[7] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 241.

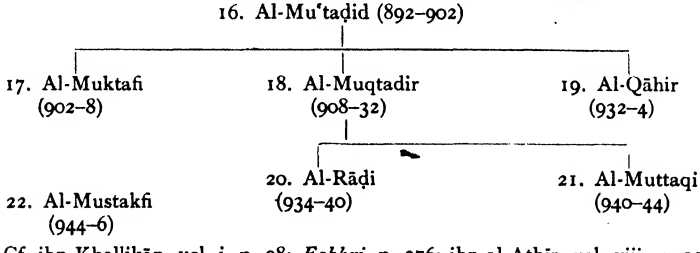
Friday oration and conduct certain affairs of state.[1] He was also the last whose poetry has been preserved. With him vanished the last vestiges of power and dignity that were left to his office. The generalissimo, *amīr al-umarā'*, was now well established as the actual ruler of the Moslem state.[2]

5. The Buwayhid dynasty

An even darker chapter in the history of the caliphate was opened in December 945, when the Caliph al-Mustakfi (944-6) received in Baghdād the victorious Aḥmad ibn-Buwayh and made him his *amīr al-umarā'* with the honorific title of Mu'izz-al-Dawlah (he who renders the state mighty). Aḥmad's father, abu-Shujā' Buwayh, claimed descent from the ancient Sāsānid kings, probably, as in most such cases, to bolster up dynastic prestige.[3] He was the chief of a warlike horde consisting mainly of Daylamite highlanders from the mountainous region on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and had been for some time in the service of the Sāmānids. His three sons, including Aḥmad, gradually worked their way southward, occupying Iṣbahān, then Shīrāz with its province (934) and in the following two years the provinces of al-Ahwāz (present-day Khūzistān) and Karmān. Shīrāz was chosen as capital of the new dynasty. At the advance of Aḥmad into Baghdād (945) the Turkish guard fled, but the lot of the caliph did not improve under the tutelage of his new masters, the Shī'ite Persians. Though his official position was simply that of *amīr al-umarā'*, Mu'izz-al-Dawlah insisted that he be mentioned along with the caliph in the *khuṭbah*. He even had his name stamped on the coinage.[4]

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 380; Tanūkhi, p. 146.

[2] A genealogical table of Baghdād caliphs under the military régime:



[3] Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 98; *Fakhri*, p. 376; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 197; Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, pp. 413-14; Friedrich Wilken, *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh* (Berlin, 1835), p. 13 (Pers. text), p. 58 (tr.) (extract from Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'*).

[4] Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 158; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 337; Wilken, p. 21 (text), p. 66 (tr.). Cf. Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 396; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 159.

In January 946, the unfortunate al-Mustakfi was blinded and deposed by Mu'izz-al-Dawlah, who chose as the new caliph al-Muṭī' (946–74). Shī'ah festivals were now established, particularly the public mourning on the anniversary of al-Ḥusayn's death (tenth of Muḥarram) and the rejoicing on that of the Prophet's alleged appointment of 'Ali as his successor at Ghadīr al-Khumm.[1] The caliphate now passed through the period of its deepest humiliation with the commander of the believers a mere puppet in the hands of a schismatic commander of the commanders. The Buwayhids, however, were not the first in the history of Islam to assume the title of sultan, as is sometimes claimed.[2] They satisfied themselves, according to the testimony of their coins, with *amīr* or *malik* affixed to such honorific surnames as Mu'izz-al-Dawlah, 'Imād-al-Dawlah (prop of the state) and Rukn-al-Dawlah (pillar of the state), appellations which were simultaneously bestowed on the three sons of Buwayh by the caliph. After them similar pompous surnames became the fashion. The dignity of *amīr al-umarā'* was also held by several of Mu'izz' Buwayhid successors, even though it had become nothing more than an honorific fiction.

Throughout their century or so of supremacy (945–1055) the Buwayhids made and unmade caliphs at will. Al-'Irāq was governed as a province from the Buwayhid capital, Shīrāz in Fāris. In Baghdād they maintained several magnificent palaces under the collective name *dār al-mamlakah* (the abode of the kingdom).[3] Baghdād was no longer the hub of the Moslem world, for not only Shīrāz but Ghaznah, Cairo and Cordova were now sharing its international pre-eminence.

'Aḍud-al-Dawlah

The Buwayhid power reached its zenith under 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah (the supporting arm of the state, 949–83), a son of Rukn. 'Aḍud was not only the greatest Buwayhid but also the most illustrious ruler of his time. Under his sceptre he united in 977 the several petty kingdoms that had risen under Buwayhid rulers in Persia and al-'Irāq, creating an empire approaching in size that of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He married the daughter of the Caliph al-Ṭā'i' and had the caliph marry his daughter (980),

[1] A spring between Makkah and al-Madīnah where Shī'ite tradition asserts the Prophet declared, "Whomsoever I am lord of, his lord is 'Ali also". Ibn-Sa'd, vol. v, p. 235; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, pp. 255-6. In memory of this declaration the Shī'ites observed a feast on the 18th of dhu-al-Ḥijjah.

[2] Cf. above, p. 464; below, p. 474.

[3] Khaṭīb, vol. i, pp. 105-7.

hoping thereby to have a descendant of his assume the caliphate.[1] 'Aḍud was the first ruler in Islam to bear the title *shāhanshāh*.[2] Although he kept his court in Shīrāz he beautified Baghdād, repaired canals which had become filled up and erected in several other cities mosques, hospitals and public buildings, as reported by the meritorious historian Miskawayh,[3] 'Aḍud's treasurer.[4] For his charitable enterprises 'Aḍud appropriated funds from his state treasury. One interesting building of his was the shrine (*mashhad*) on the presumed tomb of 'Ali. But the most significant was the famous hospital in Baghdād, al-Bīmāristān al-'Aḍudi, which he completed in 978–9 and endowed with 100,000 dinars. The hospital had a staff of twenty-four physicians who also functioned as a medical faculty.[5] Poets such as al-Mutanabbi' sang 'Aḍud's glory and authors, including the grammarian abu-'Ali al-Fārisi, who wrote for him the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* (book of explanation), dedicated to him their works.[6] In his cultivation of the arts of peace 'Aḍud found an able collaborator in his Christian vizir Naṣr ibn-Hārūn, who with the caliph's authorization erected and repaired churches and monasteries.[7]

The precedent for literary and scientific patronage set by 'Aḍud-al-Dawlah was followed by his son Sharaf-al-Dawlah[8] (983–89). In imitation of al-Ma'mūn, Sharaf constructed one year before his death a famous observatory. Another son of 'Aḍud, his second successor, Bahā'-al-Dawlah[9] (989–1012), who in 991 deposed the Caliph al-Ṭā'i' whose vast wealth he coveted, had an enlightened Persian vizir in the person of Sābūr ibn-Ardashīr. Sābūr built in 993 at Baghdād an academy with a library of 10,000 books,[10] which the Syrian poet al-Ma'arri used when a student in that city. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', be it also remembered, flourished under the Buwayhid régime. But the state itself was on

[1] Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 414; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. vi, p. 266.

[2] Shortening of *shāhānshāh*, Pers. for king of kings, modelled after the ancient Iranian title of royalty. The Arabic correspondent, *malik al-mulūk*, was perhaps first assumed by 'Aḍud's son Bahā'-al-Dawlah and was especially favoured by the later dynasties of Turkish origin.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 404-8. See ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 16. [4] Qifṭi, p. 331.

[5] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. i, pp. 310, 238, 244; Qifṭi, pp. 235-6, 337-8, 438.

[6] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 159. [7] Miskawayh, vol. ii, p. 408.

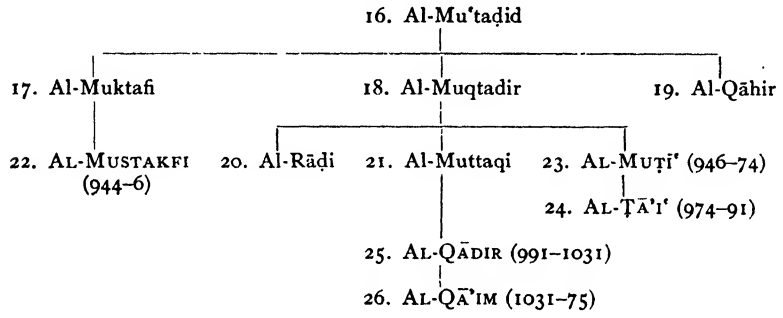
[8] "The honour of the state." Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 16-17; Rūdhrāwari, *Dhayl* (supplement to Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, vol. iii), ed. Amedroz, pp. 136 *seq.*

[9] "The splendour of the state." Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 42 *seq.*; Rūdhrāwari, pp. 153 *seq.*

[10] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 71; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 356.

its downward course. The wars between Bahā', Sharaf and their third brother, Ṣamṣām-al-Dawlah,[1] the dynastic and family quarrels carried on among their successors and the Buwayhid Shī'ite proclivities, which were deeply resented in Sunnite Baghdād, led to the fall of the dynasty. In 1055 the Saljūq Ṭughril Beg entered Baghdād and put an end to Buwayhid rule. The last of the dynasty in al-'Irāq, al-Malik al-Raḥīm (the merciful king, 1048–55), ended his days in confinement.

The subjoined tree shows the genealogical relationship of the 'Abbāsid caliphs under Buwayhid supremacy (945–1055):



The advent of the Saljūq Turks ushers in a new and notable era in the history of Islam and the caliphate. At their appearance from the east in the early part of the eleventh century the caliph held but a shadow of his former power and his empire had been almost entirely dismembered. The Umayyads in Spain and the Shī'ite Fāṭimids in Egypt and North Africa were established beyond any hope of displacement from Baghdād. North Syria and upper Mesopotamia, as noted before, were in the hands of turbulent Arab chieftains, some of whom had succeeded in founding dynasties. Persia, Transoxiana and the lands to the east and south were parcelled among Buwayhid and Ghaznawid princes or held by sundry petty dynasts, each waiting for an opportunity to fly at the throat of the other. Political and military anarchy prevailed everywhere. Shī'ite-Sunnite confusion was the order of the day. Islam seemed crushed to the ground. 6. The Saljūqs

Into this distracted realm a chieftain named Saljūq had entered about 956 at the head of his clan of Turkoman Ghuzz (or Oghuz). Coming from the Kirghiz steppes of Turkestan,

[1] "The sword of the state." Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 16-19, 32-5; Rūdhrāwari, pp. 184, 260.

these nomads settled in the region of Bukhāra, where they fervently embraced Sunnite Islam. Slowly but surely Saljūq and after him his sons fought their way through the realms of the Ilek Khāns and Sāmānids.[1] A grandson of Saljūq, Ṭughril,[2] ventured with his brother as far as Khurāsān. In 1037 the two brothers wrested Marw and Naysābūr from Ghaznawid hands. Balkh, Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and Khwārizm, as well as Hamadhān, al-Rayy and Iṣbahān were speedily added. The Buwayhid house tumbled before them. On December 18, 1055, Ṭughril Beg at the head of his wild Turkoman tribes stood at the gate of Baghdād. Al-Basāsīri, the Turkish general and military governor of Baghdād under the last Buwayhids, left the capital[3] and the Caliph al-Qā'im (1031–1075) hastened to receive the Saljūq invader as a deliverer.

Ṭughril in power

After an absence of a year Ṭughril returned to Baghdād and was received with elaborate ceremonies. Wearing the mantle and holding the cane of the Prophet, the caliph took his seat on a platform behind a curtain which was lifted at the approach of the conqueror. Ṭughril sat on an adjoining platform and communicated with the caliph through an interpreter. The conqueror was made regent of the empire and hailed as "king of the East and of the West".[4] His official title was to be *al-sulṭān* (he with authority, sultan).[5] The caliphate now passed under a new and more benevolent tutelage.

Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Ṭughril on an expedition to the north, al-Basāsīri, who had in the meantime espoused the Fāṭimid cause, returned in 1058 at the head of his Daylamite and other troops and reoccupied the capital. The Caliph al-Qā'im was forced to sign a document renouncing his rights and the rights of all other 'Abbāsids in favour of the rival Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (1035–94) in Cairo, to whom he now sent

[1] Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, pp. 434-6, tr. pp. 93-4; Joannes A. Vullers, *Mirchondi historia Seldschukidarum* (Giessen, 1837), pp. 1 *seq.* (ext. from *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'*).

[2] His father's name was Mīkā'īl, his brother's Dāwūd (David) and his uncle's Mūsa; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 322. Such names, noticeable among early Saljūqs, show Christian, probably Nestorian, influence. See Qazwīni, *Āthār*, p. 394.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 107-8; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, ed. Popper, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 225.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 436; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, *op. cit.* p. 233; 'Imād-al-Dīn (al-Iṣfahāni), abr. al-Bundāri, *Tawārīkh Āl Saljūq*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leyden, 1899), p. 14.

[5] Al-Rāwandi, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl (London, 1921), p. 105. Ṭughril was the first Moslem ruler whose coins bore this title. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, ed. R. S. Poole, vol. iii (London, 1877), pp. 28-9. With the Saljūqs "sultan" became a regular sovereign title.

the emblems of the caliphate, including the mantle and other sacred relics. Al-Qā'im's turban and a beautiful window from his palace were also sent as trophies to Cairo.[1] On his return, however, Ṭughril reinstated al-Qā'im and made al-Basāsīri pay for his disloyalty with his life (1060). The Daylamite troops were disbanded and the Buwayhid power was for ever crushed.

The reigns of Ṭughril (1037–63), his nephew and successor Alp Arslān (1063–72) and the latter's son Malikshāh (1072–92) cover the most brilliant period of Saljūq ascendancy over the Moslem East. As fresh Turkish tribesmen swelled their armies the Saljūqs extended their conquests in all directions until once more Western Asia was united into one Moslem kingdom and the fading glory of Moslem arms revived. A new race from Central Asia was now pouring its blood into the struggle of Islam for world supremacy. The story of these barbarian infidels, setting their feet on the necks of the followers of the Prophet and at the same time accepting the religion of the conquered and becoming its ardent champions, was not a unique instance in the chequered annals of that religion. Their cousins the Mongols of the thirteenth century, as well as their other kinsmen the Ottoman Turks of the early fourteenth century, repeated the same process. In the darkest hour of political Islam religious Islam has been able to achieve some of its most brilliant victories.

Alp Arslān

In the second year of his reign Alp Arslān (hero-lion) captured Āni, the capital of Christian Armenia, then a Byzantine province.[2] Soon after that he resumed hostilities with the everlasting Byzantine foe. In 1071 Alp won the decisive battle of Manzikart (Malāzkird, Malāsjird), north of Lake Van in Armenia, and took the Emperor Romanus Diogenes prisoner.[3] Saljūq nomadic tribes, the first Moslems to gain a permanent footing in "the land of the Romans", began now to settle in the plateau regions of Asia Minor, which henceforth became part and parcel of *dār al-Islām* (abode of Islam). These Saljūq nomads laid the basis of the Turkification of Asia Minor. It was a cousin of Alp, Sulaymān ibn-Quṭlumish by name, who was later put in charge of this new territory, where he established (1077) the sultanate of the Rūm[4] Saljūqs. Far-off Nicæa (Nīqiyah, Tur. Iznīq) was

[1] See below, p. 622.

[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 25 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 44 *seq.*; 'Imād-al-Dīn, pp. 38 *seq.*; Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire*, vol. i, p. 431.

[4] Ar. *rūm* is the equivalent of "Romans". See above, p. 199.

first made the capital, and it was from that city that Qilij Arslān, son and successor of Sulaymān, was driven by the hordes of the first Crusade. After 1084 Iconium (Qūniyah, Konieh), the richest and most beautiful Byzantine city in Asia Minor, became the Saljūq capital in that land. In the meantime the Saljūq dynasty of Syria (1094–1117), founded by Tutush, son of Alp, in 1094, was contributing its share towards checking the advance of the first Crusade. Aleppo had been held since 1070 by Alp.[1] There he had checked the advance of the Fāṭimid power, from which he also recovered Makkah and al-Madīnah.

Saljūq power at its zenith

The first two Saljūq sultans did not live in Baghdād but exercised their authority through a military resident. Alp never visited or saw the caliph's capital.[2] His seat of government was Iṣbahān; Marw was the capital of his predecessor. It was not until the winter of 1091, shortly before the end of Malikshāh's reign, that the Saljūq seat of government was moved to the capital of the caliphs. The caliph became more than ever a puppet who moved at the will of the sultan, a puppet bedecked in all the regalia of high office and propped on the imperial throne by foreign hands. The name of the sultan was mentioned with that of the caliph in the Friday sermon. In 1087 the Caliph al-Muqtadi (1075–94) married the daughter of Sultan Malikshāh, and when a son was born Malikshāh planned, but unsuccessfully, to combine in his grandson the caliphate and the sultanate on a common throne.[3]

It was Malikshāh (1072–92) under whom Saljūq power reached its meridian. "His domain extended in length from Kāshghar, a town at the extreme end of the land of the Turks, to Jerusalem, and in width from Constantinople to the Caspian Sea."[4] In paying boatmen who once ferried him across the Oxus he issued drafts on his agent in Antioch.[5] But Malikshāh was more than a ruler of an extensive empire. He built roads and mosques, repaired walls, dug canals and spent large sums on the caravanserais dotting the pilgrimage route to Makkah. According to his biographer all the roads of the great empire were safe—safe enough for caravans, even for one or two men, to travel peacefully and without special protection from Transoxiana to Syria.[6]

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 44.
[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 443.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 589-90.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 587.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 589.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 587.

The sanitary measures introduced into Baghdād at this time and credited by ibn-al-Athīr [1] to the Caliph al-Muqtadi were more likely initiated by this Saljūq sultan. These measures included the diversion of the dirty water of the public baths from the Tigris into special cesspools and the allotment of special places for cleaning and curing fish. An anecdote preserved in ibn-Khallikān [2] throws light on Malikshāh's character. On visiting a mosque in Ṭūs the sultan asked his vizir, Niẓām-al-Mulk, who was in his company, what it was that he had prayed for while in the mosque. The latter replied that he had prayed God to grant the sultan victory over his brother, with whom he was then at war. "As for me", remarked Malikshāh, "that was not what I prayed for. I only asked God to give victory to him of the two better fitted to rule the Moslems and more beneficial to his subjects."

An illustrious vizir: Niẓām al-Mulk

The guiding hand throughout the administration of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh was that of their illustrious Persian vizir, Niẓām-al-Mulk (the organization of the kingdom), one of the ornaments of the political history of Islam. If we are to believe ibn-Khallikān, "for the twenty years covering the reign of Malikshāh, Niẓām-al-Mulk had all the power concentrated in his hand, whilst the sultan had nothing to do but sit on the throne or enjoy the chase." [3]

Although untutored and probably illiterate like his father and grand-uncle, Malikshāh at the suggestion of Niẓām-al-Mulk called in 1074–5 a conference of astronomers at his newly erected observatory and commissioned them to reform the Persian calendar.[4] The result was the remarkable Jalāli calendar (*ta'rīkh*), so styled after Malikshāh, whose full name included Jalāl-al-Dīn (the majesty of religion) abu-al-Fatḥ. This calendar, in the judgment of a modern scholar, is "somewhat more accurate than ours".

Niẓām-al-Mulk was himself a cultured and learned man.[5] From his pen we have one of the most remarkable Moslem treatises on the art of government, the *Siyāsat-nāmah*,[6] which he composed as a result of a competition suggested by Malikshāh.

[1] Vol. x, p. 156. [2] Vol. ii, p. 588. [3] Vol. i, p. 255.
[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 67-8. Site of observatory uncertain, possibly in Iṣbahān, al-Rayy or Naysābūr. See above, p. 377.
[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 104; 'Imād-al-Dīn, p. 30.
[6] Ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1891), tr. Schefer (Paris, 1893).

The sultan requested his statesmen to give him in written form the benefit of their opinions as to the nature of good government. Among other notable works in Persian produced during this period were those of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw († *ca.* 1074), the celebrated traveller and Ismā'īli propagandist, and of 'Umar al-Khayyām († 1123–4), the great astronomer-poet who enjoyed the patronage of Niẓām and collaborated in the revision of the calendar. But the basis of this Persian vizir's glory is his establishment of the first well-organized academies for higher learning in Islam.[1] Particularly renowned was his Niẓāmīyah, founded 1065–7 at Baghdād. One of its chairs was once adorned by al-Ghazzāli.

Disintegration of the Saljūq realm

The aged Niẓām, as we learned before, was one of the earliest prominent victims of an Ismā'īli Assassin. With his death in 1092 the period of glory that covered the reigns of the first three Saljūqs ended. For a brief but brilliant span these three sultans had brought together most of the far-flung lands that had once formed the Islamic state. But the season of glory that Baghdād and Islam enjoyed under them was only an Indian summer. After the death of Malikshāh civil wars among his sons and subsequent disturbances weakened the central Saljūq authority and led to the break-up of the house. The Saljūq empire, built on a tribal basis by a people nomadic in their habits and form of organization, could only be held together by some dominant personality. The system of military fiefs established in 1087 by Niẓām-al-Mulk, according to which grants became for the first time hereditary, led to the immediate establishment of semi-independent states. These separate subdivisions attained virtual independence in different parts of the wide kingdom, while the main line, the Great Saljūqs of Persia, maintained a nominal suzerainty down to 1157. One of the chief subdivisions of the family was that of the Persian 'Irāq (1117–94). The Saljūqs of al-Rūm in Iconium were superseded in 1300 and the following years by another branch of the Ghuzz tribe to which they belonged, namely, the Ottoman Turks, the last great champions of military Islam. After penetrating into Europe as far as Vienna (1529) and establishing an empire almost as extensive as that of the Arab caliphs, the Ottoman Turks have since the World War confined their authority to Asia Minor or Anatolia.

[1] See above, p. 410.

The one permanent contribution of the Saljūq and Ottoman Turks to Islamic religion was a mystic colouring. This is well represented by the several dervish orders which flourished on Turkish soil and maintained ideas of early shamanistic origin with an admixture of indigenous beliefs of Asia Minor and schismatic Christian doctrines. The *futūwah*[1] organizations in which Moslem Arab chivalry sought to express itself took among the Turks a new form, that of the *akhis*. Originally these *akhi* organizations may have been economic guilds. It was in *akhi* hospices that ibn-Baṭṭūṭah[2] was entertained while travelling in Asia Minor.

It may be of interest in this connection to note that the double-headed eagle which originated in the brain of some ancient Sumerian priest and passed on very early to the Babylonians and Hittites was some three thousand years later adopted as an emblem by the Saljūq Turks who settled in Hittiteland (Asia Minor). From the Saljūqs it passed on to Byzantium, whence it reached Austria, Prussia and Russia.

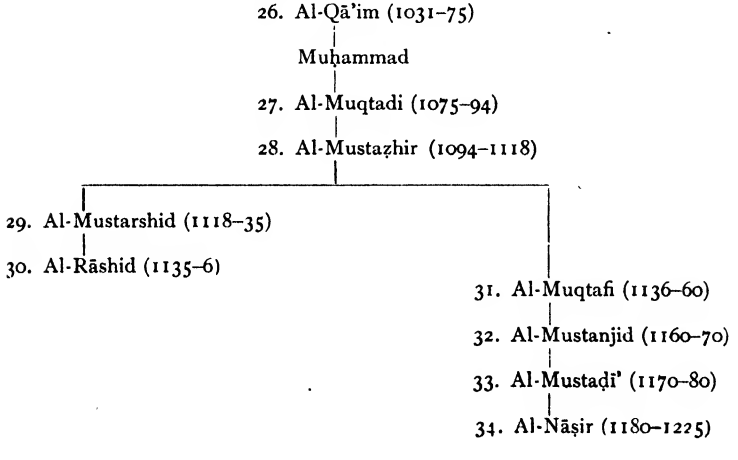
Baghdād unmindful of the Crusades

The Saljūq domination over the caliphate, which began with al-Qā'im in 1055, lasted till 1194 in the reign of al-Nāṣir.[3] Throughout the greater part of this period the Crusades dragged

[1] See below, p. 481.

[2] Vol. ii, pp. 260, 318. *Akhi* is not Ar. for "brother" as ibn-Baṭṭūṭah explained but Tur. for "knightly" or "noble." Consult Franz Taeschner in *Islamica*, vol. iv (1929), pp. 1-47, vol. v, pp. 285-333; J. Deny in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 11, vol. xvi (1920), pp. 182-3.

[3] Caliphs under Saljūq domination:



wearily in Syria-Palestine, but neither Saljūqs nor 'Abbāsids interested themselves in the distant affair. To the main body of the Moslem community the Crusades, viewed from headquarters, were but an insignificant episode. When on the fall of Jerusalem (1099) a Moslem delegation arrived in Baghdād to seek aid against the invading Christians tears were shed and kind sympathy was expressed, but no action was taken.[1] The caliph al-Mustaẓhir (1094-1118) referred the delegation to Sultan Barkiyāruq (1094–1104), Malikshāh's second successor and drunkard son,[2] with whom the decline of the sultanate started, and the negotiations ended there. In 1108 a second appeal came, now from Tripoli beset by the Crusaders. The delegation was headed by the chief of the beleaguered city, but its mission was as futile as the preceding one. Three years later, when the Franks captured certain vessels from Egypt carrying goods consigned to merchants in Aleppo, al-Mustaẓhir, on the urgent request of an Aleppine delegation, which smashed the pulpit and interfered with the conduct of prayer in the mosque which the sultan was attending, bestirred himself and sent a handful of troops which, of course, accomplished nothing.[3] Thus did "the commander of the believers" and his Saljūq sultan stand passively by while the most spectacular drama in the history of Christian-Islamic relations was being enacted.

Later, during the caliphate of al-Muqtafi (1136–60), when the Crusades raged furiously, the hard-pressed Moslem leader Zangi[4] made urgent appeals to Baghdād, which in response to popular demand yielded a few thousand recruits. Meanwhile Zangi's warlike son Nūr-al-Dīn and the famous Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) were turning their arms successfully not only against the Christians but also against the schismatic Fāṭimids in Egypt. By 1171 Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had put an end to the Fāṭimid dynasty and, as a loyal Sunnite, substituted the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustaḍī' in the *khuṭbah* in Egypt and Syria. Thereby was the nominal supremacy of the 'Abbāsid caliphs once more recognized in these lands.

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 192[4]. [2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 154.
[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 338-9; ibn-al-Qalānisi, *Dhayl*, p. 173.
[4] Founder of the Atābeg dynasty of al-Mawṣil and Syria. The *atābegs* (Tur. *ata*, "father" + *beg*, "prince") were originally guardians or tutors of the young Saljūq princes and finally replaced them in supreme power. Abu-Shāmah, *al-Rawḍatayn fi Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, vol. i (Cairo, 1287), p. 24.

To the successor of al-Mustaḍī', al-Nāṣir, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn sent after the decisive battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (1187) several Frankish prisoners and a part of the booty, including a bronze cross overlaid with gold said to contain some of the wood of the true cross. The caliph buried this cross in Baghdād.[1]

Al-Nāṣir, whose rule from 1180 to 1225 was the longest in 'Abbāsid annals,[2] made a faint and final attempt to restore the caliphate to something like its ancient self. The endless internal broils among the Saljūq princes and the fresh recognition accorded the 'Abbāsid caliphate by the hero Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn gave al-Nāṣir the semblance of an opportunity. He proceeded to impose his will on the capital, making a display of high living and sponsoring a programme of lavish building. Under his patronage flourished a special order of sworn brotherhood, *futūwah*, a sort of knighthood of chivalry, whose organization he reformed. The brotherhood traced its origin to 'Ali and comprised men of birth and distinction, mostly descendants of the Prophet's son-in-law. Members (*fityān*) were initiated in a special ceremony and wore distinctive garments.[3] Yazīd ibn-Mu'āwiyah was one of the first in Islam to win the title *fata al-'Arab*, the paladin of the Arabs, which at that time had no technical significance. The shahs of Khwārizm

Al-Nāṣir's attempts, however, were but the flicker of an expiring flame. His first serious mistake was made when he instigated Takash, ruler of Khwārizm (1172–1200) and member of the Turkish dynasty of the Khwārizm Shāhs,[4] to attack the Saljūqs of the Persian 'Irāq,[5] who had succeeded the Great Saljūqs of Persia in ruling Baghdād. The battle between Takash and the Saljūq Sultan Ṭughril (1177–94) was fought in 1194 and

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, p. 353; abu-Shāmah, vol. ii, pp. 76, 139.

[2] Cf. Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, p. 369. The caliphate of al-Qā'im (1031–75) was the second longest among the 'Abbāsids. The Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (1035–94) nominally holds the record in Moslem annals, but as ibn-al-Athīr (vol. xii, p. 286) points out this caliph was only seven years old when he was installed. As for 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III (912–61), of Cordova, he did not proclaim himself caliph until 929.

[3] *Fakhri*, p. 434; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii, p. 268; ibn-Jubayr, p. 280. See Hermann Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von Basṭ Madad et-Taufiq* (Berlin, 1913); H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, vol. x (1920), pp. 244-50.

[4] The founder of this dynasty, destined for over a hundred years to play the leading rôle in the history of Middle Asia, was a slave from Ghaznah who served as cupbearer for the Saljūq Malikshāh and was appointed by him to the governorship of Khwārizm. Juwayni, pt. 2 (Leyden, 1916), p. 3; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 182-3.

[5] Al-'Irāq al-'Ajami (i.e. Media), so called under the Saljūqs to distinguish it from al-'Irāq al-'Arabi. See above, p. 330, n. 2.

resulted in the defeat of Ṭughril. With him the Saljūq line in al-ʿIrāq and Kurdistān came to an end. Al-Nāṣir expected the victorious shah to vacate the conquered territory, but Takash schemed differently. After the Saljūq fashion he issued coins bearing his name as sultan and proposed to hold the secular power in Baghdād itself, leaving to the caliph only nominal sovereignty. The dispute continued under his energetic son ʿAlā'-al-Dīn Muḥammad (1200–1220). Having reduced (1210) the greater part of Persia, subdued Bukhāra with its sister Samarqand and seized Ghaznah (1214), this Khwārizm Shāh resolved to put an end to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. He planned to install in its place an ʿAlid one. In his consternation al-Nāṣir (the defender [of the faith]) is said to have sought in 1216 the aid of a new ally whose star was just rising over the distant east, Chingīz Khān (1155–*ca.* 1227), redoubtable head of pagan Mongolian hordes.[1] Before this appalling swarm of some sixty thousand[2] barbarians, augmented by levies from peoples subjected en route, ʿAlā'-al-Dīn had no recourse but flight. His place of refuge was an island in the Caspian Sea, where he died in despair in 1220.[3]

Enter Chingīz Khān

In the meantime the Mongols, riding fleet horses and armed with strange bows, were spreading havoc and destruction wherever they went.[4] Before them the cultural centres of eastern Islam were practically wiped out of existence, leaving bare deserts or shapeless ruins where formerly stately palaces and libraries had lifted their heads. A crimson stream marked their trail. Out of a population of 100,000 Harāt (Herat) was left with 40,000.[5] The mosques of Bukhāra, famed for piety and learning, served as stables for Mongolian horses. Many of the inhabitants of Samarqand and Balkh were either butchered or carried into captivity. Khwārizm was utterly devastated. At the capture of Bukhāra (1219) Chingīz is reported by a late tradition to have

[1] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 2nd ed., tr. H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford, 1928), pp. 399-400. Chingīz had two Moslems on his staff as he advanced westward. Long before his time Moslem merchants had carried on trade with the nomadic tribes of eastern Mongolia. See above, pp. 343-4.

[2] The estimates, all probably exaggerated, vary from 60,000 to 70,000.

[3] Mustawfi-i-Qazwīni, vol. i, p. 498.

[4] Juwayni, pt. 1, pp. 17 *seq.*; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii, pp. 234 *seq.*

[5] Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 958. In 1220, about a year before the disastrous event, Yāqūt visited Harāt, which he described as the largest and richest city he had ever seen.

described himself in a speech as "the scourge of God sent to men as a punishment for their sins".[1] Ibn-al-Athīr,[2] a contemporary authority, shudders at the narration of these horrors and wishes his mother had not borne him. Even a century later, when ibn-Baṭṭūṭah[3] visited Bukhāra, Samarqand, Balkh and other Trans-oxianan cities he found them still largely in ruins. As for Baghdād, its turn was soon to come.

Thus did the invincible founder of the largest empire the world has ever seen make his sweep across the realm of Islam. The people he led had by the first half of the thirteenth century shaken every kingdom from China to the Adriatic. Russia was in part overrun and central Europe penetrated as far as eastern Prussia. It was only the death of Chingīz' son and successor in 1241 that saved Western Europe from these Mongolian hordes.

The Caliph al-Nāṣir spent the few remaining years of his long reign, as did his son al-Ẓāhir (1225-6) and grandson al-Mustanṣir (1226-42), in a state of constant alarm. On one occasion these Mongols, or *Tatar* as they are called in the contemporary sources, advanced as far as Sāmarra. This made the terror-stricken population of Baghdād scramble to their defences. But the danger passed for the moment. This was only a lull before the fatal storm.

[1] Juwayni, pt. 1, p. 81. [2] Vol. xii, p. 233.
[3] Vol. iii, pp. 25-7, 52, 58-9.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE COLLAPSE OF THE 'ABBĀSID CALIPHATE

IF anything parallels the astounding rapidity with which the sons of the Arabian desert conquered in the first Islamic century most of the civilized world, it is the swift decadence of their descendants' domination between the middle of the third and the middle of the fourth centuries. About 820 more extensive authority was concentrated in the hands of one man, the caliph in Baghdād, than in those of any other living person; by 920 the power of his successor had so diminished that it was hardly felt even in his capital city. By 1258 that city itself lay in ruins. With its fall Arab hegemony was lost for ever and the history of the real caliphate closed.

Among the external factors the barbarian (in this case Mongol or Tartar) onslaughts, though spectacular in themselves, were in reality only contributory to the final downfall. Even the rise, mushroom-like, of the numberless dynasties and quasi-dynasties in the heart of the caliphate and on its periphery was in itself a symptom of the disease rather than the cause of it. As in the analogous case of the Roman Empire of the West, the sick man was already on his deathbed when the burglars burst open the doors and snatched their share of the imperial heritage.

More important than the external factors in bringing about the dissolution of the caliphate were the internal ones. The reader who has followed the preceding chapters with care has doubtless already discerned those factors and noticed their operation throughout several centuries. Many of the original conquests were only nominal. The possibility of decentralization and dismemberment always lurked in the nature of those hasty and incomplete conquests. The method of administration was not conducive to stability and continuity. Exploitation and overtaxation were recognized policies, not the exception but the rule. Lines of cleavage between Arabs and non-Arabs, between Arab Moslems and Neo-Moslems, between Moslems and dhimmis, re-

mained sharply marked. Among the Arabians themselves the old divisive feeling between north and south persisted. Neither the Iranian Persians, nor the Turanian Turks, nor the Hamitic Berbers were ever welded into a homogeneous whole with the Semitic Arabs. No consciousness of kind knit these diverse elements closely together. The sons of Iran were ever mindful of their ancient national glory and never reconciled themselves entirely to the new régime. The Berbers vaguely expressed their tribal feeling and sense of difference by their readiness to embrace any schismatic movement. The people of Syria long expected the rise of a Sufyāni to deliver them from the 'Abbāsid yoke.[1] Within the fold of religion itself centrifugal forces, no less potent than the political and military, were active, producing Shī'ites, Qarmaṭians, Ismā'īlites, Assassins and the like. Several of these groupings represented more than religious sects; the Qarmaṭians staggered the eastern part of the empire with their blows, and soon afterward the Fāṭimids seized the west. Islam was no more able to unite its devotees into a corporate whole than was the caliphate to incorporate the lands of the Mediterranean with those of Central Asia into a stable unit.

Then there were the social and moral forces of disintegration. The blood of the conquering element became in course of centuries diluted with that of the conquered, with a subsequent loss of their dominating position and qualities. With the decay of the Arab national life, Arab stamina and morale broke down. Gradually the empire developed into an empire of the conquered. The large harems, made possible by the countless number of eunuchs; the girl and the boy slaves (*ghilmān*), who contributed most to the degradation of womanhood and the degeneration of manhood; the unlimited concubines and the numberless half-brothers and half-sisters in the imperial household with their unavoidable jealousies and intrigues; the luxurious scale of high living with the emphasis on wine and song — all these and other similar forces sapped the vitality of family life and inevitably produced the persistently feeble heirs to the throne. The position of these heirs was rendered still more feeble by their interminable disputes over a right of succession which was never definitely determined.

Nor should the economic factors be ignored or underrated.

[1] Above, p. 286.

The imposition of taxes and the government of the provinces for the benefit of the ruling class discouraged farming and industry. As the rulers grew rich the people grew proportionately poor. Within the states grew statelets whose lords habitually fleeced their serfs. The depletion of man-power by the recurring bloody strife left many a cultivated farm desolate. Inundations in lower Mesopotamia periodically wrought havoc, and famines in various parts of the empire added their quota of disaster. The frequent spread of epidemics—plague, smallpox, malaria and other fevers—before which medieval man stood powerless, decimated the population in large areas. No less than forty major epidemics are recorded in the Arabic annals of the first four centuries after the conquest. National economic decay naturally resulted in the curtailment of intellectual development and in the stifling of creative thought.

Hūlāgu in Baghdād

In 1253 Hūlāgu, a grandson of Chingīz Khān, left Mongolia at the head of a huge army intent upon the destruction of the Assassins and the caliphate. The second wave of Mongol hordes was on. It swept before it all those petty princedoms which were striving to grow on the ruins of the empire of the Khwārizm Shāhs. Hūlāgu sent an invitation to the Caliph al-Mustaʿṣim [1] (1242–58) to join in the campaign against the Ismāʿīli Assassins. The invitation received no response. By 1256 the greater number of the Assassin strongholds, including the "mother convent" Alamūt, had been captured without difficulty and the power of that dreaded order crushed to the ground.[2] Even the babes were ruthlessly slaughtered. In September of the following year, as he was winding his way down the famous Khurāsān highway, the conquering invader sent an ultimatum to the caliph demanding his surrender and the demolition of the outer city wall. The reply was evasive. In January 1258 the mangonels of Hūlāgu were in effective operation against the walls of the capital. Soon a

[1] "He who holds fast" to God. The last caliphs:

34. Al-Nāṣir (1180–1225)
35. Al-Ẓāhir (1225–6)
36. Al-Mustanṣir (1226–42)
37. Al-Mustaʿṣim (1242–58)

[2] Rashīd-al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, vol. i, pp. 166 *sqq*.

breach was effected in one of the towers.[1] The Vizir ibn-al-'Alqami accompanied by the Nestorian catholicos—Hūlāgu had a Christian wife—appeared to ask for terms. But Hūlāgu refused to receive them. Equally ineffective were warnings citing the fate of others who had dared violate "the city of peace" or undo the 'Abbāsid caliphate. Hūlāgu was told that "if the caliph is killed the whole universe is disorganized, the sun hides its face, rain ceases and plants grow no more".[2] But he knew better, thanks to the advice of his astrologers. By the tenth of February his hordes had swarmed into the city and the unfortunate caliph with his three hundred[3] officials and qāḍis rushed to offer an unconditional surrender. Ten days later they were all put to death. The city itself was given over to plunder and flames; the majority of its population, including the family of the caliph, were wiped out of existence. Pestilential odours emitted by corpses strewn unburied in the streets compelled Hūlāgu to withdraw from the town for a few days. As he intended to retain Baghdād for his residence the devastation was not as thorough as in other towns. The Nestorian patriarch received special favours. Certain schools and mosques were spared or rebuilt. For the first time in its history the Moslem world was left without a caliph whose name could be cited in the Friday prayers.

In 1260 Hūlāgu was threatening northern Syria. Here he captured in addition to Aleppo, where he put to the sword some fifty thousand people, Ḥamāh and Ḥārim. After dispatching a general to the siege of Damascus he felt himself constrained by the death of his brother, the Great Khān, to return to Persia.[4] The army left behind, after subjugating Syria, was destroyed in 1260 at 'Ayn Jālūt (Goliath's spring) near Nazareth by Baybars, the distinguished general of the Egyptian Mamlūk Quṭuz.[5] The whole of Syria was now reoccupied by the Mamlūks and the westward advance of the Mongols was definitely checked.

[1] *Fakhri*, p. 454; Rashīd-al-Dīn, vol. i, pp. 284-5.

[2] *Fakhri*, p. 190; Rashīd-al-Dīn, vol. i, p. 260. *Fakhri*, written in 1301 and dedicated to Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Īsa, governor of al-Mawṣil under the Mongols, contains eye-witness material on the fall of Baghdād.

[3] Three thousand in Rashīd-al-Dīn, vol. i, p. 298.

[4] The Great Khān of Marco Polo was another brother, Qūbīlāy († 1294), the Kubla Khan of Coleridge. It was Qūbīlāy who transferred the capital from Qarāqorum in Mongolia to Peking. Consult Rashīd-al-Dīn, vol. i, p. 128, vol. ii, ed. E. Blochet (Leyden, 1911), pp. 350 *seq.*

[5] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, pp. 209-14; Rashīd-al-Dīn, vol. i, pp. 326-49; Maqrīzi, *Sulūk*, tr. Quatremère as *Sultans mamlouks*, vol. i (pt. 2), pp. 96 *seq.*

Later, Hūlāgu returned and attempted to make an alliance with the Franks for the conquest of Syria but he failed in his purpose.

As founder of the Mongol kingdom of Persia, which extended from the Āmu-Darya to the borders of Syria and from the Caucasus Mountains to the Indian Ocean, Hūlāgu was the first to assume the title Īl-Khān.[1] This title was borne by his successors down to the seventh, Ghāzān Maḥmūd (1295–1304), under whom Islam, with Shī'ite proclivities, became the state religion. Under the Īl-Khāns or Hūlāguids Baghdād was reduced to the position of capital of the province called al-'Irāq al-'Arabi. The great Īl-Khān, as Hūlāgu was often entitled, favoured the Christian element among his subjects. In times of peace he delighted to make his home at Marāghah, east of the salt Lake Urmiyah, where many edifices, including the famous library and observatory, were built by him. There Hūlāgu died in 1265 and with him were buried, in accordance with Mongol custom, beautiful young maidens. He and his successors, like the Saljūqs before them, were quick to appreciate and utilize the administrative genius of the Persians and to surround themselves with such cultivated savants as al-Juwayni († 1283) and Rashīd-al-Dīn († 1318), the historians of the period. The seventy-five years of Īl-Khānid rule in Persia were rich in literary achievement.

Hard pressed between the mounted archers of the wild Mongols in the east and the mailed knights of the Crusaders on the west, Islam in the early part of the thirteenth century seemed for ever lost. How different was the situation in the last part of the same century! The last Crusader had by that time been driven into the sea. The seventh of the Īl-Khāns, many of whom had been flirting with Christianity, had finally recognized Islam as the state religion—a dazzling victory for the faith of Muḥammad. Just as in the case of the Saljūqs, the religion of the Moslems had conquered where their arms had failed. Less than half a century after Hūlāgu's merciless attempt at the destruction of Islamic culture, his great-grandson Ghāzān, as a devout Moslem, was consecrating much time and energy to the revivification of that same culture.

[1] Tur. *il*, "tribe" + Tur. *khān*, "lord" = lord of the tribe, subordinate chief, indicating the feudal homage owed to the Khāqaān (Great Khān) in remote Mongolia, north of the Gobi Desert, later in Peking.

Last champions of Islam

It was not the Mongols, however, who were destined to restore the military glory of Islam and unfurl its banner triumphantly over new and vast territories. This was left to their kinsmen, the Ottoman Turks,[1] the last champions of the religion of Arabia. Their empire under Sulaymān (1520–66) stretched from Baghdād on the Tigris to Budapest on the Danube, and from Aswān, near the first cataract of the Nile, almost to the Strait of Gibraltar. When in January 1517 Sulaymān's father, Salīm, made his victorious entry into the Mamlūk capital, Cairo, he found there a nonentity who under the name al-Mutawakkil represented a line of nominal 'Abbāsid caliphs who for about two and a half centuries had been maintained there as puppets of the Mamlūk sultans. The line was begun in 1261 by an uncle of al-Musta'ṣim, who had evidently escaped the massacre at Baghdād and was installed by the fourth Mamlūk ruler, Baybars (1260–77), with great pomp as caliph under the name al-Mustanṣir.[2] Al-Mustanṣir was soon after killed in a rash attempt on behalf of Baybars to recover Baghdād. He was followed by another scion of the 'Abbāsid house, who in 1262 was installed with similar ceremony. Sultan Salīm carried the Caliph al-Mutawakkil with him to Constantinople but allowed him to return to Cairo, where he died in 1543. With him the shadowy 'Abbāsid caliphate of Egypt may be said to have ended. There is nothing in the contemporary sources to support the claim, often advanced, that the last 'Abbāsid surrendered his title of caliph with all rights and privileges pertaining thereto to the Ottoman conqueror or to his successor in Constantinople.[3]

[1] So called after their eponymous founder, 'Uthmān, born *ca.* 1258.
[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 222. See below, p. 676.
[3] See above, p. 186; below, p. 705.

PART IV

THE ARABS IN EUROPE: SPAIN AND SICILY

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONQUEST OF SPAIN

THE Moslem campaign in the Iberian Peninsula, the south-western gate of Europe, was, as noted before, the last and most dramatic of the major military operations undertaken by the Arabs. It marked the height of the African-European expansion of the Moslems, just as the conquest of Turkestan marked the apogee of the Asiatic-Egyptian expansion. Gothic kingdom destroyed

In its swiftness of execution and completeness of success this expedition into Spain holds a unique place in medieval military annals. The first reconnaissance was made in July 710, when, with four hundred foot and one hundred horse, all Berbers, Ṭarīf,[1] a client of Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr, the celebrated governor of North Africa under the Umayyads, landed on the tiny peninsula which is almost the southernmost tip of the European continent. This peninsula, now Tarifa, has since borne his name, Jazīrat (isle of) Ṭarīf.[2] Mūsa, who had held the governorship since about 699, had driven the Byzantines for ever from the territory west of Carthage and had gradually pushed his conquests to the Atlantic, thus acquiring for Islam a *point d'appui* for the invasion of Europe. Encouraged by Ṭarīf's success and by the dynastic trouble in the Visigothic kingdom of Spain and actuated more by the desire for booty than for conquest, Mūsa dispatched in 711 his Berber freedman Ṭāriq ibn-Ziyād into Spain with 7000 men, most of whom were Berbers. Ṭāriq landed near the mighty rock which has since immortalized his name, Jabal (mount of) Ṭāriq (Gibraltar).[3] The ships, so the tradition states, were provided by a certain semi-legendary

[1] Whether he was Arab or Berber is uncertain. Cf. Maqqari (Leyden), vol. i, p. 159; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 117; ibn-'Idhāri, ed. Dozy, vol. ii, p. 6; tr. Fagnan, vol. ii, p. 7; *Akhbār Majmū'ah fi Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), p. 6 (text) = p. 20 (tr.).

[2] Mentioned by al-Idrīsi, *Dhikr al-Andalus* (extracts from *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*), ed. and tr. Don Josef A. Conde (Madrid, 1799), pp. 11, 35, 44.

[3] Idrīsi, p. 36.

Julian,[1] count of Ceuta,[2] where the strait is only thirteen miles wide.

With his forces supplemented, Ṭāriq, at the head of 12,000 men, was met on July 19, 711, by the armies of King Roderick at the mouth of the Barbate River[3] on the shore of the lagoon of the Janda.[4] Roderick had deposed his predecessor, the son of Witiza, and usurped the throne.[5] Though numbering 25,000 men the Visigothic army was utterly routed owing to the treachery of the king's political enemies, headed by Bishop Oppas, a brother of Witiza. What became of Roderick himself remains a mystery. The usual version in both Spanish and Arabic chronicles is that he simply disappeared.

After this decisive victory the march of the Moslems through Spain almost amounted to a promenade. Only towns dominated by Visigothic knighthood offered effective resistance. Ṭāriq, with the bulk of the army, headed by way of Ecija towards Toledo, the capital, sending detachments against neighbouring towns. The strongly fortified Seville in the south was avoided. One column seized Archidona, which struck no blow. Another captured Elvira, which stood close to the spot where Granada now stands and proved an easy prey. A third, consisting of cavalry under Mughīth al-Rūmi (the Roman, Greek), attacked Cordova. After holding out for two months this future capital of the Moslems was delivered to the besiegers through the treachery of a shepherd, we are told, who pointed out a breach in the wall.[6]

[1] Ar. Ulyān, Balādhuri, p. 230 = Hitti, p. 365; Yulyān in *Akhbār*, vol. i, p. 4; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 6; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 159; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, ed. Torrey, p. 206; Yūliyān in ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 444. According to the reconstruction of Francisco Codera, *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, ser. 2 (Saragossa, 1903), p. 47, his real name was Urban or Olban. The story of the violation of his beautiful daughter Florinda by Roderick, which is usually offered in explanation of Julian's co-operation with the Arabs, is purely legendary. In fact the entire story of the conquest has been richly embellished by both Spanish and Arab chroniclers.

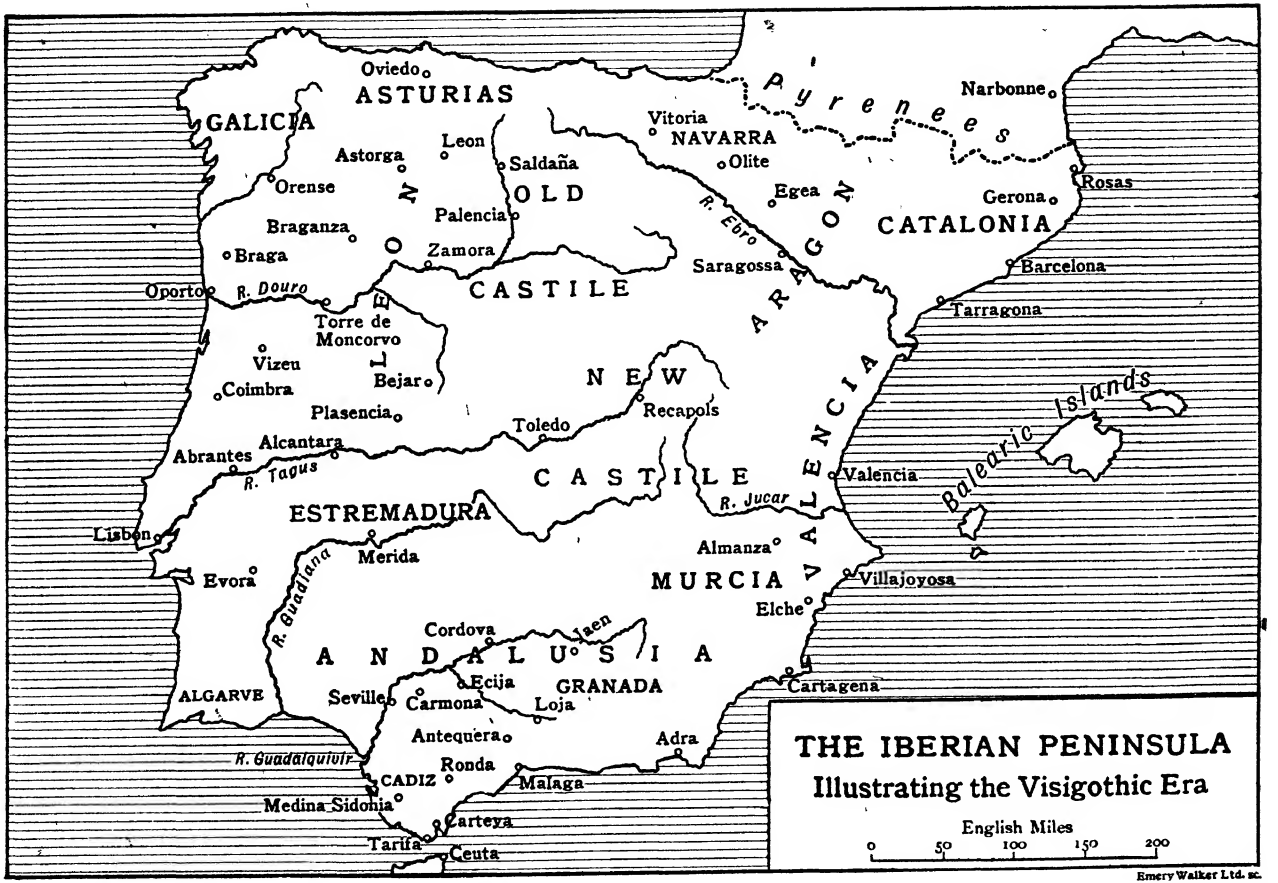
[2] Sp., from Ar. Sabtah, originally from L. Septem (seven), its full name being ad Septem Fratres. The city crowned the ancient Abyla, one of the range "Septem Fratres" (seven brothers). Idrīsi, p. 12.

[3] This small river is now called Salado. The Arabs called it Wādi Bakkah (Lakkah), corrupted into Guadilbeca and therefore confused with Guadelete. Cf. Stanley Lane-Poole, with the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, *The Moors in Spain* (New York, 1911), pp. 14, 23.

[4] Referred to in Arabic chronicles simply as al-Buḥayrah (the lake).

[5] Roderick = Ar. Ludhrīq, Lazrīq, Rudhrīq; Witiza = Ghayṭasah, Ghīṭishah, etc. Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 160, 161; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 206; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 8; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 117; *Akhbār*, p. 8; Mas'ūdi, vol. i, p. 359.

[6] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 10-11; *Akhbār*, p. 10. Cf. Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 164-5.


Oviedo
ASTURIAS
GALICIA
Pyrenees
Narbonne
Vitoria
NAVARRA
Olite
Leon
Astorga
Saldaña
Orense
OLD
Palencia
Egea
Gerona
Rosas
Braganza
Braga
Zamora
R. Ebro
ARAGON
CATALONIA
Saragossa
Barcelona
Oporto
R. Douro
CASTILE
Tarragona
Torre de Moncorvo
Vizeu
Bejar
NEW
Coimbra
Plasencia
Recapols
Toledo
Balearic Islands
Abrantes
Alcantara
R. Tagus
CASTILE
Valencia
R. Jucar
ESTREMADURA
Lisbon
Merida
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Malaga offered no resistance. At Ecija the fiercest battle of the campaign was fought, ending favourably for the invaders. Toledo, the Visigoths' capital, was betrayed by certain Jewish residents. Thus did Ṭāriq, who in the spring of 711 had started as leader of a raid, become by the end of the summer the master of half of Spain. He had destroyed a whole kingdom.

Mūsa crosses the strait

Jealous of the unexpected and phenomenal success of his lieutenant, Mūsa, with 10,000[1] troops, all Arabians and Syrian Arabs, rushed to Spain in June 712. For his objective he chose those towns and strongholds avoided by Ṭāriq, e.g. Medina Sidonia and Carmona. Seville, the largest city and the intellectual centre of Spain and once its Roman capital, held out under siege until the end of June 713. But the most obstinate resistance was met at Mérida. After a year's beleaguerment, however, this city was taken by storm on June 1, 713.[2]

It was in or near Toledo that Mūsa met Ṭāriq. Here, we are told, he whipped his subordinate and put him in chains for refusing to obey orders to halt in the early stage of the campaign.[3] But the conquest went on. Soon Saragossa (Cæsarea Augusta, Cæsaraugusta) in the north was reached and the Moslem troops advanced into the highlands of Aragon, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia. In the autumn of the same year the Caliph al-Walīd in distant Damascus recalled Mūsa, charging him with the same offence for which Mūsa had disciplined his Berber subordinate—acting independently of his superior. As governor of Ifrīqiyah, Mūsa had none but the caliph for his superior.

A triumphal procession

Leaving his second son, 'Abd-al-'Azīz, in command of the newly acquired territory, Mūsa slowly made his way overland toward Syria. On his march he was accompanied by his officers, four hundred Visigothic princes, wearing crowns and girdled with gold belts, and followed by an endless retinue of slaves and prisoners of war loaded with enormous treasures of booty.[4] The

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1253. Other sources make the number 18,000.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 15-16; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 447; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 170-71. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, *Ta'rīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1868), pp. 9-10; tr. Julián Ribera as *Historia de la conquista de España* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 6-7; tr. O. Houdas as "Histoire de la conquête de l'Andalousie" in *Recueil de textes et de traductions*, etc. (Paris, 1889), vol. i, p. 226.

[3] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 210; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 17-18.

[4] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 21-2; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 210-11; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 10; pseudo-ibn-Qutaybah, *Qiṣṣat Fatḥ al-Andalus* (taken from *al-Imāmah w-al-Siyāsah* and issued as supplement to ibn-al-Qūṭīyah), pp. 138, 140 *seq.* See above, p. 235.

triumphal passage of this princely train through northern Africa from west to east forms a favourite theme with Arab historians. Its description brings to mind the picture of the ancient victorious marches of Roman generals. The news of the impressive procession travelled to Damascus faster than the procession itself. On reaching Tiberias Mūsa found orders awaiting him from Sulaymān, brother and heir of the sick al-Walīd, to delay his advent to the capital. The caliph-to-be hoped thereby to have the arrival grace his accession to the throne.[1]

In February 715 Mūsa entered Damascus with his Visigothic princes bedecked in their jewellery and was evidently received with favour by al-Walīd. The official reception, held with great dignity and pomp in the courtyard of the great Umayyad Mosque, is one of the high-water marks in the history of triumphant Islam. For the first time hundreds of Western royalty and thousands of European captives were seen offering homage to the commander of the believers. Mūsa presented the caliph, among other trophies, with the superb table (*mā'idah*) whose workmanship legend assigns to genii in the service of King Solomon. From Jerusalem this unique piece of art, legend asserts, was carried away by the Romans into their capital, whence it was later taken by the Goths. Each Gothic king vied with the preceding one in decorating this table with precious stones. The treasure was kept in the cathedral at Toledo and was captured by Ṭāriq, probably from the bishop who was fleeing with it from the capital. Ṭāriq, so the story goes, had secreted one of its legs when Mūsa seized the table from him in Toledo, and now in the presence of the caliph dramatically produced the missing part as proof of his own exploit.[2]

Mūsa falls from grace

The same fate which befell many another successful Arab general awaited Mūsa. Al-Walīd's successor subjected him to abject humiliation. Besides disciplining him by making him stand until exhausted in the sun, he confiscated his property and deprived him of all authority. The last we hear of the aged con-

[1] Cf. 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushi, *al-Mu'jib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, 2nd ed., R. Dozy (Leyden, 1881), p. 8; tr. E. Fagnan as *Histoire des Almohades* (Algiers, 1893), p. 10.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 26-7; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, pp. 448-9; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 167, 172; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 211; *Nabdhah min Akhbār Fatḥ al-Andalus* (ext. *al-Risālah al-Sharīfīyah ila al-Aqṭār al-Andalusīyah* and published as a supplement to ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, Madrid, 1868), pp. 193, 213. See *Arabian Nights*, no. 272.

queror of Africa and Spain is as a beggar in a remote village of al-Ḥijāz, Wādi al-Qura.[1]

The conquest explained

Spain was now a province of the caliphate. The Arabic name it assumed was al-Andalus.[2] Mūsa's immediate successors had only small territories in the north and east of the peninsula to conquer and comparatively few revolts to quell. Within the short space of seven years the conquest of the peninsula, one of the fairest and largest provinces of medieval Europe, was effected. The conquerors were there to stay—for centuries at least.

The reasons for this seemingly unprecedented triumph are not hard to discern even from the above sketchy account. In the first place, the line of national cleavage between the Visigoths (West Goths) who entered Spain in the early part of the fifth century as Teutonic barbarians and the Spanish-Roman population was not yet entirely obliterated. The Goths had to struggle for a long time to displace their predecessors, the Suevi and Vandals, who were likewise invading Germanic hordes. The Visigoths ruled as absolute, often despotic, monarchs. They clung to the Arian form of Christianity until one of them, Recared, in 587 accepted Catholicism, the religion of the natives. As Catholics the people had hated the rule of the heretical Goths. The natives included a considerable class of serfs and slaves, who were naturally dissatisfied with their hard lot. That this enslaved class should have contributed its share to the success of the invasion and cooperated with the invaders is not surprising. Then there was the Jewish element in the population which was estranged from the bulk of the nation through active persecution by the Gothic royalty. Attempts at their forced conversion were consummated by a royal decree issued in 612 enjoining all Jews to be baptized under penalty of banishment and confiscation of property. That explains why several of the conquered towns were left in charge of Jews as the Moslem invaders marched through Spain.

We should, moreover, remember that political disagreements among the royalty and nobility of the Goths themselves, coupled with internal strife, had undermined the state. Toward the end of the sixth century the Gothic nobles had grown into territorial lords. The Moslem invasion coincided with the accession to the

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 180. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 27.

[2] Etymologically this word is connected with the name of the Vandals, who had occupied the land before the Arabs.

throne of a usurper from among the nobility who was readily betrayed by the kinsmen of his deposed predecessor. On the conquest of Toledo, Achila, the deposed son of Witiza, who had naïvely cherished the notion that the Arabs were fighting his battle for him, contented himself with the recovery of his estates in Toledo. Here he continued to live in great pomp. His uncle, Bishop Oppas, was installed over the metropolitan see of the capital. As for Julian, the part he played in the conquest was greatly exaggerated.

Beyond the Pyrenees

The fall of Saragossa removed one of the last barriers between Spain and France. But there remained the Pyrenees. Mūsa never crossed them, though certain Arab chroniclers credit him with the feat and with having even entertained the hope of traversing "the land of the Franks" and joining hands through Constantinople with the caliph in Damascus.[1] Though wild and fantastic, the dream of fighting their way through Europe may have flashed through the brains of the Arab invaders, whose knowledge of the geography of Europe could not have been great. In reality it was Mūsa's third successor, al-Ḥurr ibn-ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafi,[2] who, in 717 or 718, was the first to cross the range.

Lured by the rich treasures of the convents and churches of France and encouraged by the internal dissension between the chief officers of the Merovingian court and the dukes of Aquitaine (L. Aquitania), al-Ḥurr started the raids which were continued by his successor al-Samḥ ibn-Mālik al-Khawlāni. In 720, under the Caliph ʿUmar II, al-Samḥ seized Septimania, which was a dependency of the defunct Visigothic kingdom, and captured Narbonne (Ar. Arbūnah), which was converted later into a huge citadel with an arsenal and depôts for provisions and arms. But his attempt in the following year at Toulouse, the seat of Duke Eudes of Aquitaine, resulted in failure, thanks to the effective resistance offered. Here al-Samḥ "suffered martyrdom",[3] i.e. fell in battle against non-Moslems. The first great victory by a Germanic prince over Moslems had been won. The subsequent movements of the Arabs beyond the Pyrenees were not successful.

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 175; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 117-18.
[2] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 24-5; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 373.
[3] Al-Ḍabbi, *Bughyat al-Multamis fi Taʾrīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*, ed. Francisco Codera and Juliáń Ribera (Madrid, 1884–5), p. 303.

The battle of Tours

The last and greatest expedition northward was led by ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-ʿAbdullāh al-Ghāfiqi, successor of al-Samḥ as amīr over Spain. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān advanced through the western Pyrenees, which he crossed in the early spring of 732. Having vanquished Duke Eudes on the banks of the Garonne, he stormed Bordeaux, setting its churches on fire. After burning a basilica outside the walls of Poitiers he pushed northward to the vicinity of Tours. As the resting-place of the body of St. Martin, the apostle of the Gauls, Tours was a sort of religious capital for Gaul. Its votive offerings undoubtedly presented the chief attraction to the invaders.[1]

Here, between Tours and Poitiers, at the junction of the Clain and the Vienne, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān was met by Charles Martel, mayor of the palace at the Merovingian court, whose aid Eudes had besought. Charles, as the surname Martel (the hammer) which he later won signifies, was valiant and bold. He had subdued many enemies and obliged Eudes, who exercised independent authority in Aquitaine, to acknowledge the nominal sovereignty of the northern Franks. Though not king in name Charles, an illegitimate son of Pepin of Heristal, was king in fact.

For seven days the Arab army under ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān and the Frankish forces under Charles, mostly foot soldiers clad in wolfskins and wearing long matted hair hanging down over their shoulders, stood facing one another anxiously awaiting the moment of joining battle. Light skirmishes dragged on. At last, on an October Saturday of 732, the Arab leader took the initiative in the attack. The Frankish warriors, who in the heat of the fight had formed a hollow square, stood shoulder to shoulder, firm as a wall, inflexible as a block of ice—in the words of a Western historian.[2] The light cavalry of the enemy failed against them. Without giving way they hewed down with their swords all attackers. Among the victims was ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān himself. Darkness at last separated the combatants. At the dawn of day the stillness of the hostile camp caused Charles to suspect a ruse. Spies were sent out to ascertain the facts. Under cover of night the Arabs had quietly deserted their tents and vanished. Charles thus came off victorious.

[1] See Ḍabbi, *Bughyah*, p. 353.

[2] André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, vol. i (Paris, 1636), p. 786.

Later legends embellished this day of Poitiers or Tours, greatly exaggerating its historic importance. To the Moslems, who, however, have very little to say about it, it has become a *balāṭ al-shuhadā'*,[1] pavement of martyrs. To the Christians it meant the turning-point in the military fortunes of their eternal foe. Gibbon,[2] and after him other historians, would see in Paris and London mosques, where cathedrals now stand, and would hear the Koran instead of the Bible expounded in Oxford and other seats of learning, had the Arabs won the day. To several modern historical writers this battle of Tours is one of the decisive battles in history.[3] In reality it decided nothing. The Arab-Berber wave, already almost a thousand miles from its starting-place in Gibraltar, had reached a natural standstill. It had lost its momentum and spent itself. Internal discord and jealousy between its two component racial elements were beginning to tell on the morale of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's army. Among the Arabs themselves, as we shall immediately see, there was no unanimity of feeling and purpose. It is true that the Moslems were checked at this point, but their raids continued elsewhere. In 734, for instance, they seized Avignon; nine years later they pillaged Lyons; and not until 759 did they relinquish their hold on Narbonne, the strategic base of their operations. But although this defeat near Tours was not the actual cause of the Arab halt, it does mark the farthest limit of the victorious Moslem arms. One hundred years after the death of the Prophet the domain of his successor in Damascus had become a world-empire extending from China to Gaul.[4]

Civil wars

The strife between the two factions in the Moslem ranks of Spain affords the key to the history of the period between the battle of Tours in 732 and the heroic advent of the Umayyad 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I in 755. It was the same old feud between

[1] *Akhbār*, p. 25; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 146, l. 3. *Balāṭ* is a loan-word through Syriac from Latin or Greek *platea* or *palatium*. The word is common in place-names, especially in Spain (Idrīsi, pp. 32, 59). In this instance the field was referred to as "pavement" because the battle was fought on a paved Roman road. Cf. John 19 : 13.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, vol. vi, pp. 15 *seq.* See also Lane-Poole, pp. 29-30.

[3] Edward Creasy, *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, new ed. (New York, 1918), pp. 159 *seq.*; S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1904), vol. i, p. 306. Cf. Henry Coppée, *History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors* (Boston, 1881), vol. ii, pp. 19 *seq.*

[4] See above, p. 215.

North Arabians, frequently referred to as Muḍarites,[1] and South Arabians or Yamanites. The Yamanites everywhere were inoculated with Shī'ite ideas; the Muḍarites maintained Sunni orthodoxy. At the establishment of the 'Abbāsid dynasty the Yamanites, as 'Alids, naturally sympathized with the new régime; the others remained loyal to the fallen house of banu-Umayyah. The Berbers, who after the Spanish conquest flooded the peninsula from Africa, where many of them had embraced the Khārijite doctrine and espoused its cause against both Umayyads and 'Alids, now constituted a most disturbing factor. They complained that their nationals carried the brunt of the fighting but were nevertheless allotted the arid central plateau, whereas the Arabs appropriated for themselves the most smiling provinces of Andalusia.

Discontent soon led to open revolt. The flame of Berber insurrection which had raged for years (734–42) from Morocco to al-Qayrawān now spread to Spain and threatened the handful of Arab colonists with extermination. In 741 the Caliph Hishām dispatched an army of twenty-seven thousand Syrians to quell the African revolt.[2] The remnant of this army, about one-third of it, crossed the strait under the leadership of Balj ibn-Bishr al-Qushayri. The Syrians turned colonists and, with their ambitions and interests marked by unswerving loyalty to the Umayyad cause, introduced a new problem into an already complicated situation. Balj seized the government and established his men in the capital, Cordova. After that the turbulent Syrians were dispersed. The division of Ḥimṣ was settled in Seville; that of Palestine in the district of Sidona and Algeciras; that of Damascus in the district of Elvira; and that of Qinnasrīn in the district of Jaen.[3] As an index of the prevailing anarchy in this period suffice it to note that in the short interval between 732 and 755 no less than twenty-three governors succeeded one another in Spain. Under such conditions not much progress could be made into the land of the enemy in the north, though several campaigns

[1] The Muḍar and Rabī'ah, both of North Arab origin, were often included under the collective term Ma'add. See above, p. 280.

[2] *Akhbār*, p. 31. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 14-15; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, pp. 41-2, vol. ii, p. 30; Marrākushi, p. 9.

[3] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 20; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 33; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 119; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 204-5; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, MS. in R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1881), vol. i, app. ii, pp. vii-viii.

were conducted in the course of which certain governors "suffered martyrdom".[1]

The government of the peninsula was in the hands of an amīr who ruled almost independently, though nominally under the governor-general of al-Maghrib (i.e. North Africa and Spain) residing in al-Qayrawān. In certain instances the amīr received his appointment from, and held it directly under, the caliph in Damascus. 'Abd-al-'Azīz, son of Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr and first amīr of al-Andalus, chose Seville (Ishbīliyah) for his seat of government. He married the widow of King Roderick, Egilona, whose name now became umm- (mother of) 'Āṣim. This new Christian wife, according to Arab chroniclers,[2] persuaded her husband to wear a crown, after the usage of Visigothic royalty, and to make the entrance into his audience chamber so low that none could get in without bending in obeisance. She also insisted on having such a low door to her palace chapel that 'Abd-al-'Azīz himself had to bend on entering as if in an act of worship. Rumours centring on these innovations, exaggerated to the point of making of the Moslem amīr a convert to Christianity, reached the Caliph Sulaymān and resulted in the murder of the first governor of Moslem Spain. The tragic event took place near Seville in 716 at the monastery of Santa Rufina, presumably used then as a mosque. The head was dispatched to Damascus, where it was exhibited to 'Abd-al-'Azīz' aged and distressed father.

The amīrate

Three years afterward al-Samḥ ibn-Mālik al-Khawlāni, the sixth in this list of ephemeral amīrs, transferred the seat of government to Cordova[3] (Qurṭubah), destined to become for centuries the brilliant residence of the Western Umayyad dynasty. It was al-Samḥ who rebuilt the bridge in Cordova over the Guadalquivir[4] on the remains of an older Roman structure, made a fresh survey of the land and instituted a new system of taxation. Shortly after al-Samḥ the governorship became a bone of bloody contention between the Muḍarites and Yamanites. The two parties finally hit upon what they considered a brilliant

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 118-19; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 145-6.

[2] *Akhbār*, p. 20; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 212; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 11; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 14; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 22-3; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 178. Cf. pseudo-ibn-Quṭaybah, pp. 169 *seq.*

[3] *Nabdhah*, pp. 206-7; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 12-13. Cf. ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 25; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 190.

[4] From Ar. al-Wādi al-Kabīr, the big valley.

idea: choosing alternately one of their number each year to rule the land.

The first choice of the Muḍarites was Yūsuf ibn-ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Fihri,[1] a descendant of ʿUqbah, the founder of al-Qayrawān. The Caliph Marwān II confirmed (746) the appointment.[2] At the end of the year, however, Yūsuf refused to give turn to the Yamanite candidate and continued to rule for about ten years.[3] Toward the close of 755, as he was in the north busy subduing a revolt, word was received that an Umayyad youth by the name of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muʿāwiyah had lately landed on the coast south of Granada and was on his way to capture the amīrate. A new and important chapter in the history of Spain was being ushered in.

[1] *Akhbār*, pp. 57 *seq.*; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 286-7.
[2] Cf. pseudo-ibn-Quṭaybah, p. 188.
[3] Ibn-al-Abbār, *al-Ḥullah al-Siyarā'* (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*), ed Dozy (Leyden, 1847–51), p. 54; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 376.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE UMAYYAD AMĪRATE IN SPAIN

WHEN in 750 the ʿAbbāsids signalized their accession by a general massacre of the members of the house of Umayyah,[1] one of the very few who escaped was ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muʿāwiyah,[2] a grandson of Hishām, the tenth caliph of Damascus. The story of the narrow escape of this twenty-year-old youth and of his five years' wandering in disguise through Palestine, Egypt and North Africa, where more than once he barely escaped the vigilant eyes of ʿAbbāsid spies, forms one of the most dramatic episodes in Arabic annals. The flight began from a Bedouin camp on the left bank of the Euphrates where ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān had sought refuge. One day the black standards of the ʿAbbāsids suddenly appeared close by the camp. With his thirteen-year-old brother, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān dashed into the river. The younger, evidently a poor swimmer, believed the pursuers' promise of amnesty and returned from midstream, only to be slain; the elder kept on and gained the opposite bank.[3]

A dramatic escape

As he trudged on his way southward ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān was joined in Palestine by his faithful and able freedman Badr. In North Africa he barely escaped assassination at the hands of its governor, a relative of Yūsuf al-Fihri. Wandering from tribe to tribe and from town to town, friendless and penniless, the proscribed fugitive finally reached Ceuta (755). His maternal uncles were Berbers from that neighbourhood and offered him refuge. Thence he sent Badr across the strait to negotiate with the Syrian divisions from Damascus and Qinnasrīn which were settled in Elvira and Jaen. Many of the leaders, who were former protégés of the Umayyad house, welcomed the opportunity to rally under the leadership of one who bore a name with which all Syrians conjured. The Syrians won the Yamanites over to their cause,

[1] See above, pp. 285-6, 450.
[2] Corrupted by the old Christian chroniclers into Benemaugius.
[3] *Akhbār*, pp. 52-4; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 377.

not so much because the latter loved 'Abd-al-Raḥmān as because they hated their titular governor, Yūsuf. A ship was sent to transport the new leader. Tall and lean, with sharp, aquiline features and thin red hair,[1] this scion of the banu-Umayyah, imbued with the spirit of adventure and trained in the best tradition of the house, soon became master of the complicated situation. In vain did the weak-kneed Yūsuf try to satisfy the new pretender with rich gifts and promises, including his daughter's hand. One southern city after another opened its gates without resistance. Archidona,[2] where the Jordan division had established itself, the province of Sidona, in which the Palestine division had settled, and Seville, where dwelt the Arabs of Ḥimṣ, welcomed the prince with open arms.[3]

Cordova captured

As 'Abd-al-Raḥmān with his partisans pushed on toward Cordova, Yūsuf advanced in the direction of Seville. Before the impending battle it was noticed that the prince had no military standard of his own, whereupon the Yamanite chieftain of Seville, abu-al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubi, improvised a banner by fastening a green turban round the head of a spear.[4] Thus originated, we are told, the standard of the Umayyads in Spain.

The morning of May 14, 756, found the two opposing armies engaged in battle on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Though most of the men on both sides were on horses, which were still scarce in Andalusia, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, realizing that some of his followers were afraid he might desert, insisted on changing his mount for an old mule belonging to abu-al-Ṣabbāḥ.[5] The issue of the combat was not long in doubt. Yūsuf with his chief general sought safety in flight. Cordova was captured and a general amnesty was declared. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān had no little difficulty in stopping the pillage of the capital and in putting the harem of the defeated governor under his magnanimous protection.

Moslem Spain consolidated and pacified

The mastery of Cordova, however, did not necessarily mean the mastery of Moslem Spain. The fugitive governor continued to foment trouble in the north until he was finally slain near

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 50; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 76.

[2] The capital of the mountainous province of Regio (Ar. Rayyah); Yāqūt, vol. i, pp. 195, 207.

[3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 378; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 48; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 212.

[4] *Akhbār*, p. 84. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 26.

[5] *Akhbār*, pp. 88-9; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 378.

Toledo.[1] This city was not reduced till 764. Yamanite and Shī'ite revolts, fostered by 'Abbāsid agents, were successive. Berber insurrections took ten years to suppress. The Berbers never forgave their Arab superiors for appropriating to themselves the lion's share of the conquered land. Former staunch supporters of the new amīr now turned enemies and had to be summarily dealt with. The Sevillan sheikh whose banner and mule had led 'Abd-al-Raḥmān to victory lost his head in an uprising. The same fate befell Badr, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's right-hand man.

Enemies within had their confederates without. In 761 the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr had the temerity to appoint one al-'Alā' ibn-Mughīth as governor over Spain. Two years later al-'Alā' was decapitated and his head, preserved in salt and camphor and wrapped in a black flag and the diploma of appointment, was forwarded to al-Manṣūr while on a pilgrimage to Makkah.[2] Al-Manṣūr, who on another occasion called 'Abd-al-Raḥmān "the falcon of Quraysh",[3] now exclaimed, "Thanks be to Allah for having placed the sea between us and such a foe!"[4] 'Abd-al-Raḥmān is said even to have equipped a fleet to wrest Syria from 'Abbāsid hands but was forced by domestic problems to stay at home.

A match to Charlemagne

In 777 a formidable confederacy of Arab chiefs in the north-east headed by the governor of Barcelona and a blue-eyed son-in-law of Yūsuf al-Fihri went so far as to invite Charlemagne into an alliance against the new amīr of Spain. Charlemagne, who was considered an ally of the 'Abbāsid caliph[5] and therefore a natural enemy of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, advanced (778) through the north-eastern Spanish marches as far as Saragossa,[6] but had to withdraw when that city closed its gates in his face and domestic enemies threatened his authority at home. On its "dolorous route" of retreat through the defiles of the Pyrenees, the Frankish army was attacked in its rear by Basques and other mountaineers from whom it suffered disastrous loss in men and baggage.[7] Among the leaders who fell was Roland, whose heroic

[1] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Hullah*, p. 55.
[2] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 33.
[3] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 61; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 213.
[4] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 33-4; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 215.
[5] See above, p. 298.
[6] *Akhbār*, p. 113.
[7] Éginhard, *Charlemagne*, ed. and tr. Halphen, pp. 29-31; ibn-Khaldūn, vol v, pp. 123-4; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 7-8.

defence has been immortalized in the *Chanson de Roland*, not only a gem of early French literature but one of the most striking epics of medieval times. In effect, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān proved himself the equal of the mightiest sovereign in the West as he had proved himself the equal of the greatest ruler in the East.[1]

An independent amīrate

In the process of subduing his multitudinous adversaries ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān developed a well-disciplined, highly trained army of 40,000 or more mercenary Berbers, imported from Africa, on whose loyalty he could now depend for the maintenance of his throne. The favour of such a body he knew how to keep by generous pay. In 773 he discontinued the *khuṭbah* hitherto delivered in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, but did not assume the caliphal title himself. He and his successors down to ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III contented themselves with the title amīr or sultan. Under ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān I Spain had thus been the first province to shake off the authority of the recognized caliph in Islam.

With his realm consolidated and temporarily pacified, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān turned to the arts of peace, in which he showed himself as great as in the art of war. He beautified the cities of his domain, built an aqueduct for the supply of pure water to the capital, initiated the construction of a wall round it and erected for himself the Munyat[2] al-Ruṣāfah outside Cordova in imitation of the palace built by his ancestor Hishām in north-eastern Syria. To his villa he brought water and introduced exotic plants, such as peaches and pomegranates. To a lonely palm tree in his garden, said to be the first imported from Syria, he addressed some tender verses of his own composition.[3]

Two years before his death in 788 ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān founded the great Mosque of Cordova[4] as a rival to the two sanctuaries of Islam in Jerusalem and Makkah. Completed and enlarged by his successors, the Mosque of Cordova soon became the Kaʿbah of Western Islam. With its forest of stately columns and its spacious outer court this monumental structure, transformed into

[1] Consult Coppée, vol. ii, pp. 167-8.

[2] A loan-word from Gr. (also Coptic) meaning "garden".

[3] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 34; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 77; Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 37; Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 418. The first date-palms were introduced by the Phoenicians. The Arabs brought in new varieties which they propagated from offshoots, whereas the earlier culture was based entirely on growing dates from seed.

[4] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, p. 60, cf. p. 245; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 212.

a Christian cathedral at the reconquest by Ferdinand III in 1236, has survived to the present day under the popular name "La Mezquita" (the mosque). Besides the great mosque the capital could already boast a bridge, over the Guadalquivir, later enlarged to seventeen arches. Nor were the interests of the founder of the Umayyad régime limited to the material welfare of his people. In various ways he diligently strove to fashion into a national mould Arabians, Syrians, Berbers, Numidians, Hispano-Arabs and Goths—a rather hopeless task; and in more than one sense did he initiate that intellectual movement which made Islamic Spain from the ninth to the eleventh centuries one of the two centres of world culture.

The dynasty established by ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān I, styled al-Dākhil (the newcomer) by Arab chroniclers, was to endure for two and three-quarter centuries (756–1031). It reached its height under the eighth amīr, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III (912–61), the greatest in the long line and the first to assume the title of caliph (929). In fact the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in the peninsula. Throughout the Umayyad period Cordova continued to be the capital and enjoyed a period of incomparable splendour as the Western rival of Baghdād.

The Umayyad caliphate began to wane after the death of the talented regent al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (1002), the "Bismarck of the tenth century" and possibly the greatest statesman and general of Arab Spain, and entirely disappeared in 1031. On its ruins arose sundry petty kingdoms and principalities, many of which were always at daggers drawn with one another and all of which finally succumbed to the growing power of the native Christians, particularly those of the north. With the fall of Granada in 1492 the last vestige of Moslem rule vanished for ever from the peninsula.

Treatment of Christians

The main task of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil's successors continued to be the pacification of the land and the solution of the knotty problems arising from the dual character of the population as Christians and Moslems and from the jealousies between old Arab Moslems and newly converted Spanish Moslems. From the beginning the policy followed by the Arab conquerors in the treatment of their subjects in Spain was not fundamentally different from that pursued in other conquered

lands.[1] Poll tax (*jizyah*), levied on Christians and Jews only, varied between twelve, twenty-four and forty-eight dirhams a year, according to the economic status of the payer. Women and children, the aged and destitute, as well as monks and people afflicted with chronic diseases, were of course exempt. Land tax (*kharāj*), averaging about twenty per cent. of the yield, was also collected from these dhimmis, but, unlike the poll tax, remained unaffected by the conversion of the taxpayer. Territories acquired by the sword, together with the landed property of the churches and of the lords who fled Spain at the time of the conquest, were confiscated and parcelled out among the conquerors as individuals; but the serfs were left on those lands as cultivators and were required to hand four-fifths of the produce to the new Moslem lords. Out of this confiscated territory, however, one-fifth was appropriated by the state, which exacted from its serfs only one-third of the crops. Some of the state lands were later divided into fiefs among Syrians and Arabs who were imported to quell revolts.

A slave on becoming Moslem was freed: "No bondage in Islam". Christian communities were left unmolested in the exercise of their faith and under their own ecclesiastical laws and native judges, whose jurisdiction, of course, did not include cases involving Moslems and offences against the religion of Islam. In general, therefore, the Moslem occupation of Spain entailed no new unbearable hardships to the natives. "In some respects", declares Dozy,[2] "the Arab conquest was even a benefit to Spain." It broke the power of the privileged group, including the nobility and clergy, ameliorated the condition of the servile class and gave the Christian landowner such rights as the alienation of his property which he was denied under the Visigoths.

Renegades in arms

Nevertheless, Christians flocked to Islam. In mountain and rural regions they maintained the old national pattern and traditional culture, but in the cities they did not. As Neo-Moslems they constituted a social class by themselves, called by the Arabs *Muwalladūn* (sing. *Muwallad*, adopted, affiliated) and by the Spaniards *Muladíes*. In course of time these neophytes became the most discontented body in the population. Their ranks were

[1] See above, pp. 170-71.

[2] *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Leyden, 1932), vol. i, p. 278; tr. Francis G. Stokes, *Spanish Islam* (New York, 1913), p. 236.

recruited mainly from serfs and freedmen and their descendants who cultivated the soil or toiled as day labourers. Some of them, though professing Islam, were "secret Christians";[1] but they all knew well the clear and inexorable law of apostasy from Islam, which prescribed death. The Moslem Arabs treated all *Muwallads* as inferior, though some of them were of noble descent. By the end of the first century after the conquest these *Muwallads* had become the majority of the population in several cities, where they were the first to take up arms against the established order.

[1] Eulogius, "Memoriale sanctorum", Bk. II, in A. Schottus, *Hispaniæ illustratæ*, vol. iv (Frankfort, 1608), p. 293.

CHAPTER XXXVI

CIVIL DISTURBANCES

IN Cordova, the southern suburb, referred to as *al-rabaḍ*,[1] was overwhelmingly populated with such Neo-Moslems, renegades from the Christian point of view. Sections of them were under the influence of students and teachers of theology and law (*faqīhs*), about four thousand of whom flourished in the capital. As long as Hishām I (788–96), the pious and scholarly son[2] and successor of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, ruled there was no immediate cause for trouble. But the reign of Hishām's successor, al-Ḥakam I (796–822), who was gay and addicted to the chase and wine, changed the situation. Objection was made not only to the levity of al-Ḥakam but also to his bodyguard, composed mainly of negroes and other foreign mercenaries who knew no Arabic.[3] The trouble began in 805 when one day as the amīr was passing in the streets the mob attacked him with stones while the theologians applauded. Seventy-two of the ringleaders who were later found implicated in a conspiracy to depose al-Ḥakam were apprehended and crucified. Uprisings in the renegade quarter followed one another, culminating in a serious outbreak in 814[4] under the leadership of a Berber *faqīh*. Al-Ḥakam was shut up in his palace by the furious mob, but his cavalry finally succeeded in cutting down the insurgents. The suburb was dealt with ruthlessly. Its leaders, to the number of three hundred, were nailed to crosses, head downwards. The whole population was ordered to evacuate Spain in three days and the quarter was levelled to the ground. It was forbidden for anyone to build

[1] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 73, 77; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 209 *seq.*; *ʿIqd*, vol. ii, p. 365; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 126.

[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 101-2; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 42.

[3] Hence their sobriquet *al-khurs*, the dumb ones; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 127; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 220.

[4] A.H. 202 (817–18) in ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, p. 77. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 51-2.

there again.[1] Eight thousand families found asylum in Morocco, particularly in Fās (Fez), which Idrīs II, a descendant of 'Ali, was then building as his new capital.[2] Others, comprising fifteen thousand individuals,[3] landed at Alexandria. Here the refugees succeeded in making themselves masters of the town until 827, when they were forced to flee by a general of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. For a new abode the exiles chose Crete, a part of which still belonged to the Byzantine empire. They reduced the whole island and their leader founded a dynasty which lasted until Crete was reconquered by the Greeks in 961.[4]

The "slaughter of the ditch"

Some Spanish Moslems, it should be noted, were invaluable allies to the Arabs and allowed themselves to be used against their former co-religionists. Such was the case of 'Amrūs ibn-Yūsuf, who in 807 was appointed by al-Ḥakam as governor of Toledo, the proud "royal city"[5] which in the eyes of the conquered natives was politically and ecclesiastically the most important town. Toledo had been restless under Moslem yoke; its renegades and Christians were in a chronic state of revolt. In honour of a visit from the fourteen-year-old crown prince 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, son of al-Ḥakam, 'Amrūs at the suggestion of al-Ḥakam arranged for a banquet to which he invited hundreds of notable Toledans. In the courtyard of his newly erected castle stretched a long ditch, whence had come the clay used in constructing that stronghold. Beside the ditch 'Amrūs now planted an executioner. As each guest entered the courtyard the sword fell upon his neck. The corpses were dumped into the ditch. For several years after this "slaughter of the ditch",[6] turbulent Toledo remained tranquil.[7] But other cities such as

[1] In memory of this sensational episode al-Ḥakam won the sobriquet al-Rabaḍi (the suburban). Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 38.

[2] The quarter where they settled is still called *'idwat al-Andalus*, the bank of the Andalusians.

[3] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 51.

[4] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, pp. 39-40; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 219; Marrākushi, pp. 13-14; Kindi, *Wulāh*, pp. 161-5, 184; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 561; Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 337. See above, p. 202.

[5] *Urbs regia* in Isidorus Pacensis, "Del chronicon", in *España sagrada: Theatro geographico-historico de la iglesia de España*, ed. Fr. Henrique Florez, vol. viii (Madrid, 1753), p. 297; *madīnat al-mulūk* (the city of kings) in Qazwīni, *Āthār*, p. 366.

[6] *Waq'at al-ḥufrah*, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 135; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 126

[7] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 45-9; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 71-2.

Mérida remained in a state of revolt until the reign of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II,[1] an energetic artisan of Umayyad Spanish unity and a zealous patron of music and astronomy.

As an amīr 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52), later surnamed al-Awsaṭ,[2] was influenced by four personages: a woman, a eunuch, a theologian and a singer. The woman was his favourite wife, Sulṭānah (queen) Ṭarūb, a consummate intriguer. The eunuch was his gifted slave Naṣr, the royal chamberlain, son of a Spaniard and a favourite with the queen.[3] The theologian was none other than the Berber ringleader of the *faqīh*-renegade mutiny of Cordova, Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya († 849) of the Maṣmūdah tribe, a student of the Imām Mālik ibn-Anas in Baghdād and the man responsible for the introduction of the Māliki rite into al-Andalus.[4] So firmly established did this rite become that the people there were wont to declare: "We know no other works but the Book of Allah and the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik".[5] The singer was a Persian tenor, Ziryāb, who hailed from Baghdād.

Ziryāb[6] was one of those musicians who had graced the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his sons, where he had distinguished himself not only as an artist but also as a man of science

[1] Umayyad amīrs of Cordova:

1. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I (756–88)
2. Hishām I (788–96)
3. Al-Ḥakam I (796–822)
4. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52)
5. Muḥammad I (852–86)
6. Al-Mundhir (886–8)
7. 'Abdullāh (888–912)
   Muḥammad
8. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III (912–29, caliph 929–61)

[2] I.e. the middler, for coming between 'Abd al-Raḥmān I and 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III. Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 61; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 127.

[3] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 224-5; below, p. 516.

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 173. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 34. Mālik, according to ibn-Khallikān, dubbed Yaḥya "the wise man [*'āqil*] of al-Andalus", because he remained in his seat listening to the imām's lecture while an elephant was passing along the street and all the other students rushed out to see it.

[5] Maqdisi, p. 236.

[6] Pers. *zar*, "gold" + *āb*, "water"; nickname of abu-al-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn-Nāfi'. *'Iqd*, vol. iii, p. 241, calls Ziryāb a black slave.

and letters. Thereby he aroused the jealousy of his equally renowned teacher, Isḥāq al-Mawṣili, and fled first to north-western Africa. Anxious to make of Cordova a second Baghdād, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, who maintained an opulent court and imitated the lavish prodigalities of Hārūn, rode out (822) of his capital in person to welcome the young minstrel.[1] Ziryāb lived with his new patron, from whom he received an emolument of 3000 dinars annually and real estate in Cordova worth 40,000 dinars, on terms of closest intimacy. He soon eclipsed all other musicians in the land. Besides being credited with knowing the words and tunes of 10,000 songs, which like other musicians he believed the jinn had taught him during the night, Ziryāb shone as a poet and as a student of astronomy and geography.[2] What is more important, he proved himself so polished, witty and entertaining that he soon became the most popular figure among the smart set of the time, even an arbiter of fashion. Hitherto hair had been worn long and parted on the forehead, now it was trimmed low on the brow; water had been drunk out of metal vessels, now out of glasses; certain dishes, including asparagus, had been unpopular, now those same dishes became favourites—all because of Ziryāb's example.[3]

Race for martyrdom

Toward the close of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān's reign the lure of the language, literature, religion and other institutions of the conquerors—including the harem system—had become so strong that a large number of urban Christians had become Arabicized though not actually Islamized. Dazzled by the glamour of Arab civilization and conscious of their own inferiority in art, poetry, philosophy and science, native Christians soon began to ape the Arab way of living. These imitators now became so numerous as to constitute a social class by themselves and acquired the epithet Mozarabs.[4] Spain, be it remembered, was one of the last countries of Europe to be Christianized; some of its country districts were still pagan at the time of the Moslem conquest and its Visigothic Arianism agreed in its Christology with Moslem doctrine. A contemporary Christian writer of Cordova deplores the fact that the Christian laymen shun the works of the Latin Fathers and are "intoxicated with Arab

[1] Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 357, quoted by Maqqari, vol. i, p. 222.
[2] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 87; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 68.
[3] Maqqari, vol. ii, pp. 87–8.
[4] From Ar. *musta'rib*, he who adopts the Arabic language and customs.

eloquence".[1] As early as 724 or thereabout John, bishop of Seville, is said to have made an Arabic recension of the Bible for the convenience of Arabicized Christians and the Moors.[2]

As a reaction against this tendency toward Arabicization, a curious movement now started among the Christian zealots of Cordova which resulted in the voluntary martyrdom of several men and women. The leading spirit was an ascetic priest, Eulogius, supported by his wealthy friend, later his biographer, Alvaro.[3] Nothing could have crystallized the sentiment of the movement better than the execution on the feast of Ramaḍān (850) of another Cordovan priest, Perfectus by name, for having reviled Muḥammad and cursed Islam.[4] Headed by the bishop of Cordova the populace lost no time in declaring Perfectus a saint and in attributing miracles to him; for did he not before his decapitation correctly prophesy the immediate death of Naṣr, the eunuch chamberlain in charge of execution? Naṣr, it seems, had entered into a conspiracy with Ṭarūb to poison her royal husband; Ṭarūb's motive was to secure for her own son ʿAbdullāh the succession to the throne to the prejudice of Muḥammad (the eldest of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān's forty-five sons), who was born of another wife. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān got wind of the scheme, and when Naṣr brought a phial claiming that it held a wonderful remedy the monarch ordered him to try it first on himself.[5]

Not long after the Perfectus episode a monk named Isaac appeared before the qāḍi on the pretext of wishing to be converted to Islam and began to heap curses on Muḥammad. Like Perfectus he was beheaded and soon became a saint.[6] Now the race began. Clergy and laity went out of their way to blaspheme Islam with the simple intention of receiving the inescapable penalty that they well knew went with such an offence. Eleven thus "suffered martyrdom" in less than two months.

Flora and Eulogius

Instigated by ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, the bishops hesitatingly held a council which, against the protests of Eulogius, forbade Chris-

[1] Alvaro, "Indiculus luminosus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, p. 274.

[2] *Primera crónica general, estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906), vol. i, p. 326.

[3] "Vita vel passio Beatissimi Martyris Eulogij", in *España sagrada*, vol. x, pp. 543-63; "Vida y martyrio de S. Eulogio", in *España sagrada*, vol. x, pp. 411 *seq.*

[4] Alvaro, "Indiculus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, pp. 225-6.

[5] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 76-7; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 130.

[6] Alvaro, "Indiculus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, pp. 237-8.

tians henceforth to aspire to this holy death. But it was all to no avail. At last came the turn of a beautiful young follower of Eulogius, Flora, daughter of a Christian mother and Moslem father. Together with a youthful nun, Mary, who was a sister of one of the previously decapitated monks, Flora had succumbed to the temptation of blaspheming the Prophet and was merely committed to jail by a compassionate qāḍi. Here Eulogius, who had also been cast in jail and had cherished a pure and spotless love for Flora, employed all the persuasive rhetoric at his command to encourage the girl he loved and her companion, as the two wavered in their sacrificial ardour, to go to the scaffold. The virgin would-be martyrs did not recant; they suffered the supreme penalty on November 24, 851.[1] This hysterical desire for self-immolation did not subside until Eulogius himself in 859, then bishop of Cordova, was executed by Muḥammad I (852–86), who had inaugurated a policy of severe repression. The total included some forty-four martyrs.

Provinces in revolt

Other disturbances, not so fantastic though more serious in character, were in store. In the first place, neither Muḥammad nor his two sons and successors, al-Mundhir (886–8) and ʿAbdullāh (888–912), represent the best tradition of tolerance and energy associated with the house of Umayyah. Then there were the usual difficulties attendant on the accession to the throne, which according to Moslem dynastic practice went to the eldest or the ablest in the reigning family. After a rule of less than two years al-Mundhir was poisoned at the instigation of his successor by a lancet used by the surgeon in bleeding him.[2] In the meantime *Muwallad* and Mozarab revolutions were continuing throughout the domain and several states were breaking loose and asserting their independence under Berber or Spanish Moslem rule. Such separatist movements, sponsored by Neo-Moslems who posed as nationalist champions in provinces which in theory were subject to Cordova, continued to engage the attention of the Umayyad amīrs till the beginning of the tenth century.

In the south the mountainous state of Regio,[3] with its capital

[1] *España sagrada*, vol. x, pp. 417-18; Alvaro, "Vita Eulogij", in *ibid.* pp. 547 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-ʿIdhārī, vol. ii, pp. 160-61, 122, vol. i, introduction by Dozy, pp. 44-6. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 102; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 132; *Akhbār*, p. 150.

[3] Ar. Rayyah, which ibn-Khaldūn (vol. iv, p. 132, cf. p. 134), among others, makes a town and confuses with Malaga. Malaga was the capital of Regio under the Visigoths and after the reign of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III. See Idrīsi, p. 28.

at Archidona, entered in 873 into treaty relations with Muḥammad, who practically recognized its independence subject to a yearly tribute. The natives were mostly Islamized Spaniards. In the northern marches independent Aragon under the banu-Qasi,[1] an old Visigothic family which had embraced Islam, incorporated within itself in the middle of the ninth century Saragossa, Tudela and other important frontier towns.[2] The banu-Qasi were in league with their neighbours to the west, the kings of Leon. Throughout the land around Toledo, a city which was more often in rebellion than in peace, the Berber banu-dhu-al-Nūn, at the head of bands of brigands, carried fire and sword. In Seville, which as the chief centre of Roman culture under the Visigoths had a population mostly descended from Romans and Goths, the banu-Ḥajjāj became all-powerful.[3] These rulers of Seville and its district were descended in the female line from Sarah, granddaughter of Witiza and wife of an Arab. The historian ibn-al-Qūṭīyah (son of the Gothic woman) was also descended from Sarah.[4] In the Galician southwest a daring renegade of Mérida and Badajoz, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Marwān al-Jillīqi[5] by name, founded an independent principality whence, with the aid of Alfonso III, king of Leon and natural ally of all rebels against the Arab government, he spread terror far and wide. At the south-western corner of the peninsula, which is the modern Algarve[6] of Portugal, another renegade established himself as master towards the close of Muḥammad's reign. In the south-west Murcia (Ar. Mursiyah), under another renegade prince, shook off Arab suzerainty. But the most dangerous and implacable of all rebels was one ʿUmar ibn-Ḥafṣūn.

Ibn-Ḥafṣūn

ʿUmar was a Moslem descendant of a Visigothic count. Starting his colourful career about 880 as an organizer of a band of brigands with headquarters in an ancient castle on Mount

[1] Benikazzi in Sebastian, "Chronicon", in *España sagrada*, vol. xiii, p. 487.

[2] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 85, 113-14. Qasi is mistaken for "Mūsa" in ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 134, where his descendants are termed "Lub", Lope. Cf. ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 175-6.

[3] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 128 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 136.

[4] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 4-6.

[5] I.e. the Galician. See ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 102, 104; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 89-90; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 127-8; Ḍabbi, p. 359; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 131; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. ii, p. 110.

[6] From Ar. *al-gharb*, the west.

Bobastro,[1] 'Umar, after serving temporarily in the royal army at Cordova, rose with the support of the mountaineers of Elvira (Ilbīrah) to a position of leadership in the Spanish south against Moslem rule. His rebellion engaged the attention of three amīrs, Muḥammad, al-Mundhir and 'Abdullāh. To the southern Christians and malcontents 'Umar became the champion of a long-suppressed nationality. To the Arabs, however, he was "the accursed", "the rogue".[2] After many vicissitudes of fortune he succeeded in isolating Cordova and opened negotiations with the Aghlabid ruler of Africa under the 'Abbāsids[3] with a view to receiving an appointment for himself as governor of Spain. Failing in this ambitious plan, he professed about the year 899 the religion of his forbears, which he had long concealed in his heart,[4] adopting Samuel as a baptismal name. Again and again did Samuel shake the Umayyad throne to its very foundation. The authority of the successors of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I stood jeopardized, sadly in need of a restorer.

[1] Ar. Bubashtar; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 90; *Akhbār*, p. 150. Cf. ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 108, 120, 204; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 295.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 117, 120, 123. Cf. *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p. 367.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 135.

[4] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 143.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA

Caliph 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir

WHEN 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III succeeded his grandfather, 'Abdullāh, in 912, he was barely twenty-three years of age. 'Abdullāh had instigated one of his own sons to kill the other, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's father, Muḥammad, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty.[1] Later he connived at the murder of his other son, the fratricide, leaving himself childless. At the accession of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān the vast Moslem state organized by his first namesake had shrunk to Cordova and its environs.

The young amīr proved himself the man of the hour. His were those qualities of resoluteness, daring and candour which characterize leaders of men in all ages. Slowly but surely 'Abd-al-Raḥmān reclaimed the lost provinces, one after the other. With characteristic energy, which he displayed throughout his long reign of half a century (912–61),[2] he extended his conquests on all sides. Ecija was the first to surrender and that on the last day of 912.[3] Elvira followed suit. Jaen offered no resistance. Archidona agreed to pay tribute. Seville opened its gates toward the close of 913. Regio, whose mountain fastnesses had shielded the bold followers of ibn-Ḥafṣūn, was reduced step by step. The redoubtable leader himself remained defiant in his impregnable Bobastro until death came in 917 to put out of the way that formidable enemy of thirty-seven years' standing. Only Toledo remained unsubdued, but in 932 the proud former capital succumbed to famine and siege. The whole land was thus pacified and the state consolidated under the sway of a beneficent absolute ruler.

In the meantime external enemies were threatening. Among these the most dangerous were the Moslem Fāṭimids to the south and the Christian kings of Leon to the north. 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi, the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Tunis in 909, had

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, introduction by Dozy, pp. 47-50; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 91.

[2] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 99, is right in claiming for 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III the longest reign in Islam down to his time. See above, p. 481, n. 2.

[3] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 165.

negotiated an alliance with ibn-Ḥafṣūn and sent emissaries and spies across the straits. As they claimed descent from Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet and wife of ʿAli, the Fāṭimid caliphs would acknowledge no authority in Islam other than their own. The Cordovan ibn-Masarrah (883–931), the pseudo-Empedoclean philosopher who introduced into the West an esoteric system of writing whose words bore an inner and mysterious meaning which only the initiates could understand, may have been commissioned to establish a Fāṭimid party in Spain through his organized fraternities. Realizing that his position in Spain could not be safe while an enemy flourished in Africa, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, whose suzerainty was recognized in Morocco as early as 917 or 918, obtained possession of Ceuta in 931 and ultimately secured homage from a great part of the Barbary coast.[1] His enlarged and renovated fleet,[2] second to none in the world of that age, with Almería[3] as chief harbour, disputed with the Fāṭimid navy the supremacy of the western Mediterranean. In 956 a Spanish fleet of seventy ships devastated parts of the African coast in retaliation for a raid made on the Spanish shore by the Sicilian fleet at the command of the Fāṭimid caliph.[4]

While these operations against domestic and foreign foes were in progress ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, whose mother was a Christian slave, was often engaged in the holy war against the Christians of the north who had hitherto never been subdued. Here the land of the Basques[5] occupied the centre, bridging the Pyrenees. To the east lay the still embryonic kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. To the west stretched those territories which developed into the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. As early as 914 the undaunted

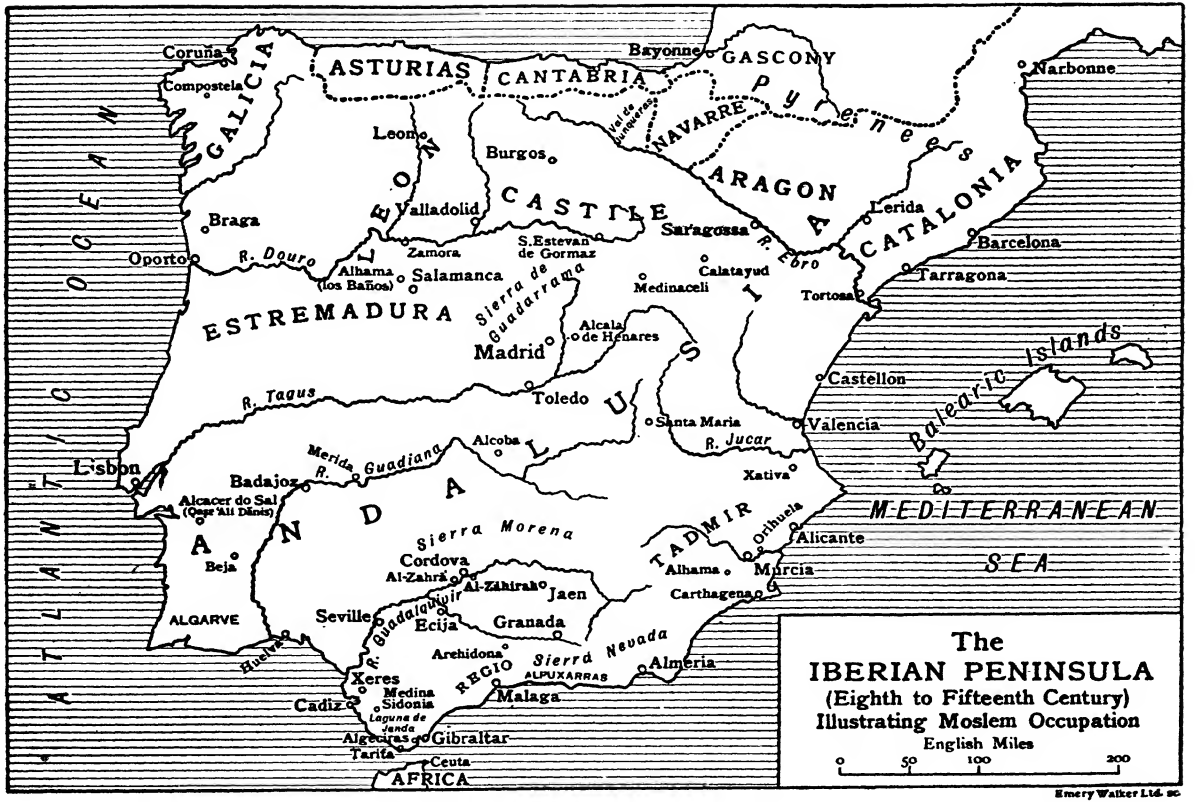
[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 137-8, quoted in Maqqari, vol. i, p. 227.

[2] The Spanish Moslem fleet had several encounters with the Scandinavian pirates known in England as Northmen (Norsemen), with the Normans of France and with the Danes, to all of whom the Arabs applied the generic term Majūs (fire-worshippers). The first occasion on which the Majūs attempted a landing was in 844, in the reign of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān II, when with their eighty ships they anchored before Lisbon and then occupied Seville. In 858–61, in the reign of Muḥammad I, they attempted several landings on the coasts of the peninsula. Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 63; ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, pp. 89-90, 99; Masʿūdi, vol. i, p. 364; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 11-12, 58; Dozy, *Recherches*, vol. ii, pp. 250-371.

[3] From Ar. al-Marīyah (watchtower).

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 46; tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. Paul Casanova, vol. ii (Paris, 1927), p. 542.

[5] "Bashkans" of pseudo-ibn-Qutaybah, pp. 121, 132; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 48: ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 140.



The IBERIAN PENINSULA

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king of Leon, Ordoño II,[1] taking advantage of the situation in the Moslem kingdom, commenced hostilities by devastating the region to the south. Three years later he succeeded in capturing one of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's generals and nailing his head beside that of a wild boar to the wall of a frontier fortress, San Esteban de Gormaz,[2] which the Moslem general was besieging. Pillaging forays from these northern enemies were successive. In 920 'Abd-al-Raḥmān took the field in person, razed San Esteban (S. Estevan), demolished a number of other strongholds[3] in that debatable land between Christianity and Islam and at Val de Junqueras (vale of reeds) met the combined forces of Ordoño II and Sancho[4] the Great of Navarre and inflicted on them a severe defeat. After overrunning parts of Navarre and adjacent Christian lands, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān returned triumphantly to his capital. Four years later he penetrated as far north as Pampeluna,[5] capital of Navarre, which he demolished. Its haughty king, the bulwark of Christianity in the east, referred to as "dog" by ibn-'Idhāri,[6] was reduced to impotence for a long time after this. About the same time the other champion of the native cause, Ordoño, died and the civil discord which followed brought a lull in military activity.

The remaining years of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's long reign were filled with evidences of wise and able administration. One of the first among those was the proclamation that beginning Friday, January 16, 929, the ruling sovereign should be designated in all public prayers and official documents as caliph. For himself he chose the title *al-Khalīfah al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, the caliph-defender of the religion of God.[7] It was most appropriate for him who brought Moslem Spain to a higher position than it had ever before enjoyed to assume the rôle of *amīr al-mu'minīn* especially in view of the low level to which the Eastern caliphate had fallen.

[1] "Ardūn" of Mas'ūdi, vol. iii, p. 75; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 233; "Ardhūn" of ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 179, 187.

[2] Or Castro Moros; Ar. Shant Ishtibān, Ashtīn or Qāshtar Mūrush.

[3] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 183 *seq.* Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi, poet laureate of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, speaks of seventy strongholds reduced in one campaign, *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p. 368.

[4] "Shānjah" of ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 114; "Shanjah" of Maqqari, vol. i, p. 233; "Sānjah" of ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 141.

[5] "Banbalūnah" in Maqqari, vol. i, p. 234; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 196, 199.

[6] Vol. ii, p. 200.

[7] *'Iqd*, vol. ii, pp. 368, 369; ibn-'Idhāri, vol ii, pp 162, 211-12; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 137, copied by Maqqari, vol. i, p. 227.

As defender of the faith the Caliph al-Nāṣir felt it his supreme duty to press the holy war against the Christians, who never ceased to cast covetous eyes on their ancestral territory to the south. His campaigns continued until the year 939, in which King Ramiro II of Leon and Queen Regent Tota[1] of Navarre, widow of Sancho the Great, inflicted on him at Alhandega,[2] south of Salamanca, the first serious check his military operations had encountered in twenty-seven years of almost incessant warfare. The caliph's huge army was practically annihilated; he himself barely escaped with his life. This same Tota later appeared at the court of the caliph together with her son, in whose name she was ruling Navarre, and with her grandson Sancho the Fat, ex-king of Leon, seeking medical advice for Sancho and military aid to reinstall him on the throne.[3] The royal guests were received in great state, while the Moslem capital was treated to the grand sight of Christian royalty knocking in supplication at the door of the caliph whose word was law from the mouth of the Ebro to the Atlantic and from the foot of the Pyrenees to Gibraltar. Through the skill of the Jewish court physician and statesman Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūṭ, Sancho was relieved of his excessive corpulence, which had cost him his crown, and through the caliph's efforts he regained in 960 his lost authority.

Al-Zahrā' The caliph's court at that time was one of the most glamorous in all Europe. Accredited to it were envoys from the Byzantine emperor as well as from the monarchs of Germany, Italy and France.[4] Its seat, Cordova, with half a million inhabitants, seven hundred mosques[5] and three hundred public baths, yielded in magnificence only to Baghdād and Constantinople. The royal palace, with four hundred rooms and apartments housing thousands of slaves and guards, stood north-west of the town on one of the spurs of the Sierra Morena overlooking the Guadalquivir. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān started its construction in 936 with money left, so the legend goes, by one of his concubines. His first thought was to use the fund for ransoming captives in

[1] "Ṭūṭah" in ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 142-3.

[2] From Ar. *al-khandaq*, the moat. Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 227, 228.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 143, quoted in Maqqari, vol. i, p. 235.

[4] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, p. 229; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 142-3; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 227.

[5] Three thousand in ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. ii, p. 247. Cf. Maqqari, vol. i, p. 355.

Christian hands. Since none were found he acted on the suggestion of his other concubine, al-Zahrā' (she with the bright face), and erected this palatial mansion which he named after her. Marble was brought from Numidia and Carthage; columns as well as basins with golden statues were imported or received as presents from Constantinople; and 10,000 workmen with 1500 beasts of burden laboured on it for a score of years.[1] Enlarged and embellished by al-Nāṣir's two successors, al-Zahrā' became the nucleus of a royal suburb whose remains, partly excavated in and after 1910, can still be seen.

In al-Zahrā' the caliph surrounded himself with a bodyguard of "Slavs" which numbered 3750[2] and headed his standing army of a hundred thousand men.[3] At first applied to slaves and prisoners captured by Germans and others from among the Slavonic tribes and sold to the Arabs, the name Slav[4] was later given to all purchased foreigners: Franks, Galicians, Lombards and the like, who as a rule were secured young and Arabicized. With the aid of these "Janissaries" or "Mamlūks" of Spain the caliph not only kept treason and brigandage in check but reduced the influence of the old Arab aristocracy. Commerce and agriculture consequently flourished and the sources of income for the state were multiplied. The royal revenue amounted to 6,245,000 dinars, a third of which sufficed for the army and a third for public works, while the balance was placed in reserve.[5] Never before was Cordova so prosperous, al-Andalus so rich and the state so triumphant. And all this was achieved through the genius of one man, who, we are told, died at the ripe age of seventy-three leaving a statement that he had known only fourteen days of happiness.[6]

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 225, 240, 246-8; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 77; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 144; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 344-7; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 413.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 247.

[3] Mas'ūdi, vol. iii, pp. 74, 78. Mas'ūdi was a contemporary, though distant, author.

[4] Ar. Ṣaqālibah; see above, p. 235.

[5] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 247; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 413. Cf. ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 77.

[6] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 248.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

THE reigns of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III and his successor al-Ḥakam II (961–76), together with the dictatorship of al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (977–1002), mark the apogee of Moslem rule in the West. Neither before nor after this was Moslem Spain able to exercise the same political influence in European and African affairs.

Cordova

In this period the Umayyad capital took its place as the most cultured city in Europe and, with Constantinople and Baghdād, as one of the three cultural centres of the world. With its one hundred and thirteen thousand homes,[1] twenty-one suburbs,[2] seventy libraries and numerous bookshops, mosques and palaces, it acquired international fame and inspired awe and admiration in the hearts of travellers. It enjoyed miles of paved streets illuminated by lights from the bordering houses[3] whereas, "seven hundred years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London", and "in Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud".[4] When the University of Oxford still looked upon bathing as a heathen custom, generations of Cordovan scientists had been enjoying baths in luxurious establishments. The Arab attitude toward the Nordic barbarians found expression in the words of the learned Toledan judge Ṣā'id[5] († 1070), who thought that "because the sun does not shed its rays directly over their heads, their climate is cold and atmosphere clouded. Consequently their temperaments have become cold and their humours rude, while their bodies have

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 247. Cf. Maqqari, vol. i, p. 356.

[2] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 299, 304. Cf. ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 247-8.

[3] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 298, ll. 2-3. These lights were evidently fastened to the front doors or corners.

[4] John W. Draper, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, rev. ed. (London, 1910), vol. ii, p. 31.

[5] *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 8-9.

grown large, their complexion light and their hair long. They lack withal sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect, while stupidity and folly prevail among them." Whenever the rulers of Leon, Navarre or Barcelona needed a surgeon, an architect, a master singer or a dressmaker, it was to Cordova that they applied. The fame of the Moslem capital penetrated distant Germany where a Saxon nun styled it "the jewel of the world".[1] Such was the city which housed the Umayyad ruler and his government.

Governmental institutions

The organization of the government in the Western caliphate did not differ radically from that of the Eastern. The caliphal office was hereditary, though army officers and nobles quite often elected him whom they favoured. When there was a *ḥājib* (chamberlain) he stood above the vizirs, who communicated through him with the caliph. Below the vizirs came the *kuttāb* (secretaries), who together with the vizirs formed the *dīwān*. The provinces, which apart from Cordova were six in number, were each ruled by a civil and military governor called *wāli*. Some important cities were also under *wālis*. Justice was administered by the caliph, who as a rule delegated the authority to *qāḍis*, at the head of whom stood the *qāḍi al-quḍāh* in Cordova. Criminal and police cases were heard by a special judge, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*. Another special judge in Cordova, *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, heard complaints against public officials. The usual sentences involved fine, scourging, imprisonment, mutilation and, in case of blasphemy, heresy and apostasy, death. An interesting officer was the *muḥtasib* (Sp. *almotacén*), who, besides directing the police, acted as overseer of trade and markets, checked weights and measures and intervened in cases of gambling, sex immorality and improper public dress.[2]

Industry

The state depended for its revenue mostly on duties imposed on imports and exports. Spain under the caliphate was one of the wealthiest and most thickly populated lands of Europe. The capital boasted some thirteen thousand weavers and a flourishing leather industry. From Spain the art of tanning and embossing leather was carried to Morocco and from these two lands it was brought to France and England, as the terms cordovan, cordwainer and

[1] Hrotsvitha in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum; Hrotsvithæ opera*, ed. Paulus de Winterfeld (Berlin, 1902), p. 52, l. 12.

[2] Al-Saqaṭi, *Fi Ādāb al-Ḥisbah*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), pp. 3 *seq.*; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xème siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 79-96.

morocco indicate. Wool and silk were woven not only in Cordova but in Malaga, Almería and other centres.[1] Sericulture, originally a monopoly of the Chinese, was introduced by Moslems into Spain, where it thrived. Almería also produced glassware and brasswork. Paterna in Valencia was the home of pottery. Jaen and Algarve were noted for their mines of gold and silver, Cordova for its iron and lead[2] and Malaga for its rubies. Toledo, like Damascus, was famous all over the world for its swords.[3] The art of inlaying steel and other metals with gold and silver and decorating them with flower patterns, which was introduced from Damascus, flourished in several Spanish and other European centres and left a linguistic heritage in such words as damascene, damaskeen, French *damasquiner* and Italian *damaschino*.

Agriculture

The Spanish Arabs introduced agricultural methods practised in Western Asia. They dug canals,[4] cultivated grapes and introduced, among other plants and fruits, rice,[5] apricots,[6] peaches,[7] pomegranates,[8] oranges,[9] sugar-cane,[10] cotton[11] and saffron.[12] The south-eastern plains of the peninsula, especially favoured by climate and soil, developed important centres of rural and urban activity. Here wheat and other grains as well as olives and sundry fruits[13] were raised by a peasantry who worked the soil on shares with the owners.

This agricultural development was one of the glories of Moslem Spain and one of the Arabs' lasting gifts to the land, for Spanish gardens have preserved to this day a "Moorish" imprint. One

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 102, 123-4.

[2] Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fi Akhbār Gharnāṭah* (Cairo, 1319), vol. i, p. 15; *al-Lamḥah al-Badrīyah fi al-Dawlah al-Naṣrīyah*, ed. al-Khaṭīb (Cairo, 1347), p. 13.

[3] For more on industry and metals consult ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 78-9; Iṣṭakhri, p. 42; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 90-92, 123.

[4] The Sp. word for canal is *acequia*, from Ar. *al-sāqiyah*.

[5] Sp. *arroz*, from Ar. *al-aruzz*, originally Skr. Cf. below, p. 665.

[6] Sp. *albaricoque* (whence Eng. apricot), from Ar. *al-barqūq*, which came from L. through Gr.

[7] Sp. *albérchiga*, from Ar. *firsiq*, *firsik*, a loan-word for a variety of peaches.

[8] Ar. *rummān*, which has survived in Sp. *romanía*, a drink made of pomegranate juice.

[9] See above, p. 351. The Arabs introduced into Europe the bitter, or Seville orange. The sweet, or common orange was introduced later by the Portuguese from India.

[10] Cf. below, p. 667.

[11] Sp. *algodón*, O.Sp. *coton* (whence Eng. cotton), from Ar. *al-quṭn*.

[12] Sp. *azafrán*, Pg. *açafrão*, from Ar. *al-za'farān*.

[13] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. i, pp. 14-15, 27, 37; *Lamḥah*, p. 13; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 94-6; ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. iv, pp. 366-9.

of the best-known gardens is the Generalife (from Ar. *jannat al-ʿarīf*, the inspector's paradise), a Naṣrid [1] monument of the late thirteenth century whose villa was one of the outlying buildings of the Alhambra. This garden, "proverbial for its extensive shades, falling waters and soft breeze",[2] was terraced in the form of an amphitheatre and irrigated by streams which, after forming numerous cascades, lost themselves among the flowers, shrubs and trees represented today by a few gigantic cypresses and myrtles.

Trade

The industrial and agricultural products of Moslem Spain were more than sufficient for domestic consumption. Seville, one of the greatest of its river ports, exported cotton, olives and oil; it imported cloth and slaves from Egypt and singing girls from Europe and Asia. The exports of Malaga and Jaen included saffron, figs, marble and sugar. Through Alexandria and Constantinople Spanish products found markets as far away as India and Central Asia. Especially active was the trade with Damascus, Baghdād and Makkah. The international nautical vocabulary of the modern world contains not a few words, for example admiral, arsenal, average,[3] cable, corvette,[4] shallop (sloop),[5] tariff, which testify to the former Arab supremacy on the seas. An interesting echo of brisk maritime activity in the Atlantic (*baḥr al-ẓulumāt*, the sea of darkness) is found in an obscure story preserved in al-Idrīsi,[6] who tells of eight "beguiled" cousins who set off from Lisbon on an expedition of exploration which carried them after thirty-five days of sailing west and south to strange islands.[7]

The government maintained a regular postal service. It modelled its coinage on Eastern patterns, with the dinar as the gold unit and the dirham as the silver unit.[8] The copper *fals* [9] of early Islam was likewise current. Arab money was in use in the Christian kingdoms of the north, which for nearly four hundred years had no coinage other than Arabic or French.

The caliph in his glory

The halo that surrounded the court of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III did not cease to shed its lustre on that of his son and successor

[1] See below, p. 549.
[2] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, p. 109.
[3] In the sense of duty upon goods. From Ar. *ʿawārīyah*.
[4] Ar. *ghurāb*, war vessel, through Sp. *corbeta*.
[5] Ar. *jalbah*, boat, through Sp. *chalupa*.
[6] Pp. 51-2.
[7] Perhaps the Canary and Cape Verde Islands.
[8] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. i, p. 37.
[9] From Gr. *phollis*, from L. *follis*.

al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (961–76), considered by al-Mas'ūdi [1] the most judicious (*aḥkam*) of all men. Early in al-Ḥakam's reign there appeared at the Moslem capital Ordoño the Wicked, seeking reinstatement in the Leonese throne which he had lost through the intervention of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān. The ex-king was escorted to al-Zahrā' by Walīd ibn-Khayzurān, the Christian judge of Cordova, and 'Abdullāh ibn-Qāsim,[2] the metropolitan of Toledo, and instructed by them in the details of proper court etiquette. Dressed in white and wearing a head-gear adorned with jewels, Ordoño, at the head of his nobles, made his way through the serried ranks of Moslem soldiers lining the approaches to the imperial residence. Struck with awe, the Christians began to cross themselves. In the audience chamber sat the caliph on his throne with the members of his household and chief officers on both sides and behind. With abject genuflections the Christian prince advanced, bare-headed, kissed the hand of the commander of the believers, calling himself his slave, implored his aid and retired walking backwards to the door. The same procedure was observed by his noble companions. Walīd acted as interpreter. The caliph promised aid under certain conditions, but the visit proved fruitless.[3]

Educational activity

The real glory of this period, however, lies in fields other than political. Al-Ḥakam was himself a scholar and patronized learning.[4] He granted munificent bounties to scholars and established twenty-seven free schools in the capital.[5] Under him the university of Cordova, founded in the principal mosque by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III, rose to a place of pre-eminence among the educational institutions of the world. It preceded both al-Azhar of Cairo and the Niẓāmīyah of Baghdād and attracted students, Christian and Moslem, not only from Spain but from other parts of Europe, Africa and Asia. Al-Ḥakam enlarged the mosque which housed the university, conducted water to it in lead pipes and decorated it with mosaics brought by Byzantine artists, spending on it 261,537 dinars and 1½ dirhams.[6] He invited professors from the East to the university and set aside

[1] Vol. i, p. 363.
[2] Note the Moslem form of the names of these two Christian dignitaries.
[3] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 251; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 145; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 248, 252-6.
[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 498; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. i, p. 305.
[5] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 256. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 253, 256-7.

endowments for their salaries. Among its professors were the historian, ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, who taught grammar, and the renowned philologist of Baghdād, abu-'Ali al-Qāli,[1] whose *Amāli*[2] (dictations) is still studied in Arabic lands. One of the dramatic episodes in the life of al-Qāli was the time he was struck with stage fright while delivering an extemporaneous oration at the pompous reception tendered the Byzantine envoys by the Caliph al-Nāṣir. He could not proceed beyond the introductory praise to Allah and blessing on Muḥammad, whereupon he was immediately replaced by Mundhir ibn-Sa'īd, who "extemporaneously" delivered a most eloquent address, covering two pages and a half in al-Maqqari,[3] all in rhymed prose.

In addition to the university the capital housed a library of first magnitude. Al-Ḥakam was a bibliophile; his agents ransacked the bookshops of Alexandria, Damascus and Baghdād with a view to buying or copying manuscripts. The books thus gathered are said to have numbered 400,000, their titles filling a catalogue of forty-four volumes, in each one of which twenty sheets were devoted to poetical works alone.[4] Al-Ḥakam, probably the best scholar among Moslem caliphs, personally used several of these works; his marginal notes on certain manuscripts rendered them highly prized by later scholars. In order to secure the first copy of the *Aghāni*, which al-Iṣbahāni, a descendant of the Umayyads, was then composing in al-'Irāq, al-Ḥakam sent the author a thousand dinars.[5] The general state of culture in Andalusia reached such a high level at this time that the distinguished Dutch scholar Dozy,[6] followed by other scholars, went so far as to declare enthusiastically that "nearly every one could read and write". All this whilst in Christian Europe only the rudiments of learning were known, and that by the few, mostly clergy.

'Āmirid dictatorship

Al-Ḥakam was succeeded by his son Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (976–1009), a boy of twelve. Hishām's mother, a beautiful and able Basque named Ṣubḥ[7] (dawn, aurora), was the real power

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 130-31; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, pp. 351-4; Sam'āni, fol. 439 b. [2] 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1324). [3] Vol. i, pp. 237-40.

[4] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 249-50, 256; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 146.

[5] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 146; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 250.

[6] *Histoire des Musulmans*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, vol. ii, p. 184; Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 419; Rafael Altamira in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, (New York, 1922), vol. iii, p. 434.

[7] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 268; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 259; Marrākushi, pp. 17, 19.

in state affairs. The Sultanah had a protégé, Muḥammad ibn-abi-'Āmir, who started life as a humble professional letter writer and ultimately became virtual ruler of the kingdom. His career provides another illustration of what pluck, talent and ambition could accomplish in a Moslem state. Muḥammad's ancestor, a Yamanite of the Ma'āfir tribe, was one of the few Arabs in Ṭāriq's army of conquest. Under the patronage of the queen, who was said to have been also his mistress, young Muḥammad rose from one office to another in the court, disposing, by clever manipulation or force, of superiors on whose shoulders he climbed until he became royal chamberlain (*ḥājib*) and vizir.[1] In that capacity he dealt a final blow to the Slavonic bodyguard, substituted for it a new unit of loyal Moroccan mercenaries and finally shut up the immature caliph in his palace. In order to set aside al-Zahrā' the Ḥājib built for himself in 978 a magnificent residence east of Cordova on a site not yet identified and styled it al-Madīnah al-Zāhirah (the brilliant town).[2] To ingratiate himself with the ulema he burned all books in the library of al-Ḥakam dealing with philosophy and other subjects blacklisted by those theologians. The poets he handled properly through bounteous subsidies. He then had his name mentioned in the Friday prayer and on the coinage, wore robes of gold tissue woven with his name—a privilege of royalty—and after 992 had his seal replace the caliph's on all official documents issued from the chancellery.[3] The only thing he did not do was to overthrow the nominal Umayyad caliph and establish an 'Āmirid caliphate.

In military affairs ibn-abi-'Āmir proved as successful as in peaceful undertakings. He first reformed the army, substituting for the ancient tribal organization the regimental system. The removal of the Fāṭimid seat of power farther east to the newly built Cairo (969) and the internecine conflicts among the petty Christian kingdoms of the north afforded his armies an opportunity to march triumphantly along the north-western African coast as well as in the northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula. His victories led him to assume in 981 the honorific title al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh (rendered victorious through the aid of Allah).

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 267-9; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 147-8; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 124-5; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, 67-9.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii. pp. 294-7.

[3] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 258.

In the spring and autumn of every year al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr led his troops as a matter of course against the Christians of Leon, Castile and Catalonia. Here, among other achievements, he captured Zamora in 981, sacked Barcelona in his thirteenth campaign[1] (985) and in 988 razed the city of Leon with its massive walls and high towers, making its kingdom a tributary province. He even ventured into the mountainous passes of Galicia and in 997 demolished the magnificent church of St. Jago (Santiago) de Compostela,[2] a shrine frequented by pilgrims from all of Christian Europe. Subsequent to this last feat his triumphal entry into Cordova was signalized by a multitude of Christian captives bearing on their shoulders the church doors, which were incorporated in the capital's great mosque, together with the church bells, which were utilized as lamps in Moslem edifices. Christians with chains round their ankles were employed by al-Manṣūr in repairing the mosque. Never except under 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III did the star of Spanish Islam shine with such brilliancy.

Al-Manṣūr's wish to die in the field was realized in 1002 on his way back from a campaign against Castile, the fiftieth of his expeditions.[3] Buried with him in the coffin was the dust which had accumulated on his coat of mail during his numerous campaigns and which he had kept for this purpose.[4] On his tomb at Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim) was engraved this epitaph:

> His story in his relics you may trace,
> As tho' he stood before you face to face.
> Never will Time bring forth his peer again,
> Nor one to guard, like him, the gaps of Spain.[5]

But the pointed comment of the monkish annalist better ex-

[1] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 71; according to others twenty-third campaign.

[2] "Shant Yāqūb" of Arab authors; ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 316-19; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 270-72; Idrīsi, p. 104. Considered by Christians the burial place of the Apostle James, son of Zebedee, who, tradition asserts, introduced Christianity into Spain. The tomb was spared by al-Manṣūr.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 148, makes his campaigns fifty-two, quoted fifty-six in Maqqari, vol. i, p. 258, cf. p. 261, l. 17; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 69, l. 14; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 498, l. 15; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 149.

[4] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 72; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 125; Marrākushi, p. 26.

[5] Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 413; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 73; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 151. Ar. *thughūr*, rendered "gaps of Spain", means "marches" or "frontier forts".

presses the sentiment of the Christians: "In 1002 died Almanzor, and was buried in hell".[1]

Collapse of Umayyad power

For eighty years after the death of the 'Āmirid dictator the Andalus was torn asunder by Berbers, Arabs, Slavs (*Ṣaqālibah*) and Spaniards, with the prætorian guard playing the same rôle as it did in ancient Rome and decadent Baghdād. His son 'Abd-al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, whom al-Manṣūr had appointed as his successor, thus making the office hereditary, succeeded in maintaining the unity and prestige of the kingdom for six years.[2] In 1008 al-Muẓaffar was poisoned by his brother and successor, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, surnamed Shanjūl (Sanchuelo, i.e. little Sancho, because his mother was daughter of King Sancho of Navarre), who immediately proclaimed himself heir presumptive to the Umayyad caliphate, a step which aroused the populace and resulted in his execution.[3] For twenty-one years after this, caliph after caliph was set up: one as a puppet of the Cordovans, another of the Slavs and a third of the Berbers. Even the Castilians had a share in unseating one caliph and seating another.[4] The real power was in the hands of the military. The unfortunate Hishām II was dragged out of his thirty years of seclusion but manifested only childish incompetence and was forced to abdicate in 1009 in favour of his second cousin Muḥammad II al-Mahdi.[5] Muḥammad's only claim to distinction

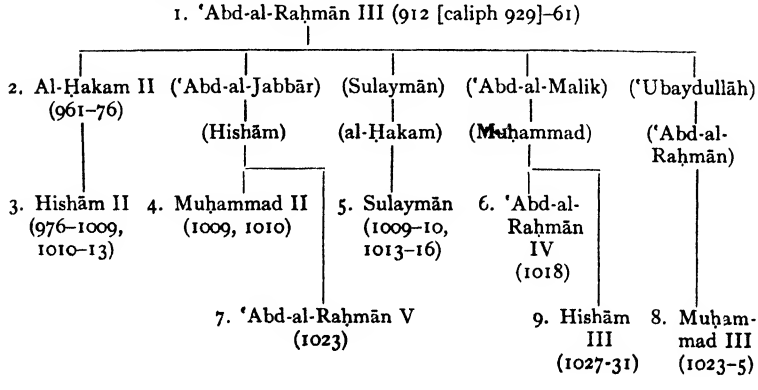
[1] "Chronicon Burgensi" in *España sagrada*, vol. xxiii, p. 308.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. iii (Paris, 1930), pp. 3-4, 36-7; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 276-7.

[3] Ibn 'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 43-8, 66-74; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 148-50; ibn-a-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 499.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 150-51; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, pp. 159-60.

[5] Table showing genealogy of Umayyad caliphs in Cordova:



was that he held the throne for only a few months, in which he found time to raze the Madīnah al-Zāhirah of the ʿĀmirids[1] and have the severed heads of a number of leaders of the northern marches who refused to acknowledge him converted into flower-pots and placed on the banks of the river opposite his palace. His manufacture of wine in his palace won him the sobriquet *nabbādh*, wine-maker.[2] Three of the nine Umayyad caliphs in this period of anarchy held the throne more than once; one of them, Hishām II, was set up and pulled down twice, after which he disappeared in a mysterious way that has never been solved. An impostor bearing close resemblance to him was installed in Seville.[3] One poor wretch, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir (1023), the best of the lot and whose vizir was the learned ibn-Ḥazm, hid himself in the bathroom heater, whence he was dragged and butchered before the eyes of his successor, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi,[4] who two years later was to meet as hard a fate. In 1025 as al-Mustakfi, "whose interest in life centred in sex and stomach",[5] sought flight in the guise of a singing girl wearing a veil, he fell victim, in an obscure village on the frontier, to poison administered by one of his officers.[6] A daughter of this caliph was the poetess al-Wallādah, whose beauty and talent made her the chief centre of attraction in the court and won her undying fame.

Before coming to its inglorious end the Umayyad caliphate was interrupted by another régime, the Ḥammūdid, which claimed all caliphal privileges. The founder was one ʿAli ibn-Ḥammūd (1016–18), who traced his descent from his namesake the Prophet's son-in-law, but was himself half Berberized. ʿAli had held the governorship of Ceuta and Tangier before proclaiming himself caliph in Cordova. He had also conquered Malaga, where his eight descendants maintained themselves from 1025 to 1057.[7] Two other Ḥammūdid pretenders to the

[1] Nuwayri, ed. Gaspar Remiro, vol. i, p. 74.

[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 500.

[3] See below, p. 538.

[4] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. iii, pp. 138-9; Nuwayri, vol. i, p. 78; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 164; ibn-Bassām, *al-Dhakhīrah fi Maḥāsin Ahl al-Jazīrah*, pt. 1, vol. i (Cairo, 1939), p. 39.

[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 194.

[6] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. iii, p. 142; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 194; Marrākushi, p. 40; Nuwayri, vol. i, p. 84.

[7] Marrākushi, pp. 30-37; ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol iii, pp. 113-17, 119-25; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 281-2; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 152-5; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 188 *seq*. The Ḥammūdids were related to the Idrīsids of Morocco.

caliphate followed, exercising precarious power in Cordova until 1027.[1]

In this year Hishām III al-Mu'tadd recaptured the throne for the Umayyads. But the fifty-four-year-old monarch was no match for the troublous situation. Tired of the endless changes in their government the Cordovans at last decided to take a radical step and abolish the caliphate altogether. Hishām was shut up with his family in a dismal vault attached to the great mosque. Here in total darkness and half frozen in his scanty attire the wretched sovereign, almost suffocating with the foul air, sat for hours trying to warm on his bosom his infant daughter, whom he dearly loved. In the meantime the vizirs were holding a public meeting which proclaimed the abolition of the caliphate for ever and the rule of a council of state under the leadership of one abu-al-Ḥazm ibn-Jahwar. Hishām met the epoch-making announcement by begging for a light and a morsel of bread for his starving child.[2]

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 124-35.

(Ḥammūd)

1 'Ali (1016–18) — 2. Al-Qāsim (1018–21, 1022–5)

3. Yaḥya (1021, 1025–7)

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 150-52; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 286; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 152-3; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 198-9; Marrākushi, p. 41.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PETTY STATES: FALL OF GRANADA

FROM the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate there emerged an apparently fortuitous conglomeration of petty states which spent themselves in fratricidal quarrels and, after falling in part a prey to two Moroccan Berber dynasties, succumbed one after the other to the rising Christian power of the north. In the first half of the eleventh century no less than twenty such short-lived states arose in as many towns or provinces under chieftains and kinglets called by the Arabs *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (Sp. *reyes de taifas*, party kings).

In Cordova the Jahwarids headed a sort of republic which was in 1068 absorbed by the banu-'Abbād of Seville.[1] Henceforth primacy among Moslem states lay with Seville, whose fortunes were always closely linked with Cordova's. Granada was the seat of a Zīrid régime, which received its name from its Berber founder ibn-Zīri (1012–19) and was destroyed by the Moroccan Murābiṭs in 1090. This was the only Spanish Moslem town in which a Jew, the Vizir Ismā'īl ibn-Naghzālah[2] († 1055), ever exercised virtually supreme power. At Malaga and in neighbouring districts the Ḥammūdid dynasty,[3] whose founder and his first two successors ruled as caliphs over Cordova too, lasted until 1057. After passing through Zīrid hands Malaga finally came within the orbit of Murābiṭ power.[4] The thronelet of Toledo was occupied by the dhu-al-Nūns (1032[5]–85), an ancient Berber family which had often been in rebellion, until destroyed by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile.[6] In Saragossa the banu-Hūd held the sovereignty from 1039 until overpowered

[1] Marrākushi, pp. 50-51. [2] Heb. Samuel ben-Nagdela. Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 261, 264.

[3] The noted geographer al-Sharīf al-Idrīsi was a grandson of Idrīs II (1042–6, 1053–4), the last save one of this line.

[4] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 262-6; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 160-61.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (Leyden, 1931), pp. 65-6.

[6] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 288; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 161; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 276-85; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 203.

by the Christians in 1141.[1] Among these party kings the cultured house of the 'Abbādids in Seville was undoubtedly the most powerful.[2]

The 'Abbādids of Seville

The banu-'Abbād (1023–91) claimed descent from the ancient Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīrah. Their Spanish ancestor came as an officer in the Ḥimṣ regiment of the Syrian army shortly after the conquest[3] and the dynasty started in the person of a shrewd qāḍi of Seville who used as his cat's-paw someone who closely resembled the vanished Hishām II.[4] In 1042 the qāḍi's son 'Abbād succeeded his father as chamberlain to the pretended caliph, the pseudo-Hishām, but lost no time in throwing off the mask and openly reigning under the honorific title al-Mu'taḍid[5] (he who seeks strength [from Allah]), thus putting an end to the farce perpetrated by his father.

Al-Mu'tamid

Al-Mu'taḍid was a poet and patron of letters who improvised elegant ditties with his boon companions and enjoyed a harem of nearly eight hundred inmates. But his court was eclipsed by that of his son and successor al-Mu'tamid (he who relies [upon Allah], 1068–91), "the most munificent, the most popular and most powerful of all party kings".[6] Shortly after his accession al-Mu'tamid succeeded in destroying the banu-Jahwar régime and in uniting Cordova to his kingdom. Like many of his contemporaries, however, he was tributary to a Christian monarch, first to Garcia, King of Galicia, and then to his successor, Alfonso VI.[7] Al-Mu'tamid possessed a sensitive and poetical soul. Numerous are the anecdotes told of his life of luxury, his gay parties and his romantic adventures in disguise. He "whose court was the halting-place of sojourners, the rendezvous of poets, the direction toward which all hopes were turned and the haunt of men of excellence"[8] chose as vizir

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol iii, pp. 221-9; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 163-4; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 204.

[2] For names and dates of rulers in these minor dynasties consult Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp. 23-6; de Zambaur, pp. 53-7; Dozy, *Musulmans*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, vol. iii, pp. 236-41.

[3] See above, p. 502. Seville was often referred to as Ḥimṣ; ibn-Jubayr, pp. 258-9.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 156; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 201-2; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 73.

[5] After the 'Abbāsid caliph of the same name; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 132

[6] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 412. Cf. ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 77.

[7] Ibn-Khaliikān, vol. ii, p. 414; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 92.

[8] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 412. Cf. the eulogy of al-Fatḥ ibn-Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* (Būlāq, 1283), pp. 4-5.

a poet, ibn-ʿAmmār,[1] and as favourite wife a slave girl of talent and beauty, Iʿtimād. While strolling one evening with ibn-ʿAmmār along the banks of the Guadalquivir, the monarch observed a gentle breeze ruffling the face of the water and improvised this hemistich, challenging his vizir to complete the verse:

Behold the wind weaving the waves into mail;

Ibn-ʿAmmār hesitated. Meanwhile a young woman who happened to be washing clothes near by instantly supplied the antiphony:

Oh, were it but frozen—no knight would it fail! [2]

That was the youthful Iʿtimād al-Rumaykīyah, the future queen, from whose first name her royal husband is said to have adapted his own[3] and whose every whim and fancy he later tried to satisfy. Impressed on one occasion by the rare spectacle of snowflakes falling in Cordova, Iʿtimād implored al-Muʿtamid for a substitute, and forthwith he ordered the Sierra planted with almonds, whose white flowers bloom in the latter part of winter. Noticing on another day some Bedouin dairy women carrying their jars and walking in the muddy streets with their skirts lifted up, she expressed the wish to imitate their performance; in no time the courtyard of the royal palace was converted into a pool filled with spices and perfumed essences, all moistened with rose-water and made into an aromatic quagmire ready for the delicate feet of Iʿtimād and her pretty attendants.[4]

The last days of al-Muʿtamid were as miserable as his early days were gay. After a lull of several years in which the Christian monarchs of the north had occupied themselves with internal troubles, they were again bestirring themselves against their Moslem neighbours. The kingdoms of Leon and Castile, united under Ferdinand I and his son Alfonso VI, became especially dangerous. Alfonso added to his kingdom Galicia and Navarre, and as Moslem princes vied with the Christian in winning his

[1] Marrākushi, pp. 77, 85-90.

[2] Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum oci de Abbadidis*, vol. ii (Leyden, 1852), pp. 151-2, vol. iii (Leyden, 1863), p. 225.

[3] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 74. Her surname she acquired from her first master, Rumayk.

[4] Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. ii, pp. 152-3; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 287.

favour he styled himself "the emperor" like his successor Alfonso VII, who, in addition to that, claimed to be "king of the men of the two religions". Raids from the north now became regular and reached as far south as Cadiz. In the meantime Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, "My Cid the Challenger", had established himself with his Castilian followers in Valencia and began to harass the 'Abbādid domain. As a measure of protection against his suzerain Alfonso VI and the Cid, al-Mu'tamid at this time committed the fatal error of inviting as an ally from Morocco the powerful leader of the Murābiṭs, Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn.[1] To his critics who foresaw the danger and warned him of the impossibility of "sheathing two swords in one scabbard", al-Mu'tamid replied that he would rather be a camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile.[2] These Berber Murābiṭs, in whose veins some negro blood flowed, were now in power from Algiers to Senegal.

Yūsuf accepted the invitation. He marched unopposed through southern Spain, met Alfonso VI at al-Zallāqah,[3] near Badajoz, and with about twenty thousand men inflicted on him, October 23, 1086, a humiliating defeat. The Christian monarch and but three hundred of his horse barely escaped with their lives, leaving enough dead to form a tower of heads which was used as a minaret by the rejoicing Moslems.[4] The Berber chief shipped some forty thousand heads across the straits as a trophy. A wave of enthusiasm spread over Moslem Spain, and the proud ibn-Tāshfīn, who could not understand the flowery eulogies of the Sevillan poets, returned to Africa in accordance with his previous promise. Not long afterwards, however, the Murābiṭ chief, who with his Saharan hordes had tasted enough of the delicacies of civilized Spain to whet their appetites for more and render the barrenness of the desert more distasteful than ever before, came back, but this time as a conqueror rather than ally. In November 1090 he entered Granada; in the following year he took Seville and other leading towns. The whole of Moslem Spain was annexed with the exception of Toledo, which remained

[1] For the letter of invitation see Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 674.

[2] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 678; Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. ii, p. 8; Koran 2 : 168.

[3] Sacralias, modern Sagrajas. See Marrākushi, pp. 93-4; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, pp. 186-7; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, vol. ii, pp. 78-9; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 415; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 101-2; ibn-abi-Zar', *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās*, vol. i, pp. 93 *seq.*

[4] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshīyah fi Dhikr al-Akhbār al-Marrākushīyah* (Tunis, 1329), p. 43, estimates the number of Christian victims at 300,000.

in Christian hands, and Saragossa, where the banu-Hūd were allowed to subsist. Al-Mu'tamid was sent to Morocco, where he lived in chains and utter destitution, sharing his exile with I'timād and his daughters, who spent their time spinning to earn a living.[1] One day the fallen monarch noticed a procession going to the mosque to pray for rain and the old poet in him, still alive, improvised these pathetic lines:

> And forth they went imploring God for rain;
> "My tears," I said, "could serve you for a flood."
> "In truth," they cried, "your tears might well contain
> Sufficiency; but they are dyed with blood." [2]

In 1095 this last of the 'Abbādids died in Aghmāt. The period of Berber hegemony in Spain had begun. The Murābiṭs

The Murābiṭs (Almoravides) were originally a religious military brotherhood established in the middle of the eleventh century by a pious Moslem in a *ribāṭ* (whence Murābiṭ)[3], fortified monastery, on an island in the lower Senegal. The first recruits were mainly from the Lamtūnah, a branch of the Ṣanhājah tribe, whose members lived as nomads in the vast wastes of the Sahara and, as their descendants the Ṭawāriq (Touaregs) of south Algeria still do to the present day, wore veils covering the face below the eyes. This strange custom[4] among their men gave rise to the other name *Mulaththamūn* (veil-wearers), sometimes given to the Murābiṭs. Starting with about a thousand warrior "monks", the Murābiṭs forced one tribe after another, including some negro tribes, to accept Islam and in a few years established themselves as masters of all north-western Africa and finally of Spain. Their story serves as another illustration in Islam of what can be produced by the marriage of the sword to religion.[5]

Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn (reigned 1061–1106), one of the builders of the Murābiṭ empire, founded in 1062 the city of Marrakesh (Morocco, Marrākush), which became his and his successors' capital.[6] In Spain Seville, instead of Cordova, functioned as a

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 419; ibn-Khāqān, p. 25; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 83; Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. i, pp. 63-4, vol. ii, p. 151.

[2] Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. i, p. 383.

[3] Fr. *marabout*, devotee, is a corruption of this word.

[4] Consult ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 428-9; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥulal*, p. 10.

[5] Ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 75-87; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, pp. 181-2; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 425-7.

[6] Ibn abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 88-9; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 184= de Slane, vol. ii, p. 73.

subsidiary capital. The Murābiṭ sovereigns reserved for themselves all temporal power and bore the title amīr al-Muslimīn,[1] but in matters spiritual acknowledged the supreme authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād,[2] an authority which had been discarded at the advent of the Umayyad régime. For more than half a century the Murābiṭ power was supreme in north-western Africa and southern Spain. For the first time in history a Berber people was playing a leading rôle on the world's stage.

Coinage

The Murābiṭ dinar usually bore the title *amīr al-Muslimīn* on the obverse, with the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph preceded by the title *imām* on the reverse. King Alfonso VIII of Leon and Castile (1158–1214) imitated it, retaining its Arabic inscription but adapting its legend to the Christian formulas. On it he appeared as *amīr al-Qatūlaqīn* (the commander of the Catholics) and the pope in Rome as the *imām al-bīʿah al-Masīḥīyah* (the leader of the Christian Church). The coin was issued "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one only God" in place of the corresponding Moslem formula, and "whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved" stood in place of the denunciation of those who refused to accept Islam.

Persecution

Under the Murābiṭs, fresh converts to Islam and heirs to a barbarian legacy not yet dead, an outburst of religious fervour on the part of theological zealots resulted at the beginning of the twelfth century in suffering for many Christians, Jews and even liberal Moslems. Under the devout ʿAli (1106–43), Yūsuf's son and successor, al-Ghazzāli's works were put on the black list or committed to the flames in Spain and al-Maghrib,[3] because of remarks considered derogatory to theologians (*faqīhs*), including those of the Mālikite school of jurisprudence favoured by the Murābiṭs. Al-Ghazzāli, however, had headed the list of Eastern divines who expressed unreservedly their approval of the Andalusian *faqīhs'* legal opinion that Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn was absolved from any pledges he had made to the party kings of Moslem Spain and that it was not only his right but his duty to dethrone them.[4] At Lucena, termed by al-Idrīsi[5] a Jewish city, the inhabitants, who were the wealthiest of their co-religionists in the Moslem world, were called upon by the

[1] Ibn-abi-Zarʿ, vol. i, pp. 88, 96; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 188.
[2] Marrākushi, p. 64.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 123; see *Iḥyā'*, vol. i, pp. 28-38.
[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 187.
[5] *Ṣifat al-Maghrib* (Leyden), p. 205.

founder of the Murābiṭ power in Spain to meet out of their pockets the deficit in the public treasury. Under the Umayyads the legal status of the Spanish Jews had greatly improved over that of Visigothic days and their number had increased. During the caliphate of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III and his son al-Ḥakam, under the influence of whose treasurer Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūṭ many Jews came from the East, Cordova became the centre of a talmudic school whose foundation marks the beginning of the flowering of Andalusian Jewish culture.[1] The Spanish Jews used the language and dress of the Arabs and followed the same manners.

The would-be Arabs

The Mozarabs, that element in the population of Spain which had assimilated itself in language and ways of living to the conquering Moslems but retained its Christian faith, had assumed by this time large proportions and therefore became the special object of restrictions. In the large cities these Arabicized Christians lived in quarters of their own, kept under the Umayyads their special magistrates[2] and wore no distinctive clothes. Usually they bore double names: one Arabic and familiar, the other Latin or Spanish and more formal. They even practised circumcision and kept harems. Most of the Mozarabs were bilingual, their native tongue being the Romance patois derived from Low Latin and destined to become Spanish. In such cities as Toledo they continued in the use of Arabic as the written language of law and business for two centuries after the Christian conquest by Alfonso VI in 1085.[3] This Alfonso, like several of his successors, stamped his coins with Arabic characters. One of the early kings of Aragon, Peter I († 1104), could write only in Arabic script. Even when writing Latin the Mozarabs used Arabic letters. Not long after the Moslem conquest parts of the Bible were apparently translated into Arabic,[4] and in 946 Isaak Velasquez of Cordova translated Luke and presumably the other three Gospels from Latin.[5]

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. ii, p. 50.

[2] The two chief officials were called in Arabic *qūmis* (L. *comes*, Sp. *conde*) and *qāḍi al-Naṣāra* (the judge of the Christians).

[3] For some of their writings consult Angel González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926–30).

[4] See above, p. 516.

[5] Georg Graf, *Die Christlich-arabische Literatur bis zur fränkischen Zeit* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1905), p. 27.

On a *fatwa* (religious opinion) from his theologians Yūsuf in 1099 ordered a beautiful church, built in the Visigothic age and now possessed by the Mozarabs of Granada, to be levelled to the ground. These same Granadans in 1126 were put to the sword or banished to Morocco because they had entered into communication with a Christian sovereign of the north. Eleven years later a second expulsion of Mozarabs left few of them in Spain.

Racially the line of demarcation between Mozarabs and Moslems in the urban communities was at this time hard to draw. From the beginning, as we have noted before, the real Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists were comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting decimated the early conquerors and settlers. After the fourth generation the Arabian blood must have become greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Concubines, slaves and prisoners of war helped the process of amalgamation, as in other conquered lands. The researches of Ribera[1] have shown that even the Moslems of Spain, the so-called Moors, were overwhelmingly of Spanish blood. In the opinion of this modern Spanish scholar the veins of Hishām II, the third Umayyad caliph, could not have contained more than a thousandth part of Arabian blood.

My Cid the Challenger

It was in the early Murābiṭ period that the most colourful of Mozarabs and at the same time most celebrated of the heroes of Spanish chivalry, Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, better known as the Cid,[2] carried on his military exploits. A descendant of a noble Castilian family, Rodrigo entered first the service of Alfonso VI but was later (1081) banished by him from the Castilian dominions. He then entered upon a knightly career espousing now the cause of this faction, now that of another and fighting Moslems or co-religionists as the occasion arose. In his behaviour he was almost as much Moslem as Christian. While in the service of the Hūdid dynasty at Saragossa, Rodrigo covered himself with glory and won from his Moslem soldiers the title

[1] Julián Ribera y Terragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), vol. i, pp. 12-35, 109-12.

[2] From Ar. *sayyid*, colloquial *sīd*, lord.

el Cid Campeador.[1] The crowning achievement of My Cid the Challenger was his occupation in 1094 of Valencia, which he held in defiance of the Murābiṭ attacks until his death in 1099. In romance the Cid has lived as the national hero of Spain, the exemplar of its chivalry and its champion against the infidel. Spanish ballads surrounded his name with a saintly aureole of virtue; Philip II († 1598) even presented it to the pope for canonization. The epic *Cantar de mio Cid* woven around the Cid's name in the middle of the twelfth century is one of the grandest and oldest of Spanish poems, one that deeply influenced Spanish thought throughout subsequent ages and contributed powerfully to the establishment of the native language and the consolidation of the national character.

Collapse of the Murābiṭs

The Murābiṭ dynasty in Spain (1090–1147),[2] as was to be expected, was short-lived. It fulfilled the fated cycle of Asiatic and African monarchies with rapidity: a generation of efficient militarism followed by sloth and corruption leading to disintegration and fall. Its rough Berbers, raised on the privations of desert life and suddenly transported to the luxurious regions of Morocco and Andalusia, soon succumbed to the vices of civilization and became enervated, even effeminate. They entered Spain at a time when intellectual pleasures among the Arabs had long since replaced the love of war and thirst for conquest. This gave the African conquerors their opportunity for settling in the land and at the same time proved their undoing, since it gave them contact with a refined civilization for the assimilation of which they were in nowise prepared. In turn they fell an easy prey to their more vigorous kinsmen the Muwaḥḥids. Throughout the twelfth century and well into the first half of the thirteenth Spain

[1] Sp. equivalent of Ar. *mubāriz*, champion. See above, pp. 88, 173. In Ar Campeador was rendered al-Kanbīṭūr; ibn-Bassām, "al-Dhakhīrah," in Dozy, *Recherches*, vol. ii, pp. v, ix; al-Qanbīṭūr, in ibn-'Idhārī, vol. iii, pp. 305-6 (supplement). Cf. Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 754.

[2] (Tāshfīn)
1. Yūsuf (1090–1106)
2. 'Alī (1106–43)
3. Tāshfīn (1143–6)
4 Ibrāhīm 6)
5. Isḥāq (1146–7)

was under the successive rule of these two Berber dynasties, whose seat was Morocco.

The Muwaḥḥids

As in the case of the Murābiṭ, the Muwaḥḥid dynasty had its inception in a politico-religious movement founded by a Berber. This was Muḥammad ibn-Tūmart (*ca.* 1078–*ca.* 1130) of the Maṣmūdah tribe.[1] Muḥammad assumed the symbolic title of al-Mahdi[2] and proclaimed himself the prophet sent to restore Islam to its pure and original orthodoxy. He preached among his own and other wild tribes of the Moroccan Atlas the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, the unity of God and the spiritual conception of Him, as a protest against the excessive anthropomorphism then prevalent in Islam. Accordingly his followers were called al-Muwaḥḥidūn.[3] Small, ugly and misshapen, this son of a mosque lamplighter lived the life of an ascetic, and opposed music, drinking and other manifestations of laxity. When a young man, his zeal led him to assault in the streets of Fās Fez) (a sister of the reigning Murābiṭ ʿAli ibn-Yūsuf because she went unveiled.[4]

Founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty

In 1130 ibn-Tūmart was succeeded by his friend and general ʿAbd-al-Mu'min ibn-ʿAli, son of a potter of the Zanātah tribe, who became the caliph-founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty, the greatest Morocco ever knew, and of an empire second to none in the annals of Africa. In accordance with the doctrine that theirs was the only community of true believers, these unitarian Moslems now carried fire and sword throughout Morocco and adjacent lands. In 1144–1146 ʿAbd-al-Mu'min annihilated the Murābiṭ army near Tilimsān (Tlemcen), which he captured together with Fās, Ceuta, Tangier and Aghmāt, and after an eleven-month siege of Marrakesh in 1146–1147 he put an end to the Murābiṭ dynasty.[5] The last of the Murābiṭ line, a boy named Isḥāq ibn-ʿAli, grandson of the founder of the empire, was executed by the Muwaḥḥid caliph (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) in spite of his childish tears.[6] Marrakesh now became the Muwaḥḥid capital. In 1145 ʿAbd-al-Mu'min had dispatched into Spain,

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 225; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p 400. Cf. Marrākushi, p. 128; ibn-abi-Zarʿ, vol. i, p. 110; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 426.

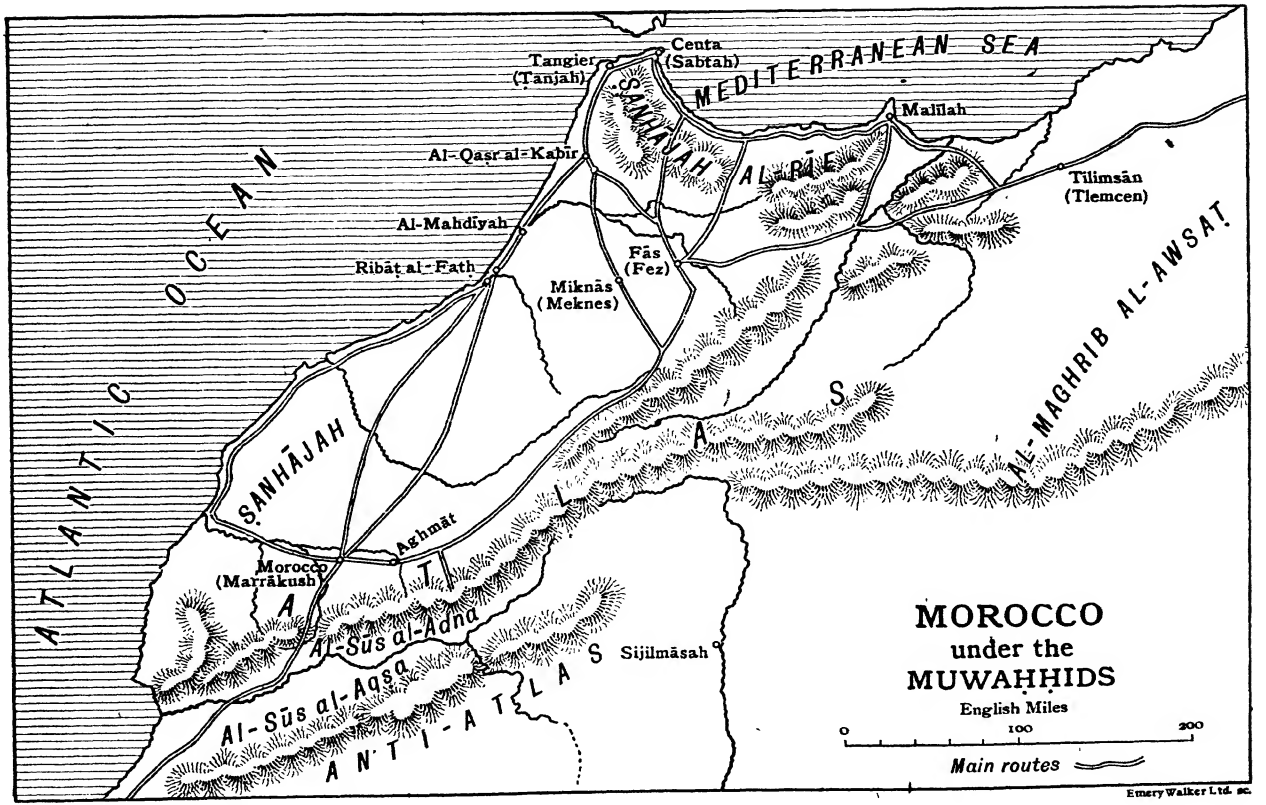
[2] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥulal*, p. 78; *Kitāb Muḥammad ibn-Tūmart*, ed. I. Goldziher (Algiers, 1903), pp. 2-3.

[3] The unitarians, corrupted into Sp. Almohades.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 228. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 431.

[5] Marrākushi, pp. 145-6; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 557; ibn-abi-Dīnār, *al-Mu'nis fi Akhbār Ifrīqiyah wa-Tūnis* (Tunis, 1286), p. 120.

[6] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 412-13.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Morocco
(Marrākush)
Al-Sūs al-Adna
Al-Sūs al-Aqsa
ANTI-ATLAS
Sijilmāsah

where political corruption, brigandage and dissatisfaction were rife, an army which in the course of five years reduced the whole Moslem part of the peninsula. The Balearic Isles, attached to the Umayyad amīrate since 903, alone remained for a few more years in the hands of the last representatives of the Murābiṭs.

Master of Morocco and Spain, ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin pushed his conquests in 1152 to Algeria, in 1158 to Tunis and in 1160 to Tripoli. Thus for the first time in Moslem history the whole coast from the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt became firmly united with Andalusia under one sceptre. The Murābiṭ empire, on the other hand, had included, besides Spain, only Morocco and part of Algeria. From every pulpit in this immense new empire Friday prayers were read in the name of the Mahdi or his caliph instead of in that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph as heretofore.[1]

Al-Manṣūr

After a long and glorious reign ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin died in 1163. Among the greatest and best known of his successors was his grandson abu-Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr (1184–99), who, like many other Berber rulers, was the son of a Christian slave.[2] It was to al-Manṣūr's court that Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) sent with valuable presents an embassy headed by a nephew of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, who recognized the ʿAbbāsid caliph, accredited the embassy to *amīr al-Muslimīn*, instead of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which at first made al-Manṣūr hesitate to act. Later, however, he is said to have dispatched 180 vessels to assist the Moslems against the Crusaders.[3]

The existing architectural monuments of al-Manṣūr are among the most remarkable in either Morocco or Spain. In Seville, to which the Muwaḥḥids transferred their capital in 1170,[4] his accession was marked by the erection of the tower, now known as the Giralda, in connection with the great mosque. This mosque, begun in 1172 and completed in 1195, is now superseded by the cathedral. In Morocco he built Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ, modelled on Alexandria,[5] and in Marrakesh he built a hospital which his contemporary al-Marrākushi[6] thought had no equal in the world.[7]

[1] For a Muwaḥḥid *khuṭbah* see Marrākushi, pp. 250-51.
[2] Marrākushi, p. 189; ibn-abi-Zar, vol. i, p. 142; ibn-abi-Dīnār, pp. 116-17.
[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 381; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 246.
[4] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 693. [5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 379. [6] P. 209.
[7] For his other buildings see ibn-abi-Zarʿ, vol. i, pp. 143, 151-2

The chief anxiety of the Muwaḥḥid caliphs in Spain was the prosecution of the holy war, but they were not particularly successful. The disastrous defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 resulted in their expulsion from the peninsula. This battle, called by the Arabs that of al-'Uqāb (hill), was fought about seventy miles east of Cordova. The Christian army, in which Aragon was represented by its king, Navarre by its king and Portugal by a contingent of Templars and other knights, was led by Alfonso VIII of Castile, whose own forces included French Crusaders. The Caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (1199–1214), son of al-Manṣūr, led the Arab troops, of which only one thousand out of "600,000" escaped.[1] Al-Nāṣir fled to Marrakesh, where he died two years later. The overthrow of the Muwaḥḥid régime in Spain was complete. All Moslem Spain lay at the feet of the conquerors. Gradually it was parcelled out among the ever-encroaching Christian sovereigns and local Moslem dynasts. Among the latter the Naṣrids of Granada formed the most conspicuous group and proved the last representative of Moslem authority in the peninsula.

In Morocco al-Nāṣir's successors, nine in number and all descendants of 'Abd-al-Mu'min,[2] lasted until their capital Marrakesh was captured in 1269 by the semi-nomadic Berber tribe of banu-Marīn, a branch of the Zanātah.[3]

Banu-Naṣr

The founder of the Naṣrid dynasty (1232–1492), which traces its descent to the eminent Khazraj tribe of al-Madīnah, was Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Naṣr, commonly known as ibn-al-Aḥmar. Hence the other name of the family, banu-al-Aḥmar. Ibn-Khaldūn,[4] who resided for a time at Granada and was attached to the court of one of ibn-al-Aḥmar's successors, gives us a detailed account of the career of Muḥammad. After the collapse of the Muwaḥḥid régime, as the Castilians were setting one Moslem chieftain against another and destroying each in turn, Muḥammad entered into alliance with the Christians and contrived to carve for himself a state around Granada which to

[1] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 696. Cf. Marrākushi, p. 236; ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, p. 159. A contemporary English chronicler claims that al-Nāṣir received in 1213 from King John, of Magna Charta fame and brother of Cœur de Lion, an embassy offering to hold England under tribute to him and to exchange the Christian faith for Islam.

[2] For lists consult al-Zarkashi, *Ta'rīkh al-Dawlatayn al-Muwaḥḥidīyah w-al-Ḥafṣīyah* (Tunis, 1289); Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp. 47-8; de Zambaur, pp. 73, 74.

[3] Ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 174-5, 184

[4] Vol. iv, pp. 170-72. See also ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, pp. 30 *seq.*

a limited extent revived and continued the glories of Seville and for the next two and a half centuries acted as the champion of Islam in its defensive struggle against the rising power of Christianity.

Muḥammad (1232–73) assumed the title of al-Ghālib (the overcomer) and chose Granada for his seat of government. He as well as his successors paid homage and tribute to the Castilian crown. By the Arabs Granada (Gharnāṭah), than which no city in Andalusia was more favoured in site and climate,[1] was likened to Damascus, and in it many Syrians and Jews had settled.[2] Its plain (*marj*), the Vega, fed by abundant streams, presented a rare spectacle of perpetual verdure and beauty, and corresponded to the Ghūṭah of Damascus.[3] At the close of the Naṣrid period it housed about half a million within its walls. Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khaṭīb († 1374), the hero of al-Maqqari, vizir at the Naṣrid court and literary historian of the dynasty, has left us a number of monographs on the sovereigns and savants of Granada which supply us with interesting details about the capital.

Alhambra

On a hilly terrace on the south-east border of this beautiful city al-Ghālib built on the remains of an earlier Umayyad citadel his world-renowned castle called al-Ḥamrā' (Sp. Alhambra), the red one, from the red stucco used in its construction and not from his personal nickname as formerly supposed. Enlarged and further embellished by three of his successors, the Alhambra became one of the architectural monuments of Spain. Standing sentinel over the surrounding plain, like the Acropolis of Athens, this citadel-palace, with its superb decorations and arabesque mouldings, still excites universal admiration. In it the Naṣrids maintained a court which revived for a time the glory of Moslem Spain in Umayyad and 'Abbādid days. Their patronage of art and learning attracted many scholars, especially from North Africa. Their encouragement of commerce, notably the silk trade with Italy, rendered Granada the wealthiest city of Spain. Under them the capital became an asylum for Moslems fleeing from Christian attacks as well as heir to Cordova as home of art and science. But these were the last rays of the setting sun of Spanish Islam.

[1] Cf. ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. i, p. 13.
[2] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 109, 721. Cf. ibn-Jubayr, pp. 16-17. See above, p. 502.
[3] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, p. 13; see above, p. 231.

The last days of Granada

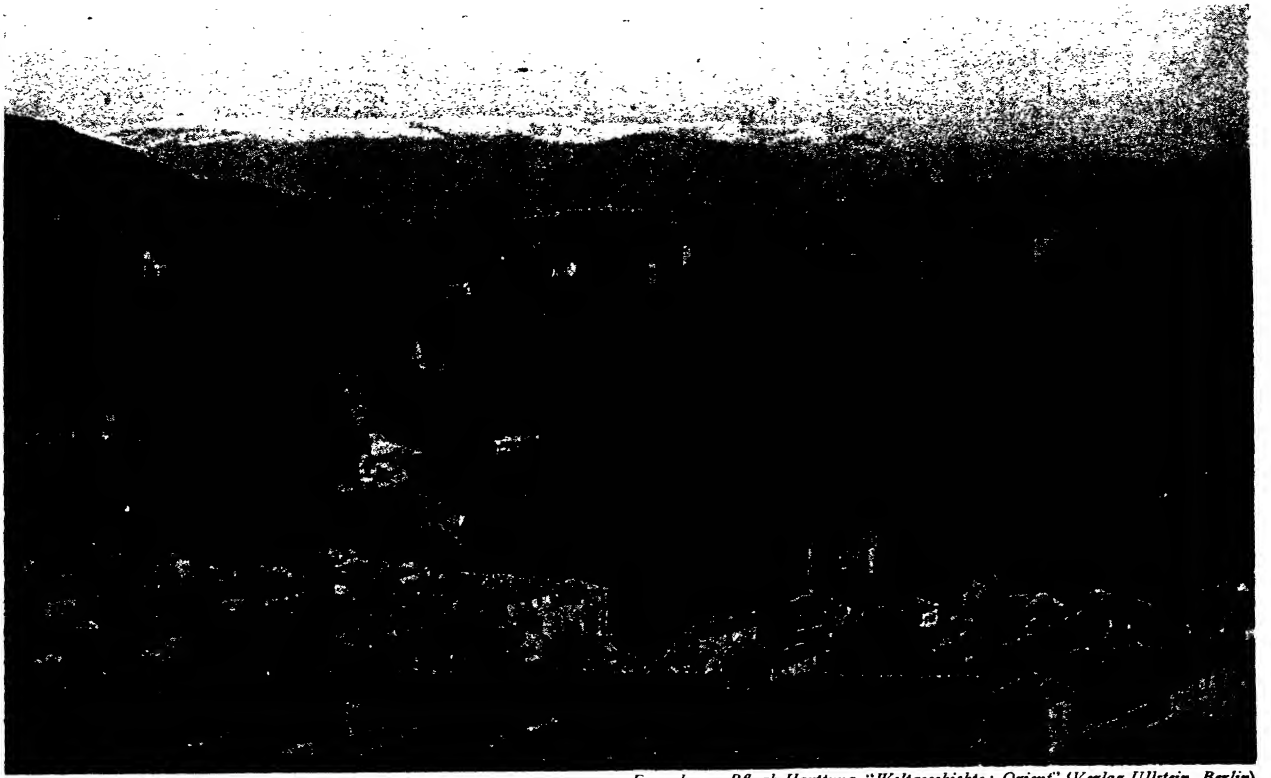
The period of Christian reconquest (*reconquista*) started as early as the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in the eleventh century. In fact, Spanish historians consider the battle of Covadonga in 718, in which the Asturian chieftain Pelayo checked Moslem advance, as marking the actual beginning of reconquest. Had the Moslems in the eighth century destroyed the last vestiges of Christian power in the mountainous north, the subsequent story of Spain might have been entirely different. Impeded at first by constant friction among the Christian chiefs of the north, the process of reclamation was greatly accelerated by the final union of Castile and Leon in 1230. By the middle of the thirteenth century the reconquest, with the exception of Granada, was practically completed. Toledo fell in 1085; Cordova followed in 1236 and Seville in 1248.

After the middle of the thirteenth century two major processes were in operation: the Christianizing of Spain and its unification. Christianizing the country was different from reconquering and unifying it. The only part of the peninsula where Islam had struck root was that where the earlier Semitic, Carthaginian, civilization had once flourished. The same was true of Sicily, a fact not without significance. In general the line of cleavage between Islam and Christianity coincided with the ancient line between the Punic and Occidental civilizations. By the thirteenth century many Moslems throughout the land had become subject to the Christians either by conquest or treaty, but had otherwise preserved their laws and religion. Such Moslems were designated Mudejars.[1] Many of the Mudejars were now forgetting their Arabic, adopting exclusively the Romance tongue and becoming more or less assimilated to the Christians.

Progress toward the final unification of Spain was slow but sure. At this time the Christian territory was made up of but two kingdoms, Castile and Aragon. The marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile united permanently the crowns of these two kingdoms. This union struck the note of doom for Moslem power in Spain. The Naṣrid sultans, as they were called,[2] were by no means able to cope with the increasing danger. The last of them were involved in dynastic troubles which rendered

[1] From Ar. *mudajjan*, one allowed (by the Christian conquerors) to remain where he is on condition that he pays tribute.

[2] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 172.



From J. von Pflugk-Harttung, "Weltgeschichte: Orient" (Verlag Ullstein, Berlin)

THE ALHAMBRA AND GRANADA TODAY

their position still more precarious. Of the twenty-one sultans [1] who ruled from 1232–1492, six ruled twice and one, Muḥammad VIII al-Mutamassik, ruled thrice (1417–27, 1429–32, 1432–44), giving an average of about nine years for each of the twenty-eight reigns. Final ruin was hastened by the recklessness of the nineteenth sultan, ʿAli abu-al-Ḥasan (Sp. Alboacen, 1461–82, 1483–5), who not only refused to pay the customary tribute but commenced hostilities by attacking Castilian territory. In reprisal Ferdinand in 1482 surprised and took al-Ḥammah,[2] which stood at the foot of the Sierra de Alhama and guarded the south-western entrance into the Granadan domain. At this juncture a son of abu-al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad abu-ʿAbdullāh, instigated by his mother, ʿĀ'ishah, who was jealous of a Spanish [3] Christian concubine to whose children the royal husband was devoted, raised the banner of rebellion against his father. Supported by the garrison, the rebel son seized the Alhambra in 1482 and made himself master of Granada. In the following year this eleventh Muḥammad of the dynasty, whose surname abu-ʿAbdullāh was corrupted into the Spanish Boabdil, had the temerity to attack the Castilian town of Lucena, where he was beaten and taken captive. Abu-al-Ḥasan then reinstated himself on the Granadan throne and ruled until 1485, when he abdicated in favour of his more able brother Muḥammad XII, nicknamed al-Zaghall (valiant), governor of Malaga.[4] In their prisoner abu-ʿAbdullāh, Ferdinand and Isabella saw a perfect tool for effecting the ultimate destruction of the ill-fated Moslem kingdom. Supplied with Castilian men and money, abu-ʿAbdullāh occupied in 1486 part of his uncle's capital and once more plunged the unlucky Granada, which presented the spectacle of having two sultans at the same time, in a destructive civil war. The legend relating to the destruction of the patriotic

[1] For lists consult Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp. 28-9; de Zambaur, pp. 58-9.

[2] Ar. for "hot spring", whence Sp. Alhama. Al-Ḥāmmah in Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 801.

[3] *Rūmīyah* in Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 803.

[4] Genealogical table of the last Naṣrids:

18. Sa'd al-Musta'īn (1445–6, 1453–61)

19. ʿAli abu-al-Ḥasan (1461–82, 1483–5)

20. Muḥammad XII al-Zaghall (1485–6)

21. Muḥammad XI abu-ʿAbdullāh (1482–3, 1486–92)

noble family of banu-Sarrāj (Abencerrage) by abu-'Abdullāh, at Alhambra, belongs to this period in the mythical history of the last days of Granada.

In the meantime the Castilian army was advancing. One town after another fell before it. Malaga was reduced in the following year and many of its people were sold into slavery. The circle was being narrowed around the doomed capital. Al-Zaghall made a few unsuccessful stands against the army of Ferdinand, but abu-'Abdullāh acted as its ally. In his despair al-Zaghall made a final but fruitless appeal to the Moslem sovereigns of Africa, just then busy fighting among themselves. At last he surrendered and retired into Tilimsān,[1] where he passed the remainder of his days in misery and destitution, wearing, we are told, on his mendicant rags, a badge proclaiming, "This is the hapless king of Andalusia". Only the city of Granada now remained in Moslem hands.

No sooner was al-Zaghall thus disposed of than abu-'Abdullāh was requested (1490) by his patrons to surrender the city. Under the inspiration of a valiant leader the pusillanimous abu-'Abdullāh refused to comply. In the spring of the following year Ferdinand with an army of 10,000 horse again entered the plain of Granada. As in the preceding year he destroyed the crops and orchards and drew the cordon tighter round the last stronghold of Islam in Spain. The siege was pressed into a blockade intended to starve the city into surrender.

When winter advanced with its extreme cold and heavy snow all access from outside was barred, food became scarce, prices soared and misery prevailed. In the meantime the enemy had seized every patch of ground outside the city walls and made it impossible for the besieged to plant or gather any crops. Conditions moved from bad to worse . . . until by the month of Ṣafar [December 1491] the privations of the people had reached their extreme.[2]

Finally the garrison agreed to surrender, if not relieved within a period of two months, on the following terms: The sultan with all his officers and people would take the oath of obedience to the Castilian sovereigns; abu-'Abdullāh would receive an estate in al-Basharāt;[3] the Moslems would be left secure in person

[1] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 810.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 811.
[3] Sp. Alpujarras. The term, meaning "pastures", included the mountainous foreland south of the Sierra Nevada as far as the Mediterranean.

under their laws and free in the exercise of their religion.[1] The period of grace having expired without any sign of relief from the Turks or Africans, the Castilians entered Granada on January 2, 1492, and "the cross supplanted the crescent" on its towers.[2] The sultan with his queen, richly dressed, left his red fortress and departed in the midst of a gorgeous retinue, never to return. As he rode away he turned to take a last look at his capital, sighed and burst into tears. His mother, hitherto his evil genius, turned upon him with the words, "Thou dost well to weep like a woman for what thou couldst not defend like a man". The rocky height whence he took his sad farewell look is still known by the name El Último Suspiro del Moro, the last sigh of the Moor.

Abu-'Abdullāh made his home first on his allotted estate, but later retired to Fās, where he died in 1533–4 and where his descendants in the year in which al-Maqqari[3] was compiling his history (1627–8) were still objects of charity, "counted among the beggars".

Morisco persecution

Their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella failed to abide by the terms of the capitulation. Under the leadership of the queen's confessor Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros,[4] a campaign of forced conversion was inaugurated in 1499. The cardinal at first tried to withdraw from circulation Arabic books dealing with Islam by burning them. Granada was the scene of a bonfire of Arabic manuscripts. The Inquisition was then instituted and kept busy. All Moslems who remained in the country after the capture of Granada were now called Moriscos,[5] a term applied originally to Spaniards converted into Islam. The Moslem Spaniards spoke a Romance dialect but employed

[1] Cf. *Akhbār al-'Aṣr fi Inqiḍā' Dqwlat bani-Naṣr*, ed. M. J. Müller (Münich, 1863), p. 49.

[2] Legend makes Alhambra in that same year the scene of Christopher Columbus' appeal to Queen Isabella for a subsidy for his maritime adventure, the greatest in history, which resulted in the discovery of America.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 814-15.

[4] His greatest service was the printing (1502–17) of the Complutensian Polyglot, the first edition of the Bible in the original text with translation.

[5] Sp. for "little Moors". The Romans called Western Africa Mauretania and its inhabitants Mauri (presumably of Phœnician origin meaning "western"), whence Sp. *Moro*, Eng. Moor. The Berbers, therefore, were the Moors proper, but the term was conventionally applied to all Moslems of Spain and north-western Africa. The half-million Moslems of the Philippines are still known by the name Moros, given them by the Spaniards on the discovery of the islands by Magellan in 1521.

the Arabic script.[1] Many, if not most, Moriscos were of course of Spanish descent but all were now "reminded" that their ancestors had been Christians and that they must either submit to baptism or suffer the consequences. The Mudejars were grouped with the Moriscos and many became crypto-Moslems, professing Christianity but secretly practising Islam. Some would come home from their Christian weddings to be married secretly after the Moslem rite; many would adopt a Christian name for public and an Arabic one for private use. As early as 1501 a royal decree was issued that all Moslems in Castile and Leon should either recant or leave Spain, but evidently it was not strictly applied. In 1526 the Moslems of Aragon were confronted with the same alternatives. In 1556 Philip II promulgated a law requiring the remaining Moslems to abandon at once their language, worship, institutions and manner of life. He even ordered the destruction of the Spanish baths as a relic of infidelity. A rising, the second of its kind, started in Granada and spread to the neighbouring mountains, but was put down. The final order of expulsion was signed by Philip III in 1609, resulting in the forcible deportation *en masse* of practically all Moslems on Spanish soil. Some half a million are said to have suffered this fate and landed on the shores of Africa or to have taken ship to more distant lands of Islam. It was mainly from these Moriscos that the ranks of the Moroccan corsairs were recruited. Between the fall of Granada and the first decade of the seventeenth century it is estimated that about three million Moslems were banished or executed. The Moorish problem was for ever solved for Spain, which thus became the conspicuous exception to the rule that wherever Arab civilization was planted there it was permanently fixed. "The Moors were banished; for a while Christian Spain shone, like the moon, with a borrowed light; then came the eclipse, and in that darkness Spain has grovelled ever since."[2]

[1] The literature left by Moriscos is varied and linguistically interesting. It is termed *aljamiado* from Ar. *al-a'jamīyah*, foreign tongue. A collection of such manuscripts was found under the floor of an old house in Aragon, where they were apparently hidden from the officers of the Inquisition. These are the *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, ed. J. Ribera and M. Asín (Madrid, 1912). See A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature* (Paris, 1928).

[2] Lane-Poole, *Moors in Spain*, p. 280.

CHAPTER XL

INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

MOSLEM Spain wrote one of the brightest chapters in the intellectual history of medieval Europe. Between the middle of the eighth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, as we have noted before, the Arabic-speaking peoples were the main bearers of the torch of culture and civilization throughout the world. Moreover they were the medium through which ancient science and philosophy were recovered, supplemented and transmitted in such a way as to make possible the renaissance of Western Europe. In all this, Arabic Spain had a large share.

Language and literature

In the purely linguistic sciences, including philology, grammar and lexicography, the Arabs of al-Andalus lagged behind those of al-ʿIrāq. Al-Qāli (901–67), mentioned above as one of the eminent professors of the university of Cordova, was born in Armenia and educated in Baghdād. His chief disciple, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydi [1] (928–89), belonged to a family that hailed from Ḥimṣ, but was himself born in Seville. Al-Zubaydi was appointed by al-Ḥakam to supervise the education of his young son Hishām, who later appointed him qāḍi and chief magistrate of Seville. Al-Zubaydi's chief work was a classified list of grammarians and philologists who had flourished up to his time; al-Suyūṭi made extensive use of it in his *Muzhir*. It should be recalled at this point that Hebrew grammar, which was based essentially on Arabic grammar (above, p. 43, n. 1) and to this day uses technical terms which are translations of corresponding Arabic terms, had its birth in Moslem Spain. Ḥayyūj Judah ben-David (Ar. abu-Zakarīyā' Yaḥya ibn-Dāwūd), the father of scientific Hebrew grammar, flourished in Cordova, where he died early in the eleventh century.

In literature the most distinguished author was ibn-ʿAbd-Rabbihi (860–940) of Cordova, the laureate of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān

[1] See Thaʿālibi, *Yatīmah*, vol. i, p. 409; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 338-40.

III.[1] Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi was descended from an enfranchised slave of Hishām I. His title to fame rests on the miscellaneous anthology he composed, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*[2] (the unique necklace), which after *al-Aghāni* occupies first place among works on the literary history of the Arabs. But the greatest scholar and the most original thinker of Spanish Islam was 'Ali ibn-Ḥazm (994–1064), one of the two or three most fertile minds and most prolific writers of Islam. Ibn-Ḥazm claimed descent from a Persian client, but was in reality the grandson of a Spanish Moslem convert from Christianity. In his youth he adorned the tottering courts of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Mustaẓhir and Hishām al-Mu'tadd[3] in the capacity of vizir, but on the ensuing dissolution of the Umayyad caliphate he retired to a life of seclusion and literary pursuit. Ibn-Khallikān[4] and al-Qifṭi[5] ascribe to him four hundred volumes on history, theology, tradition, logic, poetry and allied subjects. As an exponent of the Ẓāhirite (literalist) school of jurisprudence and theology, long since extinct, he was as tireless as he was vigorous in his literary activity. In his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*[6] (the dove's necklace), an anthology of love poems, he extols platonic love. The most valuable of his surviving works, however, is *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal w-al-Ahwā' w-al-Niḥal*[7] (the decisive word on sects, heterodoxies and denominations), which entitles him to the honour of being the first scholar in the field of comparative religion. In this work he pointed out difficulties in the biblical narratives which disturbed no other minds till the rise of higher criticism in the sixteenth century.

For the history of literature the period of the party kings, particularly of the 'Abbādids, Murābiṭs and Muwaḥḥids, was one of special importance. The cultural seed sown in the Umayyad age did not come into full fruition until then. The civil wars which closed the Umayyad period and the subsequent rise of new dynasties enabled such centres as Seville, Toledo and Granada to eclipse Cordova. From this last city Arabicized

[1] See Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, pp 67-72; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 56-8.
[2] Several editions, none critical. The one used here is in 3 vols. (Cairo, 1302).
[3] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. v, p. 87. [4] Vol. ii, p. 22. [5] P. 233.
[6] Ed. D. K. Pétrof (Leyden, 1914); tr. A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers* (Paris, 1931).
[7] No scholarly edition. The one used here is in 5 vols. (Cairo, 1347–8). See Asín, *Abenhdzam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1927–32).

Christians, Mozarabs, quite conversant with Arabic literature, had communicated many elements of Arabic culture to the other kingdoms of the north and south. In prose the fables, tales and apologues, which began to flourish in Western Europe during the thirteenth century, present unmistakable analogies with earlier Arabic works, themselves of Indo-Persian origin. The delightful fables of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* were translated into Spanish for Alfonso the Wise (1252–82) of Castile and Leon, and shortly afterwards into Latin by a baptized Jew. A Persian translation became through French one of the sources of La Fontaine, as acknowledged by him. To the *maqāmah*, written in rhymed prose adorned with all manner of philological curiosity and intended to teach some moral lesson through the adventures of a cavalier-hero, the Spanish picaresque novel bears close affinity. But the most significant contribution of Arabic to the literature of medieval Europe was the influence it exercised by its form, which helped liberate Western imagination from a narrow and rigid discipline circumscribed by convention. The rich fantasy of Spanish literature betrays Arabic models, as does the wit of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, whose author was once a prisoner in Algiers and claimed that the book had an original in Arabic.

Poetry

Wherever and whenever the Arabic language was used there the passion for poetical composition was intense. Verses countless in number passed from mouth to mouth and were admired by high and low, not perhaps so much for their contents as for their music and exquisite diction. This sheer joy in the beauty and euphony of words, a characteristic of Arabic-speaking peoples, manifested itself on Spanish soil. The first Umayyad sovereign was a poet and so were several of his successors. Among the party kings al-Muʿtamid ibn-ʿAbbād was especially favoured by the Muses. Most of the sovereigns had laureates attached to their courts and took them along on their travels and wars. Seville boasted the largest number of graceful and inspired poets, but the flame had been kindled long before in Cordova and later shone brilliantly at Granada as long as that city remained the bulwark of Islam.

Aside from ibn-ʿAbd-Rabbihi, ibn-Ḥazm and ibn-al-Khaṭīb, Spain produced a number of poets whose compositions are still considered standard. Such a one was abu-al-Walīd Aḥmad ibn-Zaydūn (1003–71), reckoned by some as the greatest poet of al-

Andalus. Ibn-Zaydūn belonged to the noble family of Makhzūm, a branch of the Quraysh.[1] He was first a confidential agent to ibn-Jahwar, chief of the Cordovan oligarchy, but later fell from grace, probably on account of his violent love for the poetess al-Wallādah, daughter of the Caliph al-Mustakfi. After several years in prison and exile he was appointed by al-Mu'taḍid al-'Abbādi to the twofold position of grand vizir and commander of the troops and given the title *dhu-al-wizārataynˌ*[2] he of the two vizirates, i.e. that of the sword and that of the pen. It was under his influence that al-Mu'tamid sent an army in 1068 against Cordova and wrested it from Jahwarid hands. In al-Mu'tamids' court, which was temporarily removed to Cordova, ibn-Zaydūn aroused the jealousy of a rival poet and minister, ibn-'Ammār, a man of obscure origin who at first led a wandering life singing the praises of anyone who cared to reward him. Ibn-'Ammār met his death at the hand of his patron al-Mu'tamid at Seville in 1086.[3] Besides being an accomplished poet ibn-Zaydūn was a distinguished letter writer. One of his most widely read epistles is that in which he denounces ibn-'Abdūs, minister of ibn-Jahwar and rival for the hand of al-Wallādah. Several verses addressed by ibn-Zaydūn to al-Wallādah depict the glowing beauty of al-Zahrā' with its gardens, and illustrate the deep feeling for nature which is characteristic of Spanish Arabic poetry.[4]

This beautiful and talented al-Wallādah († 1087), renowned alike for personal charm and literary ability, was the Sappho of Spain, where Arab women seem to have shown special taste and aptitude for poetry and literature. Al-Maqqari[5] devotes a whole section to these women of al-Andalus in whom "eloquence was a second instinct". Al-Wallādah's home at Cordova was the meeting-place of wits, savants and poets.[6]

Among the lesser lights reference may be made to abu-Isḥāq ibn-Khafājah[7] († 1139), who spent his life in a little village south of Valencia without seeking to pay court to the kinglets of his time, and to the young licentious poet of Seville, Muḥammad ibn-Hāni' (937–73), who addressed several panegyrics to the

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 75-7.
[2] Cf. Marrākushi, p. 74, l. 5.
[3] Marrākushi, p. 89; ibn-Khāqān, pp. 98-9. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 370.
[4] Ibn-Khāqān, p. 73, quoted by al-Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 567, tr. in Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 425.
[5] Vol. ii, pp. 536-639.
[6] Ibn-Bassām, p. 376.
[7] His *Dīwān* published in Cairo, 1286. On his life see ibn-Khāqān, pp. 231-42; bn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 23-4.

Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mu'izz.[1] Ibn-Hāni' was considered tainted with the opinions of Greek philosophers.[2]

Emancipated to a limited degree from the fetters of convention, Spanish Arabic poetry developed new metrical forms and acquired an almost modern sensibility to the beautiful in nature. Through its ballads and love songs it manifested a tenderly romantic feeling which anticipated the attitude of medieval chivalry. By the beginning of the eleventh century a lyric system of *muwashshaḥ*[3] and *zajal* had been developed in the Andalus. Both forms were based on a refrain for the chorus and were undoubtedly sung. Music and song established and maintained everywhere their alliance with poetry. *Muwashshaḥs*

It was abu-Bakr ibn-Quzmān († 1160), the wandering minstrel of Cordova who travelled from town to town singing the praises of the great, who lifted the *zajal*, till then left entirely to improvisators, to the dignity of a literary form.[4] As for the other variety of folk-song, the *muwashshaḥ*, it was not only developed but invented in Spain, whence it spread into North Africa and the East. Among the noted *muwashshaḥ* composers were abu-al-'Abbās[5] al-Tuṭīli, the blind poet of Tudela who died in his youth, in 1126, after singing the glories of 'Ali, son and successor of Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn; Ibrāhīm ibn-Sahl[6] († 1251 or 1260), a Sevillan convert from Judaism whose persistence in the use of wine rendered his Islam suspect; and Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf abu-Ḥayyān (1256–1344) of Granada, a polyglot of Berber origin who also wrote Persian, Turkish,[7] Coptic and Ethiopic grammars.[8] Of these only the Turkish survived.

It was Arabic poetry in general and this lyric type in particular that aroused native Christian admiration and became one of the potent factors in assimilation. Two such forms, the *zajal* and

[1] Zāhid 'Ali, *Tabyīn al-Ma'āni fi Sharh Dīwān ibn-Hāni'* (Cairo, 1352), pp. 1 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 367; Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 444.

[3] So called by comparison with *wishāḥ*, a double belt ornamented with varicoloured pearls which women wear diagonally round the body from shoulder to hip.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 524. Ibn-Quzmān's poems have been published by A. R. Nykl, *El cancionero* (Madrid, 1933).

[5] Name wrongly given in ibn-Khāqān, p. 273; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 519.

[6] His *Dīwān*, printed in Beirūt, 1885. On him see Kutubi, *Fawāt*, vol. i, pp. 29-35; Maqqari, vol. ii, pp. 351-4; Soualah Mohammed, *Ibrahim Ibn Sahl* (Algiers, 1914).

[7] *Al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk*, ed. Ahmed Caferoğlu (Istanbul, 1930–31); the earliest or second earliest Turkish grammar.

[8] Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 356; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 823 *seq.* For other poets consult ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 518-34.

the *muwashshaḥ*, developed into the Castilian popular verse form of *villancico*, which was extensively used for Christian hymns, including Christmas carols. The sestet, which in its original form presumably rhymed CDE, CDE, was probably suggested by a form of Arabic *zajal* instanced in the works of the Andalusian poets. Al-Qazwīnī[1] († 1283) asserts that at Shilb (Silves) in southern Portugal one would meet even ploughmen capable of improvising verse. This brings to mind the many men in modern Lebanon, *qawwālūn*, who extemporaneously produce such folk-poetry, some of which they still call *zajal* and *muwashshaḥ*.

The emergence of a definite literary scheme of platonic love in Spanish as early as the eighth century marks a distinctive contribution of Arabic poetry. In southern France the first Provençal poets appear full-fledged toward the end of the eleventh century with palpitating love expressed in a wealth of fantastic imagery. The troubadours,[2] who flourished in the twelfth century, imitated their southern contemporaries, the *zajal*-singers. Following the Arabic precedent the cult of the dame suddenly arises in south-western Europe. The *Chanson de Roland*, the noblest monument of early European literature, whose appearance prior to 1080 marks the beginning of a new civilization—that of Western Europe—just as the Homeric poems mark the beginning of historic Greece, owes its existence to a military contact with Moslem Spain.

Education

Primary education was based, as in all Moslem lands, on writing and reading from the Koran and on Arabic grammar and poetry. Though mainly a private concern, education was nevertheless so widely spread that a high percentage of Spanish Moslems could read and write[3]—a situation unknown in Europe of that age. Higher value was placed on the function of the elementary teacher than in other lands of Islam. The position of women in the learned life, as portrayed by such an author as al-Maqqari[4] and verified by the facts of literary history, proves that in Andalusia the maxims prohibiting the teaching of writing to women were but little applied.

Higher education was based on koranic exegesis and theology, philosophy, Arabic grammar, poetry and lexicography, history

[1] *Āthār*, p. 364. R. Menéndez Pidal in *Bulletin hispanique*, vol. xl (1938), pp. 337 *seq.* A. R. Nykl in *ibid.* vol. xli (1939), pp. 305-15.

[2] This word may have come from Ar. *ṭarab*, music, song; Ribera, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii, p. 141.

[3] Cf. above, p. 531.

[4] See above, p. 560.

and geography. Several of the principal towns possessed what might be called universities, chief among which were those of Cordova, Seville, Malaga and Granada. The university of Cordova included among its departments astronomy, mathematics and medicine, in addition to theology and law. Its enrolment must have reached into thousands and its certificate opened the way to the most lucrative posts in the realm. The university of Granada was founded by the seventh Naṣrid, Yūsuf abu-al-Ḥajjāj (1333–54), whose administration was graced by the poet-historian Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khaṭīb.[1] The building had its gates guarded by stone lions. The curriculum comprised theology, jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, philosophy and astronomy. Castilian and other foreign students patronized this institution. In it and other universities it was customary to hold occasional public meetings and commemorations in which original poems were recited and orations delivered, usually by members of the faculty. A favourite inscription over collegiate portals ran thus: "The world is supported by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the righteous and the valour of the brave".

Side by side with universities libraries flourished. The royal library of Cordova, started by Muḥammad I (852–86) and enlarged by ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III, became the largest and best when al-Ḥakam II added his own collection. A number of persons, including some women, had private collections.

Books

The peculiarities of Moslem life with its lack of political assemblies and theatres, which were characteristic features of Greece and Rome, made books almost the sole means of acquiring knowledge. As a book market Cordova held first place in Spain. This anecdote illustrates the spirit of the time: [2]

> When living in Cordova I frequented its book market looking for a book in which I was especially interested. At last a copy of good calligraphy and handsome binding fell into my hands. Full of joy, I began to bid for it but was time after time outbid by another until the price offered far exceeded the proper limit. I then said to the auctioneer: "Show me this rival bidder who has raised the price beyond the worth of the book". Accordingly he took me to a man attired in distinguished

[1] *Lamḥah*, pp. 91, 96. In late years Granada has again become a centre for Arabic studies in Spain.

[2] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 302.

garb. Approaching him I said: "May Allah keep our lord the *faqīh* strong! If you have a special object in acquiring this book I will let it go, for the bidding has already exceeded the limit." His answer was: "I am not a *faqīh*, nor am I aware of the contents of the book. But I have just established a library and made much of it in order to pride myself among the notables of my town. There is still an empty space there which this book will just fill up. Seeing that it was in elegant hand and good cover, I liked it and cared not how much I paid for it, for, thanks to Allah, I am a man of means."

Paper

This accumulation of books in Andalusia would not have been possible but for the local manufacture of writing-paper, one of the most beneficial contributions of Islam to Europe. Without paper, printing from movable type, which was invented in Germany about the middle of the fifteenth century, would not have been successful, and without paper and printing popular education in Europe, on the scale to which it developed, would not have been feasible. From Morocco, into which the manufacture of paper was introduced from the East, the industry passed into Spain in the middle of the twelfth century.[1] Yāqūt[2] mentions Shāṭibah (Játiva) as the centre of the industry in Spain. A philological reminder of this historical fact is English "ream", which is derived through Old French *rayme* from Spanish *resma*, a loan-word from Arabic *rizmah*, a bundle. After Spain the art of paper-making was established in Italy (*ca.* 1268–76), also as a result of Moslem influence, presumably from Sicily. France owed its first paper-mills to Spain, and not to returning Crusaders as claimed by some. From these countries the industry spread throughout Europe. A secretary of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān used to write the official communications in his home and send them to a special office for reproduction—a form of printing (*ṭabʿ*, perhaps block printing)—whence copies were distributed to the various governmental agents.[3]

After the destruction of Moslem power in Spain less than two thousand volumes survived to be collected by Philip II (1556–98) and his successors from the various Arab libraries. These formed the nucleus of the Escurial library still standing not far from Madrid. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Sharīf Zaydān, sultan of Morocco, fleeing his capital, sent his library aboard a ship whose captain refused to land the books at the

[1] See above, p. 347. [2] Vol. iii, p. 235. [3] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 137.

proper destination because he had not received full pay in advance. On its way to Mārseilles the ship fell into the hands of Spanish pirates and its bookish booty, to the number of three or four thousand volumes, was deposited by order of Philip III in the Escurial, which made this library one of the richest in Arabic manuscripts.[1]

Historiography

In Spain Arabic philology, theology, historiography, geography, astronomy and allied sciences had a comparatively late development, since the Moslems there, unlike their co-religionists of Syria and al-ʿIrāq, had but little to learn from the natives. Even after their rise Spanish sciences lagged behind those of the Eastern caliphate. It was mainly in such disciplines as botany, medicine, philosophy and astronomical mathematics that Western Moslems made their greatest mark.

One of the earliest and best known of Andalusian historians was abu-Bakr ibn-ʿUmar, usually known as ibn-al-Qūṭīyah,[2] who was born and flourished at Cordova, where he died in 977. His *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ* (variant *Fatḥ*) *al-Andalus*,[3] which we have used in this work, extends from the Moslem conquest to the early part of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III's reign. Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah was also a grammarian and his treatise on the conjugation of verbs[4] was the first ever composed on the subject. Another early but more prolific historical writer was abu-Marwān Ḥayyān ibn-Khalaf of Cordova, surnamed ibn-Ḥayyān (987 or 988–1076). Ibn-Ḥayyān's list of works contains no less than fifty titles, one of which, *al-Matīn*, comprised sixty volumes. Unfortunately only one work, *al-Muqtabis fi Taʾrīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*,[5] has survived. The most valuable work on the Muwaḥḥid period was written in 1224 by the Moroccan historian ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushi,[6] who sojourned in Spain.

Andalusia produced a number of biographers, one of the first among whom was abu-al-Walīd ʿAbdullāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Faraḍi, who was born in 962 at Cordova, where he studied and

[1] See its catalogue, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, by Hartwig Derenbourg, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884–1903), vol. iii, revised by Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1928).

[2] See Thaʿālibi, vol. i, pp. 411-12; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 336-8.

[3] (Madrid, 1868); tr. Don Julián Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España* (Madrid, 1926).

[4] *Kitāb al-Afʿāl*, ed. Ignaz Guidi (Leyden, 1894).

[5] Ed. Melchor M. Antuña, pt. 3 (Paris, 1937).

[6] *Al-Muʿjib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1881); tr. E. Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades* (Algiers, 1893).

taught. When thirty years old he undertook a pilgrimage in the course of which he stopped to study at al-Qayrawān, Cairo, Makkah and al-Madīnah. After his return he was appointed qāḍi of Valencia. During the sack of Cordova by the Berbers in 1013 ibn-al-Faraḍi was murdered in his home; his body was not found till the fourth day afterward and was so decomposed that it was buried without the usual ceremonial washing and wrapping.[1] Only one of ibn-al-Faraḍi's works, *Ta'rīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*,[2] is extant. This collection of biographies of the Arab scholars of Spain was supplemented by ibn-Bashkuwāl, abu-al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, in a volume completed in 1139 under the title *al-Ṣilah fi Ta'rīkh A'immat al-Andalus*.[3] This is one of two surviving works of ibn-Bashkuwāl, who is credited with the composition of some fifty books.[4] Ibn-Bashkuwāl was born at Cordova in 1101 and died there in 1183. His *Ṣilah* was continued by abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-al-Abbār (1199–1260) of Valencia under the title *al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah*.[5] In addition to this work ibn-al-Abbār wrote *al-Ḥullah al-Siyarā'*,[6] a collection of biographies. Another valuable dictionary of learned Spanish Arabs is *Bughyat al-Multamis fi Ta'rīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*, by al-Ḍabbi,[7] abu-Ja'far Aḥmad ibn-Yaḥya († 1203), who flourished in Murcia.

In the history of science we have from the pen of abu-al-Qāsim Ṣā'id ibn-Aḥmad al-Ṭulayṭuli (1029–70)[8] the *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*[9] (classification of nations), which was a source of al-Qifṭi, ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah and ibn-al-'Ibri. Ṣā'id held the office of qāḍi of Toledo under the dhu-al-Nūns and distinguished himself as historian, mathematician and astronomical observer.

The two names which stand for the highest literary accomplishment and historical comprehension of which Western Islam was

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 480; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 546.
[2] Ed. Francisco Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1890–92).
[3] Ed. Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1882–3).
[4] Al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 2nd ed., vol. iv (Ḥaydarābād, 1334), p. 129. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 305-6.
[5] One part edited by Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1886–9), another by M. Alarcón and C. A. González Palencia in *Misceldnea de estudios y textos árabes* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 146-690, completed by Alfred Bel and M. Ben Cheneb (Algiers, 1919–20). On ibn-al-Abbār consult Kutubi, vol. ii, pp. 282-4; ibn-Khaldūn, tr. de Slane, vol. ii, pp. 347-50; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 77.
[6] Edited in part by Dozy (Leyden, 1847–51).
[7] Ed. Codera and Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1884–5).
[8] Ḍabbi, *Bughyah*, p. 311.
[9] Ed. L. Cheikho (Beirūt, 1912).

capable are those of the two friends and officials of the Naṣrid court, ibn-al-Khaṭīb and ibn-Khaldūn.

Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khaṭīb[1] (1313–74) was descended from an Arab family which had migrated to Spain from Syria. Under the seventh Naṣrid sultan, Yūsuf abu-al-Ḥajjāj (1334–54), and his son Muḥammad V (1354–9, 1362–91), he held the pompous title of *dhu-al-wizāratayn*.[2] In 1371 he fled from Granada because of court intrigues, only to be strangled to death three years later at Fās in revenge for a private feud. In his death Granada, if not the whole of Arab Spain, lost its last important author, poet and statesman. Of the sixty odd works penned by ibn-al-Khaṭīb, which are chiefly poetical, belletristic, historical, geographical, medicinal and philosophic, about a third have survived. Of these the most important for us is the extensive history of Granada.[3]

ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Khaldūn (1332–1406) was born in Tunis of a Spanish Arab family which traced its ancestry to the Kindah tribe. The founder of the family had migrated in the ninth century from al-Yaman to Spain; his descendants flourished in Seville until the thirteenth century. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān himself held a number of high offices in Fās before he fell into disgrace and entered (1361) the service of the sultan of Granada, Muḥammad VI. The sultan entrusted him with an important mission of peace to the Castilian court. Two years later, after having aroused the jealousy of his powerful friend ibn-al-Khaṭīb, ibn-Khaldūn returned to al-Maghrib. Here he occupied a number of positions, finally retiring to Qalʿat ibn-Salāmah,[4] where he began work on his history and resided till 1378. In 1382 he set out on a pilgrimage but broke his journey in Cairo to lecture at its famous mosque, al-Azhar. Two years later he was appointed chief Mālikite qāḍi of Cairo by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. In 1401 he accompanied Barqūq's successor al-Nāṣir to Damascus on his campaign against the dreadful Tamerlane (Tīmūr), who received ibn-Khaldūn as an honoured guest. Thus

[1] Al-Maqqari devotes the second half of his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* to the life and works of ibn-al-Khaṭīb. Al-Maqqari was of Tilimsān but compiled this work, which is our principal authority for the whole literary history of Moslem Spain, at Damascus between 1628 and 1630.

[2] See above, p. 560.

[3] *Al-Iḥāṭah fi Taʾrīkh Gharnāṭah*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1319), an abbreviated edition.

[4] Now called Tawghzūt, east of Tilimsān in northern Algeria.

did this historian play a significant part in the politics of North Africa and Spain, all of which prepared him admirably for the writing of his great work. His comprehensive history, entitled *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' w-al-Khabar fi Ayyām al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam w-al-Barbar*[1] (book of instructive examples and register of subject and predicate dealing with the history of the Arabs, Persians and Berbers), is made up of three parts; a *Muqaddamah*[2] (prolegomena), forming volume one; the main body, treating of the Arabs and neighbouring peoples; and the last part,[3] which sketches the history of the Berbers and the Moslem dynasties of North Africa. Unfortunately the critical theories ably propounded in the *Muqaddamah* were not applied to the main part of the work. However, the section treating of the Arab and Berber tribes of the Maghrib will ever remain a valuable guide.

The fame of ibn-Khaldūn rests on his *Muqaddamah*. In it he presented for the first time a theory of historical development which takes due cognizance of the physical facts of climate and geography as well as of the moral and spiritual forces at work As one who endeavoured to formulate laws of national progress and decay ibn-Khaldūn may be considered the discoverer—as he himself claimed[4]—of the true scope and nature of history or at least the real founder of the science of sociology. No Arab writer, indeed no European, had ever taken a view of history at once so comprehensive and philosophic. By the consensus of all critical opinion ibn-Khaldūn was the greatest historical philosopher Islam produced and one of the greatest of all time.

Geography

The best-known geographer of the eleventh century was al-Bakri, a Hispano-Arab, and the most brilliant geographical author and cartographer of the twelfth century, indeed of all medieval time, was al-Idrīsi, a descendant of a royal Spanish Arab family who got his education in Spain.

[1] 7 vols. (Cairo, 1284). At the end of vol. vii, beginning p. 379, is his autobiography, the best source for his life. This was translated by M. G. de Slane, *Journal asiatique*, ser. 4, vol. 3 (1844), pp. 5-60, 187-210, 291-308, 325-53. See Maqqari (Cairo, 1302), vol. iv, pp. 6-17.

[2] Earlier than the Cairo edition is that of M. Quatremère, 3 vols. (Paris, 1858); tr. de Slane, 3 vols. (Paris, 1862–8, ed. Boutboul, Paris, 1934–8).

[3] Tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. Paul Casanova, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925–7).

[4] *Muqaddamah*, pp. 4-5.

Abu-'Ubayd 'Abdullāh ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Bakri,[1] the earliest of the Western Moslem geographers whose works have survived, flourished in Cordova, where he died at an advanced age in 1094. A belletrist, poet and philologist, he won his laurels through his voluminous geography *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*[2] (the book of roads and kingdoms), which, like most geographical works of the Middle Ages, was written in the form of an itinerary. The book has survived only in part.

Al-Idrīsi, born at Ceuta in 1100, shed lustre on the reign of Roger II, Norman king of Sicily, and will be treated in that connection.

Travels

After al-Idrīsi Arab geographical literature can claim no great originality and is represented by travellers' narratives, which then become especially numerous. The best known among these travellers was ibn-Jubayr,[3] abu-al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad, who was born in Valencia in 1145 and educated at Játiva. Between 1183 and 1185 ibn-Jubayr undertook a journey from Granada to Makkah and back, visiting Egypt, al-'Irāq, Syria—parts of which were still in the hands of the Crusaders—and Sicily. He travelled in the East on two further occasions, 1189–1191 and 1217, but on the latter journey he only reached Alexandria, where he died. His *Riḥlah*,[4] the account of his first journey, is one of the most important works of its kind in Arabic literature. Another Hispano-Arab geographer and traveller was abu-Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Māzini (1080/1–1169/70) of Granada, who visited Russia in 1136. While among the Bulgars in the Volga region he witnessed a commercial activity unreported in any other source, trade in fossil mammoth ivory, which was exported as far as Khwārizm to be made into combs and pyxides.[5]

The travels of ibn-Jubayr and al-Māzini were eclipsed by those of the Moroccan Arab Muḥammad ibn-'Abdullāh ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, the Moslem globe-trotter of the Middle Ages. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah was born at Ṭanjah (Tangier) in 1304 and died in Marrakesh in 1377. In the second quarter of that century he

[1] Consult ibn-Bashkuwāl, vol. i, p. 282; Suyūṭi, *Bughyah*, p. 285.
[2] Edited in part by de Slane (Algiers, 1857).
[3] On him see Maqqari (Leyden), vol. i, pp. 714 *seq.*
[4] Ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1907).
[5] "Tuḥfat al-Albāb", ed. Gabriel Ferrand in *Journal asiatique*, vol. ccvii (1925), p. 238.

made four pilgrimages to Makkah in conjunction with which he journeyed all over the Moslem world. Eastward he reached Ceylon, Bengal, the Maldive Islands and China. He also visited Constantinople. His last travels in 1353 took him far into the interior of Africa. His alleged visit to the city of Bulghār, near Kazan and the Volga, seems to be the only serious fabrication in his whole account.[1]

Influence over the West

Arab geographical studies had but a limited influence in the West. They kept alive the ancient doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, without which the discovery of the New World would not have been possible. An exponent of this doctrine was abu-'Ubaydah Muslim al-Balansi (of Valencia), who flourished in the first half of the tenth century.[2] They perpetuated the Hindu idea that the known hemisphere of the world had a centre or "world cupola" or "summit" situated at an equal distance from the four cardinal points. This *arīn*[3] theory found its way into a Latin work published in 1410. From this Columbus acquired the doctrine which made him believe that the earth was shaped in the form of a pear and that on the western hemisphere opposite the *arīn* was a corresponding elevated centre. It was, however, in the realm of astronomical geography and mathematics that a number of new concepts were contributed to Western lore.

Astronomy and mathematics

In Spain astronomical studies were cultivated assiduously after the middle of the tenth century and were regarded with special favour by the rulers of Cordova, Seville and Toledo. Following abu-Ma'shar of Baghdād, most of the Andalusian astronomers believed in astral influence as the cause underlying the chief occurrences between birth and death on this earth. The study of this astral influence, i.e. astrology, necessitated the determining of the location of places throughout the world together with their latitudes and longitudes. Thus did astrology become the mother of astronomy. Finally it was through Spanish channels that the Latin West found its Oriental inspiration in astronomy and astrology. The leading Moslem astronomical works were translated in Spain into Latin, and the Alfonsine tables compiled under the ægis of Alfonso X in the thirteenth century were but a development of Arab astronomy.

[1] *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fi Gharā'ib al-Amṣār wa-'Ajā'ib al-Asfār*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 3rd impression (Paris, 1879–93), vol. ii, pp. 398-9.

[2] Ṣā'id, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 64. See ibn-Ḥazm, vol. ii, pp. 78-9; above, p. 375.

[3] See above, p. 384.

Spanish Arab astronomers built upon the preceding astronomical and astrological works of their co-religionists in the East. They reproduced the Aristotelian system, as distinguished from the Ptolemaic, and in the name of Aristotle attacked the Ptolemaic representation of the celestial movements. Outstanding among early Hispano-Arabic astronomers were al-Majrīṭi [1] († *ca.* 1007) of Cordova, al-Zarqāli (*ca.* 1029–*ca.* 1087) of Toledo and ibn-Aflaḥ († between 1140 and 1150) of Seville.

Abu-al-Qāsim Maslamah al-Majrīṭi, the earliest Spanish Moslem scientist of any importance, edited and corrected the planetary tables (*zīj*) of al-Khwārizmi,[2] the first tables composed by a Moslem. He converted the basis of these tables from the era of Yazdagird into that of Islam and to some extent replaced the meridian of *arīn* by that of Cordova. In 1126 Adelard of Bath made a Latin version of the tables ascribed to al-Khwārizmi. About fourteen years later another important *zīj*, that of al-Battāni, composed about 900, was rendered into Latin by Plato of Tivoli and long afterwards done directly from Arabic into Spanish under the auspices of Alfonso X († 1284), surnamed the Wise and the Astronomer. Among al-Majrīṭi's honorific titles was *al-ḥāsib*, the mathematician, for he was considered a leader (*imām*) in mathematical knowledge, including mensuration. It was either he or his Cordovan disciple abu-al-Ḥakam 'Amr al-Karmāni[3] († 1066) who introduced into Spain the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.

The so-called Toledan tables were based upon observations made by a number of Moslem and Jewish astronomers, notable among whom was al-Zarqāli (L. Arzachel, *ca.* 1029–*ca.* 87), abu-Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn-Yaḥya. These tables comprised geographical information derived from Ptolemy and al-Khwārizmi and were rendered into Latin in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. The works of Raymond of Marseilles were likewise largely drawn (1140) from the astronomical canons of al-Zarqāli. Ptolemy's exaggerated estimate of the length of the Mediterranean Sea as 62°, cut by al-Khwārizmi to about 52°, was reduced probably by al-Zarqāli to the approximately correct figure of 42°. Al-Zarqāli was evidently the foremost astronomical observer of his age.[4] He

[1] Born in Majrīṭ (Madrid).

[2] Ṣā'id, p. 69, quoted by ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 39. Cf. Qifṭi, p. 326. Ṣā'id, who was himself an astronomer, criticizes al-Majrīṭi.

[3] Ṣā'id, p. 71.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 75.

devised an improved type of astrolabe, called the *ṣafīḥah*,[1] and was the first to prove the motion of the solar apogee with reference to the stars. According to his measurements it amounted to 12.04″, whereas its real value is 11.8″. Copernicus quotes al-Zarqāli along with al-Battāni in his book *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*.

In his *Kitāb al-Hay'ah*[2] (book of astronomy), which was also translated by Gerard of Cremona, Jābir ibn-Aflaḥ (Geber filius Afflæ) sharply criticizes Ptolemy and rightly asserts that the lower planets, Mercury and Venus, have no visible parallaxes. This book of ibn-Aflaḥ is otherwise noteworthy for a chapter on spherical and plane trigonometry. About two and a half centuries before ibn-Aflaḥ, al-Battāni had popularized, if not discovered, the first notions of trigonometrical ratios as we use them today. The science of trigonometry, like algebra and analytical geometry, was largely founded by Arabs.

Foremost among the last Spanish astronomers stood Nūr-al-Dīn abu-Isḥāq al-Biṭrūji[3] (Alpetragius, † *ca.* 1204), a pupil of ibn-Ṭufayl. His *Kitāb al-Hay'ah*,[4] on the configuration of the heavenly bodies, is remarkable for its attempt to revive in a modified form the false theory of homocentric spheres. Though considered the exponent of a new astronomy, al-Biṭrūji in reality reproduced the Aristotelian system; his work marks the culmination of the Moslem anti-Ptolemaic movement. By the end of the twelfth century translations had been made from Arabic into Latin of a large number of Aristotle's works on astronomy, physics and meteorology, in which most of Aristotle's thought in geography had also found expression.

Arab astronomers have left on the sky immortal traces of their industry which everyone who reads the names of the stars on an ordinary celestial sphere can readily discern. Not only are most of the star-names in European languages of Arabic origin, such as Acrab (*'aqrab*, scorpion), Algedi (*al-jadi*, the kid), Altair (*al-ṭā'ir*, the flyer), Deneb (*dhanab*, tail), Pherkad (*farqad*, calf),[5] but a number of technical terms, including "azimuth"

[1] Qifṭi, p. 57. Cf. Khwārizmi, *Mafātiḥ*, pp. 233-4.

[2] Cf. Qifṭi, p. 319, l. 12, p. 393, l. 1; Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. vi, p. 506. Like most other astronomical works this book has survived only in manuscript form.

[3] Of Pedroche, north of Cordova.

[4] Translated into Latin by Michael Scot in 1217 and into Hebrew in 1259.

[5] For more names consult Richard H. Allen, *Star-Names and their Meanings* (New York, 1899); Amīn F. al-Ma'lūf, *al-Mu'jam al-Falaki* (Cairo, 1935).

(*al-sumūt*), "nadir" (*naẓīr*), "zenith" (*al-samt*), are likewise of Arabic etymology and testify to the rich legacy of Islam to Christian Europe. In the mathematical vocabulary of Europe we have another eloquent witness to Arab scientific influence. Other than borrowings, as illustrated by such words as "algebra" and "algorism" cited above, certain Arabic terms were translated into Latin. The algebraic term "surd", a sixteenth-century loan-word from Latin meaning "deaf", is a translation from Arabic *jadhr aṣamm* (deaf root). In trigonometry "sine" (L. *sinus*) is likewise a translation of an Arabic word *jayb* (pocket), which is in turn an adaptation of Sanskrit *jīva*. The English mathematician Robert of Chester, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, was the first to use *sinus* as equivalent to Arabic *jayb* in its trigonometrical acceptation.

One of the most interesting mathematical terms borrowed from Arabic is "cipher"[1] or "zero". While the Arabs, as we have learned, did not invent the cipher, they nevertheless introduced it with the Arabic numerals into Europe and taught Westerners the employment of this most convenient convention, thus facilitating the use of arithmetic in everyday life. In the numeral system the cipher is of capital importance. If in a series a unit, a ten or a power of ten is not represented "these little circles" are used "to keep the rows".[2] Without the zero we should have to arrange our figures in a table with columns of units, tens, hundreds, etc., that is, use an abacus.

We have seen earlier that al-Khwārizmi, writing in the first half of the ninth century, was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called *Hindi*, indicating their Indian origin. His work on the Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath in the twelfth century and as *De numero indico* has survived, whereas the Arabic original has been lost. Moreover, the Moslems of Spain had developed as early as the second half of the ninth century numerals slightly different in shape, *ḥurūf al-ghubār* (letters of dust), originally used in conjunction with some kind of sand abacus. Most

[1] Not cognate with "cipher" meaning "code", "monogram", which is derived from Ar. *sifr*, book, originally Aramaic.

[2] Khwārizmi, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 194.

scholars trace the *ghubār* numerals, like the Hindu, back to India; others claim that they were of Roman origin and were known in Spain before the advent of the Arabs.[1] Gerbert, who spent several years in Spain prior to his becoming Pope Silvester II (999–1003), was the first to describe scientifically the *ghubār* numerals, his work appearing about a hundred years after the earliest Arabic manuscripts (874) containing such numerals. The modern European numerals bear closer resemblance to the *ghubār* than to the Hindu figures.

The diffusion of the Arabic numerals in non-Moslem Europe was incredibly slow. Christian arithmeticians throughout the eleventh, twelfth and part of the thirteenth centuries persisted in the use of the antiquated Roman numerals and the abacus or made a compromise and used the new algorisms together with their old system. It was in Italy that the new symbols were first employed for practical purposes. In 1202 Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa, who was taught by a Moslem master and had travelled in North Africa, published a work which was the main landmark in the introduction of the Arabic numerals. More than that, it marks the beginning of European mathematics. With the old type of numerals, arithmetical progress along certain lines would have been impossible. The zero and Arabic numerals lie behind the science of calculation as we know it today.

Botany and medicine

In the field of natural history,[2] especially botany pure and applied, as in that of astronomy and mathematics, the Western Moslems enriched the world by their researches. They made correct observations on sexual difference between such plants as palms and hemps. They classified plants into those that grow from cuttings, those that grow from seed and those that grow spontaneously, as evidenced by ibn-Sab'īn's answer to one of Emperor Frederick's questions.[3] The Cordova physician al-Ghāfiqi,[4] abu-Ja'far Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad († 1165), collected plants in Spain and Africa, gave the name of each in Arabic, Latin and Berber, and described them in a way that may be

[1] David E. Smith and Louis C. Karpinski, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals* (Boston and London, 1911), pp. 65 *seq.*; Solomon Gandz in *Isis*, vol. xvi (1931), pp. 393-424. See ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 4, l. 22.

[2] On the horse and horsemen see ibn-Hudhayl, *Ḥilyat al-Fursān wa-Shi'ār al-Shuj'ān*, ed. Louis Mercier (Paris, 1922); tr. Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux* (Paris, 1924).

[3] See below, p. 587.

[4] Ghāfiq was a town near Cordova.

considered the most precise and accurate in Arabic. His principal work *al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah* (on simples) [1] was not merely quoted but practically appropriated by his later and better-known confrère and countryman, ibn-al-Bayṭār. Towards the end of the twelfth century there flourished at Seville abu-Zakarīyā' Yaḥya ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-'Awwām, whose treatise on agriculture, *al-Filāḥah*, is not only the most important Islamic, but the outstanding medieval work on the subject. Derived partly from earlier Greek and Arabic sources and partly from the experience of Moslem husbandmen in Spain, this book treats of five hundred and eighty-five plants and explains the cultivation of more than fifty fruit trees. It presents new observations on grafting and the properties of soil and manure and discusses the symptoms of several diseases of trees and vines, suggesting methods of cure. But with all its importance this book was little known to Arab writers; neither ibn-Khallikān, Yāqūt, nor Ḥājji Khalfah knew it and ibn-Khaldūn [2] wrongly considers it a recension of ibn-Waḥshīyah's.[3]

Ibn-al-Bayṭār

The best-known botanist and pharmacist of Spain, in fact of the Moslem world, was 'Abdullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Bayṭār, a worthy successor of Dioscorides. Born at Malaga, ibn-al-Bayṭār travelled as a herbalist in Spain and throughout North Africa and later entered the service of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo as chief herbalist.[4] From Egypt he made extensive trips throughout Syria and Asia Minor. In 1248 he died in Damascus, leaving two celebrated works dedicated to his patron al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who, like his predecessor al-Kāmil, used Damascus as his Syrian capital. One of these works, *al-Mughni fi al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah*, is on materia medica; the other, *al-Jāmi' fi al-*

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 52. An abridged edition prepared by the famous Christian historian ibn-al-'Ibri has been recently published as *Muntakhab Kitāb Jāmi' al-Mufradāt*, ed. Max Meyerhof and Jūrji Ṣubḥi (Cairo, 1932?), with an English translation. Ibn-al-'Ibri's abridged translation into Syriac has been lost.

[2] *Muqaddamah*, p. 412.

[3] In his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis*, vol. i (Madrid, 1760), pp. 323 *seq.*, the Lebanese scholar Michael Casiri (Ghazīri) was the first to call attention to the complete MS. of ibn-al-'Awwām's work in the Escurial. Casiri's pupil Josef Antonio Banqueri edited it with a Sp. tr., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1802); tr. Clément-Mullet, *Le livre d'agriculture*, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris, 1864–7). Neither the edition nor the translations are satisfactory.

[4] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 133; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 934; Kutubi, vol. i, p. 261. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah was a pupil of ibn-al-Bayṭār and herborized with him in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Adwiyah al-Mufradah,[1] is a collection of "simple remedies" from the animal, vegetable and mineral worlds, embodying Greek and Arabic data supplemented by the author's own experiments and researches. It stands out as the foremost medieval treatise of its kind. Some 1400 items are considered, of which 300, including about 200 plants, were novelties. The number of authors quoted is about one hundred and fifty, of whom twenty were Greek. Parts of the Latin version of ibn-al-Bayṭār's *Simplicia* were printed as late as 1758 at Cremona.

Medicine

Most of the Spanish Arab physicians were physicians by avocation and something else by vocation. Ibn-Rushd, ibn-Maymūn, ibn-Bājjah and ibn-Ṭufayl were better known as philosophers and will be treated on a later page. Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, whom we have already noted as a stylist and historian, held like many other physicians a vizirial office. In connection with the "black death", which in the middle of the fourteenth century was ravaging Europe and before which Christians stood helpless, considering it an act of God, this Moslem physician of Granada composed a treatise in defence of the theory of infection, as may be illustrated by the following passage:[2]

To those who say, "How can we admit the possibility of infection while the religious law denies it?" we reply that the existence of contagion is established by experience, investigation, the evidence of the senses and trustworthy reports. These facts constitute a sound argument. The fact of infection becomes clear to the investigator who notices how he who establishes contact with the afflicted gets the disease, whereas he who is not in contact remains safe, and how transmission is effected through garments, vessels and earrings.

Al-Zahrāwi

The greatest surgeon of the Arabs, who never produced many surgeons, was abu-al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn-ʿAbbās al-Zahrāwi[3] († *ca.* 1013), the court physician of al-Ḥakam II. His claim to distinction rests on a treatise *al-Taṣrīf li-Man ʿAjaz ʿan al-*

[1] *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah w-al-Aghdhiyah*, 4 vols. (Būlāq, 1291); German translation by Joseph v. Sontheimer, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1840–42) unsatisfactory; Fr. tr. Lucien Leclerc in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. xxiii (Paris, 1877), pt. i, vol. xxv (1881), pt. i, vol. xxvi (1883), pt. i.

[2] "Muqniʿat al-Sāʾil ʿan al-Maraḍ al-Hāʾil", ed. and tr. M. J. Müller, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, vol. ii (Munich, 1863), pp. 6-7, 18-19.

[3] His birthplace al-Zahrāʾ was the famous suburb of Cordova. He is known to the Latin writers as Abulcasis or Albucasis, a corruption of abu-al-Qāsim.

Ta'dlīf[1] (an aid to him who is not equal to the large treatises), which in its last section sums up the surgical knowledge of his time. The work introduces or emphasizes such new ideas as cauterization of wounds, crushing a stone inside the bladder and the necessity of vivisection and dissection. This surgical part was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona and various editions were published at Venice in 1497, at Basel in 1541 and at Oxford in 1778.[2] It held its place for centuries as the manual of surgery in Salerno, Montpellier and other early schools of medicine. It contained illustrations of instruments which influenced other Arab authors and helped lay the foundations of surgery in Europe. A colleague of al-Zahrāwi was Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūṭ, the Jewish minister and physician who translated into Arabic, with the collaboration of a Byzantine monk Nicholas, the splendid illustrated manuscript of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, which had been sent as a diplomatic present to 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII.[3]

Ibn-Zuhr

Al-Zahrāwi's rank in the art of surgery was paralleled by that of ibn-Zuhr in the science of medicine. Abu-Marwān 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-abi-al-'Alā', surnamed ibn-Zuhr[4] (L. through Heb. Avenzoar), was the most illustrious member of the greatest medical family of Spain. Ibn-Zuhr was born between 1091 and 1094 in Seville, where he died in 1162 after serving for many years as court physician and vizir to 'Abd-al-Mu'min, founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty. His originality he showed by confining himself to authorship in the field of medicine, when his colleagues were spreading themselves over several branches of knowledge. Of the six medical works written by him three are extant. The most valuable is *al-Taysīr fi al-Mudāwāh w-al-Tadbīr*[5] (the facilitation of therapeutics and diet) written at the request of his friend and admirer ibn-Rushd as a counterpart to the latter's *al-Kullīyāt*.[6] The *Taysīr* dealt with more specific topics than the *Kullīyāt*. In his *al-Kullīyāt* ibn-Rushd hails ibn-

[1] *Ta'lif* in ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 52.

[2] The Oxford edition Albucasis, *De chirurgia*, has part of the text with Latin translation by John Channing. The text in its entirety has not yet been published.

[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 47, where Romanus is credited with the donation.

[4] See ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 66-7.

[5] The Hebrew translation was rendered into "vulgar language", possibly the Venetian dialect, which was in turn done into Latin in 1280 with the help of a Jew in Venice, where it was repeatedly printed.

[6] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 75-6.

Zuhr as the greatest physician since Galen. At least he was the greatest clinician in Islam after al-Rāzi. Ibn-Zuhr has been often credited with being the first to discuss feeling in bones and to describe the itch mite (*ṣu'ābat al-jarab*); but it has been recently shown that in his discovery of the itch mite he was anticipated by Aḥmad al-Ṭabari (second half of tenth century) in his *al-Mu'ālajah al-Buqrāṭīyah*.[1]

The ibn-Zuhr family produced about six generations of physicians in direct descent. After the above-mentioned abu-Marwān his son, abu-Bakr Muḥammad († 1198–9), was the most distinguished member. His distinction, however, was due more to his control of all branches of Arabic literature than to his medical activity. Several poems, including *muwashshaḥs* of great delicacy of sentiment, are ascribed to him.[2] The Muwaḥḥid abu-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr appointed him his physician at Marrakesh, where he was poisoned by a jealous vizir. The caliph himself preached his funeral sermon. One of the early ibn-Zuhrs, a grandfather and namesake of abu-Marwān 'Abd-al-Malik, had practised medicine not only in Spain but in Baghdād, al-Qayrawān and Cairo.[3] Another Hispano-Arab physician who practised in the East was 'Ubaydullāh ibn-al-Muẓaffar al-Bāhili of Almería (al-Marīyah). Al-Bāhili, a poet as well as physician, entered in 1127 the service of the Saljūq Maḥmūd ibn-Malikshāh in Baghdād and provided him with a field hospital transported on forty camels.[4] He died at Damascus in 1154.

Transmission to Europe

In the first centuries of Moslem domination in Spain, Eastern culture flowed from a higher level into Andalusia, as can be seen from al-Maqqari's[5] list of Spanish savants who journeyed "in quest of learning" to Egypt, Syria, al-'Irāq, Persia and even Transoxiana and China; but in the eleventh and following centuries the course was reversed, as illustrated by ibn-Zuhr and al-Bāhili. Indeed, the current became strong enough in the twelfth century to overflow into Europe. In the transmission of Arab medicine to Europe, north-western Africa and Spain, in particular Toledo, where Gerard of Cremona and Michael Scot

[1] Mohamed Rihab in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. xix (1927), pp. 123-68.

[2] For specimens consult Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 625-8; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 375-6.

[3] Ṣā'id, p. 84, copied by ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 64; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 376-7.

[4] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 890.

[5] Vol. i, pp. 463-943.

worked, played the leading part. The initiator of this significant movement of acquainting the West with the learning of the Arabs by means of Latin translation was Constantine the African († 1087), who translated the theoretical part of 'Ali ibn-al-'Abbās' *Kitāb al-Maliki*.[1] Born in Carthage of obscure origin, Constantine attached himself for some time to the medical school of Salerno, the first medical school of Europe, reputed by legend to have been founded by four masters, a Latin, a Greek, a Jew and a Saracen. To Constantine, to Gerard of Cremona († 1187), translator of al-Zahrāwi's *Taṣrīf*, al-Rāzi's *al-Manṣūri* as well as ibn-Sīna's *al-Qānūn*, and to Faraj ben-Sālim (Fararius, Faragut), the Sicilian Jew, who translated al-Rāzi's *al-Ḥāwi* in 1279 and ibn-Jazlah's *Taqwīm al-Abdān*, medieval Europe was chiefly indebted for its knowledge of Arabic medicine. Thereby were the three main medical traditions, Moslem, Jewish and Christian, at last brought into a position where they could be amalgamated. Through these and similar translations several Arabic technical terms were introduced into European languages. "Julep" (Ar. *julāb*, from Pers. *gulāb*, rose-water), for a medicinal aromatic drink; "rob" (Ar. *rubb*), for a conserve of inspissated fruit juice with honey; and "syrup"[2] (Ar. *sharāb*), a solution of sugar in water made according to an officinal formula and often medicated with some special therapeutic, may serve as an illustration. "Soda", which in medieval Latin meant headache and in the form *sodanum* headache remedy, comes ultimately from Arabic *ṣudā'*, splitting pain in the head. Certain medical terms were translated, as were certain mathematical terms. "Dura mater" and "pia mater" are Latin translations of Arabic *al-umm al-jāfiyah* (the coarse mother) and *al-umm al-raqīqah* (the thin mother) respectively. Among several chemical terms which passed into European languages through Latin from Arabic works ascribed to Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān and other Moslem alchemists, we may note "alcohol",[3] "alembic",[4] "alkali" (*al-qali*), "antimony",[5] "aludel",[6] "realgar"[7] and "tutty".[8]

Philosophy

The crowning achievement of the intellectual class of Arabs

[1] The surgical part was done into Latin by a disciple of Constantine, John the Saracen (1040–1103), a Salernitan physician. See above, p. 367; below, p. 663.

[2] For "sherbet" see above, p. 335.

[3] Ar. *al-kuḥl*, whence Eng. "coal" possibly also comes.

[4] Ar. *al-inbīq*, originally Gr.

[5] Ar. *ithmid*, of Gr. origin.

[6] Ar. *al-uthāl*, vessels.

[7] Ar. *rahj a l-ghār*, "the powder of the cave"

[8] Ar. *tūtiyā'*, from Skr.

in Spain was in the realm of philosophic thought. Here they formed the last and strongest link in the chain which transmitted Greek philosophy, as transmuted by them and their Eastern co-religionists, to the Latin West, adding their own contribution, especially in reconciling faith and reason, religion and science. To the Moslem thinkers Aristotle was truth, Plato was truth, the Koran was truth; but truth must be one. Hence arose the necessity of harmonizing the three, and to this task they addressed themselves. The Christian scholastics were faced by the same problem, but their task was rendered more difficult by the accumulation of dogmas and mysteries in their theology. Philosophy as developed by the Greeks and monotheistic religion as evolved by the Hebrew prophets were, as noted above, the richest legacies of the ancient West and of the ancient East. It is to the eternal glory of medieval Moslem thinkers of Baghdād and Andalusia that they reconciled these two currents of thought and passed them on harmonized into Europe. Their contribution was one of first magnitude, considering its effect upon scientific and philosophic thought and upon the theology of later times.

This influx into Western Europe of a body of new ideas, mainly philosophic, marks the beginning of the end of the "Dark Ages" and the dawn of the scholastic period. Kindled by contact with Arab thought and quickened by fresh acquaintance with ancient Greek lore, the interest of Europeans in scholarship and philosophy led them on to an independent and rapidly developing intellectual life of their own, whose fruits we still enjoy.

Ben-Gabīrōl

Among the earliest philosophers of Arabic Spain was Solomon ben-Gabīrōl[1] (Avicebron, Avencebrol), a Jew. Solomon was born at Malaga about 1021 and died in Valencia about 1058. As the first great teacher of Neo-Platonism in the West, ben-Gabīrōl is often referred to as the Jewish Plato. Like ibn-Masarrah[2] before him he was an advocate of the system of philosophy fathered on Empedocles. A thousand years before his time Platonic philosophy had been Orientalized by Philo, the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, preparatory to its Christianization and Islamization, and now in the form of Greco-

[1] Sulaymān ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Jabīrūl. Cf. Ṣā'id, p. 89.

[2] See Miguel Asín, *Abenmasarra y su escuela. Orígenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana* (Madrid, 1914).

Moslem philosophy it was re-Occidentalized by ben-Gabīrōl and restored to Europe. Ben-Gabīrōl's main work was *Yanbūʿ al-Ḥayāh* (the fount of life).[1] Translated into Latin in 1150 as *Fons vitæ*, it played a part in medieval scholasticism and inspired the Franciscan school.

Ibn-Bājjah

The twelfth was the greatest century in the history of philosophic thought in Moslem Spain. The century opens with abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Bājjah (Avenpace, Avempace), philosopher, scientist, physician, musician and commentator on Aristotle, who flourished in Granada and Saragossa and died at Fās in 1138. Ibn-Bājjah wrote several treatises on astronomy in which he criticized Ptolemy's assumptions and thus prepared the way for ibn-Ṭufayl and al-Biṭrūji, other treatises on materia medica which were quoted by ibn-al-Bayṭār, and still others on medicine which exerted a powerful influence over ibn-Rushd.[2] But his most important work, the only one extant besides a farewell letter to a friend, is a philosophical treatise entitled *Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid* (*De regimine solitarii*, the régime of the solitary), which has been preserved only in a Hebrew abstract. The aim of this book is to demonstrate how man unaided may attain to union with the Active Intellect, and to teach that the gradual perfection of the human spirit through union with the divine is the object of philosophy. Moslem biographers considered ibn-Bājjah an atheist.[3]

Ibn-Bājjah's philosophic ideas were carried a step further by abu-Bakr[4] Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Ṭufayl,[5] the Aristotelian philosopher who practised medicine at Granada and later became vizir and chief royal physician to the Muwaḥḥid abu-Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (1163–84)—a combination of functions not unusual in a Moslem state. In 1182 he resigned his position as court physician and was succeeded by his younger philosopher-friend ibn-Rushd, whom he had recommended to the caliph. These two luminaries shed imperishable lustre on the court of the early Muwaḥḥids, a dynasty puritanic in theology but liberal in its patronage of philosophy. Born in the first decade of this

[1] His *Iṣlāḥ al-Akhlāq* has been edited and translated by Stephen S. Wise (New York, 1901).

[2] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. ii, p. 63, makes ibn-Rushd (b. 1126) ibn-Bājjah's pupil.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 372. [4] Whence his Latinized name Abubacer.

[5] Ibn-al-Ṭufayl in ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. ii, p. 78. Cf. ibn-abi-Zarʿ, vol. i, p. 135; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 467.

century, ibn-Ṭufayl died in 1185 in the Muwaḥḥid capital Marrakesh, where his second patron the Caliph abu-Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (1184–99) attended the obsequies. His masterpiece was an original philosophic romance entitled *Ḥayy ibn-Yaqẓān* (the living one, son of the vigilant),[1] whose underlying idea was that human capacity unassisted by external agency may attain to the knowledge of the higher world and may find out by degrees its dependence upon a Supreme Being. This story, one of the most delightful and original in the literature of the Middle Ages, was first translated into Latin by Edward Pococke, Jr., in 1671[2] and then into most European languages, including Dutch (1672), Russian (1920) and Spanish (1934). Some have sought in it an original of *Robinson Crusoe*. The theory it develops is evolutionary. Ibn-Ṭufayl borrowed the names of his characters from ibn-Sīna's short and lifeless tale of the same title, but drew his inspiration from earlier authors beginning with al-Fārābi.

Ibn-Rushd

The greatest Moslem philosopher, judged by his influence especially over the West, was the Hispano-Arab astronomer, physician and Aristotelian commentator abu-al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Rushd (Averroës). Ibn-Rushd was born in Cordova in 1126, and belonged to a distinguished family which had produced several theologians and qāḍis. In 1169–70 he himself was qāḍi of Seville and two years later of Cordova. In 1182 he was called to Marrakesh by abu-Ya'qūb Yūsuf to replace ibn-Ṭufayl as court physician. Yūsuf's son and successor al-Manṣūr banished ibn-Rushd in 1194 on a suspicion of heresy due to his studies in philosophy, but later recalled him to his office in Marrakesh, where he died soon afterwards, on December 10, 1198.[3] His tomb may still be seen there.

Ibn-Rushd's chief contribution to medicine was an encyclopædic work entitled *al-Kullīyāt*[4] *fi al-Ṭibb* (generalities on medicine), in which the fact is recognized that no one is taken twice with smallpox and the function of the retina is well understood. But ibn-Rushd, the physician, was entirely eclipsed by

[1] I.e. the intellect of man derived from the divine intellect.

[2] The translation was published in Oxford together with the Ar. text edited by Edward Pococke, Sr. Several editions of the Ar. text appeared in Cairo and Constantinople in 1299. There is only one critical edition, that of Léon Gauthier (Algiers, 1900; Beirūt, 1936) with a Fr. translation.

[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 76-7; ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 135-6; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 467.

[4] Corrupted into L. *Colliget*, not related etymologically to *colligo*, to collect.

ibn-Rushd, the philosopher and commentator. His chief philosophical work, other than his commentaries, was his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*[1] (the incoherence of the incoherence), a reply to al-Ghazzāli's attack on rationalism entitled *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (the incoherence of the philosophers[2]). It was this work for which ibn-Rushd was best known, and unfavourably so, in the Moslem world. In the Jewish and Christian worlds, however, he was known primarily as a commentator on Aristotle. A medieval commentator, we should recall, was an author who composed a scientific or philosophic work using some earlier writing as a background and framework. Accordingly ibn-Rushd's commentaries were a series of treatises using in part the titles of Aristotle's works and paraphrasing their contents. As ibn-Rushd knew no Greek he was content to rely on translations made by his predecessors in Baghdād. His chief commentaries on Aristotle were a short *Jāmi'* (summary), an intermediate *Talkhīṣ* (résumé) and a long *Tafsīr* or *Sharḥ* (commentary).[3] Most of ibn-Rushd's commentaries have been preserved in Hebrew translations or in Latin translations from the Hebrew. Only a few have survived in Arabic and even these are generally in Hebrew script.[4]

Last of the great Arabic-writing philosophers, ibn-Rushd produced no progeny in Islam. He belonged more to Christian Europe than to Moslem Asia or Africa. To the West he became "the commentator"[5] as Aristotle was "the teacher". Though using in most instances a Latin translation of a Hebrew rendition of an Arabic commentary upon an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek original, the minds of the Christian schoolmen and scholars of medieval Europe were agitated by ibn-Rushd's Aristotle as by no other author. From the end of the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth century Averroism remained the dominant school of thought, and that in spite of the orthodox reaction it created first among the Moslems in Spain, then among the Talmudists and finally among the Christian clergy. There is no doubt that ibn-Rushd was a rationalist and claimed

[1] Ed. Maurice Bouyges (Beirūt, 1930).

[2] Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic; views stated in his *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah* (Cairo, 1331).

[3] For a complete list consult Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1861), pp. 58-79; Sarton, *Introduction*, vol. ii, pp. 356-61.

[4] His *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Maqūlāt*, a résumé of Aristotle's *Categories*, has been edited by Maurice Bouyges (Beirūt, 1932).

[5] Or to quote Dante, "Averroìs che il gran comento feo", *Inferno*, canto iv, l. 144.

the right to submit everything save the revealed dogmas of faith to the judgment of reason, but he was not, as believed by many, the father of free-thought and unbelief and the great enemy of faith. Earlier Moslem Aristotelians had taken for genuine a number of apocryphal works, including some of Neo-Platonic character; ibn-Rushd's philosophy involved a return to purer and more scientific Aristotelianism. After being purged of objectionable matter by ecclesiastical authorities, his writings became prescribed studies in the University of Paris and other institutions of higher learning. With all its excellences and all the misconceptions collected under its name, the intellectual movement initiated by ibn-Rushd continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science.

Ibn-Maymūn

For first place after ibn-Rushd among the philosophers of the age the only candidate is his Jewish contemporary and fellow Cordovan abu-'Imrān Mūsa ibn-Maymūn (Heb. Mōsheh ben-Maimōn,[1] L. Maimonides), the most famous of the Hebrew physicians and philosophers of the whole Arabic epoch. Ibn-Maymūn was born in Cordova in 1135,[2] but his family left the country as a result of the Muwaḥḥid persecution and settled in Cairo about 1165. The claim of al-Qifṭi[3] and ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah[4] that in Spain ibn-Maymūn professed Islam in public but practised Judaism in secret has recently been subjected to sharp criticism. In Cairo he became the court physician of the celebrated Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and of his son al-Malik al-'Azīz. From 1177 on he held the chief religious office of the Jewish community[5] at Cairo, where he died in 1204. In accordance with his will his body was carried by hand over the route once taken by Moses and buried in Tiberias, where his unpretentious tomb is still visited by throngs of pilgrims. Ailing people among the poor Jews of modern Egypt still seek their cure by spending the night in the underground chamber of the synagogue of Rabbi Mōsheh ben-Maimōn in Cairo.

Ibn-Maymūn distinguished himself as astronomer, theologian, physician and above all as philosopher. His medical science was the standard Galenism of his time derived from al-Rāzi, ibn-

[1] Also referred to as *Mōsheh haz-zĕmān*, "the Moses of his time". A popular Jewish saying, "From Moses to Moses [Mendelssohn] there was none like Moses", expresses the eminent position he has ever held in Jewish estimation.

[2] His eight-hundredth anniversary was observed throughout the civilized world.

[3] Pp. 318-19. [4] Vol. ii, p. 117. [5] Ar. *ra's al-millah*, Heb. *nāgīd*.

Sīna and ibn-Zuhr and enlivened by rational criticism based on personal observation. Ibn-Maymūn improved the method of circumcision, ascribed hemorrhoids to constipation, prescribing for them a light diet predominantly vegetarian, and held advanced ideas on hygiene. His most popular medical work was *al-Fuṣūl fi al-Ṭibb* (aphorisms of medicine). His leading philosophical work bore the title *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*[1] (the guide of the perplexed); in this he tried to reconcile Jewish theology with Moslem Aristotelianism or, in broader terms, faith with reason. Prophetic visions he explained as psychical experiences. To this extent at least he stood as the champion of scientific thought against biblical "fundamentalism" and aroused the anger of conservative theologians, who referred to his book as *Ḍalālah* (misguidance, error). His philosophic ideas resembled those of ibn-Rushd, though developed independently. Like ibn-Rushd he knew no Greek and depended entirely on Arabic translations. The theory of creation which he propounded, but did not share, was the atomistic one as distinguished from the two others held by the Arabic-writing thinkers, namely, the fundamentalist theory, which made God creator of everything, and the philosophical, which was Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian. His works, with one exception, were all written in Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, and were soon translated into Hebrew and later in part into Latin. Their influence, far-reaching in space and time, was exerted mainly over Jews and Christians. Down to the eighteenth century they remained the principal medium through which Jewish thought reached the Gentiles. Modern critics detect traces of that influence in the Dominicans, as attested by the works of Albertus Magnus, in Albertus' rival, Duns Scotus, in Spinoza and even in Kant.

Ibn-'Arabi, the mystic

The ruling mystic of the age was another Hispano-Arab, abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-'Ali Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-'Arabi,[2] the greatest speculative genius of Islamic Sufism. Ibn-'Arabi was born in Murcia (Mursiyah) in 1165 and flourished mainly in Seville until 1201–2, when he made the holy pilgrimage, after which he remained in the East till his death at Damascus in

[1] Edited in Hebrew characters and translated into French by Salomon Munk, 3 vols. (Paris, 1856–66).

[2] In the East he is generally known as ibn-'Arabi to distinguish him from his fellow countryman and traditionist abu-Bakr ibn-al-'Arabi. Among his *nisbahs* he bore al-Ḥātimi al-Ṭā'i, implying descent from Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i.

1240.[1] There his tomb, enshrined in a mosque, is still standing. The twelfth century witnessed in the East the beginnings of a vast organization of Moslem religious life corresponding to the monastic orders in medieval Christendom, and ibn-'Arabi, who represented the illuministic (*ishrāqi*) or pseudo-Empedoclean, Neo-Platonic and pantheistic school founded by ibn-Masarrah and ben-Gabīrōl, was the man to give this Sufi movement its framework of speculative philosophy. The greatest exponent of this school in the East was al-Suhrawardi († 1191), whose Persian origin and emphasis on the metaphysics of light reveal Manichaean-Zoroastrian influence and whose major work was *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (wisdom of illumination). The illuministic school was so called because, according to its mystical theory, God and the world of spirits should be interpreted as light and our process of cognition as an illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres.[2] To his followers ibn-'Arabi was *al-shaykh al-akbar*, the grand master. His system is embedded in an enormous mass of writings,[3] of which the most influential are *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*[4] (the Makkan revelations) and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*[5] (the bezels of wise precepts). It is in chapter 167 of the *Futūḥāt*,[6] headed "Kīmiyā' al-Sa'ādah" (the alchemy of happiness), which contains an esoteric allegory of the ascension of man to heaven, and in another work still unpublished, entitled *al-Isrā' ila Maqām al-Asra* (the nocturnal journey toward the station of the Most Magnanimous One), where he develops the theme of the Prophet's ascension to the seventh heaven, that ibn-'Arabi anticipates Dante.[7]

In jurisprudence ibn-'Arabi nominally belonged to the Ẓāhiri (literalist) school of his compatriot ibn-Ḥazm; in matters of speculative belief he passed for a *bāṭini* (esoteric);[8] in philosophic theory he was a pantheistic monist, as his doctrine *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of existence) justly proclaims him. His central theme was that things pre-exist as ideas (*a'yān thābitah*)

[1] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. James R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907), p. 487; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 567; Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 301; al-Sha'rāni, *al-Yawāqīt w-al-Jawāhir* (Cairo, 1905), p. 8.

[2] Consult Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. iii, pp. 87 *seq.*; Carra de Vaux in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. xix (1902), pp. 63-94.

[3] Of the 289 works credited to him Brockelmann, vol. i, pp. 442-8, lists 150 as existing at the present day.

[4] 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Būlāq, 1293).

[5] (Būlāq, 1252).

[6] Vol. ii, pp. 356-75.

[7] See above, p. 114

[8] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 569 *seq.*

in the knowledge of God, whence they emanate and whither they return. There is no creation *ex nihilo*; the world is merely the outer aspect of God, who is its inner aspect. Between the Essence and its attributes, i.e. God and the universe, there is no real difference. Here Moslem mysticism passes into pantheism. The divine manifests itself in the human, and the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) is, of course, Muḥammad. Muḥammad is also the *kalimah*, the *logos*, as Jesus was. The true mystic, in the judgment of ibn-ʿArabi, has but one guide, the inner light, and will find God in all religions.[1]

The influence of the illuministic school, whose greatest Spanish representative ibn-ʿArabi was, is manifest not only in Persian and Turkish Sufi circles[2] but in the so-called Augustinian scholastics such as Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull.[3] Another Murcian, abu-Muḥammad ʿAbd-al-Ḥaqq ibn-Sabʿīn (*ca.* 1217–69), stood for the same type of thinking and writing as ibn-ʿArabi. His pre-eminence in Sufi circles won him the enviable title Quṭb-al-Dīn (the pole of religion). But he is best known for the answers he wrote, *al-Ajwibah ʿan al-Asʾilah al-Ṣiqillīyah*[4] (answers to the Sicilian questions), to the learned questions on the eternity of matter, the nature and immortality of the soul, the object of theology and the like asked by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and transmitted by the Muwaḥḥid ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (1232–42). Ibn-Sabʿīn, who was then residing at Ceuta, answered at some length in terms of Islamic orthodoxy and offered to set the Christian emperor of Sicily right in a personal interview. In the meantime he refused the reward of money which accompanied the questionnaire. Ibn-Sabʿīn's other leading work is *Asrār al-Ḥikmah al-Mashriqīyah* (the mysteries of illuministic philosophy), still unpublished. He was one of the rare Moslems in history who committed suicide, and that by opening a vein in his wrist while sojourning in Makkah.[5]

[1] Ibn-ʿArabi, *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, ed. and tr. Nicholson (London, 1911), pp. 19, 67.

[2] The greatest of the Sufi poets, Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Rūmi, who died some thirty years after ibn-ʿArabi, was linked to the latter through one of ibn-ʿArabi's pupils.

[3] In his *El Islam cristianizado* (Madrid, 1931), Asín develops the thesis that Moslem Sufism as represented by ibn-ʿArabi was consciously or unconsciously an imitation of Christian monastic mysticism.

[4] Still unpublished. See M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1855–7), pp. 573-7; in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 5, vol. i (1853), pp. 240-74. See also A. F. Mehren, *loc. cit.* vol. xiv (1879), pp. 341-454.

[5] Kutubi, vol. i, p. 316.

Toledo, centre of translation

In the process of transmitting the treasures of Arabic erudition into the West, Toledo, which maintained its position after the Christian conquest in 1085 as an important centre of Islamic learning, acted as the main channel. Here through the initiative of Archbishop Raymond I (1126–51) arose a regular school for translation. In it a series of translators flourished from about 1135–1284. Scholars were attracted from various parts of Europe, including the British Isles, whence hailed Michael Scot and Robert of Chester.[1] In 1145 Robert made the first translation of al-Khwārizmi's algebra; in 1143 he had completed with Hermann the Dalmatian for Peter the Venerable the first Latin translation of the Koran. It was also in Toledo that the first school of Oriental studies in Europe was established, in 1250, by the Order of Preachers with a view to preparing missionaries to Moslems and Jews.

The name of Adelard of Bath, who is said to have visited Spain at this time, is one of the greatest in English science before Roger Bacon. After sojourning in Sicily and Syria Adelard turned into Latin in 1126 the astronomical tables of al-Majrīṭi, which were based on those of al-Khwārizmi and included tables of sines. He translated a number of other mathematical and astronomical treatises and became the first of a long line of English Arabists. The Scotsman Michael Scot († *ca.* 1236), one of the founders of Latin Averroism, studied and worked in Spain before becoming court astrologer to Frederick II of Sicily. In Toledo he translated among several other works al-Biṭrūji's astronomy, *al-Hay'ah*, and Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo* with ibn-Rushd's commentary; in Sicily he translated other Arabic books which he dedicated to Frederick. The most important of these was ibn-Sīna's version of Aristotle's zoology, *Abbreviatio Avicenne de animalibus*. But the most prolific of the Toledan translators was Gerard of Cremona, who before his death in 1187 had rendered into Latin al-Farghāni's version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, al-Fārābi's commentary on Aristotle, Euclid's *Elements* and various treatises of Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates—in all seventy-one Arabic works.

As we have seen, Jews, both orthodox and converted, played a major rôle in this work of translation. One of the earliest among them was Abraham ben-Ezra of Toledo († 1167), a distinguished biblical commentator who translated two treatises on astrology

[1] See Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1927), ch. i.

by his earlier co-religionist of the East, Māshā'allāh[1] († 815). He also translated al-Bīrūni's commentary on al-Khwārizmi's tables. Ben-Ezra's contemporary, John of Seville (Joannes Hispalensis), a Christian convert from Judaism, flourished in Toledo about 1135–1153 under the patronage of Archbishop Raymond and translated works on arithmetic, astronomy and astrology, medicine and philosophy by al-Farghāni, abu-Ma'shar, al-Kindi, ben-Gabīrōl and al-Ghazzāli. Of these the most important was al-Farghāni's astronomy. There is reason to believe that John translated from Arabic into the vernacular, Castilian, and an associate put the Castilian into Latin.

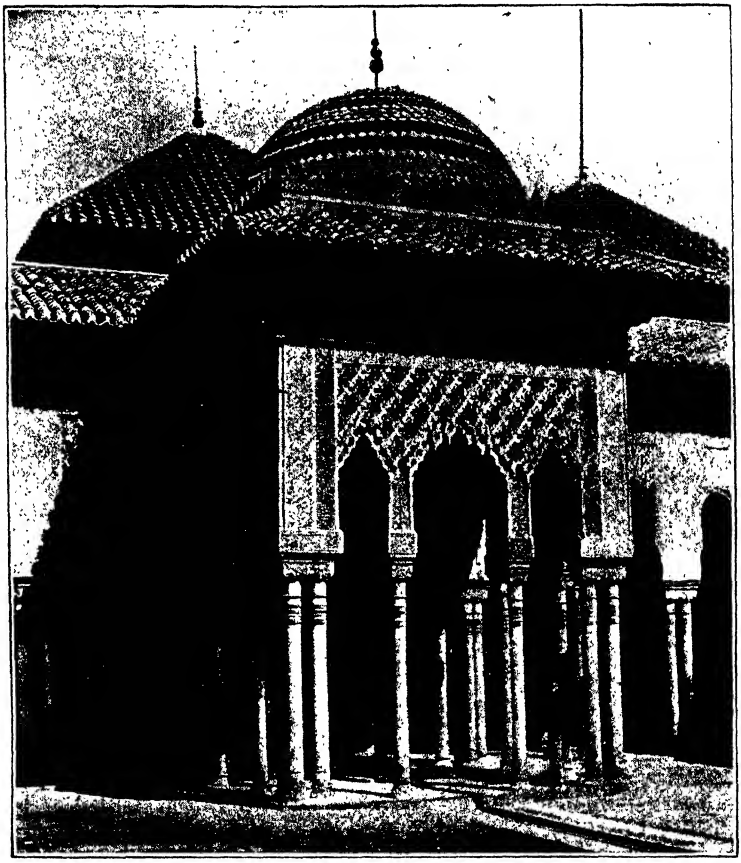
By the close of the thirteenth century Arabic science and philosophy had been transmitted to Europe, and Spain's work as an intermediary was done. The intellectual avenue leading from the portals of Toledo through the Pyrenees wound its way through Provence and the Alpine passes[2] into Lorraine, Germany and Central Europe as well as across the Channel into England.[3] Among the cities of southern France deserving mention are Marseilles, where Raymond in 1140 drew up planetary tables based on those of Toledo; Toulouse, where Hermann the Dalmatian completed in 1143 al-Majrīṭi's translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphærium*; Narbonne, where Abraham ben-Ezra translated in 1160 al-Bīrūni's commentary on al-Khwārizmi's tables; and Montpellier, which in the thirteenth century became the chief centre of medical and astronomical studies in France. In eastern France Cluny, whose famous abbey housed a number of Spanish monks, was during the twelfth century a significant focus for the diffusion of Arab learning. Its abbot, Peter the Venerable, sponsored (1141–3) the first Latin translation of the Koran, besides various pamphlets directed against Islam. Arabic science, introduced into Lorraine (Lotharingia) in the tenth century, made that region a centre of scientific influence in the following two centuries. Liège, Gorze and Cologne, among other Lotharingian cities, provided the most fertile soil for the germination of Arab learning. From Lorraine it radiated into other parts of Germany and was transported

[1] Mentioned in *Fihrist*, p. 273.

[2] See below, p. 605.

[3] The first book printed in England, *The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philosophres* issued by William Caxton at Westminster in 1477, was based on an Arabic original, *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam wa-Maḥāsin al-Kalim*, by a Syro-Egyptian prince Abu-al-Wāfā' Mubashshir ibn-Fātik, fl. 1053.

into Norman England by men born or educated in Lorraine. Embassies between German kings in the north and Moslem rulers in Spain were frequent and intellectually fruitful. As early



From Ameer Ali, "A Short History of the Saracens" (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

PAVILION IN THE COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

as 953 Otto the Great, king of the Germans, sent as an envoy a Lotharingian monk, John by name, who resided in Cordova for nearly three years, probably learned Arabic and brought back with him scientific manuscripts.[1] Thus did Spanish Arabic learning permeate all Western Europe.

[1] "Vita Johannis abbatis Gorziensis", G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ historica, scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. iv, pp. 337-77.

CHAPTER XLI

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

THE Arabs in Spain carried on almost all the minor and practical arts developed by Moslems in other lands. In metal-work[1] involving decoration, raising patterns in relief or engraving them, inlaying with gold and silver[2] and inscribing characters, the Hispano-Moresque school excelled. One of the earliest specimens is a relic of Hishām II (976–1009) preserved on the high altar of the Cathedral of Gerona in the form of a wooden casket sheathed with silver-gilt plating patterned in *repoussé* with scroll-like foliation. It bears an Arabic inscription stating that it is the work of two craftsmen, Badr and Ṭarīf, and was made for a courtier of al-Ḥakam II (961–76) as a present for the heir apparent, Hishām. In metal-work such as cutlery, sword blades and astrolabes Toledo and Seville[3] were especially noted. Next to damascene blades, toledos had the finest temper and the greatest elasticity. The astrolabe, an astronomical instrument of ancient Greek invention, was perfected by the Moslems and introduced into Europe in the tenth century. Besides its use to determine the hour of prayer and the geographical position of Makkah, the astrolabe was invaluable to mariners for nautical observations and was a necessary adjunct of the astrologer's equipment. In the story told by the tailor in the *Arabian Nights* (no. 29), the glib barber exasperates his customer by trying to find with an astrolabe the precise moment auspicious for shaving. A properly executed astrolabe is a beautiful work of art.

Minor arts

Enamelling found no high favour with Moslem metal-workers, but in the application of coloured glazes to earthenware, Moslems were from an early period past masters. Valencia was the Moslem centre of this industry in the West. The importation of its products laid the foundation of the pottery industry at Poitiers.

Ceramics

[1] Sp. *alhaja*, jewel, is from Ar. *al-ḥājah*.

[2] Generally known as damascening, from European association of the work with Damascus.

[3] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 124.

In the fifteenth century we find imitations of this Moslem pottery produced as far north as Holland. From Spain the industry was meanwhile introduced into Italy. Its influence is noticeable in the later Spanish vessels, with their pseudo-Arabic inscriptions and Christian heraldic devices. In other forms of ceramics, as well as mosaics, especially tile and blue faïence, the Spanish Moslem school distinguished itself. The various kinds of coloured tiles still favourites in Spain and Portugal are a legacy from the Arabs, as the name *azulejo*[1] suggests. In the eyes of modern collectors the Mudejar lustre pottery ranks only below the Chinese. Exquisite pottery was manufactured in Toledo and Cordova as early as the third quarter of the eleventh century, after which Calatayud (Qal'at Ayyūb),[2] Malaga and above all Manises in Valencia became famous for this ware. In the manufacture and colouring of glass, however, Spain could not compete with Syria.

Textiles

In the development of the sumptuous textile arts which made the Arabic-speaking peoples the leading fabric-makers and silk mercers in the medieval world, the Arabs of Spain had a share;[3] but in carpet-making Spain offered no serious competition to the Eastern, especially Persian, market. Cordova was a centre of the weaving industry. Almería is said to have had four thousand eight hundred looms.[4] Just as al-Mawṣil exported to Italy the fabric known there as *mussolina*, whence our "muslin", and Baghdād supplied the same market with the rich silk cloth bearing the Italianized name *baldacco* and with the silken canopies, "baldachin",[5] suspended over the altars in many Western churches, so did Granada in later times supply the European dress shops with grenadines. Such Oriental silk textilēs, with their rich colouring and floral and geometrical designs, were in limited demand for church vestments, for wrapping relics of saints[6] and for aristocratic and royal robes. As the importation of finely wrought stuffs from Moslem lands increased in Europe, Western enterprise saw in this industry a potential source of wealth and began to set up looms in various

[1] Ar. *al-zulayji*. See Maqqari, vol. i, p. 124.
[2] Idrīsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib* (Leyden), p. 189.
[3] Ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 79; Iṣṭakhri, p. 44, l. 8; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, p. 13; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 123-4.
[4] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 102.
[5] See below, p. 668.
[6] See above, pp. 422-3; below, p. 668.

centres of France and Italy. In these early factories some Moslem workmen were undoubtedly at first employed.

As in metal- and glass-work, pottery, architecture and other departments of decorative art, so in textiles we have between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries numerous examples of European work bearing the stamp of Islamic style. In fact, as early as the twelfth century the adoption of Islamic designs by European weavers became frequent, and from that time on we have numerous illustrations of the use of meaningless imitation of Arabic script merely for decorative purposes. We should also remember that in Spain, and to a greater extent in Sicily, Oriental workmen lingered long after Islam had receded; hence the combination of Christian and Islamic elements in the forms of art and architecture known as Mudejar and the Islamic features in the Sicilian art and architecture of the Norman period. Mudejar workmen excelled in woodwork, pottery and textiles. To this day the Spanish carpenter uses in his trade words that are largely Arabic.

Photo: Casa Moreno

CARVED IVORY CASKET

Made in Cordova, A.D. 964, and now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid

In ornament executed in relief the Spanish Arab carvers and modellers followed the same system of design that governed their practice in flat surface decoration and other modes of technical expression. In the tenth century a school of ivory-carvers centred at Cordova and produced many beautiful caskets and boxes made partly or wholly of ivory and decorated with carved, inlaid or painted ornaments. Some of the ornaments represented musical performances and hunting-scenes illustrating the use of animal forms as a decorative motif. Such containers were often used as jewel cases and perfume or sweetmeat boxes. The inscriptions they bear indicate that they were often intended for gifts. One of the finest examples of this work is a cylindrical casket made in A.H. 353 (964), as the inscription round the domed lid reads, for the Caliph al-Ḥakam II as a gift to his wife.

Ivories

The sides are entirely covered with palmettes in addition to peacocks and other birds.

Architecture

All monuments of religious art in Spain have perished with the exception of one of the earliest and grandest, the great Mosque of Cordova. The foundation was laid by ʿAbd-al-Raḥ-

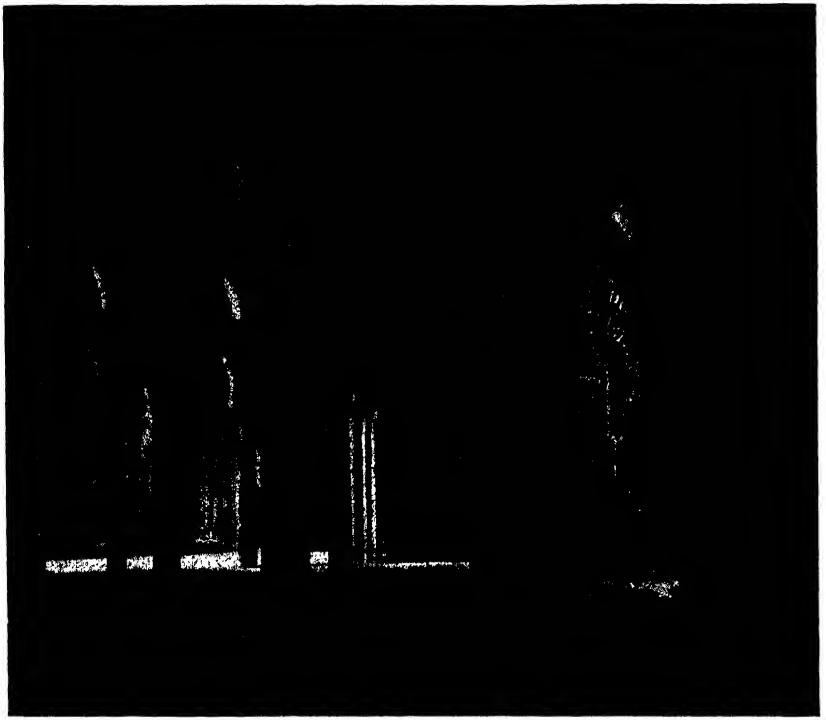


Photo: Arexiv Mas

INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA

mān I in 786 on the site of a Christian church which was originally a Roman temple.[1] The main part of the mosque was completed in 793 by his son Hishām I, who added the square minaret. The Spanish minarets followed the African style, which was of Syrian origin (above, p. 452). Additions to the Cordova mosque were made by Hishām's successors. Twelve hundred and ninety-three columns, a veritable forest, supported its roof. Brass lanterns made from Christian bells[2] illuminated the building. "One chandelier held a thousand lights; the smallest held

[1] See above, pp. 508-9.

[2] Cf. above, p. 533.

twelve."[1] For the decoration of the building Byzantine craftsmen were employed, as they may have been employed in the Umayyad mosques of Syria.[2] Eighty thousand gold pieces from the spoils of the Goths were spent on the structure by its founder. Enlargements and repairs were made on it down to al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (977–1000). Today it is a cathedral to the Virgin of the Assumption.

Of the secular monuments the Alcázar[3] of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada, with their profuse but graceful decorations, are the most superb remains. Of Madīnat al-Zahrā', now called Córdoba la Vieja, built by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III and his successors with columns imported from Rome, Constantinople and Carthage, very little has been left to show its former splendour. It is noteworthy that the caliph set up over the gateway a statue of his favourite concubine, whose name the palace bore. He is, moreover, said to have brought for it from Constantinople a fountain decorated with human figures. On the occasion of the Berber revolt of 1010 the Madīnah was sacked and set on fire. About the same time the similarly named villa of al-Manṣūr, al-Madīnah al-Zāhirah, which lay to the east of Cordova, was likewise destroyed by the Berbers and has now entirely disappeared.

The oldest part of the Alcázar of Seville was built by a Toledan architect for the Muwaḥḥid governor in 1199–1200. It was restored in the Moslem style by Mudejar workmen for King Peter the Cruel in 1353 and was used until a few years ago as a royal residence. Among the many Alcázars in Cordova, Toledo and other Spanish towns, this of Seville is the most renowned and the only one surviving. Seville boasts another Muwaḥḥid monument, the Giralda tower, originally the minaret of the great mosque. Erected in 1184, this minaret was decorated with cusped arcading, anticipating later Gothic tracery.

Alhambra

The Hispano-Moslem system of decoration reached its culminating point in the Naṣrid palace Alhambra.[4] This acropolis of Granada, with its excessive decoration in mosaics, stalactites and inscriptions, was conceived and constructed on so extensive and magnificent a scale that it has been accepted as the last

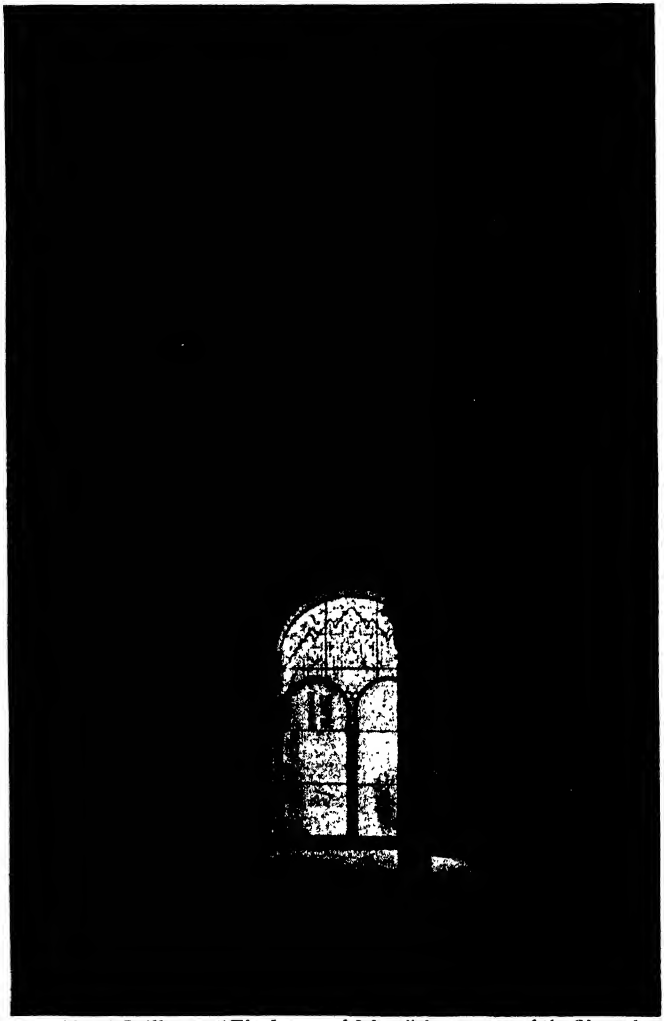
[1] 'Umari, *Masālik*, vol. i, p. 212.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 264, 265.

[3] For etymology see above, p. 107, n. 2.

[4] For the best reproductions consult the illustrations in Albert F. Calvert, *The Alhambra*, 2nd ed. (London, 1907).

word in such workmanship. Begun by Muḥammad I al-Ghālib about 1248, its construction was completed by abu-al-Ḥajjāj



From Arnold and Guillaume, "The Legacy of Islam," by courtesy of the Clarendon Press

THE HALL OF THE AMBASSADORS IN THE ALCÁZAR, SEVILLE
With coloured tiles representing Mudejar workmanship

Yūsuf (1333–54) and by his successor Muḥammad V al-Ghani (1354–9). Most of the interior decoration is ascribed by the

inscriptions on the walls to abu-al-Ḥajjāj. The most celebrated portion is the Court of Lions. In the centre of this court twelve marble lions stand in a circle, each spouting a jet of water from its mouth. Among the surrounding profusion of decoration these lions, together with the ceiling of the so-called Hall of Justice, are the most important monuments of art. The ceiling depicts scenes painted on leather illustrating tales of chivalry and hunting episodes, besides ten rulers seated on an oval bench. Certain inscriptions embody al-Ghālib's motto, *wa-la ghālib illa Allāh* (but there is no conqueror other than Allah); others, employed for decorative purposes only, are represented as addressing the visitor in their function of ornament.

The arch

The horseshoe form of arch, which became characteristic of Western Moslem architecture, was represented in northern Syria, Ctesiphon and other places even before Islam. The pointed arch, which later became the distinctive feature of Western Gothic architecture, appears first in Islam in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and Quṣayr 'Amrah.[1] The round horseshoe variety was used at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. This last type, which in the West became known as the Moorish arch, undoubtedly existed in Spain before the Arab conquest, but it was the Spanish, more particularly the Cordovan Moslems, who realized its structural and decorative possibilities and adopted it generally. Another contribution of Arab Cordova, which was truly original, was the system of vaulting based on intersecting arches and visible intersecting ribs.

These and other architectural features developed at Cordova were carried to Toledo and other centres in the north of the peninsula by Mozarabs. Here by merging of Christian and Moslem traditions arose a definite style characterized by almost regular use of the horseshoe arch and the vault. In the hands of Mudejar workmen this mixed art attained great beauty and perfection and became the Spanish national style. Mudejar work is still to be seen all over the country. The Spanish language has preserved several architectural terms which attest an Arabic origin.[2]

[1] See above, p. 417. Cf. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir*, pp. 5, 9, 12, pl. 7, fig. 1; C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 36-7.

[2] E.g.: *adoquín* (Ar. *kaddān*), paving stone; *alacena* (Ar. *al-khizānah*), cupboard; *albañil*, Pg. *alvanel* (Ar. *al-bannā'*), builder; *alcoba*, Pg. *alcoba* (Ar. *al-qubbah* whence Eng. alcove), bedroom; *andamio*, Pg. *andaime* (Ar. *al-dī'āmah*), scaffolding.

Music

The corner-stone of Spanish musical art was laid by Ziryāb, a disciple of the Mawṣili school of Baghdād. Ziryāb arrived in 822 in Cordova, where his knowledge of more songs than any other artist, his mastery over the physical sciences, his magnetic personality and his refined manner and ready wit made him the social model.[1] It was at Cordova under the patronage of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān II that Ziryāb, who has also been credited with substituting eagles' talons for wooden plectra, added a fifth string to the lute and opened a school which became the conservatory of Andalusian music. Other schools followed in Seville, Toledo, Valencia and Granada.

After Ziryāb, abu-al-Qāsim ʿAbbās ibn-Firnās († 888) is given the largest share of credit for introducing Oriental music into Spain and popularizing it. To his ingenuity is ascribed the discovery of making glass "from stones", as well as the construction in his home of a sort of planetarium where one could see stars, clouds and even lightning. Ibn-Firnās was the first man in Arab history to make a scientific attempt at flight. His flying equipment consisted of a suit of feathers with wings, which, we are told, carried him a long distance in the air. When he alighted, however, he hurt himself because his suit was not provided with a tail.[2] The musical theory and practice introduced by Ziryāb and ibn-Firnās were naturally the Perso-Arabic, but gradually this system gave way to the Greek and Pythagorean theories as works from Greek were translated into Arabic.

In general the Western Moslems proved themselves more addicted to the sweet art than their Eastern co-religionists. By the eleventh century the music of Andalusia had almost paled the fame of Baghdād. At that time Seville under the ʿAbbādids, who for a short period also ruled Cordova, became the centre of the music, song and other gaieties which we usually associate with the Moors in the smiling plains of Andalusia. One of the ʿAbbādids, al-Muʿtamid (1068–91), was not only a gifted poet but also a singer and performer on the lute. The ʿAbbādid capital became famous for its manufacture of musical instru-

azotea, Pg. *açoteia* (Ar. *al-suṭayḥah*), flat roof; *algibe* (Ar. *al-jubb*, the cistern), ogive. On *kaddān* see D. Leopoldo de Eguílaz y Yanguas, *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de orígen oriental* (Granada, 1886). Cf. R. Dozy and W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1869); *al-kadhdhān* in ibn-Jubayr, p. 331, l. 18.

[1] See above, p. 514.

[2] Maqqari ,vol. ii ,p. 254.

ments, in which it developed an export trade. From the Murābiṭ period we have from the pen of the philosopher ibn-Bājjah († 1138), who flourished at Seville and Fās, a treatise on music, now lost, which was as much appreciated in the West as al-Fārābi's work in the East. To another philosopher, ibn-Sab'īn († 1269) of the Muwaḥḥid period, we owe a discussion of related musical notes called *Kitāb al-Adwār al-Mansūb*, of which a solitary copy is preserved in Cairo.[1] In the course of a debate, held in the presence of the third Muwaḥḥid sovereign, al-Manṣūr (1184–99), between ibn-Rushd and abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Zuhr, on the relative excellences of Seville and Cordova, ibn-Rushd, arguing Cordova's case, made this illuminating remark: "I know not what you are talking about, but one thing I do know: When a scholar dies in Seville and his estate wants his books sold, the books are carried to Cordova, where a market is found. But when a musician dies in Cordova his instruments are carried to Seville for sale."[2]

Influence in Europe

As the Christian population accepted the lyric models of the Moslems, Arab songs grew popular throughout the peninsula. Moslem musicians flourished at the courts of the kings of Castile and Aragon. Long after the fall of Granada, Moorish dancers and singers continued to entertain the natives of Spain and Portugal.[3] The recent researches of Ribera[4] tend to show that the popular music of Spain (*musica ficta*), in fact of all south-western Europe, in and after the thirteenth century, like the lyric and historical romance of that region, is to be traced to Andalusian and thence through Arabic to Persian, Byzantine and Greek sources. Even as philosophy and mathematics and medicine travelled from Greece and Rome to Byzantium, Persia and Baghdād, then to Spain, and thence to all Europe, so did several phases of musical theory and practice. Many of the instruments shown in the early Spanish miniatures and even some of the performers are of unmistakable Moslem origin.

Some of the early Spanish miniatures show Arab musicians

[1] Aḥmad Taymūr in *al-Hilāl*, vol. xxviii (1919), p. 214.
[2] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 98, 302.
[3] The Morris dance of England, as the name indicates, is of Moorish origin.
[4] *Historia de la música drabe medieval y su influencia en la española* (Madrid, 1927); *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain; Being la música de las cantigas*, tr. and abr. Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (Stanford University, 1929), esp. ch. xii; *Disertaciones*, vol. ii, pp. 3-174.

playing a game of chess.[1] Spanish provides the first description of the game in a European language and that in a work of Alfonso X,[2] king of Castile and Leon from 1252–1282 and the greatest apostle of Moslem learning in Christian Spain. Alfonso was the man responsible for that great collection of poetry, *Cantigas de Santa María*, the music of which, according to Ribera, was of Moslem-Andalusian origin. Besides this collection and the astronomical Alfonsine tables, this monarch compiled a code of laws which bears traces of Islamic influence and which has become the basis of Spanish jurisprudence.

Reference has already been made to Arabic poetical influence in the troubadours, who resembled Arab singers not only in sentiment and character but also in the very forms of their minstrelsy. Certain titles which these Provençal singers gave to their songs are but translations from Arabic titles. Adelard of Bath, who studied music at Paris, was probably the translator of al-Khwārizmi's mathematical treatise as *Liber ysagogarum Alchorismi*, which comprised a section on music. This treatise was, therefore, one of the first to introduce Arab music into the Latin world. In Adelard's days, the first half of the twelfth century, the Arabs were already in possession of several ancient Greek treatises on music as well as some most important original works by al-Kindi, al-Fārābi, ibn-Sīna and ibn-Bājjah. Before the end of the century many of these original works had become known in Europe through Latin translations made at Toledo. It is significant that in this same period a new principle appears in Christian European music, the principle that notes have an exact time value or ratio among themselves. The first to give an exposition of this mensural music or measured song was the elusive Franco of Cologne (*ca.* 1190). His notation, called the Franconian notation, is not essentially different from our own. Under the name *īqā'*, rhythm, this same measured music had formed a constituent part of Arab music for at least four centuries prior to Franco's age and was fully described by al-Kindi (fl. *ca.* 870; above, p. 370).

[1] Sp. *ajedrez* (formerly *axedrez*), Pg. *xadrez*, all derived from Ar. *al-shiṭranj*, which is borrowed from Skr. through Pers. See above, p. 339. Playing cards were either of Arab origin or transmitted to Europe by Arabs; Sp. *naipe*, It. *naib*, for playing card, comes from Ar. *nā'ib* (governor) represented on a fifteenth-century pack now in Istanbul. L. A. Mayer, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. xxxviii (1939), pp. 113 *seq.*

[2] For illustration consult John G. White, *El tratado de ajedrez del Rey d. Alonso el Sabio, del año 1283* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. xliii.

After Franco's time there appeared a treatise ascribed to John of Garland dealing with *ochetus*, i.e. rhythmic mode. The term *ochetus* is probably a transformation of Arabic *īqā'āt* (pl. of *īqā'*).

Mensural music was probably the greatest but certainly not the only contribution the Arabs made in this branch of knowledge. Two of the instruments that have aided most in the progress of the art of music, the lute (Ar. *al-'ūd*, through Sp. *laúd*) and the rebec (Ar. *rabāb*,[1] through Sp. *rabel*), were introduced into Western Europe by Arabs. The rebec or ribibe, a favourite instrument with Chaucer, may be counted as one of the precursors of our violin. *Rabeca* is still the ordinary word used in Portugal for a violin. Other instruments in the peninsula with names derived from Arabic are the old trumpet *añafil* (Fr. *anafin*, from Ar. *al-nafīr*[2]), the tambourine *pandeiro* (colloq. Ar. *bandayr*) and the cymbals known as *sonajas* (Ar. pl. *ṣunūj*, sing. *ṣinj*, fr. Pers. *sanj*) round whose edge are "jingles". It was also the Moslems who introduced into Europe the guitar (fr. Ar. *qītārah*,[3] through Sp. *guitarra*, originally Gr.), the horn (Sp. *alboque*, fr. Ar. *al-būq*), the timbal (Sp. *atambal*, fr. Ar. *al-ṭabl*), and the kanoon (fr. Ar. *qānūn*).

[1] See above, p. 426.

[2] Pl. *anfār* (whence perhaps Eng. "fanfare"). This instrument with its name were probably introduced into Europe from Syria during the period of the Crusades, as were the cymbals (*ṣunūj*); Henry G. Farmer, "Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music," *Islamic Culture*, vol. xv (1941), pp. 235-42. See below, pp. 663-4.

[3] Masculine form *qītār*; see above, p. 427.

CHAPTER XLII

IN SICILY

Conquest

THE Moslem conquest of Sicily (Ar. Siqilliyah) represents the last ripple in the wave that brought the Arabs into North Africa and Spain. The leaders of the expansion into the island and mid-Europe during the ninth century were Aghlabids from al-Qayrawān; but sporadic attempts by Moslem adventurers, soldiers of fortune and pirates had been made much earlier. In fact, the very same year (652) in which the Byzantine navy was crushed at Alexandria and maritime power passed into Arab hands witnessed the first attack on Byzantine Sicily, made by a general of Mu'āwiyah.[1] The delights of Syracuse (Saraqūsah, Saraquṣṣah), ravaged in this first attempt, consisted of women, church treasures and other valuable booty which invited repeated returns by Moslem plunderers in the course of the second half of the seventh century. In the eighth, Berber and Arab corsairs from North Africa and Moslem Spain began to harass the islands to the north and east and to cast paralysing fear over the inhabitants of Sicily as well as Corsica and Sardinia. Piracy and privateering, be it remembered, were then considered legitimate means of livelihood by Moslems and Christians alike. But there was no planned policy in these early raids.

The establishment of the powerful Aghlabid state of al-Qayrawān in the first year of the ninth century, however, changed the aspect of the situation. An appeal from a Syracusan rebel for aid against the Byzantine governor in 827 offered a timely pretext for an invasion. Ziyādat-Allāh I (817–38), the third Aghlabid, immediately sent off seventy vessels carrying some ten thousand fighters and seven hundred horses under the leadership of his seventy-year-old qāḍi-vizir, Asad ibn-al-Furāt.[2]

[1] See above, p. 167; Theophanes, p. 348.

[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. i, p. 95; Nuwayri, ed. Gaspar, vol. ii, p. 241; Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 527.

The real conquest began. The African army landed at Mazara [1] and advanced to Syracuse. A plague which spread in the Arab camp carried away Asad and a large number of his fighters.[2]

SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY

To illustrate Moslem occupation

Reinforced by fresh troops from Spain, the army captured Palermo (Ar. Balarm, originally a Phoenician colony) in 831,

[1] Ar. Māzar; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 236; Idrīsi, *Min Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, ed. M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1878), p. 32; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. i, pp. 394 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, p. 96; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 199.

thereby acquiring a vantage point for further conquest and a seat for the new amīrate. About 843 Messina[1] fell. In 878 the strongly fortified Syracuse was taken after nine months' siege and destroyed during the rule of the bloody Aghlabid, Ibrāhīm II (874–902), who towards the close of his reign came in person to Sicily. Here he reduced the district in the neighbourhood of Mount Etna[2] and in 902 destroyed Tāormina. Ibrāhīm died and was buried in Sicily. The conquest of the island, which had begun in 827, was now complete. For the next hundred and eighty-nine years Sicily under turbulent Arab chieftains formed in whole or in part a province of the Arab world.

In Italy

Just as Spain was a *point d'appui* for further raids and temporary conquests northward, so was Sicily with regard to Italy. Before his death in 902 Ibrāhīm II had carried the holy war across the straits into the toe of Italy, Calabria,[3] but he was not the first Arab invader to set foot on Italian soil. Shortly after the fall of Palermo, Aghlabid generals had interfered in the quarrels of the rival Lombards of Southern Italy, whose heel and toe were still held by the Byzantine emperor, and when Naples[4] in 837 appealed for Arab aid the Moslem war-cry echoed on the slopes of Vesuvius as it had before on those of its southern sister—"the mountain of fire". About four years later Bari, on the Adriatic, which was to become the main base for the next thirty years, was captured. About the same time the victorious Moslems made an appearance before Venice. In 846 even Rome was threatened by Arab squadrons which landed at Ostia and, unable to penetrate the walls of the Eternal City, sacked the cathedrals of St. Peter beside the Vatican and of St. Paul outside the walls and desecrated the graves of the pontiffs. Three years later another Moslem fleet reached Ostia but was destroyed by the tempestuous sea and the Italian navy. A painting from sketches by Raphael recalls this naval fight and the marvellous rescue of Rome. But the hold of the Moslems over Italy remained so firm that Pope John VIII (872–82) deemed it prudent to pay tribute for two years.[5]

[1] Massīni, Massīnah; Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 535; ibn-Jubayr, p. 320.

[2] Ar. *jabal al-nār*, the mountain of fire; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 239; Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 408; Amari, *Biblioteca*, app. 2 (Leipzig, 1887), p. 2.

[3] Qillawriyah in Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 167; Qallawriyah in ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 8, 128; see ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 200, 202.

[4] Nābul; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 3; Amari, *Biblioteca*, index; Idrīsi, p. 17.

[5] Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. i, pp. 588-93.

Across the Alps

The Aghlabids did not limit their operations to the Italian coasts. In 869 they captured Malta.[1] From Italy and Spain piratical raids in the tenth century extended through the Alpine passes into mid-Europe. In the Alps are a number of castles and walls which tourists' guides attribute to the invasion of the Saracens. Certain Swiss place-names, such as Gaby and Algaby (*al-jābi*?, tax collector) which appear in Baedeker's *Switzerland*, may possibly be of Arabic origin.[2]

Withdrawal from Italy

The recapture of Bari by the Christians in 871 marks the beginning of the end of the Moslem menace to Italy and Central Europe. In Bari the commanders had gone so far as to declare themselves "sultans" independent of the amīr at Palermo. In 880 the Byzantine Emperor Basil I wrested Taranto (Ṭārant), another important fortress, from Moslem hands and a few years later expelled the last remnants of the Arabs from Calabria. The final stage of the expansion which had begun in distant Arabia two and a half centuries before was thus brought to an end. At the present day numerous "Saracen towers", structures from which the approach of Arab fleets from Sicily or Africa was announced, still contribute to the scenic beauty of the peerless coastline south of Naples.

The Sicilian amīrate

In Sicily the amīr first held his office under the Aghlabids of al-Qayrawān.[3] With the destruction of the Aghlabid dynasty in 909 by the new and more powerful Fāṭimid caliphate, the Sicilian domain became a part of that empire as founded in North Africa by 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi. Four years later, however, the Sicilian Moslems under Aḥmad ibn-Qurhub (912–16) asserted their independence and named the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muqtadir, foe of the Fāṭimids, in the Friday prayers.[4] In 917 the Amīr Aḥmad, abandoned by his Berber troops, suffered execution by order of al-Mahdi and Sicily reverted to the Fāṭimid domain. With the island as a base the Fāṭimid fleet carried its plundering raids as far as Genoa, which was sacked in 934 or 935.

The domestic situation in Sicily was far from satisfactory.

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 201.

[2] Probably the adjective *maur* occurring in the toponomy is a mere synonym for "brown", without reference to Moorish invaders. The inhabitants of the Alpine regions may have become acquainted with such words through the Crusades.

[3] For list consult de Zambaur, p. 67; Eduard Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanischer Dynastien* (Berlin, 1923), p. 26.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 53-4.

The Spanish and African elements in the Moslem population were in constant friction, which was complicated by the eternal feuds arising from the old distinction among the Arabs between South Arabian Yamanites—including Kalbites—and North Arabians. In 948 the third Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr appointed as governor over Sicily al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ali ibn-abi-al-Ḥusayn al-Kalbi († 965), who laid the basis of a more or less independent and stable state.[1] Under him and his successors, the Kalbite dynasty, the seeds of Arab culture were afforded an opportunity to germinate in this polyglot isle. It was during the short reign of abu-al-Futūḥ Yūsuf ibn-'Abdullāh (989–98), a descendant of al-Ḥasan, that Moslem Sicily reached its height.

The Kalbite amīrs lived in luxurious palaces and maintained enlightened courts in their flourishing city. The Eastern geographer and traveller ibn-Ḥawqal[2] (fl. 943–77), whose description of the capital Palermo is not merely the oldest but the only account by a Moslem eye-witness, found in it over a hundred and fifty butcher shops and the incredible number of three hundred mosques. In the congregational mosques he counted thirty-six rows of worshippers, each with about two hundred men, making over seven thousand in all. He numbered over three hundred public school teachers, who were regarded by the inhabitants as their most pious, excellent and distinguished citizens, and that "in spite of the fact that school teachers are notorious for their mental deficiency and light brains".

Norman conquest

The downfall of the Kalbite régime was brought about by civil wars and Byzantine interference, which paved the way for the Norman conquest of the island. This began with the capture of Messina in 1060 by Count Roger, son of Tancred de Hauteville, culminated in the seizure of Palermo in 1071 and Syracuse in 1085 and ended in 1091. In 1090 Malta was taken by Roger. The Normans, already strong in the possession of a vigorous state on the mainland, were now secure in their newly conquered territory.

Arab-Norman culture

Sicily under the Normans saw the efflorescence of an interesting Christian-Islamic culture. Throughout the Arab period of domination there streamed into the island, already rich in memories of bygone civilizations, Eastern cultural currents which, blending with the precious legacy of Greece and Rome,

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 354.

[2] Pp. 82-7.

took definite shape under Norman rule and gave the Norman culture its distinctive character. Hitherto the Arabs had been too engrossed in warfare and squabbles to develop the finer arts of peace, but now their genius attained its full fruition in a rich outburst of Arab-Norman art and culture.

Though himself an uncultured Christian, Roger I († 1101) drew from the Moslems the mass of his infantry, patronized Arab learning, surrounded himself with Eastern philosophers, astrologers and physicians and allowed the non-Christians full liberty to follow their rites. The case of the poet ʿAbd-al-Jabbār ibn-Ḥamdīs (*ca.* 1055–1132), who though born in Syracuse retired at the Norman conquest to the Spanish court of al-Muʿtamid, was exceptional.[1] On the whole, Roger maintained the former system of administration and even kept high Moslem officials. His court at Palermo seemed more Oriental than Occidental. For over a century after this Sicily presented the unique spectacle of a Christian kingdom in which some of the highest positions were held by Moslems.

In this century the trade of the country remained to a large extent in the hands of Moslem merchants and the cultivation of the land continued to prosper under Arab husbandmen who, as in Spain, knew how to make the land produce abundantly. Sugar-cane, flax, olives and other plants and fruits were introduced by the Arabs. Sericulture was established by the Normans after 1147. Papyrus, the like of which ibn-Ḥawqal[2] saw nowhere except in Egypt, was now cultivated in greater abundance than ever before. From its fibre, cordage was made for ships. Ibn-Jubayr,[3] who visited the island in 1184, was greatly impressed by its fertility, rich resources and plentiful means of sustenance. He particularly noted grape-vines and other trees cultivated in symmetrical rows.

The earliest extant paper document from Europe is an order in Greek and Arabic issued by the wife of Roger I, presumably in 1109; but it is more reasonable to suppose that the paper of this document was imported by Sicilian Arabs. From the time of King Roger II we have the earliest coin bearing a date in Arabic numerals (1138) and an Arabic inscription.

[1] Ibn-Ḥamdīs later accompanied his Sevillan patron into captivity in Africa. His *Dīwān* was edited by C. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1897); extracts in Amari, *Biblioteca*, pp. 547-73. [2] P. 86. [3] P. 328.

The line of Sicilian Arabophiles started by Roger I culminated in his son and second successor Roger II (1130–54) and in

Photo: Anderson

CAPPELLA PALATINA, PALERMO

Built by Roger II and decorated with medallions bearing Kufic inscriptions

Frederick II. Roger II dressed like a Moslem and his critics called him the "half-heathen king". His robe bore decorative Arabic characters. Even under his grandson William II (1166–89) ibn-

Jubayr [1] saw the Christian women of Palermo wearing Moslem costumes. The chapel which Roger II built in his capital, Palermo, had its ceiling ornamented with medallions bearing Kufic inscriptions. Arab craftsmen were undoubtedly employed in the construction of this and other Sicilian monuments. Several ivory objects, including caskets and croziers now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican and other museums, typify Siculo-Arabic craftsmanship of this period.[2] Roger's fleet, which raised Sicily to the position of the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean, was built and commanded by amīrs of whom the greatest was George (Jurji) of Antioch, a Greek formerly in the service of a Moslem prince in al-Mahdīyah, Africa. The highest office in the realm was that of *ammiratus ammiratorum* (*amīr al-umarā'*).

Al-Idrisi

The chief ornament of Roger II's court was al-Idrīsi, the most distinguished geographer and cartographer of the Middle Ages. Born in Ceuta in 1100 of Hispano-Arab parents, abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad al-Idrīsi († 1166) did his life work at Palermo under the patronage of Roger II. His Rogerian treatise (*Kitāb Rujār*) entitled *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq* [3] (the recreation of him who yearns to traverse the lands) not only sums up the main features of such preceding works as those of Ptolemy and al-Mas'ūdi but is primarily based upon original reports submitted by observers who had been sent to various lands to secure data. In his critical collation of the material al-Idrīsi shows a remarkable breadth of view and a grasp of such essential facts as the sphericity of the earth. Besides this monumental work al-Idrīsi constructed for his Norman patron a celestial sphere and a disk-shaped map of the world, both in silver.[4]

Frederick II

The second of "the two baptized sultans of Sicily" [5] was Roger II's grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1215–50), who ruled both Sicily and Germany and, besides holding the title of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire after 1220, became king of Jerusalem by his marriage in 1225 with the heiress,

[1] P. 333. [2] See Perry B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories* (Princeton, 1939).

[3] A synopsis of the text with its seventy-one maps was printed in Rome as early as 1592. It was translated, but inaccurately, into Latin as *Geographia Nubiensis* (Paris, 1619) by two Maronite scholars, Jibrā'īl al-Ṣahyūni (Gabriel Sionita) and Yūḥanna al-Ḥaṣrūni (Joannes Hesronita). Partial editions of the text have been made in Leyden, Madrid, Rome, Bonn, etc. Consult Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, vol. vi (Stuttgart, 1927).

[4] Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 658. [5] Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. iii, p. 372.

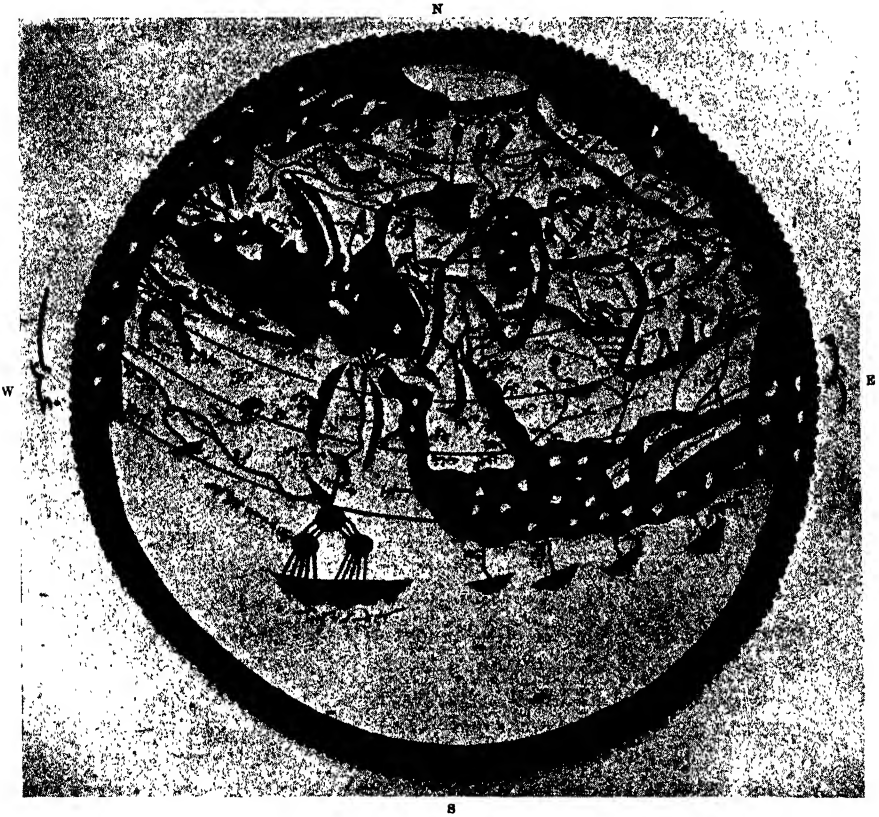
Isabelle of Brienne. The Emperor Frederick therefore was the highest civil authority in Christendom. Three years after his marriage he undertook a Crusade which inoculated him with more Moslem ideas.

In his personal habits and official life Frederick, who kept a harem, was semi-Oriental. In his court flourished philosophers from Syria and Baghdād, with long beards and flowing robes, dancing girls from the Orient and Jews from the East as well as from the West. His interest in the world of Islam he maintained by political and commercial relations, especially with the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt.[1] From this Sultan al-Kāmil Muḥammad (1218–38), nephew of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, Frederick received for his menagerie, which included camels and accompanied him wherever he went in Europe, a giraffe,[2] the first to appear in medieval Europe. From Egypt he also brought experts to test the incubation of ostrich eggs by the heat of the sun. From another Ayyūbid sultan, al-Ashraf of Damascus, he received in 1232 a wonderful planetarium with figures of the sun and moon marking the hours on their appointed rounds. In return, the emperor sent a white bear and a white peacock which astonished the Damascenes as much as the marvellous beast from Egypt had astonished their Sicilian contemporaries. It was to this Sultan al-Kāmil, among other Moslem rulers, that Frederick propounded, partly for information and partly as a puzzle, those problems of mathematics and philosophy whose solution was successfully undertaken by an Egyptian scholar.[3] The geometrical and astronomical problems, including the squaring of a circle's segment, were solved at al-Mawṣil. The same questionnaire was submitted to ibn-Sab'īn (above, p. 587).

Frederick brought from Syria skilled falconers, watched them train the birds and tried to ascertain by seeling the hawks' eyes whether they could find food by smell. He had his interpreter-astrologer Theodore (Thādhuri), a Jacobite Christian from Antioch,[4] translate an Arabic treatise on falconry. This translation together with another from Persian became the basis of Frederick's work on falconry, the first modern natural history. Theodore also extracted for the emperor a treatise on hygiene from the *Sirr al-Asrār* of the pseudo-Aristotle. As court

[1] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 148.
[2] This word is of Arabic origin, *zarāfah*.
[3] Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 522; cf. p. 514, l. 4.
[4] Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 477-8.

astrologer Theodore was preceded by Michael Scot, who from 1220 to 1236 represented in Sicily and Italy the learning of Moslem Spain. Scot made for the emperor from Arabic a Latin summary of Aristotle's biological and zoological works, par-



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AN ARABIC MAP OF THE WORLD, CAIRO, A.D. 1456, based on al-Idrīsi
Note the sources of the Nile, supposedly a nineteenth-century discovery

ticularly *De animalibus*, with ibn-Sīna's commentary, which he dedicated to his patron as *Abbreviatio Avicenne*.

This almost modern spirit of investigation, experimentation and research which characterized the court of Frederick marks the beginning of the Italian Renaissance. Italian poetry, letters and music began to blossom under Provençal and Arabic

influence.[1] The cultivation of poetry in the vulgar tongue was evidently due to the example of Arabic poets and singers, and the metrics of the early popular poetry of Italy, as represented by the carnival songs and the *ballata*, is fundamentally the same as that of the folk poetry of Andalusia.[2] "Stanza" is evidently a translation of Arabic *bayt*, "house", "strophe". But Frederick's greatest single contribution was the founding of the University of Naples (1224), the first in Europe to be established by a definite charter. In it he deposited a large collection of Arabic manuscripts. The works of Aristotle and ibn-Rushd which he caused to be translated were used in its curriculum; copies of the translations were sent to the Universities of Paris and Bologna. The University of Naples counted among its pupils Thomas Aquinas. In the fourteenth and following centuries Arabic studies were cultivated in several European universities, including Oxford and Paris, but with an entirely different motive: that of preparing Christian missionaries for Moslem lands.

Sicily's place in transmitting thought

The meeting-point of two cultural areas, Sicily was peculiarly adapted to act as a medium for transmitting ancient and medieval lore. Its population comprised a Greek element which used Greek, a Moslem element which spoke Arabic and a body of scholars who knew Latin. All three languages were in current use in the official registers and royal charters as well as among the populace of the many-tongued Palermo. It was in Sicily about 1160 that the first translation of the *Almagest* into Latin was done directly from Greek with the collaboration of a Greek-speaking Sicilian, Eugene of Palermo, surnamed the Amīr. Eugene, who flourished under Roger II and his successor William I, knew Arabic as well as Latin. He made a Latin version from Arabic of the *Optica* ascribed to Ptolemy, the Greek text of which is lost, and helped translate into Greek the Arabic *Kalīlah*. Under William not only translations from Arabic but also from the Greek originals were encouraged.

The Jews of Sicily, like those of Spain, had a significant part in the work of translation. The encyclopædic medical work of al-Rāzi was done into Latin by the Sicilian Jewish physician,

[1] Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. iii, pp. 760 *seq.*; G. A. Cesareo, *Le origini della poesia lirica e la poesia siciliana sotto gli suevi*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1924), pp. 101, 107.

[2] José M. Millás in *Revista de archives*, vol. xli (1920), pp. 550-64, xlii (1921), pp. 37-59.

Faraj ben-Sālim, in 1279 under the auspices of Charles I of Anjou and was propagated in numerous manuscripts during the succeeding centuries. This was the only major medical work rendered into Latin in Sicily, where the translations dealt mainly with astronomy and mathematics. Though some of the Greek and Arabic books were done again and better in Toledo, nevertheless Sicily's contribution was of prime value.

Via Italy

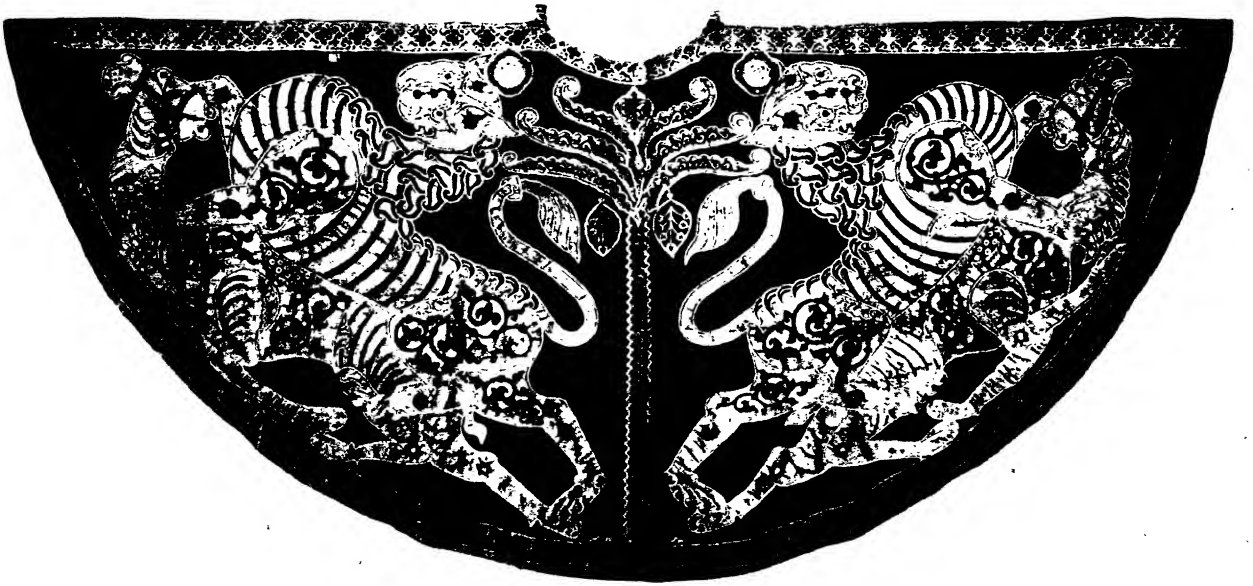
Since the Norman kings and their successors on the Sicilian throne held not only the island but also Southern Italy, they provided a bridge for the transmission of various elements of Moslem culture into the peninsula and mid-Europe. By the middle of the tenth century traces of Arab learning became clearly noticeable north of the Alps. Dante's ideas of the other world may not have been derived from any particular Arabic text, but they certainly appear to have been of Oriental origin, though drawn by him from the popular lore of Europe. This penetration from the East through various channels is evident in the domain of art as well as in science and literature. The design of Renaissance *campanili*, it would seem, was derived from the square North African, more particularly Egyptian, type of minaret. Long after Sicily and the southern part of the peninsula had reverted to Christian rule Moslem craftsmen and artists continued to flourish, as evidenced by the mosaics and inscriptions of the Palatine Chapel. The renowned weaving-house established by the Moslem rulers in the royal palace at Palermo supplied European royalty with state robes which bore Arabic inscriptions. The first Italian textile workers acquired their technical knowledge and models for designs from Sicily. By the beginning of the thirteenth century silk weaving had already become the principal industry in several Italian towns, which exported fabrics imitating the Sicilian stuffs into various parts of Europe. As in Palermo and Cadiz, so in Venice, Ferrara and Pisa, colonies of Oriental craftsmen taught the natives and collaborated with them. So great was the demand for Oriental fabrics that there was a time when no European could have felt really well-dressed unless he possessed at least one such garment.

During the fifteenth century when opulent Venice was so actively adopting and scattering Moslem fashions in art, books bound in Italian workshops began to assume an Oriental appearance. The peculiarities of Arabic binding, including the flap that

folds over to protect the front edges of the volume, appear on Christian books. At the same time new methods of tooling and decorating leather covers were also being learned from Oriental artisans in various Italian towns. Venice, moreover, was the home of another industry, the inlaying of brass with gold,[1] silver or red copper, an art which flourished mainly in al-Mawṣil in the twelfth century.

On the whole, Sicily as a transmitter of Moslem culture might claim for itself a place next in importance to that of Spain and higher than that of Syria in the period of the Crusades.

[1] It. *azzimina*, from Ar. *a'jami*, Persian, foreign.



From a photograph by Osterreichische Lichtbildstelle, Vienna

THE CORONATION MANTLE OF ROGER II, WITH KUFIC INSCRIPTION ON THE SEMICIRCULAR BORDER
Now in the Weltliche Schatzkammer, Vienna

[*To face p.* 614.

PART V

THE LAST OF THE MEDIEVAL MOSLEM STATES

CHAPTER XLIII

A SHĪʿITE CALIPHATE IN EGYPT: THE FĀṬIMIDS

THE Fāṭimid caliphate, the only major Shīʿite one in Islam,[1] established itself in Tunis in 909 as a deliberate challenge to the religious headship of the Islamic world represented by the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād. The founder was Saʿīd ibn-Ḥusayn, probably a descendant of the second founder of the Ismāʿīlite sect,[2] the Persian ʿAbdullāh ibn-Maymūn. The spectacular rise of ibn-Maymūn's successor Saʿīd was the culmination of deep-laid, skilfully organized Ismāʿīlite propaganda paralleled only by the earlier movement which led to the break-up of the Umayyad caliphate. No small measure of this success was due to the personal efforts of the chief *dāʿi* (propagandist), abu-ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥusayn al-Shīʿi, a native of Ṣanʿā' in al-Yaman, who toward the close of the ninth century proclaimed himself precursor of the Mahdi and sowed seeds of sedition among the Berbers of North Africa, especially the Kitāmah (Kutāmah) tribe. His acquaintance with members of this tribe was made in the season of the pilgrimage at Makkah.[3] Ifrīqiyah was then under Aghlabid rule. Ismāʿīlite propaganda

Al-Shīʿi's conspicuous success in this distant region gave Saʿīd the signal to leave his Ismāʿīlite headquarters at Salamyah and make his way disguised as a merchant into north-western Africa. Thrown into a dungeon in Sijilmāsah by order of the Aghlabid Ziyādat-Allāh (903–9), Saʿīd was rescued by al-Shīʿi,[4] who in 909 destroyed the century-old Aghlabid dynasty and drove its last scion Ziyādat-Allāh out of the country. The Aghlabids were the last representatives of Sunnite Islam in North The enigmatic Saʿīd

[1] For earlier independent ʿAlid principalities review the Idrīsids and Ḥammūdids. The Sharīfs of Morocco, whose assumption of sovereignty dates from 1544, trace their lineage through al-Ḥasan to ʿAli and Fāṭimah, but are almost orthodox.

[2] The original founder was the Imām Ismāʿīl († 760); above, p. 442.

[3] Ibn-ʿIdhāri, vol. i, p. 118.

[4] Some wrongly suspect that the real prisoner was slain before the surrender of Sijilmāsah to al-Shīʿi.

Africa. Sa'īd was proclaimed ruler under the title of the Imām [1] 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi and accepted as a descendant of Fāṭimah through al-Ḥusayn and Ismā'īl. The dynasty he established is often referred to as al-'Ubaydīyah, especially by those who do not believe in his alleged descent.

Moslem historians are divided into two camps on the question of the legitimacy of his Fāṭimid origin. At least eight varying pedigrees were provided for him by his supporters and enemies, some of the latter going so far as to charge that he was the son of a Jew. Notable among the supporters of his legitimacy are ibn-al-Athīr,[2] ibn-Khaldūn [3] and al-Maqrīzi.[4] Among those who suspect or deny the genealogy and regard Sa'īd as an impostor are ibn-Khallikān,[5] ibn-'Idhāri,[6] al-Suyūṭi [7] and ibn-Taghri-Birdi.[8] It is noteworthy, however, that no dispute as to the genuineness of the Fāṭimid descent arose until the year 1011, when the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir issued in Baghdād a curious manifesto, signed by several Sunni and Shī'ite notables, declaring that his Egyptian rival al-Ḥākim was descended not from Fāṭimah but from Dayṣān the heretic.[9]

The first Fāṭimid

'Ubaydullāh (909–34) established himself first in the Aghlabid residence Raqqādah, a suburb of al-Qayrawān. He proved himself a most capable ruler. Two years after assuming supreme authority he killed his missionary-commander al-Shī'i and soon afterward extended his rule over the whole African territory from the Morocco of the Idrīsids to the confines of Egypt. In 914 he seized Alexandria; two years later he devastated the Delta. To Sicily he sent a new governor from the Kitāmah tribe and with the rebel ibn-Ḥafṣūn in Spain he established friendly relations. Malta, Sardinia,[10] Corsica, the Balearic and other islands felt the power of the fleet which he had inherited from the Aghlabids. About 920 he took up his residence in the new capital al-Mahdīyah,[11] which he founded on the Tunisian coast sixteen miles south-east of al-Qayrawān and named after himself.

[1] As Shī'ites, the Fāṭimids preferred the title imām to caliph.
[2] Vol. viii, pp. 17-20, abridged by abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, pp. 67-8.
[3] Vol. iv, p. 31.
[4] *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq, 1270), vol. i, pp. 348-9.
[5] Vol. i, p. 487.
[6] Vol. i, pp. 150, 157-8.
[7] *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1305), p. 214.
[8] Ed. Popper, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 112.
[9] Text of manifesto preserved in abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 150.
[10] Finally subjugated in 1003 from Spain.
[11] Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, pp. 694-6; Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 334; ibn-Ḥammād, *Akhbār Mulūk bani-'Ubayd*, ed. M. Vonderheyden (Algiers, 1927), pp. 9-10.

ʿUbaydullāh's successors pursued his policy of aggression and expansion. His son[1] abu-al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Qā'im (934–46) sent a fleet which in 934 or 935 harried the southern coast of France, took Genoa and coasted along Calabria, carrying off slaves and other booty. All these expeditions, however, led to no permanent conquest. Under al-Qā'im's grandson abu-Tamīm Maʿadd al-Muʿizz (952–75) the Egyptian fleet, strengthened by new units built at Maqs, the predecessor of Būlāq as the port of Cairo, in 955 raided the coasts of Spain, whose caliph was none other than the mighty al-Nāṣir. Three years later the Fāṭimid army advanced westward as far as the Atlantic, whence the commander sent to his caliph live fish in jars. In 969 Egypt was wrested from its Ikhshīdid rulers.

The fleet

The hero of these last exploits was Jawhar al-Ṣiqilli (the Sicilian), also called al-Rūmi (the Greek), originally a Christian born in Byzantine territory, probably Sicily, whence he was brought as a slave to al-Qayrawān.[2] Immediately after his victorious entry into the capital al-Fusṭāṭ in 969, Jawhar began to lay out a new quarter which he named al-Qāhirah.[3] This city, modern Cairo, became the capital of the Fāṭimids in 973. After founding the new capital, today the most populous city of Africa, Jawhar in 972 built the great mosque al-Azhar,[4] which was soon afterward made an academy by the Caliph al-ʿAzīz.

The commander Jawhar

Jawhar thus became the second founder, after al-Shīʿi, of the Fāṭimid empire, which now included all North Africa. Western Arabia was inherited from the Ikhshīdids, who had been entrusted by the ʿAbbāsids with the guardianship of the Holy City. As soon as Jawhar was established on Egyptian soil he dispatched to neighbouring Syria a lieutenant who in 969 reached and temporarily occupied Damascus.[5] His principal opponents were the Qarmaṭians, who were at this time all-powerful in many sections of Syria.

During the peaceful reign of abu-Manṣūr Nizār al-ʿAzīz (975–96), the fifth of the dynasty and the first to commence his

Fāṭimid power at its height

[1] His ward, an ʿAlid, according to an Ismāʿīlite source; Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 51-2.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 209-13; Maqrīzi, vol. i, pp. 352, 377 *seq.*

[3] "The triumphant", so called after the planet *Qāhir al-Falak* (the triumphant of heaven, Mars), which was in the ascendant; corrupted by Venetians into Cairo.

[4] "The bright (or fair) one", after al-Zahrā', a title of Fāṭimah.

[5] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 48; Maqrīzi, vol. i, p. 378.

reign in Egypt, the Fāṭimid empire reached its zenith. The name of this caliph was cited in the Friday prayers from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and in al-Yaman, Makkah, Damascus, and once even in al-Mawṣil. At least nominally his rule covered that vast area. Under him the Egyptian caliphate not only became the most formidable rival of that of Baghdād but even eclipsed it and appropriated for itself the position of the only great Moslem state in the eastern Mediterranean. Al-ʿAzīz went so far as to erect a two-million-dinar palace in Cairo to house his ʿAbbāsid rivals, whom he hoped to seize after the capture of Baghdād. Like his predecessors he cast covetous eyes on distant Spain, but the proud Cordovan caliph on receiving a sharp note from the Fāṭimid sovereign is said to have sent back the following retort: "Thou ridiculest us because thou hast heard of us. If we had ever heard of thee, we would reply."[1]

Of the Fāṭimid caliphs al-ʿAzīz was probably the wisest and most beneficent. He lived in luxury, built in Cairo and its environs several new mosques, palaces, bridges and canals and extended to the Christians under him a measure of toleration never enjoyed before. In this attitude he was undoubtedly influenced by his Christian vizir ʿĪsa ibn-Nasṭūr and his Russian wife, the mother of his son and heir al-Ḥākim and sister of the two Melkite patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem.

The decline of the Fāṭimid power began soon after the beneficent reign of al-ʿAzīz, the first of his house to adopt, following the ʿAbbāsid precedent, the fateful policy of importing Turkish as well as negro mercenary troops. The insubordination and constant quarrelling of these troops among themselves and with the Berber bodyguard became one of the chief causes of the final collapse of the kingdom. It was Circassian and Turkish soldiers and slaves who later usurped the supreme authority and established independent dynasties.

A deranged caliph

Al-ʿAzīz' successor, abu-ʿAli Manṣūr al-Ḥākim (996–1021), was only eleven when he came to the throne. His reign was marked with monstrous atrocities. He killed several of his vizirs, demolished a number of Christian churches including that of the Holy Sepulchre (1009), forced Christians and Jews to wear black robes, ride only on donkeys and display when in baths a cross dangling from their necks, if Christians, and a wooden

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, ed. Popper, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 2.

image of a calf, if Jews.[1] Al-Ḥākim was the third caliph in Islam, after al-Mutawakkil and ʿUmar II, to impose such stringent measures on non-Moslems.[2] Otherwise the Fāṭimid régime was remarkably favourable for dhimmis. The edict for the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre was signed by his Christian secretary ibn-ʿAbdūn and the act was one of the contributory causes of the Crusades. Finally this enigmatic, blue-eyed caliph, following the extreme development of Ismāʿīlite doctrine, declared himself the incarnation of the Deity and was so accepted by a newly organized sect, called Druzes, after its first great missionary, al-Darazi († 1019).[3] On February 13, 1021, al-Ḥākim was killed on the Muqaṭṭam, probably through a conspiracy headed by his sister Sitt al-Mulūk, whom the caliph had charged with unchastity.

Decadence

After al-Ḥākim immature youths were made caliphs with the real power in the hands of vizirs, who later even assumed the royal title *malik*. Al-Ḥākim's son and successor al-Ẓāhir (1021–1035) was sixteen when he came to the throne. It was this caliph who received permission from Constantine VIII to have his name mentioned in the mosques of the emperor's domain and to have the mosque at Constantinople restored in return for the caliph's permission to have the Church of the Holy Sepulchre rebuilt.[4] Al-Ẓāhir's successor was his eleven-year-old son, Maʿadd al-Mustanṣir (1035–94), whose reign of almost sixty years is the longest in Moslem annals.[5] In the early part of his reign his mother, a Sudanese slave once purchased from a Jew, enjoyed with her vendor most of the power. By this time the Fāṭimid dominions had shrunk to little more than Egypt itself. After 1043 the Fāṭimid possession in Syria, always loosely bound to Egypt, began rapidly to disintegrate. Palestine was often in open revolt. A mighty power advancing from the east, that of the Saljūq Turkomans, was now overshadowing Western Asia. In the meantime the Fāṭimid African provinces were severing their tributary connection and passing into open independence or reverting to their old allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids. The troublesome Arab

[1] Cf. Yaḥya ibn-Saʿīd, ed. Cheikho *et al.*, p. 187; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 5; ibn-Ḥammād, p. 54.

[2] For the Shāfiʿite restrictions see Ibshīhi, *Mustaṭraf*, vol. i. p. 100.

[3] For more on this sect consult Hitti, *Origins of Druze People*.

[4] Maqrīzi, vol. i, p. 355. Cf. Yaḥya ibn-Saʿīd, pp. 270-71; above, p. 204.

[5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 550; see above, p. 481, n. 2.

tribes of the banu-Hilāl and Sulaym, originally of Najd and now of Upper Egypt, were instigated in 1052 to move westward where for years they ravaged Tripoli and Tunis.[1] Sicily, which for a time acknowledged after the Aghlabid the Fāṭimid sovereignty, was by 1071 mostly subdued by the Normans, who subsequently even overran parts of the African mainland. Arabia alone kept in part faithful to the Shī'ite cause. On the dark horizon the only ray of light was the temporary success at Baghdād of the Turkish general and usurper al-Basāsīri[2] († 1060), through whose domination the Egyptian caliph's name was cited in the Baghdād mosques for forty successive Fridays. Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah followed the example of Baghdād. The turban of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qā'im, who even renounced all his rights to the caliphate in favour of his Fāṭimid rival, the Prophet's mantle and a beautiful window from his palace were brought to Cairo as trophies. The turban and mantle together with the document of renunciation were returned to Baghdād about a century later by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, but the window was used in one palace after another until the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr added it to the tomb in which he was buried in 1309.

Fall

At home trouble was continually brewing between Turkish, Berber and Sudanese battalions, and state authority was paralysed. Seven years' famine exhausted the economic resources of the country. In 1073 the vacillating caliph summoned the Armenian Badr al-Jamāli, a former slave, from his military governorship of 'Akka to act as vizir and commander in chief.[3] The new Amīr al-Juyūsh took command with such vigour that he brought order out of apparent chaos and gave the Fāṭimid régime a new lease of life. But the revival was of short duration. Neither Badr's efforts nor those of his son and successor, al-Malik al-Afḍal,[4] who wielded the supreme authority after his father's death in 1094, could check the tide of decline. The remaining years of Fāṭimid rule[5] were marked by continuous struggle between vizirs backed by factions in the army. On the death of al-Mustanṣir, al-Malik al-Afḍal placed on the throne the caliph's

[1] The migratory movements and military exploits of banu-Hilāl provide the historical background of the celebrated epic *Sīrat bani-Hilāl.*

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 107-8.

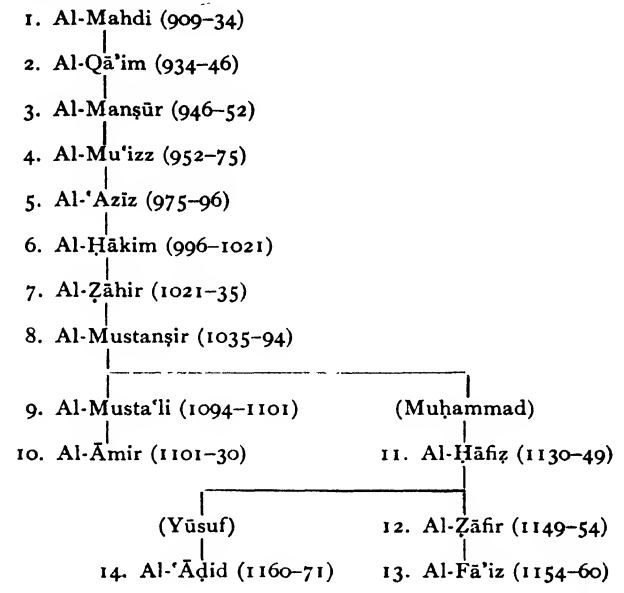
[3] *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 64; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 60, 160.

[4] Abu-al-Qāsim Shāhinshāh; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 396-7.

[5] For list of Fāṭimid caliphs see genealogical tree on following page.

youngest son under the name al-Musta'li with the expectation of holding him under his influence. After al-Musta'li, his son, a child of five years, was declared caliph by al-Afḍal, who gave him the honorific title al-Āmir (1101–30). When al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149) died his power hardly extended beyond the caliphal palace. His son and successor al-Ẓāfir (1149–54) was then a gay youth and the power was usurped by the Kurdish vizir ibn-al-Sallār, styled al-Malik al-'Ādil. The memoirs of Usāmah,[1] who spent the years between 1144 and 1154 in the Fāṭimid court,

Table of Fāṭimid caliphs:



show that in no court were intrigues, feuds and jealousies more rife. The assassination of ibn-al-Sallār (1153) by his wife's grandson Naṣr ibn-'Abbās, who was later encouraged by the caliph to make an attempt on the life of his father, 'Abbās, ibn-al-Sallār's successor in the vizirate, and finally the secret murder of al-Ẓāfir himself by the young conspirator, form one of the darkest chapters in the history of Egypt. The second day after the caliph had vanished 'Abbās declared the four-year-old son of al-Ẓāfir, al-Fā'iz, caliph (1154–60). The boy caliph died aged eleven and was succeeded by his nine-year-old cousin al-'Āḍid,

[1] Ed. Hitti, pp. 6-33 = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 30-59.

the fourteenth and last in a line which had lasted for over two and a half centuries. The precarious existence of the people, depending as they did for their sustenance on the overflow of the Nile, was in the meantime being rendered more miserable by repeated famines and plagues. The result was heavier taxes and more general extortion to supply the insatiable greed of the caliphs and their soldiery. Matters were complicated by the advent of the Crusaders and the repeated attacks of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, who in 1167 stood at the very gates of Cairo. These conditions were brought to an end by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, who in 1171 dethroned the last Fāṭimid caliph.

CHAPTER XLIV

LIFE IN FĀṬIMID EGYPT

EGYPT was the only land of the once far-flung Fāṭimid domain where the successors of ʿUbaydullāh al-Mahdi impressed the stamp of their cultural characteristics. The precarious relationship that held the several provinces of north-western Africa and Western Asia to Cairo militated against the possibility of leaving in those regions peculiarly Fāṭimid traces. In the cultural history of Egypt the Fāṭimid together with the preceding Ikhshīdid and Ṭūlūnid periods may be described as the Arabo-Persian era as distinct from the Perso-Turkish, which covered the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. The pre-Ṭūlūnid period may be described as purely Arabic. The Ayyūbid dynasty, which supplanted the Fāṭimid, introduced to Africa the spirit and culture of the great Saljūq empire, noticeable in its art and industry and its political and intellectual movements. Under the Fāṭimids, however, it is the influence of Persian culture that is paramount. But the backbone of the populace throughout medieval and modern history was composed of Arabicized Copts. This populace remained under the ultra-Shīʿite régime Sunnite at core, as can be inferred from the facility with which Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn restored official orthodoxy.

Politically the Fāṭimid period marks a new epoch in the history of the land, which for the first time since Pharaonic days had a completely sovereign power full of vitality and founded on a religious basis. The two preceding dynasties had neither national nor religious footing in the country. Their rise and existence they owed to the military ability of their soldier-founders and to the dilapidated condition of the ʿAbbāsid state.

Though the golden age in the history of Fāṭimid Egypt began with al-Muʿizz and culminated with al-ʿAzīz, yet Egypt in the time of al-Mustanṣir was still the leading country of Islam. The Persian Ismāʿīli missionary Nāṣir-i-Khusraw,[1] who visited the

High life

[1] *Sefer Nāmeh*, ed. Schefer, pp. 36-56, tr. pp. 110-62.

country in 1046–49, shortly before the economic and political crash, has left us a description in glowing colours. The caliphal palace housed 30,000 persons, of whom 12,000 were servants and 1000 horse and foot guards. The young caliph, whom Nāṣir saw at a festival riding on a mule, was pleasant looking, clean shaven and dressed simply in a white *quftān* and turban. An attendant carried over the caliph's head a parasol enriched with precious stones. The seven galleys drawn up on the bank of the Nile measured 150 cubits over-all by 60 in beam. The caliph owned in the capital 20,000 houses, mostly of brick, rising to a height of five or six stories, and an equal number of shops, which were let at two to ten dinars a month. The main streets were roofed and lighted by lamps. The shopkeepers sold at fixed prices, and if one cheated he was paraded on a camel through the streets ringing a bell and confessing his fault. Even the shops of jewellers and money-changers were left unlocked. The old al-Fusṭāṭ had seven great mosques; Cairo had eight.[1] The whole country enjoyed a degree of seeming tranquillity and prosperity that made Nāṣir enthusiastically declare: "I could neither limit nor estimate its wealth and nowhere have I seen such prosperity as I saw there".[2]

Of all the Egyptian caliphs al-Mustanṣir was the richest. He inherited millions from his predecessors and lived a life of luxury and ease. He is said to have erected in his palace a Ka'bah-like pavilion where he used to drink to the accompaniment of stringed music and beautiful singers. Here he declared: "This is indeed more pleasant than staring at a Black Stone, listening to the muezzin's drone and drinking impure water". An inventory of his treasures by al-Maqrīzi [3] includes precious stones, crystal vases, inlaid gold plates, ivory and ebony inkstands, amber cups, phials of musk, steel mirrors, parasols with gold and silver sticks, chess-boards with gold and silver pawns, jewelled daggers and swords and embroidered fabrics manufactured at Dabīq and Damascus. Exquisite and priceless works of art were dissipated among the Turkish troops. Yet in 1070 this caliph found it necessary to send his daughters and their mother to Baghdād to escape starvation.

[1] Cf. Maqrīzi, vol. ii, p. 264; Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 901.
[2] P. 53 (text), p. 155 tr.
[3] Vol. i, pp. 414 *seq.* Cf. ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 181-2.

Administration

In its general organization the Fāṭimid state followed the 'Abbāsid, or rather the older Persian prototype. The Egyptian al-Qalqashandi[1] († 1418) has given us in his manual intended for the use of candidates for governmental posts a sketch of the military and administrative systems under the Fāṭimids. The army consisted of three principal ranks: (1) amīrs, who included the highest officers and the sword-bearing escorts of the caliph; (2) officers of the guard, consisting of masters (sing. *ustādh*) and eunuchs; and (3) the different regiments carrying such names as Ḥāfiẓīyah, Juyūshīyah, Sūdānīyah, after some caliph, vizir or nationality. The vizirs were of several classes, of which the highest were "men of the sword", who supervised the army and war-office, and "lords of the door", high chamberlains, whose privilege it was to present foreign envoys. The "men of the pen" included the qāḍī, who was also director of the mint; the inspector of markets (*muḥtasib*), who supervised weights and measures; and the state treasurer, who presided over the *bayt al-māl*. In the lowest rank of the "men of the pen" stood the great body of civil servants, comprising clerks and secretaries in the various departments. The internal administration of the empire is said to have been the creation of al-Mu'izz' and al-'Azīz' vizir Ya'qūb ibn-Killis († 991), a Baghdād Jew who, accepting Islam, began his political career at Kāfūr's court and whose expert administration laid the basis of the economic prosperity of the Nile valley under the early Fāṭimids.[2]

Scientific and literary progress

Ibn-Killis was the first outstanding patron of learning in Fāṭimid Egypt. He established an academy and spent on it a thousand dinars per month. In his time flourished the physician Muḥammad al-Tamīmi, who was born in Jerusalem and moved to Egypt about 970. Before him, under the Ikhshīdids, flourished the historian Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf al-Kindi,[3] who died at al-Fusṭāṭ in 961. Another historian who died later (1062) in al-Fusṭāṭ was ibn-Salāmah al-Quḍā'i.[4]

Though some of the early Fāṭimid caliphs were men of culture, their period was one unproductive of scientists and writers of special merit. Like other caliphs in Baghdād and Cordova,

[1] *Ṣubḥ*, vol. iii, pp. 480 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-al-Ṣayrafi, *al-Ishārah ila Man Nāla al-Wizārah*, ed. 'Abdullāh Mukhliṣ (Cairo, 1924), pp. 94 *seq.*

[3] Author of *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-Kitāb al-Quḍāh*, ed. R. Guest (Leyden, 1908–12).

[4] Author of *'Uyūn al-Ma'ārif wa-Funūn Akhbār al-Khalā'if* (unpublished).

al-'Azīz was himself a poet and a lover of learning. It was he who made the Azhar Mosque an academy. But most of the learned men at this time not only in law but in history and poetry were members of the *faqīh* class, which included the judges. The heretical character of the dynasty, whose court did not attract orthodox scientists and littérateurs, together with the insecurity of life throughout the latter part of the period, explains the dearth of intellectual activity.

Hall of Science

One of the most remarkable foundations of the Fāṭimids was the Dār al-Ḥikmah or Dār al-'Ilm (hall of wisdom or of science), established by al-Ḥākim in 1005 for the teaching and propagation of the extreme Shī'ite doctrine. In conjunction with it al-Ḥākim instituted a fund whose income of 257 dinars was to be spent for copying manuscripts, repairing books and general maintenance.[1] The hall was connected with the royal palace and contained a library and rooms for meetings. Its curriculum comprised, in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects, astronomy and medicine. Though closed in 1119 by al-Malik al-Afḍal because of its heretical teaching, the academy survived until the advent of the Ayyūbids.

Astronomy and optics

Al-Ḥākim was personally interested in astrological calculations; he built on al-Muqaṭṭam an observatory to which he often rode before dawn on his grey ass. An informant of the contemporary historian ibn-Ḥammād[2] saw the astrolabe-like copper instrument erected by al-Ḥākim on two towers and measured one of its signs of the zodiac, which was three spans in length.

Al-Ḥākim's court was illumined by 'Ali ibn-Yūnus[3] († 1009), the greatest astronomer Egypt has ever produced, and abu-'Ali al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Haytham (L. Alhazen), the principal Moslem physicist and student of optics. The astronomical tables (*zīj*) of ibn-Yūnus, bearing the name of his patron, correct the tables current at his time by original observations made with the armillary sphere and the azimuth circle. Ibn-al-Haytham († *ca.* 1039), who was born in al-Baṣrah about 965, tried to regulate for al-Ḥākim the annual overflow of the Nile, and when he failed he simulated madness and hid himself from the caliph's wrath until the latter's death. No less than a hundred works on mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and medicine are ascribed

[1] Maqrīzi, vol. i, p. 459. [2] P. 50.
[3] Qifṭi, pp. 230-31; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 6.

to him.[1] The chief work for which he is noted is that on optics, *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, of which the original is lost but which was translated in the time of Gerard of Cremona or before and was published in Latin in 1572. It was influential in the development of optics in the Middle Ages. Almost all medieval writers on this subject base their works on Alhazen's *Opticæ thesaurus*; Roger Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler show traces of its influence. In his work ibn-al-Haytham opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision and presents experiments for testing the angles of incidence and reflection. In certain experiments he approaches the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses which was actually made in Italy three centuries later.

Another important work composed in Egypt in the days of al-Ḥākim is *al-Muntakhab fi ʿIlāj al-ʿAyn*[2] (select material on the treatment of the eye) by ʿAmmār ibn-ʿAli al-Mawṣili. In this the author shows more originality than his contemporary ibn-ʿĪsa in his *Tadhkirah*, which, however, on account of its completeness became the standard work on ophthalmology. ʿAmmār describes a radical operation for soft cataract by suction through a hollow tube of his own invention.

The royal library

In the days of al-Mustanṣir the debacle which resulted in the dissipation of his treasures brought about an even greater loss in the dispersion of the royal library started by al-ʿAzīz and said to have contained at the time 200,000 books. It treasured 2400 illuminated Korans. Among its rarities were manuscripts in the hand of ibn-Muqlah and other master calligraphers; al-ʿAzīz had deposited in it an autograph copy of al-Ṭabari's history. In the loot of 1068 a reporter witnessed twenty-five camels carrying away books. Valuable manuscripts were used for lighting the fires in the homes of Turkish officers and exquisite bindings served to mend the shoes of their slaves. Al-Mustanṣir's successors evidently built up new collections. When about a century later Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn made his triumphal entry into the royal palace its library still housed over a hundred thousand volumes, some of which together with other treasures were distributed among his men.[3]

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 91 *seq.*; al-Qifṭi, pp. 167-8.

[2] Partly preserved in MS. form at the Escurial. Caṣiri, vol. i, p. 317; tr. J. Hirschberg *et al.*, *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, vol. ii(Leipzig. 1905).

[3] Maqrīzi, vol. i, pp. 408-9; abu-Shāmaḥ, vol. i, p. 268.

Art and Architecture

Though unfavourable to the cultivation of science and literature, the Fāṭimid era was characterized by works of art and architecture of first importance. The prosperity which the country enjoyed under the first two caliphs in Cairo and later under the two vizirs of Armenian origin, a prosperity worthy of the Pharaonic or Alexandrian age, was reflected in the sphere of art.

The oldest surviving structure is the Azhar Mosque, built by Jawhar in 972. Though it was later restored, its older part, which is the central, has preserved the original form. This part is built of brick after the fashion of the ibn-Ṭūlūn Mosque, has pointed arches and in general betrays Iranian influence. Its minaret is of the heavy square type. The next oldest mosque is that of al-Ḥākim, begun by his father in 990 and completed about 1012. It follows the same plan as al-Azhar and has a cupola of brickwork supported upon an octagonal drum above the prayer niche. Stone was used in al-Ḥākim's Mosque, now in ruins, but since the minaret was not square the craftsmen were probably from northern al-'Irāq, rather than Syria. The triumph of stone over brick as a structural material was not effected until the late Fāṭimid age and is illustrated in the façade of the al-Aqmar Mosque, built in 1125. This façade may have been due to some Armenian Christian architect. In al-Aqmar we recognize the first appearance of the later general Islamic feature, the stalactite niche (*muqarnas*). This pillared mosque and that of al-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Ruzzīk (*ca.* 1160) display the bold designs and austere Kufic inscriptions for which Fāṭimid art is renowned. Such novel features gradually introduced by Fāṭimid architects as the stalactite pendentives and the deep niches in the façade were to undergo further development under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. Likewise the treatment of inscriptions on stone or wooden panels foreshadows the glories of the later art. The practice of associating a tomb, usually of the founder, with a mosque began in 1085 with Badr al-Jamāli, whose tomb-mosque on the Muqaṭṭam set the first example.

Of the great gates that testify to the grandeur of Fāṭimid buildings three are extant: Bāb Zawīlah, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ.[1] These massive gates of Cairo, built by Edessene architects on a Byzantine plan, are among the most enduring relics of Fāṭimid Egypt.

[1] See Maqrīzi, vol. i, pp. 380 *seq.*

Among the treasures of the Arab Museum at Cairo are several panels of carved wood dating from the Fāṭimid period and showing living creatures such as deer attacked by monsters, hares seized by eagles and pairs of confronted birds. These motifs suggest borrowing from Sāsānid models. The same affinity is noticeable in Fāṭimid bronzes, most of which were mirrors, ewers or censers. The best-known bronze is the griffin, forty inches high, now in Pisa. The same is true of textiles, samples of which found their way into the West at the time of the Crusades.[1] Weaving was a national art of Coptic Egypt but even then was influenced by Iranian, particularly Sāsānid, models. In Fāṭimid fabrics we find animals in conventionalized and heraldic poses. Among Egyptian cities Dabīq, Dimyāṭ and Tinnīs were noted for their medieval textiles, known after these places as dabīqi, dimyāṭi and tinnīsi. The cloth known in Chaucer's time as fustian came from al-Fusṭāṭ, as the word indicates. Decorative and industrial arts

The ceramic art of the Fāṭimids, like their other arts, follows Iranian patterns. Here as in textiles animal motifs are broadly treated. In his inventory of Fāṭimid treasures al-Maqrīzi[2] lists several specimens of ceramic and metallic arts, including Chinese glazed earthenware. This is one of the first recorded appearances of Chinese ware in the Arab East.[3] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[4] asserts that the Egyptians made earthenware "so fine and diaphanous that one can see one's hand through it".

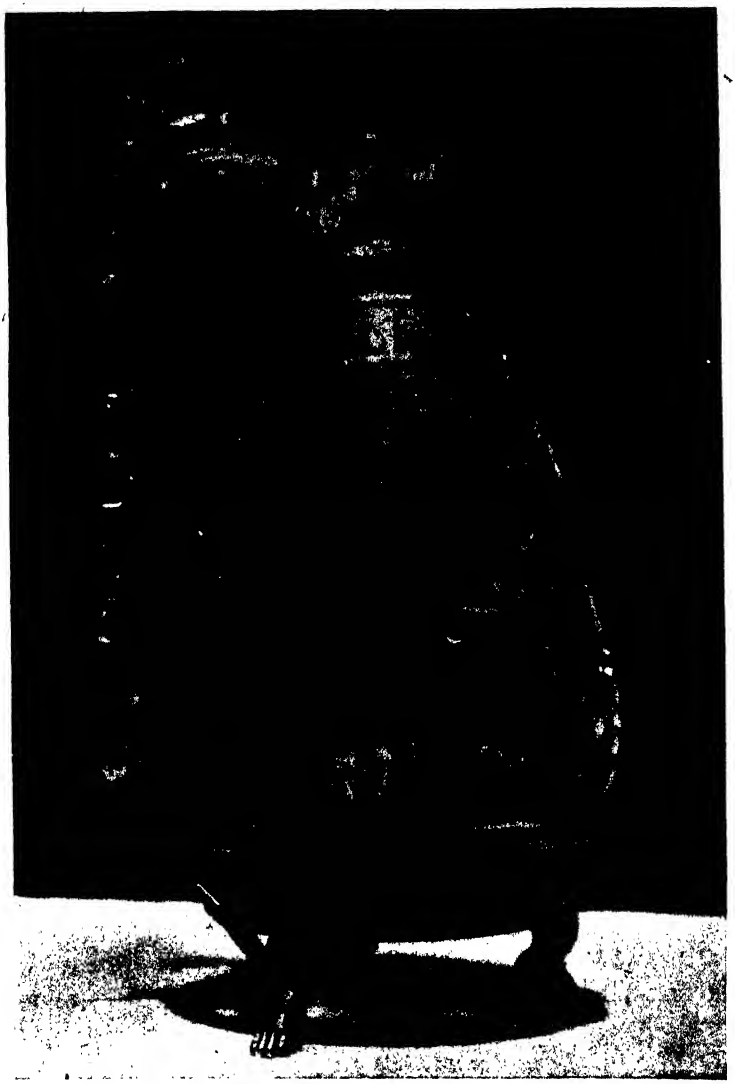
The earliest-known Islamic bookbindings come from Egypt and may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. Their decoration and technique have affinity with those of earlier Coptic bindings, from which they were evidently derived. After the development of this Egyptian school tooling and stamping became the most common techniques of Moslem craftsmen working in leather.

[1] See below, p. 668.

[2] See above, p. 626.

[3] Cf. Krenkow in *Majallat al-Majma'*, vol. xiii (1935), pp. 386-8, where al-Bīrūni mentions Chinese pottery; *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh*, pp. 35-6; al-Dimashqi, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Aja'ib al-Barr w-al-Baḥr*, ed. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 43, where possibly a reference to porcelain is made. F. Sarre in *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), p. 61, records the discovery of ninth-century porcelain at Sāmarra.

[4] Ed. Schefer, p. 52, tr. p. 151.



From Arnold and Guillaume, "The Legacy of Islam", by courtesy of the Clarendon Press

FĀṬIMID CARVED ROCK-CRYSTAL EWER BEARING THE NAME OF THE CALIPH AL-'AZĪZ, 10TH CENTURY

Now in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice

CHAPTER XLV

MILITARY CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE CRUSADES

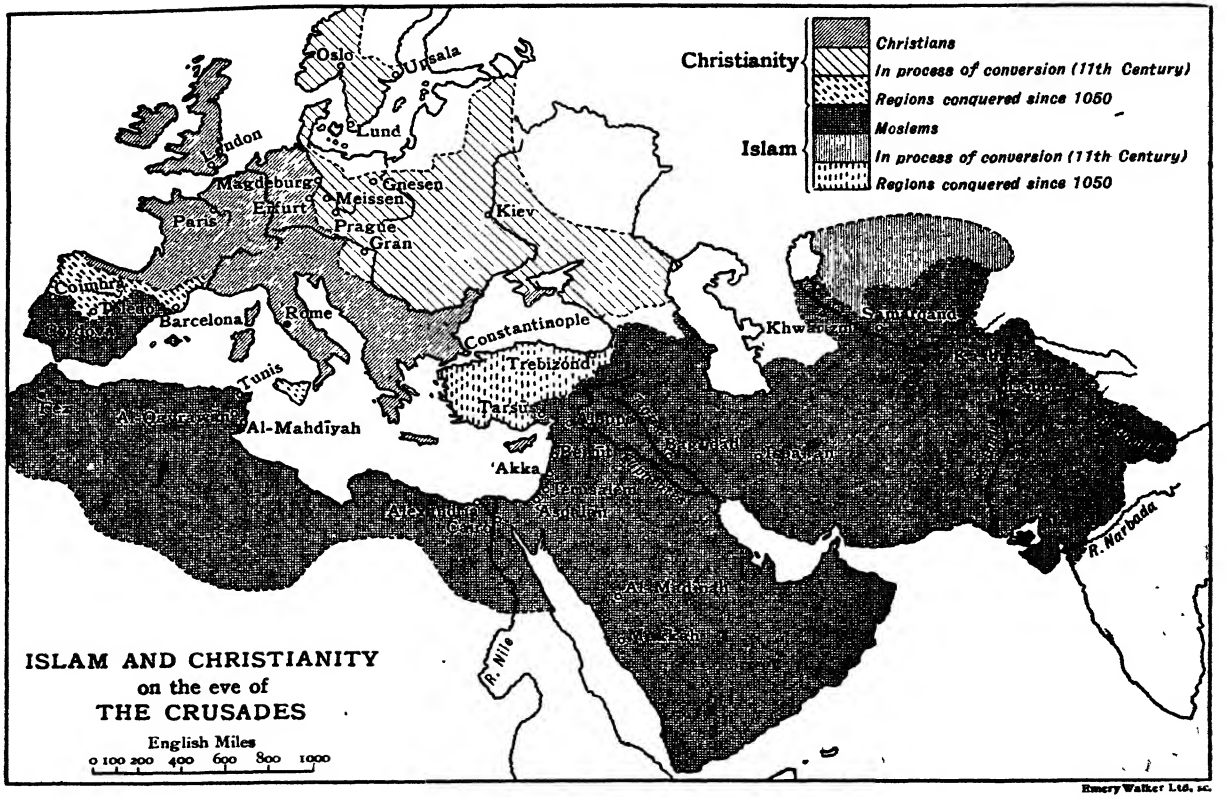
WHEN at the close of the eleventh century the motley hordes of Christendom made their way into Syria to wrest it from Moslem hands, the country presented the spectacle of division and impotence. It was split up among several local Arab chieftains, while in the north the Saljūq Turks were all-powerful and in the south the schismatic Fāṭimids of Egypt held sway. The population was far from being uniform in composition or even in language. The Druzes in southern Lebanon, the Nuṣayrīyah in their northern mountains and their neighbours the Ismā'īlites, later Assassins, formed three schismatic communities distinct from orthodox Islam. Among the Christian bodies the Maronites of northern Lebanon, who still used Syriac to a considerable extent, constituted the largest minority.

Saljūqs of Syria

With the advent of the nomadic Saljūqs from Central Asia earlier in the eleventh century, their swarming over the western states of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, the establishment of their authority successively in Khurāsān, Persia, al-'Irāq, Armenia and Asia Minor, and their founding (1055) of a sultanate in Baghdād to which the caliphate was subordinate, we have dealt in a foregoing chapter (XXXII). The Saljūqs of Syria, like those of al-Rūm (Asia Minor), formed one of the chief subdivisions of the family, but were not united under one head. Almost every Syrian town of any consequence had at this time its own Saljūq or Arab ruler. Tripoli after 1089 was independent under the Shī'ite banu-'Ammār.[1] Shayzar after 1081 was held by the banu-Munqidh. The Byzantines were time and again capturing and losing towns along the coast and on the northern frontier.

The first Saljūq bands appeared in Syria shortly before 1070. In this year Sultan Alp Arslān made the Arab prince of Aleppo

[1] Consult G. Wiet in *Mémorial Henri Basset* (Paris, 1928), vol. ii, pp. 279-84.


Christianity
Christians
In process of conversion (11th Century)
Regions conquered since 1050
Islam
Moslems
In process of conversion (11th Century)
Regions conquered since 1050
Oslo
Uppsala
Lund
London
Magdeburg
Gnesen
Meissen
Erfurt
Paris
Prague
Gran
Kiev
Coimbra
Barcelona
Rome
Constantinople
Khwarezm
Trebizond
Tunis
Tarsu
Al-Mahdiyah
'Akka
R. Narbada
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ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY
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THE CRUSADES
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his vassal and Alp's general Atsiz entered Jerusalem and wrested Palestine from Fāṭimid hands. As Sunnite Moslems the Saljūqs considered it their duty to extirpate the Egyptian heresy. Five years later Atsiz acquired Damascus from the same masters. By 1098, however, Jerusalem had reverted to the Fāṭimids, whose strong fleet had recaptured (1089) all the coast towns, including 'Asqalān (Ascalon), 'Akka (Acre), Tyre (Ṣūr), as far north as Jubayl (Byblos). Alp's son Tutush was the real founder of the Syrian dynasty of Saljūqs. In the spring of 1094 this sultan had established his authority over Aleppo (Ḥalab), al-Ruhā' (Edessa) and al-Mawṣil, in addition to his Khurāsān possessions. But when in the following year he fell in battle, his hard-won Syrian possessions again disintegrated as a result of the rivalry between his two sons Riḍwān and Duqāq and the jealousies of his self-seeking generals. Riḍwān made Aleppo his capital, where he ruled from 1095 to 1113, and Duqāq (1095–1104) chose Damascus.[1] Hostilities between the two brothers, which began in 1096, formed the central event of their reigns.

Complexity of causation and motivation

Viewed in their rightful setting the Crusades appear as the medieval chapter in the long story of interaction between East and West, of which the Trojan and Persian wars of antiquity form the prelude and the imperialistic expansion of modern Western Europe the latest chapter. The geographical fact of difference between East and West acquires its only significance from the competing religious, racial and linguistic differences. More specifically the Crusades represent the reaction of Christian Europe against Moslem Asia, which had been on the offensive since 632 not only in Syria and Asia Minor but in Spain and Sicily also. Among other antecedents we may refer to the migratory and military tendencies of the Teutonic tribes, who had changed the map of Europe since their entrance into the light of history; the destruction in 1009 by al-Ḥākim of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the object of pilgrimage for thousands of Europeans and whose keys had been sent (800) to

[1] Saljūqs of Syria, 1094–1117:

1. Tutush ibn-Alp Arslān (1094–5)
   - 2. Riḍwān (1095–1113)
     - 3. Alp Arslān al-Akhras (1113–14)
     - 4. Sulṭān Shāh (1114–17)
   - Duqāq (at Damascus, 1095–1104)

Charlemagne by way of a blessing from the patriarch of Jerusalem,[1] and the hardships to which pilgrims through Moslem Asia Minor were subjected. The immediate cause of the Crusades, however, was the appeal made in 1094 to Pope Urban II by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose Asiatic possessions had been overrun by the Saljūqs as far as the shores of Marmora. These Moslems threatened Constantinople itself. The pope possibly viewed the appeal as affording an opportunity for reuniting the Greek Church to Rome, the final schism between the two having been effected as late as 1054.

When on November 26, 1095, Pope Urban delivered his speech at Clermont in south-eastern France urging the faithful to "enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre, wrest it from the wicked race and subject it" to themselves, probably the most effective speech in all history was made. The rallying cry "Deus lo volt" ran through the land and seized high and low with its psychical contagion. By the spring of the following year a hundred and fifty thousand men, mostly Franks and Normans, had answered the call and met at Constantinople. The first of the Crusades, so called from the cross borne as a badge, was thus launched.

Not all, of course, who took the cross were actuated by spiritual motives. Several of the leaders, including Bohemond, were intent upon acquiring principalities for themselves. The merchants of Pisa, Venice and Genoa had commercial interests. The romantic, the restless and the adventurous, in addition to the devout, found a new rallying-point and many criminals sought penance thereby. To the great masses in France, Lorraine, Italy and Sicily, with their depressed economic and social conditions, taking the cross was a relief rather than a sacrifice.

1. Period of conquest

The customary classification into a definite number of Crusades, seven to nine, is by no means satisfactory. The stream was more or less continuous and the line of demarcation between Crusades not sharply drawn. A more logical division would be into first a period of conquest extending to 1144, when the Atābeg Zangi of al-Mawṣil recovered al-Ruhā'; second, a period of Moslem reaction inaugurated by Zangi and culminating in the brilliant victories of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin); and third,

[1] Consult Einar Joranson in *American Historical Review*, vol. xxxii (1927), pp. 241-61; A. Kleinclausz in *Syria*, vol. vii (1926), pp. 211-33. Cf. above, p. 298.

a period of civil and petty wars in which the Syro-Egyptian Ayyūbids and Egyptian Mamlūks figured, ending in 1291, when the Crusaders lost their last foothold on the Syrian mainland.[1] The period of conquest falls in its entirety before the so-called second Crusade (1147–9) and the third period coincides roughly with the thirteenth century. One of the Crusades of this last period was directed against Constantinople (1202–4), two against Egypt (1218–21) accomplishing nothing, and one even to Tunis (1270).

The Byzantines recover Asia Minor

The route of the first Crusaders from their rendezvous at Constantinople lay across Asia Minor. This was now the domain of the young Qilij Arslān, Saljūq sultan of Qūniyah (1092–1107). It was in meeting his warriors that Christians measured swords for the first time with Moslems. After a siege of about a month Nicæa, capital of Qilij's father Sulaymān ibn-Quṭlumish, founder of the Saljūq dynasty of al-Rūm, was captured (June 1097). Other than that the only pitched battle the Crusaders fought was that of Dorylæum (Eski-Shahr). Here on July 1[2] they defeated the forces of Qilij. This victorious march restored to Alexius, who had exacted from all the Crusading leaders an oath of feudal allegiance, the western half of the peninsula and helped to delay the Turkish invasion of Europe for three centuries and a half.

First Latin principality

After crossing the Taurus Mountains and before turning fully southward a detachment of the Crusading army under Baldwin, whose father was count of Boulogne, made a detour into the eastern region occupied by Christian Armenians, where al-Ruhā' was captured early in 1098.[3] Here on Christian territory the first Latin settlement was made and the first Latin state founded. Baldwin became its prince. Other detachments under the Norman Tancred of Southern Italy had turned in the opposite direction to Cilicia, whose population was likewise Armenian with an admixture of Greeks. Here he occupied Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul.

[1] See W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 17.

[2] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 197, n. 11, p. 208, n. 62; Fulcher, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 192, n. 10. Cf. ibn-al-Qalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 134; tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), p. 42.

[3] Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, ed. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), p. 218.

Antioch reduced

In the meantime the main body had reached Antioch.[1] The city was under a Saljūq amīr named Yāghi-Siyān[2] appointed by the third Great Saljūq Malikshāh. After a long and arduous siege (October 21, 1097–June 3, 1098) the metropolis of northern Syria fell to the hands of Bohemond through treachery on the part of an Armenian commanding one of the towers. Bohemond was a kinsman of Tancred and the shrewdest of the leaders. The one serious attempt to relieve the city before its fall came from Riḍwān of Aleppo.

No sooner had the besiegers entered the city than they were themselves besieged by Karbuqa,[3] amīr of al-Mawṣil, who had rushed from his capital with reinforcements. Enthused by the discovery of the "holy lance", which had pierced the Saviour's side as He hung upon the cross and had lain buried in a church in Antioch, the Christians by a bold sally raised the siege (June 23), almost annihilating Karbuqa's army. The city was left in charge of Bohemond and became the capital of the second principality acquired. For about a century and three-quarters Antioch remained in Christian hands.

Dissatisfied, Raymond of Toulouse, the wealthiest leader of the Franks, whose men had made the sensational discovery in Antioch, pushed southward. After occupying Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, famous as the birthplace of abu-al-'Alā', his men left the town (January 13, 1099) after destroying "over 100,000" of its population and committing it to the flames.[4] Count Raymond then occupied Ḥiṣn al-Akrād,[5] commanding the strategic pass between the plains of the Orontes (al-'Āṣi) and the Mediterranean, besieged 'Arqah[6] on the western slope of northern Lebanon and occupied Anṭarṭūs[7] on the coast without resistance. The

[1] Ar. Anṭākīyah, from Gr. Antiochia after Antiochus, father of its founder Seleucus I (300 B.C.). As the place where the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11 : 26), this city was of special significance.

[2] "Bāghi-Siyān" in ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 187; abu-al Fidā', vol. ii, p. 220; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 20.

[3] Cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 188; abu-al-Fidā', vol. ii, p. 221. A Turkish adventurer who in 1096 had wrested al-Mawṣil from the Arab banu-'Uqayl and merged it with the Saljūq empire.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 190, copied by abu-al-Fidā', *loc. cit.* Cf. *Gesta Francorum*, p. 387; Kamāl-al-Dīn, "Muntakhabāt min Ta'rikh Ḥalab", in *Recueil: orientaux*, vol. iii, pp. 586-7.

[5] Literally "castle of the Kurds", today Qal'at al-Ḥiṣn; Crac des Chevaliers of the Franks. This "Crac" was originally "Crat", a corruption of "Akrād".

[6] Birthplace of Alexander Severus (222–35), of the Syrian dynasty of Roman emperors.

[7] Tortosa of the Latin chronicles, present-day Ṭarṭūs.

Maronite Christians of Lebanon provided him with guides and a limited number of recruits. All these possessions, however, Raymond relinquished and at the urgent appeal of Godfrey of Bouillon, count of Lorraine and Baldwin's brother, joined the army in its march on Jerusalem, the main goal.

Jerusalem captured

On the way southward al-Ramlah was found deserted and became the first Latin possession in Palestine.[1] On June 7, 1099, some forty thousand Crusaders, of whom about twenty thousand were effective troops,[2] stood before the gates of Jerusalem. The Egyptian garrison may be estimated roundly at about one thousand. Hoping the walls would fall as those of Jericho had done, the Crusaders first marched barefoot around the city, blowing their horns. A month's siege proved more effective. On July 15 the besiegers stormed the city and perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre involving all ages and both sexes. "Heaps of heads and hands and feet were to be seen throughout the streets and squares of the city."[3] Another important victory over the Egyptians near ʿAsqalān about a month later rendered the position of the Latins in Jerusalem more secure. But ʿAsqalān remained the base of the Egyptian fleet and the headquarters of a garrison which under the Egyptian vizir al-Malik al-Afḍal continued to harass the enemy.[4] A third Latin state, the most important of all, was thus established. Raymond, rather than a clerical, was offered the kingship but declined because he was unwilling to wear a crown of gold where the Saviour had worn a crown of thorns.[5] Godfrey,[6] an honest leader and hard fighter, was chosen with the title "baron and defender of the Holy Sepulchre". Many of the Crusaders and pilgrims, considering their vows now fulfilled, sailed back home.

Italian fleets reduce seaports

Godfrey's immediate task was to reduce the coast towns, without which the occupation of the interior would have been pre-

[1] Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 136.

[2] Cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte", *Archives de l'orient latin*, vol. ii (Paris, 1884), pt. 2, p. 429; Raimundus de Agiles, "Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem", in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clv, p. 657.

[3] Agiles, p. 659. Over 70,000 were slaughtered at the Aqṣa Mosque according to ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 194; 65,000 according to Matthew of Edessa, p. 226.

[4] Ibn-Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Henri Massé (Cairo, 1919), pp. 39 *seq.*

[5] Agiles, p. 654.

[6] "Kundufri" in ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138; "Kunduhri" in ibn-Taghri-Birdi, ed. Popper, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 304.

carious and communication with the homeland difficult. The problem was solved with the co-operation of the Italian ships transporting pilgrims, whose commanders saw in the possession of such towns new markets and free ports for their merchandise. In the early part of the next year (1100) the Pisans received special rights in Jaffa (Yāfa). Shortly after, Arsūf, Cæsarea (Qaysārīyah) and ʿAkka offered tribute in return for a short period of truce.[1] The Venetian fleet, which in the summer of the year of Godfrey's death was operating against ʿAkka, captured Ḥayfa (Haifa) within a month after his death.[2] Ḥayfa's garrison and inhabitants were invited to gather round a cross, as a place of safety, and then mercilessly butchered. The Egyptian fleet, the only Moslem one which could come to the defence of these ports, was ineffective if not inactive throughout.

In the meantime Tancred[3] was penetrating inland to the district around the Jordan. Here Baysān, situated on the route of the armies between the Mediterranean coast and Damascus, formed one of the early acquisitions. Nābulus voluntarily submitted. Tancred took up his residence in Tiberias as Godfrey's vassal. In the following March (1101), however, he relinquished his fief in favour of Antioch, the principality of his uncle Bohemond, who had been taken captive by Gumishtigīn[4] while on an expedition near Marʿash. In 1103 Bohemond was released on the payment of a ransom.

Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem

On the death of Godfrey[5] his men summoned his brother Baldwin[6] to be his successor. Baldwin came from al-Ruhā' and on Christmas Day 1100 was crowned king at Bethlehem, rather than in Jerusalem, in deference to the clerical party, which aspired to hold Jerusalem as a church domain.

The Latins had in Baldwin a capable, energetic and aggressive leader. During his reign (1100–18) the kingdom extended from al-ʿAqabah at the head of the Red Sea to Beirūt. His cousin and successor Baldwin II (1118–31) added a few towns,

[1] Albert of Aix, "Historia Hierosolymitanæ expeditionis", Migne, vol. clxvi, p. 575.

[2] Consult ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 101.

[3] "Ṭankari" in ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138; "Dankari" in Usāmah, ed. Hitti, p. 65.

[4] Founder in Sīwās of the Turkoman dynasty of the Dānishmands, which was later absorbed in its greater Saljūq neighbour.

[5] Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138 = Gibb, p. 51.

[6] "Baghdawīn" in ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 138; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 343; cf. p. 327 ("Bardawīl").

chiefly on the Mediterranean. In breadth the kingdom did not reach beyond the Jordan. Beirūt and Sidon were conquered in 1110. The only source from which such cities to the north could hope for aid was Damascus, now under the Atābeg Ṭughtigīn, formerly a slave of the Saljūq Sultan Tutush and the regent over his young son Duqāq.[1] But Ṭughtigīn was for several years in treaty relations with Baldwin. After a short period of truce, Arsūf and Cæsarea capitulated in 1101 to a Genoese fleet, which received one-third of the spoils and had special quarters assigned to it; but Tyre, secure on its peninsula, remained in Moslem possession until 1124 and ʿAsqalān until 1153. In the region south of the Dead Sea Baldwin, in 1115, built a formidable fortress, al-Shawbak,[2] commanding the desert road from Damascus to al-Ḥijāz and Egypt.

The third Frankish principality established

In Syria the city of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus, from Gr. Tripolis) was at this time the most frequented port. Count Raymond[3] had his eye on it ever since he had wound his long way southward from Antioch to Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom he returned and began its siege (1101). In order to isolate the town he built two years later a castle[4] on an adjacent hill on the ravine of the abu-ʿAli (Qādīsha) River. The hill was named Mons Pelegrinus (pilgrims' hill) and soon became a centre round which grew a Latin quarter. The siege dragged slowly on in spite of reinforcements from the neighbouring Christians and mountaineers.[5] At intervals adjacent towns were reduced by Raymond. With the co-operation of a Genoese fleet of forty galleys he captured Jubayl in 1104, which henceforth marked the southern limit of the county of Tripoli. Raymond died in 1105 in his castle without having attained his goal; beleaguered Tripoli did not fall till July 12, 1109.

Thus was now founded, in addition to the county of al-Ruhā' and the principality of Antioch (which included Cilicia)—both

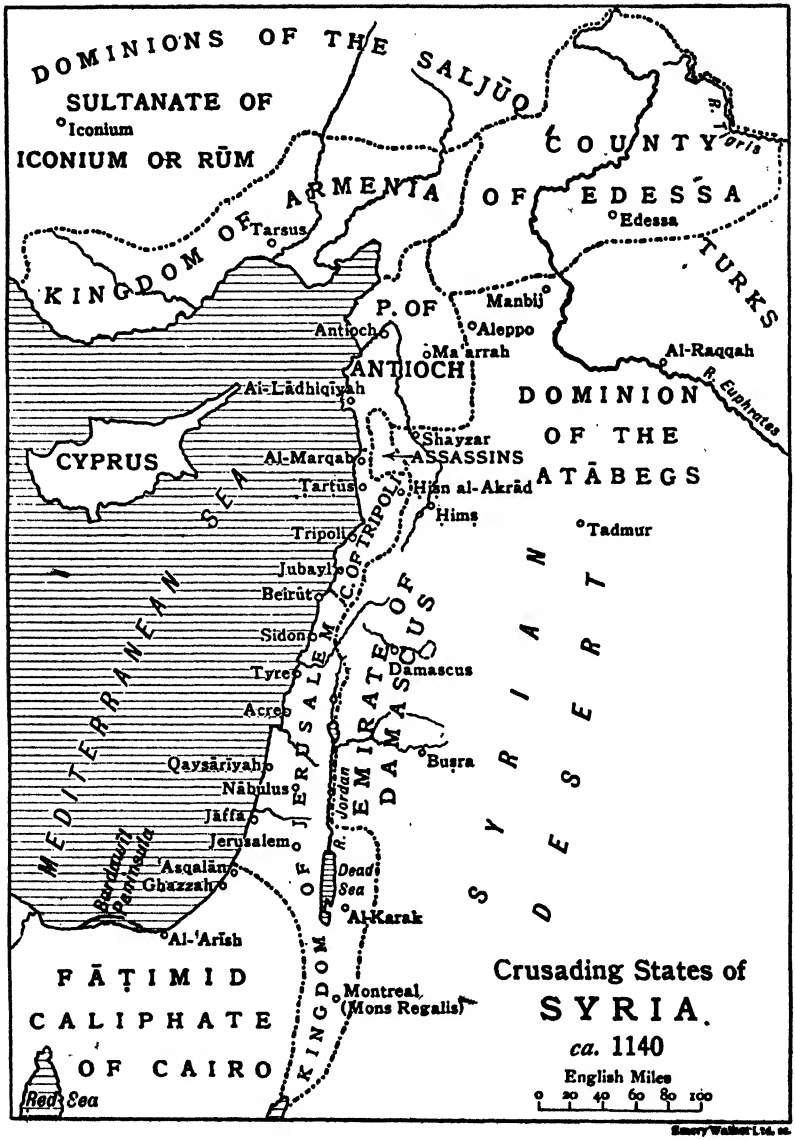
[1] Following the example of many other atābegs, he usurped the power in 1103 and became the founder of the Būrid dynasty, which lasted till 1154.

[2] Called by the Latins Mons Regalis (Mont Royal, Montréal). According to early chronicles Crac de Montréal refers to its sister to the north-east, Crac des Moabites (al-Karak; Ar. *karak* is from Aram. *karka*, town, whence Karkh, name of a quarter in Baghdād).

[3] Because he was called Raymond of Saint-Gilles, the Arabs referred to him as Ṣanjīl or ibn-Ṣanjīl.

[4] Repaired later by the Turks, this Qal'at Ṭarābulus has been used until recently as a prison.

[5] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 186.


DOMINIONS OF THE SALJŪQ
SULTANATE OF
Iconium
ICONIUM OR RŪM
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
R. Tigris
ARMENIA
Tarsus
KINGDOM OF
TURKS
P. OF ANTIOCH
Antioch
Manbij
Aleppo
Ma'arrah
Al-Raqqah
R. Euphrates
Al-Lādhiqiyah
DOMINION OF THE ATĀBEGS
Shayzar
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Al-Marqab
Tartus
Ḥiṣn al-Akrād
Ḥimṣ
Tadmur
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
CO. OF TRIPOLI
Jubayl
Beirūt
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Buṣrā
SYRIAN DESERT
Qaysāriyah
Nābulus
Jāffā
Jerusalem
R. Jordan
Dead Sea
Asqalān
Ghazzah
Al-Karak
Al-'Arīsh
FĀṬIMID CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Montreal (Mons Regalis)
Red Sea
Crusading States of
SYRIA.
ca. 1140
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100

held as fiefs of Jerusalem [1]—the county of Tripoli, also under the kingdom of Jerusalem. Al-Ruhā' and Jerusalem were Burgundian princedoms, Antioch was Norman and Tripoli Provençal. These four were the only Latin states ever established on Moslem soil. Their control was confined to the northern part of Syria and to the narrow littoral, a small Christian territory set against a vast and dark background of Islam. Not a town was more than a day's march from the enemy. Even in their states the Latin population was but thinly scattered. Such inland cities as Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Ba'labakk and Damascus were never conquered, though at times they paid tribute. In the year beginning September 1156, Damascus, under Nūr-al-Dīn, paid 8000 dinars.[2]

Social contacts

With the dynastic successions in these Latin states, their squabbles and petty rivalries, we are not concerned. They form a chapter of European rather than of Arab history. But the friendly and peaceful relations developed between the men from the West and the natives should not escape our attention.

It should be remembered in the first place that the Christians came to the Holy Land with the notion that they were far superior to its people, whom they considered idolaters, worshipping Muḥammad as a God. At first contact they were disillusioned. As for the impression they left on the Moslems, Usāmah [3] gave expression to it when he saw in them "animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else". The forced association between the two peoples in times of peace—which, it should be noted, were of much longer duration than times of war—wrought a radical change in the feelings of both towards each other. Amicable and neighbourly relations were established. The Franks employed trusted native workmen and farmers. The feudal system they introduced was gradually adapted to the local tenure of the land. They had carried with them horses, hawks and dogs, and soon agreements were entered into so that hunting parties might be free from danger of attack. Safe-conducts for travellers and traders were often exchanged and usually honoured by both sides. The Franks discarded their European dress in favour of the more comfortable and more suitable native clothing. They acquired new tastes in food,

[1] I.e. allied states which recognized the primacy of Jerusalem; John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 187.

[2] Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 336. [3] Ed. Hitti, p. 132 = *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, p. 161.

especially those varieties involving the generous use of sugar and spices. They preferred Oriental houses, with their spacious open courts and running water. Some intermarried with natives and the half-caste progeny of native mothers were designated as *poulains*.[1] They even in certain instances venerated shrines held equally sacred by Moslems and Jews. In their intermittent quarrels among themselves the Latins often welcomed assistance from the "infidels", and the Moslems often sought alliances with Latins against fellow Moslems.

2. Moslem reaction: The Zangids and Nūrids

The rise of 'Imād-al-Dīn (the pillar of faith) Zangi, the blue-eyed atābeg of al-Mawṣil (1127–46), marks the turning of the tide in favour of Islam. Zangi was the forerunner of a series of counter-Crusading heroes which culminated in Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and extended to the Mamlūks of the latter half of the following century. Son of a Turkish slave of Malikshāh, Zangi carved for himself a principality including Aleppo, Ḥarrān and al-Mawṣil, where he founded the Zangid dynasty (1127–1262), easily the greatest among the many established by the atābegs. His were the first hammer-strokes under which the Crusading states were destined to crumble away. The first blow fell on al-Ruhā'. Because of its proximity to Baghdād and its control of the main routes between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean this city for half a century had been the outer rampart of all Latin states in Syria. After a siege of four weeks Zangi captured it (1144) from Joscelin II.[2] This first of the Crusader states to rise and first to fall was strongly fortified but poorly defended. Its capture meant the removal of the wedge thrust between Moslem Syria and al-'Irāq. In Europe it was a signal for what is usually termed the second Crusade (1147–9), led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France. With an army made up of French and German knights, of Templars[3] and Hospitallers[4] and of troops provided by Jerusalem, Damascus was laid under a futile siege of four days.[5] Nowhere was anything accomplished by this Crusade.

As champion of the Islamic cause Zangi was succeeded in his

[1] "Kids", "young ones", Latinized *Pullani*. Cf. Ar. *fulān*, Mr. So-and-so.

[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, "Ta'rīkh al-Dawlah al-Atābakīyah", in *Recueil: orientaux*, vol. ii, pp. 118 *seq.*

[3] Ar. Dāwīyah, corruption of a Syriac word for "poor", the original name of the order in Latin being Pauperes Commilitones Christi (Poor Knights of Christ).

[4] Or Knights of St. John; Ar. Isbatārīyah (Asbitārīyah).

[5] The clearest account is in the work of ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 298-9, who was himself at Damascus and held a high post in the city's government.

Syrian possessions by his son Nūr-al-Dīn (light of the faith) Maḥmūd, who chose Aleppo for his capital. More capable than his father, Nūr was the second to face the Franks on more than equal terms. In 1154 he wrested Damascus, without striking a blow, from a successor of Ṭughtigīn, thereby removing the last barrier between Zangid territory and Jerusalem. Gradually he completed the conquest of the county of al-Ruhā', whose count, Joscelin II, in 1151 had been carried off a prisoner in chains.[1] Nūr also reduced parts of the principality of Antioch, whose young ruler Bohemond III he captured in 1164 together with his ally Raymond III of Tripoli. Both prisoners were later released on payment of ransom, the former after one year of captivity and the latter after nine.

In Palestine, however, the cause of Islam was not so triumphant. Here its bulwark 'Asqalān, which for half a century had resisted the Franks, had fallen (1153) into the hands of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, thus opening the way for the Christians to Egypt.

Enter Saladin

Nūr-al-Dīn had an able lieutenant in one Shīrkūh, who, under orders from his chief and taking advantage of the decrepitude of the Fāṭimid state, managed after several military and diplomatic victories in Egypt to receive in 1169 the vizirate under al-'Āḍid (1160–71), the last of the Fāṭimid caliphs.[2] His predecessor in this high office, Shāwar, had sought and secured against Shīrkūh the aid of Amalric I, brother and successor of Baldwin III. Shortly after his investiture Shīrkūh died and was succeeded by his brother's son, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (rectitude of the faith, Saladin) ibn-Ayyūb.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir al-Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf was born in Takrīt on the Tigris in 1138 of Kurdish parentage. In the following year his father Ayyūb (Job) was appointed commander of Ba'labakk by the Atābeg Zangi. Of the youth and early education in Syria of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn little is known. Evidently his early interests centred on theological discussion. He did not come into the public eye until 1164, when "in spite of his reluctance" [3] he accompanied his uncle on his first campaign to Egypt. His star then began to rise. The two burning ambitions of his life now

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 361; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, p. 101. Cf. Kamāl-al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Halab min Ta'rikh Halab*, tr. E. Blochet (Paris, 1900), p. 25.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 405-7. Cf. Yāqūt, vol. ii, pp. 246-7.

[3] Abu-Shāmah, vol. i, p. 155; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 47.

came to be the substitution of Sunnite for Shī'ite Islam in Egypt and the pressing of the holy war against the Franks. Vizir in 1169, he omitted in 1171 the mention of the name of the Fāṭimid caliph in the Friday prayer, substituting that of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustaḍī'. The momentous change was effected with so little disturbance that not even "two goats locked horns".[1]

For the realization of his other and greater ambition sovereignty over Moslem Syria was a necessary prelude. Here his suzerain Nūr-al-Dīn ruled, and the relations between the two soon became strained. On the death of Nūr in 1174 Ṣalāḥ declared his independence in Egypt and, after a few engagements culminating in the battle of Qurūn (horns of) Ḥamāh, he wrested Syria from the eleven-year-old Ismā'īl, son and successor of Nūr. In the meantime Ṣalāḥ's elder brother Tūrān-Shāh had succeeded in taking possession of al-Yaman. Al-Ḥijāz with its holy cities ordinarily went with Egypt. In May 1175, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn at his own request was granted by the 'Abbāsid caliph a diploma of investiture over Egypt, al-Maghrib, Nubia, western Arabia, Palestine and central Syria. The caliph thereby gave away what was in reality not his to give, but what was flattering to him not to refuse. Henceforth Ṣalāḥ considered himself the sole sultan, as his kinsman-historian abu-al-Fidā'[2] expresses it. Ten years later he reduced al-Mawṣil and made the various princes of Mesopotamia his vassals. Nūr-al-Dīn's dream of first enveloping the Franks and then crushing them between the two millstones of Moslem Syria-Mesopotamia and Egypt was being realized in the career of his more illustrious successor.

In the course of these engagements in northern Syria two attempts were made on the life of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn by the Assassins at the instigation of his Moslem enemies. Before this a similar attempt was made on Nūr-al-Dīn and a successful one on the Fāṭimid al-Āmir (1130). Among the Christians the most distinguished victims of this redoubtable order, which was unusually active in Syria at this time, were Raymond II of Tripoli (*ca.* 1152) and the newly elected king of Jerusalem, Conrad of Montferrat (1192).[3] In 1176 Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn laid siege to Maṣyād, headquarters of Rashīd-al-Dīn Sinān, the Old Man of the Mountain, but raised it on receiving a promise of immunity against future attacks.

[1] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 53. [2] Vol. iii, p. 60. [3] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii, p. 51.

Sinān had made himself independent of Persia. He controlled an efficient secret service and a pigeon-post enabling him to obtain information by what seemed supernatural means. His *fidā'is* (self-sacrificing ones) excelled in the manufacture and use of poisoned knives.[1] It is related that when Henry of Champagne, titular king of Jerusalem, visited him in 1194, the grand master, wanting to impress his guest with the blind obedience he exacted from his henchmen, made a sign to two on top of the castle tower and they immediately leaped off and were dashed to pieces.[2]

With the threat of assassination removed Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was free to devote his energies to attacks on the Franks. On July 1, 1187, he captured Tiberias after a six days' siege. The battle of the adjacent Ḥaṭṭīn (Ḥiṭṭīn) followed (July 3–4). It began on Friday, the day of prayer and a favourite one with Ṣalāḥ for fighting. This was a sad day for the Frankish army. Numbering about twenty thousand and all but dying of thirst and heat, it fell almost in its entirety into the enemy's hands. The list of distinguished captives was headed by Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. The chivalrous sultan gave the crestfallen monarch a friendly reception; but his companion Reginald of Châtillon, the disturber of peace, merited a different treatment. Reginald was perhaps the most adventurous and least scrupulous of all the Latin leaders and the most facile in the use of Arabic. Entrusted with the command of al-Karak he more than once had pounced upon peaceful caravans and plundered them as they passed beneath the walls of his castle—and that in violation of treaty relations. He even fitted out a fleet at Aylah and harassed the coasts of the sacred territory of al-Ḥijāz, preying upon its pilgrims. Ṣalāḥ had sworn to slay with his own hand the breaker of truce. And now the time came for the fulfilment of his oath. Taking advantage of a recognized tradition connected with Arab hospitality Reginald secured a drink of water from his captor's tent. But the drink was not offered by Ṣalāḥ and therefore established no guest and host relationship between captive and captor.[3] Reginald paid for his treachery with

Ḥaṭṭīn

[1] Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. i, pp. 166-7.

[2] Marinus Sanuto, "Liber secretorum" in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), vol. ii, p. 201.

[3] See above, p. 25.

his life. All the Templars and Hospitallers were also publicly executed.[1]

The victory of Ḥaṭṭīn sealed the fate of the Frankish cause. After a week's siege Jerusalem, which had lost its garrison at Ḥaṭṭīn, capitulated (October 2, 1187). In the Aqṣa Mosque the muezzin's call replaced the Christian gong, and the golden cross which surmounted the Dome of the Rock was torn down by Ṣalāḥ's men.

The capture of the capital of the Latin kingdom gave Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn most of the towns of Frankish Syria-Palestine. In a series of brilliantly executed campaigns most of the remaining strongholds were seized. None could offer resistance, for they had all been denuded of their best defenders on the day of Ḥaṭṭīn. Animated with the spirit of holy war which the Crusaders seem now to have lost, the great champion of Islam pushed his conquests north to al-Lādhiqīyah (Laodicea), Jabalah and Ṣihyawn, and south to al-Karak and al-Shawbak. All these, as well as Shaqīf Arnūn,[2] Kawkab,[3] Ṣafad and other thorns in the Moslem side, fell before the close of 1189. The Franks came very near being swept out of the land. Only Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, besides certain smaller towns and castles, remained in their possession.

Siege of 'Akka

The fall of the holy city aroused Europe. Hostilities among its rulers were buried. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, Richard I Cœur de Lion, king of England, and Philip Augustus, king of France, took the cross. These three were the most powerful sovereigns of Western Europe, and with them the "third Crusade" (1189–92) began. In point of numbers it was one of the largest. For legend and romance, both Oriental and Occidental, this Crusade, with Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and Cœur de Lion as its chief figures, has provided the favourite theme.

Frederick, who was the first to start, took the land route and was drowned while crossing a Cilician river. Most of his followers returned home. En route Richard stopped to capture Cyprus,

[1] Abu-Shāmah, vol. ii, pp. 75 *seq.*, who gives an eye-witness's report; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xi, pp. 352-5; Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier, *Chronique*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 172-4.

[2] Arnold's castle on the Leontes (al-Līṭāni), the Belfort of Latin chronicles. Its owner had been known as Reginald of Sidon.

[3] A newly built Crusading castle north of Baysān by the Jordan. Its full name was Kawkab al-Hawā' (the star of the sky), Belvoir in Latin sources.

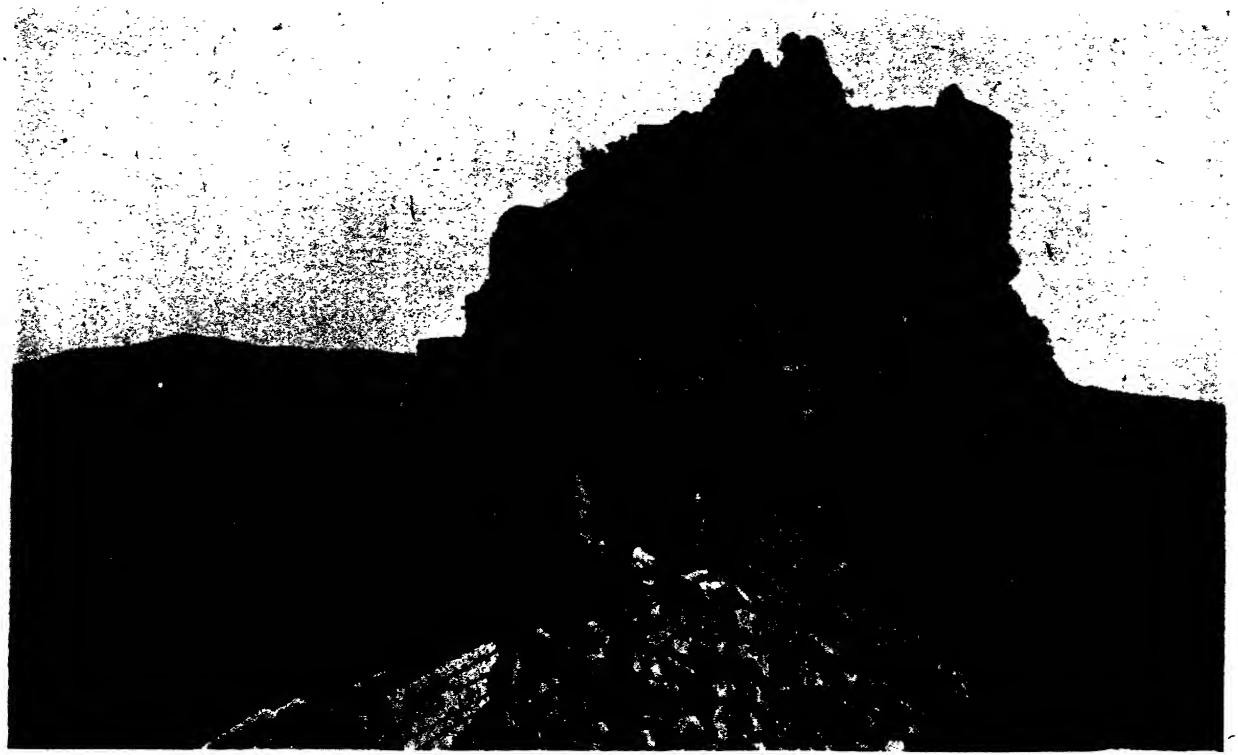


Photo: Ronfils

QAL'AT AL-SHAQĪF (BELFORT)

Standing on a precipitous rock 1500 feet above the Līṭāni and commanding the mountain pass from Sidon to Damascus

destined to become the last refuge of the Crusaders driven from the mainland.

In the meantime the Latins in the Holy Land had decided on 'Akka as providing the key for the restoration of their lost domain. Against it they marched virtually all their forces, augmented by the remnant of Frederick's army and the contingents of the king of France. King Guy, who had been released by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn on pledging his honour never again to bear arms against him, led the attack. Ṣalāḥ arrived the next day to rescue the city and pitched his camp facing the enemy. The struggle was waged by land and sea. The arrival of Richard was hailed with great rejoicing and bonfires. During the progress of the siege many picturesque incidents took place and were recorded by the contemporary Arabic and Latin chroniclers. A Damascene who compounded explosives and burned three of the besiegers' towers refused the reward offered him by Ṣalāḥ in favour of Allaḥ's reward.[1] A flint stone which formed part of three shiploads taken from Sicily by Richard for use in his mangonels and was said to have destroyed thirteen 'Akkans, was saved and shown to Ṣalāḥ as a curiosity. Ṣalāḥ and Richard even exchanged presents, but never met. Carrier-pigeons and swimmers were used for communication between Ṣalāḥ and the beleaguered garrison, which was entirely cut off from the sea. One such swimmer was drowned while attempting to make the passage, and as his body was washed ashore and the 'Akkans obtained the money and letters he carried, Ṣalāḥ's biographer[2] was prompted to remark, "Never before have we heard of a man receiving a trust in his lifetime and delivering it after his death". Richard offered a handsome reward for every stone dislodged from the walls of the city, and the combatants, as well as the women, performed deeds of great valour. The siege, considered one of the major military operations of medieval times, dragged on for two years (August 27, 1189–July 12, 1191). The Franks had the advantage of a fleet and up-to-date siege artillery; the Moslems had the advantage of single command. Ṣalāḥ sought but received no aid from the caliph. Finally the garrison surrendered.

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 321.

[2] Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn: Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭānīyah w-al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufīyah* (Cairo, 1317), p. 120. Cf. tr. as *"Saladin"; Or, what Befell Sultan Yúsuf* (London, 1897), p. 206.

Two of the conditions of surrender were the release of the garrison on the payment of 200,000 gold pieces and the restoration of the holy cross.[1] When at the end of a month the money was not paid Richard ordered the twenty-seven hundred captives to be slaughtered [2]—an act that stands in conspicuous contrast with Ṣalāḥ's treatment of his prisoners at the capture of Jerusalem. He too had then stipulated for a ransom and several thousand of the poor could not redeem themselves. At the request of his brother, Ṣalāḥ set free a thousand of these poor captives; at the request of the patriarch another batch was released. Then considering that his brother and the patriarch had made their alms and that his own turn had come, Ṣalāḥ freed many of the remaining captives, including numerous women and children, without ransom.

'Akka now takes the place of Jerusalem [3] in leadership and henceforth negotiations for peace between the two combatant parties go on almost without interruption. Richard, who was full of romantic ideas, proposed that his sister should marry Ṣalāḥ's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, and that the two should receive Jerusalem as a wedding present, thus ending the strife between Christians and Moslems.[4] On Palm Sunday (May 29, 1192) he knighted with full ceremony al-'Ādil's son, al-Malik al-Kāmil. Peace was finally concluded on November 2, 1192, on the general principle that the coast belonged to the Latins, the interior to the Moslems and that pilgrims to the holy city should not be molested. Ṣalāḥ had only a few months to live and enjoy the fruits of peace. On February 19 of the following year he was taken ill with fever in Damascus and died twelve days later at the age of fifty-five. His tomb near the Umayyad Mosque is still one of the attractions of the Syrian capital.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was more than a mere warrior and champion of Sunnite Islam. He patronized scholars, encouraged theological studies, built dykes, dug canals and founded schools and mosques. Among his surviving architectural monuments is the

[1] Abu-Shāmah, vol. ii, p. 188; 'Imād-al-Dīn (al-Iṣfahāni), *al-Fatḥ al-Qussi fi al-Fatḥ al-Qudsi*, ed. C. de Landberg (Leyden, 1888), p. 357; ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 386-7; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, pp. 83-4.

[2] Benedict of Peterborough, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), vol. ii, p. 189; ibn-Shaddād, pp. 164-5.

[3] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 413, speaks of the "king of 'Akka".

[4] Cf. abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 84.

Citadel of Cairo,[1] which he began together with the walls of the city in 1183 and for which he utilized stones from the smaller pyramids. His cabinet included two learned vizirs, al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil[2] and 'Imād-al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahāni,[3] noted for the style and grace of their correspondence. His last private secretary was Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād,[4] who became his biographer. On overthrowing the Fāṭimid caliphate, Ṣalāḥ distributed its accumulated treasures, one of which was a seventeen-dirham string of sapphires as weighed by ibn-al-Athīr[5] in person, among his retainers and troops, keeping nothing for himself. Nor did he touch Nūr-al-Dīn's estate; he left it to the deceased ruler's heir. He himself left on his death forty-seven dirhams and a gold piece.[6] Among his people his name, with Hārūn's and Baybars', heads the list of popular favourites to the present day. In Europe he touched the fancy of English minstrels as well as modern novelists[7] and is still considered a paragon of chivalry.

3. Period of civil and petty wars: The Ayyūbids

The sultanate built by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn from the Tigris to the Nile was divided among his various heirs, none of whom inherited his genius. At first his son al-Malik al-Afḍal (the superior king) succeeded to his father's crown at Damascus, al-'Azīz (the mighty) at Cairo, al-Ẓāhir (the victorious) at Aleppo, and Ṣalāḥ's younger brother and confidant al-'Ādil at al-Karak and al-Shawbak. But between 1196 and 1199 al-'Ādil, taking advantage of the discord among his nephews, acquired for himself sovereignty over Egypt and most of Syria. In 1200 he appointed one of his sons governor of Mesopotamia. Al-'Ādil, the Saphadin[8] of Latin chronicles, was the chief agent in the peace negotiations of 1192 and maintained throughout his rule friendly relations with the Crusaders. Small collisions were not lacking, but his general policy was one of peace and the furtherance of commerce with the Frankish colonies. He allowed the Venetians

[1] Qal'at al-Jabal. His inscription can still be read over the old gate.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 509 *seq.*; Subki, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. iv, pp. 253-4.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 495 *seq.*; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. i, p. 270. His *al-Fatḥ* was drawn upon in the composition of this chapter.

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 428 *seq.* His *Sīrah* has been extensively used in this chapter.

[5] Vol. xi, p. 242.

[6] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 91.

[7] E.g. Walter Scott in his *Talisman*, Lessing in *Nathan der Weise*. Owing to Salāḥ-al-Ḍīn's fame a legend grew up to explain the greatness of Thomas Becket on the ground of his descent from a Saracen mother.

[8] From his honorific title Sayf-al-Dīn (the sword of religion). Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 446.

to establish special markets with inns [1] at Alexandria and the Pisans to establish consuls there. His name is still borne in Damascus by al-ʿĀdilīyah school, which he partly built.[2]

After al-ʿĀdil's death in 1218 several Ayyūbid branches, all sprung from him, reigned in Egypt, Damascus and Mesopotamia. Other branches, descended from other members of the Ayyūbid family, controlled Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh and al-Yaman. The Egyptian Ayyūbids were the chief branch and frequently contested with their Damascene kinsmen the sovereignty over Syria. The north Syrian branches were swept away in 1260 by the Tartar avalanche of Hūlāgu, with the exception of the insignificant Ḥamāh branch which continued under the Mamlūks and numbered in its line the historian-king abu-al-Fidā' († 1331), a descendant of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's brother.

The Frankish camp

In the course of these dynastic turmoils not only did Islam lose its power of aggression, but one after another of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's conquests, e.g. Beirūt, Ṣafad, Tiberias, ʿAsqalān and even Jerusalem (1229), reverted to Frankish hands. But the Franks were in no position to take full advantage of the situation. They were themselves in as bad a plight, if not worse. Their colonies depended for their maintenance upon new recruits from Europe which were not forthcoming. Among themselves quarrels between Genoese and Venetians, jealousies between Templars and Hospitallers, personal squabbles among leaders and contests for the empty title of king of Jerusalem—these were the order of the day. In their disputes, as we learned above, one side would often secure aid from Moslems against the other.

Egypt, the centre of interest

The first serious engagements since Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's death between Franks and natives took place on Egyptian soil under al-Kāmil (1218–38). Al-Kāmil, the Egyptian successor of his father al-ʿĀdil, was now the leading Ayyūbid figure and nominally received the homage of Syria. His first task was to clear his land of the Crusaders who shortly before his father's death had landed near Dimyāṭ (Damietta) and in the following year had occupied that town. This invasion of Egypt was prompted by the fresh realization by the maritime republics of Italy that the centre of

[1] Ar. *funduq*, from Gr. *pandokeion*; Ar. *bunduq* (hazelnut), from Gr. *pontikos* (adjective, from Pontos); Bunduqīyah, Ar. name of Venice (abu-al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris, 1840, p. 210), from Veneticum.

[2] The names of ibn-Khallikān, al-Subki and others are associated with this school, whose building now houses the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Islamic power had shifted from Syria to Egypt and that only by the conquest of the latter could their ships reach the Red Sea and participate in the opulent commerce of the Indian Ocean. After almost two years of conflict (November 1219–August 1221) al-Kāmil forced the Franks to abandon Dimyāṭ and granted them a free passage.[1]

Like his father, al-Kāmil took a lively interest in irrigation and agriculture and signed several commercial treaties with European countries. He was so favourably disposed toward his Christian subjects that the Coptic church still recognizes him as the most beneficent sovereign it ever had. The year after his accession St. Francis of Assisi visited his court and preached before him. His interest in learning may be illustrated by the personal call he once made to a Cairene subject, 'Umar ibn-al-Fāriḍ (1181–1235), the greatest Sufi poet the Arabs produced, who is said to have refused to receive his royal guest. Formerly a friend of Richard, al-Kāmil now entered into friendly relations with Frederick II, who in 1227 set out on a Crusade. In 1229 an infamous treaty was concluded yielding to Frederick Jerusalem, along with a corridor connecting it with 'Akka, and guaranteeing al-Kāmil Frederick's aid against his enemies, most of whom were Ayyūbids.[2] This was the most singular treaty between a Christian and a Moslem power before Ottoman days. Jerusalem remained in Frankish hands until 1244 when, at the invitation of al-Kāmil's second successor al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb (1240–49), a contingent of Khwārizm Turks, previously dislodged from their Central Asian abode by Chingīz Khān, restored the city to Islam.[3]

St. Louis

As he lay on his deathbed al-Ṣāliḥ received the news that Dimyāṭ was again threatened, this time by Louis IX, king of France, and his chevaliers of the "sixth Crusade". The town surrendered (June 6, 1249) without resistance; but as the French army marched on Cairo in a region intersected by canals, while the Nile was at its height, pestilence spread in its ranks, its line of communication was cut off and it was entirely destroyed (April 1250). King Louis, with most of his nobles, was taken prisoner.[4]

[1] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, pp. 135-7; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 349-50; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 451, ibn-Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fi Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Būlāq, 1311), vol. i, pp. 79-80.

[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 148; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. xii, p. 315. [3] See above, p. 482.

[4] Maqrīzi, vol. ii, pp. 236-7; Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 169 *seq.*

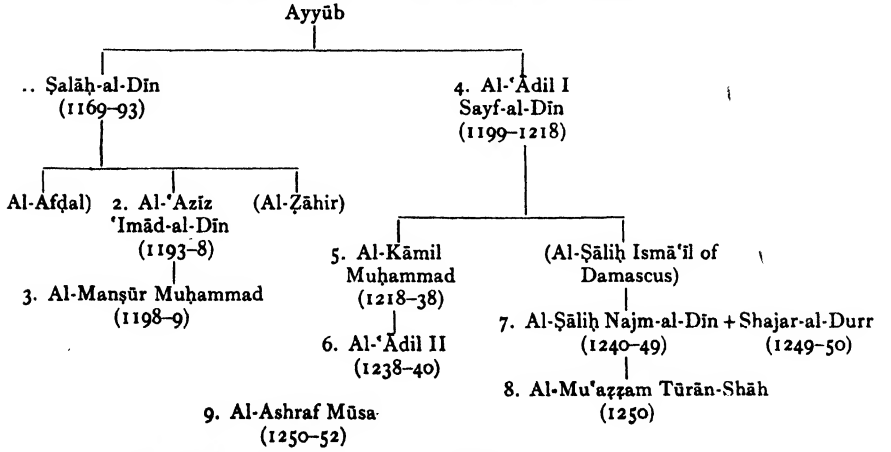
In the meantime al-Ṣāliḥ had passed away (November 1249). His daring and energetic widow Shajar-al-Durr (the tree of pearls) kept the news secret for three months until his son and successor Tūrān-Shāh had returned from Mesopotamia.[1] Tūrān failed to make himself agreeable to the slaves (*mamlūks*) of his father and with the connivance of his stepmother was murdered in 1250. Shajar proclaimed herself queen of the Moslems [2] and a six-year-old scion of the Damascene Ayyūbids, al-Ashraf Mūsa, was accorded the nominal dignity of joint sovereignty; but the actual ruler was the Mamlūk Aybak, founder of the Mamlūk dynasty. After a month of captivity Louis and his men were released on the payment of a ransom and the restoration of Dimyāṭ.[3] His work in Syria, where he remained from 1250 to 1254, consisted in the fortifying of such ports as ʿAkka, Ḥayfa, Cæsarea and Sidon. In 1270 he led another futile Crusade, now to Tunis, where he died. Of all the Crusading leaders his, by far, was the purest and noblest character. His "whole life was a prayer, his noble aim was to do God's will".

The Ayyūbids give way to the Mamlūks

Among the Mamlūks it was the fourth, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (1260–77), who inaugurated the series of sultans who dealt the final blows to the Crusaders' cause. Baybars had distinguished himself as a general under his predecessor Quṭuz when at ʿAyn Jālūt he inflicted (September 3, 1260) a crushing

The last blows: Baybars

[1] A tree of the Egyptian Ayyūbids, all of whom, excepting al-ʿAzīz, al-Manṣūr and al-Ashraf, were at least for a time acknowledged by Damascus:



[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 190; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 39.

[3] Joinville, pp. 201 *seq.*

defeat on the Tartars. The Mongolian leader was Kitbugha, a Nestorian Christian, whose outposts had penetrated Palestine down to Ghazzah.[1] This victory is memorable for the history of civilization; if the Mongols had taken Cairo they would have probably destroyed its treasures and manuscripts. Besides averting the danger threatening Syria and Egypt it paved the way for the reunion of the two neighbouring countries, a reunion which lasted under the Mamlūk sceptre until the Ottoman conquest two centuries and a half later.

Baybars' ambition was to be a second Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn in the holy war against Crusader towns. Especially provoked was he when he found those towns making common cause with the Hūlāguid Il-Khāns of Persia, now favourably disposed toward the Christian religion. From 1263 to 1271 he conducted almost annual raids against them. One after another of the Latin establishments yielded with little or no resistance. The two military orders which now occupied the leading fortresses of Frankish Syria and formed its bulwark were the ones who received his most devastating blows. But throughout the opposition was so weak that hardly a single battle of importance was fought in the open field.

In 1263 Baybars occupied al-Karak and demolished the venerated church of Nazareth (al-Nāṣirah). In 1265 he took Cæsarea by surprise and after a siege of forty days received the surrender of Arsūf from the Hospitallers. On July 23, 1266, the Templar garrison of Ṣafad capitulated on condition that the lives of its two thousand knights be spared. Without delay and in spite of the amnesty granted, the sultan ordered them all executed on a neighbouring hill.[2] The story of the victory of "the Alexander of his age and the pillar of faith" is still engraved on the walls of Ṣafad; and the bridge he built over the Jordan stands to the present day bearing his inscription, with the figure of a lion on either side. In 1268 Jaffa was captured without resistance; Shaqīf Arnūn capitulated after a short siege; and what is more important Antioch, which had maintained amicable relations with the Tartars, surrendered (May 21). Antioch's garrison with others to the number of 16,000 were slaughtered and some 100,000 are said to have been led to captivity, some to be sold in the markets of Egypt. When the plunder was divided, money

[1] Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 98, 104.
[2] *Ibid.* (pt. 2), pp. 29-30; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, p. 3

was measured out in cups; an infant fetched twelve dirhams and a young girl five. The city with its citadel and world-renowned churches was given to the flames—a blow from which it has never recovered.[1] On the fall of Antioch a number of minor Latin strongholds in the vicinity were abandoned. In 1271 the formidable Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, the principal retreat of the Hospitallers and probably the most beautiful military monument of the Middle Ages, surrendered after a siege lasting from March 24 to April 8. The adjacent castles of Maṣyād, al-Qadmūs, al-Kahf and al-Khawābi, which belonged to the Assassins who were in alliance with the Hospitallers and often paid tribute to them, were all reduced. The last nest of an order which for years had hatched horror and intrigue was thereby for ever destroyed. Both the Templars of Anṭarṭūs and the Hospitallers of al-Marqab now hastened to make peace.

Baybars had a worthy successor in Qalāwūn (1279–90), who was almost as energetic and redoubtable an anti-Crusader. Baybars' truce with the Templars of Anṭarṭūs was renewed (April 15, 1282) for another term of ten years and ten months. A similar treaty was signed (July 18, 1285) with the princess of Tyre who controlled Beirūt.[2] On the battlefield he established his right to the honorific title he bore, al-Malik al-Manṣūr (the victorious king). Al-Marqab,[3] which still looks like a dreadnought crowning a hill near Ṭarṭūs and overlooking the sea, yielded after a siege of thirty-eight days, ending May 25, 1285. The besiegers' arrowheads can still be seen imbedded in its outer walls. Abu-al-Fidā',[4] who was then twelve years old, had his first experience in warfare on this occasion. The citadel's Knights of St. John were conducted under escort to Tripoli. Tripoli, another of the early conquests of the Crusaders and now the largest town in their possession, succumbed in April 1289; the city and its citadel were almost entirely ruined. Abu-al-Fidā'[5] himself was oppressed by the smell of the corpses lying thick on the island outside the port. After Tripoli the stronghold of al-Batrūn to the south was captured. Qalāwūn commemorated his

Qalāwūn

[1] Ibn-al-'Ibri, p. 500; Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 2), pp. 52-4; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, pp. 4-5.

[2] Maqrīzi has preserved the texts of both treaties, ed. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 3), pp. 172-6, 177-8, tr. pp. 22-31, 212-21.

[3] "The watch tower", Castrum Mergathum, Margat.

[4] Vol. iv, p. 22.

[5] Vol. iv, p. 24.

victories with inscriptions which, like those of Baybars, can still be read on the walls of the citadels he reduced.

'Akka

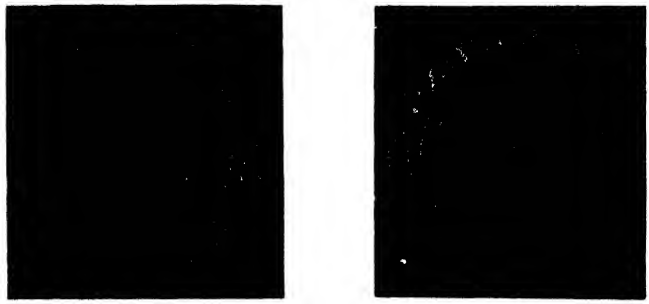
'Akka was now the only place of military importance left. In the midst of his preparations against it Qalāwūn died and was succeeded by his son al-Ashraf (1290–93), who commenced where his father had left off. After an investment of over a month, in which ninety-two catapults were used against its ramparts, this last bulwark of the Latin Orient was stormed (May 1291). The help received from Cyprus by sea did not save the day. Its Templar defenders, to whom a safe-conduct had been promised, were massacred. The city was plundered, its fortifications were dismantled and houses set on fire.[1]

The fall of 'Akka sealed the fate of the half-dozen towns still retained along the coast, and none resisted the victorious enemy. Tyre was abandoned on May 18, Sidon on July 14. Beirūt capitulated on July 21. Anṭarṭūs was occupied on August 3 and the deserted Templar castle of 'Athlīth (Castrum Peregrinorum, Château Pèlerin) was destroyed about the middle of that month.[2] One of the most dramatic chapters in the history of Syria was closed.[3]

[1] Abu-al-Fidā' (who took part in the siege), vol. iv, pp. 25-6; Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 3), pp. 125-9; *Archives*, vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 460; *Les gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887), p. 256.

[2] See Sanuto in Bongars, vol. ii, pp. 231 *seq.*

[3] Later Crusades were directed against Rhodes, Smyrna, Alexandria and Turkey in Europe, culminating in the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396. See A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938).



From Henri Lavoix, "Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés"

A FRANKISH DINAR STRUCK AT 'AKKA IN 1251

Bearing Arabic inscription

CHAPTER XLVI

CULTURAL CONTACTS

BECAUSE of the richness of the Crusades in picturesque and romantic incidents, their historical importance has been somewhat exaggerated. For the Occident they meant much more than for the Orient. Their civilizing influence was artistic, industrial and commercial rather than scientific and literary. In Syria they left in their wake havoc and ruin intensified by the Mamlūk destruction of most of those maritime towns formerly occupied by the Franks. Throughout the Near East they bequeathed a legacy of ill will between Moslems and Christians that has not yet been forgotten.

Nūrid contributions

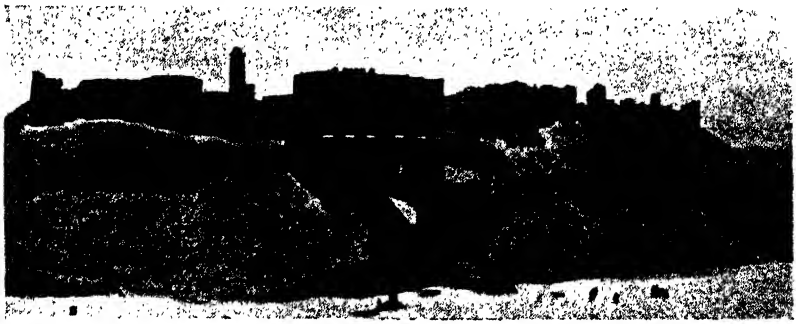
Notwithstanding its civil and holy wars Syria enjoyed under the Nūrids and Ayyūbids—more particularly under Nūr-al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn—the most brilliant period in its Moslem history, with the exception of the Umayyad age. Its capital, Damascus, still bears evidences of the architectural and educational activities of members of these two houses. Not only did Nūr renovate the walls of the city with their towers and gates and erect government buildings which remained in use until recent times, but he established in Damascus the earliest school devoted to the science of tradition,[1] the celebrated hospital bearing his name[2] and the first of those *madrasahs* (academies) which after his time began to flourish in the land. The Nūri hospital, the second in Damascus after that of al-Walīd, functioned later as a school of medicine.[3] The *madrasahs* were in reality collegiate mosques or school-mosques, but they boarded students and followed the type evolved by the Niẓāmīyah. Such collegiate mosques, all of the Shāfi'i rite, were founded by Nūr in Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh and Ba'labakk. His inscriptions on these buildings and on other monuments of his are of special

[1] In this Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūrīyah, the contemporary ibn-'Asākir (vol. i, p. 222) lectured.

[2] Al-Māristān al-Nūri. Ibn-Jubayr, p. 283; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 521.

[3] Cf. ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 192. The building is still standing.

interest for Arabic paleography, since it was about this time that the angular Kufic, in which until then inscriptions were exclusively cut, was replaced by the rounded *naskhi*. An inscription of his on a western tower of the Citadel of Aleppo is still legible. The existing fortifications of this citadel, which is mentioned in Assyrian and Hittite records and is considered a masterpiece of ancient military architecture, owe their restoration to this Syrian sultan. Nūr's tomb in his Damascus academy, al-Nūrīyah, is held in reverence even today. Through this *madrasah* the connection between mausoleum and mosque was established in Syria.[1]



By courtesy of K. A. C. Creswell

THE ANCIENT CITADEL OF ALEPPO
Restored by Nūr-al-Dīn († 1174)

During the Mamlūk period, which in art was a continuation of the Ayyūbid, it became the regular practice for the founder of a collegiate mosque to be buried under a dome (*qubbah*) in the building.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn displayed even more munificent architectural and educational activity than his predecessor. His policy was to combat Shī'ite heresy and pro-Fāṭimid tendencies by means of education. Next to Niẓām-al-Mulk he is reputed to have been the greatest builder of academies in Islam. Under him Damascus became a city of schools. Ibn-Jubayr,[2] who visited it in 1184, refers to its twenty *madrasahs*, two free hospitals and numerous dervish "monasteries". Ṣalāḥ introduced these "monasteries"[3] into Egypt.

[1] Cf. above, p. 630.
[2] Pp. 283-4; above, pp. 408, 412.
[3] Ar. *khānaqāh*, from Pers. *khānagāh*. Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 158.

"The classical Arab art of the East is represented by the buildings of Damascus and Aleppo dating from the thirteenth century, under the Ayyūbids and their earliest Mameluke successors."[1] The Ayyūbid school of Syrian architecture was continued in Egypt under the Mamlūks and produced some of the most exquisite monuments which Arab art can boast. Its characteristics are strength and solidity. On its durable material of fine stone even the simplest decorative motif assumes infinite grace. But like the Andalusian school it depended for its elegance and beauty upon excessive decoration. Ayyūbid contributions

It was Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn who introduced the *madrasah* type of school into Jerusalem and Egypt.[2] During his reign al-Ḥijāz also saw its first institution of this type. Notable among his Egyptian academies was the one at Cairo bearing his name, al-Ṣalāḥīyah.[3] Ibn-Jubayr[4] found several *madrasahs* in Alexandria. None of these Egyptian institutions have survived, but their architectural influence is manifest. It produced in later years the finest Arab monuments of Egypt, among which the most splendid example is the collegiate mosque of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo. Its general plan consists of a square central court (*ṣaḥn*) open to the sky, flanked by four walls with four halls or porticos (sing. *līwān*) forming the arms of a cross. Each of these four halls was reserved for instruction in one of the orthodox rites.

Besides schools Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn maintained in Cairo two hospitals.[5] The edifices were probably planned after the Nūrid hospital in Damascus. Before his time ibn-Ṭūlūn and Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdi had established in Egypt similar free public institutions. Hospital architecture followed also the mosque plan, but has left no traces. Only in military architecture do we have survivals, the Citadel of Cairo being the principal example. This citadel shows that Ṣalāḥ owed a part of his knowledge of fortification to the Norman castles that had by this time sprung up in Palestine. He probably used Christian prisoners in its construction. It was in this citadel that he made his residence, while in Cairo, surrounded by a galaxy of talent which included, besides his

[1] René Grousset, *The Civilizations of the East*, vol. i, *The Near and Middle East*, tr. Catherine A. Phillips (New York, 1931), p. 235; M.van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, vol. i (Cairo, 1922), pp. 87 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 521.

[3] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 157-8.

[4] Pp. 41-2.

[5] Ibn-Jubayr, pp. 51-2.

brilliant vizirs,[1] such men as his distinguished Jewish physician ibn-Maymūn and the versatile, prolific 'Irāqi scholar 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādi (1162–1231), whose short description of Egypt[2] stands out among the important topographical works of the Middle Ages.

In science and philosophy

Despite this manifestation of intellectual and educational activity Islamic culture in the epoch of the Crusades was already decadent in the East. For some time prior to that epoch it had ceased to be a creative force. In philosophy, medicine, music and other disciplines, almost all its great lights had vanished. This partly explains why Syria, which was throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a particular focus of relations between Islam and Western Christianity, proved as a vehicle of Arabic influence very much less important than either Spain, Sicily, North Africa or even the Byzantine empire. Although in Syria Islam acted upon European Christianity by direct impact upon the Crusaders, by the repercussion of that impact upon the West and by a process of infiltration along the routes of commerce, yet the spiritual and intellectual impress it left is barely noticeable. On the other hand, we should recall that the Franks in Syria, besides possessing a lower level of culture than their antagonists, were largely foreign legions quartered in castles and barracks and in close contact with the native tillers of the soil and artisans rather than with the intelligentsia. Then there were the nationalistic and religious prejudices and animosities which thwarted the play of interactive forces. In science and art the Franks had very little to teach the natives. The comparative standing of medical lore in the two camps may be illustrated by the anecdotes cleverly told by Usāmah,[3] who also pokes fun at the Franks' judicial procedure with its trial by duel and by water.

Concrete instances of scientific and philosophic transmission are not entirely lacking. Adelard of Bath, whose translations of Arabic works on astronomy and geometry have already been mentioned, visited Antioch and Tarsus early in the twelfth century. About a century later the first European algebraist, Leonardo Fibonacci, who dedicated a treatise on square num-

[1] See above, p. 652.

[2] *Al-Ifādah w-al-I'tibār fi al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah w-al-Ḥawādith al-Mu'āyanah bi-Arḍ Miṣr*, ed. D. J. White (Tübingen, 1789); tr. into Latin, German and French. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 207; Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 10.

[3] Pp. 132 *seq.*= *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, pp. 162 *seq.*

bers to Frederick II, visited Egypt and Syria. Frederick himself entertained the ambition of reconciling Islam and Christianity and patronized several translators from Arabic. A Pisan, Stephen of Antioch, translated the important medical work of al-Majūsi at Antioch in 1127. This was the only known Arabic work the Franks carried back with them; but since in the twelfth century we find a number of hospices and hospitals, chiefly lazar-houses for leprosy, springing up all over Europe, we may assume that the idea of systematic hospitalization received a stimulus from the Moslem Orient. This Orient was also responsible for the reintroduction into Europe of public baths, an institution which the Romans patronized but the Christians discouraged. It was again in Antioch that Philip of Tripoli found about 1247 a manuscript of the Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār* purporting to have been composed by Aristotle for the guidance of his great pupil, Alexander. Translated by Philip into Latin as *Secretum secretorum*, this pseudo-Aristotelian work, containing the essence of practical wisdom and occult science, became one of the most popular books of the later Middle Ages.

In literature the influence was more pervasive. The legends of the Holy Grail have elements of undoubted Syrian origin. The Crusaders must have heard stories from the *Kalīlah* and the *Arabian Nights* and carried them back with them. Chaucer's *Squieres Tale* is an *Arabian Nights* story. From oral sources Boccaccio derived the Oriental tales incorporated in his *Decameron*. To the Crusaders we may also ascribe European missionary interest in Arabic and other Islamic languages. Men like Raymond Lull († 1314) were convinced by the failure of the Crusades of the futility of the military method in dealing with the "infidel". Lull, a Catalan, was the first European to promote Oriental studies as an instrument of a pacific Crusade in which persuasion should replace violence. In 1276 he founded at Miramar a college of friars for the study of Arabic; it was probably through his influence that in 1311 the Council of Vienne resolved to create chairs of Arabic and Tartar at the Universities of Paris, Louvain and Salamanca.

In letters

In the realm of warfare the influences, as is to be expected, are more noticeable. The use of the crossbow, the wearing of heavy mail by knight and horse and the use of cotton pads under the armour are of Crusading origin. In Syria the Franks adopted the

In military art

tabor[1] and the naker[2] for their military bands, which hitherto had been served only by trumpets and horns. They learned from the natives how to train carrier-pigeons[3] to convey military information and borrowed from them the practice of celebrating victory by illuminations and the knightly sport of the tournament (*jarīd*). In fact a large part of the institution of chivalry developed on the plains of Syria. The growing use of armorial bearings and heraldic devices was due to contact with Moslem knights. The two-headed eagle,[4] the fleur-de-lis[5] and the two keys may be cited as elements of Moslem heraldry of this period. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn probably had the eagle as his crest. Most Mamlūks bore names of animals, the corresponding images of which they blazoned on their shields. Mamlūk rulers had different corps, which gave rise to the practice of distinguishing by heraldic designs on shields, banners, badges and coats of arms. Baybars' crest was a lion, like that of ibn-Ṭūlūn before him, and Sultan Barqūq's († 1398) was the falcon. In Europe coats of arms appear in a rudimentary form at the end of the eleventh century; the beginning of English heraldry dates from the early part of the twelfth. Among modern Moslems the star and crescent and the lion and sun form the sole remnant of heraldry. "Azure" (Ar. *lāzaward*) and other terms used in heraldry testify to this connection between the European and Moslem institutions.

Gunpowder

The Crusades also fostered the improvement of siege tactics, including the art of sapping and mining, the employment of mangonels and battering-rams and the application of various combustibles and explosives. Gunpowder was evidently invented in Syria or Latin Europe, more likely the latter, toward the end of this period; the Chinese claim is unsubstantiated. The application of its explosive force to the propulsion of missiles, i.e. the invention of fire-arms, which was by far the more important step, was not accomplished before the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The first European recipe for gunpowder we

[1] Fr. *tambour*, from Ar. *ṭunbūr*, from Pers. *ṭumbūr*, a kind of lute.

[2] Fr. *nacaire*, fr. Ar. *naqqārah*, a kettledrum.

[3] Consult Ṣāliḥ ibn-Yaḥya, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, ed. L. Cheikho (Beirūt, 1898), pp. 60-61; al-Ẓāhiri, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), pp. 116-17. Cf. Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 186.

[4] Zangi's coins of Sinjār show this symbol of Sumerian antiquity. Above, p. 479.

[5] L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 23-4. This, one of the most widely spread elements of decorative art, was known in Assyria. It still figures on the Canadian coat of arms for France.

find appended to a work written about 1300 by a certain Marc the Greek; Bacon's recipe is apocryphal. Shortly before 1300 Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ (the lancer) Najm-al-Dīn al-Aḥdab, probably a Syrian, composed a treatise entitled *al-Furūsīyah w-al-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbīyah*[1] (horsemanship and military exercises), which mentions saltpetre, a component of powder, and contains pyrotechnic recipes to which those ascribed to Marc bear close resemblance. One of the earliest references to the use of gunpowder is in al-'Umari († 1348).[2]

In architecture

The Crusaders took with them from Italy and Normandy a substantial knowledge of military masonry which was partly passed on to the Arabs, as the architecture of the Citadel of Cairo indicates. Castles and churches were their main structures. Most of the castles, including Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, al-Marqab and al-Shaqīf (Belfort), are extant. In Jerusalem parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, "Solomon's Stables" near the Aqṣa Mosque and several of the vaulted bazaars are their work. The Church of the Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock were deliberately imitated by several churches of the round "temple" type, of which four are found in England and others in France, Spain and Germany. In Beirūt the so-called 'Umari Mosque was built as the Church of St. John by Baldwin I in 1110. The Crusading arch is generally of the pointed form and the vaulting simple, usually groined. The most beautiful relic of Frankish art in Cairo is a doorway taken from the Christian church of 'Akka in 1291 and incorporated in the Mosque of al-Nāṣir.[3]

Agriculture and industry

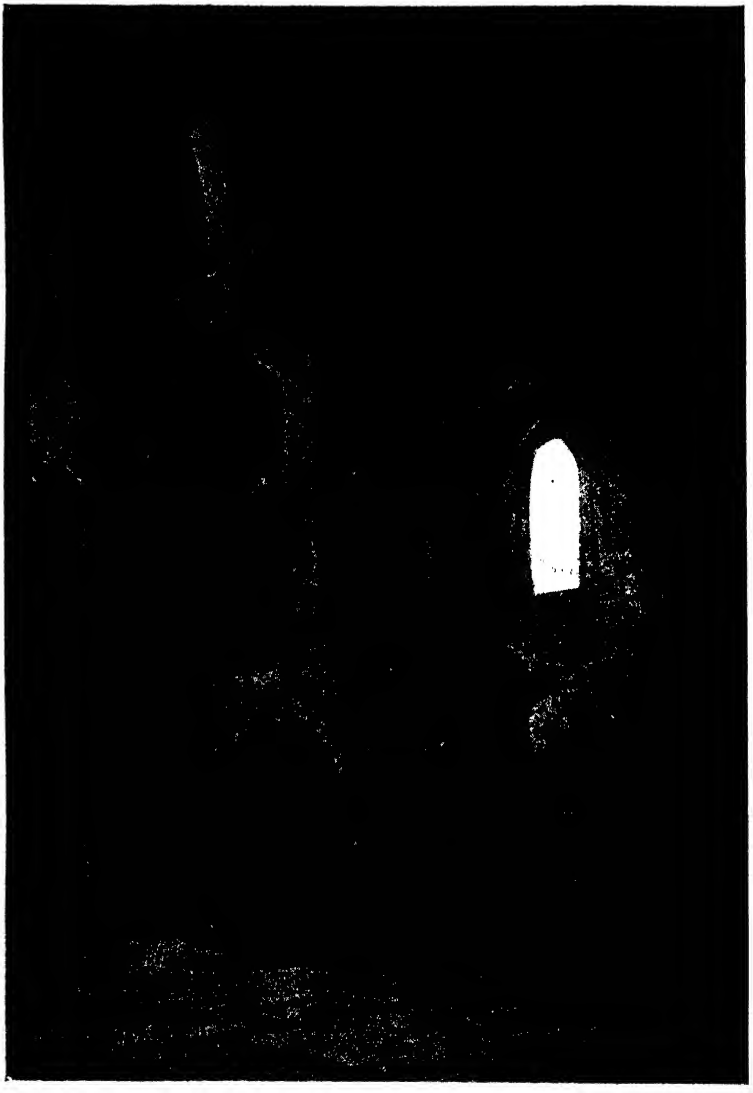
In the realm of agriculture, industry and commerce the Crusades produced much greater results than in the realm of intellect. They explain the popularization in the regions of the Western Mediterranean of such new plants and crops as sesame and carob, millet and rice,[4] lemons and melons, apricots and shallots. "Carob" is Arabic *kharrūb* (originally Assyrian); "lemon" is Arabic *laymūn*, of Indic or Malay origin; and both "shallot" and "scallion", meaning originally the onion of Ascalon, preserve the name of the Palestinian town. For many years apricots were called the plums of Damascus. Also there were other trees and products which were simultaneously diffused

[1] Extracts in Ar. and Fr. tr. by Reinaud and Favé, *Journal asiatique*, ser. 4, vol. xiv (1849), pp. 257-327. See also vol. xii, pp. 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ta'rīf* (Cairo, 1312), p. 208.

[3] See below, p. 681.

[4] Cf. above, p. 528. "Sesame", Ar. *simsim*, is derived from Assyrian through Gr.



INTERIOR OF THE CRUSADING CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME AT ANṬARṬŪS (TORTOSA, MODERN ṬARṬŪS)

Photo taken 1929

through Moslem Spain and Sicily, and in certain instances it is not possible to tell whether the bridge was Syria or one of these two other countries.

While in the Orient, the Franks acquired new tastes, especially in perfumes, spices, sweetmeats and other tropical products of Arabia and India with which the marts of Syria were well stocked. These tastes later supported the commerce of Italian and Mediterranean cities. Incense and other fragrant gums of Arabia, the damask rose (*Rosa damascena*) and sweet scents in which Damascus specialized and numerous fragrant volatile oils and attars[1] of Persia became favourites. Alum and aloes figured among the new drugs with which they became acquainted. At the capture of Cæsarea in 1101 the Genoese, we are told, received as their portion of the booty more than sixteen thousand pounds of pepper. Cloves and other aromatic spices together with pepper and similar condiments came into use in the Occident in the twelfth century, and from that time on no banquet was complete without spiced dishes. Ginger (Ar. and Pers. *zanjabīl*, of Skr. origin) was added to the Crusaders' menu in Egypt. More important than all others is sugar (Ar. *sukkar*, ultimately Skr.). Europeans had hitherto used honey for sweetening their foods. On the maritime plain of Syria, where children can still be seen sucking sugar-cane, the Franks became acquainted with this plant which has since played such an important rôle in our domestic economy and medical prescriptions. William of Tyre[2] († *ca.* 1190), who knew Arabic and wrote the most elaborate medieval account of the Crusades (from 1095 to 1184), has left us interesting observations on the sugar plantations of his native town. Sugar was the first luxury introduced into the West and nothing else so delighted the Western palate. With it went soft drinks, waters tinctured by distillation with roses, violets or other flowers, and all varieties of candy and sweetmeats.

Water-wheels

Windmills appear first in Normandy in 1180 and betray Crusading origin.[3] Water-wheels (sing. noria, from Ar. *nāʿūrah*) existed in Europe before this period but the Crusaders took back with them an improved type. This Syrian type may still be seen in Germany near Bayreuth.[4] In Syria it goes back to Roman

[1] See above, p. 351.

[2] "Historia rerum", in *Recueil: occidentaux*, vol. i, p. 559; Jacques de Vitry, "Historia Hierosolimitana", in Bongars, p. 1075.

[3] Cf. above, p. 385.

[4] M. Sobernheim, art. "Ḥamā", *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

days, but was presumably improved upon by such native engineers as Qayṣar ibn-Musāfir Ta'āsīf († 1251),[1] an Egyptian, who was in the service of the ruler of Ḥamāh and produced the earliest but one of the Arabic celestial globes extant.[2] As early as the days of Yāqūt[3] († 1229) and abu-al-Fidā'[4] († 1331), Ḥamāh was noted for its water-wheels. These wheels, whose perpetual wailing has lulled to sleep countless generations of Ḥamātites, are still one of the glories of that ancient town.

Not all of the new tastes developed were gastronomic. Especially in the matter of fashions, clothing and home furnishing were new desires and demands created. The custom of wearing beards was then spread. Returning Crusaders introduced into their homes the rugs, carpets and tapestries of which Western and Central Asia had for long made a specialty. Fabrics such as muslin, baldachin, damask,[5] sarcenet or Saracen stuff, atlas (from Ar. *aṭlas*), velvet, silk and satin,[6] came to be more appreciated. Jewels manufactured by Damascene and Cairene Jews, toilet articles and powders became much sought after. Mirrors of glass coated with a metallic film replaced those of polished steel. Camlets (Ar. *khamlah*), camel's-hair and fine furs acquired wider vogue. The rosary became familiar.[7] European pilgrims sent home Arab reliquaries for the keeping of Christian relics.[8] With fine clothes and metallic wares went lacquers and dyestuffs, such as indigo, and new colours, such as lilac (fr. Ar. *laylak*, originally Pers.), carmine and crimson (both fr. Ar. *qirmizi*, originally Skr.). Gradually centres appeared in Europe for manufacturing wares, rugs and cloths in imitation of the Oriental products, as at Arras, whose fabrics became highly prized. Stained-glass windows became popular in churches.[9] Benjamin of Tudela,[10] who visited Antioch under the Franks, speaks of its manufacture of glass. Oriental works of art in glass, pottery, gold, silver and enamel served as models for European products.

Trade

The creation of a new European market for Oriental agricul-

[1] See ibn-Khallikān, tr. de Slane, vol. iii, pp. 471-3. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. iv, p. 255, refers to water-wheels in Canton, China.

[2] Now in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 331. [4] *Taqwīm*, p. 263. [5] See above, pp. 346, 592.

[6] From Ar. *zaytūni*, a corruption of Chinese Tseu-thung, a city in China from which this silk originally came. [7] See above, p. 438.

[8] See above, p. 631. [9] See above, p. 346. [10] Tr. Asher, p. 58.

tural products and industrial commodities, together with the necessity of transporting pilgrims and Crusaders, stimulated maritime activity and international trade to an extent unknown since Roman days. Marseilles began to rival the Italian city republics as a shipping centre and share in the accruing wealth. The financial needs of the new situation necessitated a larger supply and a more rapid circulation of money. A system of credit notes was thereupon devised. Firms of bankers arose in Genoa and Pisa with branch offices in the Levant. The Templars began to use letters of credit,[1] receive money on deposit and lend at interest. Perhaps the earliest gold coin struck by Latins was the *Byzantinius Saracenatus* minted by Venetians in the Holy Land and bearing Arabic inscriptions. The consular office, primarily commercial rather than diplomatic, now made its appearance. The first consuls in history were Genoese accredited to ʿAkka in 1180. They were followed by those sent to Egypt.[2]

Compass

An important invention connected with this maritime activity of the Crusades is the compass. The Chinese were probably the first to discover the directive property of the magnetic needle, but the Moslems, who very early carried on lively trade between the Persian Gulf and Far Eastern waters,[3] were the first to make practical use of that discovery by applying the needle to navigation. This application must have taken place in the eleventh century if not earlier, but for commercial reasons was kept secret. In Europe, Italian sailors were the first to use the compass. The actual use naturally antedates the literary references, of which the first to occur in a Moslem work is in a Persian collection of anecdotes, *Jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt wa-Lawāmiʿ al-Riwāyāt*,[4] written by Muḥammad al-ʿAwfi about 1230. One story tells how the author as a sailor found his way by means of a fish rubbed with a magnet. The first literary mention in Latin sources belongs to the early thirteenth century, thus antedating the Persian reference.

Racial admixture

The number of Franks assimilated by the native Syrians and Palestinians is hard to estimate.[5] Among the modern population

[1] Eng. "check" comes from Per. *chak*, whence Ar. *ṣakk*.

[2] See above, pp. 652-3.

[3] See above, p. 343.

[4] See Muḥammad Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* (London, 1929), p. 251. Cf. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau-Ju-Kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 28-9.

[5] See above, pp. 643-4.

of such towns as Ihdin in northern Lebanon, Bethlehem and al-'Arīsh, the sight of men and women with blue eyes and fair hair is quite common. Certain families, mainly Christian Lebanese, such as the Karam, the Faranjīyah (Frankish) and the Ṣalībi (Crusading), have preserved traditions of descent from Frankish ancestry. Among other family names Ṣawāya is said to be derived from Savoie, Duwayhi from de Douai and Bardawīl is undoubtedly Baldwin.[1] The last name also figures in the topography of Palestine and northern Sinai. One Palestinian village, Sinjil, perpetuates the name of Saint-Gilles, and another, al-Raynah, that of Renaud. On the other hand the Druze claim to some connection with a count de Dreux is due to a popular etymology that has no basis in fact.[2]

[1] See above, p. 640, n. 6. [2] Hitti, *Druze People*, p. 15.

British Museum

DINAR OF THE MAMLŪK BAYBARS

Struck 667 (1268/9), showing the lion below his name

CHAPTER XLVII

THE MAMLŪKS, LAST MEDIEVAL DYNASTY OF ARAB WORLD

IN other than Moslem annals the rise and prosperity of such a dynasty as the Mamlūk is hardly conceivable. Even in these annals it is most remarkable, almost unique. The Mamlūks were, as the name indicates,[1] a dynasty of slaves, slaves of varied races and nationalities forming a military oligarchy in an alien land. These slave sultans cleared their Syrian-Egyptian domain of the remnant of the Crusaders. They checked for ever the advance of the redoubtable Mongol hordes of Hūlāgu and of Tīmūr, who might otherwise have changed the entire course of history and culture in Western Asia and Egypt. Because of this check Egypt was spared the devastation that befell Syria and al-ʿIrāq and enjoyed a continuity in culture and political institutions which no other Moslem land outside Arabia enjoyed. For about two and three-quarter centuries (1250-1517) the Mamlūks dominated one of the most turbulent areas of the world, keeping themselves all the while racially distinct. Though on the whole uncultured and bloodthirsty, their keen appreciation of art and architecture would have been a credit to any civilized dynasty and makes Cairo even now one of the beauty spots of the Moslem world. And finally, when they were overthrown in 1517 by the Ottoman Salīm, the last of the petty dynasties that had developed on the ruins of the Arab caliphate expired, clearing the way for the establishment of a new and non-Arab caliphate, that of the Ottoman Turks.

Dynasty established

The foundation of Mamlūk power was laid by Shajar-al-Durr, widow of the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ († 1249) and originally a Turkish or Armenian slave. Formerly a bondmaid and member of the harem of the Caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, Shajar entered the service of al-Ṣāliḥ, by whom she was freed after she had borne him a son. On her assumption of sovereign power her former caliph-master addressed a scathing note to the amīrs of Egypt saying: "If ye have no man to rule you, let us know and we will send you one."[2]

[1] See above, p. 235, n. 1.

[2] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 39. See above, p. 655.

For eighty days the sulṭānah, the only Moslem woman to rule a country in North Africa and Western Asia, continued to function as sole sovereign in the lands which had once produced Cleopatra and Zenobia. She struck coins in her own name[1] and had herself mentioned in the Friday prayer. And when the amīrs chose her associate and commander-in-chief (*atābeg al-ʿaskar*), ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak,[2] for sultan, she married him. In the first years of his reign Aybak was busy crushing the legitimist Ayyūbid party of Syria, deposing the child joint-king al-Ashraf and doing away with his own general who had distinguished himself against Louis IX. In the meantime the queen was not only sharing her consort's power but keeping him in subordination. Finally, on hearing that he was contemplating another marriage, she had him murdered while taking his bath, after a ball game, in the royal palace in the Citadel of Cairo. Immediately after she was herself battered to death with wooden shoes by the slave women of Aybak's first wife and her body was cast from a tower.[3]

Baḥri and Burji Mamlūks

Aybak (1250–57) was the first of the Mamlūk sultans. The series is somewhat arbitrarily divided into two dynasties: Baḥri (1250–1390) and Burji (1382–1517). The Baḥri Mamlūks had their origin in the purchased bodyguard of the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ,[4] who settled his slaves in barracks on the isle of al-Rawḍah in the Nile.[5] The Baḥris were chiefly Turks and Mongols.[6] In their policy of securing the services of foreign slaves as a bodyguard the Ayyūbids followed the precedent established by the caliphs of Baghdād, with the same eventual results.[7] The bondmen of yesterday became the army commanders of today and the sultans of tomorrow.

The Burjis represent a later importation. Their origin was likewise a bodyguard, but it was founded by the Baḥri Mamlūk Qalāwūn (1279–90). They were mostly Circassian slaves who were quartered in the towers (Ar. sing. *burj*) of the citadel. In all there were twenty-four Baḥri Mamlūks,[8] excluding Shajar-

[1] With the exception of certain coins struck in India and Fāris, hers are the only ones bearing a Moslem woman's name.

[2] He was a Turk, as the name (*ay* moon + *beg* prince) indicates. Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 72; *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 237; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 201.

[4] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 188; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 373.

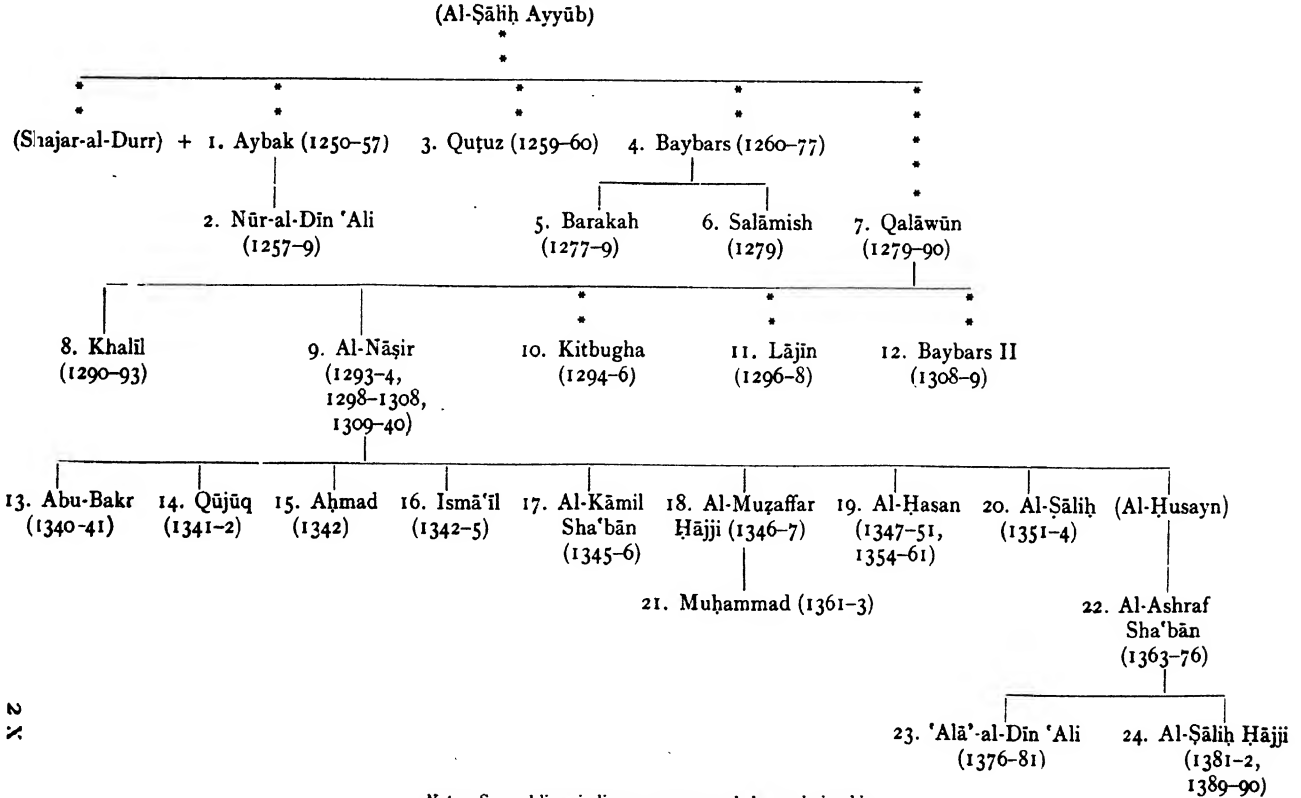
[5] Colloquially referred to as *Baḥr*, sea.

[6] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 369, and Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 80, designate them as the "Turkish dynasty".

[7] See above, p. 466.

[8] For table of Baḥri Mamlūks see p. 673.

THE BAḤRI MAMLŪKS



Note.—Starred lines indicate a master and slave relationship.

al-Durr, and twenty-three Burjis. The Burjis recognized no principle of hereditary succession and followed no policy of nepotism. Their throne belonged to him who could capture it or induce the amīrs to elect him to it. In several Baḥri and Burji instances slaves rather than sons of the sultan succeeded him. A large number of the sultans met violent deaths while still young. The average reign of the Mamlūk sultans was less than six years.

Ayyūbids and Tartars repelled

The first task confronting the new dynasty was to consolidate the kingdom and guard its frontiers. Aybak spent most of his time on the battlefield in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Al-Muẓaffar Sayf-al-Dīn Quṭuz (1259–60), while acting as regent (*nā'ib al-salṭanah*) and before deposing his young protégé, al-Manṣūr 'Ali, Aybak's son, and usurping the throne, repelled an attack from the Ayyūbid sultan of al-Karak. The Syrian Ayyūbids considered themselves the legitimate successors of their Egyptian kinsmen. No sooner had the Ayyūbid invasion of Egypt been repulsed than the Tartar army of Hūlāgu, led by Kitbugha, became a danger. Hūlāgu's envoys[1] to Quṭuz were executed by the latter and the issue was settled at 'Ayn Jālūt (1260). In this battle Baybars led the vanguard and distinguished himself as a general, but Quṭuz took command in person towards the end. The Tartar army was routed, leaving Kitbugha and other leaders dead on the field. Egypt was spared the horrible desolation visited upon its neighbour, which was now occupied by the Mamlūk army. Baybars expected to receive Aleppo as a fief in recognition of his military service, but the sultan disappointed him. On the way homeward through Syria, while hunting with Quṭuz, a fellow-conspirator addressed the sultan and kissed his hand while Baybars stabbed him in the neck with a sword (October 24, 1260).[2] The murdered sultan was succeeded by the murderer. Quṭuz claimed to have been a grand-nephew of a Khwārizm Shāh[3] and is said to have been captured by the Tartars and sold in Damascus, where he was purchased by Aybak.

Baybars

Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (conqueror) Rukn-al-Dīn (pillar of the

[1] The letter they carried is preserved in Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 101-2.

[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 216; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 380. Cf. Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), p. 113.

[3] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 40. See above, p. 482.

faith) Baybars al-Bunduqdāri[1] (1260–77), the most distinguished of Mamlūk sultans, was originally a Turkish slave. When young he was sold into Damascus for eight hundred dirhams, but was returned on account of a defect in one of his blue eyes. His last name, meaning belonging to the arbalester (*bunduqdār*), he acquired from the master who owned him in Ḥamāh before he was purchased by the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ.[2] Al-Ṣāliḥ first appointed him commander of a section of his bodyguard, from which position he worked his way into the highest in the land. Tall, dusky in complexion, commanding in voice, brave and energetic, he possessed the qualities of leadership among men.

Baybars was the first great Mamlūk, the real founder of Mamlūk power. His first laurels he won against the Mongols on the field of ʿAyn Jālūt; but his title to fame rests mainly on his numerous campaigns against the Crusaders.[3] It was these campaigns which broke the backbone of Frankish opposition and made possible the final victories won by his successors Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf. In connection with one of his last expeditions into northern Syria he crushed for ever the power of the Assassins. In the meantime his generals had extended his dominion westward over the Berbers and southward over Nubia,[4] which was now permanently conquered by an Egyptian sultan.

Baybars was more than a military leader. Not only did he organize the army, rebuild the navy and strengthen the fortresses of Syria, but he dug canals, improved harbours and connected Cairo and Damascus by a swift postal service requiring only four days. Relays of horses stood in readiness at each post station. The sultan could play polo in both capitals almost within the same week. Besides the ordinary mail the Mamlūks perfected the pigeon post, whose carriers even under the Fāṭimids had their pedigrees kept in special registers.[5] Baybars fostered public works, beautified mosques and established religious and charitable endowments. Of his architectural monuments[6] both the great mosque (1269) and the school bearing his name have survived. The mosque was turned into a fort by Napoleon and later into a rationing depôt by the British army of occupation. The present Ẓāhirīyah library in Damascus is the structure

[1] "Bendocquedar" of Marco Polo, tr. Yule, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 22.
[2] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, p. 11; Kutubi, vol. i, p. 109.
[3] See above, pp. 655 *seq.*
[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 400.
[5] See above, pp. 323, 664.
[6] Consult Kutubi, vol. i, pp. 113-15.

under the dome of which he was buried. He was the first sultan in Egypt to appoint four qāḍis, representing the four orthodox rites, and organize the Egyptian *maḥmil* on a systematic and permanent basis. His religious orthodoxy and zeal, together with the glory he brought to Islam in the holy war, combined to make his name a rival to that of Hārūn. In legendary history it looms even higher than Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's. His romance and that of 'Antar remain to the present day more popular in the Arab Orient than the *Arabian Nights*.

A feature of Baybars' reign was the many alliances he struck with Mongol and European powers. Soon after he became sultan he allied himself with the chief khān of the Golden Horde or Mongols of Qipchāq (Baybars' birthplace) in the valley of the Volga. Common opposition to the Īl-Khāns of Persia dictated the policy. The Egyptian envoys went through Constantinople, where Michael Palæologus, foe of Latin Christianity, authorized the restoration of the ancient mosque[1] destroyed by the Crusaders during their occupation of that city. Baybars sent, at the emperor's request, a Melkite patriarch to Constantinople for those of that persuasion in its realm. He signed commercial treaties with Charles of Anjou (1264), king of Sicily and brother of Louis IX, as well as with James of Aragon and Alfonso of Seville.

The caliphal episode

A most spectacular event of Baybars' reign was his inauguration of a new series of 'Abbāsid caliphs who carried the name but none of the authority of the office. The sultan's object was to confer legitimacy upon his crown, give his court an air of primacy in Moslem eyes and check the 'Alid intrigues which, ever since Fāṭimid days, were especially rife in Egypt. To this end he invited from Damascus in June 1261, an uncle of the last 'Abbāsid caliph and son of the Caliph al-Ẓāhir who had escaped the Baghdād massacre, and installed him with great pomp and ceremony as the Caliph al-Mustanṣir.[2] The would-be pensioner-caliph was first escorted from Syria in state, with even Jews and Christians carrying aloft the Torah and the Gospel, and the soundness of his genealogy was passed upon by a council of jurists. The sultan in turn received from his puppet caliph a diploma of investiture giving him authority over Egypt, Syria,

[1] See above, p. 621.

[2] Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. i (pt. 1), pp. 146-68; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 382-3; abu-al-Fidā', vol. iii, p. 222; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 49-52; ibn-Iyās, vol. i, pp. 100-101.

Diyār-Bakr, al-Ḥijāz, al-Yaman and the land of the Euphrates. Three months later Baybars rashly set out from Cairo to re-establish his caliph in Baghdād, but after reaching Damascus abandoned him to his fate. Al-Mustanṣir was attacked in the desert by the Mongol governor of Baghdād and was never heard from again.

One year later another scion of the 'Abbāsid house made his way to Cairo and was installed by Baybars as al-Ḥākim. One descendant of al-Ḥākim after another, for two and a half centuries, held the pseudo-caliphate, whose incumbents were satisfied with having their names inscribed on the coinage and mentioned in the Friday prayers in Egypt and Syria. With one exception none of them had his name cited in the Makkah prayers. Their most important duties consisted in administering the religious endowments (*waqf*) and officiating at the ceremony of installing the new sultan. Certain Moslem rulers, including some from India and the Ottoman Bāyazīd I (1394), secured from them diplomas of investiture, which in reality had no significance. In 1412, on the death of the Burji al-Nāṣir, the Caliph al-'Ādil al-Musta'īn declared himself sultan and ruled for a few days, only to be deposed by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21).[1] Certain caliphs were dismissed from office on grounds of disloyalty to the Baḥri 'Ali (1376–81) and to the Burjis Barqūq (1382–98) and Īnāl (1453–60). When in 1517 the Ottoman Sultan Salīm wrested Egypt from the Mamlūks he carried away with him to Constantinople the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the last of the line.[2]

Qalāwūn

After Baybars the outstanding Mamlūk figure was al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf-al-Dīn Qalāwūn (1279–90). Originally, like Baybars, a Turkish slave from Qipchāq, the youthful Qalāwūn was carried to Egypt, and likewise sold to al-Ṣāliḥ, as his surname al-Ṣāliḥi indicates. His other surname al-Alfi (thousander) suggests the heavy price paid for him, a thousand dinars,[3] and shows that the Mamlūk sultans were not ashamed of their lowly origin. Qalāwūn secured the throne by deposing his ward Salāmish (1279), Baybars' seven-year-old son, who had succeeded his nineteen-year-old brother, the pleasure-loving Barakah (1277–9).

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 267-8, 303-21; Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, pp. 68-71; ibn-Iyās, vol. i, pp. 357-9.

[2] See above, p. 489; below, p. 705.

[3] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 80; Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 3), p. 1

Qalāwūn was the only Mamlūk in whose line the succession continued to the fourth generation. The last Baḥri, al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājji, was his great-grandson.

No sooner had Qalāwūn established himself in power than the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia began to threaten his Syrian domain. Among these Abāqa (1265–81), who was Hūlāgu's son and successor, and Abāqa's son Arghūn (1284–91), had Christian leanings and entered into negotiations with the pope and other European courts urging a fresh Crusade with a view to driving the Egyptians out of Syria. The scheme did not materialize. Abāqa's army, though superior in number and partly reinforced by Armenians, Franks and Georgians, was badly defeated in 1280 at Ḥimṣ.[1] Shortly after this the Mongols adopted Islam. The sultan strengthened the existing amicable relations with the Golden Horde, the Byzantine emperor, the republic of Genoa and the kings of France, Castile and Sicily. Even the ruler of Ceylon dispatched to his court an embassy with a letter which no one in Cairo could read. Little Armenia was ravaged for the help its people had given to the Mongols and the Crusaders' castles were reduced.[2] Tripoli, which was levelled to the ground, was rebuilt a few years later, not on its former site, but several miles from the sea where it now stands on the banks of the abu-'Ali (Qādīsha). Toward the end of his reign Qalāwūn issued orders excluding his Christian subjects from all government offices.

His hospital

Qalāwūn won distinction in other fields. He renovated on a grand scale the citadels of Aleppo, Ba'labakk and Damascus. In Cairo he erected a hospital, connected with a school-mosque, and a mausoleum[3] (tomb-"chapel"), which exhibits to the present day its remarkable arabesque tracery and fine marble mosaic. But his hospital (al-Māristān al-Manṣūri), whose remains constitute the earliest relics of a Moslem hospital extant, is the most famous of his buildings. The sultan is said to have received the inspiration while lying ill with colic in the Nūri Hospital at Damascus, where he made a vow to establish a similar institution in Cairo in the event of his recovery. The structure, including not only the hospital proper with annexes but also a school and a mosque, was completed in 1284. It comprised special wards for segregat-

[1] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, pp. 15-16; Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 3), pp. 36-40.
[2] See above, p. 657.
[3] Ar. *qubbah*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 403.

ing various diseases, such as fevers, ophthalmia and dysentery, and was provided with laboratories, a dispensary, baths, kitchens and store-rooms. The chief of its medical staff gave instruction in a properly equipped lecture-room. It had an endowment yielding about a million dirhams annually, employed male and female attendants and was open to the sick of both sexes.[1] So closely associated with the curing of infirmities did this sultan thus become that his robe preserved in his mausoleum has since his time been touched by thousands of dumb children, barren wives and diseased people who believed in its healing virtues.

Al-Ashraf

The only exploit of Qalāwūn's son and successor al-Malik al-Ashraf (the most noble) Khalīl (1290–93) was the conquest of ʿAkka in May 1291.[2] Its capture precipitated the fall of the few remaining ports in the possession of the Franks. "A mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE."[3] In 1302 the Templars who had established a last foothold in the islet of Arwād (Aradus), off the north Syrian coast, were expelled with great slaughter by al-Ashraf's younger brother and successor al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Mongols repulsed

Al-Nāṣir shares with al-Mutamassik the unique distinction of having ruled thrice: 1293–4, 1298–1308 and 1309–40.[4] He came first to the throne at the age of nine, and his reign is the longest among the Mamlūks and one of the longest in Moslem annals.[5] During his rule the last serious invasions of the Mongols took place under the seventh Il-Khān Ghāzān Maḥmūd, in whose reign Islam was finally recognized as the state religion of the Il-Khānate.[6] The Egyptian army, in size about a third of that of the Mongols, was routed (December 23, 1299) east of Ḥimṣ by the invading army, said to have numbered a hundred thousand,[7] reinforced by Armenians and Georgians. The Mongols continued their victorious march and early in 1300 occupied Damascus, which they spared from pillage, but the rest of northern Syria had another sad experience of plunder and rapine. In March of that year they evacuated the Syrian capital without reducing its citadel and the Egyptians reoccupied all the land. Three years later Ghāzān's fresh expedition was checked at

[1] Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, pp. 406-7.
[2] See above, p. 658.
[3] Gibbon, *Decline*, ed. Bury, vol. vi, p. 365.
[4] See above, p. 553.
[5] Cf. above, pp. 481, n. 2, 520, n. 2.
[6] See above, p. 488.
[7] Maqrīzi, tr. Quatremère, vol. ii (pt. 4), p. 146.

Marj al-Ṣuffar, south of Damascus.[1] For the fourth time the Mamlūks had beaten the most dangerous enemy Egypt had to contend with since the Moslem conquest. No successor of Ghāzān dared risk another encounter.

Soon after the Mongol evacuation of Damascus al-Nāṣir brought the Druzes of the Lebanon, whose 12,000 bowmen had harassed his army in its retreat a few months before, to a severe reckoning. Other schismatic sects including 'Alids in Kasrawān were also chastised.[2] The Maronites of northern Lebanon were almost crushed. In 1302 and subsequent years he repeatedly devastated the unhappy land of the Armenians.[3] On his Christian and Jewish subjects he re-enforced the outworn restrictions of 'Umar II and al-Mutawakkil.

Al-Nāṣir's long reign is better known for his achievements in the realm of peace rather than war. The sultan himself was short in stature and lame in one foot, but he had a taste for the beautiful and never wearied of luxurious living and lavishing extravagant adornment on his surroundings. On his return to his residence in the citadel from a trip abroad his retinue spread before his mare rugs and costly fabrics for a distance of some four thousand cubits. While on a holy pilgrimage his table was supplied throughout the Arabian desert with fresh vegetables from a travelling garden carried on forty camels.[4] At his son's nuptial feast 18,000 sugar loaves were consumed, 20,000 beasts were slain and 3000 candles shed their light on the royal palace. His far-famed al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq[5] (the castle of varied colours) was built after a model at Damascus. A sportsman, hunter and lover of horses, he kept a proper stud book and did not hesitate to pay 30,000 dinars for a horse he fancied.[6]

Egypt at its cultural height

Nor was al-Nāṣir's extravagance limited to the gratification of his personal tastes. His numerous and beautiful public works, for some of which forced labour was used, mark his reign as the

[1] Abu-al-Fidā' (vol. iv, p. 50), a personal friend of al-Nāṣir and later restored by him to his ancestors' princedom, saw the invading army pass by his native town Ḥamāh.

[2] Ibn-Yaḥya, pp. 136-7.

[3] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, pp. 48, 53-4, 90-91; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, pp. 419-20, 429-30.

[4] Abu-al-Fidā', vol. iv, p. 89.

[5] Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, pp. 209-10. Cf. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 258.

[6] A unique MS. on the horse dedicated to him in gold letters by his secretary al-Ḥusayni is described in Hitti, Faris and 'Abd-al-Malik, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, no. 1066.

climax of Mamlūk culture. He dug a canal, on which a hundred thousand men toiled, connecting Alexandria with the Nile, built (1311) an aqueduct from that river to the Citadel of Cairo, founded throughout his kingdom about thirty mosques, besides a number of dervish "monasteries", public drinking-fountains (sing. *sabīl*), baths and schools. Makkah was especially favoured by his munificence. His own mosque in the citadel he adorned (1318) with materials from the ruined cathedral of 'Akka. His school, completed in 1304 and named al-Nāṣirīyah after him, is still standing in Cairo. His mosque and school exemplify the finest achievement in Moslem architecture. Minor arts under him were also cultivated to a higher degree of excellence than ever before, as evidenced by the specimens of bronze and brass work, enamelled glass lamps and illuminated Korans preserved in the Arab Museum and National Library of Cairo.

Famine and plague

The heavy expenditure in al-Nāṣir's long reign burdened the people with exorbitant taxes and contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. The sultan took certain economic measures to alleviate the widespread misery. He encouraged trade with Europe and with the East, ordered a new survey of the land, repealed taxes on salt, chickens, sugar-cane, boats, slaves and horses, suppressed wine-drinking and had bakers who charged excessive prices flogged. The effect, however, was only temporary, palliative. After him, civil wars, famine and plague added their share to the wretchedness of the people. The same "black death" which in 1348–9 devastated Europe lingered in Egypt for about seven years and carried away more of its people than any other plague. The total mortality in the capital, according to the exaggerated estimate of ibn-Iyās,[1] reached 900,000. The sultan and all who could fled. Ghazzah is said to have lost 22,000 inhabitants in one month, while the daily average in Aleppo was five hundred.

The downfall of the Baḥris

The twelve descendants of al-Nāṣir who followed him in rapid succession during forty-two years (1340–82) were mere figureheads; their amīrs ruled, deposing or murdering the sultan at pleasure. None of these sultans distinguished himself in any field of endeavour, and the only notable monument is the Mosque of Sultan al-Ḥasan, son of al-Nāṣir, completed in 1362 and considered the most beautiful of those built on a cruciform plan.

[1] Vol. i, p. 191.

The last Baḥri ruler, al-Nāṣir's great-grandson al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājji ibn-Sha'bān (1381–2, 1389–90) was a child whose reign of two years was first interrupted and later terminated by the Circassian Barqūq, who became the founder of a new line, the Burji dynasty.[1] Barqūq began his career as a slave of the sons of al-Ashraf Sha'bān.[2] Before Barqūq another Circassian, Baybars II (1308–9), a slave of Qalāwūn, was one of the three sultans who interrupted al-Nāṣir's reign, thus presaging the advent of the new régime.

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. v, p. 472; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 1.
[2] Consult table above, p. 673.

CHAPTER XLVIII

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITY

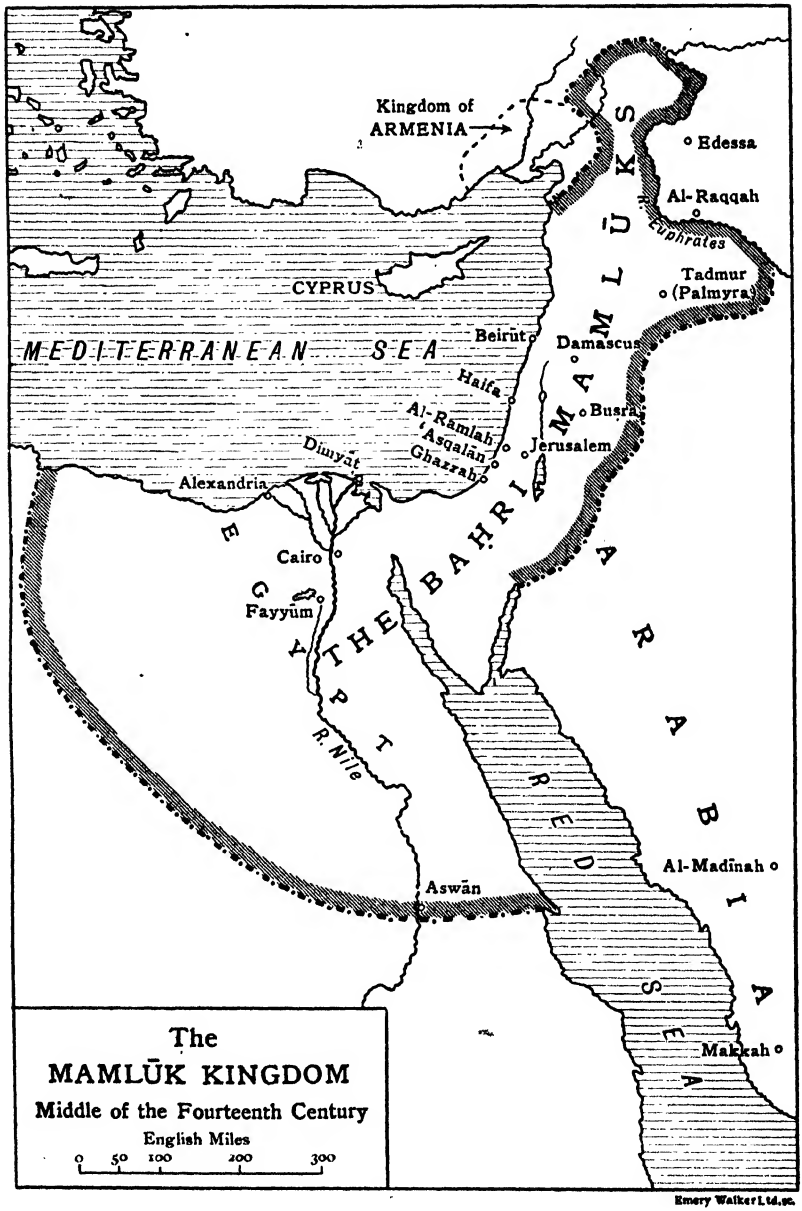
MAMLŪK Egypt began its history under proud and triumphant rulers who had cleared Syria of the last vestiges of Frankish dominion and had successfully stood between the Mongols and world power. By the end of the period, however, with its military oligarchy, factions among the dominant caste, debased coinage, high taxation, insecurity of life and property, occasional plague and famine and frequent revolts, both Egypt and its dependency Syria were all but ruined. Especially in the valley of the Nile persistence of outworn ancient superstition and magic, coupled with the triumph of reactionary orthodoxy, hindered scientific advance. Under these conditions no intellectual activity of high order could be expected. In fact the whole Arab world had by the beginning of the thirteenth century lost the intellectual hegemony it had maintained since the eighth.[1] Mental fatigue induced by generations of effort and moral lassitude consequent upon the accumulation of wealth and power were evident everywhere.

Scientific contribution

In science there were only two branches wherein the Arabs after the middle of the thirteenth century maintained their leadership: astronomy-mathematics, including trigonometry, and medicine, particularly ophthalmology. But in the first discipline the contribution was made mainly by Arabic-writing Persian scholars whose centre of activity was the Īl-Khānid observatory and library of Marāghah headed by the illustrious Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūsi (1201–74). It is interesting to find the Syrian Jacobite Catholicos abu-al-Faraj ibn-al-'Ibri[2] (Barhebræus, 1226–86), known as an historian and as the last classical author in Syriac literature, lecturing there on Euclid in 1268 and on Ptolemy in 1272–3.

[1] See Sarton, *Introduction*, vol. ii, especially the introductory chapter. This general decline of Islamic culture marks the end of the Middle Ages; see above, p. 142.

[2] His *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* was edited by Ṣāliḥāni (Beirūt, 1890).



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The Syro-Egyptian kingdom led in medical science. The elaborate hospital built by Qalāwūn may be taken as an index of Egyptian interest in medicine. Its dean abu-al-Ḥasan ʿAli ibn-al-Nafīs, who studied in Damascus where he later died (1288–9), contributed in his *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn* a clear conception of the pulmonary circulation of the blood, three centuries before the Portuguese Servetus, who is credited with this discovery. To Qalāwūn's son al-Nāṣir one of the few important Arabic treatises on veterinary medicine known was dedicated under the title *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿatayn: Al-Bayṭarah w-al-Zarṭaqah*[1] by his master of the stable, abu-Bakr ibn-al-Mundhir al-Bayṭār († 1340). The Arabic term for veterinary surgeon, *bayṭār*, from Greek *hippiatros*, suggests that although the Arabs since Bedouin days possessed an extensive empirical knowledge of diseases of camels and horses, yet their more systematic knowledge and improved technique must have come from Byzantine sources. Many of the Mamlūks, like Qalāwūn and Barqūq, kept magnificent studs. Several works containing Islamic traditions on horses date from this period, including the *Faḍl al-Khayl* (the excellence of the horse), by ʿAbd-al-Mu'min al-Dimyāṭi († 1306), a lecturer at the Manṣūrīyah academy of Qalāwūn. Medicine

Egyptian medicine since Ayyūbid days was dominated by Jewish physicians carrying on the glorious tradition of ibn-Maymūn. But among neither Moslem nor Jewish physicians do we find creative activity. The Judeo-Egyptian pharmacist al-Kūhīn (the priest) al-ʿAṭṭār (the druggist) composed in Cairo about 1260 an Arabic treatise on pharmacy, *Minhāj al-Dukkān wa-Dustūr al-Aʿyān* (a manual of officinal drugs and a canon for notables), which has not yet outlived its usefulness in the Moslem East. Jewish physicians

The period was especially fertile in works half gynecological, half erotic, of the type we now designate "sex books". Arabic literature, in all ages primarily a male literature, abounds in anecdotes, jokes and remarks which to us today sound obscene. Among the leaders in this field was the Egyptian lapidary al-Tīfāshi, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century. We also notice at this time special interest in what al-Rāzi was

[1] Or al-Nāṣiri; tr. M. Perron, *Le Naçéri: la perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852–60).

the first to term *ṭibb rūḥāni* (*'ilāj nafsāni*, spiritual cure), corresponding to our psycho-therapy. An Egyptian pioneer of this school was a Jewish physician of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, Hibatullāh ibn-Jumay' (Jamī), whose principal work bore the title *al-Irshād li-Maṣāliḥ al-Anfās w-al-Ajsād* (instructions in the interest of souls and bodies). Ibn-Jumay', noticing a passing funeral, discovered that the "dead" man was still alive from the fact that his feet were standing straight rather than lying flat.[1]

Diseases of the eye

Ophthalmology, one of the disciplines early developed by the Arabs,[2] was practised on a more scientific basis in Syria and Egypt throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than anywhere else in the world. In the twelfth century the most significant Arabic work on the subject was written by abu-al-Faḍā'il ibn-al-Nāqid († 1188–9),[3] a Judaeo-Egyptian oculist of Cairo, under the title *Mujarrabāt* (tested remedies). But Syria after that took the lead. Here were composed the only two scholarly works of the period: *al-Kāfi fi al-Kuḥl* (the sufficient work on collyrium) by Khalīfah ibn-abi-al-Maḥāsin of Aleppo, who flourished about 1256, and *Nūr al-'Uyūn wa-Jāmi' al-Funūn*[4] (the light of eyes and compendium of arts) by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn ibn-Yūsuf, who practised in Ḥamāh about 1296. Khalīfah was so confident of his skill as a surgeon that he did not hesitate to remove a cataract for a one-eyed man. It is noteworthy that the Syrian scholars of the Mamlūk period flourished in inland cities, the coast having been devastated by the Crusades and later by Qalāwūn and his successors, who feared the return of the Franks.

Medical history

The most distinguished historian of medicine the Arab world produced, Muwaffaq-al-Dīn abu-al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah (1203–70), flourished at Damascus in the early Mamlūk period. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah was himself a physician and son of a Damascene oculist. He studied medicine in his birthplace and Cairo, botanized with the celebrated ibn-al-Bayṭār and corresponded with the scientist-physician 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādi. His masterpiece was his '*Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*[5] (sources of information on the classes of physicians),

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 113.
[2] See above, pp. 363-4.
[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 115-16.
[4] Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. vi, p. 393.
[5] First edited by "Imru'-al-Qays ibn-al-Ṭaḥḥān" [August Müller], 2 vols. (Cairo, 1882), then republished with additional pages, corrections and index by August Müller, 2 vols. (Königsberg, 1884).

an elaborate collection of some four hundred biographies of Arab and Greek medical men. Since most of these physicians were at the same time philosophers, astronomers, physicists and mathematicians, the work is an invaluable source for the history of Arab science in general. It is almost unique in Arabic literature, the nearest approach to it being al-Qifṭi's *Ikhbār al-'Ulamā' bi-Akhbār al-Ḥukamā'* (acquainting the learned with the story of the philosophers and physicians), which has survived only in a compendium.[1] 'Ali ibn-Yūsuf al-Qifṭi, as the surname indicates, was born in Upper Egypt (1172), but spent a large part of his life in Aleppo, where he acted as vizir to its Ayyūbid rulers until his death in 1248.

Social science: Biography

In the social sciences the main contribution under the Mamlūks was in biography. The foremost biographer Islam produced flourished in Damascus at this time. Shams-al-Dīn (sun of the faith) Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Khallikān, a descendant of Yaḥya ibn-Khālid al-Barmaki, was born in Irbil (Arbela) in 1211. He was educated at Aleppo and Damascus and in 1261 was appointed chief qāḍi of Syria with his headquarters at Damascus. This position he held, with a seven years' interval, until shortly before his death in 1282. His *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān* [2] (obituaries of the eminent men and histories of the leading contemporaries) is an accurate and elegant collection of 865 biographies of the most distinguished Moslems in history, the first dictionary of national biography in Arabic. The author took pains to establish the correct spelling of names, fix dates, trace genealogies, verify facts, indicate the main personal traits, sketch the significant events and illustrate by the use of poems and anecdotes. The result is adjudged by some "the best general biography ever written".[3]

History

Not only in biography but in the general field of history the Mamlūk age was moderately rich. Among those often cited in the foregoing pages abu-al-Fidā', ibn-Taghri-Birdi, al-Suyūṭi and al-Maqrīzi were Mamlūk historians. As for the illustrious ibn-Khaldūn († 1406), who held a professorship and judgeship under Sultan Barqūq and headed a delegation under Sultan

[1] Ed. Julius Lippert (Leipzig, 1903).

[2] Several editions. The one used here is in 3 vols. (Cairo, 1299); tr. de Slane, 4 vols. (Paris, 1843–71).

[3] Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 452.

Faraj to negotiate peace with Tīmūr at Damascus, his antecedents and literary activity connect him with Spain and al-Maghrib. The historian-geographer abu-al-Fidā' (1273–1331), a descendant of a brother of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and governor of Ḥamāh under Sultan al-Nāṣir, epitomized for us in his *Mukhtaṣar Tar'īkh al-Bashar* [1] (epitome of the history of mankind) the voluminous history of ibn-al-Athīr and continued the narrative to his own time. Abu-al-Maḥāsin ibn-Taghri-Birdi (1411–69) had as his father a high official in the Mamlūk court and as mother a Turkish slave of Barqūq. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi [2] himself had close connections with several of the sultans. His major work is *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fi Mulūk Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah* [3] (the brilliant stars regarding the kings of Egypt and Cairo), a history of Egypt from the Arab conquest till 1453. Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Suyūṭi [4] (1445–1505), like ibn-al-Jawzi, ibn-Ḥazm and al-Ṭabari, was one of the most prolific authors of Islam, but his works show no originality. He is unquestionably the outstanding literary figure of the fifteenth century. His pen traversed the whole field of Arab learning: Koran, tradition, law, philosophy, history, philology, rhetoric, etc.[5] Titles of about five hundred and sixty works of his have come down to us. One of these discusses whether the Prophet wore trousers, whether his turban had a point and whether his parents were in heaven or in hell. He was a fine calligrapher and very likely claimed authorship of some manuscripts which he merely copied. His best-known works are *al-Itqān fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*,[6] on koranic exegesis; *al-Muzhir fi 'Ulūm al-Lughah*,[7] a treatise on philology; and *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fi Akhbār Miṣr w-al-Qāhirah*,[8] a history of Egypt.

The most eminent of Mamlūk historians was beyond doubt Taqi-al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzi (1364–1442). Born in Cairo of

[1] The edition used here is in 4 vols. (Constantinople, 1286). His geography is *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. J. T. Reinaud and de Slane (Paris, 1840); tr. Reinaud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1848).

[2] Vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 430, l. 6; p. 552, l. 22; p. 743, l. 19.

[3] Ed. F. G. Juynboll and Matthes, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1855–61), ed. William Popper, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1909–29).

[4] Born in Usyūṭ (Assiut), Upper Egypt.

[5] Cf. list in his *Naẓm al-'Iqyān fi A'yān al-A'yān*, ed. Hitti (New York, 1927), pp. *kh*, *d*.

[6] Several Cairo editions, none critical.

[7] The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Cairo, 1325).

[8] The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Cairo, 1321).

Ba'labakkan ancestry, al-Maqrīzi held several high offices as deputy qāḍi and as teacher in his native town and in Damascus. His title to fame rests on his *al-Mawā'iẓ w-al-I'tibār fi Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ w-al-Āthār* [1] (sermons and learning by example on an account of the new settlements and remains) devoted to Egyptian topography, history and antiquities. His contemporary al-Sakhāwi's [2] charge of wholesale plagiarism in the production of this work is well founded; but the fault was common in those days.

Islamics and linguistics

Two Egyptian encyclopædists often quoted in these pages are Aḥmad al-Nuwayri († 1332), author of *Nihāyat al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab*,[3] and Aḥmad al-Qalqashandi († 1418), whose *Ṣubḥ al-A'sha*,[4] intended as a manual for those who hold secretarial offices in the government, is replete with historical and geographical facts mainly on Egypt and Syria. The remaining authors of this period busied themselves with Islamic studies and linguistics. An exceptional work of major importance is a compendium of theoretical and practical navigation by Aḥmad ibn-Mājid [5] of Najdi ancestry, who, it is claimed, in 1497 piloted Vasco da Gama from Africa to India.

In theology reference should be made to the puritan, conservative Taqi-al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn-Taymīyah[6] (1263–1328), who was born in Ḥarrān and flourished in Damascus. He bowed to no authority other than the Koran, tradition and the practice of the community and lifted his voice high against innovation, saint-worship, vows and pilgrimage to shrines. A follower of ibn-Ḥanbal, his principles were later adopted by the Wahhābis of Najd. Eminent in tradition was ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni[7] (1372–1449), chief qāḍi of Cairo, who knew the Koran by heart when only nine years old. In poetry perhaps the only name worthy of citation is that of Sharaf-al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīri[8] (1213–*ca.* 1296), of Berber extraction, who composed the famous ode entitled *al-Burdah* (the Prophet's mantle) in memory of his miraculous cure from a paralytic stroke by a vision of the Prophet

[1] The edition used here is in 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270).
[2] *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, 1896), p. 22.
[3] 9 vols. (Cairo, 1923–33), incomplete. [4] 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913–22).
[5] *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fi Uṣūl al-Baḥr w-al-Qawā'id*, ed. G. Ferrand (Paris, 1921–3).
[6] Of the 500 works ascribed to him some sixty-four survive. Consult Kutubi, vol. i, pp. 49 *seq.*
[7] His *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1323–5), was cited above.
[8] Born in Abūṣīr.

casting his mantle over him. No other Arabic ode has attained the popularity of *al-Burdah*. Over ninety commentaries on it have been composed in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Berber and it has been translated into Persian, Turkish, German, French, English[1] and Italian. Its verses are still recited as charms and the Druzes repeat them to the present day at burials.

Story-telling

We should here recall that the two romances (sing. *sīrah*) of ʿAntar and Baybars, that have not ceased to entertain large audiences in the cafés of the Moslem Orient, took their present form during the Mamlūk period. Likewise the less popular *Alf Laylah*, which through its translations has assumed a place among the immortal pieces of international literature, did not take its final form until this time. Ardent votaries of sports, tournaments, archery, athletics, the chase and horsemanship, the Mamlūks, especially those of the Crusading period, provided the ideal type of hero whose exploits legend never tired of embroidering. The *fāris* who figures in the *Nights* portrays the Mamlūk knight as he flourished in this, rather than in the earlier ʿAbbāsid period. Likewise the folk-manners and customs are drawn from the society which the narrator saw around him in the Cairo of the Mamlūks.

Shadow play

In the thirteenth century a highly developed specimen of shadow-play literature makes its appearance under the title *Ṭayf al-Khayāl fi Maʿrifat Khayāl al-Ẓill*[2] (phantoms of the imagination on the knowledge of shadow play) by Muḥammad ibn-Ḍāniyāl al-Khuzāʿi al-Mawṣili (*ca.* 1265–1310). The author was a Moslem physician, possibly of Jewish or Christian origin, who flourished under Baybars, and his production is the only extant specimen of dramatic poetry from medieval Islam. Shadow plays were invented probably in the Far East. The Moslems got them from India or Persia. At the end of the ninth century Arab story-tellers began to introduce national types into their tales and strive for comic effect. By the twelfth century they had developed puppet plays. In Spain a reference to *khayāl al-ẓill* was made in a figure of speech by ibn-Ḥazm in the eleventh century.[3] From Western Asia and Egypt[4] these plays

[1] J. W. Redhouse, "The 'Burdah'", in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry for English Readers* (Glasgow, 1881), pp. 319-41.

[2] Ed. in part by Georg Jacob, 3 vols. (Erlangen, 1910–12). See Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 237.

[3] *Al-Akhlāq w-al-Siyar*, ed. Maḥmaṣāni (Cairo), p. 28.

[4] See ibn-Iyās, vol. ii, p. 33.

passed to Constantinople, where the principal character was styled Qaragöz (black-eyed), and thence to the rest of eastern Europe. Some of the material of the Turkish puppet theatre shows evidence of having been borrowed from the *Nights*. The Turkish Qaragöz may have influenced the type of modern actors represented by Charlie Chaplin.

Architecture

The most pleasant surprise of the Mamlūk period, dominated by a régime of blood and iron, is the extraordinary architectural and artistic productiveness of a scale and quality that find no parallel in Egyptian history since Ptolemaic and Pharaonic days. In such mosques, schools and mausoleums erected by Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir and al-Ḥasan, Moslem architecture reached its most florid expression. In the Burji period the monuments of Barqūq, Qā'it-bāy and al-Ghawri are equally remarkable. Since then no edifice of any importance has made its appearance in Arab lands.

The Mamlūk school of architecture, whose origins go back to Nūrid and Ayyūbid models,[1] received fresh Syro-Mesopotamian influences when in the thirteenth century Egypt became a haven of refuge for Moslem artists and artisans who fled from al-Mawṣil, Baghdād and Damascus before the Mongol invasions. With the ending of the Crusades the obstruction to uninterrupted access to the stone-building territory to the north was removed and brick was abandoned in minaret construction in favour of stone. The cruciform plan of school-mosque structure was developed to its perfection. Domes were constructed that defy rivalry for lightness, beauty of outline and richness of decoration. Striped masonry and decoration (*ablaq*),[2] obtained by using stones of different colours in alternate courses, of Roman or Byzantine origin, became a feature. The period was also noteworthy for the development of the stalactite pendentive as well as for the two other familiar features of Moslem decoration: geometrical arabesques and Kufic lettering. Throughout all the Moslem ages animal forms were less freely used in Egypt and Syria than in Spain and Persia. Happily the finest examples of Mamlūk structures have survived and still form one of the main attractions for tourists and students alike.

Art

Almost all branches of applied art maintained intimate connection with building, especially of the religious type. Extant

[1] See above, pp. 660.

[2] Cf. above, p. 680.

specimens of ornate bronze mosque doors, bronze chandeliers in delicate arabesque designs, gold gem-studded Koran-cases, exquisite mosaics in niches and intricate woodwork in pulpits and lecterns testify to their flourishing state.[1] Most of the massive mosque doors are faced with Damascene metal-work. Mosque lamps and coloured windows were made of the finest stained glass with floral designs and Arabic inscriptions. The inner walls of mosques were embellished with the finest decorative glazed tiles. In the minarets of the Mosque of al-Nāṣir in the citadel (1318) are found the earliest Mamlūk examples of faïence architecturally employed. Under the Burjis inlay became especially popular as the doors and pulpits of the Qā'it-bāy's Mosque indicate. In mosaics, ivory carving and enamelling the Copts had been proficient since pre-Islamic times.

Illumination

Among these minor arts none is more individual and characteristic than the illumination of manuscripts, reserved almost exclusively to the "word of Allah". So infinite were the pains taken and such was the skill necessary for the arrangement of colours and the elaboration of decorative elements, that even the best of Korans do not ordinarily have more than two or three pages fully illuminated. Here again the finest collection of illuminated Korans belonged to the Mamlūk sultans and has been recovered by the National Library at Cairo from the various city mosques.

Luxurious living

The delicate refinements of art were not lavished on sacred objects only. Various articles of luxury—cups, bowls, trays, incense burners, testifying to the fidelity of the picture of high life depicted by contemporary chroniclers—have come down to us. Royal princesses bedecked themselves with anklets, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and amulets not unlike those still used by modern Egyptians. Mamlūk banquets were followed by entertainments featuring the dancers, jugglers and shadow plays. The court officers included such high personages as master of the household (*ustādār*), armour bearer (*amīr silāḥ*), master of horse (*amīr ākhūr*) and cupbearer (*sāqi khāṣṣ*).[2] Barqūq established between Damascus and Cairo stations to facilitate the transport of ice to Egypt by camel.[3] Of the Burji Mamlūks Jaqmaq (1438–

[1] For illustration consult Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue général du musée arabe du Caire; lampes et bouteilles en verre emaillé* (Cairo, 1929).

[2] *Ṣubḥ*, vol. iv, pp. 18 *seq.*; Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 222; Ẓāhiri, pp. 114 *seq.*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1923), pp. L *seq.*

[3] Ẓāhiri, pp. 117-18; 'Umari, pp. 184 *seq.*

1453) expended 3,000,000 dinars in three years on slaves and bounties.[1]

With the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt almost all Mamlūk industrial arts began to decay. A number of architects, craftsmen and carpenters were sent by Sultan Salīm to Constantinople. In one branch only, glazed tile, craftsmanship after the Turkish conquest surpassed anything that had been produced before, as the collection of Damascus tiles in the South Kensington Museum proves. The inlaid trays, bowls, candlesticks, flowerpots and other varieties of brass-work manufactured today in Damascus follow mostly Mamlūk patterns.

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, p. 246.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE END OF MAMLŪK RULE

UNLIKE the Turkish Baḥris, the Burji Mamlūks were all Circassian with the exception of two: Khushqadam (1461–7) and Timurbugha (1467), who were Greek.[1] The Burjis rejected even more emphatically than the Baḥris the principle of hereditary succession; the sultan was only *primus inter pares* with the real power in the hands of a military oligarchy. Of the twenty-three Burji sultans, whose reigns covered 134 years (1382–1517), nine ruled an aggregate of 124 years. These nine are Barqūq, Faraj, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, Barsbāy, Jaqmaq, Ināl, Khushqadam, Qā'it-bāy and Qānṣawh al-Ghawri.[2] The remaining fourteen were almost all of no consequence, and in one year, 1421, three different sultans were installed. Qā'it-bāy's rule (1468–95) was not only the longest but in some respects the most important and successful.[3]

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, pp. 685, 842, 847.

[2] His name is thus spelled in a Koran written for him (Moritz, *Palæography*, vol. i, pl. 83); the usual form is Qānṣūh al-Ghūri.

[3] List of Burji Mamlūks:

1.	Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Barqūq	1382
	(interrupted by the Baḥri Ḥājji, 1389–90)	
2.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣir-al-Dīn Faraj	1398
3.	Al-Manṣūr 'Izz-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-'Azīz	1405
	Al-Nāṣir Faraj (again)	1406
4.	The Caliph al-'Ādil al-Musta'īn	1412
5.	Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	1412
6.	Al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad	1421
7.	Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Ṭaṭar	1421
8.	Al-Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad	1421
9.	Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Barsbāy	1422
10.	Al-'Azīz Jamāl-al-Dīn Yūsuf	1438
11.	Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Jaqmaq	1438
12.	Al-Manṣūr Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān	1453
13.	Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Ināl	1453
14.	Al-Mu'ayyad Shihāb-al-Dīn Aḥmad	1460
15.	Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Khushqadam	1461
16.	Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Yalbāy	1467
17.	Al-Ẓāhir Timurbugha	1467

[*Continued at foot of next page*

Specimens of Burji sultans

The new régime continued the intrigue, assassination and rapine of its predecessor. In fact it is one of the darkest in Syro-Egyptian annals. Several of the sultans were treacherous and bloodthirsty, some were inefficient or even degenerate, most of them were uncultured. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21), a drunkard who had been bought by Barqūq from a Circassian dealer, committed some of the worst excesses.[1] Barqūq was the only one of the lot who had a Moslem father.[2] Barsbāy (1422–38), originally enrolled among the slaves of Barqūq, was not familiar with Arabic. He had his two physicians beheaded because they could give him no relief from a fatal malady. Īnāl (1453–60); another slave of Barqūq, could neither read nor write. His contemporary ibn-Taghri-Birdi[3] did not suppose that Īnāl could recite the first sūrah of the Koran without a mistake. His name on the official documents he traced over the writing of a secretary. Nor was he above suspicion in the matter of pæderasty, with which Baybars among other Mamlūks was charged. The *ghilmān* institution of 'Abbāsid notoriety[4] was again flourishing under the Mamlūks. His third successor Yalbāy (1467) was not only illiterate but insane.[5] Qā'it-bāy (1468–95), who was purchased by Barsbāy for fifty dinars and manumitted by Jaqmaq, had the alchemist 'Ali ibn-al-Marshūshi blinded and deprived of his tongue for his failure to turn dross into gold. He levied a burdensome tax on the sale of corn which greatly added to the misery of the masses.

Not only the sultans but the whole oligarchy were more or less corrupt. The numerous Mamlūk amīrs and slaves organized themselves into various factions originating in the bodyguards of Barqūq, Faraj, Shaykh and Barsbāy and were usually at enmity with one another. Each faction was animated solely by the desire of grasping all possible wealth and influence.

Desperate economic situation

The evil economic situation of the kingdom was aggravated by the selfish policy of the sultans. Barsbāy forbade the importa-

18. Al-Ashraf Sayf-al-Dīn Qā'it-bāy . . . 1468
19. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad 1495
20. Al-Ẓāhir Qānṣawh 1498
21. Al-Ashraf Jān-balāṭ 1499
22. Al-Ashraf Qānṣawh al-Ghawri . . . 1500
23. Al-Ashraf Ṭūmān-bāy 1516–17

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pp. 322 *seq.*
[2] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p. 88
[3] Vol. vii, p. 559.
[4] See above, pp. 341, 485.
[5] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vii, pp. 831, 840, 841.

tion of spices from India, including the much desired pepper, and before the price rose he cornered the existing supply and sold it to his subjects at a great profit. He also monopolized the manufacture of sugar and went so far as to prohibit the planting of sugar-cane for a period in order to realize excessive profits for himself. In his reign another of the periodic plagues visited Egypt and neighbouring countries, and sugar was in special demand as a remedy against the disease. Though not quite as devastating as the "black death", this epidemic is said to have carried away in the capital alone 300,000 victims within three months. Considering the visitation a punishment for the sins of his people, the sultan prohibited females from going outdoors[1] and sought to make atonement by fresh exactions from Christians and Jews. He also deprived non-Moslems of their offices in the government and enforced on them the dress regulations. The same policy against Christians and Jews was pursued by several of his predecessors and by Jaqmaq and Khushqadam.[2] Many of Īnāl's predecessors struck debased silver money and frequently changed the mint value of the precious metals.

Exactions were not limited to non-Moslems. In the absence of a regulated system of taxation, the only way these sultans could raise enough money for their campaigns, extravagant courts and monumental buildings was by extortion from their subjects and from government officials who had enriched themselves at the expense of the public. Marauding Bedouins in the Delta and the desert to the east repeatedly fell on the settled *fallāḥīn* of the narrow agricultural valley and ravaged the land. Locusts, like epidemics, made their periodic visitation. Famine became almost chronic in the land and was intensified in the years of plague and drought caused by low water in the Nile. In the reigns of Faraj and Shaykh starvation was especially widespread. It is estimated that in the course of the Mamlūk period the population of Syria and Egypt was reduced by two-thirds.[3]

Indian trade lost

Towards the end of the period certain international factors began to contribute to the poverty and misery of the land. In 1497 the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama found his way round the Cape of Good Hope. This was an event of vital importance in the history of the Syro-Egyptian kingdom. Not only did

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, p. 760. [2] *Ibid.* vol. vii, pp. 186, 721-2.
[3] Cf. ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 273.

attacks from Portuguese and other European fleets become frequent on Moslem ships in the Red Sea and Indian waters but gradually most of the traffic in spices and other tropical products of India and Arabia was diverted from Syrian and Egyptian ports. Thereby one of the main sources of national income was for ever destroyed. The fleet of al-Ghawri had several engagements with Portuguese ships along the coast of Arabia. His threat to the pope, that unless the Portuguese were checked he would destroy the Christian holy places, was of no avail. In 1500 the Portuguese established themselves in Calicut on the west coast of India, and thirteen years later their general, Alfonso d'Albuquerque (from Ar. *abu-al-qurq* [?], sandal maker), bombarded ʿAdan (Aden).

Monumental works

The only redeeming feature in this entire period was the erection—as if to atone for the shortcomings of the rulers—of buildings which have stood out to the present day as impressive examples of Moslem architecture. Such were the Mosque and Mausoleum of Barqūq, the Mosque of Qā'it-bāy and the Mosque of al-Ghawri. The memorial Mosque of Qā'it-bāy consists of a mosque proper, a tomb, a fountain and a school. Besides its symphony in two colours, red and white, the dome is decorated with a charming network of conventionalized foliage and rosettes. This and other Mamlūk buildings maintain the traditions of vigour and virile elegance established by the Ayyūbid school of Syria.

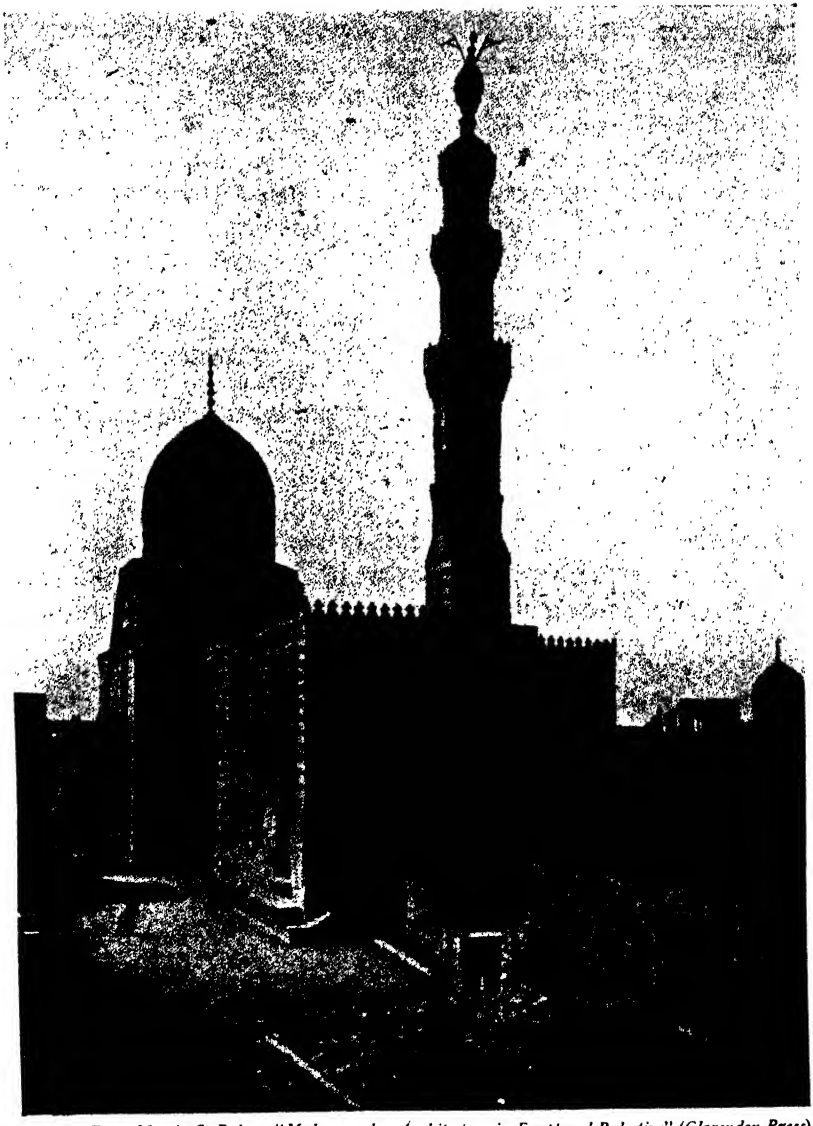
The Burjis also continued the earlier practice of applying elaborate arabesque ornament to the minor arts. In these industries, as in architecture, Qā'it-bāy's reign was the richest since the days of al-Nāṣir ibn-Qalāwūn.

Foreign relations

In their foreign relations the Burjis were even less happy than in their domestic affairs. Before the close of the reign of their first sultan the spectre of a new Mongolian invader, Tīmūr, a worthy successor of Hūlāgu and Ghingīz, began to loom on the northern horizon. Syria itself was convulsed throughout the whole period by revolts headed by its local governors, some of whom were instigated by the Mongols. Besides Tīmūr another and what proved a more deadly enemy began now to threaten the kingdom, the Ottomans of Anatolia.

Cyprus conquered

The only bright spot in this dark period was the conquest of Cyprus in 1424–1426 by Barsbāy. The object of the Egyptian



From Martin S. Briggs, "Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine" (Clarendon Press)

THE MADRASAH OF QĀ'IT-BĀY, CAIRO (EXTERIOR)

expedition to this Mediterranean island was to deprive the corsairs, who had repeatedly ravaged Syrian ports, of a base. The island had been in the hands of Franks, first the Templars and then the house of Lusignan, ever since Richard I occupied it in 1191. It was a powerful ally of the Crusaders and later a permanent menace to the Mamlūk kingdom. In 1270 Baybars made the first attempt to retaliate for the frequent raids by Cypriotes, but his fleet was wrecked off Limassol. Now Barsbāy's formidable forces, after seizing Limassol, advanced to Larnaca and, having defeated the Lusignan army, took King Janus prisoner. Heavily fettered, the king and over a thousand captives were paraded through the streets of Cairo and then brought before the sultan. After kissing the ground[1] at the sultan's feet the king fainted and was borne into the citadel. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi,[2] who later had an interview with the exiled king, gives us an eye-witness's account. Later, through the intervention of the Venetian consul, Janus was returned to his throne on the payment of a ransom of 200,000 dinars and the pledge of a yearly tribute of 20,000. Barsbāy also concluded a treaty of peace with Rhodes, whose Knights of St. John had often collaborated with the Cypriotes in their attacks on the Egyptian coast. Cyprus was the sole acquisition throughout the Burji age, but did not begin to compensate for the many losses suffered.

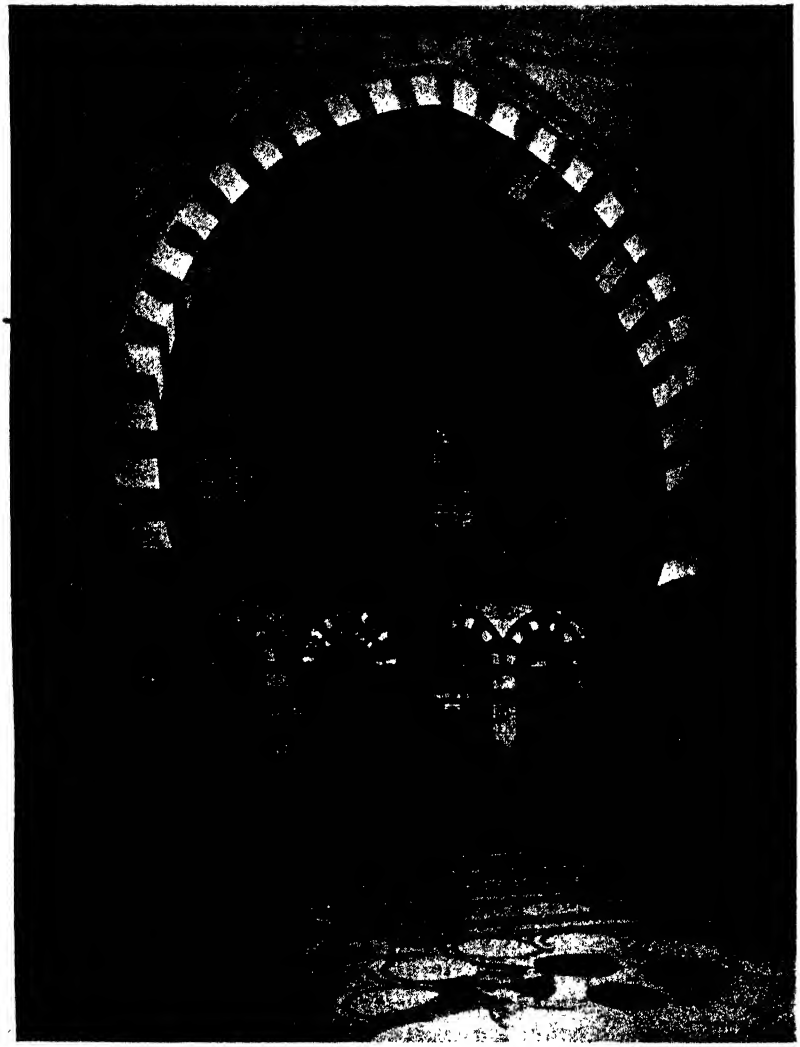
Tīmūr

Tīmūr Lang, commonly corrupted into Tamerlane, was born in 1336 in Transoxiana. One of his ancestors was vizir to Chingīz' son, but the family claimed descent from Chingīz himself. His satirical biographer ibn-ʿArab-Shāh,[3] however, cites the claim that Tīmūr was the son of a shoemaker and lived at first by brigandage, and that the epithet Lang (lame) he received as a result of a wound inflicted on him while stealing sheep. In 1380 Tīmūr at the head of his Tartar hordes initiated a long series of campaigns which gained for him Afghanistan, Persia, Fāris and Kurdistān. In 1393 he captured Baghdād and in that and the following year overran Mesopotamia. In Takrīt, the birthplace of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, he erected a pyramid with the skulls of his

[1] The custom of kissing the ground before the sultan, established by the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz, was first abolished by Barsbāy, who substituted for it the kissing of the sultan's hand. Later, however, the old practice was revived with some modification; ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 558-9.

[2] Vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 612-18, 620.

[3] *ʿAjāʾib al-Maqdūr fi Akhbār Taymūr* (Cairo, 1285), p. 6.



From Martin S. Briggs, "Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine" (Clarendon Press)

THE MADRASAH OF QĀ'IT-BĀY, CAIRO (INTERIOR)

victims. In 1395 he invaded the Qipchāq territory and occupied Moscow for over a year. Three years later he ravaged northern Inḍia and massacred 80,000 of the inhabitants of Delhi. It was the envoys of Tīmūr whom Barqūq towards the close of his reign ventured to execute, although they came on a friendly mission.

Like a cyclone Tīmūr swept over northern Syria in 1401. For three days Aleppo was given over to plunder. The heads of over twenty thousand of its Moslem inhabitants were built into mounds ten cubits high by twenty in circumference, with all the faces on the outside.[1] The city's priceless schools and mosques of the Nūrid and Ayyūbid ages were destroyed, never to be rebuilt. Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ and Ba'labakk fell in turn. The Egyptian army of Sultan Faraj was routed and Damascus captured. Its citadel held out for a month. The city was sacked and committed to the flames, and the invader—a nominal Moslem with Shī'ite proclivities—extorted a religious opinion from its ulema approving his conduct. Of the Umayyad Mosque nothing was left but the walls.[2] The cream of Damascene scholars, craftsmen and artisans were carried away to his capital, Samarqand, there to implant several of the minor arts which have since been lost to the Syrian capital. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi,[3] whose father was chief armour bearer of Faraj, has left us a graphic description of this campaign. Ibn-Khaldūn accompanied Faraj from Cairo and headed the Damascene mission which negotiated peace with Tīmūr. From Damascus the wild conqueror rushed back to Baghdād to avenge the deaths of certain of his officers and dotted the city with a hundred and twenty towers built of the heads of the dead.

During the next two years Tīmūr invaded Asia Minor, crushed the Ottoman army at Ankara (July 21, 1402) and took Sultan Bāyazīd I prisoner. He even captured the capital Brusa and Smyrna. The distinguished captive was kept in chains during the night and made to travel in a litter surrounded by a grille (*qafaṣ*) carried on two horses. The word *qafaṣ*, supported by a misunderstood passage in ibn-'Arab-Shāh,[4] gave rise to the legend that Bāyazīd was shut up in an iron cage. Fortunately

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 68.
[3] Vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 5, l. 14, pp. 50 *seq.* Cf. Mīrkhwānd, *Ta'rīkh Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'* (Teheran, 1270), Bk. VI.
[4] P. 146.

for the Mamlūk kingdom, Tīmūr died two years later (1404) whilst on the march for a still more ambitious campaign against China. His tomb can still be seen in Samarqand.

Tīmūrids

His son and successor Shāh-Rukh (1404–47) held an angry correspondence with Barsbāy demanding the right, in fulfilment of a vow, of furnishing the Ka'bah with its precious curtain—a privilege maintained by the Mamlūks as the leading sovereigns of Islam. After holding a consultation with his qāḍis of the four rites, Barsbāy deftly replied that Shāh would be absolved of his vow if he would spend the money on the poor of Makkah.[1] Shāh sent another envoy with a courtly robe, commanding that the Mamlūk sultan should receive investiture in it as his vassal, but Barsbāy tore up the robe and had the envoy flogged and ignominiously ducked head downward in a pool. It was a cold day in winter and the scene was witnessed by ibn-Taghri-Birdi.[2] After Shāh the Tīmūrids exhausted themselves in internal struggles which encouraged the rise of the Ṣafawids and the reconstitution of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman Turks

Reference has already been made[3] to the origin of the Ottoman Turks in Mongolia, their admixture with Iranian tribes in Central Asia and their advent into Asia Minor, where they gradually displaced and absorbed their Saljūq cousins and in the first years of the fourteenth century established a kingdom destined to supersede the Byzantine empire as well as the Arab caliphate. Bāyazīd I (1389–1402) was the great-grandson of 'Uthmān (1299–1326), the eponymous founder of the dynasty. Under him the Asiatic part of the kingdom, which had extended from the northern frontier of Syria to the Danube, was lost in its entirety. In the following ten years, however, it was recovered from Europe as a base by Bāyazīd's son Muḥammad I (1402–21). The Ottoman problem began to confront seriously the Egyptian sultans at the time of Muḥammad I's great-grandson, Bāyazīd II (1481–1512), a contemporary of Qā'it-bāy. Rivalry between the two powers found its first expression in repeated conflicts among their vassals on the borders of Asia Minor and Syria. Qā'it-bāy invited fresh trouble in 1481 by harbouring the fugitive Jem, brother of Bāyazīd II and pretender to the throne; and when Jem later repaired to Rome the Mamlūk sultan negotiated with

[1] Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 722, 725.
[2] Vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 743. [3] Pp. 475, 478, 489.

the pope with a view to his return to Egypt. But the immediate cause of the final breach was the secret promise of support made by Qānṣawh al-Ghawri to the arch-enemy of the Turks, the Persian Shāh Ismā'īl (1502–24).

Ismā'īl was the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1502–1736), the most glorious of the native dynasties of Moslem Persia. Its name is derived from the pious Shaykh Ṣafi-al-Dīn (the pure one of the faith), from whom Ismā'īl was sixth in descent. The family traced its origin to the seventh imām, Mūsa al-Kāẓim, and was ardent in its Shī'ism. Its founder on his accession declared Shī'ism, more particularly the doctrine of the Twelvers, the state religion of Persia, which has ever since remained true to this faith. His collision with the Sunnite Ottoman Salīm I (1512–20), son of Bāyazīd II, took place on August 23, 1514, east of Lake Urmiyah, where his cavalry gave way before the Janissaries' [1] superior artillery. The Turks then occupied Ismā'īl's capital Tibrīz, Mesopotamia and part of Armenia (1515). Ṣafawids

In the spring of the following year Qānṣawh proceeded to Aleppo under the pretext of acting as intermediary between the two contestants, but in reality to aid his Persian ally. In order to give his mission a peaceful appearance he brought in his train his puppet Caliph al-Mutawakkil and the chief qāḍis of his realm. But Salīm would not be deceived; he was kept informed of the intentions of the Mamlūk sultan through a system of spies. When Qānṣawh's envoy arrived at Salīm's camp his beard was shaved—a grave insult—and he was sent back on a mule with a declaration of war. His attendants were put to death. There was no way of averting the impending catastrophe. Though about seventy-five years old, Qānṣawh, once a slave of Qā'it-bāy, was still vigorous. Throughout his reign he had proved himself a man of no mean ability. But he could not depend upon the loyalty of his north Syrian governors, or upon the co-operation of several of his Egyptian amīrs. The decisive battle of Marj Dābiq

The two armies met on August 24, 1516, at Marj Dābiq, a day's journey north of Aleppo. Qānṣawh entrusted the command of the left wing to Khā'ir Beg, the treacherous governor of Aleppo, who at the first charge deserted with his troops. Soon afterward the aged Mamlūk fell from his horse, stricken with

[1] Tur. *yeni-cheri*, new troops, name given to the regular infantry recruited mainly from young captured Christians and largely responsible for the Ottoman conquests.

apoplexy.[1] The Ottoman victory was complete. The Turkish army was better equipped with the new arms—artillery, muskets and other long-range weapons—which the Mamlūk army, comprising Bedouin and Syrian contingents, somewhat disdained to use. The Turks had for some time been using powder, but the Syro-Egyptians clung to the antiquated theory that personal valour is the decisive factor in combat. Salīm entered Aleppo in triumph and was welcomed as a deliverer from Mamlūk excesses. The caliph he treated kindly. In the citadel of the city he found immense treasures, estimated in millions of dinars, which the sultan and princes had deposited there. About the middle of October he advanced upon Damascus, whose leading men went over to him or fled to Egypt. Syria passed into Ottoman hands, in which it continued for the next four centuries.

Egypt conquered

From Syria the Ottoman conqueror swept south into Egypt. Here Ṭūmān-bāy, a slave of Qānṣawh, had become sultan. The two armies met on January 22, 1517, outside Cairo, where Ṭūmān at first battled valiantly. But the corrupt state of his army, the jealousies among his amīrs, the lack of funds and adequate firearms and the superiority of the Ottoman artillery were sure to tell as the struggle dragged on. Salīm, supported by Bedouin contingents, finally entered and plundered the city, slaughtering all the Mamlūks who fell into his hands. His guns on the right bank of the Nile were brought into action against the remnant of the army. Ṭūmān-bāy fled to a Bedouin chief, but was later betrayed and, strange as it may seem, hanged (April 14) at one of Cairo's main gates.[2] The Mamlūk sultanate was for ever crushed. Cairo, the centre of Eastern Islam since Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's time, passed away as an imperial city and became a provincial town. Makkah and al-Madīnah automatically became a part of the Ottoman empire. The Egyptian preachers who led the Friday public services invoked Allah's blessing on Salīm in the following words:

> O Lord! uphold the sultan, son of the sultan, ruler over both lands and the two seas, conqueror of both hosts, monarch of the two 'Irāqs, minister of the two Holy Cities, the victorious king Salīm Shāh. Grant him, O Lord, Thy precious aid; enable him to win glorious victories, O Ruler of this world and the next, Lord of the universe.[3]

[1] Ibn-Iyās, ed. Paul Kahle *et al.*, vol. v (Istanbul, 1932), pp. 67-9.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 139 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 145.

The Ottoman caliphate

After lingering until the autumn in the valley of the Nile, where he visited the pyramids, Alexandria and other places of interest, the great conqueror returned to Constantinople, the Ottoman capital since 1453, carrying with him the caliph. Charged later with misappropriating trust funds, al-Mutawakkil was held prisoner until allowed to retire to Cairo by Salīm's son and successor, Sulaymān the Magnificent. There he died in 1543. His death closed the last chapter in the history of the mock 'Abbāsid caliphate. Whether, as is alleged without sufficient warrant, he made a transfer of his office to the Ottoman sultan or not,[1] the fact remains that the Turkish ruler in Constantinople gradually absorbed the caliphal privileges and ultimately the title itself. Although some of Salīm's successors styled themselves caliphs and were so addressed, their use of the title was complimentary and unrecognized outside their own territories. The first known diplomatic document which applies the term caliph to the Ottoman sultan and recognizes his religious authority over Moslems outside of Turkey is the Russo-Turkish treaty of Kūchūk Kaynarji, signed in 1774.

The sultan-caliph of Constantinople became the most powerful potentate in Islam, an heir not only to the caliphs of Baghdād but also to the emperors of Byzantium.[2] With the destruction of Mamlūk power and the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus the focus of Islamic power shifted westward. In fact, by this time the centre of world civilization had moved to the West. The discovery of America and of the Cape of Good Hope transferred the world's trade to new routes, and the entire realm of the eastern Mediterranean began to sink into the background. Herewith the history of the Arab caliphate and the Moslem dynasties that arose in medieval times on the ruins of the Arab empire comes to an end, and the modern history of the Ottoman caliphate-empire begins.

[1] See above, pp. 489, 677.

[2] On the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate see above, pp. 139, 184.

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Titles of books, as well as Arabic words and technical terms occurring in the text, in italics. Initial letters of book-titles and of certain Oriental nouns capitalized.
Main references indicated in heavy type.

In pronouncing Arabic names the accent generally falls on the long vowel bearing the macron (-); the ' stands for a glottal stop; the ' for a deep guttural that has no correspondent in English; such dotted letters as *ṣ* and *ṭ* are emphatically sounded; *aw* and *ay* are diphthongs.

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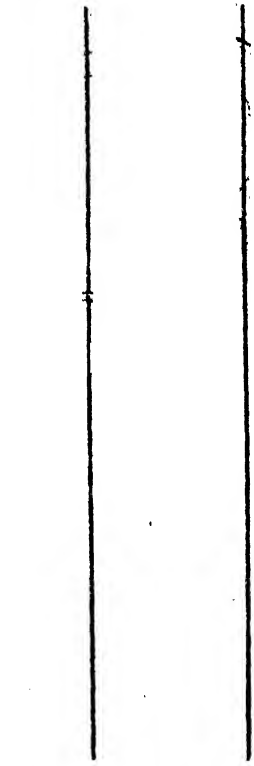

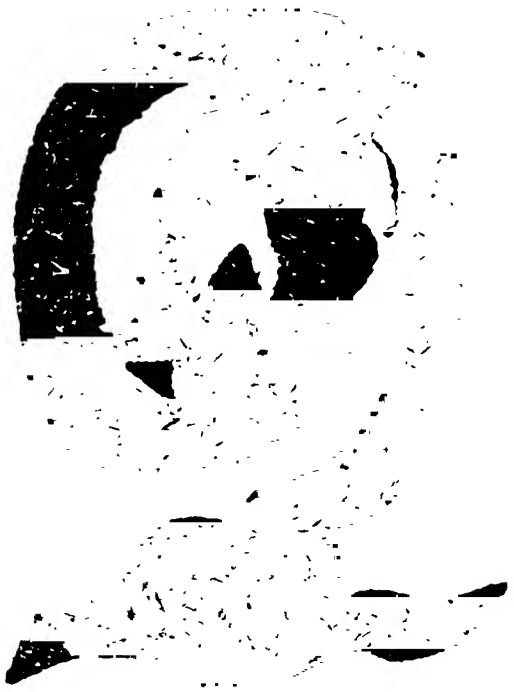

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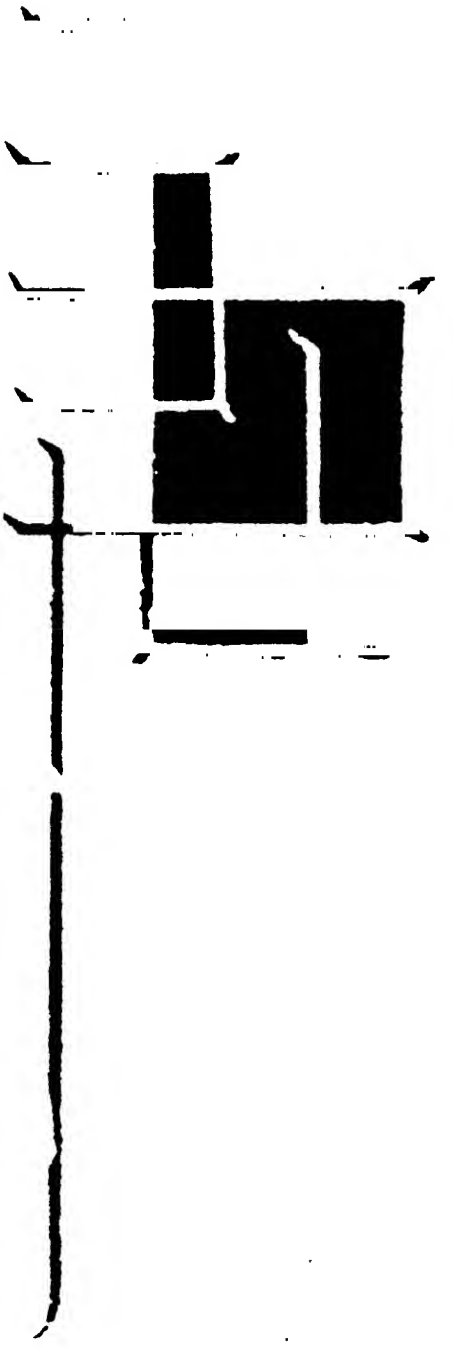

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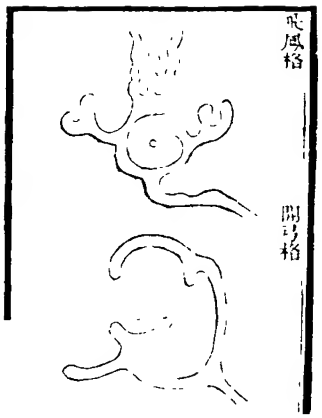
Introduction

This selection of Taoist magic diagrams, talismans and charms represents an aspect of Chinese art virtually unknown in the West. Art historians – even Eastern art historians – have largely ignored them, concerning themselves primarily with problems of artistic technique rather than meaning, the question of 'how' rather than 'why'. Yet Taoist calligraphy, as I shall be showing, has been of first importance in China since earliest times, both as an artistic carrier of spiritual truths, and as the one means of communication with the spirits.

Taoist graphic art was first and foremost a practical magic, enabling man to communicate with the spirit world and influence the workings of the invisible forces of nature for his own benefit. It was geared to his everyday needs, concerned with the changes of season and weather essential for planting, harvesting, and building. On another level of daily life, the diagrams and talismans were intended to cure sickness, bless marriage, ease childbirth, protect the household from fire, get rid of pestilence and misfortune, guard against calamities. In short, they were to make the daily life of the people easier. Later in the text we shall be looking at the different ways in which these magic diagrams have been made and used, throughout the centuries.

On a deeper philosophical level, the diagrams may be understood as embodying the concepts of Taoist philosophy. They are to help us harmonize the sexual polarities, the *yin* and *yang*, within ourselves, and to place us in harmony with the turbulent energies that act upon our lives and the universe. At the most profound level of all, they point the way to the core of Chinese mysticism. We can intuit the truth that reality is not a succession of separate moments, or an infinite number of separate 'things', but a seamless web of eternal change, like the currents of a river, or clouds blown by the wind; that 'being' and 'non-being' are complementary, just as the fretted stones which we see depicted in the diagrams are given their shape by erosion, and the surrounding silence gives music its form. In the visual arts of China, empty space is as important as line. The final goal of the Taoist mystic is to penetrate beyond ordinary 'reality' to reach to an awareness of

< See p. 114, fig. 21



Geomancy patterns known as 'The Flying Male Phoenix' (above) and 'Drawing the Bow' (below) (From Chiang P'ing-chien, *Shui-lung ching* 3 10a 1744 ed.)

the ultimate tranquillity, that which is beyond time and change, the Great Ultimate, the Whole, the 'mystery beyond all mysteries', called by the Chinese the Tao.

Artistically, the diagrams represent some of the most fascinating examples of Chinese abstract art to develop outside the imperial mainstream, which is what we know as 'Chinese art' today. They are as much a part of the legacy of Chinese art as the celebrated Shang and Chou ritual bronzes and jades, Han and T'ang pottery tomb figurines, Sung academic paintings and calligraphic scrolls, or Ming and Ch'ing dynasty ceramics.

We can see their influence in the symbolic abstraction of these other visual arts. We can also clearly observe their traces in the techniques of various Taoist schools and secret societies which operated all over China from the Han period onwards. These include astrology, palmistry, physiognomy, geomancy, alchemy, herbal medicine, acupuncture, and the arts of movement (t'ai-chi chüan and kung-fu).

The secrecy that has surrounded Taoist teaching arises partly from the taboo on the sacred – the mystic communication has to be protected from the eyes of the uninitiated or irreverent – and partly from the historical need to protect the various cults from official hostility. Even today, talismans have been refused to non-Taoist, non-Chinese enquirers.

The Secret Sources

The present selection of Taoist magic diagrams, talismans and charms has been taken from the most esoteric of the 1,464 works preserved in the *Tao-tsang*, the 1436 (early Ming dynasty) edition of the Taoist canon, and other Ming and Ch'ing dynasty manuals. The *Tao-tsang*, first published about AD 1190, was originally an even larger collection before its burning was ordered by Kublai Khan of the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty in 1281.

In its present (early Ming) form the collection consists of seven different sections ('caves') with various supplements, containing more than fifty million characters of text and several thousand diagrams. Supplementary diagrams were added in the Ming period, but the vast majority of those printed are ancient canonical forms, belonging to a tradition of occult art over two thousand years old, the roots of which go back to shamanistic practices in the second and first millennia BC.

The shaman is a person who has acquired techniques which enable him to contact the spirit world, and, specifically, to summon spirits. His power and prestige largely depend on the number of spirits he can

voluntarily incarnate in himself and thereby control. He may be aided by songs, dances, drums and, frequently, narcotics.

There was a limited tradition of these practices in Taoism, particularly in South China, but more frequently Taoist magic used talismans and charms which became impersonal repositories of power. They were impersonal in the sense that, once the talismanic calligraphy had been completed by the Taoist priest, who would usually reproduce a canonical prototype, all his spiritual power was immediately *transferred* to the talisman. It was then used by the individual as a kind of ritual object to retain his direct contact with the spirit.

A profound belief in the spiritual powers of calligraphy was very probably already present even in the formative period of Chinese civilization (i.e. during the first millennium BC), and was largely responsible for the survival of the Chinese ideographic script. For it is significant that, despite several attempts at reform, the Chinese civilization has always shown reluctance to adopt an alphabetic script.

In order to protect the talismanic 'mystery' a number of beautiful secret scripts were evolved by Taoism; how they arose and in what way they differ from ordinary calligraphy, we shall see later in the introduction, when we look at the magic power of calligraphy.

The diagrams as they appear today were the work of a wide range of artists, including illiterate villagers, recluses and hermit-scholars, as well as Taoist exorcist-priests, faith-healers, and sorcerers. Most of them are anonymous, for the powerful talismanic forms are rarely attributed to particular individuals, and the legendary attributions of the Taoist canon must be treated with reservation.

Talisman of the Messenger of the Nine Heavens, who can cure epidemics. It depicts a shaman performing a ritual fire-dance (*Tao-tsang* 1203–224 16b)

In their original form, these diagrams were the most perishable visual art products of China. Some of these mystic diagrams were originally drawn in the dust with a wooden stick or a finger, others (after Han times) on paper to be burnt as 'paper-money' offerings to the forces of the supernatural. These notes of 'paper-money' were reproduced many thousands of times in the course of a single generation, only to be used for a single day in a given hour of the magic rite. The highly perishable material of which they were made was itself a constant reminder of the cardinal Taoist teaching: the principle of Eternal Change which governs the whole universe. Indeed, most of them have disappeared along with the voices of the famous ancient singers and the movements of celebrated Sui and T'ang dynasty dancers. Yet, they have not been completely lost. Outstanding examples have survived in Taoist canonical sources, and even today are being copied closely. A number are to be found among the illustrations of this book.

Emblem of 'the One', the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*) with interlocking *yin* and *yang* each containing an element of their opposite in the form of a dot The *yang* half is in the upper position (Carved jade talisman, early Ming dynasty, probably late 14th or early 15th century One of the earliest known examples of this symbol used on its own in Taoist art)

Eternal Change

At the very root of this occult art we find the ancient Taoist philosophical teachings of *yin-yang*. According to this system, 'the One', the Whole, the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*), produces the negative-positive dualism of *yin* and *yang*, whose continuous interaction gives birth in turn to the Five Elements (*wu-hsing*), from which all events and objects are derived. The principle of *yin* is conceived as sovereign over Earth. It corresponds to negative, female, dark, watery, soft, cold, deadly, still, etc. The principle of *yang* is conceived as sovereign over Heaven. It corresponds to positive, male, light, fiery, hard, warm, living, moving, etc. *Yin* and *yang* divide to form the points of the compass.

The Five Elements, Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water, like all the cosmos have a *yin* and *yang* aspect. The Ho-t'u, one of the two most ancient Taoist diagrams, is a chart of the Five Elements as they exist in *figs 11–13* the Prior Heavens of Change in their life-giving, *yang* order. Wood is said to give birth to Fire, Fire to Earth, Earth to Metal, and Metal to Water. Finally, Water gives birth to Wood, and thus starts a new cycle.

During the first part of the year, when nature is on the increase, the *yang* aspect is dominant. During the second half of the year, when nature declines towards winter and death, the *yin* aspect becomes dominant. Thus, in order to accomplish the renewal of the universe, the Ho-t'u diagram alone is not enough. The Taoist must also understand the principles according to which the reverse process from *yang* to *yin* operates. To achieve this, the Taoist uses a second chart called the Lo-shu, the second most ancient diagram, said to have been discovered by the legendary Emperor Yü on the back of a tortoise *figs 11–13* emerging from the Lo river. The Lo-shu is the diagram of the so-called Posterior Heavens of Change. Here the Five Elements no longer bring life. The creative order of the Five Elements in the Prior Heavens of Change (i.e. Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water) is rearranged according to the destructive order of the Five Elements in the Posterior Heavens of Change (i.e. Water, Fire, Metal, Wood, and Earth). Thus *yin* Water overcomes *yang* Fire, *yin* Fire destroys *yang* Metal, *yin* Metal destroys Wood, and finally *yin* Wood overcomes Earth. The cosmos must await the rebirth of *yang* and the winter solstice. Men must put the magic Ho-t'u back into the centre of the universe to make nature flourish again and start a new cycle of change.

Like the Ho-t'u, the Lo-shu is basically a diagram of change. According to legend, it inspired King Wen, founder of the Chou dynasty, to create the *Book of Changes* (*I-ching*). It is also a magic square: no matter in which direction the numbers of the Lo-shu are added up, the total is always fifteen.

This Taoist cosmos of eternal change has further implications for occult arts, since the Five Elements are also connected with symbols of direction, colour, season, etc., as set out in the following table, according to their order in the Prior Heavens of Change:

Element:	Wood →	Fire →	Earth →	Metal →	Water
Direction:	East	South	Centre	West	North
Colour:	Blue	Red	Yellow	White	Black
Season:	Spring	Summer	Late Summer	Autumn	Winter
Numbers and Heavenly Stems (*yin*)	8, *i*	2, *ting*	10, *chi*	4, *hsin*	6, *kuei*
(*yang*)	3, *chia*	7, *ping*	5, *wu*	9, *keng*	1, *jen*
Climate:	Windy	Hot	Humid	Dry	Cold
Mountains:	T'ai-shan	Heng-shan (in Hunan)	Sung-shan	Hua-shan	Heng-shan (in Hopei)
Planets:	Jupiter	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury
Sound:	Shouting	Laughing	Singing	Weeping	Groaning
Musical note:	*chüeh*	*chih*	*kung*	*shang*	*yü*
Virtues:	Benevolence	Propriety	Faith	Righteousness	Wisdom
Emotions:	Anger	Joy	Sympathy	Grief	Fear
Animals:	Dragon	Phoenix	Ox or Buffalo	Tiger	Snake and/or Tortoise
Viscera:	Liver	Heart	Spleen	Lungs	Kidneys
Orifices:	Eyes	Ears	Mouth	Nose	Anus and Vulva
Tissues:	Ligaments	Arteries	Muscles	Hair and Skin	Bones
Flavour:	Sour	Bitter	Sweet	Pungent	Salt
Odour:	Rancid	Scorched	Fragrant	Rotten	Putrid
Emperors:	Fu Hsi	Shen Nung	Huang-ti	Shao-hao	Chüan-hsü
Their Assistants:	Chü Mang	Chu Jung	Hou-t'u	Ju-shou	Hsüan-ming

This doctrine of the Five Elements applies both to the external macrocosm of the universe and to the internal microcosm of the individual self. To a student of the occult, it offers not only a general guide to an understanding of the world but also a means whereby the cosmic pattern of change can be influenced through an act of 'sympathetic magic'. Such an act, however, is much dependent on the precise timing of the change, for which a specialized knowledge of the calendar is necessary.

The normal Chinese calendar is partly lunar, with the length of the month determined by the cycles of the moon, and partly solar, in so far as the length of the year is linked to the four seasons, as in the western calendar. From the point of view of occult practices, however, another calendar system is far more relevant. This is basically a constant repetition of a sixty-year or sixty-day cycle of sixty two-character terms, which has been used in China to designate the element

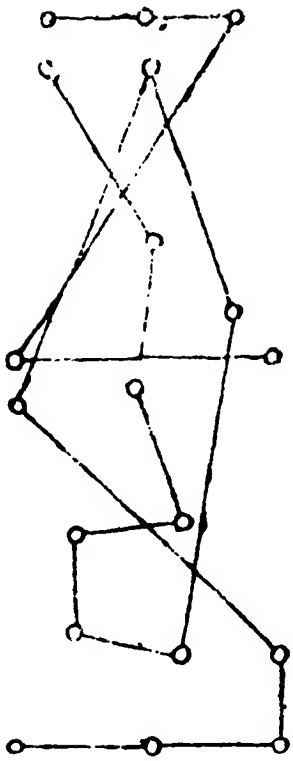
of time since before 1000 BC. A measurement of both days and years, it is formed by revolving a cycle of ten characters, representing the Ten Heavenly Stems, with one of twelve, representing the Twelve Earthly Branches. The ten Heavenly characters are: *chia*, *i*, *ping*, *ting*, *wu*, *chi*, *keng*, *hsin*, *jen* and *kuei*. The twelve Earthly characters are: *tzu*, *ch'ou*, *yin*, *mao*, *ch'en*, *ssu*, *wu*, *wei*, *shen*, *yu*, *hsü* and *hai*. The duodenary system has also been used on its own to designate the twelve months and the twelve double hours of the day, starting at 11 p.m. In addition, there is a number for each person determined by the characters drawn from the cycles marking the year, month, day, and hour of his birth. Taoist occult theory correlates these two sets of characters with the workings of the Five Elements, colours, seasons, etc.

The following passage from the *Pao-p'u tzu*, a Taoist work of about AD 300, explains this concept:

> When the *Ling-pao ching* speaks of *protective days*, it means a continuation of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the Ten Heavenly Stems in which the first element begets the second. Days *chia-wu* (no. 31 of the 60-cycle) and *i-ssu* (no. 42) are examples of this. *Chia* is Wood, and *wu* is Fire; *i* too is Wood, and *ssu* Fire, Fire being born of Wood. When it speaks of *proper days*, it means combinations where the second element begets the first. *Jen-shen* (no. 9) and *kuei-yu* (no. 10) are examples of this. *Jen* is Water, and *shen* is Metal; *kuei* is Water, and *yu* is Metal, Water being born of Metal. By *constraining days* it means combinations where the first element conquers the second. *Wu-tzu* (no. 25) and *chi-hai* (no. 36) are examples of this. *Wu* is Earth, and *tzu* is Water; *chi* too is Earth, and *hai* Water, and according to the theory of the Five Elements, Earth conquers Water. By *attacking days* it means combinations where the second element conquers the first; *chia-shen* (no. 21) and *i-yu* (no. 22) are examples of this. *Chia* is Wood, and *shen* is Metal, *i* too is Wood and *yu* Metal, Metal conquers Wood. From these examples one can deduce the rest.

The notes to the talismans which follow contain frequent references to this cyclic system, which is by no means as complicated in its practical application as it appears in the passage quoted above. For example, if a given year, month, day or hour is linked with the element Water, this signifies that a good deal of rain may be expected during the period, while a dominant element of Fire would indicate a hot spell and also an increased risk of fire breaking out. The choice of lucky and unlucky days, which features so prominently in Chinese divination and farmers' almanacs, is only one of the practical extensions of this *yin-yang* and Five Elements theory.

Yin-yang numerical system, as shown in the table above, also played a prominent part in Taoist magic. As we shall see, a large
3–5 number of talismans were used in sets of threes, fives, nines, etc.
6–10 Among these, the sets of fives were considered particularly powerful



Magic talisman to bring happiness and good fortune, depicting two constellations (*yin* and *yang*) interlocked in acrobatic sexual union (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–25:2b)

because they acted on the Five-Element space-time factor of the cosmos with associated symbolism of colour, smell, taste, sound, etc. Inspired by the philosophical doctrine of the Five Elements, popular Taoist spiritualism showed itself remarkably practical again: the multiperceptual contact with the spirit world opened up additional channels of communication with the spirits, making use of all the senses of the human body.

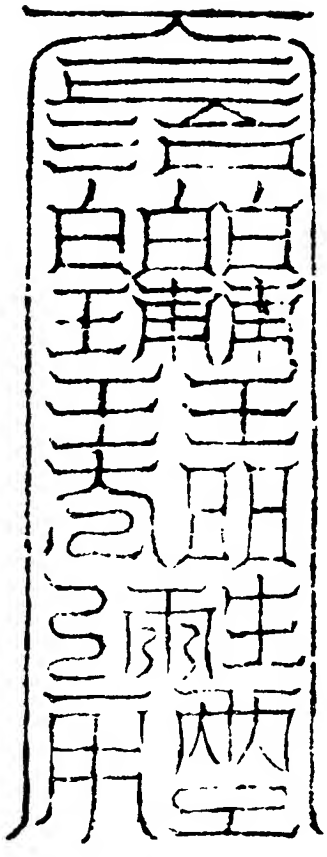
Of the heavenly bodies, the radiant Sun represents *yang* and the silver Moon, *yin*. To reinforce *yang*, Taoist magic prescribed sun-bathing in the nude for men, who were instructed to hold a talisman (a secret character for sun written in the *yang* colour, red, on green paper). Moon-bathing in the nude was prescribed for women to reinforce their *yin*, and they too were to hold a talisman (a secret character for the moon written in the *yin* colour, black, on yellow paper). Constellations too, according to the principle of the harmonious (*yin-yang*) unity of heaven and earth, guided and influenced changes on earth. Hence their frequent appearance in talismanic graphic compositions and secret diagrams. They are often represented symbolically as convoluted stones and rock-formations.

Vital Breath

Ch'i, the Vital Spirit, fills the world of the Taoist. It is the Cosmic Spirit which vitalizes and infuses all things, giving energy to man, life to nature, movement to water, growth to plants. It is exhaled by the mountains, where the spirits live, as clouds and mist and, therefore, the undulating movement of clouds, mist, or air filled with smoke rising from burning incense, is a characteristic mystic representation

31–4 of *ch'i* in Taoist art. As the Universal Force or Eternal Energy, it is at the centre of Taoist breathing exercises, which also involve the art of smelling and the use of incense. In occult diagrams it is the reason for the preference for asymmetrical design. The *Pao-p'u tzu* states: 'Man exists in *ch'i*, and *ch'i* is within man himself. From Heaven and Earth to all kinds of creation, there is nothing which would not require *ch'i* to stay alive. The man who knows how to circulate his *ch'i* maintains his own person and also banishes evils that might harm him.' The same source mentions a method of casting spells by simply rendering breath (*ch'i*) more abundant. The Taoist Chao Ping used to charm streams by breath so that the water-level dropped as much as twenty feet. Using the same technique, he would light a cooking-fire on thatched roofs without setting light to the dwelling, render boiling water harmless for scalding and prevent dogs from barking.

Taoist mystics also conceived of *ch'i* as the invisible underground currents of the earth. Geomancy (*feng-shui* in Chinese, meaning 'wind and water') was born out of this concept. It was concerned with the art of fixing the sites of houses for the living and tombs for the dead in mystic harmony with the local currents of *ch'i*, the Cosmic Energy. Traditionally, if houses and tombs were not correctly sited, evil effects were likely to befall the inhabitants of the houses and the descendants of the dead, whereas a good siting would bring them happiness, prosperity and longevity. The forces and nature of the invisible *ch'i* currents, known also as 'dragon's veins', were determined not only by mountains and hills (*yang*), and valleys and watercourses (*yin*), but also by the movements of the heavenly bodies from hour to hour and day to day all round the year. The *yin* and *yang* aspects of geomancy currents were also identified with the Tiger and the Dragon, which in turn represented the western and eastern quarters of Heaven. As a rule, a three-fifths *yang* and two-fifths *yin* balance was thought to be the most favourable. A magnetic compass marked with trigrams and hexagrams of the *I-ching*, as well as with the sexagenary cycle of stems and branches, aided the complex reckoning for the selection of the suitable site. Compass references have been indicated in the notes on some of the talismans illustrated later in the book.



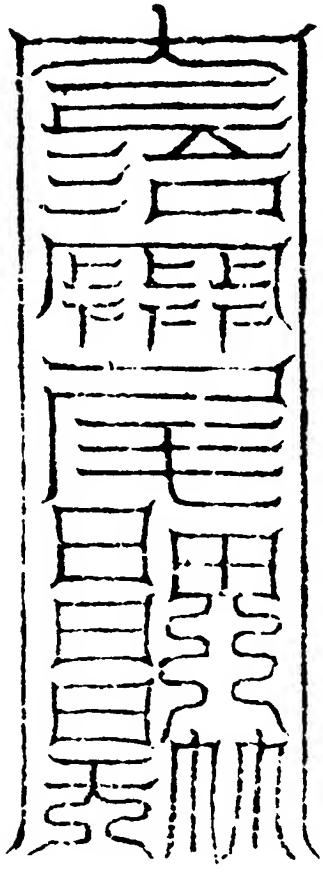
Talisman of the Great *Yin* (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463-271 28b)

But *ch'i* also meant sexual energy. The *yin-yang* theory held that the sex organs were a major vehicle of the primary forces of the universe, and looked upon sexual intercourse as an act charged with Cosmic Energy. The schematic symbol of *yin* and *yang* is a circle divided into two equal parts by a curving line, with the lower, or female half dark, and the upper, or male half light. The Earth, woman, and the vulva are all *yin*. Heaven, man, and the penis are all *yang*. The union of these opposites leads symbolically to the harmony of the universe. This also means that it is possible to believe that Heaven and Earth consummate their relation each time a man and a woman perform the sexual act. The prolongation of this act, therefore, becomes a magic ritual. Hence the frequent references, both symbolic and explicit, to the union of the opposite sexes in Taoist magic rites, according to which there were lucky and unlucky days for intercourse, favourable and unfavourable directions and positions in which to lie, etc. There was also an early Taoist ritual known as the 'deliverance from guilt' ceremony which took place on the nights of the new moon and the full moon. It consisted of a ritual dance, the 'coiling of the dragon and playing of the tiger', which ended in successive sexual unions in the assembly. It was censured in a pre-T'ang Buddhist document on the grounds that 'men and women have sexual intercourse in an improper way as they make

no distinction between nobility and commoners' – a piece of contemporary social criticism which testifies to the egalitarian nature of Chinese Taoist magic.

Bodily yin-yang *and Alchemy*

Man's own body is also governed by the principle of the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*), *yin-yang* and the Five Elements. Traditionally, when *yin* and *yang* were formed out of the primordial chaos, *yang*, being light, went up to form Heaven, while *yin*, being heavy, descended to form the Earth. This idea is repeated in the composition of the human body, with the head as Heaven and the feet as Earth. There is a spirit in each part of the body corresponding to the structure of the universe. The five organs have their ruling spirits, the upper parts of the body contain the *yang* spirits of Heaven, and the lower parts accommmodate the *yin* spirits of Earth. At birth we are filled with the primordial *yang* and, as we grow, this *yang* waxes until, on maturity, it reaches its peak. But *yin* is also present and, as life goes on, *yin* increases and *yang* gradually flows away. When the balance of *yin* and *yang* is no longer effective, we die. Our breath, spirit, and seminal essence are all dissipated. But for the Taoist death is not a separation of the body and spirit as we conceive of it in the West. It is rather a separation of the *yin* and the *yang* elements of man.



Talisman of the Great *Yang* (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463-271 28a)

Concepts of Taoist internal alchemy also appear in talismanic magic. As we have just seen, the human body was considered to be endowed by Heaven and Earth with the two life-constituents, *yin* and *yang*. They are symbolized by the trigrams *k'an* and *li* respectively. *K'an* and *li* are also the active manifestations of *ch'ien* (representing Heaven) and *k'un* (representing Earth), thus symbolizing their influences. In alchemical terms, *ch'ien* and *k'un* also represent the furnace (the 'subtle fire' of the body) and the crucible (the centres in the body where energy is transformed), while *k'an* and *li* are the ingredients combining in the crucible to form the elixir of life. Trigrams *k'an* and *li* also stand for the sacred union of *ch'ien* and *k'un*, and that of *yin* and *yang*. This union is said to be the magic union of the solar and lunar influences, for in the *I-ching*, *k'an* and *li* represent the moon and sun.

These were the chief principles governing Taoist thinking, and the main purpose of the magic rites and ritual activities of popular Taoism, with its use of talismans and charms, was to win the blessing associated with *yang* and suppress the dark forces of *yin*.

Finally, in accordance with the ancient principle of Taoist inner alchemy, certain post-Han Taoist cults stressed the idea of giving

Talisman of the Ruler of the South, to assist in refining spiritual energy, and by Taoist Inner Alchemy, to achieve immortality. The design incorporates a gourd-shaped crucible with *lien* – 'to smelt' or 'to refine' – beneath (*Tao-tsang* 1152–29 6b)

birth to a new man within oneself, instead of producing offspring externally. This 'infant' represented the immortal soul which was finally externalized when the soul left the mortal body and joined the spirit world. This inward concentration of life-forces, aided by talismanic magic, is symbolized by the image of the flaming 'pearl,' a frequent talismanic graphic component, representing the offspring of the union of *k'an* and *li*, the human and cosmic Energies enveloped in the fire of transformation.

The Spirit World

During the centuries of the Han and post-Han periods (i.e. from the second century BC onwards), popular Taoism began to develop a large pantheon of the spirit world which numbered tens of thousands by the end of the Ch'ing period. Both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images, representing gods, spirits and demons, appear in this pantheon. They are drawn from ancient Chinese nature-worship, local hero-cults and ancestor-worship, and are so numerous that it would be impossible to list them all. The gods are divided into two categories: those of the Prior Heavens, and those of the Posterior Heavens. At the top of the hierarchy are the gods of the constellations, i.e. the Prior Heavens, the abode of the transcendent and eternal Tao. The Prior Heavens are exempt from changes and represent the mystic sources of life, primordial breath, and blessing in the world of the Posterior Heavens. The gods commonly worshipped by Taoists as patron spirits are those of the Posterior Heavens, where change does take place. They are divided into three groups: those of the Heaven, those of the world of nature and man, and those of the underworld hidden beneath the oceans. These three sections of the visible world are governed by the change of seasons and the continuously revolving complementary interaction of *yin* and *yang*.

The highest of the Taoist divinities are the Three Pure Ones of the Prior Heavens. These are the so-called Primordial Heavenly Worthy, Elder Lord of the Heaven, controlling the past; the Precious Spiritual Heavenly Worthy, Ling-pao, Lord of the Earth, also known as the Jade Emperor, controlling the present; and the Precious Divine Heavenly Worthy, Tao-te, Lord of Man, also known as Lord Lao, controlling the future. They reside in the three highest of the heavenly realms. The Three Pure Ones, lords of Heaven, Earth and Man are also lords of the head, the chest and the belly in man, corresponding also to primordial breath, spirit, and seminal essence.

Of even greater antiquity than the Three Pure Ones are the Five

Primordial Spirits, who also dwell in the Prior Heavens, but are summoned to Earth during rituals. These are the five spirit-emperors: Fu Hsi for the East, Shen Nung for the South, Huang-ti for the Centre, Shao-hao for the West, and Chüan-hsü for the North. They are accompanied by their assistants or spirit-ministers, and are closely connected with the workings of *yin-yang* and the Five Elements, as well as with the animals and star-spirits symbolizing the Five Direc-
6–10 tions. The five great mountain peaks of China are considered to be the special repositories of these spirits of the Five Directions, and are thus symbolically treated as sources of the Five Elements. For example, Hua-shan is the dwelling place of the spirits in the west, and the source of Metal.

All other spirits who rule the visible world (like the Three Star-gods of Happiness, Prosperity and Longevity, or the Kitchen God) watch over men's good and evil deeds and report them to the heavenly rulers for reward or punishment. In popular Taoism, the highest spirits commanding *yang* influences are resident in Heaven and provide life and blessing. The demons of the underworld are the spirits of men who have died violent deaths or committed suicide, or orphan souls lacking ancestor's tablet or offspring. These bring misfortune, sickness and calamity to mankind. Good spirits, on the other hand, are invariably those of virtuous men and women who worked on behalf of mankind (e.g. as healers) during their lives, and who have become local cult figures after death so that their power and good influence should continue to operate. But in this Taoist spirit world 'bribery' exists as well as the power of accumulated 'merit': demons and spirits were symbolically given talismanic 'paper money', just as the mandarins of imperial China were offered bribes in return for their favour or influence. Clearly this is an indication of the effect of China's mandarin society on the Taoist system – the use of burnt offerings to spirits predates the use of actual paper money by over two thousand years. As a rule, gods worshipped at seasonal festivals and rites were only summoned at other times in the case of great disasters or calamities.

In folk religion and in magic rites contact was primarily with the lower level of the spirit world: the *shen* spirits and the *kuei* demons. According to *yin-yang* theory, before death the *yang* part of a man's soul is *hun*, and after death, it is *shen*. The *yin* part of the soul before
18 death is *p'o*, and after death, it is *kuei*. Thus the *yin* part of the soul after death is usually associated with demons and evil. The *kuei* may also be the harmful spirit of a man who has not been properly returned to earth in burial; a person, for instance, who has died by drowning. In

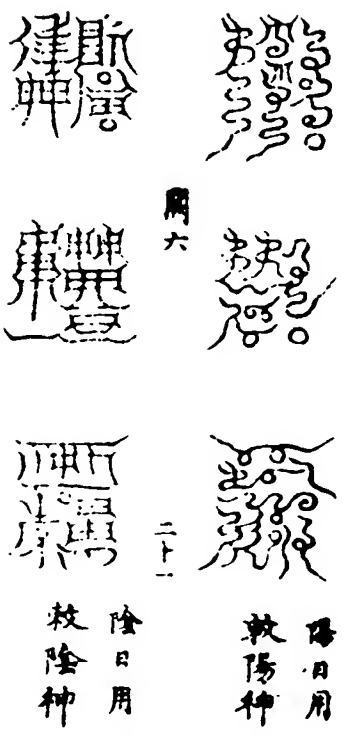
many cases, people who have died violent deaths have *kuei* and not *shen* spirits. In Chinese mythology, they appear to seek vengeance on mankind for their unfortunate position. In some parts of China, however, they are regarded as patrons of gamblers and prostitutes.

According to Taoist beliefs, the *yin* soul is divided into seven and is connected with the emotions, while the *yang* soul is divided into three and is responsible for human virtues. These emotions and virtues also correspond to the Five Elements, Seasons, Directions, etc., as shown in the chart above (*p.* 11). Thus man's relation to this many-layered spirit world of the popular Taoist pantheon, which already numbered several hundred in Han times, was further complicated by the contribution of later Taoist teachings, mostly of sectarian nature, in the fields of geomancy, alchemy, medicine, etc. As a result, the Taoist vocabulary of the period acquired fresh connotations, and the visual arts developed new dimensions of occult symbolism. These included the esoteric significance of the unity of the round Heaven and the square Earth; nature worship, from sacred mountains to indoor dwarf plants; the intentionally vague concept of *ch'i*, Cosmic Energy, and its careful preservation in the body through Taoist self-cultivation, breathing exercises and prolonged sexual intercourse. Thus the vocabulary of Taoist occult art was founded on the concept of multi-perceptual communication with the spirit forces of the universe, from which grew the notion that the arts should appeal simultaneously to sight, hearing, taste and feel, and should include movement, a principle alien to Western art traditions, in which any particular art is expected to appeal to two of the senses simultaneously at most.

fig. 4

The Magic Power of Calligraphy

The magic power of talismans derived, as we have seen, from the fact that, according to Taoist belief, they were *permanently* inhabited by spirits. Thus men were able to communicate directly with spirits by means of these talismans without the participation of a medium. The talismans themselves acted as mediums, and were to be treated with the greatest respect, veneration, and secrecy. The interdependence of the Taoist spirit world with the material world made the use of talismans much more significant than it would be to Western spiritualists, since spirits were believed to play a commanding role throughout the whole universe, and not merely in a realm of ghosts and supernatural beings. Moreover, talismans constituted the basic essentials for individual Taoist religious practice and worship, as well as for communal rites.



Talismans for Summoning Spirits by Ornamental Beauty, to be written on blue paper in red, and burnt as offerings. The set of three in rounded (*yin*) style of calligraphy (on the right) are to be used 'on *yang* day(s) to have intercourse with the *Yang* Spirits'. The set of three in the squarish (*yang*) style of calligraphy (on the left) are to be used 'on *yin* day(s) to have intercourse with the *Yin* Spirits' (*Tao-tsang* 221–1:26a)

Spoken charms and spells predated written and painted talismans in China as in other parts of the world. The composition of the Chinese character *shou*, meaning 'invocation of spirits', shows two 'mouth' graphs at the top and a magic wand underneath, strongly suggesting the participation of two people, one presumably a medium, engaged in the task of invoking the spirits. Under shamanistic influence, mediums seem to have played a very significant part in the mystic experiences of Chinese Taoists during the Han period and before. And talismans of particular power were believed to have been composed by those Taoist mystics who were able to communicate directly with the spirits.

Contemporary Han and post-Han sources invariably emphasize the unusual graphology of protective charms and spells received by the mystics from the spirits. They refer to various 'cloud scripts', archaic script forms, and commonly unrecognizable forms of script and graphic compositions charged with magic power which were secretly handed down by the early Taoist mystics. Some of these were written on peach-wood plaques, such as the Weapon-Averter seal talismans of the Chou period, measuring 6 by 3 inches, written in five colours, and placed on gates and doors during the month of midsummer. Others, like the post-Han Five-Colour Talisman, which guarded against pestilence and all kinds of illness, were inscribed on paper or silk of various colours. Yet others were written on gold or jade tablets. In addition to black ink, red cinnabar was used for the calligraphy. The Red Spirit Talisman, for instance, which was worn on the body primarily to guard against death or wounding in battle, consisted of drawing in red cinnabar on vertical strips of yellow paper.

The size of the written character or characters varied considerably: some, like the Enter-Mountain Amulets attributed to Lao-chün to protect travellers in mountainous regions, were inscribed in specially large characters to fill the whole oblong plaque or paper strip. Others only had one or two characters written on them: the 'Emperor of the North', for instance, which afforded protection against crocodiles and insects, as well as winds and waves. Some combined a word of command or request with semi-abstract representations of spirit mountains, constellations, or elements of thunder and lightning (to frighten demons). Others consisted of amulets about two inches square, carved from the pith of jujube and inscribed only with archaic seal-script characters: the Lao Tan Amulet, for example, which protected against tigers, i.e. symbolically against the influence of the *yin* (female) element. More commonly, however, the talismans were oblong strips

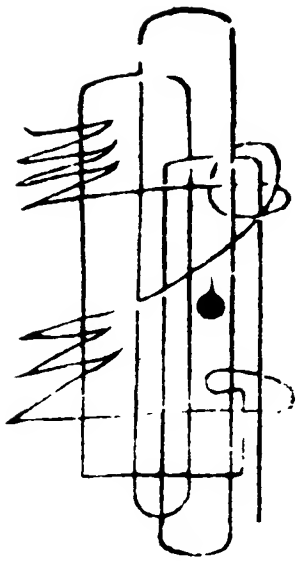
with written characters descending in a single or combined vertical form, rather than spreading horizontally. The strong esoteric influence of this strip-format is indicated by the fact that it has survived intact in the format of both Chinese and Japanese hanging paintings, particularly landscapes, in later centuries.

Originating from, and inhabited by spirits, these compositions were treated with the utmost reverence. To receive their favour, one had to perform a brief personal introduction to them by name, bow to them at least twice and, if necessary, pronounce the prescribed incantation. When this ceremony had been performed, the talismans would be placed in garments, on doors or gates, or burned to provide protection. In the latter case, the ashes might or might not be consumed, according to the prescribed ritual. Although the talisman was traditionally produced for the layman by an initiated Taoist priest, the priest was not required, except in the case of specially prescribed cures or exorcism, to communicate with the spirit world. On the other hand, certain highly powerful talismanic formulae were transmitted by Taoist mystics from generation to generation in utmost secrecy. Many of the examples illustrated in this book belong to this class.

In a description of the contemporary use of talismans, the *Pao-p'u tzu* (*c.* AD 300) lists several forms much used at the time. Among these were some to be written in red cinnabar and worn by travellers in mountains and forests; others to be fastened on doors, corners, pillars and beams, and set up at important road-junctions and public spots; others 'to reduce to subjection'; and finally, the Charm of Universal Peace attributed to the founding figure of philosophical Taoism, Lao-tzu (sixth century BC).

The uninitiated were of course unable to read these talismans and charms. The *Pao-p'u tzu* complains that no layman could detect the errors in them although some were suspect, and various Taoist sources of later centuries ascribed the inefficacity of talismans to the use of mutilated versions or faulty copies. The increasing use of calligraphic magic talismans by the fifth century could not prevent the decline of old talismanic graphic traditions: indeed, it opened avenues for fresh visual interpretations, culminating in the flowering of Taoist art of the Sung period.

Magic diagrams, talismans and charms required a secret language for their expression, a symbolism outside the scope of the ordinary graphic vocabulary of Chinese writing and painting. For this purpose, popular Taoism was able to draw upon the unlimited resources of the Chinese inventive genius. But in order to find unorthodox calligraphic expression, or to modify existing forms for occult use, the artist had to



Talisman to bring assistance from the Supreme Jade Sovereign In red on white paper, to be burned with an incantation of 36 characters. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–34: 2b)

solve an almost insuperable problem. The rules governing the use of the sensitive Chinese writing brush, one of the most ingenious inventions of Chinese civilization, were rather inflexible. Strictly speaking, there was only one way of writing a Chinese character correctly. The rules of the brush were admittedly more flexible for painting and for the so-called 'free' calligraphic exercises, in which the character was sometimes modified out of recognition. To fulfil his function, the occult artist had to stay either partly or completely outside the traditional conventions of Chinese calligraphy which, for example, did not accommodate waves and curving lines, or circular forms in script. Hence the emphasis on these in 'free' calligraphic exercises. Sometimes, of course, the writer was an illiterate folk-artist, and therefore already outside the tradition, so that his contribution to the vocabulary of unorthodox expression was fortuitously non-conformist.

The Mystic Graphic Arts

Taoist philosophy has been called at the same time scientific and mystical. And this applies equally to the magic art of Taoist talismanic composition. But the graphic styles of the diagrams clearly reveal two categories of inspiration: some display an acquaintance with brushed calligraphy, or incorporate elements of it; others simply do not show any relation to, or influence from, the conventional technique. In the second category we find imitations of wood-carving and needle-
69 work techniques at one end of the spectrum, and, at the other, the
22 blood-stained impressions left upon the paper by the cut tongue of the medium. These bloody marks represent the words of the spirit, and the utterances of spells by the medium. It is also an example of the creation of new talismans by means of the mediumistic practices of the Spirit Cloud (*shen-hsiao*) Sect of Taoism, which dates back to the Hsüan-ho reign period (AD 1119–26) of the Northern Sung dynasty. These practices have survived until the present day in Hong Kong and Taiwan. M. Saso, in his *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, has an illustration of a half-naked medium cutting himself with a sword while in trance, and carrying on his back a talisman dipped in blood.

The variety of occult graphic compositions is enormous, ranging from the spontaneity of trance-drawings to the meticulous draughtsmanship of pseudo-scientific diagrams and magic charts. However, the technique of execution remains uniformly unsophisticated, lacking the subtle texture strokes of academic painters. But the Northern Sung School and the School of Literati (*wen-jen*) of the Yüan period accepted some of the principles inherent in Taoist

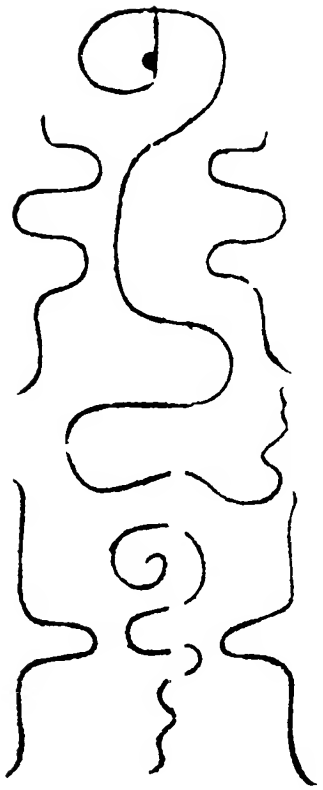
graphic art, together with its mystic values, and thus from the Sung period onwards, inspired calligraphers and painters were generally regarded as people able to communicate with the spirits. As a result, the spiritual cult of calligraphy (and painting) long venerated by Taoists, became firmly established beyond the boundaries of talismanic graphics.

Furthermore, talismanic calligraphy included other means of symbolic contacts with the powers of the supernatural: first and foremost, the elements of magic dance. As an art of movement, dance symbolized the principle of change. The magic dance of the legendary limping Emperor Yü is often referred to in talismanic compositions. These movements which were taught to Yü by heavenly spirits to give him command over the spirits of nature, originally represented a kind of hopping dance that Taoist shaman sorcerers often performed while in trance. But the Taoists were primarily concerned with the magic power of calligraphy, and considered its effectiveness to lie above all in the line traced by the
fig. 18 sorcerer's feet in dance, a line which reproduces a vortex, a spiral of magic, frequently reinforced by constellations.

What are the chief merits of this Taoist graphic art?

First of all, we find that it provided the foundation for a high level of abstraction in Chinese art as a whole, creating forms of a primarily graphic nature for the basic concepts of Taoist teachings, which were metaphysical, rather than ethical, embodying such concepts as Change, Movement, and Energy. Ancient China's lack of epic traditions ensured a fertile soil for this abstract symbolism. It penetrated artistic life beyond the visual, influencing the arts of movement, for instance, and music. As Taoist graphic art recognized no lines of demarcation between the real and the imaginary, it could appeal equally to all, from the philosophically minded to the least sophisticated, although at very different levels. The active use of the imagination in interpreting abstraction was the cardinal point in this type of Taoist art, and still survives in many areas of Chinese art and literature. In traditional Chinese opera, for instance, the almost bare stage is traditionally filled in by the imagination of the spectator.

In addition, Taoist occult artists developed the basic grammar of a superbly rich artistic language designed to symbolize and embody continuity of form (i.e. material reality) in space (i.e. imagination). Through observation of rolling clouds and mist, undulating waves, rising vapour and smoke – the most intangible of all phenomena – they established linear representations for Change, Movement, and Energy. The basic grammar of this artistic language constituted a unique form



Talisman for purifying the body, to be burned with an incantation of 37 characters which can be rendered as follows: 'The Spirit of Uncleanness is already dissipated, exhausted in the three places to be guarded [i.e ears, eyes and mouth]. The turbid torrent has been cleansed by the Golden Tower and the Illuminated Royal Apartments Go high above to contact the Primordial Lord, the Twenty-four True Ones, all in the form of Divine Spirits, to ascend mysteriously from the darkness Without delay, as the True Order commands ' (*Tao-tsang* 217–30: 22a)

of rhythmic linearity, uniting the perceptible – the pulse beat of the human body – with the invisible ether of breath and spirits. This Taoist-inspired abstract linearity is already to be seen in the decorative arts of the late Chou period: in bronzes during the sixth and third centuries BC; in the lacquer of the Chang-sha type of the third century BC; and in silk and painted pottery designs of the Han period.

Curving lines which at first allowed man to contact the spirit world, later took on the opposite function in popular occult art: namely they were the one way to outwit evil spirits who can move only in a straight line!

This graphic art of the occult also helped, in a typically Taoist fashion, to establish the significance of 'no statement' which enables one to make a statement. It created the mystic as well as the artistic framework to blend 'statement' with calligraphic 'emptiness' in the true complementary manner of the magic interaction of *yin* and *yang*. Thus 'emptiness', or 'no statement', becomes a statement in this art; a mystic statement, skillfully representing the elements of uncertainty in real life, the vagueness of destiny, or the obscurity of the future. The musical pause, the momentary stillness in dance, or the enclosed emptiness in calligraphic composition or painting, all become an inseparable part of the whole, just as the negative *yin* or the positive *yang* alone cannot form a complete interlocking symbol of the two, representing the Great Ultimate.

Taoist graphic art also produced a system of symbolic multiplicity which went well beyond the ordinary limits of the visual arts. This repertoire of symbolism had a metaphysical significance which was applied alike to Heaven, Earth, and mankind. It sought to unite men and spirits into a single state in emulation of the perfect harmony of *yin* and *yang*, or of Heaven and Earth. Thus we find that the cavities of rock-formations also symbolize stars, which in turn represent lanterns. Similarly, the footpath marked out on the Taoist pilgrim's guide-map to the sacred mountains becomes a magic line on the chart to find the spirits. On another level, the 'sound' of blue jade lends its 'colour' to the sky, and phallic diagrams become 'Heavenly Cures'. To make matters still more complicated, the world of imperial China was also incorporated into the Taoist system when, for example, the term for summoning spirits, 'induce to come', took on the additional mandarin meaning: 'by imperial order'.

39,40

The Taoist practice of using intimidatingly vivid colours, however, was never taken up by the academicians of Chinese fine art. Such colours, which were also used in the related art of paper-cuts, directly reflected the colour consciousness of the *yin-yang* world of symbolism,

besides expressing the inherent desire of the Taoist occult to create a different art, suitable for communication with the spirits. Talismanic colours and colour-combinations – characteristically Chinese reds, yellows, greens, and blues – contributed to the splendour of popular
fig. 66 Taoist festivals in the decoration of streamers, banners, kites, lanterns, brooms, baskets, parasols and fans, all of which were employed in Taoist magic rites. Of these, brooms were traditionally regarded by the shamans as magic implements to sweep away evil spirits. The long shapes of the streamers and strip-banners indicated talismans with their inscriptions and symbolic designs. And their movements in the wind, which would cause them to show or hide their inscriptions or designs with each gust, symbolized the uncertainty and suddenness of man's contact with the spirits. Similarly, the flash of the ancient bronze mirrors, which was supposed to signify lightning and thunder, also represented this moment of spiritual contact, although these magic phenomena were later reinterpreted according to popular occult tradition as no more than functions of exorcism. Some Taoist sects, however, remained very much aware of the concept of the momentary spiritual experience, vision, insight or inspiration, and brought it into the foreground to meet the challenge of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in Sung times. Occult Taoism nevertheless did not prove sufficiently flexible to make much of the Buddhist concept of Enlightenment: its followers turned instead to the world of metamorphosis familiar to the West in the form of Chinese ghost stories, and placed increasing emphasis on the concept of immortality.

To return to the ritual objects used in Taoist popular festivals and communal rites, the flickering lights (*yang* element) of lanterns were to guide the spirits to the altars during seasonal rites at night (the *yin* period). The colourful parasols provided shade (*yin* element) against the burning sun, thus regulating its *yang* influence. The movement of fans brought currents of *ch'i*, Vital Energy; while baskets of flowers provided the various scents – another *yin-yang* 'regulator' in man's communication with the spirit world. Spoken charms, spells, and chants combined with talismans to give multiperceptual contacts with the spirits over and above the visual art of calligraphy.

Making Talismans

In order to assess the early popular Taoist concept of talismans, one should note that the Chinese word for talisman, *fu*, originally designated written tallies or contracts. In Han times, talismanic charms attributed to the inventor of magic charms, Chang Tao-ling (first

Consultation of a magic diagram (Early 17th-century illustration from the *Shui-hu ch'uan t'u*)

Consultation of the magic formations of yarrow sticks (Early 17th-century illustration from the *Shui-hu ch'uan t'u*)

century AD), also known as Chang T'ien-shih or Heavenly Master Chang, the legendary founder of the Heavenly Master Sect, represented a kind of contract made with the spirits. As such, they were looked upon as important documents of contract to be carried on the body to provide permanent protection. They guaranteed command over the spirits whenever it might be required. This popular Taoist belief, indeed, prevailed alongside the more profound mysticism of philosophical Taoism for centuries. The use of 'protective contract' talismans appears to have been universal, but popular Taoism favoured the use of specific talismans as well. In fact, the ever-increasing variety of printed talismans from the Sung period onwards proves their immense popularity. Even up to the present day, an estimated two million talismanic New Year prints are marketed in China annually.

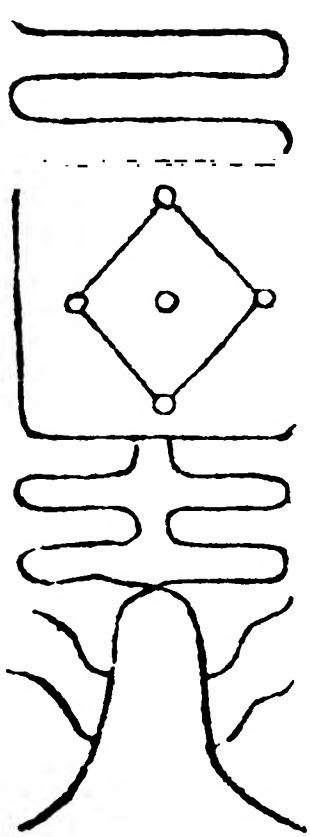
There are over three thousand basic talismans preserved in the monumental compendium of the Taoist canon, with several hundred other magic diagrams and charts. These examples provide ample material to enable us to analyse the art of making talismans as well as their underlying graphic principles.

As we have seen, the use of talismans was governed by the *yin-yang* Five Elements theory, the complex doctrine which taught that men were able to influence the processes of the universe by their *participation* through magic (as opposed to the teaching of religious acceptance of Confucianism and, to a large extent, Buddhism). In the course of the centuries following the Han period, this system acquired lavish accretions from folk art and festivals, to such an extent that, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it became practically impossible for the uninitiated to observe the outward signs of it correctly. In fact, outsiders were hardly aware of the complex esoteric preparations which preceded the performance of Taoist occult rites. Only recently have reliable accounts been published for the first time. These provide fascinating information on the precise timing of Taoist occult rites, including the making of talismans. For example, after the day and hour of the ceremony had been determined by an astrologer in accordance with the temple's geomancy and the nature of the festival, a list was drawn up of those people whose presence would be inauspicious to the occasion. This was because their eight characters (i.e. the cyclic double characters for year, month, day, and hour of birth) would clash with the elements governing the auspiciousness of the chosen day. In fact, their presence would not only be an expression of disrespect, it might also incur the actual hostility of the spirits.

In talisman-making, the timing was equally important. Talismans of Chung Kuei, for example, the popular devil-catcher whose cult

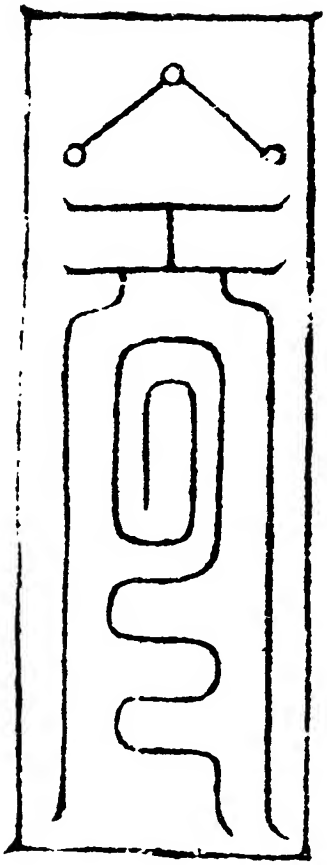
goes back to T'ang times, had to be composed not only on the day of his festival – the Fifth Day of the Fifth Moon – but preferably during the *wu* hour of that day, i.e. between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

Among a host of similar examples we may single out the practice of making medicinal talismans by Taoist doctors (known as *chu-yu-ko*). The treatment of an illness included chanting the name of a particular healing spirit while tracing the charm or talisman on paper. The ashes of this paper, mixed with the appropriate 'carrier' drug, was believed to be efficacious whether swallowed or used externally. The doctor had to be familiar with the spirits of all the thirteen branches of Taoist medicine (namely, the greater veins, winds, arrestives, external infections, swellings, mouth and teeth, eyes, ears and nose, obstetrics, external injuries, external wounds caused by metal weapons, acupuncture, and pediatrics), as well as their related diseases, principal curative areas, and appropriate charms. In addition, he was required to observe specific geomantic codes for establishing his surgery. This had to be spacious and far away from the kitchen and living quarters of the house. In the centre stood the altar for the spirit of the Yellow Emperor with his image hanging above it. To the left was a second altar for healing spirits, whose names were written in ink on red paper, and to the right was the altar of Lao-tzu. Before all three were containers with offerings of ripe fruit and flowers. The most important feature, however, was a low square table specially installed to hold the implements necessary for writing charms. On it would be laid out secret Taoist talismanic writings, papers of various colours, brushes, cinnabar, ink, and clean water.



Talisman to vitalize the Five Viscera (13th century, *Tao-tsang* 1204–42 31a)

The procedure in the treatment of the sick was as follows: after the patient had told the Taoist doctor his symptoms, he was led to the image of the Yellow Emperor where he (or his representatives) burnt incense and bowed formally four times. The doctor then recited the water incantation, the cinnabar incantation, the ink incantation, the brush incantation, the paper incantation, the incantation for writing the selected charm and, finally, the incantation to summon the spirits of the appropriate branches of Taoist medicine involved in the case. After this, the doctor painted the charm, at the same time silently repeating the Yellow Emperor's chant for healing. When he had finished, he wrote the two characters *chih ling*, meaning 'induced to come' or 'by imperial order', on the top of the paper and placed it on the altar. Then having sprinkled three drops of water on the 'Summon the Spirits' charm, he took a mouthful of water and sprayed it over the talisman he had just painted. After making the healing spirit incantation, he rose, clicked his teeth three times to mark a pause, bowed



Talisman to prolong life (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–271 : 27b)

formally, picked up the talisman and retired. Finally, he wrapped the talisman in white paper and gave it to the patient with instructions on how to burn it (i.e. how to send it to the spirits) and what additional drugs to take. The patient would then take the talisman home in his left (*yang*) hand.

Equally elaborate was the procedure for making the magic peach-wood wands used in trance-drawings. In this type of talismanic composition (more often found in South China), the drawing was traced on a thin layer of sand or rice spread on a table. The medium sometimes took the wand in both hands or, alternatively, allowed one hand to be held by a person wanting to establish contact with the spirits and record the talismanic message. The drawing might later be transferred to paper, particularly if the diagram was proved to be sufficiently powerful. The peach-wood was usually cut from a twig growing on the east side of the tree, since the peach was associated with the immortal paradise of the Queen Mother of the West, and this arrangement therefore symbolized the union of East and West. On the side opposite the twig, characters meaning 'Spirit of the Clouds' (*yin*) would be cut in the bark of the tree. As implements of automatic writing, these wands were regarded as especially powerful and were frequently used in exorcism, as were peach-wood calligraphic swords. According to popular Taoist belief, the instruments used for writing talismans and charms were themselves so powerful that they were capable of defeating not only ghosts and evil spirits, but also hostile animals and men.

Talismanic Language

Five basic colours were traditionally used in paper charms and talismans for, since spirits moved in all five directions, a suitable colour or combination of colours was needed to control them. Yellow represented the Centre, blue the East, red the South, white the West, and black the North. Of these, red was especially important in that it also symbolized blood, the life-force, and was considered to have supreme magic power. Red talismanic paper protected the whole family from pestilence and ills. The belief that red brought good fortune and long life is indicated by the extensive use of red cinnabar in Taoist alchemy in perpetual search for the elixir of life. The prevalence of cinnabar-red carved lacquers in popular Taoist magic art can also be linked to the magic powers of red, since they are frequently adorned with benevolent talismanic inscriptions. In view of the auspicious meaning of red, it is easy to understand the popular appeal of this colour when it

Exorcist charm to be used against the noxious influences of the Black Tiger of the Mountains and the Black Fog (*Tao-tsang* 1152–37 2b)

Talisman to protect the body, composed of the character *sheng* – 'life' (*Tao-tsang* 1203–226 3a)

became the symbol of a political movement in China, as was the case with the Chinese Communist Party. Again, one can better understand Red Guard demands in recent years that red should be the 'Go' colour at traffic lights, instead of green.

The widespread Chinese superstition about destroying any kind of paper is certainly connected with the talismanic use of paper in Taoist occult practices. For paper has always been a relatively cheap and easily available material in all parts of China.

Talismanic language required, first and foremost, a visual statement of the unity of Heaven above and Earth below, and this was expressed in the verticality of the composition, whatever the differences of detail. In early Taoist symbolism, thin lines represented Heaven and thick lines Earth. In later centuries, a rounded style of calligraphy was used to indicate *yin*, no doubt deriving from the clouds which represented that aspect. On the other hand, a squarish style of calligraphy indicated *yang*, referring presumably to hard, angular rock-formations. Therefore, the ancient Chinese symbolism of the round Heaven and square Earth did not apply to talismanic graphics. On the contrary, the rounded, soft style was *yin*, the hard, squarish style, *yang*.

Dots, either connected by straight lines or not, represented stars and constellations. In combined compositions, these appear in the upper, celestial half of the talisman. Such visual references to the stars are frequently to be found in charms against demons, for celestial deities were powerful destroyers of spectres as well as dispensers of felicity. Hence, too, the visual reference to constellations in terms of cavities of rock-formations, re-emphasizing the unity of Heaven and Earth. In other instances, constellation dots outline human figures and convey a bizarre, almost futuristic mood of expression, as we can see in the Armour of Man talisman of Sung or Yüan date, where the image is strangely reminiscent of a twentieth-century spaceman.

Ascending and descending lines found in various types of talismanic calligraphy are another reference to the invisible lines of contact between celestial spirits above and terrestrial beings below. This concept of linear contact is very close to the shamanistic symbol of the Tree (*axis mundi*) which was said to be the home of the spirits permitting ascent to the various heavens or descent to our world. The lines occur with surprising regularity in all kinds of talismans. When broken, they resemble the shape of the Chinese character for 'bow', and this has resulted in another false interpretation by the uninitiated of later centuries, who taught that the character had been incorporated into the talismans because the bow was a weapon especially feared by evil spirits.

The vortex, or spiral of the ancient Taoist Cosmic Energy, which is the dominant sign of the celestial upper half of the talismanic compositions in some of the most ancient charms preserved in the *Pao-p'u tzu*, was later believed to symbolize thunder and lightning – a result of the growing influence of a great variety of thunder-and-lightning gods invented by popular Taoism in post-Han times.

Since talismans and charms were believed to produce whatever condition they expressed, Taoists invented a great variety of them, in
70, 72–3 particular, characters which express the blessings of *shou* (longevity),
74 and *fu* (happiness). Archaic and fanciful talismanic representations were produced for them in a hundred different forms, and used by way of decoration on all sorts of objects from lacquer to silk embroidery. Written characters denoting felicity, and therefore producing it, likewise appeared regularly in charms on the grounds that they frustrated evil. Talismans also contained threats and commands directed at evil spirits. Among these, we find the character *sha* (to murder) with great regularity. Another powerful character for charm-writing is *cheng*, which denotes the Order of the Universe, before which all evil influences must disappear. It is frequently accompanied by *chih*, also meaning 'order', so that the charm enjoins good behaviour on evil spirits in accordance with the Order. By no means less powerful and frequent are the characters for Sun and Moon, which are often combined to form the character *ming*, meaning light – a devil-destroying power with *huo*, fire.

A very prominent position in talismanic graphics was held by *ting*, the fourth of the ten Heavenly characters, which represents South and, therefore, the devil-destroying element of Fire. In the sexagenary cycle *ting* recurs six times to perform its exorcising function, hence *ting* is written six times in some talismans. A similar part is played by *chia*, the first of the ten Heavenly characters, which represent East where the devil-destroying Sun rises.

Talismans were of course inscribed with the names of benefactor and protector spirits. But even more extensive was the use of the rough drawings supposed to be portraits of gods. Frequently in frag-
81 mentary form, with only an arm or leg indicated, their magic effect was regarded as even stronger. When such talismans and charms were burned, the demons were believed to be most satisfactorily roasted, tortured, and killed. For such important talismans, the gods were
64, 65 specially chosen from among Generals of the Celestial Armies.

Sentences in ordinary Chinese writing dedicated to gods and spirits to station themselves on certain spots to protect people feature in a good number of talismans. Among these, one finds commands like,

'Planet Jupiter take station here', 'Li Kuang shoot your arrows this way', or 'This is to order the Dark Lady of the Nine Heavens to stop murderous influences'.

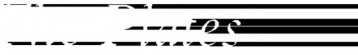
The Taoist Vision

Taoist magic offered man an inner vision to help him communicate with the various spirits that inhabit the body. But since the body is a microcosm, all these interior spirits are also spirits of the exterior world. By the use of talismanic calligraphy, the Taoist is able to extract the cosmic emblems from within, and project them around himself as if forming a meditative mandala – his personal image of the universe, with himself at the centre. This image is sometimes reduced in talismanic magic to a mere circle representing the Whole, the Great
82 Ultimate, the ultimate substance of Tao: emptiness. It is in perfect equilibrium, and nothing can harm it. It takes no initiative, to produce either happiness or disaster.

The spirit of philosophical Taoism remains the most important mystic ingredient in the occult use of talismans. This idea is best summed up in the words of an eighth-century Taoist source, the *Kuan-yin tzu*:

> Being is Non-Being and Non-Being is Being; if you know this, you can control the spirits and demons. The Real is Empty and the Empty is Real; if you know this, you can see the stars even at dawn. . . . If you unite yourself with all things, you can go unharmed through water and fire. . . . Only those who have the Tao can perform these acts. Better still not to perform them, though able to perform them.

Indeed, talismanic magic was all this in essence. In practice, it provided the link between popular Taoism and Taoist philosophical mysticism. In the application of occult ideas, it harmonized sectarian views and teachings without necessarily discrediting any of them, or creating rivalries. Talismanic magic art encompassed the symbolism of the noise of the fire-crackers in popular spirit festivals as it did the silence of the Taoist hermit's meditation, recognizing both as ways of spiritual communication. Thus meditational inactivity existed happily alongside the vigorous dance movements within this frameless and endless system of multiperceptual symbolism, in which even time and space could be dissolved. For the true mastery of this magic art the understanding of Tao is needed: the understanding of the process of change, the harmonization of experiences, spiritual and human alike, which in the final analysis cannot be encompassed by a single act of will.



Plates 1–17

Taoist magic diagrams are regarded as most potent talismans, with universal command over all spiritual forces. They invoke the harmonizing influence of yin-yang *and Eternal Change, the Divine Order of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind, and the workings of the universe, through the principle of the Five Elements, symbolized by the Five Sacred Mountains, places of Taoist pilgrimage. In plates 1–10, meditative power is the dominant theme, and the shamanistic origin of the talismans related to the Five Sacred Mountains may be gathered from the hints of ritual masks. In plates 11–12, occult script forms accompany talismans related to Directions and Seasons. Plates 13–15 illustrate the magic power of the Divine Order resulting from the unity of Heaven and Earth, expressed in a variety of different ways – for instance, rolling clouds (Heaven) lend their shapes to rock-formation (Earth) – and used in a variety of talismanic magic (plates 16, 17).*

1 The Blessed Union of *Yin* and *Yang* The characters at the foot of the diagram, *ting-men*, mean 'Summit gate'. *Ting* also means the button or knob a Taoist wears on his cap This *ting* symbolizes the *ch'i* (Vital Energy) which accumulates at the top of the head through Taoist self-cultivation The chief Taoist technique for increasing Vital Energy, refined through the system of internal circulation, is the sexual practice of coitus reservatus (*Tao-tsang* 550–3.3a)

2 The Pattern of Change, produced by the intercourse of the Vital Energy of Ling-pao with the Vital Energy of primordial darkness The first of a set of three most powerful and universal Taoist magic diagrams, related to both Heaven and Earth (see also *3, 4*).

3 The Space Song of the Blue Sky (*pi-lo*) *Pi-lo* also means 'the sound of Jade falling from Heaven' The second of a set of three most powerful and universal Taoist magic diagrams, specially related to Heaven (see also *2, 4*)

4 The Dark Earth of the Great Float (the floating island of the Taoist Immortals) The third of a set of three most powerful and universal Taoist magic diagrams, specially related to Earth (see also *2, 3*)

The set of three (*pls 2–4*) is preserved in the present form in a Sung work attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung, 1101–26 (*Tao-tsang* 144–1·2a, 3a, 4a)

5 The marbled pattern of *ch'i* (Vital Energy) painted on the forehead in theatrical make-up designed by the modern Chinese artist Hao Shou-chen (1886–1961) This make-up recalls the shamanistic masks used in Taoist magic Chinese theatrical masks carry on the same tradition

6–10 Five is the most important number in Taoist magic The five great mountain peaks of China are taken as the repositories of the spirits of the Five Directions (N, S, E, W and Centre), and as the source of the corresponding Five Elements (see p 11).

These five diagrams are, according to the Chinese captions, the Talismans of the 'True Forms' (i e. the authentic, pilgrim-protecting talismanic forms) of the Sacred Mountains of the East (T'ai-shan in Shantung), South (Heng-shan in Hunan), West (Hua-shan in Shensi); North (Heng-shan in Hopei), and Centre (Sung-shan in Honan) The primitive, shamanistic imagery is left unexplained in Chinese sources, though it seems to preserve some representational elements of local spirit-cult images (*Tao-tsang* 849 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b)

11–12 Talismans of the 'True Forms' of the Sacred Mountains (see also *6–10*), combined with magic graphs for the corresponding directions and seasons The Sacred Mountain of the North Talisman has graphs for North (above) and Winter (below) The Sacred Mountain of the East Talisman has graphs for East (above) and Spring (below) These talismans are attributed to the legendary Tung-fang So, the Chinese equivalent of Baron Munchhausen, who is supposed to have lived during the Han dynasty, 2nd century BC (*Tao-tsang* 438 11b–12a, 8b–9a)

13 A cluster of sacred Taoist spirit fungus, modelled with rolling clouds which are the secret locations of spirits Like the gnarled roots in *pl 14*, its eroded shape harmonizes *yin* and *yang*, Heaven and Earth. Their harmony has supernatural power combined here with the efficacious medicinal power of the *ling-chih* fungus (Porcelain, *kuan* type, Yung-cheng seal-mark, 1723–35)

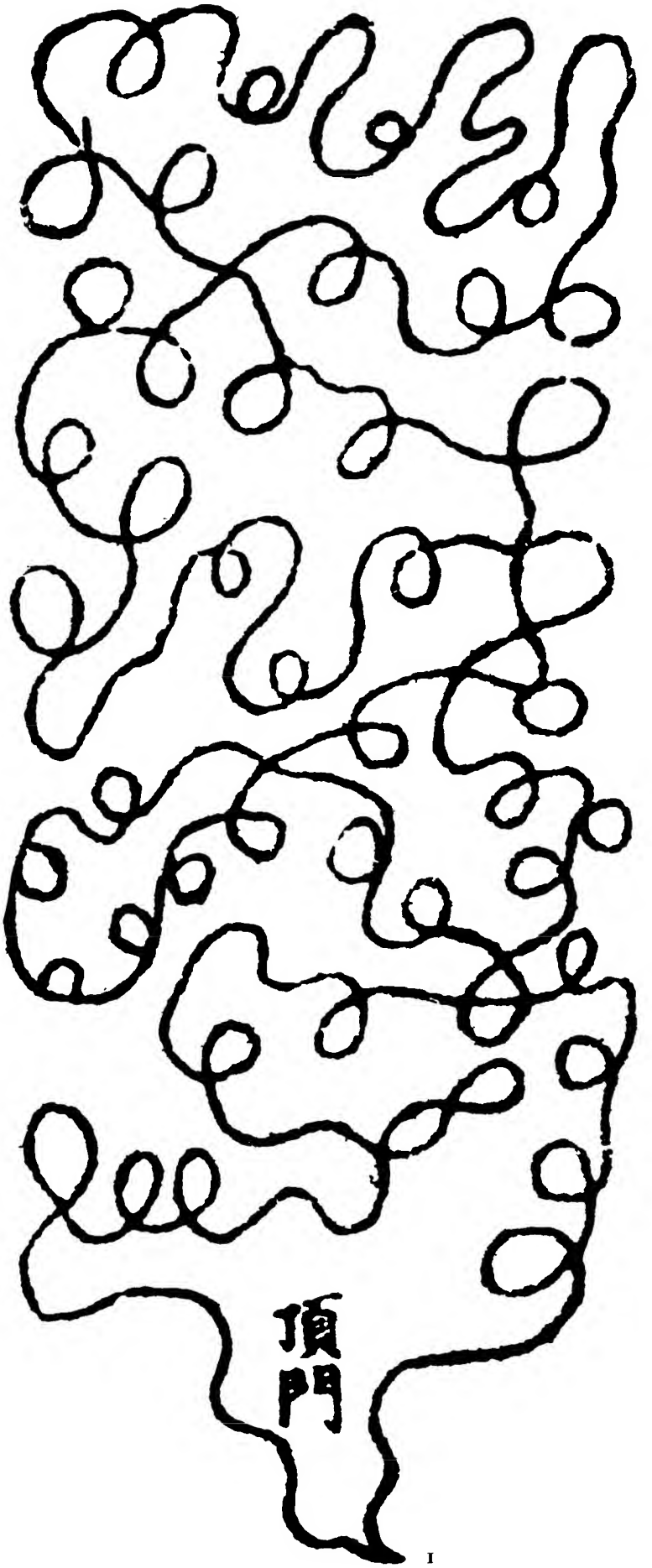
14 Earth (*yin*) is represented by twisted root and branch shapes, and Heaven (*yang*) by the holes between them, resembling constellations The side-views of this stand provide two different esoteric diagrams for locating spirits. (Carved wood stand, Sung dynasty style)

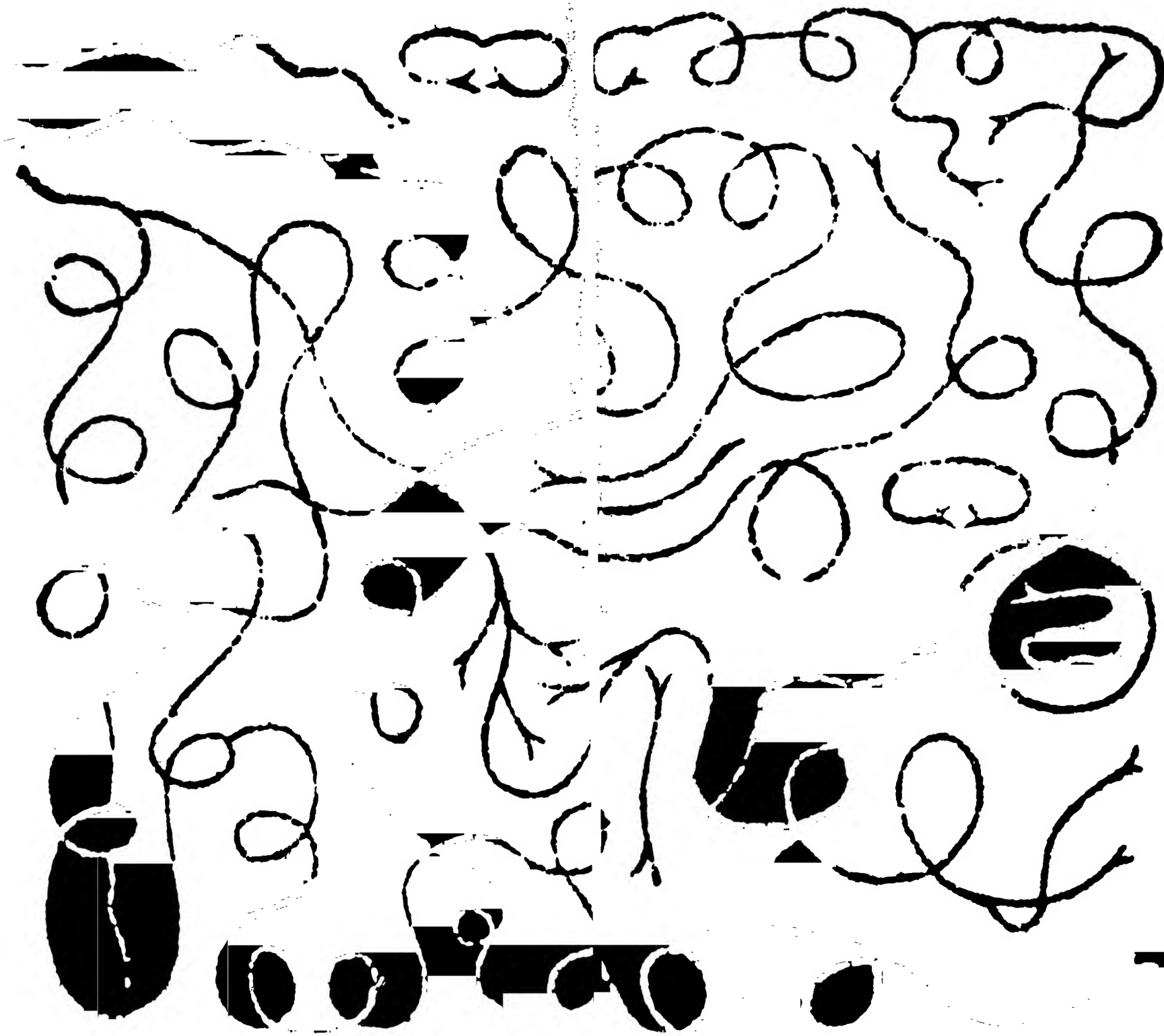
15 The diagram of the Mountain of the Blue City, also known as the Mountain of the Heavenly Kingdom, includes secret passages for man to reach the spirits who dwell up among the mountains The mystic symbolism of the shapes harmonizes rock formations (*yang*) and cavities (*yin*) The cavities are also seen as referring to constellations, adding to the power of the unity of Heaven and Earth Attributed to Tung-fang So, who was supposed to have lived during the Han dynasty, 2nd century BC (*Tao-tsang* 438–14a)

16 South-orientated magic map of the Lanterns of the Nine Hells, used symbolically to guide souls out of Hell, and help them to escape various forms of torture (*Tao-tsang* 217–14:5b)

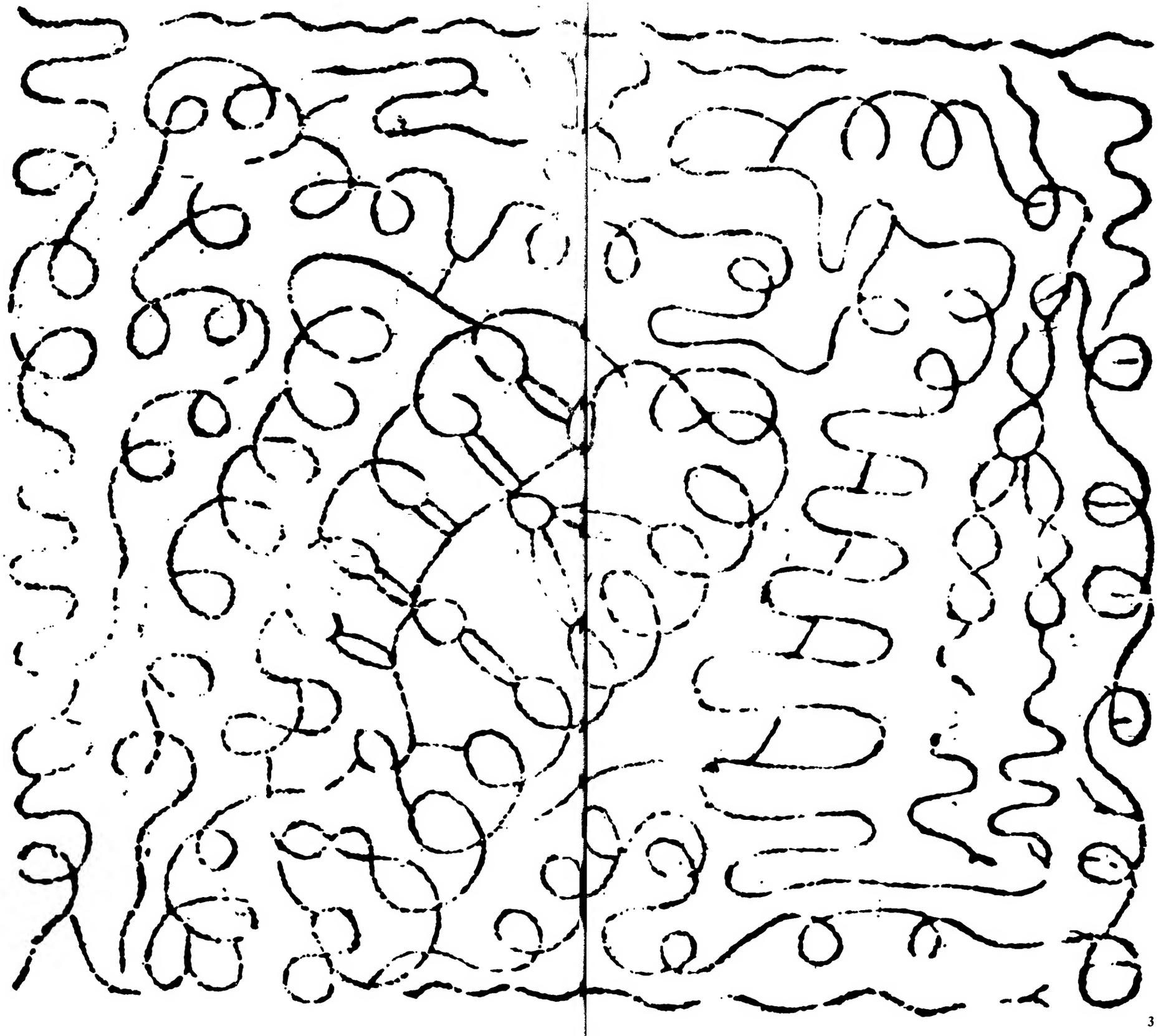
17 'Scattering *ch'i* in Bird Patterns' a diagram used in Taoist weather ceremonies to disperse clouds (From a 19th-century Taoist weather manual)

陰陽慶會元杰之祖





碧落空歌之圖

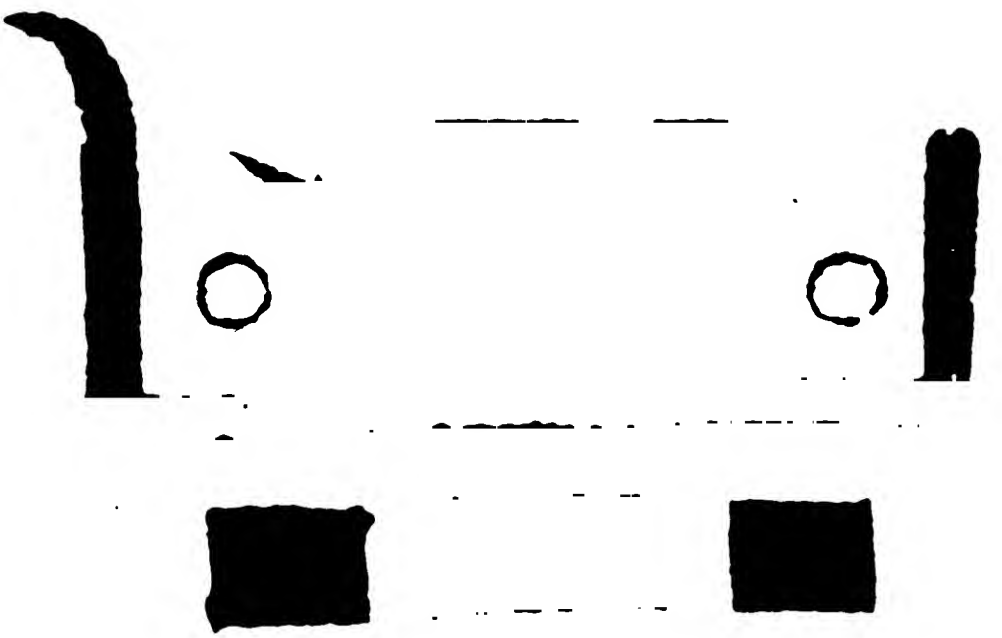


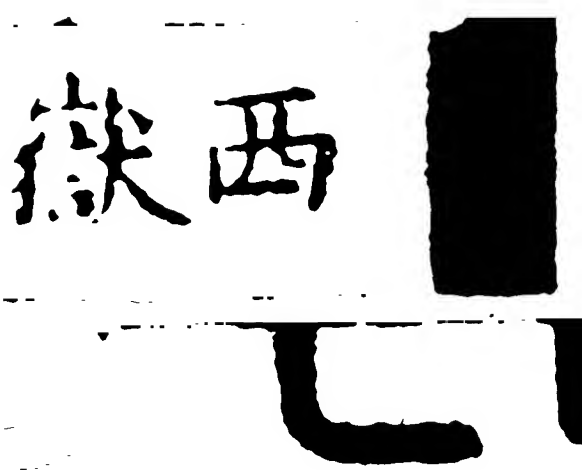
大浮黎北之圖

東嶽真形符

南嶽真形符

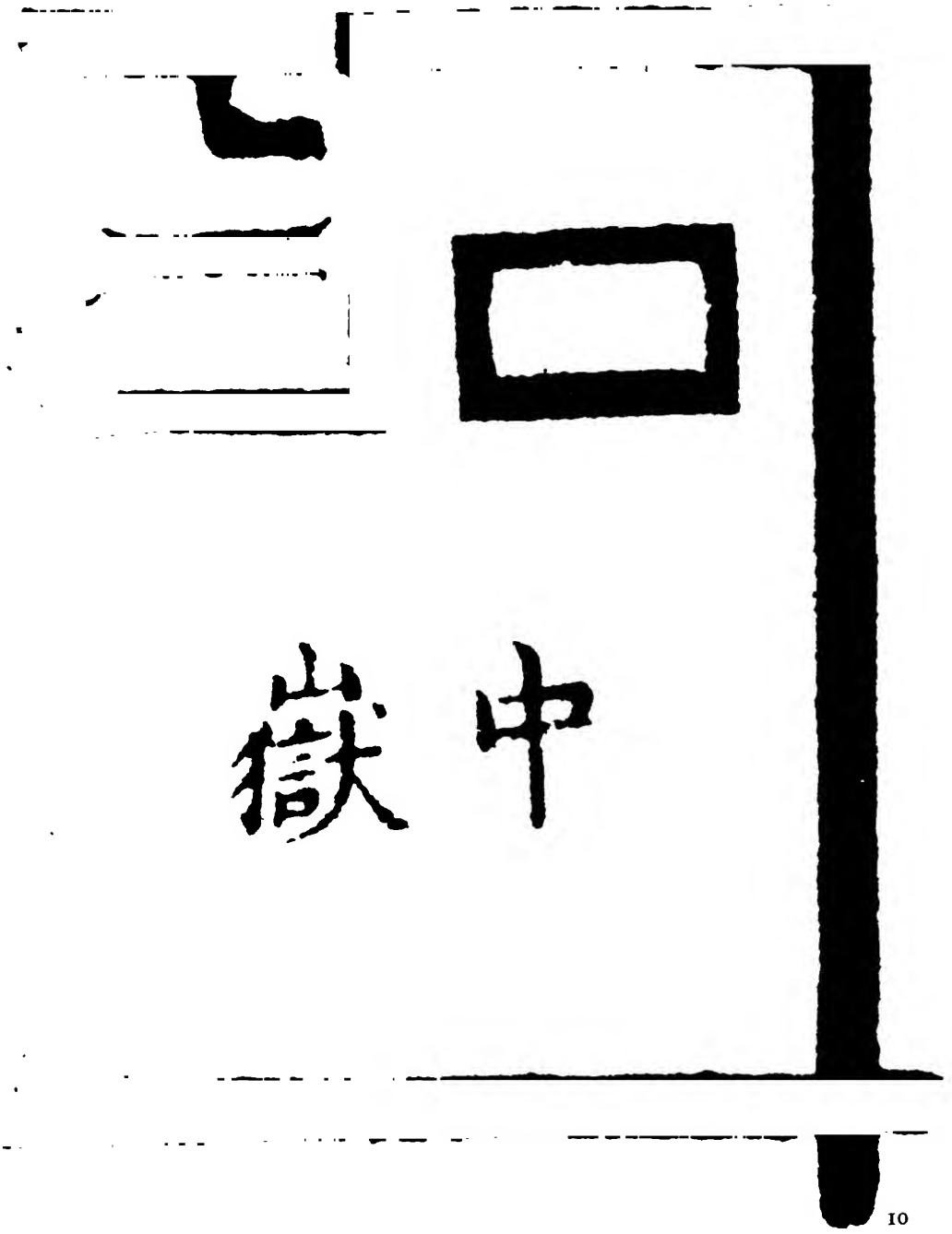
西獄真形符





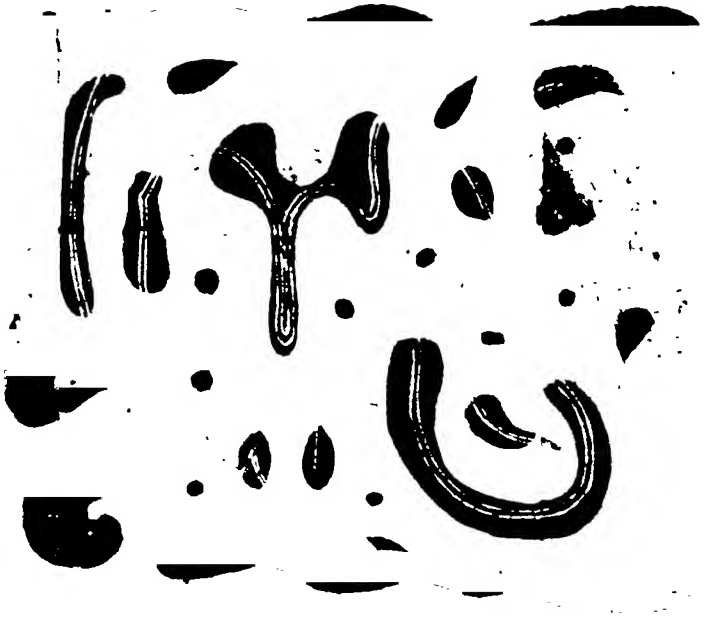
北嶽真形符

中嶽真形符



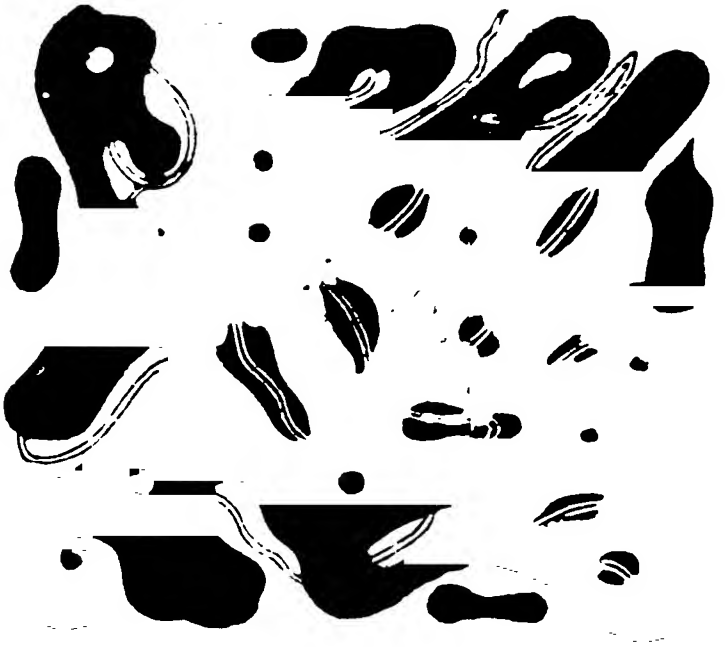
北冬

北嶽常山眞形圖



東春

東嶽泰山眞形圖



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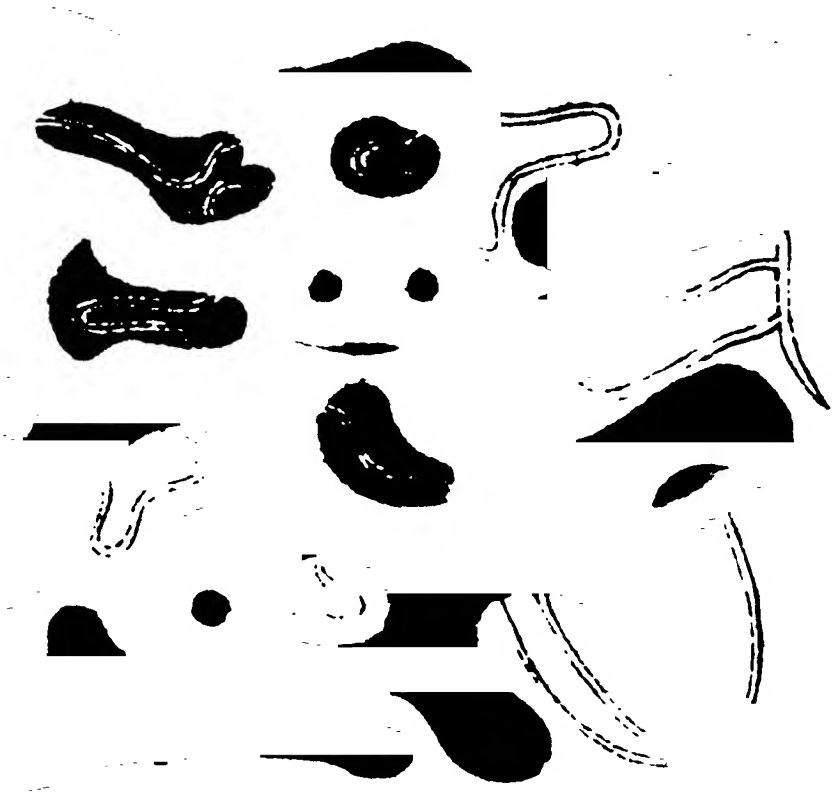

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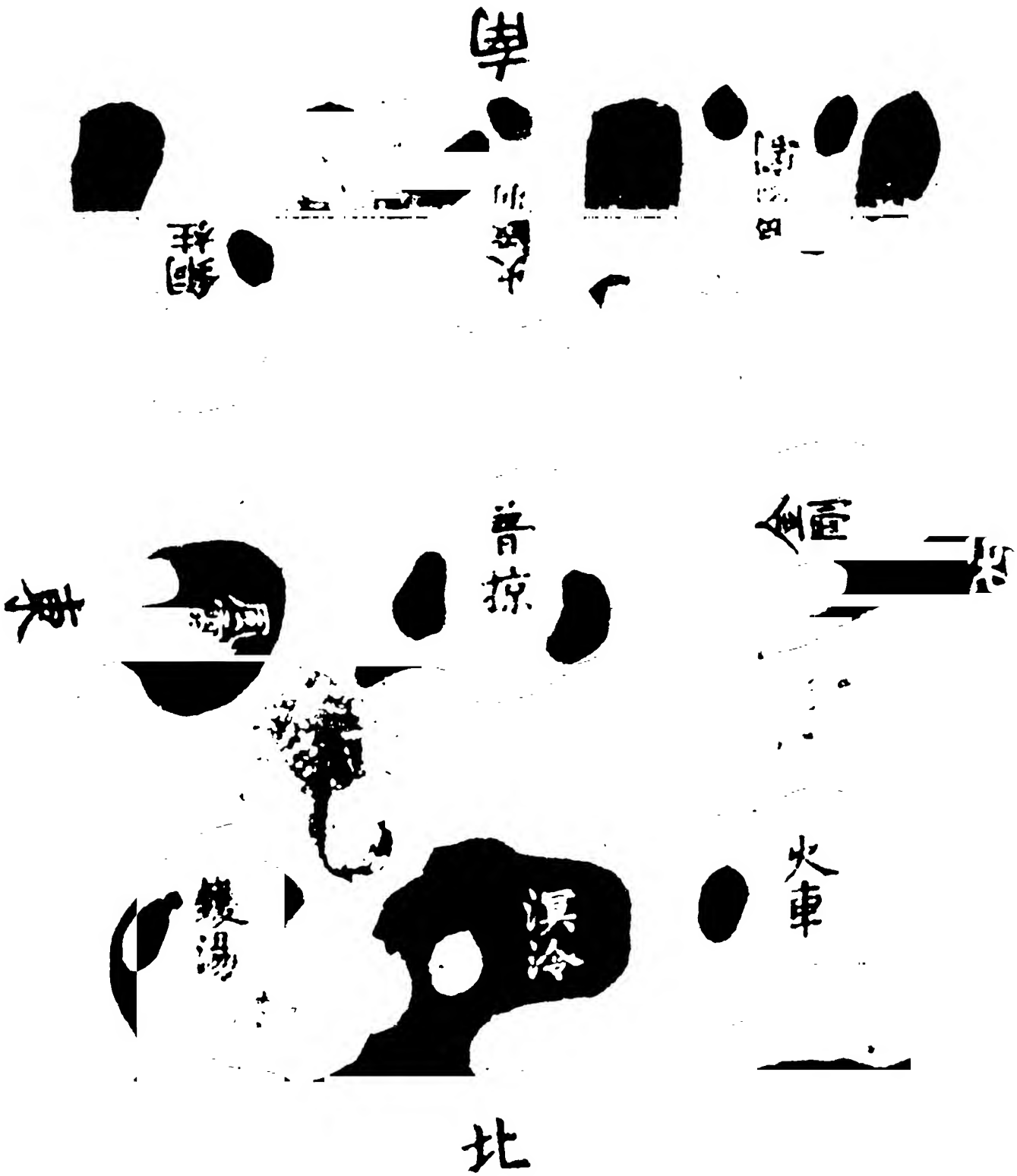
青城山一名天國山


南
普掠
金圖
東
火車
鑊湯
溟泠
北

Plates 18–30

As testimony to human anxiety, Taoist magic is much concerned with immortality, or at any rate with the desire for a long and sexually active life. The life-giving talismans of Ling-pao, 'Spiritual Heavenly Worthy', Lord of Earth, represent some of the most powerful charms in this group, all of which are executed in a characteristically bold and heavy graphic style. These life-giving talismans seem to have been used in many different ways, including even in burial ceremonies (plate 19), but they all relate to a spiritual power which was closely connected with the ancient cult of the Earth Spirit. Birds (later more specifically cranes) represent longevity in occult tradition, hence their frequent appearance in talismans, often in shorthand form, for instance as bird-heads. These are the forerunners of the mystic Bird Script of talismans of later periods.

18 Talisman of the Armour of Earth Eight *t'ien* (Heaven) characters surround a *kuei* character *Kuei* spirits are the *yin* part of the soul after death, associated with demons or evil, or the souls of men who have not been properly returned to the earth in burial (*Tao-tsang* 853 16b)

19 Bold Taoist talismanic calligraphy symbolizing Earth combined with 'constellation holes', i e Heaven. It was reputedly engraved on stone on the outer coffin of Duke T'eng of the Han period, *c* 200 BC (The earliest reference to this inscription is by a writer in the 6th century Reproduced from the *Hui-t'ang che-chi*, 7b, late 14th century)

20, 21 Four magic formulae to ward off evil (*yin*) influences are combined in the design of this wooden stand, and also in the brushed composition which can be read from any of the four directions. It incorporates the characters for Heaven, Earth, Fire and Metal (Stand, Ch'ing dynasty, 18th century, diagram, Sung date, *Tao-tsang* 543–38 18a)

22 Talisman to vitalize the tongue Such diagrams in heavy calligraphy are an 'improved' version of the blood-stained impressions formerly made on the paper by the cut tongue of the medium Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463–268 1b)

23 Talisman to vitalize the tongue It is to be used under the sign of the third branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches, with corresponding symbolic animal Tiger, zodiacal sign Gemini, hours 3–5 a m , and point of compass East-North-East It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the purple clouds of the Centre of Heaven It is painted in cinnabar-red on a yellow ground. Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463, reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41 : 20a–b)

24 Talisman of the Bird Mountain of the Supreme Taoist, where Vital Energy gives life to the spirits. It is reputed to have the power to grant immortality (Probably from the period of the Six Dynasties, *Tao-tsang* 431 5a)

25 Jade Talisman symbolizing ascending *yang*, with the Dragon of the East and the Fire Bird of the South. A talisman to prolong active life and increase sexual energy (Period of the Sixth Dynasties)

26 Talisman in brushed technique, used to establish contact with spirits and/or to bring about Unity Like the talisman in *pl 23*, to be used under the sign of the third branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the precious radiance of the Centre of Heaven Painted in cinnabar-red on a yellow ground Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463, reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41 17a–b)

27 Talisman to vitalize the kidneys (kidneys symbolizing the female sex organs) The two shapes suggest a pair of female dancers with *yin* receptacles (i e the female sex organs) emphasized To be used under the sign of the first branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches, with corresponding symbolic animal Rat, zodiacal sign Aries, hours 11 p m to 1 a m , and point of compass North It represents the Vital Energy of the dark clouds of the North. Black on a white ground Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41 18b)

28 Talisman to vitalize the eyes To be used under the sign of the fourth branch (with corresponding symbolic animal Hare, zodiacal sign Cancer, hours 5–7 a m , point of compass East), and tenth branch (i e Cock, Capricorn, 5–7 p m , West) of the Twelve Earthly Branches, representing the Vital Energy of the radiance of the Sun and Moon Blue on a white ground Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463, reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41 : 19a)

29 Talisman to vitalize the brain To be used under the sign of the Centre, i e Earth, representing the Vital Energy of the precious radiance of the Upper Heaven Red on a white ground Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463, reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41 : 22b)

30 Talisman to vitalize the blood The design appears to represent a coiled snake Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463–268 2b)

日
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吁
公
室
嗟
居

20

21

吞符

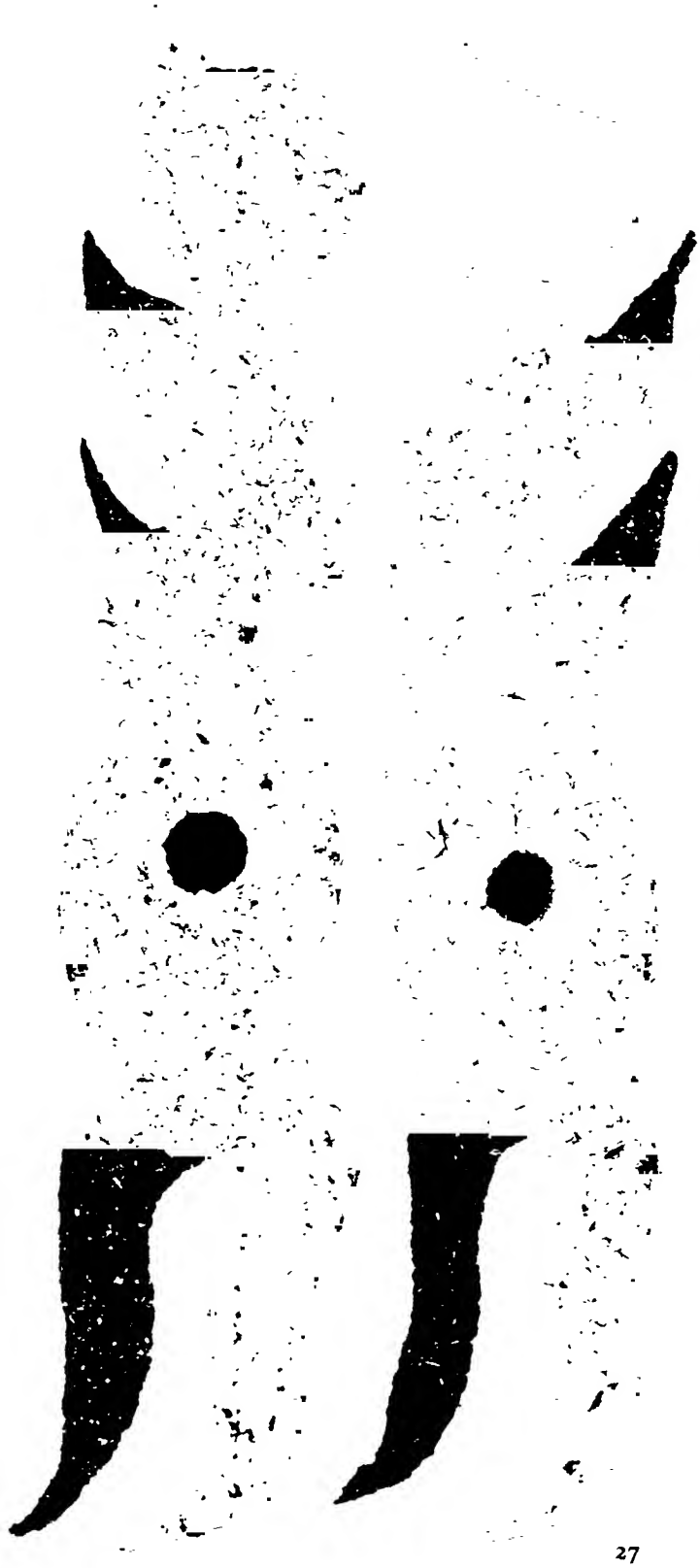
生舌符

寅文天中絳雲之炁黃地朱書

24

生結符

寅文天中瑶光
之烝黄地丹書

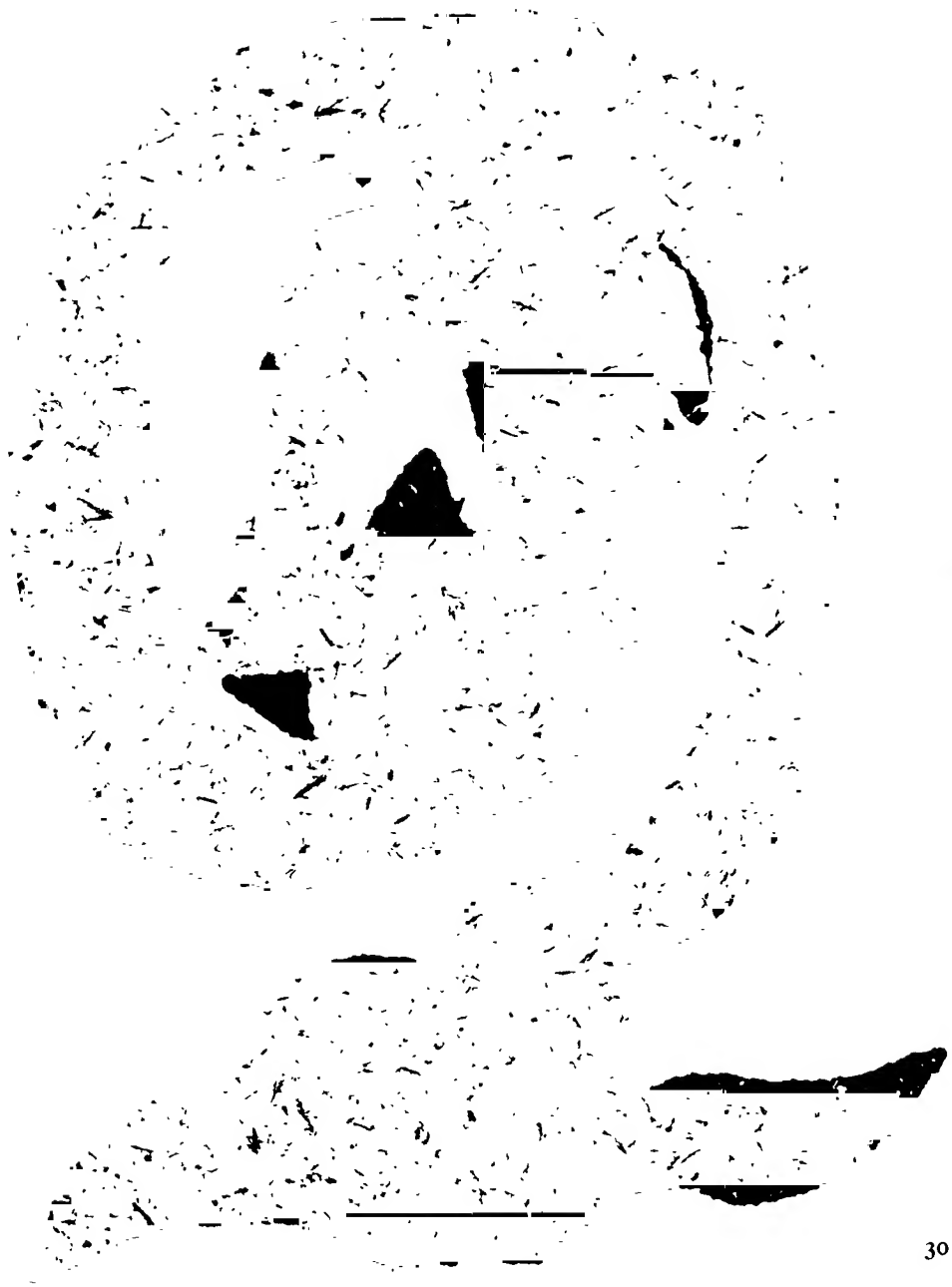


生腎符 子文北方黑帝之烈白地思書

生目符

卯酉大日月光
烏白地青雷

二腦[illegible]之烈白地赤書



血符

30

Plates 31–41

*The movement of air, and the rising smoke of incense and burnt paper talismans, represent ceaseless change and cosmic energy (*ch'i*) – the all-pervading force in Taoist magic. These highly abstract compositions have a characteristically thin and refined linearity. Their lines can be broken (*yin*) or continuous (*yang*), rounded (*yin*) or angular (*yang*), or a combination of both (plate 36). Although they are of widely different esoteric functions, ranging from charms for summoning spirits (plate 31) to medicinal talismans (plate 40), they are all related to Heaven, the* yang *partner of the* yin *Earth. This linear talismanic graphic style had a marked influence on the free calligraphic exercises of conventional Chinese art. The majority of them, however, were not originally painted with the brush. Most of them are derived from magic drawings by mediums on sand- or rice-tables.*

31 Spirit-invoking esoteric diagrams formed by lines of blue and red The diagram on the right invokes 'the Immortals of the Great Paradise, the Supreme Heaven, the Five Sacred Mountains, the Four Great Rivers [Yangtze, Yellow River, Huai and Chi], the Twelve Sources of Rivers, and the Five Internal Organs [kidneys, heart, lungs, liver, spleen]' The diagram on the left invokes: 'the Super-Immortals of the Great Paradise and Supreme Heaven, the Feathered and Flying Divine Immortals and Fragrance-spreading Strong Men, each to represent the strength of 3,000 men' (*Tao-tsang* 1367:15b)

32, 33 The eighth and twelfth of the Twelve Field-Marshal Talismans, by means of which Vital Energy (*ch'i*) stimulates the gall and heart respectively The pattern suggests the rising smoke of incense White on a blue ground, and white on red, respectively (*Tao-tsang* 216–62 9b, 216–62·10b)

34 Talisman of the Charcoal-stove, based on the patterns of rising smoke One of a set of eight diagrams to free souls from the Eight Tortures of the Earthly Prison (i e the charcoal-stove, the iron couch, the pile of knife-blades, the hollow bronze pillar with furnace inside, the boiling cauldron, the iron wheel, saw and ice) The text reads 'By the will of this Ling-pao Talisman, liberate the dead on behalf of [so-and-so], get them out of the Earthly Prison of the Charcoal-stove, so they can ride on this light and live according to the principles of human kind . .' (*Tao-tsang* 216–51:15b)

35 Talisman to purify the mind, to be burned using an incantation of 37 characters which may be translated as follows 'Spirit of the Divine Ruler of the Red Palace, Energy of burnt offerings, follow the light and fly to purify. Come to the cottage-wall of the Taoist so that weariness has no place in his mind. Under the peaceful morning sky the sweet dew sets quickly to form red jasper Follow without delay the commands of the True Order' (*Tao-tsang* 217–30 22b)

36 Old Master's Talisman to rid dwellings of evil spirits and cure epidemics, in combined round and square calligraphy. One of a set of seven, this charm is to be used only in the eastern quarters of the house The others in the set are specified for the southern, western and northern quarters, and those to be placed on the bed, the stove and behind the house (*Tao-tsang* 217–24 16a)

37 Talisman to vitalize the lungs, in rounded (*yin*) calligraphy To be used under the sign of the tenth branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches (corresponding to Cock, Capricorn, 5–7 p.m., West) It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the yellow clouds of the Centre of Heaven Painted in white on a black ground Attributed to Ling-pao (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 543–41:21b; also reproduced *Tao-tsang* 463)

38 Jade Talisman of Supreme Ruler One of the Great Cave, in rounded (*yin*) calligraphy. It embodies 'the turbid torrent of the whirlpool of the female essence', and 'offers a magic formula to ward off evil influences' (*Tao-tsang* 7–2.21b)

39 Talisman of the Heavenly Cure, made in 1974 at the Chinese New Year. This type of mystic 'paper money' is known as 'white gold' in Singapore today (Red ink and eight-trigram seal-impression on yellow. From a Chinese Taoist temple in Bukit Timah, Singapore)

40 Talisman of the Heavenly (*yang*) Cure for women (*yin*), with erect penis (*yang*) under a constellation. The penis carries a brushed character meaning 'induced to come' The character also means 'by imperial order'. The curative diagram is based on the concept of illness (excess of *yin* influence) being cured by re-establishing the right balance between *yin* and *yang* through sexual intercourse (*Tao-tsang* 217–16 6b)

41 Natural rock-formation in Hong Kong, a place of pilgrimage for Taoist women All-night lantern festivals take place here, connected with the talismanic cult of the Heavenly Cure

諸請[illegible]洞玉清上宮[illegible]藏四[illegible]十二河[illegible]

五藏仙人各十萬人

諸請[illegible]洞玉清上宮超仙羽步飛行神仙傳

[illegible]力士各三千人

32

33

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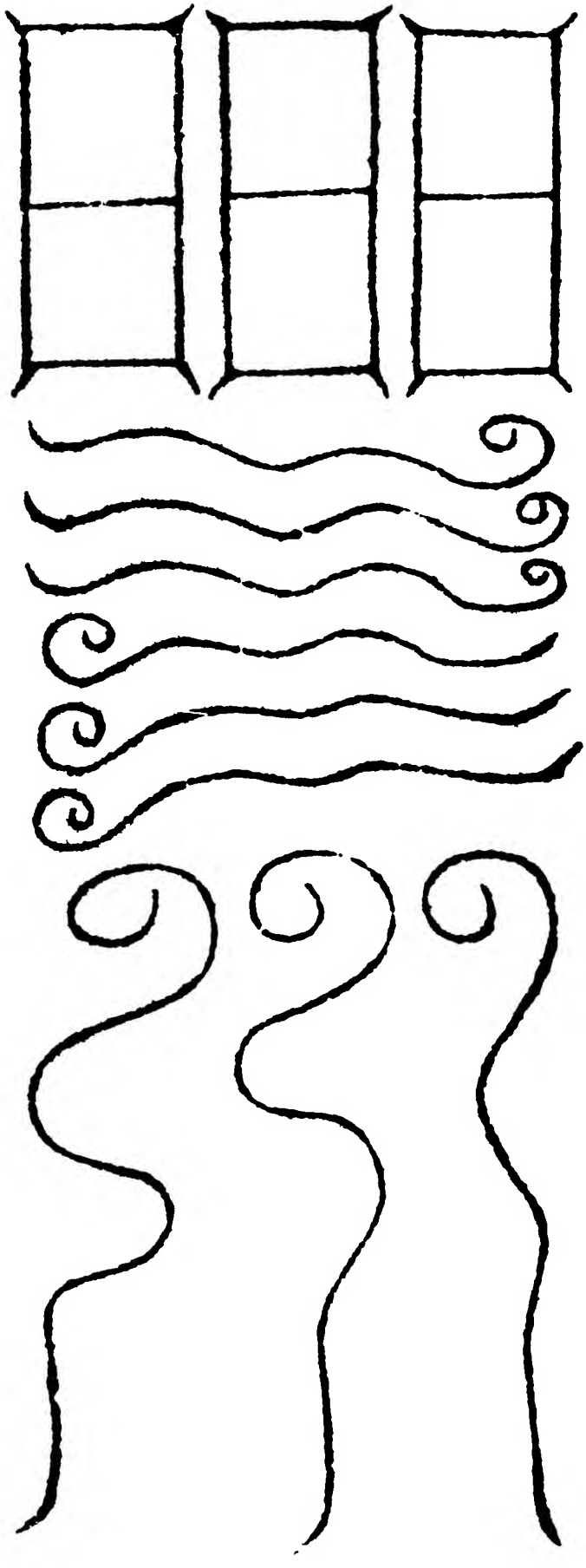

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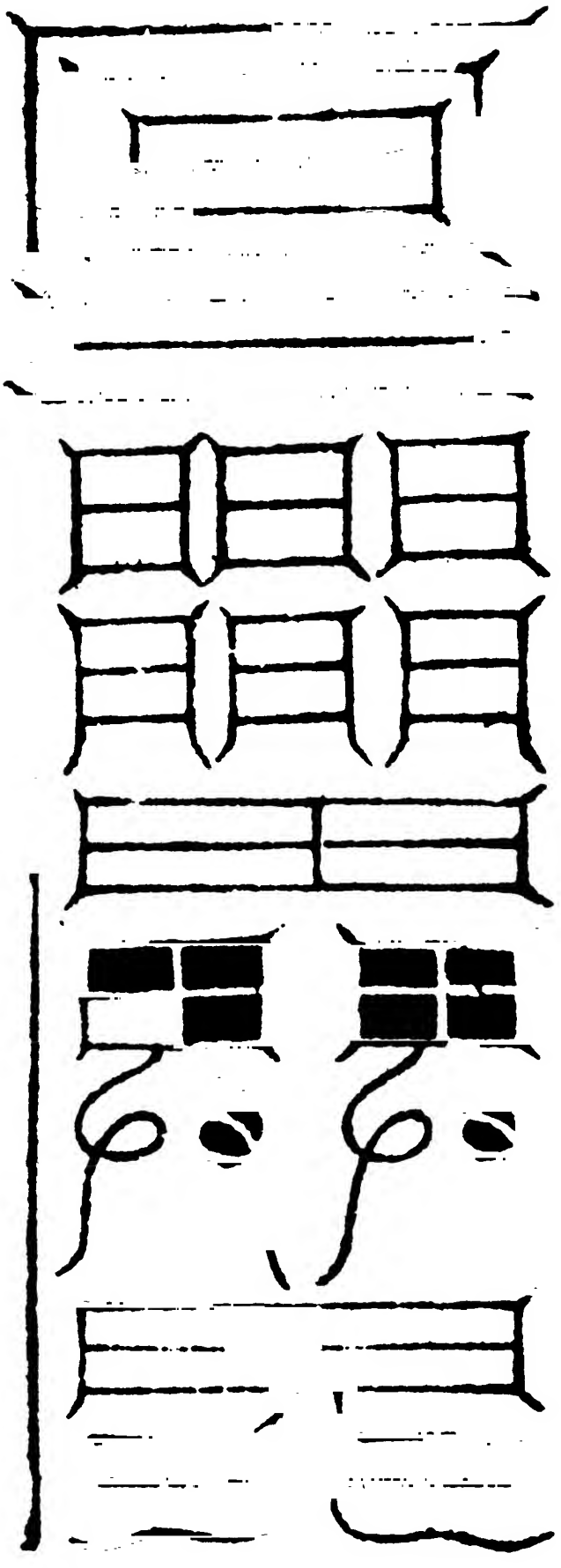

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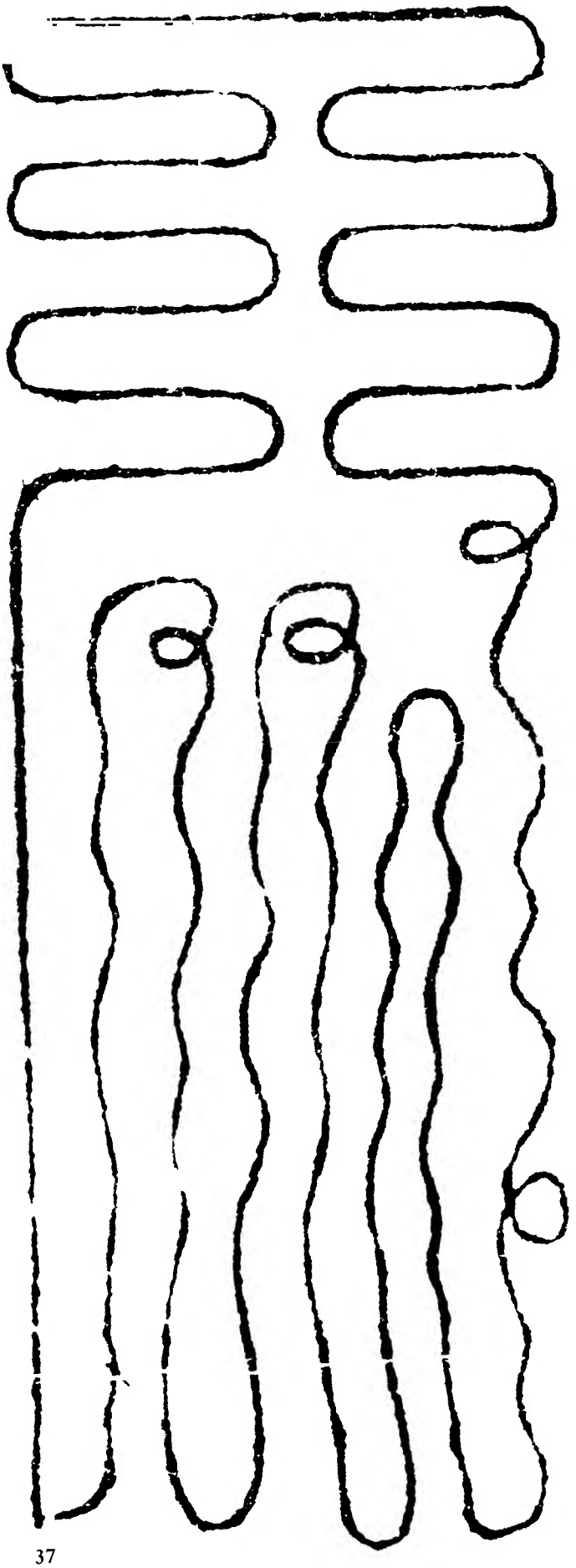

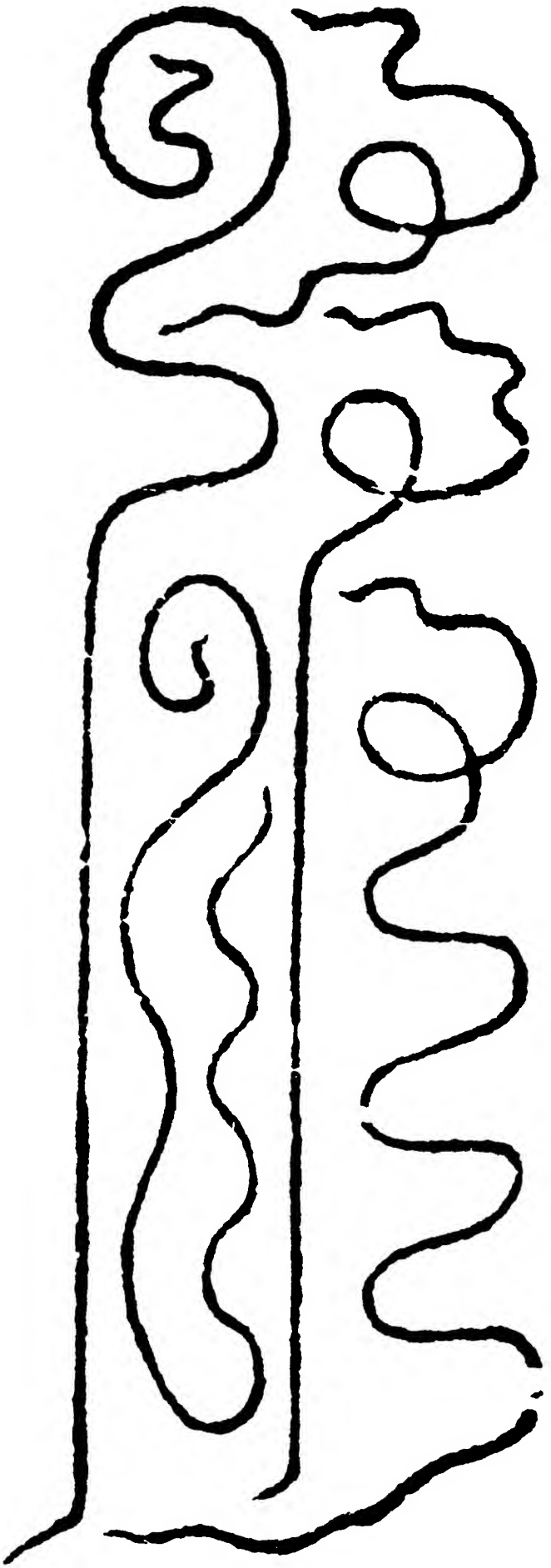

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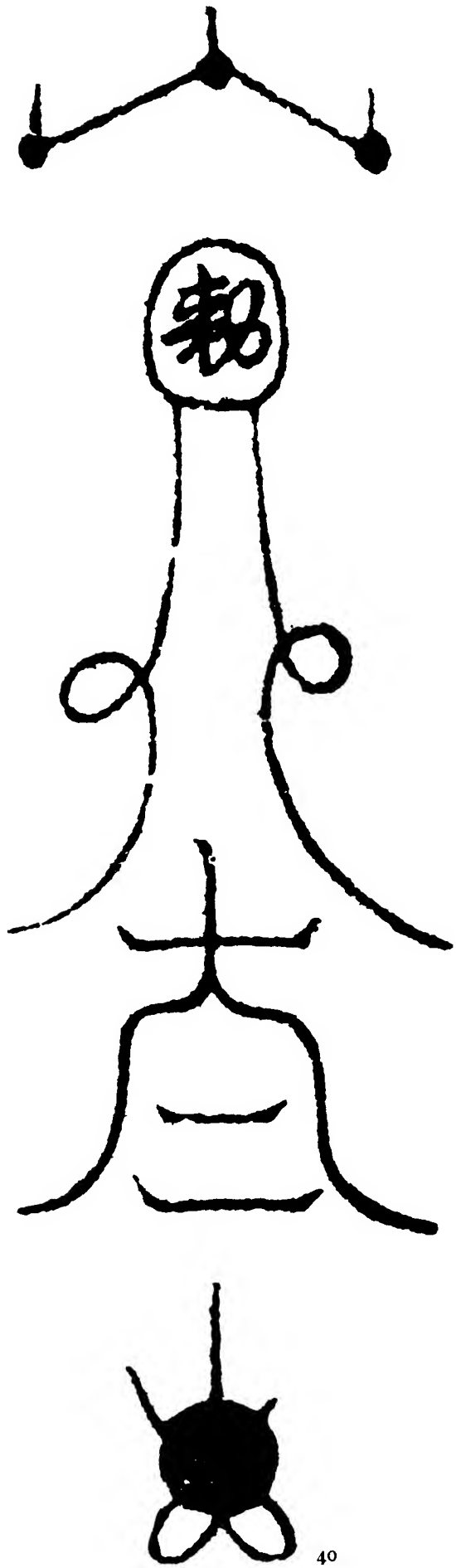

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Plates 42–55

Cloud formations were associated with the movement of spirits, which were believed to dwell in mist, emerging suddenly to manifest themselves before human beings. A purple flash, or clouds of five colours, frequently marked such supernatural events. But these spiritual contacts too could be controlled by the magic power of calligraphy, and the various cloud-motifs employed in Taoist graphics serve this very purpose. Thus a variety of superbly linear and vapoury 'Cloud Script' forms derive their shapes and therefore their magic power from cloud formations. They are believed to have special powers to enable man to communicate with the spirit world, hence their extensive use in talismanic graphic art. Cloud formations, with or without constellations, also provide the model for the magic art of movement (plate 42), and even geomancy (plate 46). Sound was believed to penetrate this mysterious cloudy spirit world, so that talismans were often used in combination with spoken charms, incantations, and chants. The musical scores accompanying diagrams (plate 49) are written in a style resembling magic Cloud Script calligraphy.

42 Cloud Dance performed in mirror-image formation. The three pairs of female dancers represent the living, with the leg-movements of the *t'ai-chi ch'uan* exercises ('riding of the Heavenly Horse'), while their arm-movements symbolically reach out to invoke the spirits, in harmony with the Inner Alchemy. The Cloud Dance links microcosm and macrocosm, man with the spirit world. (Rubbing from a stone-engraving on an early T'ang tomb, excavated 1973–4)

43 'Flight of the Phoenix' around an imaginary ball of fire, i.e. the sun, an act of magic symbolically inviting the union of *yin* and *yang*, performed by acrobatic dancers of the Peking Opera. This movement expresses the same theme as the magic diagram shown on the facing page.

44 Magic diagram of the interaction of the *yang* element of the fiery sun and flying *yin* rain-clouds. (Cinnabar-red and black ink. From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

45 Diagram to prevent great rainfall and wind. The cinnabar-red sun collects black clouds in a fashion reminiscent of the geomancy pattern shown on the facing page. (From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

46 Geomancy pattern known as 'The Flowing Spirits collect Water', indicating increased *yang* influence of the spirits which absorbs *yin* water and thus prevents rain. (From the geomancy manual of Chiang P'ing-chieh, *Shui-lung chung* I 35b, 1744 ed.)

47 Diagram for making rain, based on the seven-star constellation of the Great Dipper with a bird-headed cloud formation, symbolizing 'the bursting of clouds and rain', a metaphor for orgasm. In this esoteric context, sexual intercourse was believed to produce actual rainfall. Black ink. (From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

48 Diagram of movement, based on the seven-star constellation of the Great Dipper, symbolizing, as the title states, 'the intercourse between Heaven (*yang*) and Earth (*yin*), in the footsteps method of the Great Yu (legendary emperor of the Hsia dynasty)'. These seven steps (the first and last footprints are not counted) also represent a ritual dance combined with sexual intercourse of man (*yang*) and woman (*yin*), at three different stages, indicated in the diagram by horizontal lines. (From an AD 1116 source, *Tao-tsang* 1210 8 5a)

49 The waterfall 'Mountain-peak Cloud Falls' – is made up of musical scores of hymns to the Immortals. These are recorded in the 'Sound of Jade' style of mystic calligraphy. (*Sleeping Dragon Mountain Scroll* detail, attributed to Li Kung-lin, 1049–1106, of the Northern Sung dynasty)

50 The vertical linearity of the rock-face behind these musicians incorporates graphic elements of the 'Sound of Jade' style of calligraphy in musical scores of hymns to the Immortals. (*Te-hua* porcelain, early 17th century, Ming dynasty)

51 Taoist musical scores, relating to the mystic 'Sound of Jade'. (Collection of hymns to the Immortals, *Tao-tsang* 602–1 9a)

52 Calligraphic exercise entitled 'Sound'. The character is executed by the contemporary Chinese artist Chiang Yee (who lives in New York) in the 'Sound of Jade' style of mystic script. (Shown at one-man exhibition Hong Kong 1972)

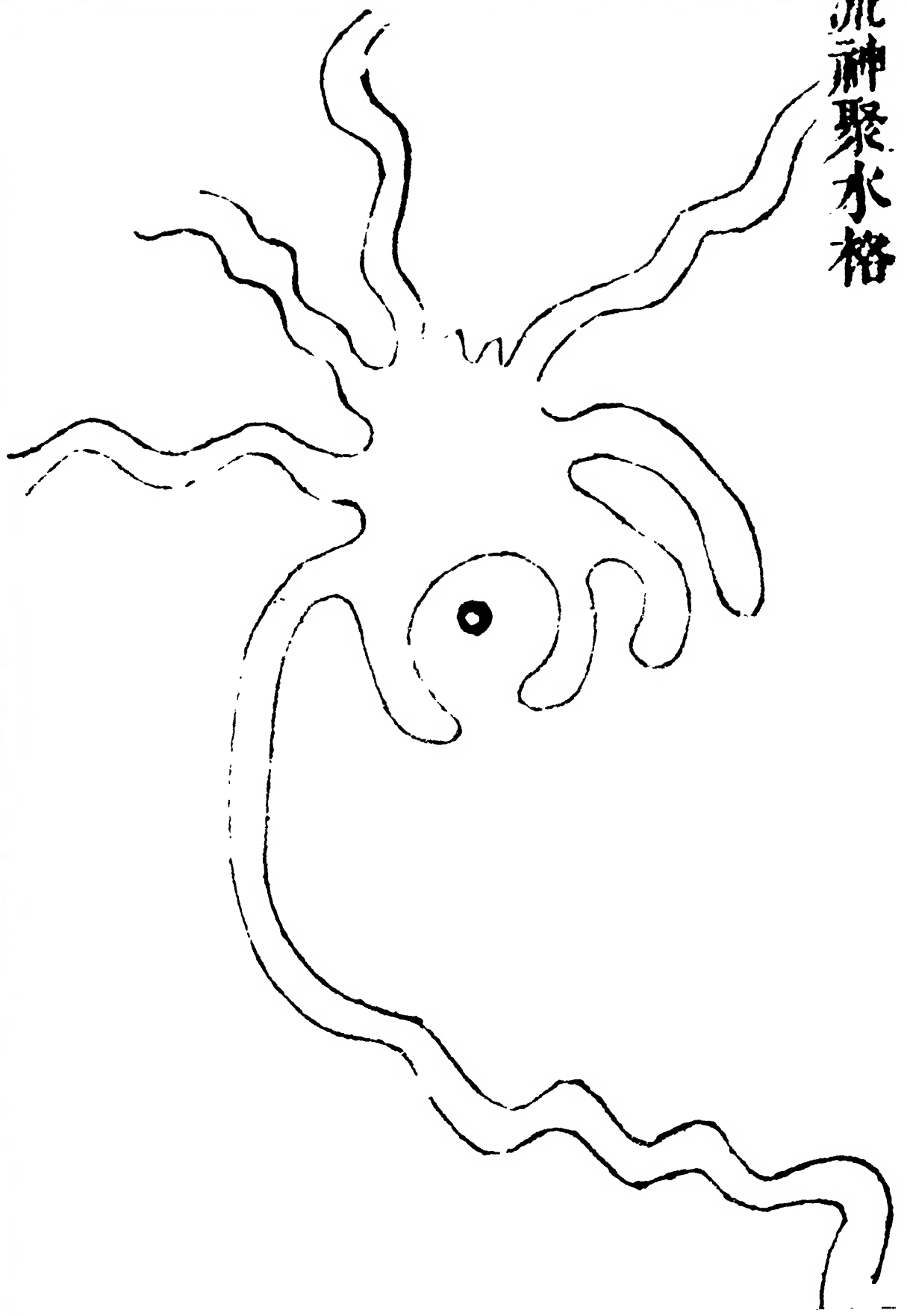
53 The Taoist Cloud Script (*yin*) employed as decoration on a brush-holder of phallic or rock (*yang*) shape. (T'ien-ch'i period, 1621–7, Ming dynasty)

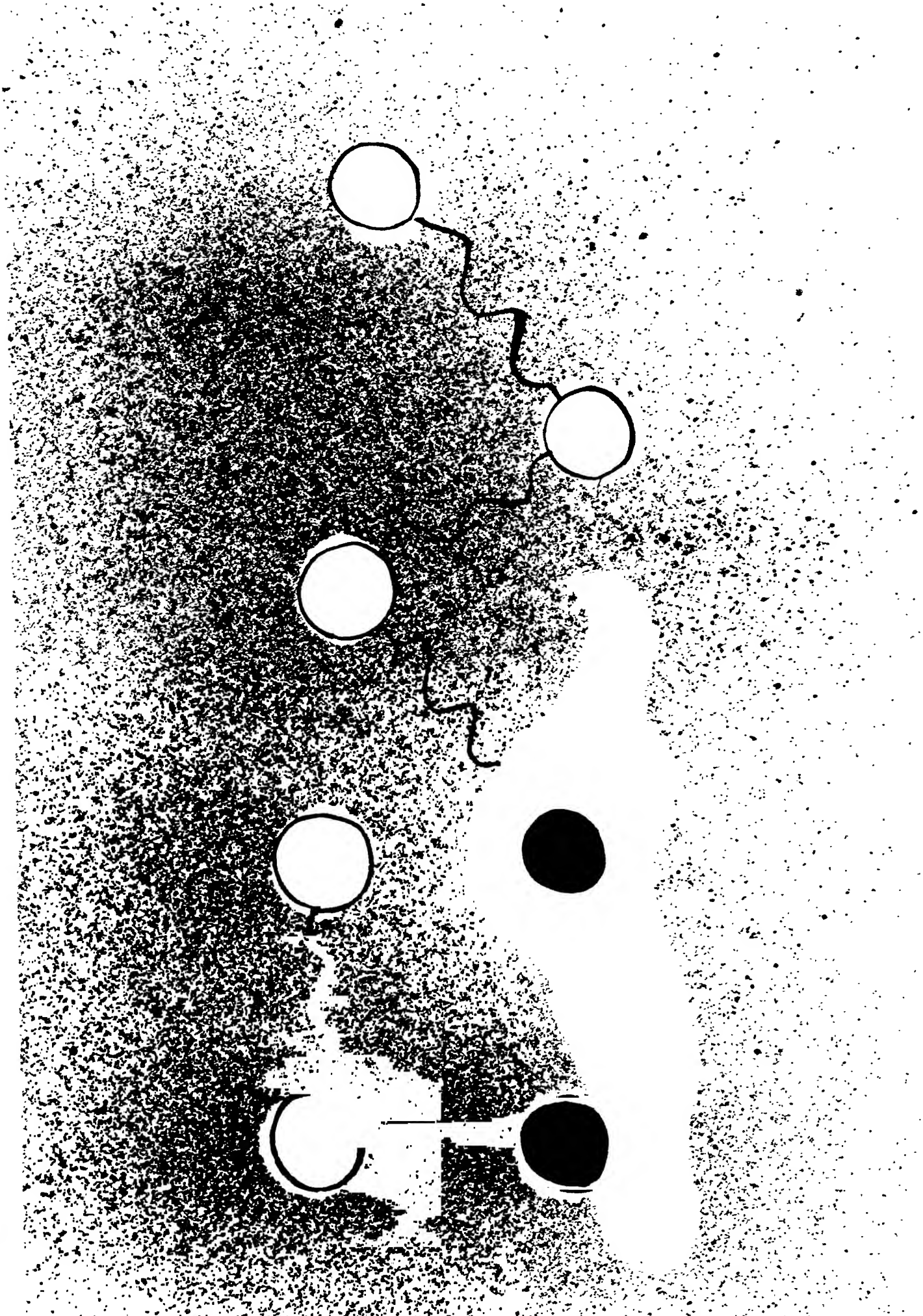
54 An early 4th-century version of Cloud Script which seems still to retain talismanic graphic elements: the elongated strip-format of talismans dominates this style. Cloud Script was used to emphasize the unity of *yin* (clouds, mist etc.) and *yang* (Heaven). The standard forms of the Chinese characters are printed below. (*Tao-tsang* 78 33b 34a)

55 Text of *Primordial Tao*, an esoteric essay, written in Cloud Script characters with the standard forms of Chinese characters above. (Sung period, *Tao-tsang* 220–3 12b–13a)

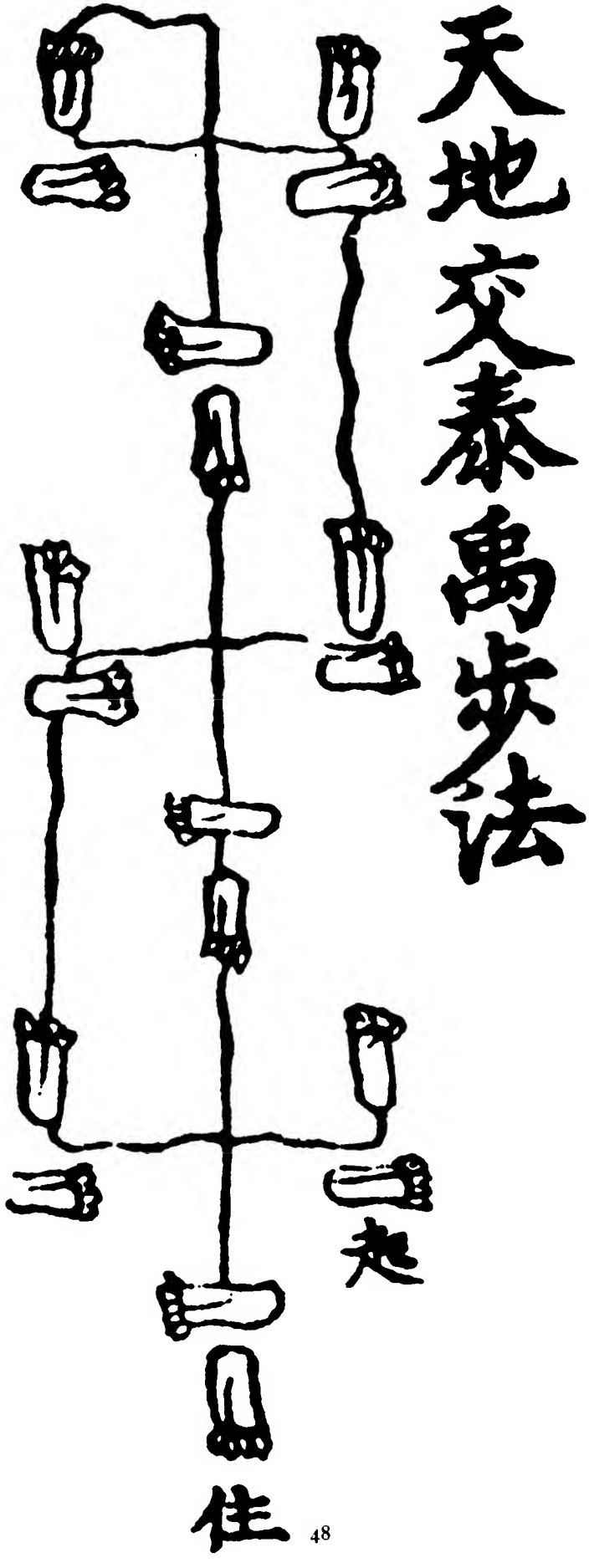
金虎流火箭主當日午時大雷雨

流神聚水格





天地交泰禹步法



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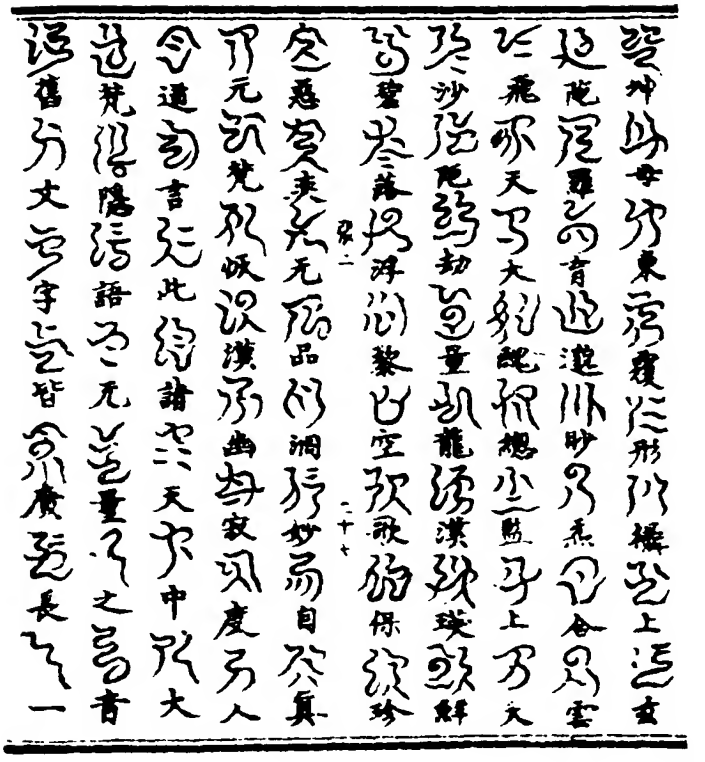

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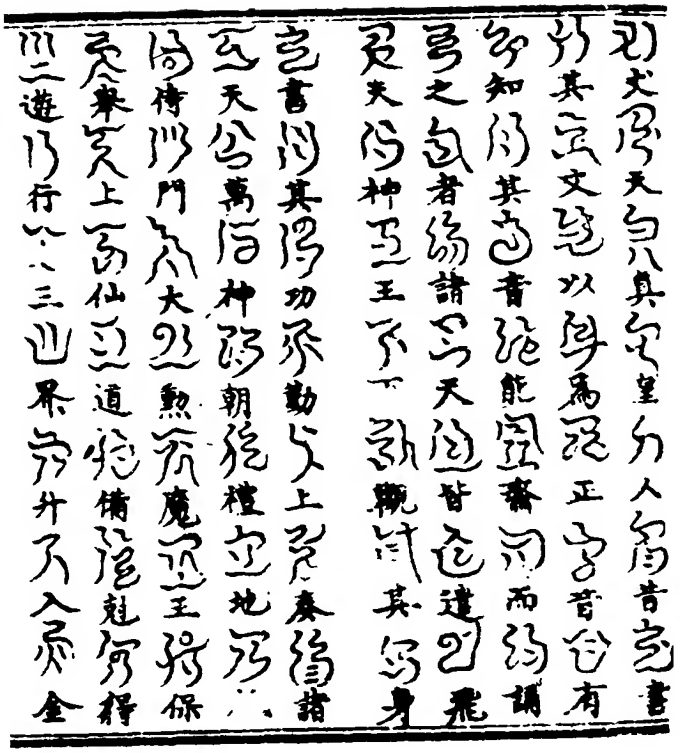

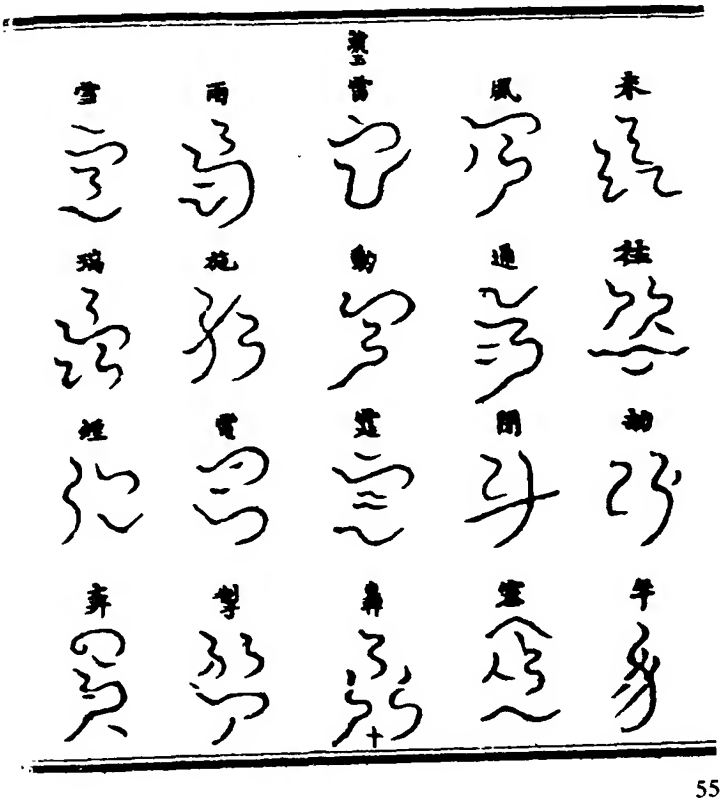

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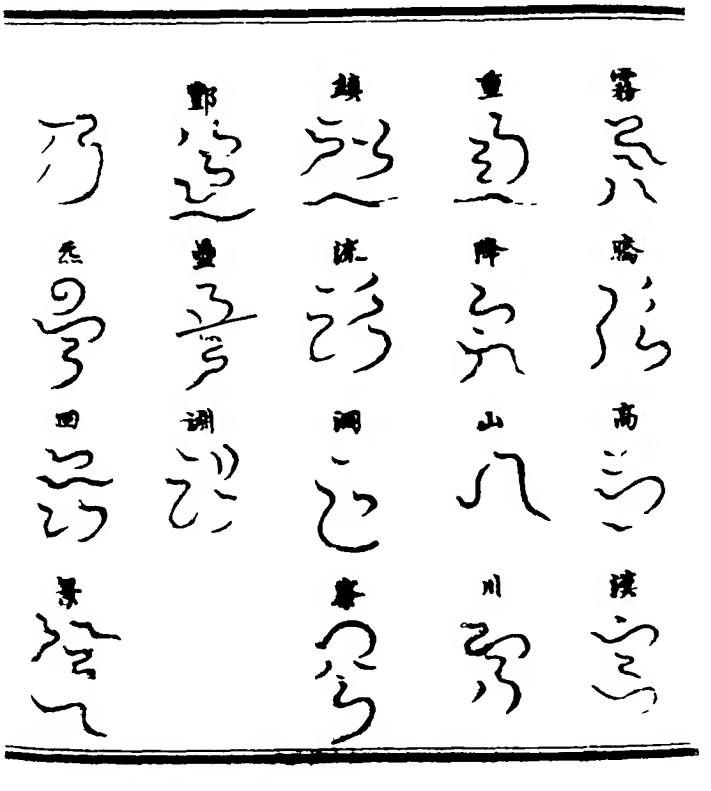


Plates 56–63

Invisible geomancy currents and their mysterious patterns form a special group among Taoist occult graphic diagrams. The purpose of these diagrams was to prevent danger and calamities, and to suggest locations which would enable one to avoid confrontation with spirits rather than to invoke them, so to that extent they differ from other talismans. The patterns included various 'scientific' observations of the invisible magnetic, wind, and underground-water currents of the Earth, relating them to the visible aspects of the location or landscape. As graphic diagrams they are powerful tools of sympathetic magic, enabling one to bring about many kinds of desirable changes. Their occult application is virtually unlimited. This is indicated by the titles of these geomancy patterns (as given in the captions below), many of which have sexual connotations. Representational art makes full use of these forms (plate 57). These ideas were also employed with the utmost precision in the anatomical theory of yin *and* yang *diseases in traditional Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture. They provide the concepts for the location of acupuncture meridians and spots to be stimulated 'to evoke' – as one would invoke spirits – either* yang *tonification or* yin *sedation, according to the prescribed intensity of stimulation of the affected areas and nerves. Names given to the body's hollows, and blood and breath conveyances, frequently suggest geomantic parallels.*

56 Geomancy patterns. The diagram above is entitled: 'A Beautiful Woman offering Flowers' (sexual reference is intended) The diagram below 'The Pincers of a Centipede' (From the geomancy manual of Chiang P'ing-chieh, the *Shui-lung ching* 3 12a, 1744 ed.)

57 The 'One', the 'Great Ultimate', *t'ai-chi*, expressed in sexual terms as the magic union of *yin* and *yang* The lovers are in the Taoist 'Hovering Butterflies' posture, the eleventh of the Thirty Heaven and Earth Postures (Porcelain, mid-18th century, Ch'ing dynasty)

58 Geomancy pattern of the 'Great Ultimate' (*t'ai-chi*), represented as the union of interlocked *yin* and *yang* (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3 11b, 1744 ed.)

59 Geomancy makes its appearance in a military handbook on explosives, dated 1662 Placed on a trigram *ch'ien* (*yang*), with legs apart, the female (*yin*) receives a phallic candle to produce an 'explosion', i.e. to produce orgasm (From *Wu-lueh chih* by Mao Yuan-i, 1662, recently reproduced in a Maoist article relating to guerilla warfare, by Lin Hsien-chou in *Wen-wu* 1973, entitled *Invention of automatic devices bombs, land mines and limpet mines in ancient China*)

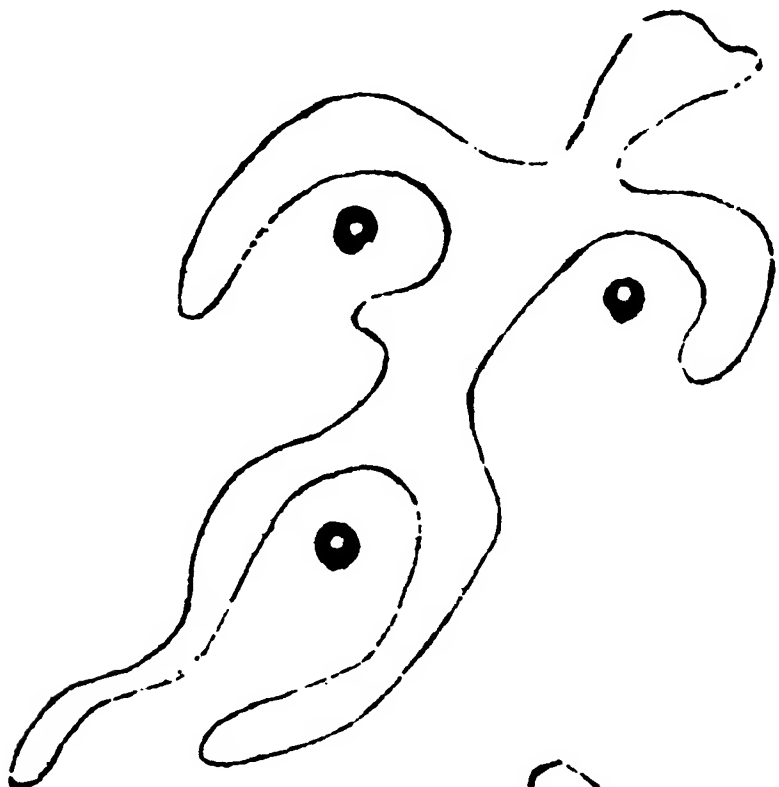
60 The composition of this scene of lovers in a garden is reminiscent of the geomancy pattern known as 'A Lake peacefully Gathering Pebbles' – a Taoist metaphor for sexual intercourse (Blue and white porcelain sleeve vase, Transitional period, c. 1640–60)

61 Geomancy pattern known as 'A Lake peacefully Gathering Pebbles' (From the *Shui-lung ching* 1 53b)

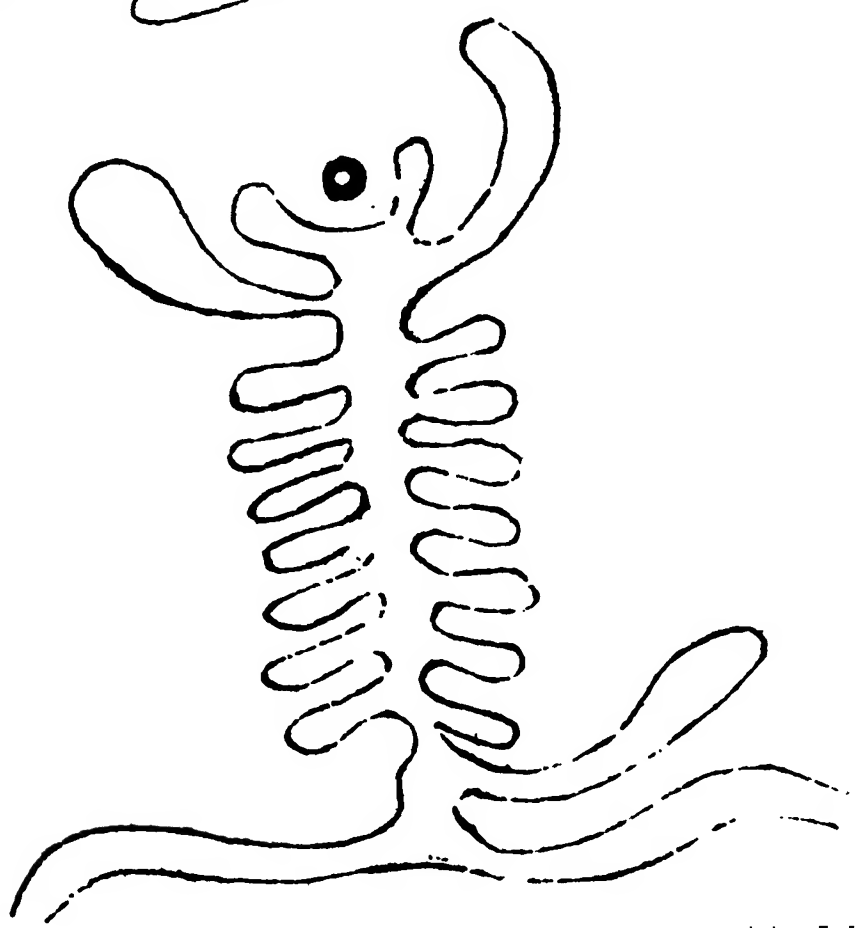
62 Geomancy patterns known as 'A Boat Sailing with the Wind' (above), and 'Harbouring in a Cave with Bent Bow' (below) The title of the second has military as well as sexual connotations (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3 16a, 1744 ed.)

63 Geomancy patterns known as 'An Immortal's Hands plucking the Lute (above), and 'The Left and Right Hands of an Immortal' (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3 9b, 1744 ed.)

美女獻花格



蜈蚣鉗格



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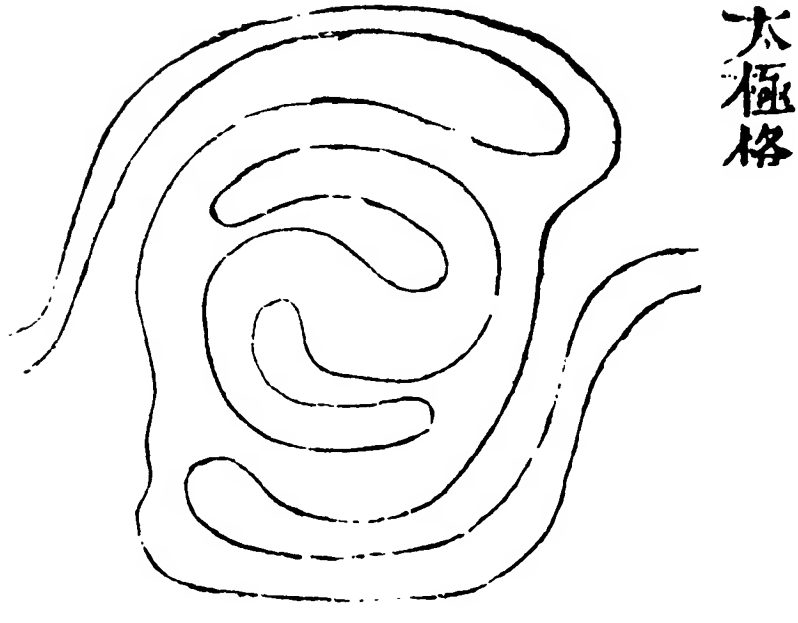

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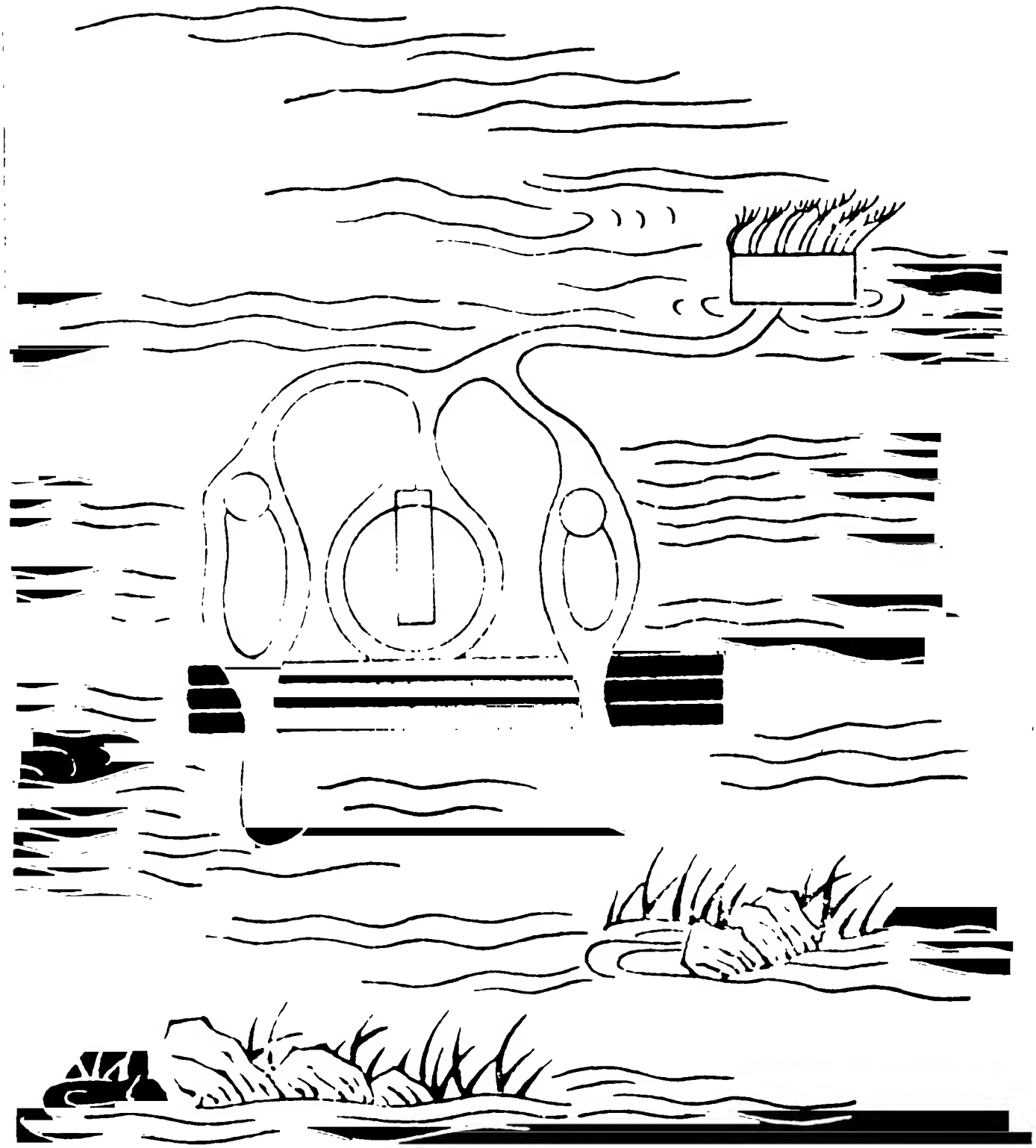
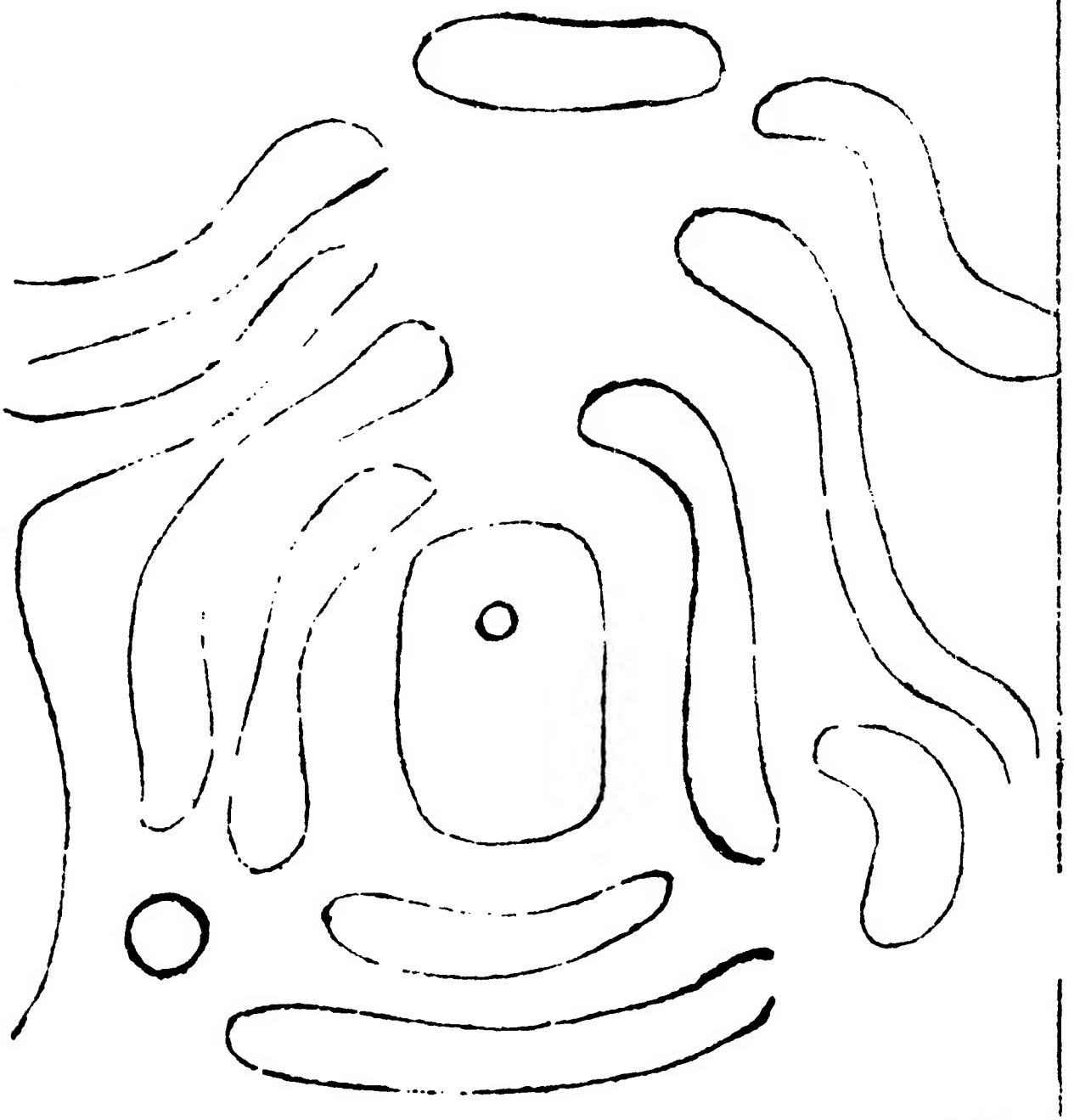
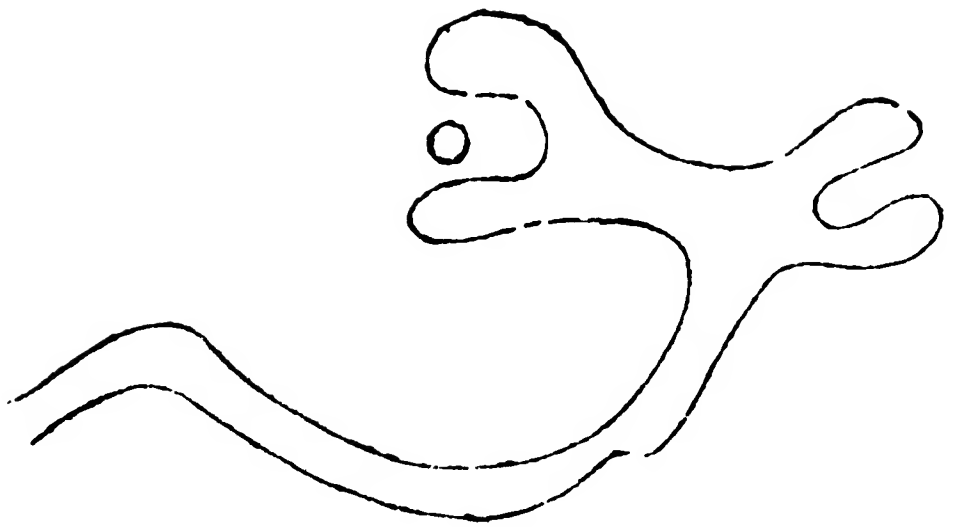


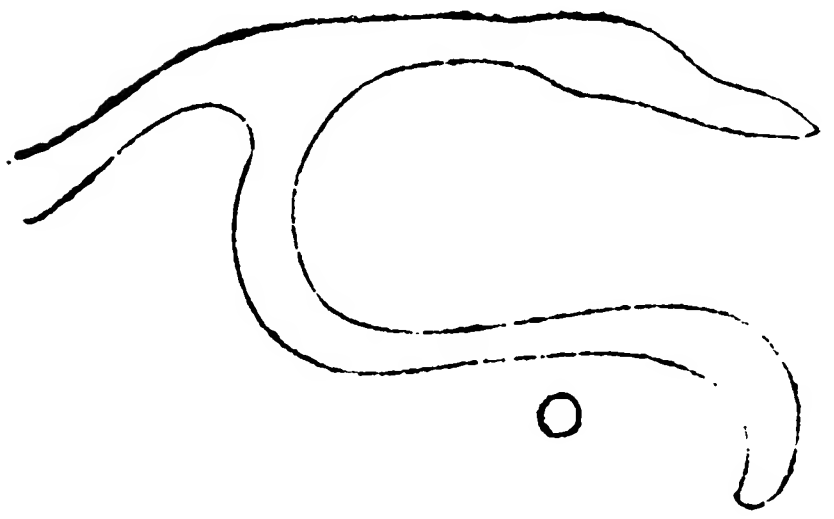
湖蕩聚砂格



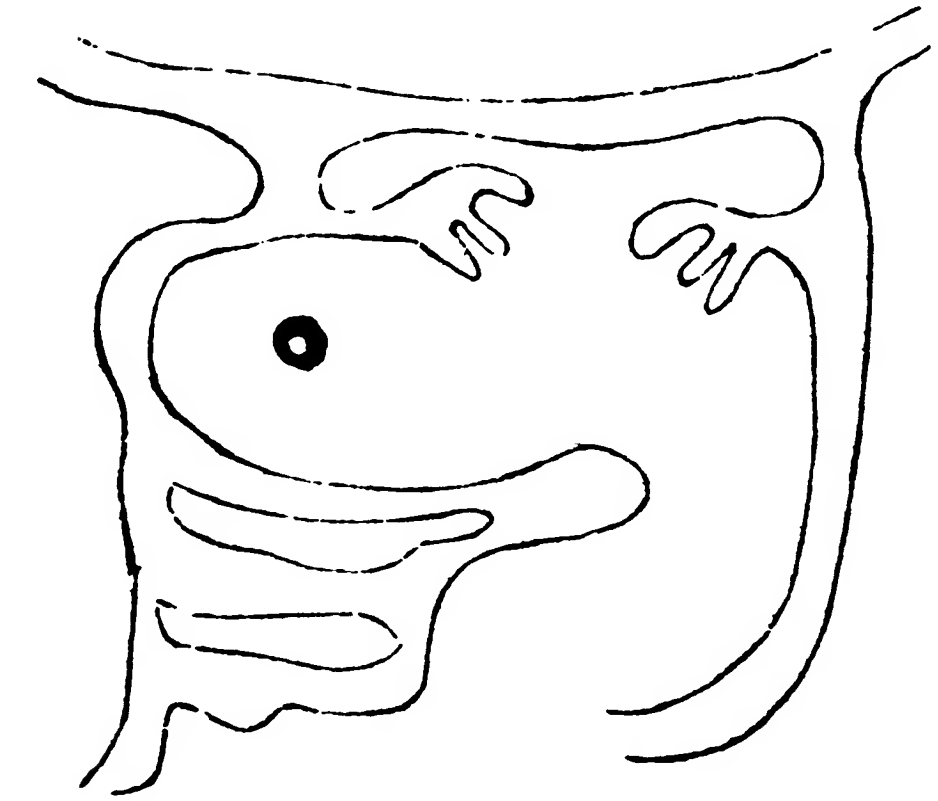
順風船格



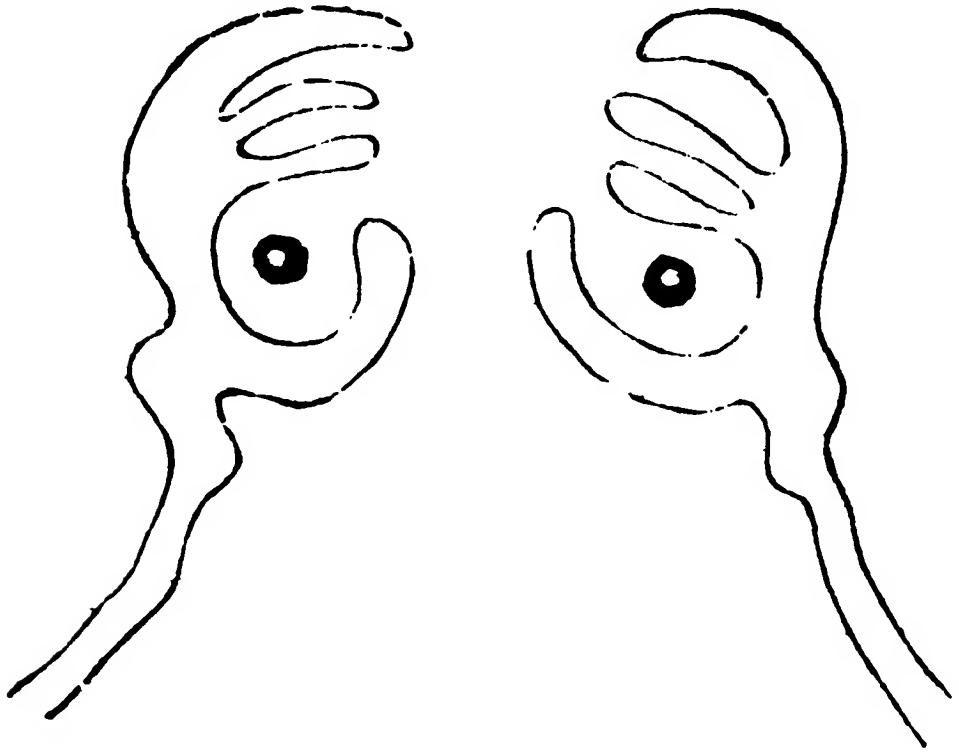
彎弓抱穴格



仙掌撫琴格



左右仙掌格



Plates 64–81

The magic ingredients of Taoist occult art were provided by their calligraphic components, some pictorial, others abstract, as well as by their general design. Extensive commentaries in the Tao-tsang *explain the components' significance, though mostly in characteristically laconic terms. For instance, in the Taoist canonical analysis of the magic components of the Jade Talisman (plate 66), the sequence of twenty diagrams reveals the order of the magic rites, and reflects the 'Journey of the Soul', guided by stars in heaven and by lanterns on earth. Charms containing characters for 'longevity', 'happiness', and 'good luck', executed in a variety of graphic styles (plates 73, 74) also form an important component group. They too are believed to work by virtue of sympathetic magic. Less common pictorial elements are human heads, legs and arms, which were supposed to confer exceptional power on composite talismans. These members are identified with the spirit figures of the popular Taoist pantheon. Some are executed with almost childish simplicity (plate 81), others skilfully incorporate magic characters of great complexity (plate 77).*

64 65 Talismans of the fifteenth and twenty-fourth of the thirty-six Generals who act as Informers of Heaven, with both pictorial and abstract calligraphic components. Extensively used as 'paper money' for bribing spirits. (From an early 12th-century work, *Tao-tsang* 463–273: 7b, 9b)

66 Analysis of the twenty components of the Jade Talisman (plate 67), from the Taoist Canon. According to the Chinese captions, these are (reading vertically and from the left): (1) the Eight Daybreaks which control the Wild Beasts, (2) the music of Emperor Shun which pacifies the subtle spirits, (3) the Nine Districts, (4) defects and melancholy, (5) Flying Creatures above the Spirits, (6) Close-netting and the Pure Region, (7) Fragrant and Beautiful, (8) the Empty Turn, (9) to pour a libation of Water, (10) the Yellow Flower[s], (11) Period of Dark and Light, (12) the Master of the Spirits, (13) to open the Temple, (14) to prolong and yield, (15) the Cinnabar Hall, (16) the Four Directions, (17) the Six Rules, (18) the Thirteen Doors, (19) the Receiving of the Majestic Four Vital Spirits (*ch'i*), and (20) to pass by those who guard the Four Doors. This sequence seems to indicate the stages of an unknown ritual while the magic ingredients of each diagram reveal multiperceptual contacts with the Yellow Spirit. (*Tao-tsang* 216: 69: 19b–20a)

67 The Jade Talisman addressed to the Yellow Spirit, the powerful spirit of Earth and Centre. The third of a set of five (one for each of the Five Elements). (*Tao-tsang* 216: 20a–b, based on the form attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung: 1101–26, of the Northern Sung dynasty. *Tao-tsang* 144: 3: 13b–14a)

68 Script is used as magic on many objects. Here the stem of a plant is twisted into the auspicious character *shou* 'longevity'. (Blue and white porcelain bowl. Wan-li period, 1573–1619. Ming dynasty.)

69 Sole surviving example of a secret Taoist script known as the 'Brilliant Jade Character' script. It gives a version of the first 48 (of 64) hexagrams of the *I-ching*. The script was used in talismans to refer to cycles of change, based on the trigrams of the *I-ching*. The style suggests the influence of embroidery. (In a work of AD 1115. *Tao-tsang* 463–262: 30a)

70 *Shou* – 'long life' – at the centre of a dragon-and-cloud design representing the union of Heaven and Earth. The talismanic power of the *shou* character was believed to be so powerful that an object inscribed with it would certainly prolong the owner's life. Such objects were popular as birthday presents. (Carved red and black lacquer box-lid. Chia-ching period: 1522–66.)

71 Belief in the magic power of calligraphy continues today in China. Chairman Mao's portrait is flanked in procession by double *hsi* ('happiness') characters, traditional Taoist talismans. The colour-scheme, red and green, is also Taoist, symbolizing the perfect harmony of Heaven and Earth. (Hopei Province, 1968.)

72 Free brushed 'grass' calligraphic form of the character *shou* – 'long life' – executed in the manner of a Taoist magic diagram. Signed by the 88-year-old Yeh Chih with the seal of the artist. (Rubbing dated 1st day of the 1st moon of 1863. Ch'ing dynasty.)

73 The One Hundred Talismanic Forms of the character *shou* 'long life'. (After De Groot.)

74 The One Hundred Talismanic Forms of the character *fu* 'happiness'. (After De Groot.)

75 Talisman to repel demons, representing the devil-catching Chung Kuei. (19th-century stone rubbing.)

76 Talismanic picture of the Taoist God of Literature, K'uei-hsing, made from two brushed characters forming his name. He stands on a third character, *ao*, the name of a giant turtle said to support the Earth. (Undated stone-rubbing, painted Ma Te-chao.)

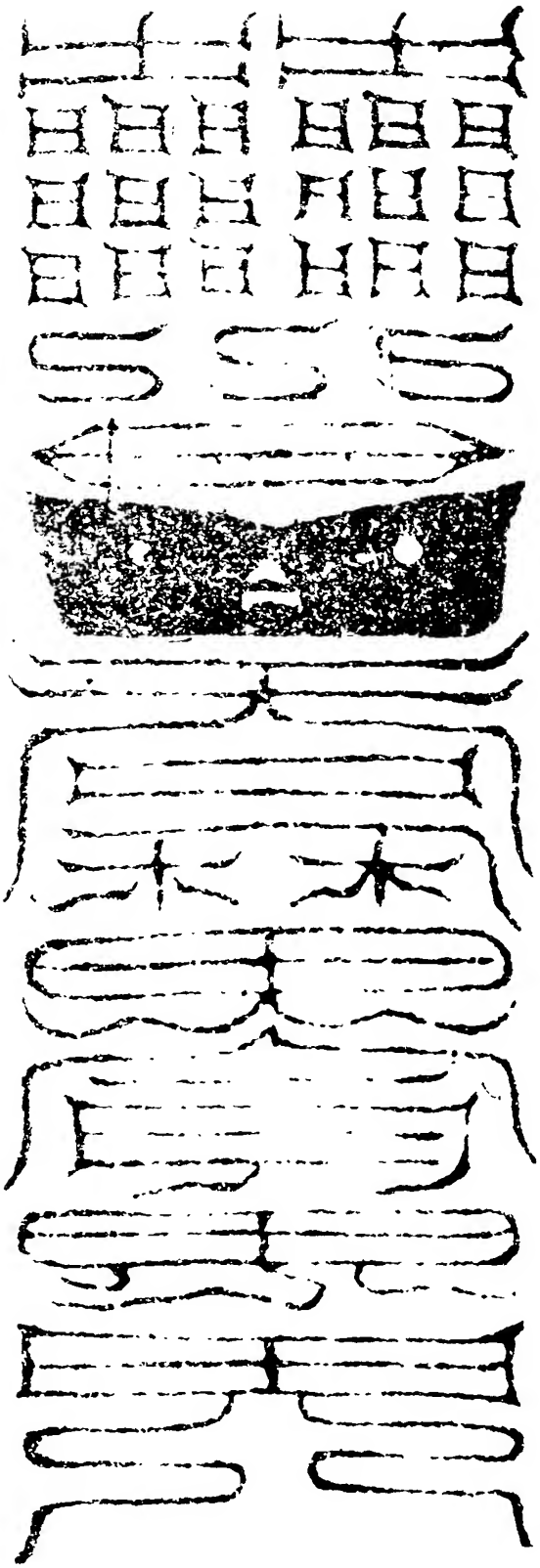
77 The seven characters of this calligraphic picture read 'Tao penetrates Heaven and Earth and has qualities beyond Form'. They also depict the Star-god of Longevity. The rubbing is of an engraving said to be based on the Ho-t'u and Lo-shu diagrams (see p. 16). (Undated composition by Yuan Shen, painted by Tung Tse-san and engraved by Liu Kao-kuei.)

78 Lanterns arranged as the characters *ch'ih yen sheng*, meaning 'to prolong life by imperial order'. A life-preserving talisman based on festive lantern-displays. *Ch'ih* ('by imperial order') has 49 lanterns, *yen* ('to prolong') 36, and *sheng* ('life') 24. As sources of light (*yang*) lanterns were supposed to help prolong active life. (From a 13th-century work, *Tao-tsang* 1216: 9: 15a)

79 Talisman for seeking employment. (From a Taoist work of unknown date. *Tao-tsang* 668: 3: 28a)

80 Talisman of the Armour of Man. The figure is reinforced with constellation dots. (Third of a set of three, probably Sung or Yuan in date, *c.* 1300. *Tao-tsang* 853: 16b)

81 Talisman of the Heavenly Messenger, with coiled body representing the Twenty-eight Constellations to aid brightness (*yang*) and protect the body, and legs to walk in coils on Earth (*yin*) to seize and destroy evil spirits who can only move in a straight line. (*Tao-tsang* 217: 21: 7a)



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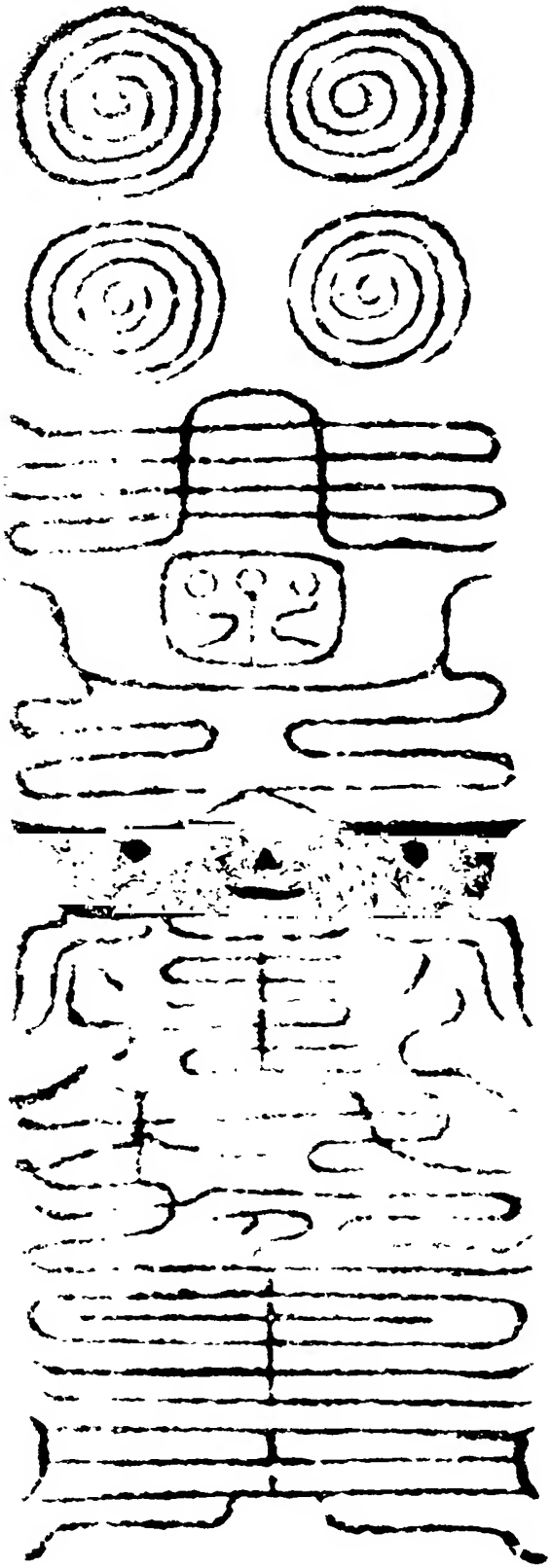

65

第三篇玉符

八晨 總獸

韶主 攝精

九都

騫鬱

飛生 上靈

密羅 淨境

出五

覆郁

空輪

十六

灌沃

黃華

霈運 玄明

神君

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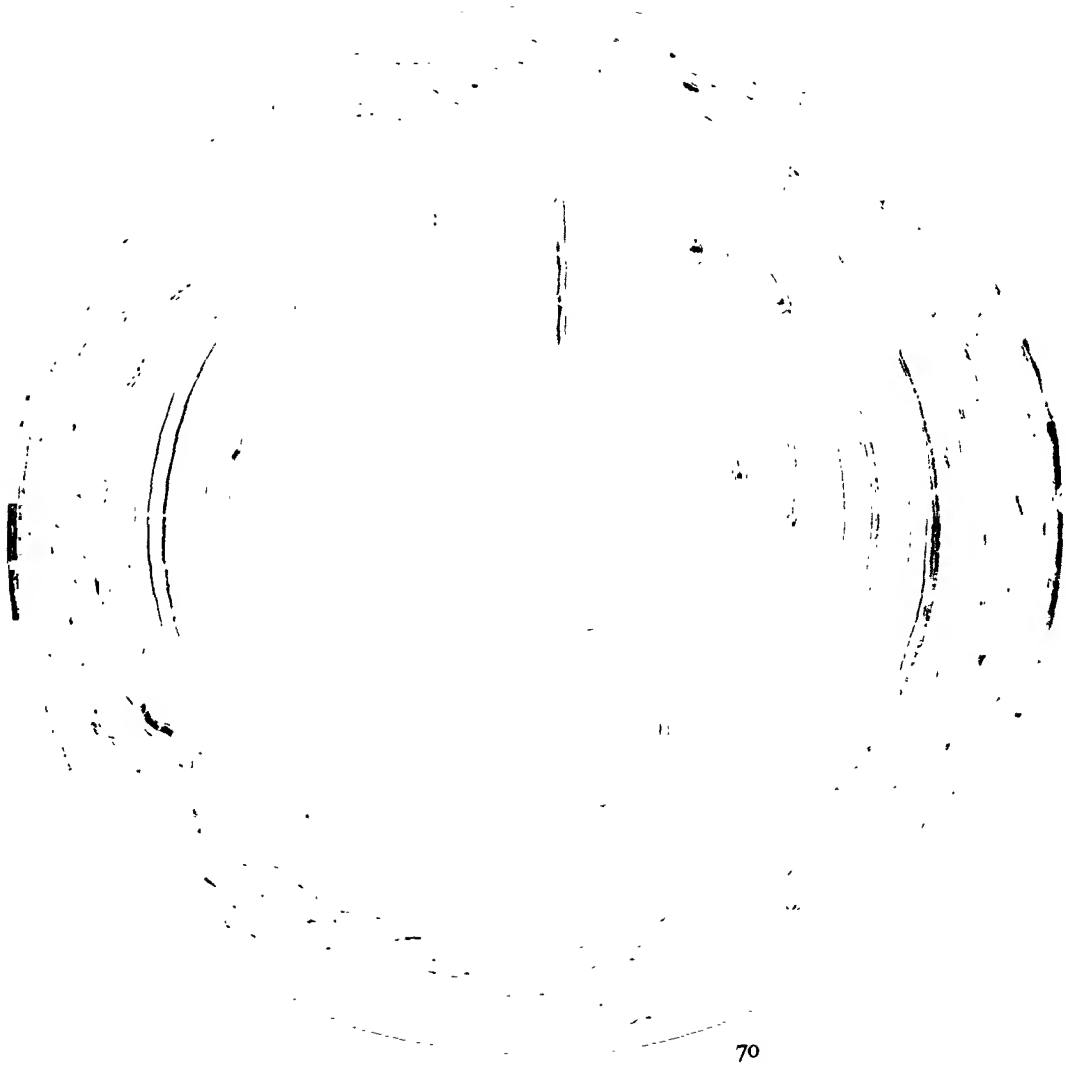
遏守 門



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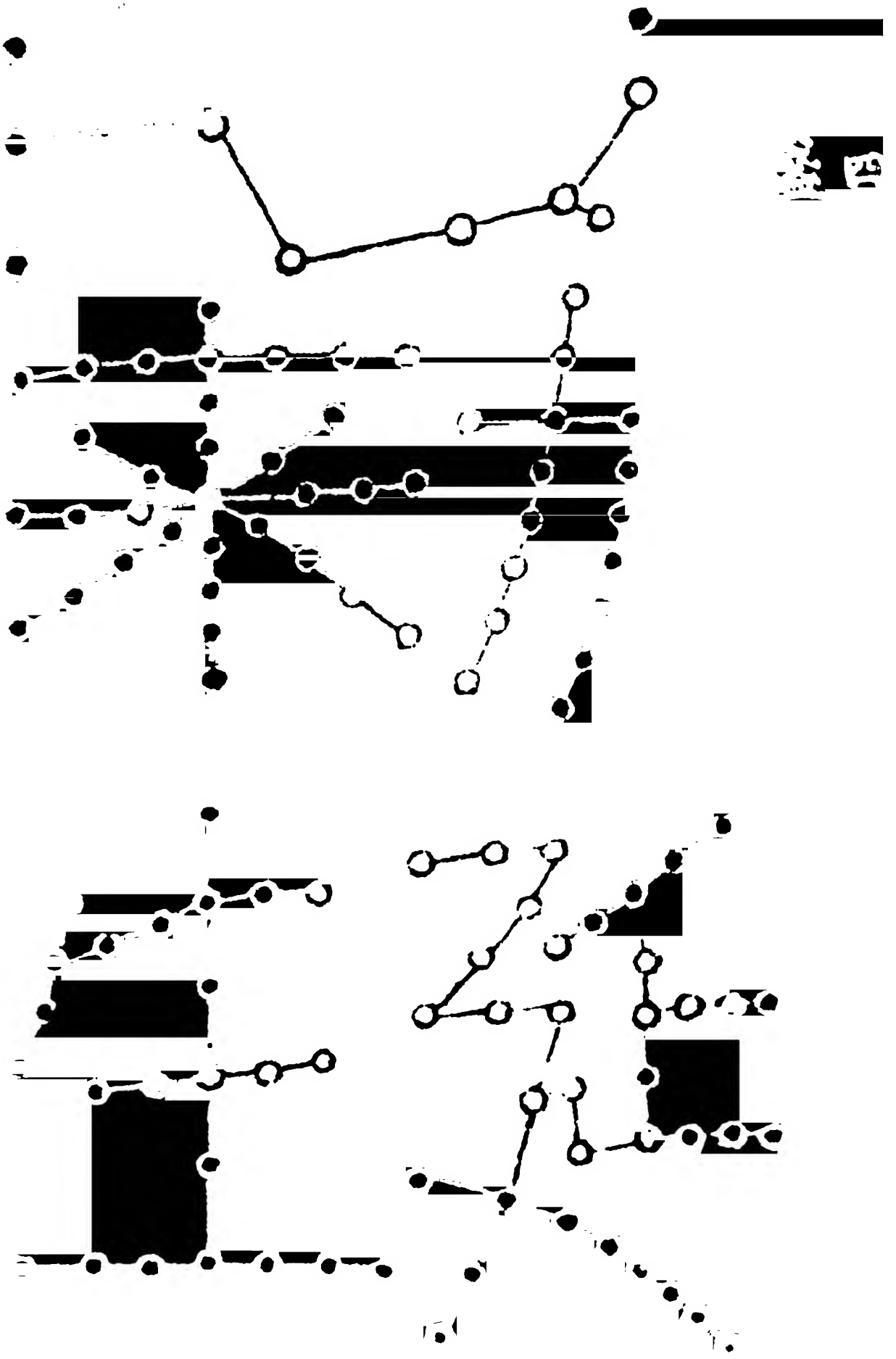
風治於亥正月元日
八十五叟葉志詵

鍾馗

河洛七安文體壽星圖碑



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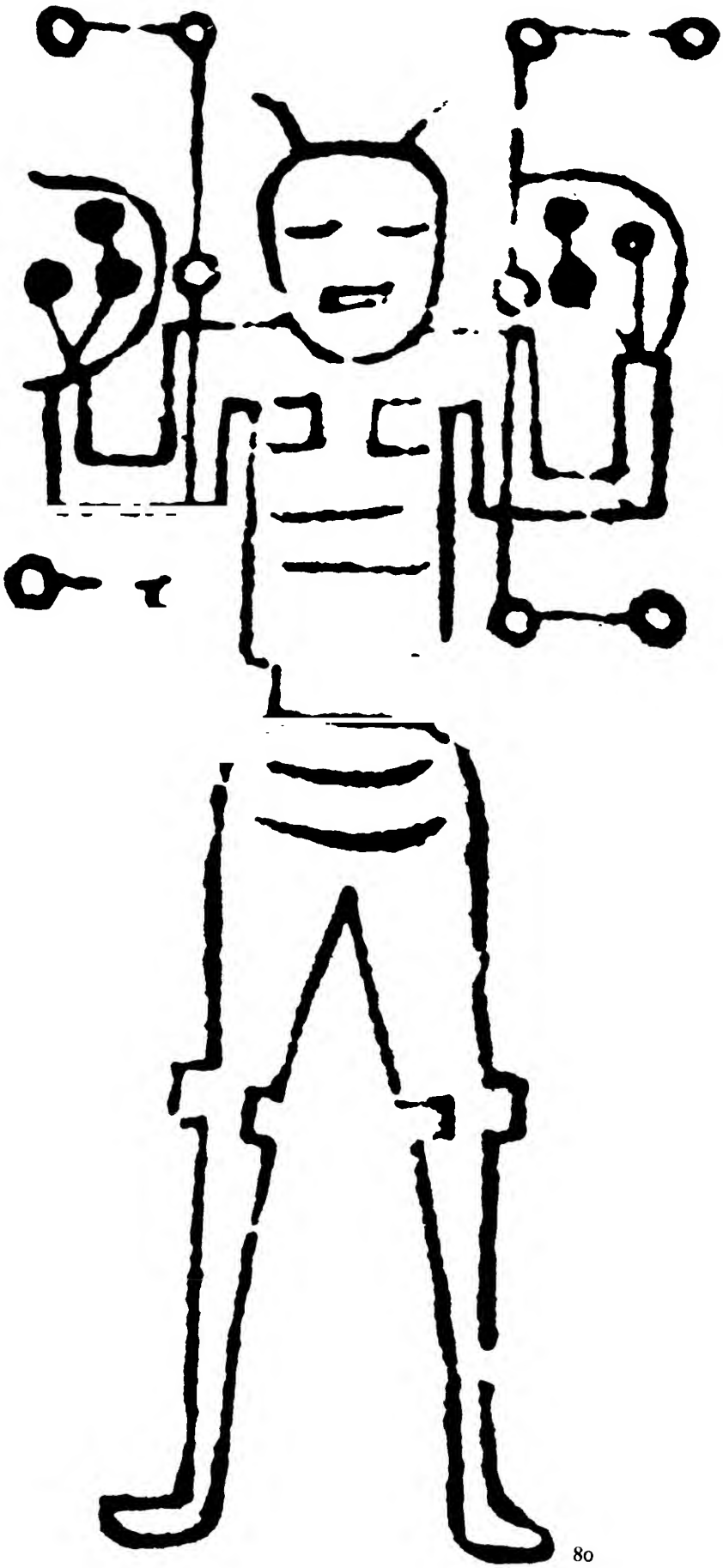


人甲符

天地人神
立汝之精

行遶天下
收捉鬼神

二十八宿
助明護身

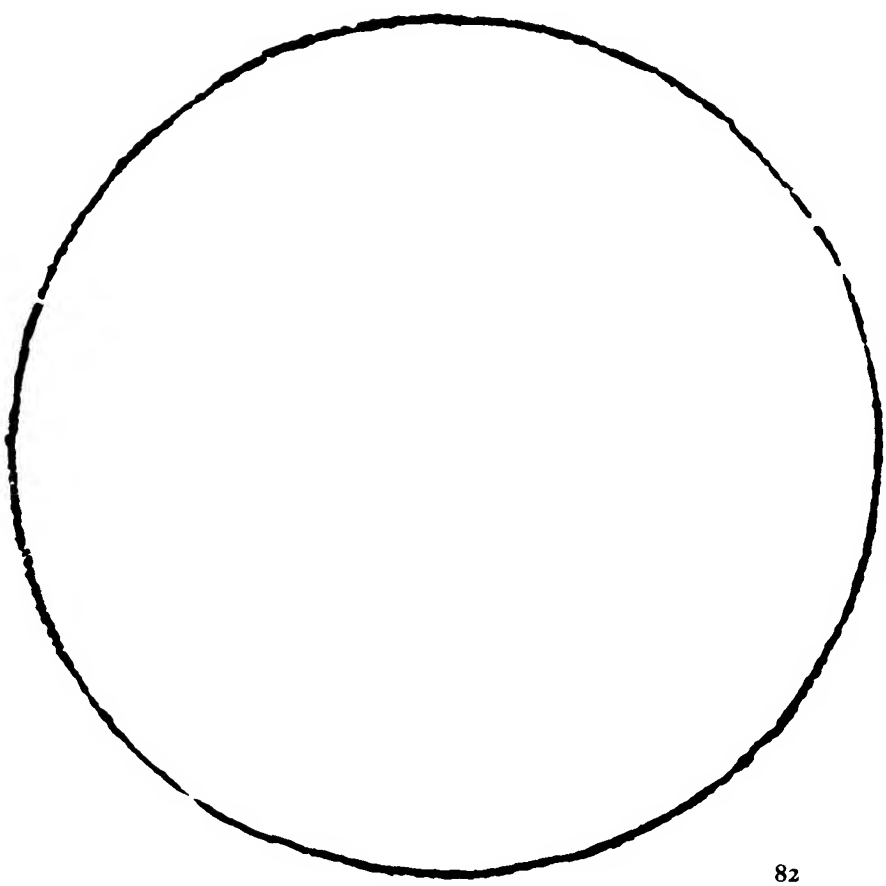
上天下地無所不經急
急收押入鬼心神君

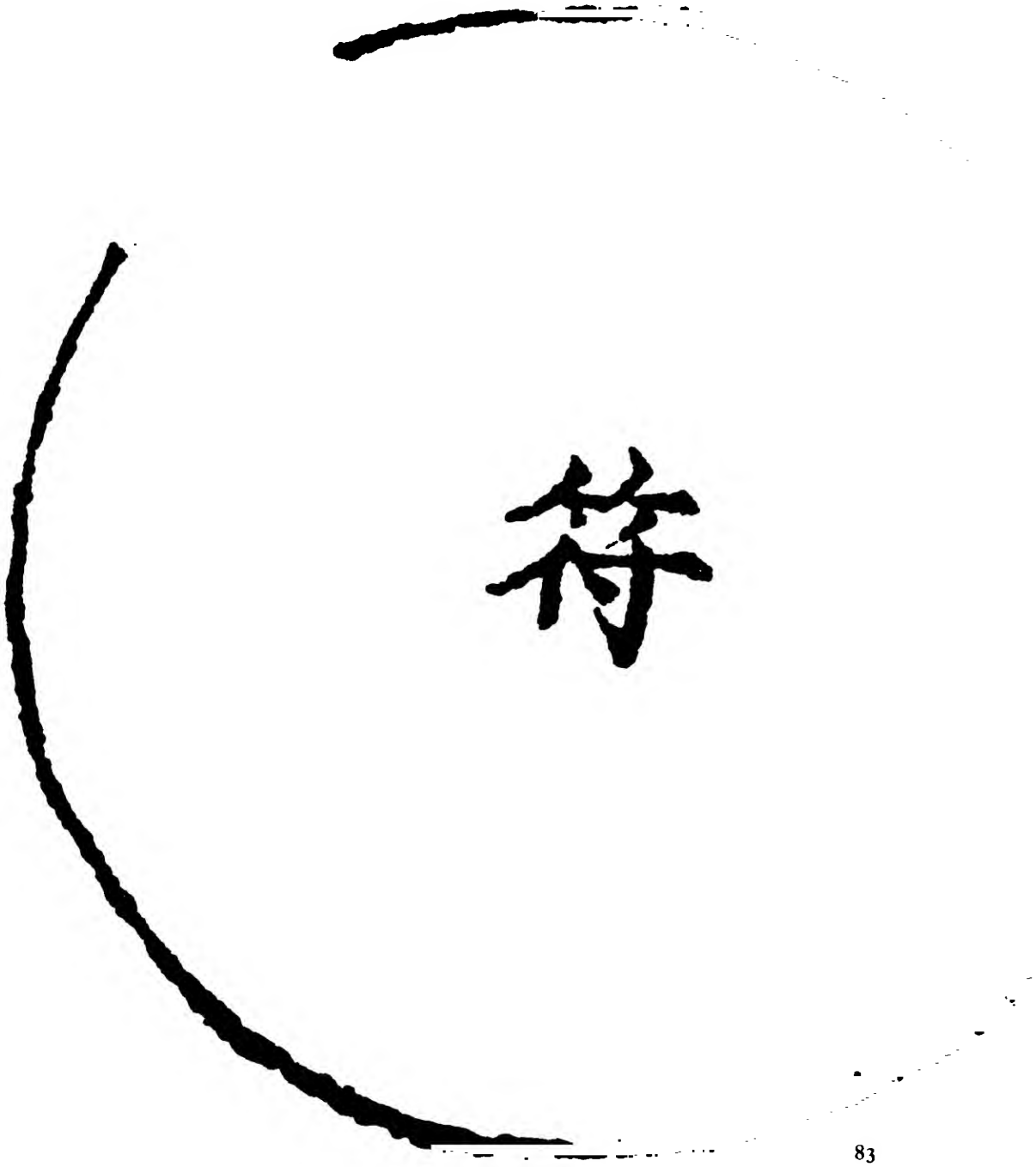
Plates 82–83

*In Taoist magic art the circle combines simplicity with perfection, emptiness with fullness; it harmonized the visible with the invisible, the linear with cyclic manifestations of Change and Movement. Here it represents both the mystic and philosophical power of talismans (plate 83) and 'the One', the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*) (plate 82).*

82 Diagram of the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*) (Yuan period, *Tao-tsang* 159–1·3b)

83 The 'Diagram of the Talisman' (*fu*). (11th c., Sung period. *Tao-tsang* 1210–5 5b)

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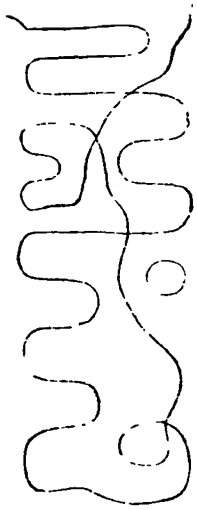

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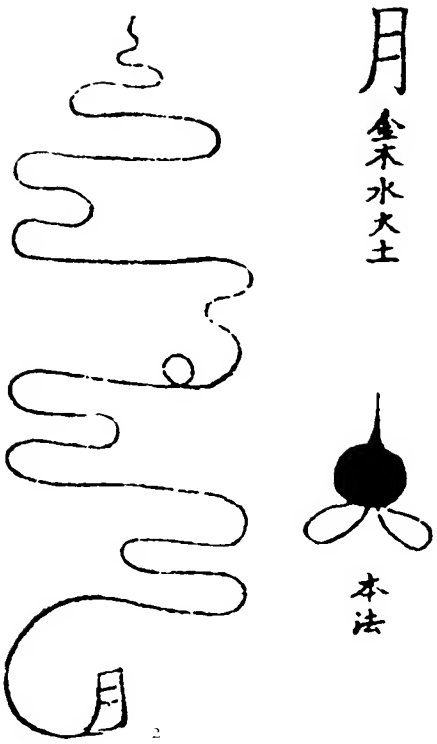

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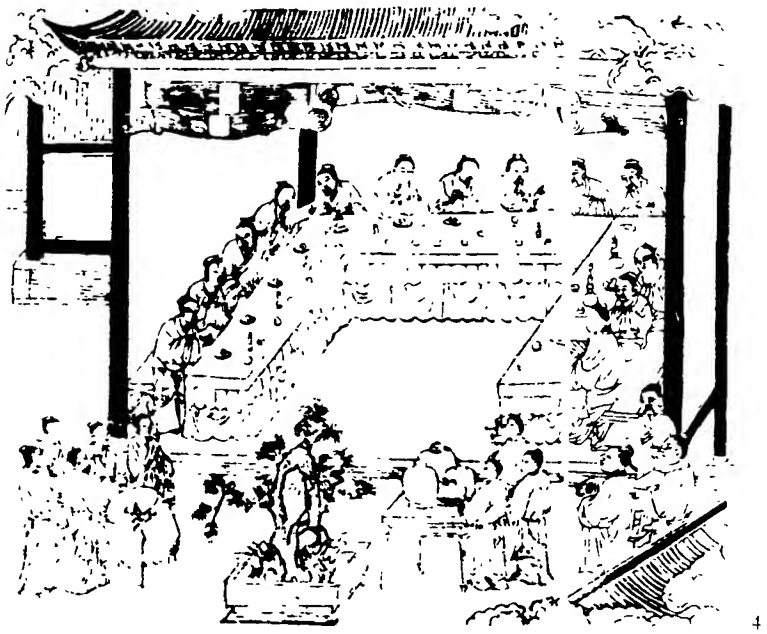


4

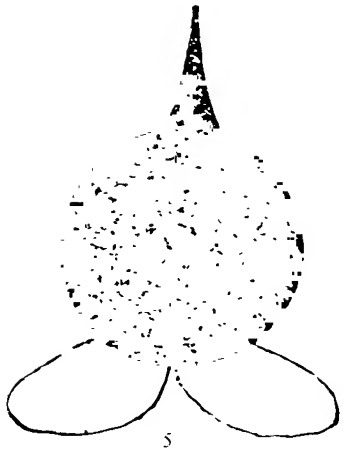
Meditational diagrams and talismans

1 (Facing page) One of the Eight Pure Ones shown as a Taoist priest at an altar holding a phallic (*yang*) audience tablet in both hands, in a floating boat-shaped craft of rolling clouds (*Tao-tsang* 426–3b)

2 The True Jade Talisman of the Ornamental Turn of the Moon According to the caption the Moon represents the Five Elements (*Tao-tsang* 217–18: 5a)

3 The Beautiful Inner View of Brightness, Clearness and Splendour, depicting a meditating Taoist hermit on the right and a magic diagram on the left The incantation to accompany the diagram may be translated as follows 'The view spreads over Heaven [*yang*] and Lake [*yin*], Metal [West] and Water [North], in a semi-circle To light the dark night, I and the Dark Pearl [the Moon in its last quarter] drink and drift [together] The bright, thick liquid [of wine, *yin*] and its fragrance penetrate my spiritual body After repeated true unions [with *yin*], I shall ride over the land and soar to the skies' (*Tao-tsang* 218–1, 12b–13a)

4 Nature-worship séance in an open pavilion, with a band of musicians left, potted dwarf-tree and miniature rock-formation centre, and sacrificial food and wine offered by Taoist priests right (From a Sung dynasty work, *Tao-tsang* 437-2 15b–16a)



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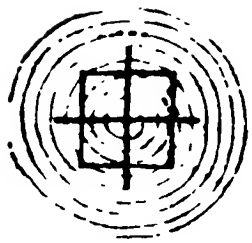

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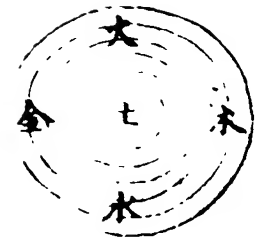

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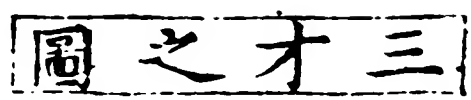

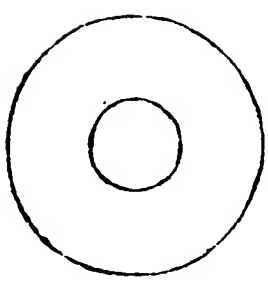

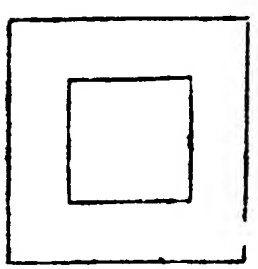

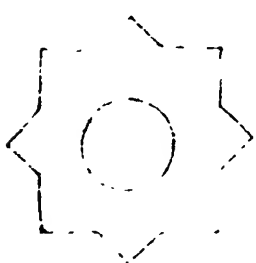

9

5 Magic diagram of the combination of the Five Element and Heaven and Earth diagrams. (*Tao-tsang* 217–24 24b)

6 Magic diagram of the round Heaven and square Earth (*Tao-tsang* 217–24:24b)

7 South-oriented diagram of the Five Elements Fire (and South) top, Earth centre, Water below, Metal left and Wood right (*Tao-tsang* 217–24 25a)

8 Black Talisman in the shape appropriate to the Element Water with Cloud Script calligraphy (*Tao-tsang* 853–17b)

9 Talismanic forms of *pi* discs appropriate to (top to bottom) Mountain (and Heaven) in blue, Earth in yellow, Water in black (*Tao-tsang* 543–28 6a)

10 Diagram of the Three Sub-divisions of the Universe Heaven, Mankind and Earth (From the *I-hsiang t'u-shou wen-p'ien* by Chang-li of the Yuan period, *Tao-tsang* 159–1 4a)

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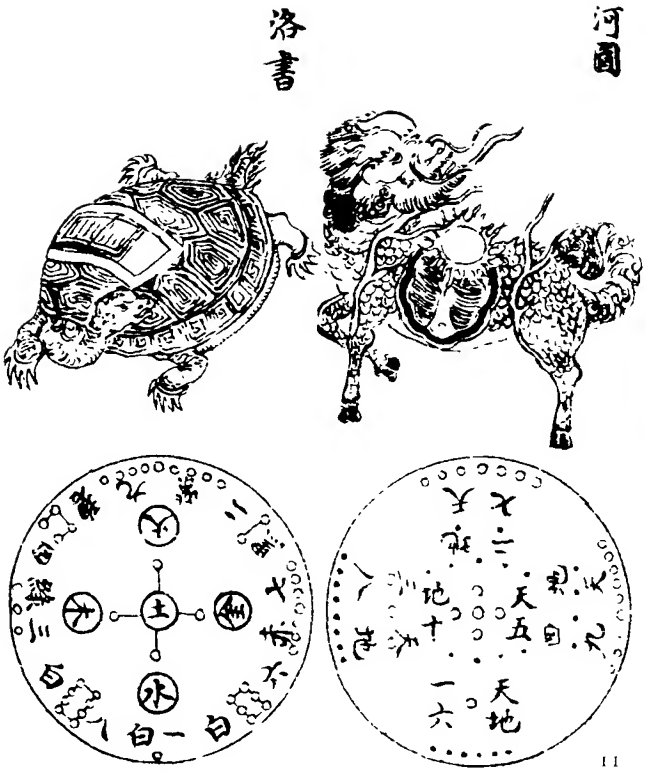
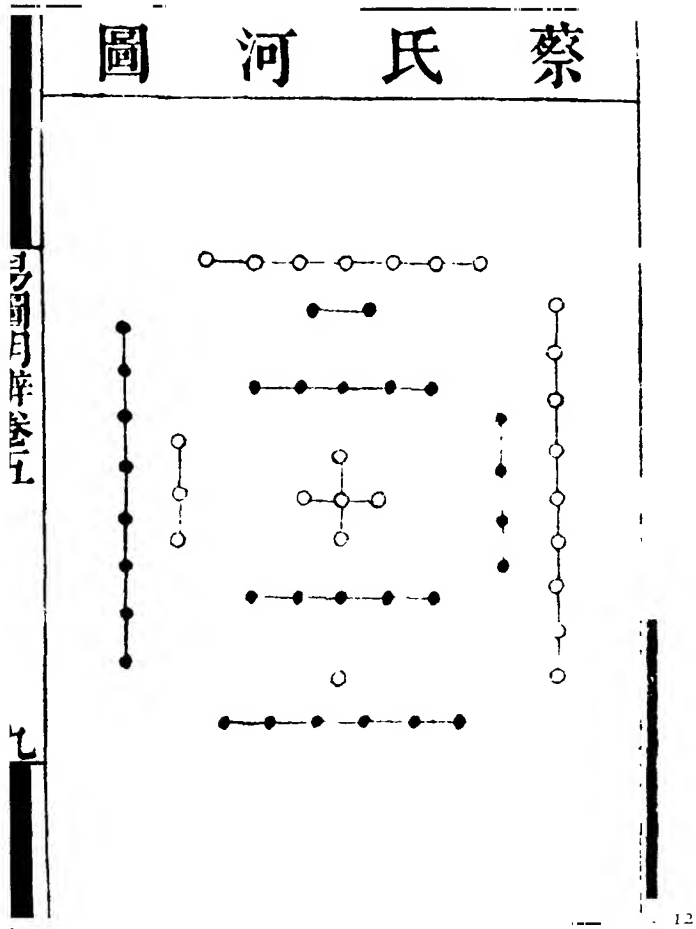


11

11 Diagrams of the legendary Taoist Ho-t'u associated with the Dragon-horse (right), and the Lo-shu associated with the Tortoise (left), showing magic arrangements of odd and even numbers within a circle (From the *Ch'i-men* 5a, late 17th century)

12, 13 Diagrams of the legendary Taoist Ho-t'u (top) and Lo-shu, magic charts of odd and even numbers in rectangular arrangements according to the interpretation of Ts'ai Yuan-ting of the Sung period (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 5:9b, 9a)



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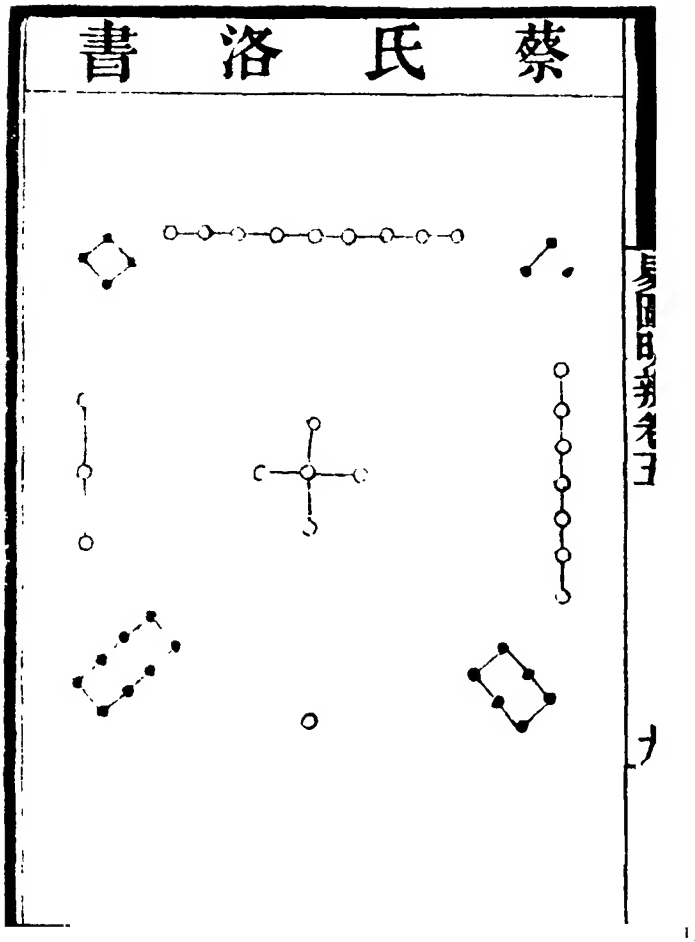

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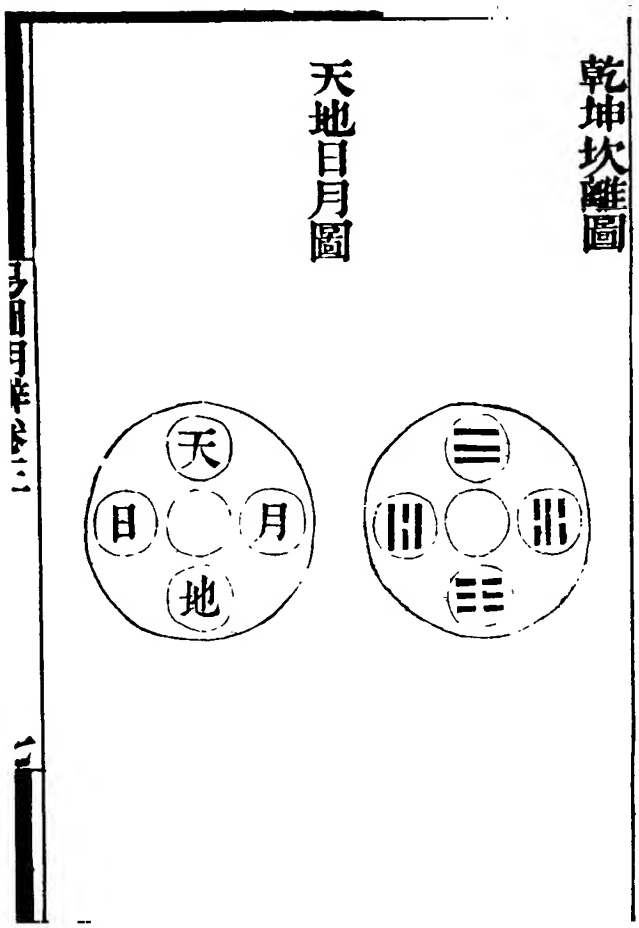
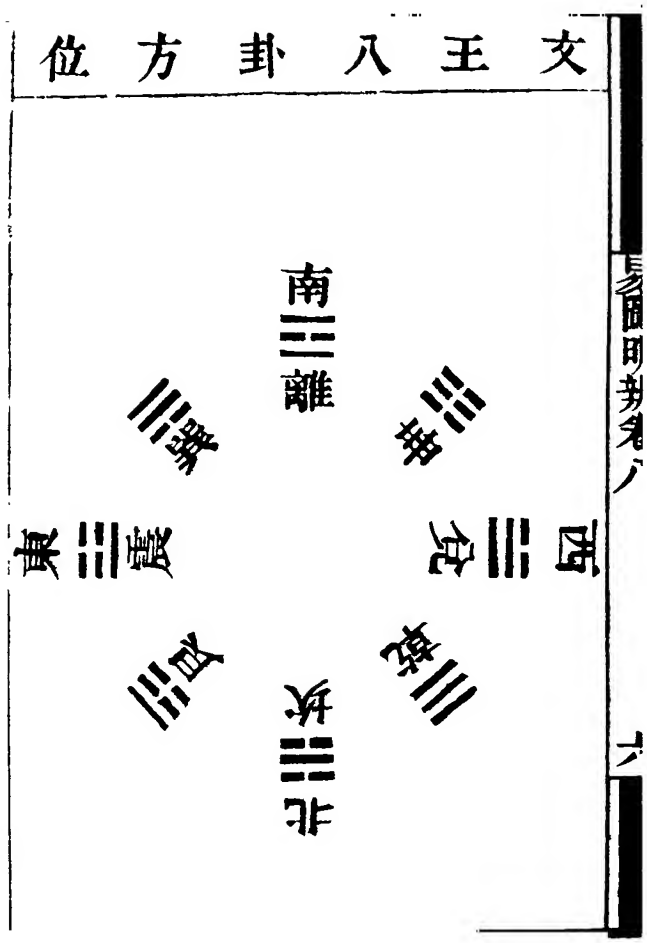
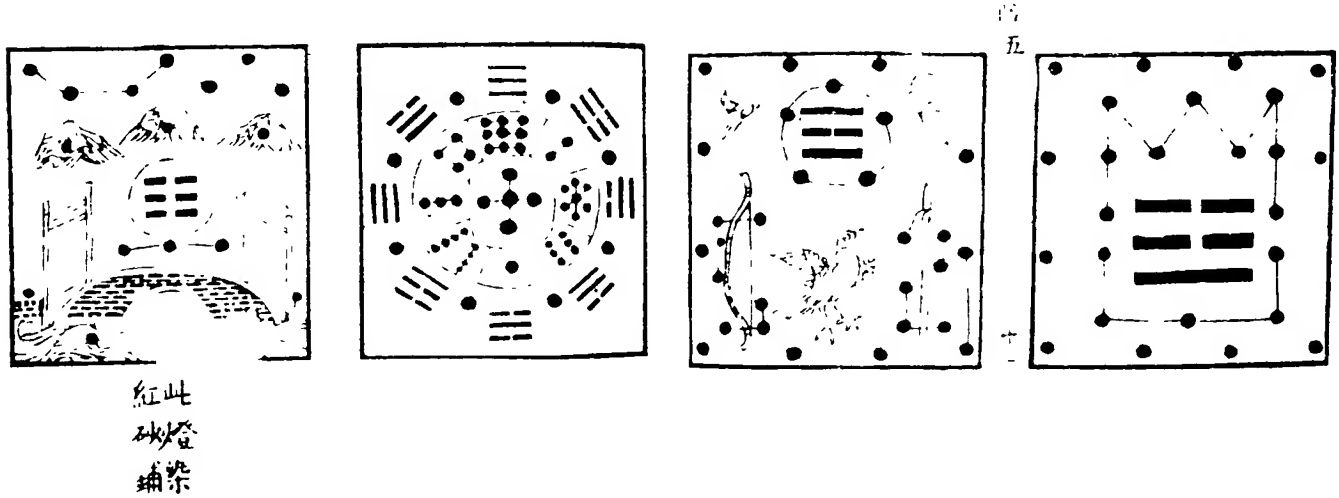


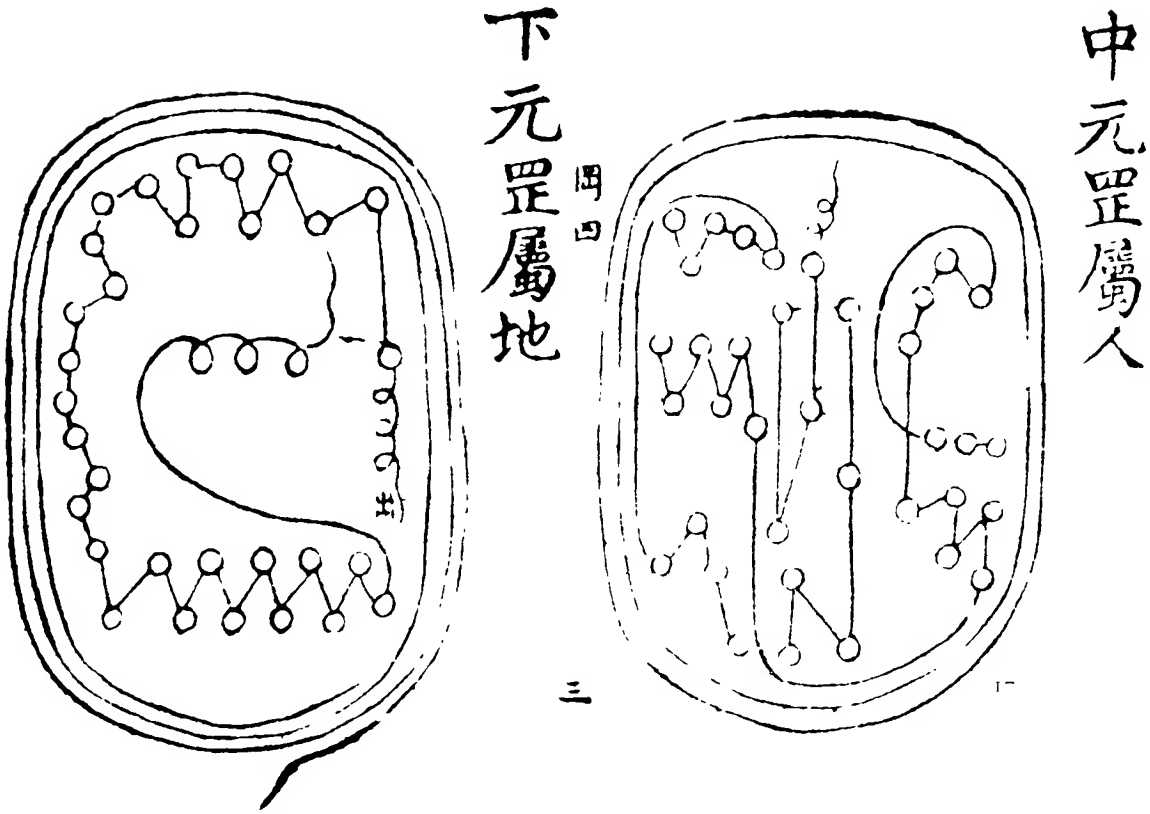
14 Two magic diagrams symbolizing the universal power of Change. On the left: Heaven (top), Earth (below), Sun (left), and Moon (right). On the right: trigrams *ch'ien*, *k'un*, *li*, and *k'an*. (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 3.7a)



15 The Eight Trigrams of King Wen, with South and trigram *li* (representing Sun) at top, North with trigram *k'an* (representing Moon) at bottom. (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 8:6b)

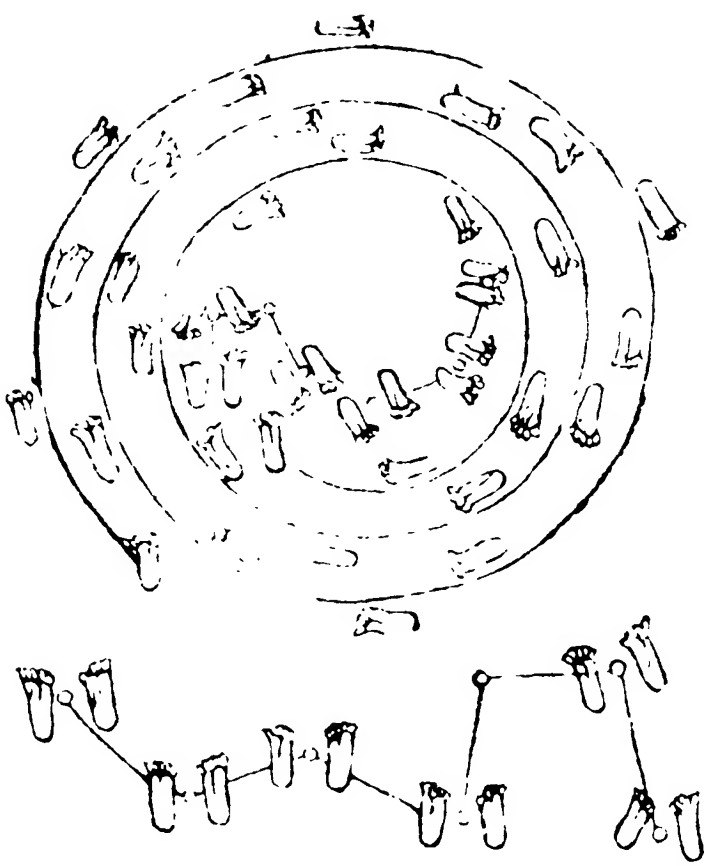


16 Magic diagrams of lanterns to guide spirits, composed of constellations and trigrams. From left to right: (I) the Jade Pivot of the Nine Heavens, (II) the Power of Fire, (III) the Eight Trigrams of the Nine Palaces, (IV) the Hell of the Blood Lake ('with red pebbles spread over the bridge'). (*Tao-tsang* 1469-5 28b-29a)



17 Two talismans to secure the orderly influence of the Five Elements with magic constellations relating to mankind (on the right) and Earth (on the left). Two of a set of three relating to Heaven, Mankind, and Earth. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–19, 3b)

18 Mystic diagram showing the combined Tread-pattern of Terrestrial Regulations and the Flight-pattern of Celestial Rules, to emphasize the magic union of Earth (*yin*) and Heaven (*yang*). In sets of foot-prints, symbolic of a ritual dance. Earth is represented by a mystic spiral of three complete turns. Heaven, by the constellation of the Great Bear, which is also repeated in the centre of the terrestrial spiral. A *yin-yang* regulator diagram of universal magic power. (Late 13th century, *Tao-tsang* 1210–8, 3b)



19

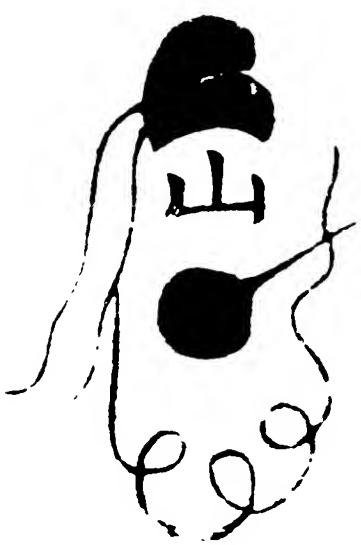
Charms for summoning spirits

19 Exorcist charm of the Supreme Heavenly Ruler of the South Pole, with special power to create law and order among evil spirits (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–40:22b)

20 Talisman to protect the body in mountainous regions. The character *shan* – 'mountain' – forms part of the composition. This talisman is to induce the help of the Supreme Heavenly Ruler of the North Pole against baleful influence (*Tao-tsang* 1152–38·2b)

21 Talisman for the Brief Spiritual Encounter Altar, to establish contact with the Spirits of Earth and Wind with the aid of the Spirits of the Five Emperors To be burnt in front of the altar with an incantation of eight words (*Tao-tsang* 1152–39.25a)

22 Exorcist charm of the Heavenly Messenger, who enforces law and order among the spirits and terminates the baleful influences of evil spirits. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–36·7b)



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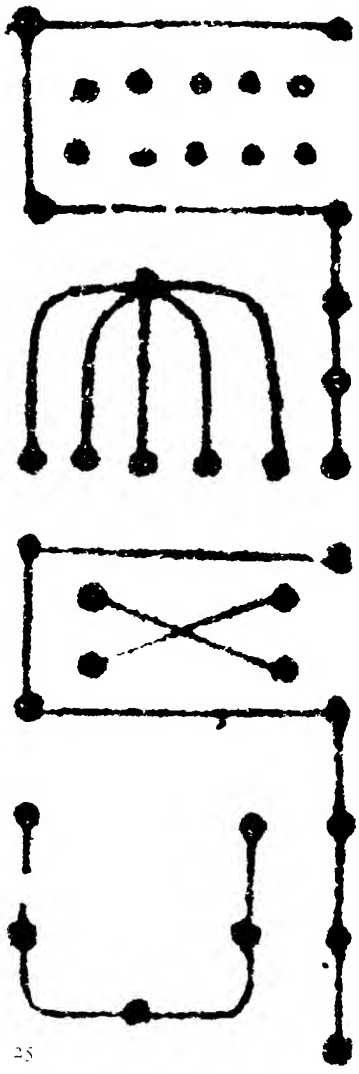
23 Exorcist charm of the Five-Thunder Messenger who has special power to regulate rain and sunshine (*Tao-tsang* 1152–40 14b)

24 Exorcist charm of a Heavenly Messenger riding a Dragon, to be used against the evil influences of Darkness (*yin*), with a 38-word incantation. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–25 4a)



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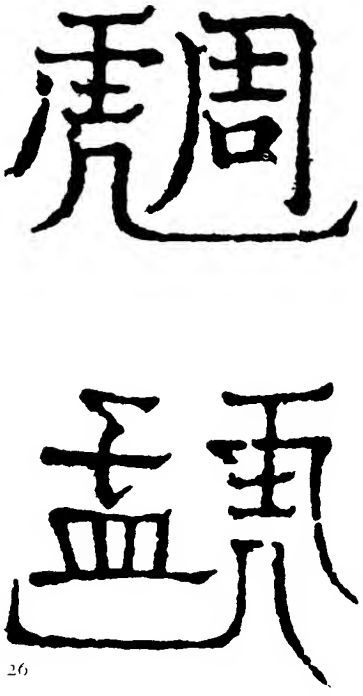
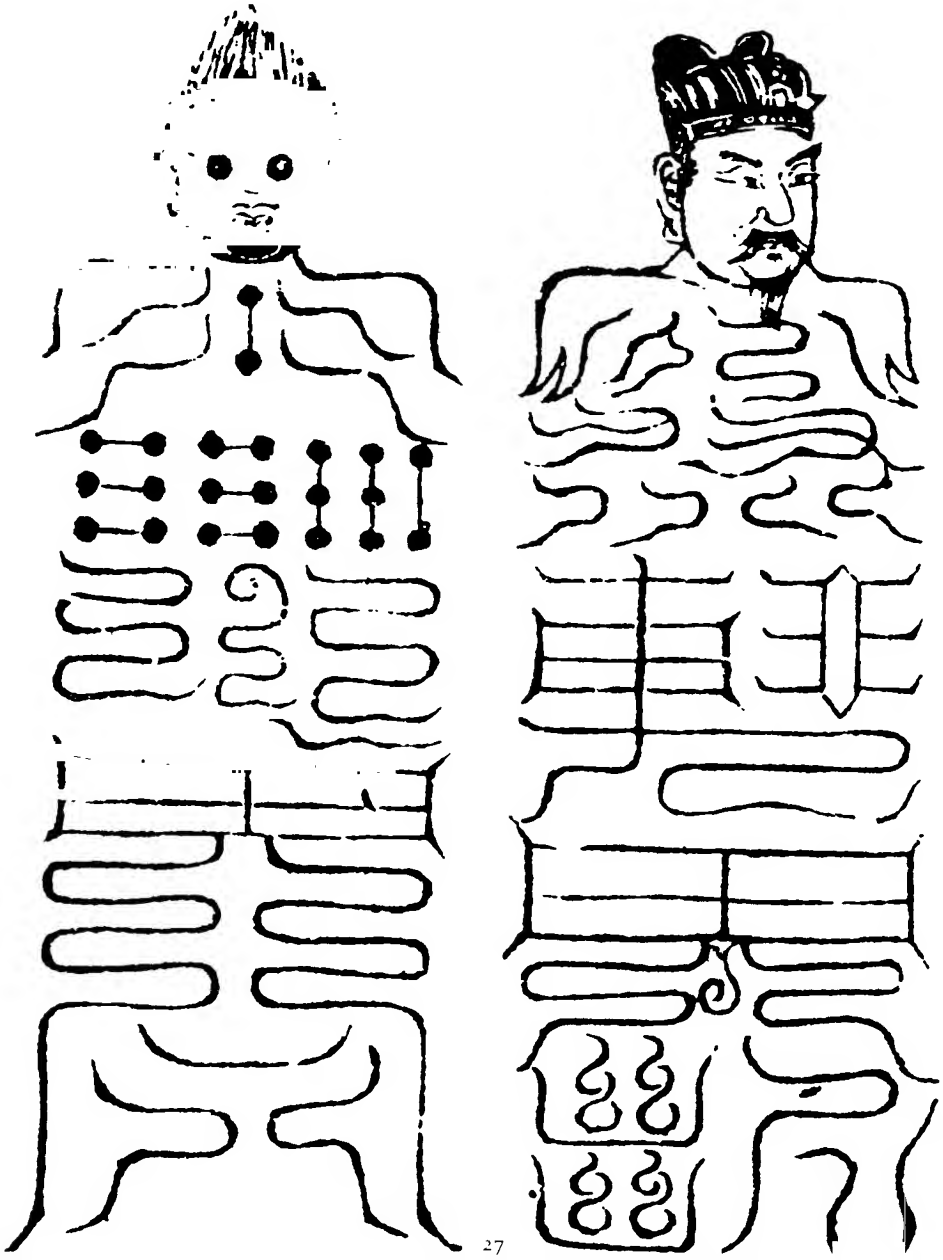


26

Preventive talismans

25 These two combined talismans bring good fortune if they are drawn on the wall when flies bees fly into your house The diagram is based o constellation dots. (*Tao-tsang* 668–2 11b, a secti concerned with talismans for creating supernatu events)

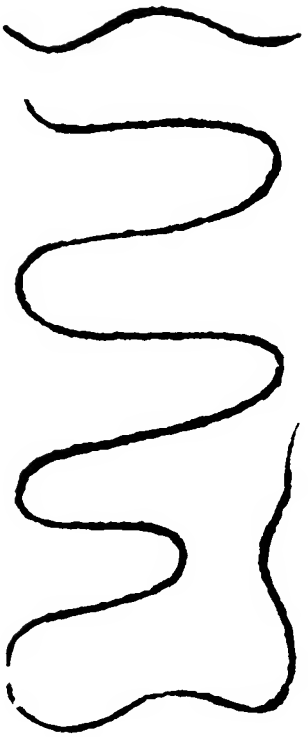
26 A pair of magic taboo characters (in mirror image) incorporating the 'tiger' root, and thus th mysterious spirit of the tiger. They are to be used jointly to call home the soul of one who has died away from home (*Tao-tsang* 217–17 16b)



27

27 Talismans to nullify the effects of cursing Two of a set of five, one for each of the Five Directions The talismans combine popular images of the Directional Supreme Rulers with magic diagrams that form their bodies The White Supreme Ruler of the West is on the right and the Black Supreme Ruler of the North on the left (*Tao-tsang* 217 10 6a)

散雲符



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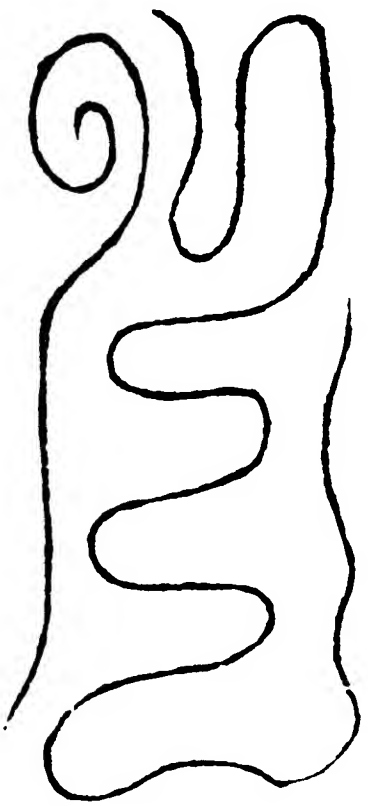
止雨符



29

28 Talisman to scatter clouds (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–41 30a)

29 Talisman to stop rain (*Tao-tsang* 1152–41·30b)

30 A set of five magic diagrams (i) to stop rain, (ii) to raise wind, (iii) to raise thunder (to strike those who are guilty of secret evils), (iv) to raise hail (to punish the evil), (v) to stop fog (From the '*Secret methods of eminent spirits of purity and mystery*', *Ch'ing-wei shen-lieh pi-fa*, *Tao-tsang* 219–1.19b, a work of unknown authorship and date)

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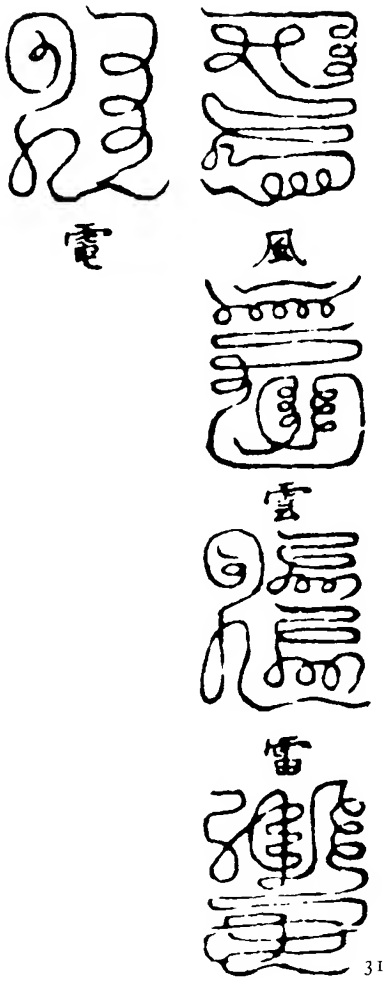


31

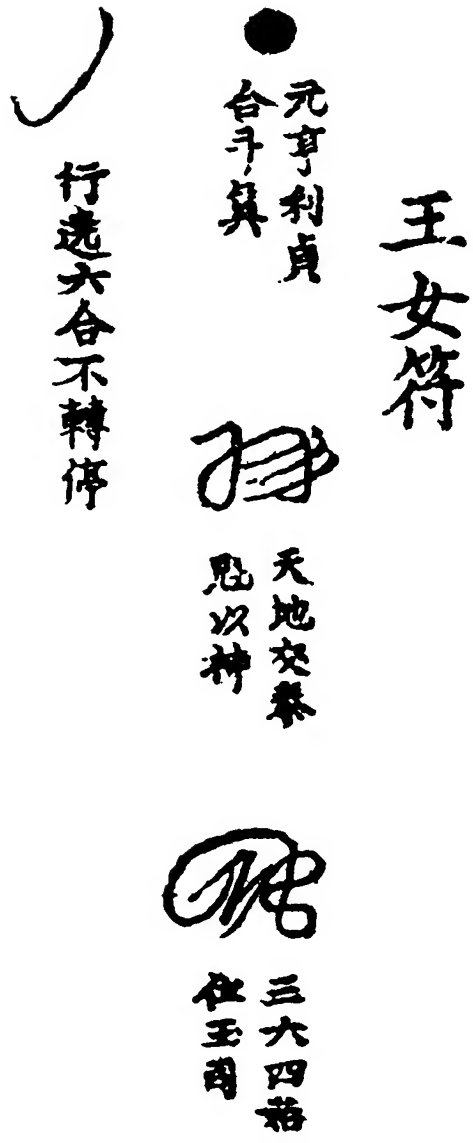
31 Five characters for occult use wind, clouds, thunder, rain, and lightning (reading from top right) (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–40.18b)

32

32 Talisman to stop wind (*Tao-tsang* 1152–41:30b)

33

33 Talisman of the Jade Lady to repel *yang* influences. The talisman depicts the back (i e shadowed side) of a standing woman, thus doubly emphasizing the presence of *yin* essence in the composition. (Brushed calligraphic technique, *Tao-tsang* 217–21:5b)



Protective talismans

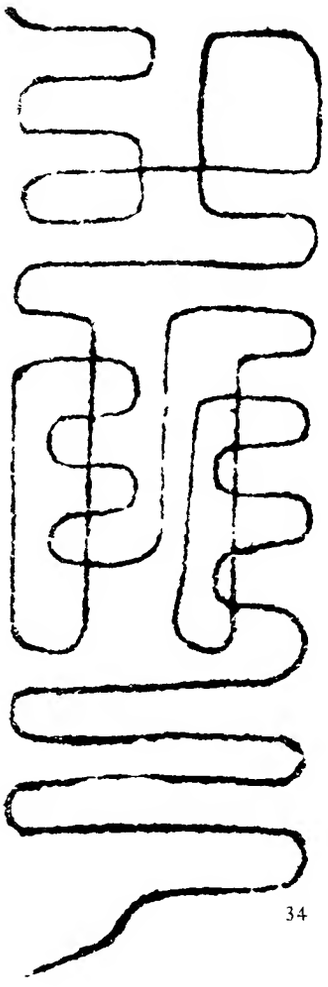
34 Charm to protect against loss of voice. The centre part of the composition represents the lungs. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–267: 6a)

35 Bird-headed talisman to protect the body and secure longevity. (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–43: 9a)

36 Talisman to destroy evil influences and noxious spirits. The character *sheng* – 'life' – is mounted on a horse and penetrates through the character *sha* – 'to strike dead by evil influences'. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–35: 10b)

37 Charm to protect all six kinds of domestic animals (i.e. oxen, sheep or goats, horses, pigs, dogs and fowls). (*Tao-tsang* 463–272: 14b)

38 Talisman to protect status and salary. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272: 13a)



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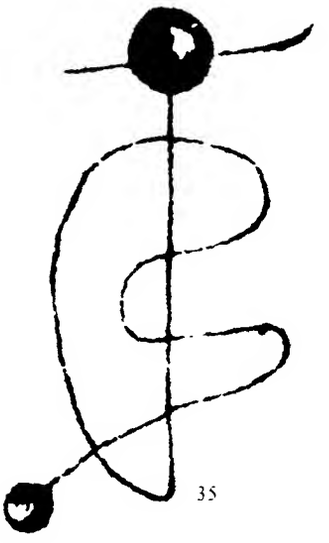

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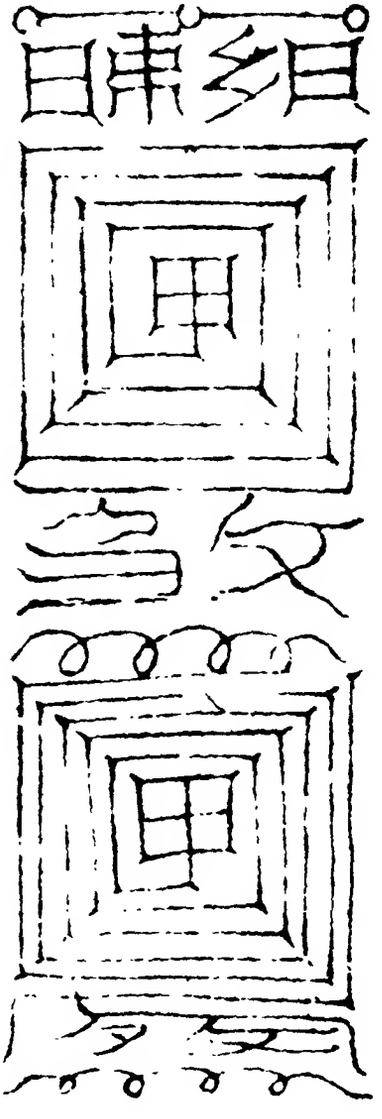

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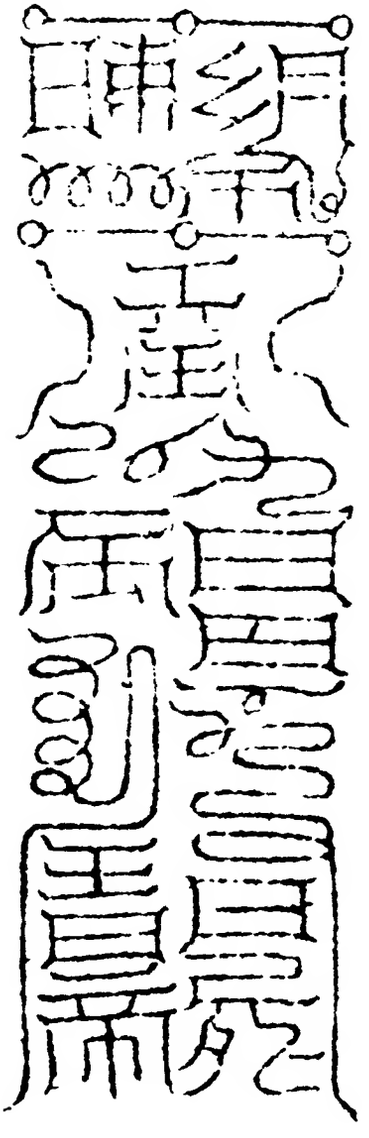

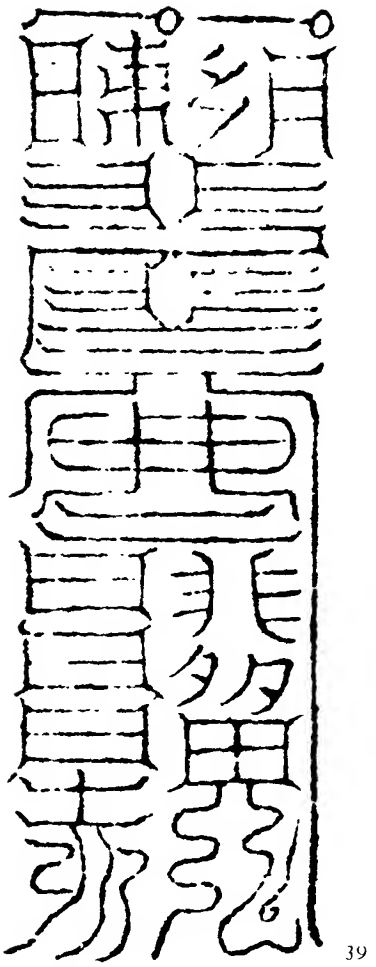

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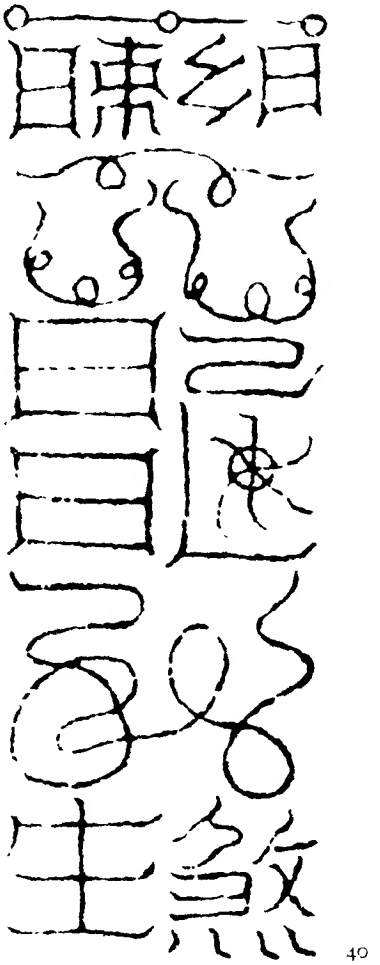

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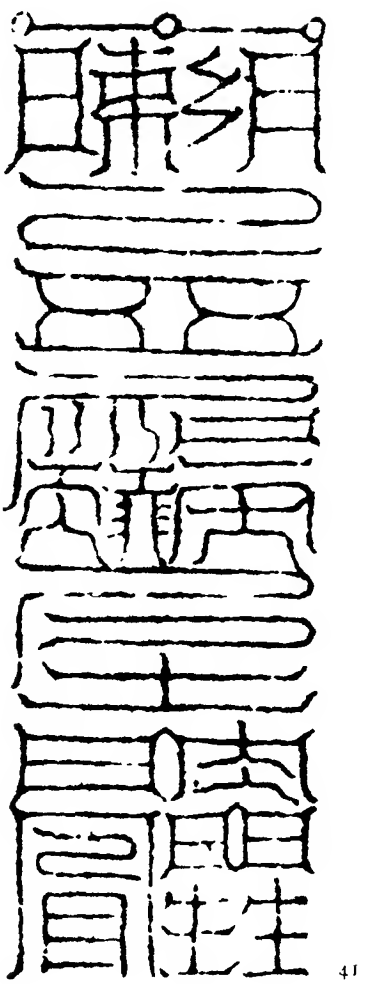
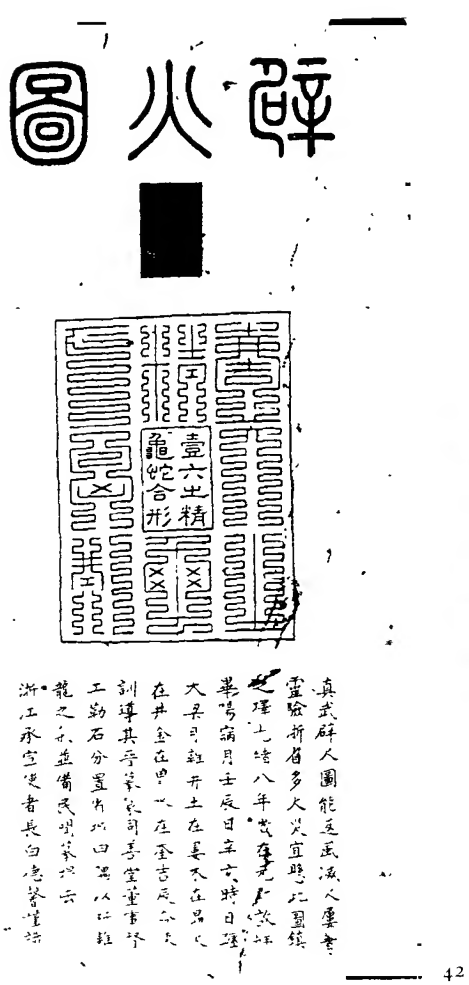


41

39 Talisman to ward off male visitors and guests. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–272:12b)

40 Charm to ward off robbers and thieves. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272 15a)

41 Talisman to protect against wrangling (*Tao-tsang* 463–272. 12b)



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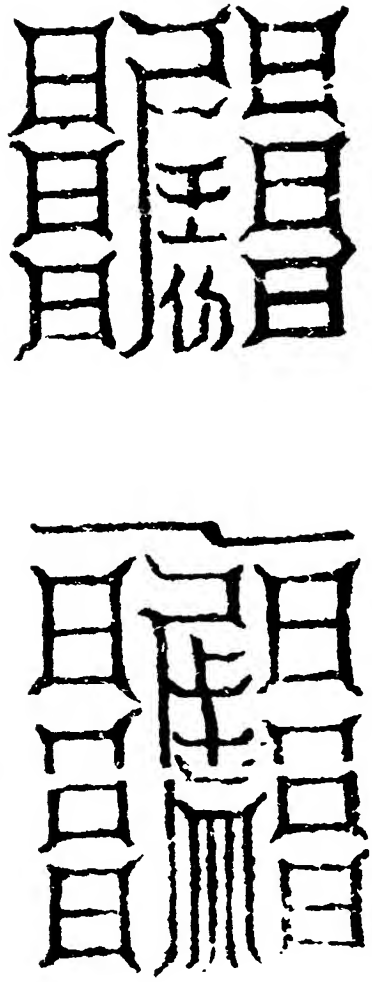

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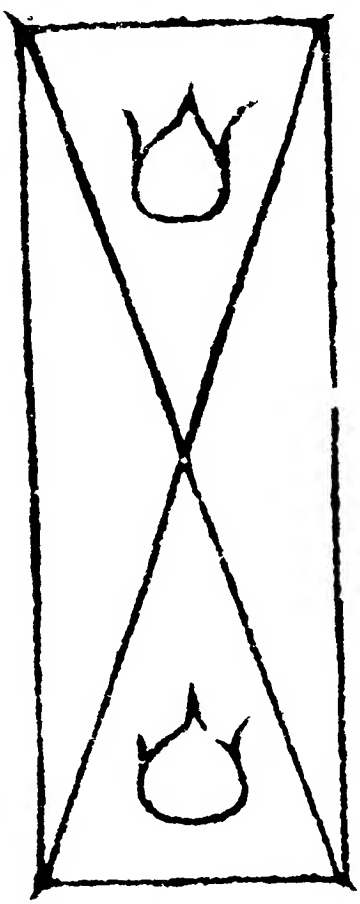
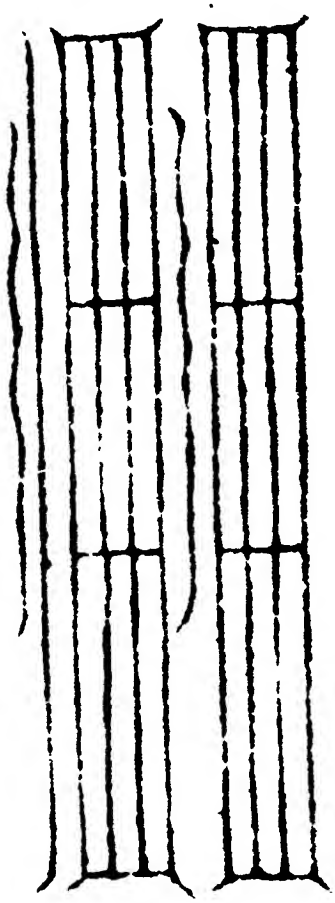


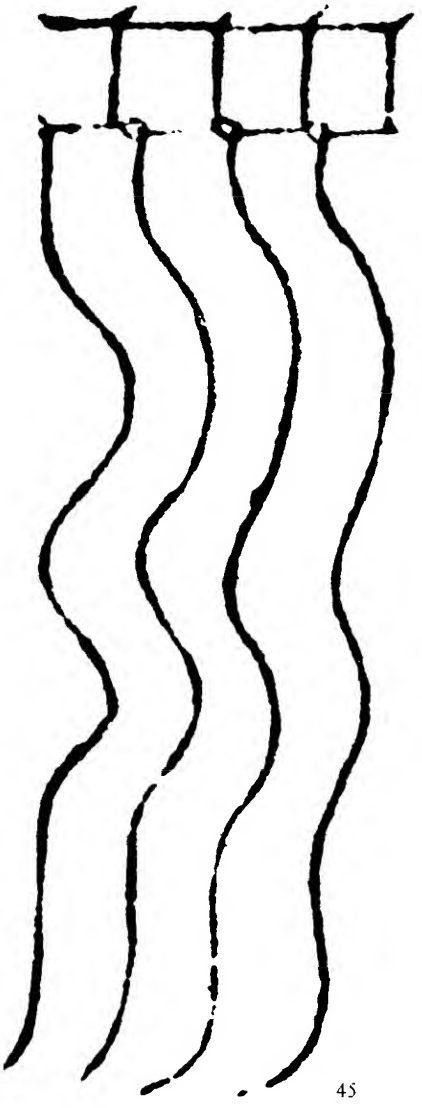


44

42 Diagram dated 1882 for warding off fire (centre) with a note 'The Black Warrior's [Chen Wu's] Diagram for warding off fire possesses the property of repelling unpropitious winds and extinguishing fires and has on numerous occasions shown its miraculous power The Province of Chekiang suffers greatly from fire this may be avoided by hanging up a copy of this diagram [in your home] I, Te Hsing, Prefect of Chekiang from the Mountain of Eternal Snow [in Manchuria], selected 9 p m on the 6th day of the 3rd moon of the 8th year of Kuang-hsu [AD 1882], the Year Star then being in the Dark, the Sign of the Month being in Pi [19th zodiacal constellation with the corresponding sign Moon], the Sun on its orbit having attained its nadir, and the Moon being in Ching [22nd zodiacal constellation], Saturn [Earth] in that of Lou [16th zodiacal constellation], Jupiter [Wood] in that of Mao [18th zodiacal constellation], Mars [Fire] in that of Ching [22nd zodical constellation], Venus [Metal] in that of Wei [17th zodiacal constellation], and Mercury [Water] in that of Kuei [15th zodiacal constellation], as being an auspicious period in which to copy the Diagram I accordingly instructed Chen Chi-chin, Sub-Director of Studies, to copy it, and assisted by the Director of the Hall of Authentic Texts, to supervise the engraving of it in stone, to be set up in the four corners of the cities of the Province to dispel malignant geomantic influences and to enable the people to procure rubbings'

43 Two charms to protect against ghosts (*Tao-tsang* 558–1 35b)

44 Two charms to protect the body from evil (*Tao-tsang* 668–2 24a)



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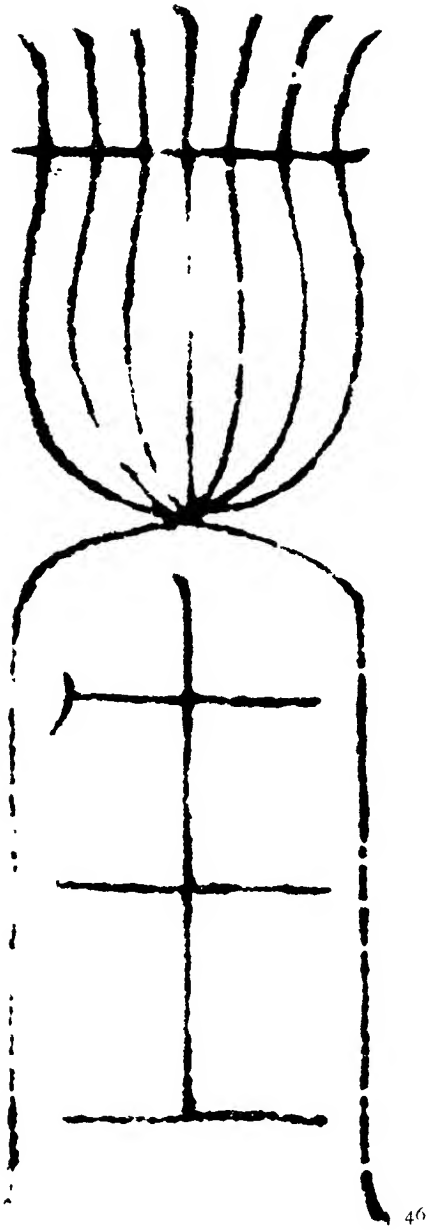

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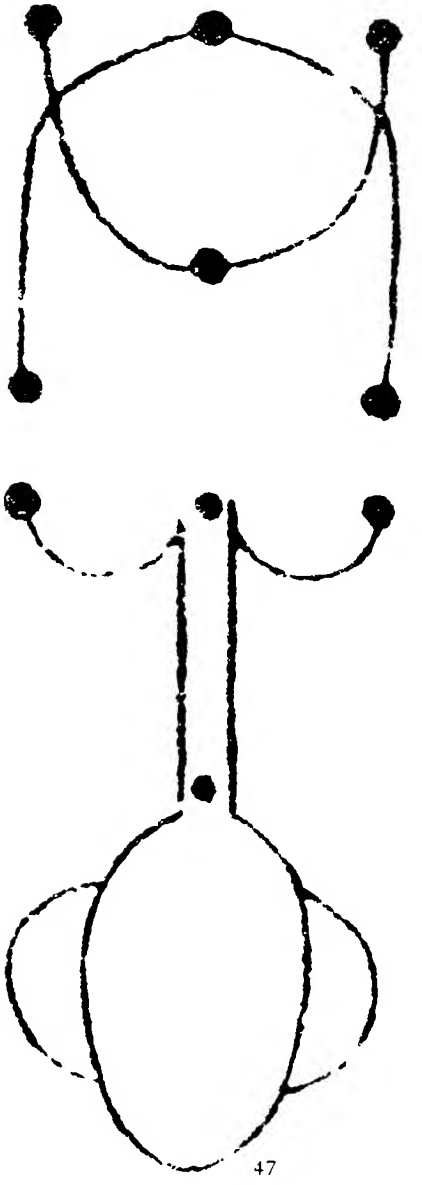
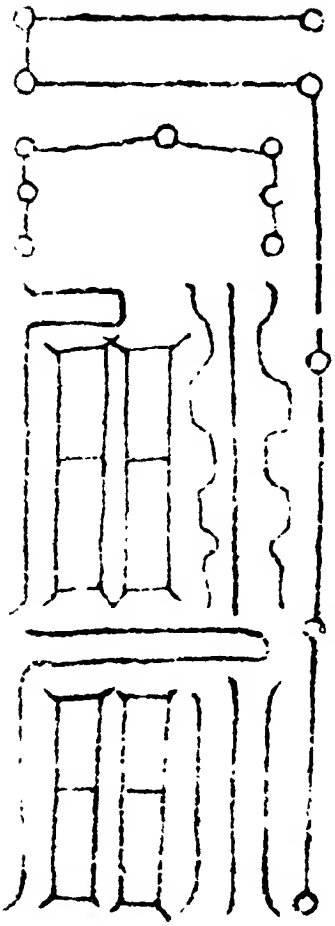


47

45 Good luck charm to give prolonged life, to be worn on belts The design imitates a shamanistic belt (From a Taoist work of unknown date, *Tao-tsang* 668–3 . 2a)

46 Charm to ease childbirth, incorporating the character *sheng* meaning 'to be born', 'life' and 'living' (*Tao-tsang* 668–3 . 25b)

47 Charm to comfort the unborn child in the womb, incorporating constellation dots (*Tao-tsang* 668–3 21b)



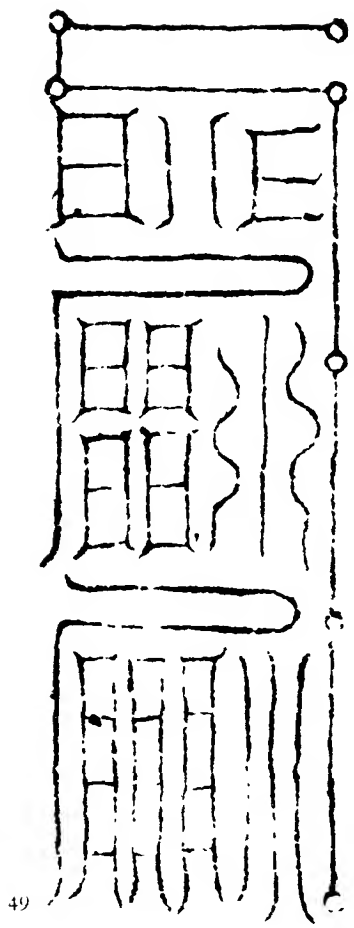
48 Talisman of the North (Early 12th century. *Tao-tsang* 463–272.24b)

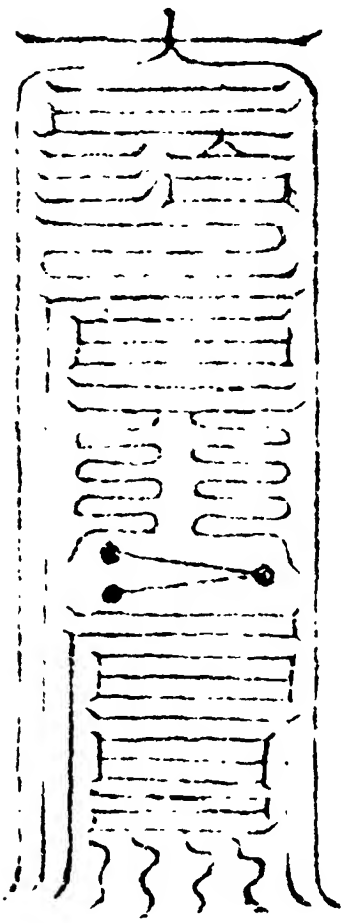
49 Talisman of the South (*Tao-tsang* 463–272 24a)

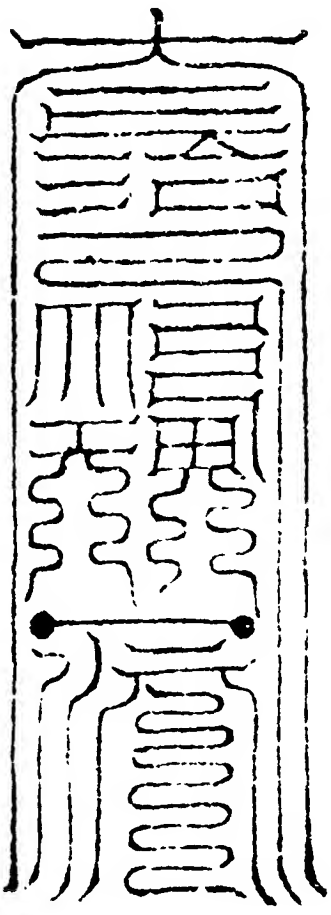
50 Talisman of the Planet Mercury, the Star of Element Water. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271·29b)

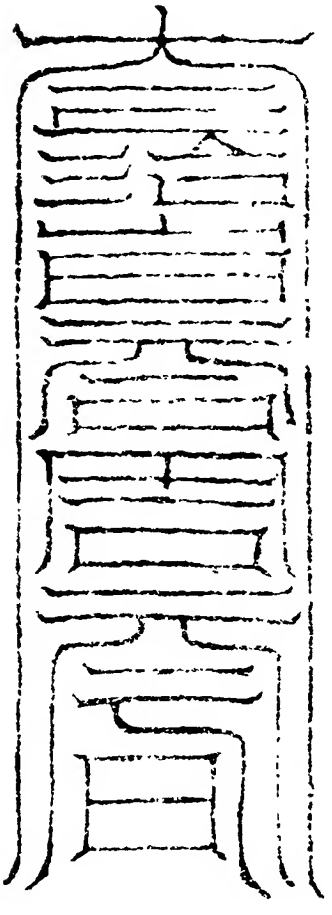
51 Talisman of the Planet Venus, the Star of Element Metal. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271·29a)

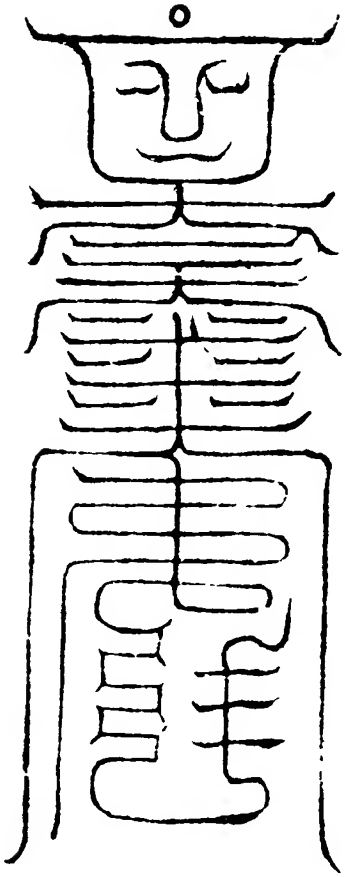
52 Talisman of the Planet Jupiter, the Star of Element Wood. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271:28b)











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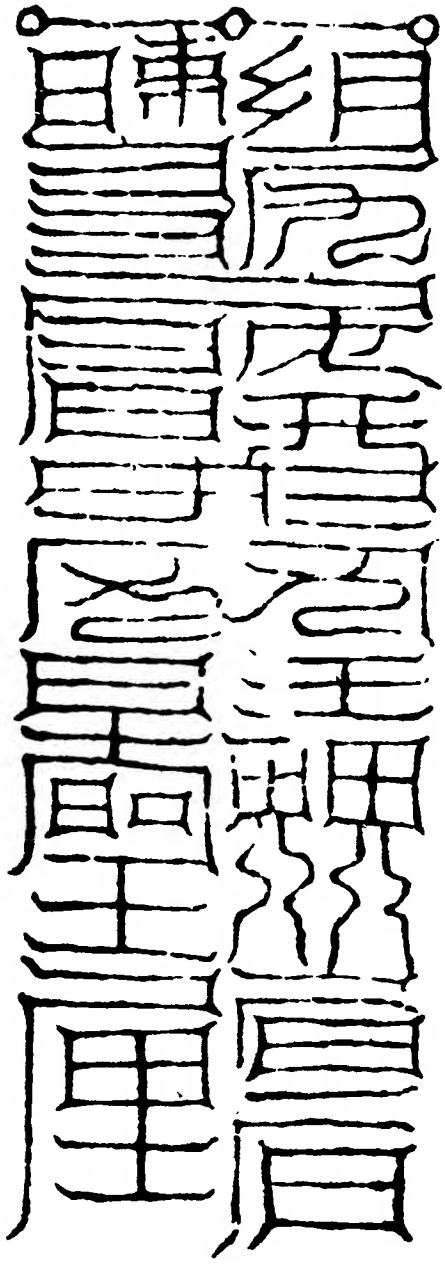


54

Curative talismans

53 Talisman to set a fractured skull (*Tao-tsang* 543–35 14b)

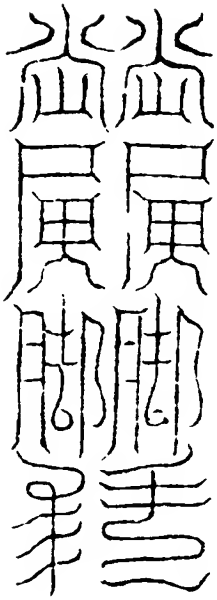
54 Charm to remove all diseases (Early 12th-century, *Tao-tsang* 463–272.14b)

55 Charm to set a fractured foot (*Tao-tsang* 463–267·5b)

56 Charm to improve vision (*Tao-tsang* 463–267:5b)

57 Charm against vomiting (*Tao-tsang* 463–267.6b)

58 Charm to remove deafness (*Tao-tsang* 463–267·6b)



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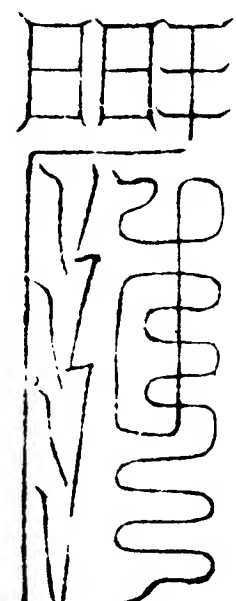

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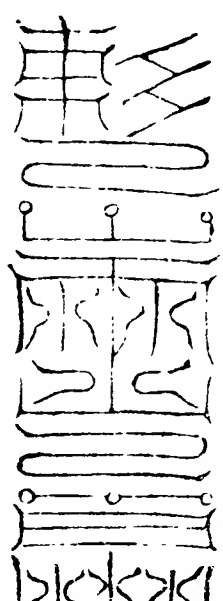

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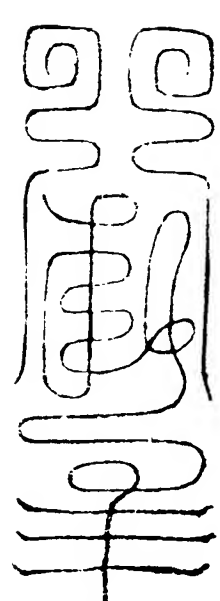


開聾符

58

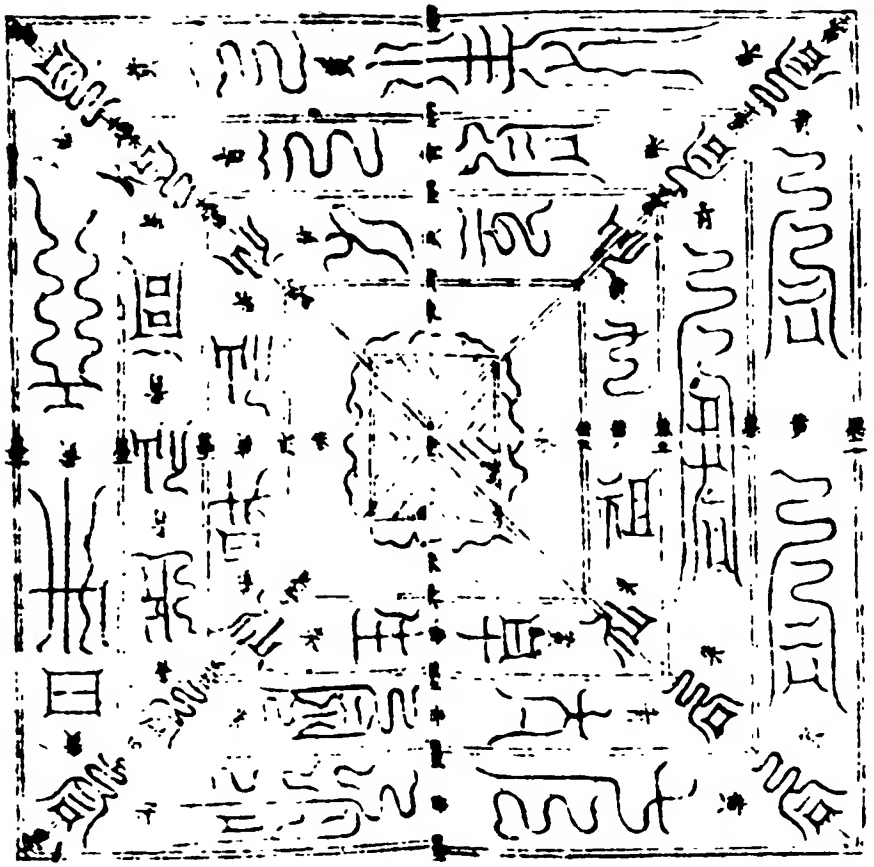
59

60

Implements of magic

59, 60 Magic divination table The top is decorated with dragons and phoenixes on a background covered with esoteric diagrams to guide the spirits to the centre The design can be related to the famous Yellow Book Talisman (61) (19th century)

61 The Yellow Book Talisman One of the most powerful magic boards for contacting spirits related to Earth The format derives from the square zone at the centre of the ancient round bronze mirrors considered to be of great talismanic power (*Tao-tsang* 1367–2a–3b)



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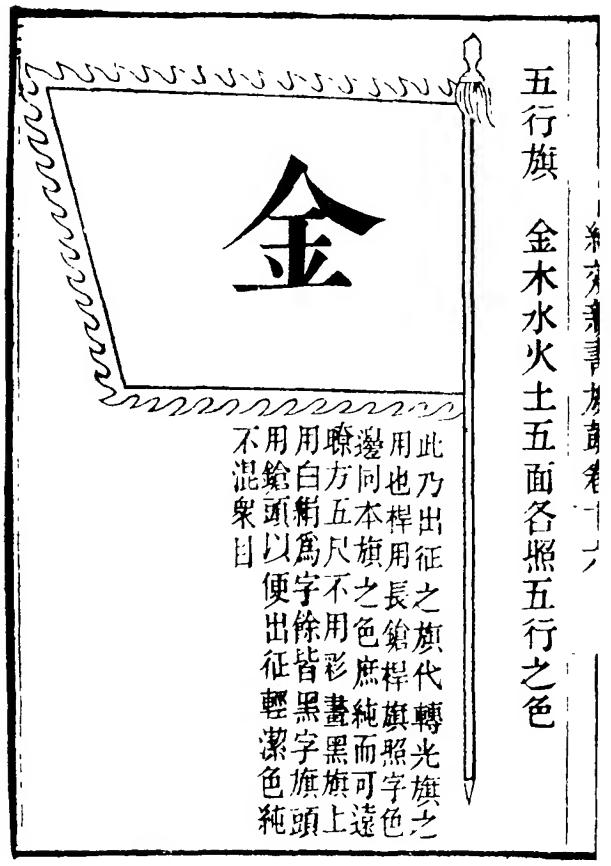
62

62 Banner with tiger and magic diagram. According to the Chinese caption, it belongs to 'the West, the White Mound, number 5, the 7th and 8th of the Ten Celestial Stems and the 9th and 10th of the Twelve Earthly Horary Branches and the Element Metal Its spirit is the White Tiger and its colour is white The centre of the banner is white and the border yellow, for Earth gives life to Metal. One cannot use red which offends Fire that destroys Metal.' (From a mid-16th-century work by Ch'i Shao-pao, *Chu-hsiao hsin-shu* 16:5b)

63

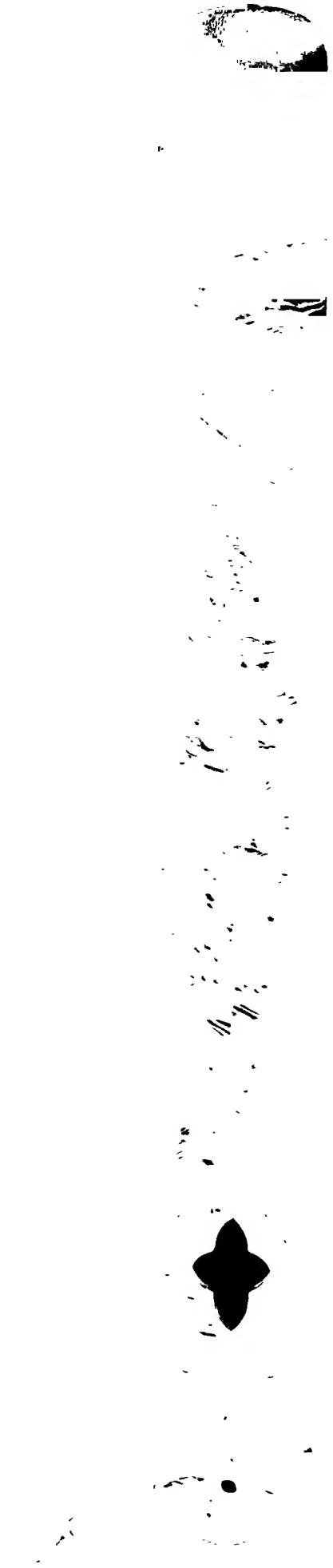


63 Taoist banner of the Element Metal, one of a set of five for each of the Five Elements (Metal, Wood, Water, Fire and Earth) with their appropriate colours (From a mid-16th-century work by Ch'i Shao-pao, *Chu-hsiao hsin-shu* 16 9b)

64 Example of the use of Taoist Cloud Script (From the Yuan edition of *The Western Chamber (Hsi-hsiang chi)*, I 55a)

65 Taoist implements of magical power. Right to left: (i) the Pennant of the Ten Thousand Spirits of the Luminous Announcement, (ii) the Pennon of the Hundred Malignant Spirits of Trembling and Fear; (iii) the Threaded-banner of Ten Thousand Years of Age of the Nine Palaces, (iv) the Banner of the Rainbow of the Spirits of the Three Pure Ones (*Tao-tsang* 1460–5–19b 20a)

66 Right to left (i) the Fan of the Feathers of the Nine Heavens; (ii) the Fan of the Clouds of Good Fortune of the Fragrant Silk, (iii) the Umbrella of Rosy Clouds of the Flying Spirits, (iv) the Lantern of Light of the Partly Hidden Candle (*Tao-tsang* 1460–5.21b–22a)



67 Taoist magic sword carved out of peach-wood with rounded end, used symbolically as a sword against evil spirits and frequently employed as a writing instrument in talismanic calligraphy. The blade is decorated on one side with the figure of Lao-tzu (also known as Lao Chun or Lao Tan) commonly regarded as the originator of Taoism. He holds a scroll in one hand and is riding under pine-trees on a water buffalo on which, according to legend, he left China to travel towards the west. (19th century.)

Note on the Tao-tsang (Taoist canon)

The first section (titles 1–313), the *Tung-chen* (Cave of Truth) contains documents of the Mao-shan Taoists, the highest ranking of all Taoist sects, with special knowledge of trances, spirit writing and meditation. The second section (314–614), the *Tung-hsuan* (Cave of Mystery), contains the powerful Five Talismans, texts of various liturgies including the communal festival of Cosmic Renewal (*chiao*), and other talismans. The third section (615–978) the *Tung-shen* (Cave of Spirits) consists of the revelation given, at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, to Chang Tao-ling, founder of the Heavenly Master Sect of Lung-shu-shan in Kiangsi Province. The fourth (979–1,086), fifth (1,087–1,152), and sixth (1,153–1,176) sections are described as supplements of the first, second and third sections respectively, while the seventh section (1,177–1,412) is called *Cheng-i*, the Orthodox One. A collection of later Taoist works (1,413–1,464) of various early Ming (post-Mongol) dates completes the edition. Diagrams and talismanic graphic illustrations appear throughout the whole canon. Source references in the captions of the present book are to title, chapter and page numbers (recto, *a*, verso, *b*), and are based on Wieger's index-numbers (see Bibliography).

Chronology

SHANG-YIN	BC c. 1600–1027
CHOU	1027–221
CH'IN	221–207
HAN	206– 220 AD
THREE KINGDOMS	221–265
SIX DYNASTIES	265–589
SUI	581–618
T'ANG	618–906
FIVE DYNASTIES	907–960
SUNG	960–1279
YUAN (MONGOLS)	1280–1368
MING	1368–1644
CH'ING (MANCHUS)	1644–1912
REPUBLIC	1912–1949
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC	1949–

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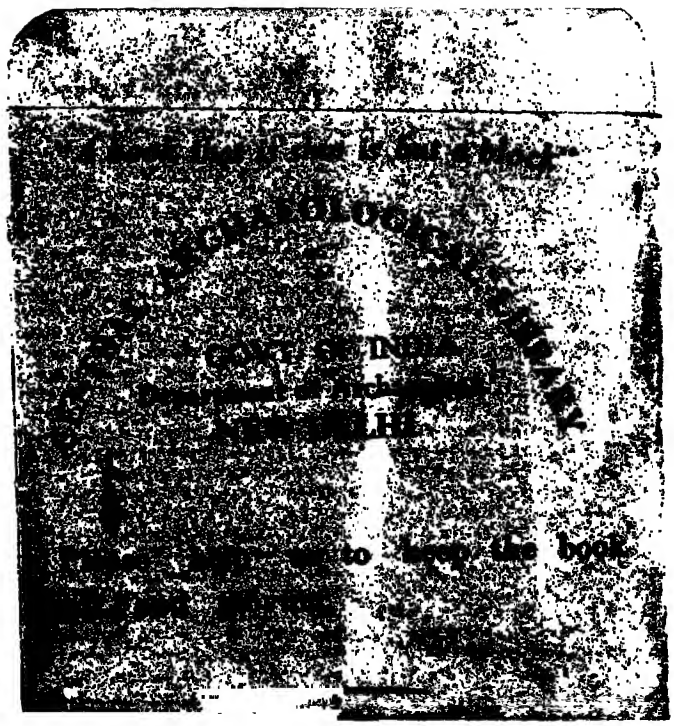

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167 ILLUSTRATIONS

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The World of Noble Angels
In the light of the Qur'an and Sunnah
عالم الملائكة الابرار

'Umar S. al-Ashqar

This nicely designed book is Part 2 in the Islamic Creed Series of International Islamic Publishing House (IIPH). It is the translation of the Arabic original that was published in 1990. This English version was published in Riyadh in 2003 (first English edition 1995).

The following summary of this book is written by Abu Banaat. For the transcription of Arabic words, the system of the book has been followed as much as possible, but not always. For the sake of clarification, another manner of numbering the subdivisions in the chapters has sometimes been used than in the original book. Abu Banaat also added some comments in footnotes and some questions for discussion in the end.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

Allah commands his believers to believe in angels. The Qur'an and the Sunnah speak in detail about angels, and without this, man would not know about angels as they are hidden for mankind. 'The relationship of angels with us, their role in our formation and their watching over us, speaks to man of his importance and valuable status.' (p. 14)

INTRODUCTION:
Definition of the Angels and Belief in Them

The word malak (angel, pl. mala'ik) is derived from the root alaka, meaning 'to deliver a message'. Angels are messenger of God. It is also said that its root is la'aka, and that mala'kah means message. Some other scholars believe it comes from al-mulk, meaning sovereignty. If an angel is in control of some affairs, he is described as malak, while when man is in control he is called malik (king) (p. 15)

A person's faith cannot be complete without believing in angels. It means:

1. Belief that they exist

2. Giving each one of them his rightful status, and believing that they are the slaves of Allah, created by Him, like mankind and the jinn. They are commanded to do things and they are accountable. […] Death is possible for them, but Allah gives them a long life. They should not be described in any way that would imply association with Allah, and they should not be regarded as gods as they were regarded by the ancients.

3. Acknowledging that among them are messengers whom Allah sends to whomsoever He wills among mankind. […] This implies acknowledging that among them are the bearers of the Throne, those

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who stand in ranks, the keepers of Paradise, the keepers of Hell, those who record man's deeds and those who drive the clouds.

1 THEIR PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ATTRIBUTES AND ABILITIES

1.1. Physical Characteristics

1.1.1 What they were created from and when

Angels are created from light, but it has not been revealed what light they were created from. The author quotes some sound hadiths which state that the angels were created from the light of glory, and Iblis from the fire of glory, and that the angels were created from the light of the arms and chest; these views are not permissible, as they may have taken their ideas from Jewish sources. (pp. 17-18)

We do not know when the angels were created, but it was before Adam, as the angels were informed that Allah was planning to create him (Qur'an 2:30) and He commanded the angels to prostrate before Adam (Qur'an 15:29). (p. 18)

Angels cannot be seen as they are made from low density light; the prophet twice saw Jibril in his true form; when angels appear in human form they can be seen. (p. 19)

1.1.2 Their great physical size

Some hadiths speak of the prophet seeing Jibril fill in the space between the heaven and the earth with his great size. (pp. 19-20)

Muhammad is reported to have seen Jibril with 600 wings – each of which filled the horizon. Multicolored pearls and rubies were falling from his wings. Jibril was sitting on green cushions. The cushions alone filled the space between heaven and earth. (pp. 20-21)

Muhammad is also reported to have spoken with one of the angels bearing the Throne of God. The distance from his earlobes to his shoulders was as far as a bird flies in 700 years. His feet were on the lowest earth and the Throne is resting on his horn. (p. 22)

1.1.3 Their most important physical characteristics

1.1.3.1 The wings of the angels - some have 2, others 3 or 4 wings. Jibril has 600. (pp. 22-23)

1.1.3.2 The beauty of the angels - Angels are free from any defect in body or mind, beautiful, tall, strong. (p. 23)

1.1.3.3 Is there any similarity in appearance and form between angels and humans? Yes, but only in as far as angels appear to humans in human form. (p. 24)

1.1.3.4 Variations in their physical shape and status - As said before, they are different in number of wings. They are also different in status and rank. The best are those who were present at the battle of Badr. (pp. 24-25)

1.1.3.5 They cannot be described as being make or female. The world of angels has different standards than the human world. The pre-Islamic Arabs thought the angels were female, or even daughters of God. The Qur'an contradicts these views in Qur'an 37:149-156. (pp. 25-26)

1.1.3.6 They do not eat of drink. When the three angels came in human form to Ibrahim, he offered them food but they did not eat. (Qur'an 51:24-28 and 11:70). Angels also do not get married. (pp. 27-28)

1.1.3.7 They do not get bored or tired. The angels worship and obey Allah without

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getting bored or tired. They also do not sleep. (Qur'an 21:20 and 41:38). (p 28)

1.1.3.8 The dwelling-place of angels. They live in the heavens but come down to earth if Allah commands them. They come down at Laylat al-Qadr. During that night the angels descend, and also the Ruh (Jibril) with all Decrees of Allah. (p. 29)

1.1.3.9 The total number of angels is unknown, though we know that Hell will be brought down on the Last Day by 49 million angels. Beside that, we know that each person has an angel responsible for the nutfah (embryo), two angels to write down a person's deeds, angels to protect each person, and an angelic companion (qarin) to guide a person. (p. 30)

1.1.3.10 Angels have names but we only know a few:

- Jibril and Mika'il: Jibril brought the Qur'an down to Muhammad, and he is the Ruh sent to Maryam. (Qur'an 2:97-98, 26:193-194, and 19:17) (p. 31)
- Israfil: will blow the final trumpet
- Muhammad mentioned these angels in his prayers: 'O Allah, Lord of Jibril, Mika'il and Israfil, Creator of the heavens and the earth'. (pp. 31-32)
- Malik: the keeper of Hell
- Ridwan: the keeper of Paradise
- Munkar and Nakir: involved in questioning men in the grave
- Harut and Marut: Mentioned in the Qur'an 2:102 as sent to earth to test mankind. Many myths about them in the books of tafsir, but no basis for this in Islam.
- 'Azra'il: Some believe him to be the angel of Death, but no strong basis.
- Raqib and 'Atid: This is a mistaken idea, based on misinterpretation of Qur'an 50:17-18 where we read that man can not utter a word or there is a watcher (raqib) by him, ready ('atib) to record it. (pp. 32-33)

1.1.3.11 The death of the angels

All angels will die, based on Qur'an 39:68 and 28:88.

After all creation has died, only the One who is the First and the Last will be there. Even the angel of Death will have died as the last one.

It is not clear whether before that Last Trumpet, angels will die. (p. 34)

1.2 Attributes

The angels are honorable and obedient (Qur'an 80:15-16). They are emissaries who reconcile people. (p. 35) They are also modest. (pp. 35-36)

1.3 Abilities

1.3.1 Their ability to take on different forms

Angels taken on fully human forms, as in the case of Jibreel who appeared to Maryam, Ibrahim, and Lot (Qur'an 19:16-19, 11:77). To Lot they appeared as 'handsome young men'. The prophet saw angels in the form of some of his companions, or Bedouin. Jibril once appeared to the companions in white clothes and black hair. An angel can also take the form of a horse. (pp. 36-38). Some Islamic scholars have discussed how angels can change form, but the author disagrees with questioning how that can be. 'Allah has told us that the angels may take on different forms, but he has no told us how they do so.' (pp. 38-39)

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1.3.2 Their great speed

The speed of angels is greater than the speed of light. It cannot be measured by human standards. (p. 39)

1.3.3 Their knowledge

Angels have been taught by Allah and they have great knowledge, including the knowledge of writing but they do not have the human ability to find out things by themselves. (Qur'an 2:31-32, 82:10-12) (pp. 39-40)

At the same time, the angels discuss about the creation of Adam and other matters of God that are not clear to them. (pp. 40-41)

1.3.4 They are disciplined and organized

They worship God in rows (Qur'an 89:22, 78:38) (pp. 42-43)

1.3.5 The infallibility of angels

Angels are virtuous believers; they do not commit sin; Iblis was not one of the angels, according to most scholars. (Qur'an 66:6, 37:164-166, 21:19-20, 80:15-16, 56:79, 21:27, 35:1, 6:124) (pp.43-46)

2 THE WORSHIP OF THE ANGELS

2.1 A Look at the Nature of the Angels

Angels instinctively worship Allah. They do not have the ability to disobey Him. (Qur'an 66:6) They are commanded to obey Allah and they are held accountable for that; some scholars are mistaken in saying that they are not held accountable. (Qur'an 16:50) (p. 47)

2.2 The Status of the Angels

They are honored slaves of Allah. They fully serve God. They are not the daughters of Allah as the mushrikin said. (Qur'an 21:26-29) They do not make suggestions before God and they do not oppose any command. (pp. 48-49)

Some of the aspects of their worship are:

2.2.1 Tasbih (glorifying Allah)

They remember Allah and the greatest dhikr is tasbih.(Qur'an 40:7, 42:5, 21:20 37:165-166) (pp. 49-50)

2.2.2 Standing in rows

They worship God while standing in rows (Qur'an 37:165) (pp. 50-51)

2.2.3 Hajj

The angels have a Ka'bah in the seventh heaven to which they go on hajj. This is al-Bayt al-Ma'mur (the much-frequented house) (Qur'an 52:4). According to some hadiths each day 70,000 angels enter into that Bayt. Abraham leans against it as he inhabits that heaven. This Bayt is exactly above the earthly Ka'bah. Each heaven has such a Ka'bah. (pp. 51-53)

2.2.4 Their fear of Allah

They are so fearful of God that when He decrees a matter in heaven, they beat their wings in submission to what He has said. Jibril is like a worn mat for his fear of Allah. (p. 53)

3 THE ANGELS AND MAN

3.1 The Angels and Adam

Before God wanted to create Adam, He first informed the angels. They asked Him the reason for that because they knew that mankind would cause corruption and bloodshed. God told them that He had reasons which the angels did not know. (Qur'an 2:30)

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After Adam's creation, the angels were told to prostrate before Adam. All angels did, but Iblis did not. (Qur'an 38:71-74)

The angels taught Adam to add wa rahmat Allah to the greeting as-Salaamu 'alaykum.

When Adam died, angels washed his dead body, as Adam's sons did not know what to do. This is also reported of some of the prophet's companions. (pp. 55-57)

3.2 *The angels and the sons of Adam*

3.2.1 Their role in the creation of man

When 42 days are passed, Allah sends an angel to the nutfah (embryo) and he gives it shape, forming its hearing and sights, its skin, flesh and bones. Then the gender is also formed. (p. 57).

Angels are also send to the womb after 120 days to write on the child its deeds, provision, whether he is doomed or blessed. Then his soul is breathed into him. This is based on different hadiths. (p. 58)

3.2.2 The angels guard the sons of Adam

Angels guard people – before and after them. When Allah wants a person to suffer, he withdraws his angels. Angels guard man at sleep and during the day, against jinn, men and wild beasts. (Qur'an 6:61, 13:10-11) (pp. 58-59)

3.2.3 The emissaries of Allah to His Messengers and Prophets

Jibril is the only one who carries out this mission. He brought the Qur'an down to the Prophet's heart. (Qur'an 2:97, 26:193-194)

Wahy (revelation) may be given by other angels as well, but this happens rarely.

Angels appear also to others than messengers or prophets. (pp.59-61)

How did the wahy come to the Messenger? According to Muhammad, sometimes as the ringing of a bell; sometimes the angels come in the form of a man who speaks to him. Jibril used to also come in angelic form, but it was easier for the prophet if he changed into human form. Twice he appeared 'in the form in which Allah had created him'. This meant: sitting on a throne between the heavens and the earth. (pp. 60-62)

During Ramadan Jibril also came each night to teach Muhammad to understand the Qur'an. Jibril also taught Muhammad how prayers should be performed. (pp. 63-64)

Jibril also fought with Muhammad at certain battles, like Badr, and he accompanied him on his Night Journey. (p. 64)

God did not sent angels as messengers, as that is very difficult for mankind. 'Allah willed that He should send mankind Messengers of their own kind. He could not have sent them down in their angelic form. He would have had to make them appear in human form, so that the people could have learned from them.' (Qur'an 6:8-9)

Kafirs demand to see angels and to have a messenger from the angels come to them, but this is sheer stubbornness. (Qur'an 6:111) pp. 65-66.

3.2.4 Stirring up good motives in human hearts

Each person has a constant qarin (constant companion) from among the angels and another form the jinn. The angel is to guide the person to do good, versus the jinn. The two companions compete with each other to lead the person. (pp. 66-67)

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3.2.5 Recording the good and bad deeds of the sons of Adam

Some angels are appointed to write down the good and bad deeds of man. Each man has two angels. (Qur'an 50:16-18, 82:10-12).

The angel on the rights records the good, the one on the left the bad words and deeds of man. (Qur'an 17:13-14)

Even neutral statements and deeds are recorded, but these are erased each Thursday. (Qur'an 13:39)

The angel who writes down the bad deeds, gives a person 6 hours to repent. If he does, the deed is not written down, according to hadiths.

An evil intend is not recorded. If the person does not do according to his evil intent, this is written down as a good deed. If he does do the evil intent, it is written as one evil deed. If he has a good intent, that is written down as a good deed. If he implements the intent, that is written down as ten good deeds.

Angels are able to know good and bad intentions in man's heart, but not their beliefs. (pp. 68-73)

3.2.6 Testing the sons of Adam

God sends angels to test man. They can also cure people and (pp. 73-75)

3.2.7 The angels take the soul form the body when the appointed time of death comes

Angels take the soul out of bodies when their appointed time to die has come. (Qur'an 32:11, 6:61-62). With kuffar and sinners they do that in a harsh manner. The souls of believers are taken gently. (Qur'an 6:93, 8:50, 47:27). Unbelievers get the tidings of hell and believers get glad tidings and help. (Qur'an 41:30-31, 6:93) (pp. 75-77)

When the angel of death came to Moses, Moses slapped him so that he lost an eye. God then gave Moses more years to live. Moses did not know it was the angel of death; according to shariah a Muslim is allowed to take out the eye of a person who looks without permission into his home. (pp. 77-78)

In this context, the author deemed it important to say: 'If a report from Allah or from His messenger is sahih, then there is no option but to believe it' (Qur'an 3:7) (p. 78)

3.2.8 The relationship of the angels with man in the grave, on he Day of Resurrection, and in the Hereafter.

Two angels, Munkar and Nakir, question man in the grave. There are angels who bless people in the grave and those who punish.

Israfil will blow the trumpet on the Day of Resurrection and other angels will gather the people for the reckoning. Angels will drive the kuffar to hell and lead the believers to paradise. They will punish those in hell and greet the believers with salaam in paradise. (p. 78)

3.3 The angels and the believers

3.3.1 The role of the angels with the believers

3.3.1.1 Angels love the believers (p. 79)

3.3.1.2 Angels try to guide believers as to good behavior

(in this context, the writer suggests that the Ruh al-Qudus is an angel) (p. 79)

3.3.1.3 Angels send blessings to believers – meaning they pray for people and seek forgiveness for them. (Qur'an 33:43, 56) (pp. 80-81)

Examples of deeds for which the angels send blessings upon a person:

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- Teaching people good things
- those who wait for prayer in congregation
- those who pray in the first row
- those who fill the gaps in the rows
- those who eat suhur (last meal before fasting)
- those who send blessings upon the prophet
- those who visit the sick (pp. 81-82)

Does the angels sending blessings on us have any effect? Yes, it has the effect of ridding us from the darkness of kufr and shirk and sin, leading us to Islam. (Qur'an 33:43) (p. 83)

3.3.1.4 The personally assigned angel says 'amen' to the du'aa' (personal supplications) of believers, making them more likely to be answered. They say 'amen' to anything the believer prays, so the prophet advised to be careful not to pray anything that may hurt the one who prays. (p. 83)

3.3.1.5 The angels who bear God's throne and the angels around the throne ask forgiveness for believers, especially for those who repent. (Qur'an 40:7-9, 42:3) (pp. 84-85)

3.3.1.6 Angels attend gathering of knowledge and circles of dhikr and surrounds those present with their wings. (p. 85-86)

3.3.1.7 Angels record those who attend Friday prayers in the mosque. They stand at the door and record the ones who come first. There are about 30 of those in the mosque, so these are not the personal recording angels. (p. 86)

3.3.1.8 Angels come and go among us; especially at fajr prayer they witness the behavior of the believers. (Qur'an 17:78) (p. 87)

3.3.1.9 They come down when a believers recites the Qur'an. (p. 88)

3.3.1.10 They convey the salaams of the ummah to the prophet. (p. 89)

3.3.1.11 They bring glad tidings to the believers (Qur'an 31:24-28, 3:39) (pp. 89-90)

3.3.1.12 Angels may appear to believers in dreams. (pp. 90-91)

3.3.1.13 Angels fight alongside the believers and support them at times of war, (Qur'an 8:9-12, 3:123-127, 33:9) (pp. 91-94)

3.3.1.14 They protect the prophet (p. 94)

3.3.1.15 They protect and support righteous people and relieve their distress (Qur'an 27:62) (pp. 94-96)

3.3.1.16 Angels attend the funerals of the righteous. (p. 96)

3.3.1.17 They shade the martyrs with their wings (p. 97)

3.3.1.18 Angels brought the Ark of the Covenant to Israel (Qur'an 2:248) (p. 97)

3.3.1.19 They will protect Makka and Medina from the plague and the Dajjaal (Antichrist) (pp. 97-98)

3.3.1.20 'Isa (Jesus) will descend at the white minaret east of Damascus, wearing two garments dyed with saffron and placing his hands of the wings of two angels.(p. 98)

3.3.1.21 The angels will spread their wings over Syria, Jordan and Palestine. (pp. 98-99)

3.3.1.22 If believers say ameen and that coincides with the ameen said by the angels in heaven, 'all his previous sins will be forgiven'. Likewise when believers say the rabbanaa wa laka al-hamd in the mosque. (p. 99)

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3.3.2 The obligation of the believers towards the angels

The believer who worships Allah and seeks his pleasure has to regard the angels as friends and view them with love and respect, and avoid anything that offends them. (pp. 99-100)

3.3.2.1 Not offending the angels

Whosoever insults the angels should be executed. This is both in regard to general insults and to personal insults to angels. Disbelief is seen as an insult. Whoever slanders their honor is kaafir. It is obligatory to respect all of the prophets and all of the angels.(p 100)

3.3.2.2 Keeping away form sin and disobedience

Sin, disobedience to Allah, kufr and shirk are abhorred by the angels. They do not enter the home of such people. They do not enter places with altars, statues and pictures, a dog, people in a state of ritual impurity, the dead body of a kafir, a bell, a drunkard, or someone perfumed with saffron. (p. 101)

3.3.2.3 They are offended by that which offends the believers, like smells and filth and dirt. Garlic, opinion and leeks are abhorred by angels, so believers must not eat that before going to the mosque. (p. 102)

3.3.2.4 Do not spit to the right during prayers, because an angel stands there. (p.102)

3.3.2.5 Befriending all the angels

All angels are servants of God and we must love them all equally. The Jews, following deviant kufr, rejected the prophet's message with the excuse that Jibril was supposedly their enemy. This is a lie. (Qur'an 2:97-98) (p. 103)

3.4 The Angels and the Kuffar and Evildoers

3.4.1 Bringing the punishment down upon the kuffar.

Sometimes when a messenger was not believed and rejected, Allah sued angels to punish them. (p. 104)

3.4.2 Their destruction of the people of the prophet Lot.

Angels disguised as beautiful young men came to Lot; when the men of the city wanted to misuse those angels, Jibril struck them with his wing so that they were blinded. (Qur'an 11:77-83, 54:37) (pp. 104-106)

3.4.3 Their cursing of the kuffar

Angels curse the kuffar in general. (Qur'an 2:161, 3:86-87)

They also curse people committing certain sins, like:

- A woman who does not respond to her husband
- One who points toward his brother with a weapon
- Those who slander the companions of the prophet
- Those who prevent the shariah from being implemented
- Those who give sanctuary to those innovators or criminals. (pp. 107-108)

3.4.4 The demand of the kuffaar to see the angels

Kuffar demand to see angels in order to believe, but they will see those angels on the Day of Judgment. (Qur'an 25:21-22) (pp. 108-109)

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4 THE ANGELS AND OTHER CREATED THINGS

4.1. The Bearers of the Throne

The throne is the greatest of all created things; 8 angels carry it. (Qur'an 69:17) (p. 111)

4.2 The Angels of the Mountaint

There are angels appointed over the mountains. (pp. 111-112)

4.3. The Angels Who Are Appointed Over Rain, Vegetation and Provision

Mika'il is appointed over rain and vegetation for the provision of the world. He has helpers for that task. (p. 112)

Al-Ra'd is appointed over the clouds, to give or withhold rain as lah commands. (pp. 112-113)

Each movement in the universe stems from the angels. (Qur'an 79:1-5, 51:4, 77:1-5, 37:1-3) (pp. 113-114)

5 WHO IS SUPERIOR – THE ANGELS OR THE SONS OF ADAM?

This is an old dispute in Islam. The dispute is mostly found in the books of the scholars of kalam (scholasticism) and the dispute is with the Mu'tazilah. Verses from the Qur'an (98:7 and 7:20) are used for defending the opposite statements. (p. 115).

Allah honored Adam by creating him with His own hand and breathing into him the soul, making the angels prostrate to him and bringing prophets and messengers from mankind. Angels serve them (p. 116)

The matter was discussed by the companions of the prophet, not just later by the scholastics. (pp. 116-117) The author mentions different viewpoints and gives his own conclusion.

There is no dispute that the kuffar and hypocrites are not included in the discussion of superiority. They are like cattle, nay even more astray. (Qur'an 7:179) (p. 117) So the issue is not about whether the essence of man or the essence of the angels is superior. The issue is about believers and angels. (p. 117)

Those who say that the righteous human beings are superior to angels use the following evidence:

1. Allah commanded his angels to prostrate to Adam. If he had not been superior, He would not have commanded them to do so. (Qur'an 2:34) (pp. 117-118) However, some say that the prostration was to Allah and that Adam was just the qiblah. But if that is true, why would Iblis have refused with the argument that he was better than Adam? (p. 118)
2. Adam was honored over Iblis (Qur'an 17:62) (p. 118)
3. Allah created Adam with his hands, and the angels with his word.
4. The one who is a khalifah is higher than the one who is not a khalifah (Qur'an 2:30) (p. 119)
5. The sons of Adam are superior in terms of knowledge. When Allah asked the angels the names of things, they could not answer. Adam told them the names of things. (Qur'an 39:9) (p. 119)
6. Man's obedience to Allah is more difficult, and that which is more difficult to fulfill is dearer when fulfilled. (p. 119)

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7. The salaf used to narrate hadiths which spoke of the superiority of righteous human beings over angels. Had this been wrong it would have been denounced. (p. 119)

8. Allah praises righteous human beings before his angels, which indicates that the angels are superior. Some of this opinion also quote Qur'an 6:50: 'Nor I tell you that I am an angel'. They also point to the imperfection of believers, while angels are perfect. (p. 120)

The correct view that reconciles the different viewpoint is based on Ibn Taymiyah. He suggested that righteous human beings will be better in the end, when they enter Paradise and gain closer access to Allah than the angels. (Qur'an 38:25).

But the angels are better at the beginning, for presently they are closer to Allah. They are fully devoted to worship, and sinless, so undoubtedly more perfect than mankind in their present situation. (pp. 120-121)

+++ end of summary +++

SOME QUESTIONS

1. Can you summarize the role of angels in Islam?

2. How do Allah and the angels relate in Islam?

3. How do the believers and angels relate in Islam?

4. What role do the angels play in ensuring that believers go to paradise?

5. What aspects of Islamic angelology are most different from what the Bible says of the angels?

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Four Heavenly Kings

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

This article is about Buddhist gods. For other uses, see Four Heavenly Kings (disambiguation).

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Tamon-ten (Vaiśravaṇa) at Tōdai-ji, Japan

The Four Guardian Kings in Burmese depiction.

The **Four Heavenly Kings** are four Buddhist gods or *devas*, each of whom is believed to watch over one cardinal direction of the world. In the Sanskrit language of India, they are called the "Caturmahārāja" (चतुर्महाराज) or "Caturmahārājikādeva": "Four Great Kings". In Chinese mythology, they are known as "Sì Dàtiānwáng" (Chinese: 四大天王; lit. 'Four Great Heavenly Kings') or collectively as "Fēng Tiáo Yǔ Shùn" (simplified Chinese: 风调雨顺

; traditional Chinese: 風調雨順; lit. 'Good climate'). The Hall of Four Heavenly Kings is a standard component of Chinese Buddhist temples.

Names[edit]

The Kings are collectively named as follows:

Language	Written form	Romanization	Translation
Sanskrit	चतुर्महाराज	Chaturmahārāja Chaturmahārājikā	Four Great Kings
	लोकपाल	Lokapāla	Guardians of the World
Sinhala	සතරවරම් දෙවිවරු	*Satharawaram Dewi*	Four Privileged/Bestowed Gods
Burmese	စတုလောကပါလ စတုမဟာရာဇ်နတ်	IPA: [sətṵ lɔ́kə̰ pàlə̰] IPA: [sətṵ məhà ɹɪʔ naʔ]	Loanword from *catulokapāla* loanword from *catumahā* + king nats
Chinese	天王	*Tiānwáng*	Heavenly Kings
	四天王	*Sìtiānwáng*	Four Heavenly Kings
	四大天王	*Sìdà Tiānwáng*	Four Great Heavenly Kings
Japanese	四天王	*Shi Tennō*	Four Heavenly Kings

	四大天王	*Shidai Tennō*	Four Great Heavenly Kings
Korean	四天王/사천왕	*Sa-cheonwang*	Four heavenly kings
Vietnamese	四天王	Tứ Thiên Vương	Four heavenly kings
	四大天王	Tứ Đại Thiên Vương	Four great heavenly kings
Tagalog	□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□	Apat na Hari sa Langit	Four heavenly kings
Tibetan	རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞི་	rgyal chen bzhi	Four great kings
Mongolian	ᠲᠡᠩᠭᠡᠷᠢᠶᠢᠨ ᠳᠥᠷᠪᠥᠨ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ Тэнгэрийн дөрвөн хаан	Tengeriin dörwön xaan	Four kings of the sky
Thai	จาตุมหาราชา	Chatumaharacha	Four Great Kings, loan word from catumahārāja (Pali)
	จตุโลกบาล	Chatulokkaban	Four Guardians of the World, loan word from catulokapāla (Pali)
Pali	Catu-Mahārāja	Catu-Mahārāja	The Four Great Kings

The Four Heavenly Kings are said to currently live in the Cāturmahārājika heaven (Pali: Cātummahārājika, "Of the Four Great Kings") on the lower slopes of Mount Sumeru, which is the lowest of the six worlds of the devas of the Kāmadhātu. They are the protectors of the world and fighters of evil, each able to command a legion of supernatural creatures to protect the Dharma.

Pali	Vessavana	Virūlhaka	Dhatarattha	Virūpakkha
devanagari Sanskrit romanization	वैश्रवण (कुबेर) *Vaiśravaṇa* (Kubera)	विरूढक *Virūḍhaka*	धृतराष्ट्र *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*	विरूपाक्ष *Virūpākṣa*
Meaning	he who hears everything	he who causes to grow	he who upholds the realm	he who sees all
Control	yakkhas	kumbhandas	gandhabbas	nagas
Description	This is the chief of the four kings and protector of the north. He is the ruler of rain. His symbolic weapons are the umbrella or pagoda. Wearing heavy armor and carrying the umbrella in his right hand, he is often associated with the	King of the south and one who causes good growth of roots. He is the ruler of the wind. His symbolic weapon is the sword which he carries in his right hand to protect the Dharma and the southern continent. Associated with the color blue.	King of the east and god of music. His symbolic weapon is the pipa (stringed instrument). He is harmonious and compassionate and protects all beings. Uses his music to convert others to Buddhism. Associated with the color	King of the west and one who sees all. His symbolic weapon is a snake or red cord that is representative of a dragon. As the eye in the sky, he sees people who do not believe in Buddhism and converts them. His ancient name means "he who has

	ancient Sri Lankan god of wealth, Kubera. Associated with the color yellow or green.		white.	broad objectives". Associated with the color red
Image				
Color	yellow or green	blue	white	red
Symbol	umbrella	sword	pipa	serpent
	mongoose			stupa
	stupa			pearl
Followers	*yakṣas*	*kumbhāṇḍas*	gandharvas	nāgas
Direction	north	south	east	west

Traditional/Simplified Chinese Pinyin	多聞天王 / 多闻天王 *Duōwén Tiānwáng*	增長天王 / 增长天王 *Zēngzhǎng Tiānwáng*	持國天王 / 持国天王 *Chíguó Tiānwáng*	廣目天王 / 广目天王 *Guǎngmù Tiānwáng*
	毗沙門天 / 毗沙门天	留博叉天 / 留博叉天	多羅吒天 / 多罗吒天	毗琉璃天 / 毗琉璃天
Kanji Hepburn romanization	多聞天 (毘沙門天) *Tamon-ten* (*Bishamon-ten*)	増長天 *Zōchō-ten*	持国天 *Jikoku-ten* 治国天 *Jikoku-ten*	広目天 *Kōmoku-ten*
Hangul romanized Korean	다문천왕 *Damun-cheonwang*	증장천왕 增長天王 *Jeungjang-cheonwang*	지국천왕 持國天王 *Jiguk-cheonwang*	광목천왕 廣目天王 *Gwangmok-cheonwang*
Vietnamese alphabet Chữ Hán	*Đa Văn Thiên Vương* 多聞天王	*Tăng Trưởng Thiên Vương* 增長天王	*Trì Quốc Thiên Vương* 持國天王	*Quảng Mục Thiên Vương* 廣目天王
Filipino alphabet Baybayin	*Bisrabana* □□□□□□□□□	*Birudhaka* □□□□□□□□	*Dhltalastla* □□□□□□□□□□□	*Bilupaksa* □□□□□□□□□
Burmese Script	ဝေဿဝဏ်ထွန်တ်မင်း (*Waithawun Nat Min*)	ဝိရူဠကနတ်မင်း (*Wirulakka Nat Min*)	ဓတရဋ္ဌနတ်မင်း (*Datarattha*	ဝိရူပက္ခနတ်မင်း (*Wirupakkha*

	ကုဝေရနတ်မင်း (*Kuwaira Nat Min*)		*Nat Min*)	*Nat Min*)
Tibetan alphabet and romanization	རྣམ་ཐོས་སྲས་ (Namthöse)	འཕགས་སྐྱེས་པོ་ (Phakyepo)	ཡུལ་འཁོར་སྲུང་ (Yülkhorsung)	སྤྱན་མི་བཟང་ (Chenmizang)
Mongolian Script and Mongolian Cyrillic and Mongolian Latin alphabet	ᠥᠨᠳᠡᠰᠦ ᠦᠨᠳᠡᠰᠲᠡᠨ ᠦᠽᠡᠯ (Олон үндэстний үзэл) *Olon ündestnii üzel*	ᠲᠢᠶᠡᠨᠢ ᠥᠰᠥᠯᠲ (Тиений өсөлт) *Tiyenii ösölt*	ᠦᠨᠳᠡᠰᠦᠨ ᠵᠠᠰᠪᠠᠷ ᠦᠶᠯᠴᠢᠯᠭᠡᠡ (үндэсний засвар үйлчилгээ) *ündesnii zasvar üilchilgee*	ᠰᠡᠯᠡᠰᠲᠢᠶᠡᠯ ᠰᠤᠷᠲᠠᠯᠴᠢᠯᠭᠠᠠ (селестиел сурталчилгаа) *syelyestiyel surtalchilgaa*
Thai script romanization	ท้าวเวสวัณ (*Thao Wetsawan*) ท้าวเวสสุวรรณ (*Thao Wetsuwan*) ท้าวกุเวร (*Thao Kuwen*)	ท้าววิรุฬหก (*Thao Wirunhok*)	ท้าวธตรฐ (*Thao Thatarot*)	ท้าววิรูปักษ์ (*Thao Wirupak*)

- **Four Heavenly Kings statues at the royal crematorium of King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand**
  -

Vaiśravaṇa of the north direction, king of yakṣas.

-

Virūḍhaka of the south direction, king of kumbhāṇḍas.

-

Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the east direction, king of gandharvas.

-

Virūpākṣa of the west direction, king of nāgas.

Mythology[edit]

All four Kings serve *Śakra*, the lord of the devas of *Trāyastriṃśa*. On the 8th, 14th and 15th days of each lunar month, the Kings either send out emissaries or go themselves to inspect the state of virtue and morality in the world of men. Then they report their findings to the assembly of the *Trāyastriṃśa* devas.

On the orders of Śakra, the Kings and their retinues stand guard to protect *Trāyastriṃśa* from another attack by the Asuras, which once threatened to destroy the realm of the devas. They also vowed to protect the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Buddha's followers from danger. In Chinese Buddhism, all four of the heavenly kings are regarded as four of the *Twenty Devas* (二十諸天 Èrshí Zhūtiān) or the *Twenty-Four Devas* (二十四諸天 Èrshísì zhūtiān), a group of Buddhist dharmapalas who manifest to protect the Dharma.[1]

Statues of the Four Heavenly Kings. From left to right: *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Virūḍhaka*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, and *Virūpākṣa* in Beihai Park in Beijing, China.

According to Vasubandhu, devas born in the Cāturmahārājika heaven are 1/4 of a krośa in height (about 750 feet tall). They have a five-hundred-year lifespan, of which each day is equivalent to 50 years in our world; thus their total lifespan amounts to about nine million years (other sources say 90,000 years).

Painting of Kōmokuten (*Virūpākṣa*), the Guardian of the West (one of the Four Guardian Kings). 13th century, Japan.

The attributes borne by each King also link them to their followers; for instance, the nāgas, magical creatures who can change form between human and serpent, are led by *Virūpākṣa*, represented by a snake; the gandharvas are celestial musicians, led by *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, represented with a lute. The umbrella was a symbol of regal sovereignty in ancient India, and the sword is a symbol of martial prowess. *Vaiśravaṇa*'s mongoose, which ejects jewels from its mouth, is said to represent generosity in opposition to greed.

Vaiśravaṇa

(north)

Virūpākṣa (west) **Heavenly Kings** *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (east)

Virūḍhaka

(south)

- **Statues of the Four Heavenly Kings of Lingyin Temple, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China.**

-

Duōwén Tiānwáng (North)

-

Zēngzhǎng Tiānwáng (South)

-

Chíguó Tiānwáng (East)

-

Guǎngmù Tiānwáng (West)

- **Statues of the Four Heavenly Kings of [Jikō-ji](), [Takasago](), [Hyōgo](), [Japan]().**
-

Jikoku-ten (east)

-

Zōjō-ten (south)

-

Kōmoku-ten (west)

-

Tamon-ten (north)

Popular culture[edit]

- In the Hong Kong entertainment industry, Andy Lau, Jacky Cheung, Leon Lai, Aaron Kwok are known as the Four Heavenly Kings.
- In first seasons of *Sailor Moon*, and *Sailor Moon Crystal*, the Four Heavenly Kings were the four loyal and faithfully devoted generals and bodyguards of Prince Endymion.
- In MegaBeast Investigator Juspion, starting in episode 13, the main villain Mad Gallant employs a quartet of assassins called the Four Evil Heavenly Kings (悪の四天王, *Aku no Shitennō*).

- The third movie of Detective Dee, by Tsui Hark, "Detective Dee: The Four Heavenly Kings" (2018) (traditional Chinese: 狄仁傑之四大天王; simplified Chinese: 狄仁杰之四大天王).
- In Pokémon, the group of Pokémon trainers known as the Elite Four in English are called the Four Heavenly Kings (四天王) in Japanese.

In Street Fighter, the leading members of Shadaloo known as the Grand Masters in English are known as the Four Heavenly Kings (四天王). They consist of M. Bison (Vega in Japanese), Vega (Balrog in Japanese), Balrog (M. Bison in Japanese), Sagat (formerly), and F.A.N.G.

See also[edit]

- ***Religion portal***

- Anemoi
- Bacab
- Four Dwarves (Norse mythology)
- Four Holy Beasts
- Four Living Creatures
- Four sons of Horus
- Four Stags (Norse mythology)
- Four Symbols
- Four temperaments
- Guardians of the directions
- Lokapala
- Royal stars
- Svetovid
- Tetramorph
- Watchtower

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The Four Winds

A Native American story
Retold by Phillip Simpson
Illustrated by Sarah Davis

Ga-oh, ruler of the winds, dwells in the western sky in a lodge with four gates. He is so powerful that he cannot go out into the world for fear of shaking the sky to pieces.

So, long ago, he chose four assistants to manage the winds for him.

First, Ga-oh opened his north gate and blew a great blast. As the echoes of the windy call died away, Bear came lumbering toward him, pushing great mountains out of his path.

"Bear," said Ga-oh, "you are strong. Your breath turns rivers to ice. Your strong arms hold the wild gusts, and you wrap the world in your icy embrace. Be my great North Wind, and take command of my winter gales for me."

Bear bowed his head, and Ga-oh slipped a leash around his neck. Growling fiercely, Bear took his place in the northern sky to wait for Ga-oh's command.

Next, Ga-oh opened his west gate and blew a shrill call. Panther's claws tore the air as he leapt up to the gate in answer.

"Panther, you are fierce and powerful," said Ga-oh. "You shall be my bringer of storms. Your breath can destroy the forests and make the waves of the sea surge and churn. You can control the tempests with your claws. Go now and wait, for you shall be my West Wind."

Panther snarled and pulled impatiently at the strong leash that Ga-oh placed around his neck, eager to pounce on the unruly winds of the western sky.

Next, Ga-oh opened his east door, and blew a blast that shook the world. With a sound of moaning and a thundering of hooves, Moose approached through the mist.

"Moose," said Ga-oh, slipping a rope around his neck, "you will be my rain and fog. You will be my East Wind, the wind that brings drizzle and wet, the cold rain and the gray mist."

Stamping his great hooves, Moose bowed his head and moved to take his place in the eastern sky.

Finally, Ga-oh opened his south gate and blew a gentle call. With dainty steps, Fawn approached, her head held up proudly.

"Fawn," said Ga-oh, "you are gentle and soft. Be my South Wind, and watch over my summer breezes."

Stroking her neck, Ga-oh slipped silken reins over Fawn's head and sent her to wait peacefully in the southern sky.

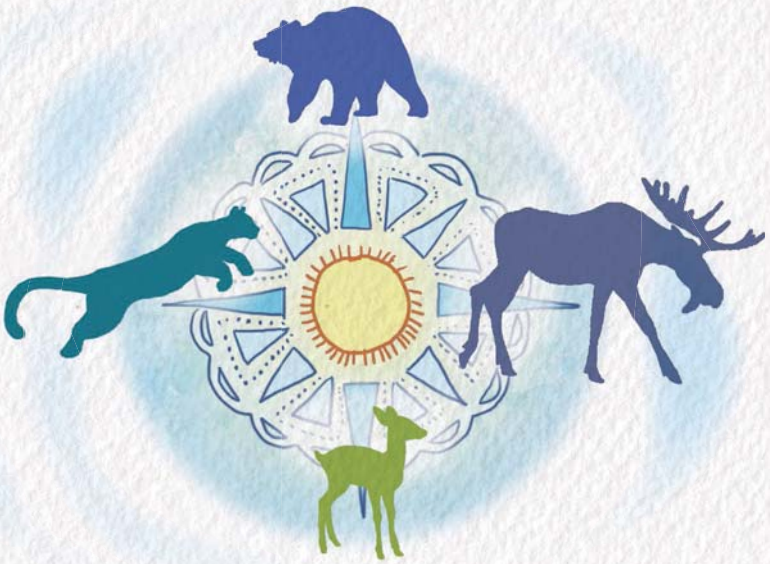
With that, Ga-oh sat down to watch the world, holding the four leashes in his hand.

Since then, Ga-oh has often freed Bear and Panther to blast the land with winter hurricanes and terrible storms. When the North Wind blows strongly, the people say, "The Bear is prowling in the sky." When the West Wind rattles the door, the people say, "The Panther is whining."

At other times, Moose has been given his freedom, sending people scurrying indoors to escape his chill rain and creeping mist. People then say, "The Moose is spreading his breath."

When he is in a good mood, Ga-oh releases Fawn to spread warm summer breezes over Earth. Then the people smile and say, "The Fawn is going home to her mother, the Doe."

On some days, Ga-oh restrains all four winds. On these days when Bear, Panther, Moose, and Fawn are held tight, the sun comes out and all is peaceful. The birds sing and the people know that Ga-oh is holding on firmly to all four leashes, protecting the world from the wild elements.



The Haudenosaunee

The story of Ga-oh and the four winds belongs to the Haudenosaunee (*Ho-de-no-SHAW-nee*) people. The Haudenosaunee are one of the Native American peoples of the United States and Canada. They were a powerful alliance of five nations in northern New York State. Their laws, their treaties with other nations, their history, and their stories were passed down orally, through speech and memory. As a result, stories and storytellers have always been very important to the Haudenosaunee. Today, they continue to find new ways to keep their stories alive.

Haudenosaunee dancers wearing traditional dress

Questions about *The Four Winds*

1. Who is Ga-oh?
2. Which wind does Bear become? What weather does he command?
3. Why are pieces of rock included in the illustration on page 2?
4. What are the characteristics of Panther, the West Wind?
5. Which animal brings rain and fog to the world?
6. Which animal represents the South Wind? Why?
7. Why does Ga-oh keep his four winds on leashes?
8. Why are the Haudenosaunee's stories important to them?

Image Acknowledgments

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ANGELS IN ISLAM

A Commentary with Selected Translations of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*)

S. R. Burge

Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh

2009

A loose-leaf from a MS of al-Qazwīnī's, *ʿAjā'ib fī makhlūqāt* (British Library)
Source: Du Ry, Carel J., *Art of Islam* (New York: Abrams, 1971), p. 188

0.1 Abstract

This thesis presents a commentary with selected translations of Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*). The work is a collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* about angels, followed by a postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological questions regarding their status in Islam.

The first section of this thesis looks at the state of the study of angels in Islam, which has tended to focus on specific issues or narratives. However, there has been little study of the angels in Islamic tradition outside studies of angels in the Qur'an and eschatological literature. This thesis hopes to present some of this more general material about angels.

The following two sections of the thesis present an analysis of the whole work. The first of these two sections looks at the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, focusing on angelic nomenclature and angelic iconography. The second attempts to understand the message of al-Suyūṭī's collection and the work's purpose, through a consideration of the roles of angels in everyday life and ritual. The translation and annotated commentary that follow focus on angels mentioned in the Qur'ān itself: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.

The aim of the thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth*, beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

0.2 Declaration

I declare that I, Stephen Russell Burge, have written this thesis and that the work is my own. The thesis has been submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

S. R. Burge

0.3 Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have helped me enormously during my doctoral studies and whom I wish to thank.

I am very grateful for the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), who have provided me with a Doctoral Studentship throughout my studies, which covered my fees, maintenance and a grant for a research trip. I would not have been able to complete this work without their generous financial support.

Firstly, I would like to thank Prof. Julia Bray, now of the Université de Paris VIII, for introducing me to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. She also encouraged me greatly in my undergraduate studies at the University of St. Andrews.

A number of colleagues and staff in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies have provided me with helpful comments on my work, but I would like to mention especially Dr. Ayman Shihadeh, Jokha Al-Ḥarthī and Samy Ayoub for their comments on my Arabic; Songul Mecit for helping me with my German; Margaret Graves for introducing me to Islamic Art and especially Saeko Yazaki and Alex Mallett who have both been a joy to work with and to know.

Special thanks go to my parents who have been extremely encouraging and supportive throughout my studies. My interest in Arabic and Islam began when we lived in Khartoum in the mid 1980s, but I doubt that they ever anticipated one of their children would be writing a thesis as a result.

I would like, especially, to thank my supervisor, Prof. Carole Hillenbrand OBE, for all her encouragement since we first met in 2003. I hope that she has been as fascinated as I have been by Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the weird and wonderful world of Islamic angelology. She has not only supervised my work, but encouraged me to publish and to develop as an academic, a researcher, a tutor and an individual; for that I am eternally grateful.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife, Laurelin. Our family has doubled since I began my studies and she has been happy to look after two young children on her own, whilst I worked long hours. She has also been willing to listen to me talking about angels in Islam for more than most could stand and has commented on all of my ideas and random thoughts. I could not have completed this thesis without her constant and steadfast support. I also thank, although they do not yet understand, my two children, Christian and Peter, who show me constantly that play is just as important as work.

0.4 Transliteration System

Arabic

The transliteration used in this thesis is a modified version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

Consonants	’, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ᶜ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y
Vowels	ā, a, ī, i, ū, u,
Diphthongs	ay, aw
Feminine Endings	-a / at (in *iḍaāfa*)
Nisba adjectives	iyy
Definite article	al- / ‘l- [‘sun’ letters have not been assimilated]
Enclitics:	bi-‘l-

Case endings are only marked when necessary.

Common English names (such as Michael, Gabriel and Adam) have not been transliterated.

ان الملائكة تبسط أجنحتها لطالب العلم

السيوطي
الحبائك في اخبار الملائك

for

Laurelin, Christian and Peter

with love

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Introduction: Angels in Islam

1. Angels in Islam: Classical Islam and Previous Scholarship

In an article published in *The Muslim World* in 1937, the American missionary Samuel M. Zwemer commented: 'The angelology of Islam is very extensive and has been treated only partially by western scholars, although it holds such an important place in the belief of popular Islam…'[1] There still remains a large gap in the scholarly literature on the role of angels in Islam, with only two early monographs available on the subject.[2] Admittedly, there are a number of studies in areas that include the angels, but none devoted exclusively to them. This is quite surprising as angels are a fundamental part of Islamic belief, as Sachiko Murata notes: 'The Islamic concepts of creation, revelation, prophecy, the events that occur in the world, worship, the spiritual life, death, resurrection, and the central position of man in the cosmos cannot be understood without reference to angels.'[3] In fact, belief in angels is necessary in Islam and their rejection constitutes *kufr*.[4] This strong stance on angels can be seen quite clearly in the Qur'ān, for example: 'Whoever is an enemy to God and His angels and His messengers, Gabriel, and Michael – surely God is an enemy

---

[1] Zwemer, Samuel M., 'The Worship of Adam by Angels (With Reference to Hebrews 1.6)'*MW* 27 (1937) pp. 115 – 127, p. 115.

[2] Eickmann, Walther, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* (New York & Leipzig: Verlag Paul Eger, 1908); Eichler, Paul Arno, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran* (Leipzig: Klein, 1928). These are both focused on the Qur'ān rather than than *ḥadīth*; there is also a short, but fairly basic, article on Jewish, Christian and Islamic angelology: Bishop, Eric F. F., 'Angelology in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' *ATR* 46 (1964) pp. 142 – 154.

[3] Murata, Sachiko, 'The Angels' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) pp. 324 – 344, p. 324.

[4] Belief in angels features in many of the credal statements: cf. Al-Ashᶜarī §1 & 24; al-Ṭahāwī §20 & 24; *al-Fiqh al-akbār* II §1; Al-Qayrawānī §28 and al-Nasafī §23; Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Creeds* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) pp. 41, 43, 52 – 54, 62, 72 & 83. In the contemporary world, disbelief in angels is still regarded as leading to *kufr*; for example, it was cited (fairly or unfairly) in the case of Naṣr Abū Zayd; see Najjar, Fauzi M., 'Islamic Fundamentalism and the Intellectuals: The Case of Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd' *BJMES* 27 (2000) pp. 177 – 200, p. 194.

to the unbelievers.'[5] Angels, then, are an integral part of the Islamic worldview and deserve attention.

Despite the lack of a single monograph exploring angels in Islamic thought, it would be inaccurate to suggest that there has been no scholarship on the subject. The roles of the angels in specific mythic events (such as the prostration of the angels to Adam) and their role in the eschatological works (including the *miʿrāj*) have been discussed, albeit not always in much depth. Angels encompass a range of different areas of study: Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* studies, accounts of the *miʿrāj* and Islamic eschatology, notions of popular religion and discussions in systematic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy. Although not the focus of one work, Islamic angels have often been featured in all of these areas of Islamic Studies.

1.1 The Study of Angels in Previous Scholarship

There has been no study on the development of Islamic angelology, but there have been a number of works on the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels. These have focused on two main areas: (i) the Jewish or Christian provenance of particular angels or narratives involving angels and (ii) the development of Islamic angelology and its relation to pre-Islamic religion, both usually relating to the study of the Qur'ān.

[5] Q 2:97; Arberry, A. J., *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 12; cf. Q 2:161, 177, 285 and 4:136; see also Abdel Haleem, M. A. S., 'Qur'an and Hadith' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 19 – 32, p. 27 and Boubakeur, Hamza, *Traité moderne de théologie islamqiue* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1985) pp. 63 - 71.

That the Qur'ān is the principal source for Muslim beliefs about angels is undeniable, but a number of scholars have attempted to analyse and find the origins of specific Qur'ānic narratives. Sometimes the association of angels in Islam, such as Gabriel, with their Jewish or Christian antecedents are quite obvious and were also acknowledged in mediaeval Islamic sources.[6] Western studies of the foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān, particularly Arthur Jeffery's study of 1938,[7] attempted to use these examples of non-Arabic vocabulary to locate the origins of Islam in a particular milieu.[8] Similar source-critical methods were also used in the study of various Qur'ānic pericopes, originally as part of a broader polemic against Islam.[9] More recently, the methodology has been used to understand the shared heritage of Jewish, Christian and Muslim stories, motifs and traditions more broadly.[10] Steven

---

[6] Cf. al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍā', *Tāj al-ᶜarūs min jawāhīr al-qāmūs*. (Kuwait: Maṭbaᶜat Ḥukuma al-Kuwayt, 1965 – 2001) vol. 28, pp. 45 – 4; see also Reichmuth, Stefan, 'Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (D. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts. Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century' *WdI* 39 (1999) pp. 64 – 102.

[7] Jeffery, Arthur, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938).

[8] cf. Nöldeke, Theodor with Schwally, Friedrich, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962) pp. 6 – 20; Torrey, C. C., *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933) and Bell, Richard, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1926); prior to these, there were a number of more polemic studies, obvious examples include Geiger, Abraham, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*. (Repr. Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1902); Tisdal, William St. Clair, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân* (London: SPCK, 1905) and Speyer, Heinrich, *Die Biblische Erzählungen im Qoran* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms, 1988).

[9] These polemic works often attributed 'sources' to the Qur'ān without much analysis. They often made connections between the Qur'ān and Jewish or Christian works simply on account of a similar theme. The establishment of parallels in source criticism was also popular in Old Testament Studies, where links were made between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. For a discussion of the problems of establishing parallels between two different texts, see Sandmel, Samuel, 'Parallelomania' *JBL* 81 (1962) pp. 1 – 13.

[10] E.g. Newby, Gordon D., 'The Drowned Son: Midrash and Midrash Making in the Qur'an and *Tafsīr*' in William M. Brinner & Steven D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 19 – 32; Waldman, Marilyn Robinson, 'New Approaches to "Biblical" Materials in the Qur'ān' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 1, pp. 47 – 64; Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 'Early Muslim Traditionists and their Familiarity with Jewish Sources' *Tafsīr*' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 59; Halperin, David J., *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988) pp. 467 – 476 and Wagtendonk, Kees, 'The Stories of David in al-Thaᶜlabī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā"* in Robert Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: Actes du 8eme Congrès de l'Union*

Wasserstrom's work on the relationship between Islamic tradition and Jewish Pseudepigrapha is the best example of this type of approach in recent times.[11] These studies do not aim, as with the early polemicists, to establish a genetic link between the Qur'ān (as well as *ḥadīth*) and earlier Jewish works, but to explore the intricate relationships between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the early period of Islam.[12]

The secondary literature on narratives involving angels has tended to focus on the Qur'ān and its exegetical literature (including both *tafsīr* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Taking the narrative of the angelic prostration to Adam as an example, it can be seen that some scholars look at the Qur'ānic accounts specifically, [13] whilst others look at the narrative more broadly, but always with the Qur'ānic episode in mind.[14] The earliest articles and studies on this Qur'ānic pericope attempt to find a 'source' for the story.[15] William St. Clair Tisdall comments that the story: '…is doubtless

---

Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Aix-en-Provence, 1976 (Aix-en-Provence : Edisud, 1978) pp. 343 – 352.

[11] Wasserstorm, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and Wassertrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'' in Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern (eds.), *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interactions: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 237 - 253.

[12] For example, Brannon Wheeler concludes in his study of Moses in *tafsīr* that early scholars actively used Jewish and Christian material: 'The Muslim exegetical use of the Torah, Gospel, and other non-Quranic sources does not appear to be a confused or haphazard "borrowing" of Jewish and Christian ideas.' Wheeler, Brannon M., *Moses in the Qur'an and Islamic Exegesis* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002) p. 123.

[13] Cf. Seligsohn, M., 'Adam' *EI*[1] vol. 1, p. 127; Zwemer, 'The Worship of Adam by Angels'; Pederson, J. 'Adam' *EI*[2] vol. 1, pp. 176 – 178; MacDonald, D. B., 'Malāʾika' 189; Husayn, Muhammad Kamil, 'Story of Adam' *MW* 54 (1964) pp. 4 – 13; Jung, Leo, 'Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature' *JQR* 15 (1925) pp. 467 – 502; 16 (1926) pp. 45 -88; 171 – 205; 287 – 336; Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Creation and Judgement in the Koran and in Mystico-Poetical Interpretation' from Schimmel & Falatūri (eds.), *We Believe in One God* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979) pp. 148 – 180; Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration (*sujūd*). 1. Arabs and Prostration at the beginning of Islam and in the Qur'an' *SI* 88 (1998) 5 – 34 and Mir, Mustansir, 'Adam in the Qur'an and Islamic Literature' *IC* 62 (1998) pp. 1 – 11.

[14] Cf. Vadet, J.-C., 'La création et l'investiture de l'homme dans le sunnisme ou la légende d'Adam chez al-Kisā'ī'*SI* 42 (1975), pp. 5 – 38, pp. 27-28; Kister, M.J., 'Ādam: A study of some legends in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 113 – 174; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Adam and the Angels: An Examination of Mythic Elements in Islamic Sources' *Arabica* 93 (2001) pp. 5 – 25; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam's creation' *Arabica* 49 (2002) pp. 429 – 455 and Wassertrom, 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha'.

[15] Cf. Seligsohn, 'Adam' p. 127 and Pederson, 'Adam' p. 177.

borrowed from a misapprehension of Heb. i. 6…'[16] More recent studies, however, have tended to treat the material interpretively. For example, M. J. Kister attempts to place the traditional *qiṣaṣ* literature about the prophets in the context of the Qur'ān, arguing that: 'The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ḥawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate.'[17] Likewise, Annemarie Schimmel is less interested in the sources of the narrative, but explores Muslim responses to the story in theology and mysticism.[18] In Sufism, it is Iblīs that becomes an important subject; as Iblīs refused to bow down to something other than God, he comes to be seen, by some, as a kind of proto-Sufi and strict monotheist.[19] Other commentaries have included a contextualisation of the narrative in its Arabian context,[20] thematic analyses and comparative approaches.[21] However there is a tendency in all of these studies to discuss events and characters other than the angels; authors are interested in what the prostration says about Adam and humans more generally (or in the case of Sufism, Iblīs). There has, however, been relatively little work pursued on the role of angels in Islamic tradition more widely.[22]

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[16] Tisdall, *Sources*, p. 196; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen*, pp. 54 – 58 and Katsh, Abraham, *Judaism in Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1954) pp. 32 – 33.
[17] Kister, 'Ādam', p. 115.
[18] Schimmel, 'Creation and Judgement' pp. 159 – 160.
[19] The most notable example is al-Ḥallāj, Abū 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr, *Tawāsīn*; Massignon, Louis (tr. H. Mason), *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr – Vol. 3. The Teaching of Al-Hallāj* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 282 – 326, especially pp. 306 – 316. See also Awn, Peter, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi Psychology* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) for a full discussion of this theme.
[20] Tottoli, 'Attitudes to Prostration'.
[21] E.g. Mir, 'Adam in the Qur'ān' and Chipman, 'Mythic aspects'.
[22] Islamic eschatology will be dealt with below.

The second focus of the secondary literature on the origins and development of angelology in Islam focuses on its relationship with pre-Islamic paganism.[23] The most notable studies have been by Joseph Chelhod, Jacques Waardenburg and Alford T. Welch.[24] These studies relate the development of Qur'ānic angelology to the decline of pre-Islamic paganism, with particular focus on the various verses of the Qur'ān that accuse the Meccans of angel and jinn worship.[25] There are a number of problems with this type of research. The idea that Arabian religion progressed from animism to monotheism, through various other stages (including polydaemonism, polytheism and panentheism) is based on the concept of religious evolutionism.[26] Religious evolutionism has been largely rejected by anthropologists of religion because of the results of anthropological research, as well as its strong imperialist overtones. Both Waardenburg and Welch approach Qur'ānic angelology on evolutionist lines, but their arguments frequently encounter problems. Welch, for example, bases his thesis on the chronological ordering of the verses of the Qur'ān and the historiographical and practical problems associated with this are well known.[27]

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[23] The Egyptologist Wallis Budge also suggests that Islamic angelology may be related to Egyptian polytheism; see Budge, Wallis E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians* (repr. New York: Dover, 1969) vol. 1, p. 6.

[24] Chelhod, Joseph, *Les Structures du Sacré chez les Arabes* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965); Waardenburg, J., 'Changes of Belief in Spiritual Beings, Prophethood and the Rise of Islam' in Hans G. Kippenburg (ed.), *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984) pp. 259 - 290 and Welch, Alford T., 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings: The Emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of *tawḥīd*' *JAAR* 47 (1979) pp. 733 – 758; see also Hawting, G. R., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[25] Cf. Q 34:40; 37:149 – 152; 43:19; 45:43 and 53:21.

[26] Evolutionist views consider societies to be '…in a process of evolution during which they became more complex and more rational and less simple and "primitive"; but some seemed to have got stuck at lower steps of the escalator.' Gellner, David N., 'Anthropological Approaches' in Peter Connolly and Ninian Smart (eds.), *Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999) pp. 10 – 41, p. 10.

[27] Cf. 'It should be obvious from my summary of Nöldeke and Schwally's work that, plausible as their scheme may seem, it is based on very little hard-and-fast evidence. In fact, many of the surahs are

For those who argue from an evolutionist perspective, the Qur'ān uses angels in a larger polemic against polytheism, in which other deities become labelled 'angels' to prove that they have no power or authority. Their use in evolutionist arguments often leads to strange conclusions. For example, Welch states that: 'The angels become little more than symbols and extensions of divine power…'[28] Why is this surprising? This is exactly what angels are and what they are supposed to be. Welch believes that the Battle of Badr (or the changing of the *qibla*) marked a moment in which the angels moved from being conceived as humans to taking invisible forms.[29] Again, this is a misunderstanding of the angelology and the result of an attempt to place Qur'ānic angelology in a developmental scheme. A brief survey of Judeo-Christian literature shows that angels are often conceived in different ways, with both human and divine forms.[30] There is no reason to suggest that the use of two different iconographies marks a development in the angelology of the Qur'ān. Welch and Waardenburg fundamentally misunderstand angelology and attempt to force Qur'ānic angelology into a developmental scheme that does not necessarily exist.[31]

G. R. Hawting provides a different account of the use of angels in anti-polytheist polemic in his *Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*. Hawting's general thesis in this work is that the Qur'ān is not directed towards Meccan

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extremely hard to date accurately.' Robinson, Neal, *Discovering the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach to a Veiled Text* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1996) p. 80; for more on Western dating of the verses see pp. 76 – 96.

[28] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 750.

[29] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 748.

[30] See Section 2.2 for a discussion of these themes.

[31] Other accounts of the origins and development of Arabian monotheism do not force angelology into a developmental framework; Watt's 'High God Theory' is the most notable; see, Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Belief in a "High God" in pre-Islamic Arabia' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 35 – 40, p. 40; see also Watt, W. Montgomery, 'The Qur'an and belief in a "High God"' *Isl.* 56 (1979) pp. 205 – 211 and Fahd, Toufic, *Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968).

polytheists, but rather, towards other monotheists. The direct reference to the *Banāt Allāh* (*Allāt*, *al-ᶜUzza* and *Manāt*) obviously presents problems for this argument: if the Qur'ān is aimed at monotheists, who are these deities? In the final chapter of the book,[32] Hawting argues that the *Banāt Allāh* are actually angels and that the Qur'ān is referring to angel-worship. Hawting argues that, like the *Banāt Allāh*, angels in Judaism are often female and associated with astral bodies.[33] However, there are a number of problems with his argumentation. Firstly, angels are rarely gendered in Judaism and even when they are given gender, they are usually conceived as being male. Secondly, the names of the *Banāt Allāh* are clearly native Arabic names, and are not in the standard form of Jewish and Christian angelic nomenclature.[34] Thirdly, Hawting does not take into account any angel-cults that existed in the Near East prior to the expansion of Islam.[35] Lastly, there is archaeological evidence that these goddesses did exist in other religions in the surrounding areas.[36] Hawting forces Qur'ānic angelology to fit into a larger construct, the same mistake committed by Welch and Waardenburg. These examples are important to consider (albeit very briefly), as they show the ways in which angels have been treated in Islamic Studies. Angelology in Islam is often an afterthought and has not tended to be considered on

[32] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 130 – 149.
[33] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 146 – 147.
[34] See section 2.1 for a longer discussion of angelic nomenclature.
[35] Angelolatry was evidently a problem for the Early Church with the Council of Laodicea (343 – 381) explicitly banning the practice; see Canon §35: 'Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry.' Percival, Henry R., (tr.), 'Synod of Laodicea' in Henry R. Percival (ed. & tr.), *The Seven Ecumencial Councils of the Undivided Church* (Repr. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 123 – 160, p. 151.
[36] Cf. Healey, John F., *The Religion of the Nabateans: A Conspectus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) pp. 80 – 119 and Ryckmans, Jacques, 'Le Panthéon de l'Arabie du Sud Pré-Islamique' *RHR* 206 (1989) pp. 151 – 170, pp. 155 – 156.

its own terms. Furthermore, angelology is frequently forced to fit within larger theses, leading scholars to come to false or contrived conclusions.

Beyond Qur'ānic Studies angels are most frequently discussed in the eschatological and *miᶜrāj* literature in which they play a key role. As with the study of angels in the Qur'ān and its exegesis the focus is not generally on the angels themselves. There is no need to outline the vast body of scholarship on Islamic eschatology,[37] but it should be noted that there are three main areas of study within the field: (i) the events of the *eschaton*;[38] (ii) death and personal eschatology;[39] and (iii) the ascent literature, including Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*.[40]

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[37] For a good overview, see Chittick, William C., 'Eschatology' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, pp. 378 – 409; Hermansen, Marcia, 'Eschatology' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 308 –324 and Danner, Victor, 'The Last Days in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' in Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Fragments of Infinity: Essays in Religion and Philosophy - A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Huston Smith* (Bridport: Prism, 1991) pp. 63 – 86; as well as various articles in encyclopaedias, e.g. Gardet, L., 'Ḳiyāma' *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 235 – 238; Leemhuis, F., 'Apocalypse' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 111 – 114; and Lewinstein, Keith, 'Gog and Magog' *EQ*, vol. 2, pp. 331 – 333.

[38] Cf. Makino, Shinya, *Creation and Termination: a semantic study of the Structure of the Qur'anic World View* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1970); Galloway, D., 'The Resurrection and Judgment in Qur'an' *MW* 12 (1922) pp. 348 – 372; Kinberg, L., 'Interaction between this world and the after world in Islamic tradition' *Oriens* 29 (1986) pp. 285 – 308 and Bashear, Suliman, 'Muslim Apocalypses and the hour: a case-study tradition re-interpretation' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 75 – 99.

[39] O'Shaugnessy, Thomas, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); Smith, Jane I., and Haddad, Y. Y., *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Casanova, Paul, *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde: Étude Critique sur l'Islam Primitif* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911); Gardet, Louis, *Dieu et la Destinée de l'Homme* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1967) pp. 237 – 257; Smith, Jane I., 'Reflection on aspects of immortality in Islam' *HTR* 70 (1977) pp. 85 – 98 and *eadem*, 'The understanding of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in contemporary Muslim considerations on the nature of sleep and death' *MW* 69 (1979) pp. 151 – 161

[40] Cf. Vuckovic, Brooke Olson, *Heavenly Journey, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Miᶜrāj in the Formation of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2005); Nünlist, Tobias, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit im Islam: Eine Studie unter besondere Berücksichtigung von Ibn Sīnā's Miᶜrāj-nāmeh* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002); Asin Palacios, M., *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Seguida de la Historia y Crítica de una Polémica* (Madrid: Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1943) also available in translation: Sutherland, H. (tr.), *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London: John Murray, 1926); El-Azma, N., "Some notes on the impact of the story of the *Mi'raj* on Sufi literature", *Muslim World* 63 (1973) pp. 93 – 104; Morris, James Winston 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī and the Miᶜrāj – Part I' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; van Ess, Josef, 'Vision and Ascension: *Sūrat al-Najm* and Its Relationship with Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*' *JQS* 1(1999) pp. 47 – 62 and Halperin, David J., 'Hekhalot and Miᶜrāj: Observations on the Heavenly Journey in Judaism and Islam' in John J. Collins & Michael A. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) pp. 269 – 288.

In addition to the work done on Islamic eschatology, Biblical and Jewish Studies have much to offer in regard to the theoretical approaches to angelology and and beliefs about angels more broadly. These studies could be incorporated into Islamic studies with beneficial results and the discussions in Sections 2 & 3 below make much use of this material.[41] A large number of works on angels are available, ranging from studies of Biblical[42] and sectarian angelologies,[43] apocalypticism and eschatological literature.[44]

To a lesser extent, angels have featured in theological and philosophical discussions in Islam. These usually focus on particular issues that were discussed in the mediaeval period, such as the status of angels in relation to humans;[45] or on the

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[41] Willem Bijlefeld has adapted some of these ideas; see, Biljefeld, Willem A., 'Eschatology: Some Muslim and Christian Data' *ICMR* 15 (2004) pp. 35 – 54.

[42] Olyan, Saul M., *A Thousand Thousands Served Him* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993); Tavard, Georges, with Caquot, André & Michl, Johann, *Die Engel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968) and Mach, Michael: *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992).

[43] Davidson, Maxwell J., *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1 – 36, 72 - 108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Sullivan, Kevin P., *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Schäfer, Peter, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975); Tuschling, R. M. M., *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study of their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Rowland, Christopher, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982) and Elior, Rachel, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature' *JSQ* 1 (1993) pp. 3 – 53.

[44] Gruenwald, Ithamar, *Apocalyptic and Merkevah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Himmelfarb, Marthta, *Tours of hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Himmelfarb, Martha, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Collins, John J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); there also a number of collections of articles, which are very useful, particularly, Collins & Fishbane (eds.), *Other Worldly Journeys*; Collins, John J. (ed.), *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* in *Semeia* 14 (1979) and Bauckham, Richard, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). From a philosophy of religion perspecitive, see Culianu, Ioan P., *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascenion of the Soul and Its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

[45] Jadaane, Fehmi, 'La place des Anges dans la théologie musulmane' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 23 – 62; Lupti, Ibrahim, 'The Questions of the Superiority of Angels and Prophets between Az-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī' *Arabica* 28 (1981) pp. 65 – 75; Stern, S. M., *Studies in Early Ismā^{c}īlism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983) and Webb, Gisela, 'Hierarchy, Angels, and the Human Condition in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī' *MW* 81 (1991) pp. 245 – 253.

use of angels by philosophers and theologians in a wider cosmology.[46] However, Islamic philosophy is not of great concern to the angelology of the *ḥadīth* and will not be considered as part of this thesis.

In general, the study of angels in Islam has been quite restrictive, with scholars only looking at angels as and when necessary. Angels have rarely been the primary focus of research and any discussion of them tends to be incidental to other wider issues. The study of angels has also been largely compartmentalised into specific areas: eschatology, Qur'ānic studies, exegesis, the *miᶜrāj* literature, theology, philosophy and so on. Surprisingly, there has been virtually no study of angels in non-eschatological material. There does not appear to be any real reason for this and it simply seems to be an area that has yet to provoke much interest. One of the aims of this thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth* beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

The aim of this thesis is to present material about angels directly, rather than considering their position within a larger schematic framework. The two approaches to angels in Islamic Studies mentioned above have focused on the Qur'ān or its exegesis rather than Islamic tradition in general.[47] This thesis hopes to move scholarship away from Qur'ānic Studies, focusing instead on the role of angels in the *ḥadīth* literature more generally, using Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a basis from which to begin an exploration of Islamic beliefs about

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[46] Cf. Netton, Ian R., *Allah Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy* (Richmond: Curzon, 1994) and Sweetman, J. Windrow, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947) Part I, vol. 2, pp. 75 – 79 and Burge, Stephen R., 'The Provenance of Suhrawardian Angelology' *ArOr* 76 (2008) pp. 435 – 457.

[47] To see a discussion of these two themes, see Burge, S. R., *Qur'ānic Angelology*. MSc. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2004.

angels. Section 2 below will look at the origins and development of Islamic angelology, but without the constraints that have been placed upon it by scholars in the past.

In past scholarship the study of *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* collections by non-Muslims has tended to focus on the *isnād* and the authenticity of prophetic *ḥadīth*,[48] but more recently scholars have turned their focus to the development of the four *madhāhib* and the role of *ḥadīth* scholarship in this process.[49] However, the actual way in which *ḥadīth* collections have been put together has not really been addressed.[50] Andrew Newman's *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism* is one of the only monographs to discuss and explore the meanings behind the structure and selection of *ḥadīth* in a collection.[51] An analysis of the way in which *ḥadīth* are presented in a collection, and which sources the author has used will often reflect a compiler's intentions for a work. This thesis will attempt to understand the underlying message behind *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the ideas that al-Suyūṭī wished to convey when he compiled it, through an analysis of the *ḥadīth*, their themes and the sources of the work.

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[48] E.g. Goldziher, Ignaz, (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006); Schacht, Joseph, *On the Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950); Horovitz, Josef, 'The Antiquity and Origin of the Isnād' in Harald Motzki (ed.), *Hadith: Origins and Development* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2004), pp. 151 – 158 and Robson, James, 'The *isnād* in Muslim tradition' *TGUOS* 15 (1953) pp. 15 – 26.

[49] Motzki, Harald, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991); Melchert, Christopher, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Dickinson, Eerik, *The Development of Early Sunnite Hadith Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and Dutton, Yasin, *The Origins of Islamic Law* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Brown, Jonathan, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[50] There has, however, been structural analysis of narrative *ḥadīth* considered independently; e.g. Speight, R. Marston, 'Narrative Structures in the Ḥadīth' *JNES* 59 (2000) pp. 265 – 271.

[51] Newman, Andrew, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). Newman argues that the three main early Shi'ī *ḥadīth* collections (of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣaffār and al-Barqī) differed in content and arrangement, suggesting differing or competing statements about theological truth in Twelver Shi'ism; see pp. 193 – 201. A similar structuralist approach has been made by Hilary Kilpatrick in her study of the composition of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*; see Kilpatrick, Hilary, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the author's craft in Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî's Kitâb al-aghânî* (London, 2003).

1.2 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The great Egyptian polymath Abū 'l-Faḍl ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Khudayrī (849/1445 – 911/1505)[52] was one of the leading scholars of his day, famous for both his wide knowledge and his contempt for contemporary scholars. His work is important, not simply because of his historical context, writing at the end of the classical period; but because his *œuvre* was vast, covering many different subjects: from linguistics and philology, to history, medicine, cosmology and zoology.[53] Al-Suyūṭī was well respected in his own lifetime (although to a lesser degree in Egypt and Cairo),[54] with evidence of his influence stretching from East Africa to India.[55] Al-Suyūṭī continues to hold an

[52] For a biography of al-Suyūṭī (including his own autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-niᶜmat Allāh*), see Sartain, E. M., *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Saleh, Marlis J., 'Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present' *MSR* 5 (2001) pp. 73 – 89.

[53] The number of works of al-Suyūṭī (including short tracts and *fatwās*) is not agreed, with estimates ranging from 550 – 980; see Jackson, Roy, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006) pp. 137 – 141; Geoffroy, E., 'Al-Suyūṭī' *EI²* vol. 9, pp. 913 – 916 and Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Zur Charakteristik Gelâl ud-dîn us-Sujûṭî's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit' *GS* vol. 1, pp. 52 – 73 (available in translation, see Hunwick, J. O (ed.) and Barry, Michael (tr.), 'Ignaz Goldziher on Al-Suyūṭī' *MW* 68 (1978) pp. 79 – 99).

[54] Marlis Saleh comments: 'It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance.' Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 78 and Irwin, R., 'Al-Suyūṭī (849 – 911 / 1445 – 1505)' *EAL* vol. 2, p. 746. For a contemporary and negative assessment of his work see, al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ* (Beirut: Dār al-Maktaba bi-'l-ḥayāt, 1966) vol. 4, pp. 65 – 71.

[55] For example, al-Suyūṭī is known to have had frequent dealings with scholars in East Africa; cf. Sartain, E. M., 'Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 193 – 198; John Voll also comments that almost all *isnāds* during the eighteenth century in the area around the Mediterranean were attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (from whom al-Suyūṭī received his *ijāza*) and Zakarīya al-Anṣārī; see Voll, John O., 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact on the Islamic World' *AAS* 15 (1980) pp. 264 – 273, p. 265.

important place in both Muslim and non-Muslim studies in Islam, particularly his work on philology and exegesis.[56]

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a collection that is devoted entirely to *ḥadīth* about angels and complements other collections of his with similar themes. The compilation includes around 750 *ḥadīth* and is followed by a relatively long postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological issues associated with angels, particularly the status of the angels in relation to humans, a popular theme in *tafsīr* and *kalām*.[57] It appears to have been a relatively popular work, with twenty-one known manuscript copies still extant.[58]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides one of the most comprehensive catalogues of Islamic traditions about angels in Arabic literature. Whilst there are a number of works that feature a great many angels, particularly in the *miᶜrāj* literature and the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, none presents angelic traditions in such a logical and systematic way. For this reason, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a very useful starting point from which to look at Muslim beliefs about angels. The work is not, by any means, a *corpus* of *ḥadīth* about angels, but it does provide a significant and fairly representative sample.

The *ḥadīth* are organised into short to medium length chapters, each looking at a particular angel. The chapters begin logically, with *ḥadīth* about the necessity of

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[56] Cf. Musa, Sulaiman, 'The Influence of *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* on Some Notable Nigerian *Mufassirun* in the Twentieth-Century Nigeria' *JMMA* 20 (2000) pp. 323 - 328. Works of al-Suyūṭī are commonly cited in both Muslim and non-Muslim scholarly works on almost any subject. For an assessment of his reception in modern Islamic thought, see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' pp. 80 – 82.

[57] Cf. Ibrahim, 'The questions of the superiority of angels' and Jadaane, 'La place des anges'.

[58] See Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Berlin: Emil Feber, 1898 – 1902 and (Supplement) Leiden: Brill, 1937 – 1942), vol. 2, p. 147, §51 and Khazinda, Aḥmad & Shaybānī, Muḥammad, *Dalīl makhtutāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amakin wujūdihā* (Kuwait: Maktabat ibn Taymīyya, 1403 / 1983) p. 144; in addition to the MSS detailed by these two catalogues, there are two other MSS held in (i) the Mingana Collection, Birmingham, MS 651 and (ii) The British Library, *Or. 9026/1* fol. 1r – 76v.

belief in angels, their great number and the most important angels (Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death) appearing first (§1 – 171). Beyond the four archangels there is not any obvious pattern to the arrangement of the *ḥadīth*. The last three chapters (§493 – 744) are general and do not appear to be arranged with much intent.

As is al-Suyūṭī's usual style, *isnāds* do not precede each *ḥadīth* (except in a few cases), but the traditions are taken from a written source with the name of the authority given.[59] Al-Suyūṭī typically gives an author's name, without citing the work, except in cases where he uses more than a single text of one author.[60] This method of compilation can be seen in most of al-Suyūṭī's collections, as Leon Nemoy comments, concerning al-Suyūṭī's *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*: 'Like most Arabic works on matters of antiquity, the treatise is predominately composed of extracts from older writers, many of whom, in their turn, depended more or less upon still older authorities, without being too anxious to indicate the source of their information.'[61]

This thesis presents a translation and commentary of a selection of the *ḥadīth* included in the work, with two introductory chapters introducing the origin and development of angels in Islam, and a study of the purposes and function of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. The whole collection has not been translated because of the word-limit restrictions of the thesis. The *ḥadīth* that have been translated are of those angels mentioned in the Qur'ān, as it was felt that these

[59] For the use of books in the Mamlūk period, see Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 24 – 30.
[60] Details of the the authors and their works can be found in the Appendix.
[61] Nemoy, Leon, 'The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*)' *Isis* 30 (1939) pp. 17 – 37, pp. 17 – 18; because of his compositional style some of al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries accused him of plagiarism; see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 79.

would be the most relevant to translate, namely: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.[62] A précis of the remaining *ḥadīth* has been included in the appendices. The fairly substantial *khātima* has also not been included for the same reasons, but the majority of the theological discussion in the postscript is largely lifted from other authors and it serves mainly as a recapitulation of beliefs about the status of the angels and their relationship to humans.

The work's name follows the pattern of many of al-Suyūṭī's works, using a rhyme, pun or metrical title.[63] The title *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is difficult to translate precisely. Firstly, the most common form of the plural of *malak* is *malā'ika* and the plural *malā'ik* is, although acceptable in classical Arabic, relatively rare. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is also another rare word. The basic meaning of the verb *ḥabaka* means 'to plait or braid (hair)', but it is also used in connection with the courses of the planetary bodies, so there is an obvious pun linking *ḥabā'ik* to the celestial *beings*, rather than the celestial *bodies*. The word still poses a problem, especially in the context of *akhbār* – how can *ḥadīth* have a 'course' or a 'trail'? This difficulty may account for a common translation of the work as *The Book of Angels*, but this is not that suitable as it avoids a translation of *ḥabā'ik*.[64] The best translation, although not entirely acceptable, appears to be *The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*. Just as hair is braided and arranged, and the heavenly bodies are ordered in the

[62] The section on the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān al-kātibān*) could not be included because of its length.
[63] E.g. *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunnīya*; *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdi*; *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbar al-jānn* etc.
[64] Although Brockelmann's entry for *al-Ḥabā'ik* suggests that the word is not always found in the manuscripts; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 147, §51.

heavens, al-Suyūṭī arranges the *ḥadīth* about angels in this collection. The translation has been based on a modern edition, edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl[65] and supported by manuscript evidence; namely, the copy held in the Warner Collection at the University of Leiden.[66]

The commentary that accompanies the partial translation of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is divided into two parts. The following two sections look at the work as a whole, including a discussion of *ḥadīth* that have not been translated. The first looks at the origins and development of angelology in Islamic tradition, using al-Suyūṭī's collection as a basis from which to approach the subject in a general way. It looks particularly at the nomenclature of angels in Islam and the textual iconography of angels. The second section looks at the purpose and function of the work as a whole, attempting to understand what al-Suyūṭī attempted to convey through this collection, particularly through the angels' interactions with humans. Much more could be written about the work, but these two areas have been highlighted as two of the most important themes.

The commentary that accompanies the translation is aimed at explaining difficult terms and vocabulary, referring readers to important concepts, making notes on the text itself and so on. The comments are often designed only to direct the reader to other literature on the subject, rather than giving detailed analyses. The principal aim of the commentary is to provide the reader with a context in which to place the *ḥadīth*. Where possible, references to other Islamic works have been given. There is also frequent reference to other Jewish and Christian texts: these are not intended to imply a source for the *ḥadīth*, but merely to reflect the commonalities

[65] Al-Suyūṭi, Jalāl al-Dīn, (ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl), *Al-Ḥabāik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1408/1988).
[66] A note on the manuscript can be found below.

between Jewish, Christian and Islamic beliefs about angels, placing Islamic traditions about angels in a wider Near Eastern milieu.

1.3 Contextualizing Al-Suyūṭī in the Late Mamluk Milieu

To understand al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-*malā'ik more fully, it is important to place al-Suyūṭī and his works in their wider historical and social context. The work which is the focus of this thesis emerged during the waning of the Circassian (*Burjī*) Mamluk sultanate,[67] and only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death, the Ottomans had gained control of the majority of the Near East and North Africa, save Iran. Mamluk society, especially the relationships between the different classes and faith-communities, has received much attention in the past[68] and is important to consider, when placing al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in its religious and social context.

Whilst the Mamluks faced increasing political, social and economic problems during the fifteenth century,[69] the scholarly élite remained relatively strong and

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[67] See Holt, P. M., 'Mamlūks' *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, pp. 321 – 331, especially pp. 323 – 325; Ayalon, David, 'The Circassians in the Mamlük Period' *JAOS* 69 (1949) pp. 135 – 147; Garcin, Jean-Claude, 'The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks' in C. F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt – vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640 – 1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 290 – 317; Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) pp. 32 – 43 and Staffa, Susan Jane, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo. A.D. 642 – 1850* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 101 – 226.

[68] Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Some Glimpses of the Religious Life of Egypt During the Late Mamlūk Period' *IS* 4 (1965) pp. 353 – 392; Little, Donald P., 'Religion under the Mamluks' *MW* 73 (1983) pp. 165 – 181; Winter, Michael, 'Popular Religion in Egypt Since the Mamluks' *The Arabist* 9 – 10 (1994) pp. 103 – 118 and Frenkel, Yehoshua, 'Popular Culture (Islam, Early and Middle Periods)' *RC* 2 (2008) pp. 195 – 225.

[69] See Little, Donald P., 'Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 69 – 96; Shoshan, Boaz, 'Exchange-Rate Policies in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *JESHO* 29 (1986) pp. 28 – 51; *idem*, 'Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *EHR* 36 (1983) pp. 47 – 67; *idem*, 'Grain Riots and the Moral Economy' *JIH* 10 (1980) pp. 459 - 478

productive, with Cairo being the centre of academic achievement in the Near East.[70] Most importantly, academia in late Mamluk Egypt became increasingly independent and secure through the establishment of endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*); as Carl Petry comments: 'The scholarly establishment owed its relative freedom of action to the autonomy of the endowed academic position, unlike either the bureaucracy or the judiciary – both of which were tied to the state.'[71] There were a great number of colleges and institutions of higher education, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī grew up in a highly literate and educated environment.[72] As Islamic education was primarily based on the personal relationship between teacher and pupil, most scholars came from Cairene families with a long history in the scholarly world;[73] but some, like al-Suyūṭī's father, were able to succeed, having come into Cairo from the provinces.[74]

Whilst scholarship was relatively fruitful in this period, academics and judges were involved in a number of important controversies that have some bearing on the cultural and religious milieu of the fifteenth century.[75] The place of Christians, particularly Coptic Christians, in Mamluk society was the cause of a number of

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[70] Jonathan Berkey comments: '… the immense number of manuscripts that survive from, say, the fifteenth century, testify to the important role of the book in a highly literate academic world that …. [was] vibrant throughout the Middle Ages.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* p. 24; see also Petry, Carl F., 'Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered: Mamluk Patronage in Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 323 – 348.

[71] Petry, Carl, 'Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century' *JESHO* 23 (1980) pp. 119 – 141, p. 140.

[72] For more on Islamic higher education, see Makdisi, George, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

[73] See Petry, 'Geographic Origins of Academicians' p. 119; Jonathan Berkey comments: 'The person connection – the education model relying not simply on close study of a text, but on intensive, personal interaction with a shaykh – has always been central to Islamic education, not simply in Mamluk Egypt.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 21.

[74] Petry, Carl F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) p. 50; see also Waardenburg, Jacques, 'Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies' in Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979) pp. 340 – 346, pp. 361 – 362.

[75] Maribel Fierro has used scholarly literature written against innovations (*bida'*) to attempt to understand Muslim society in medieval Spain; likewise, through the output of the Egyptian scholars, it is possible to gain an understanding of contemporary practices, as well as the preoccupations and concerns of the scholarly élite; see Fierro, Maribel, 'The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bida*^{c})' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 204 – 246, especially pp. 238 – 240.

disputes, both in Cairo and Damascus,[76] often involving accusations of blasphemy against the prophet.[77] There were particular moments when the tensions between Coptic Christians and local Muslims became particularly strong, but, generally, the relationship between each of the groups was one of mutual distrust. Earlier in the Mamluk period, the secretaries of the court (who were mainly Copts) were legislated against, largely due to resentment from the Muslim majority and subsequently secretaries could only be Muslims.[78] This prompted a large number of Copts to convert to Islam, as the court was their main employer. However, their conversions were not usually whole-hearted, with many still celebrating Christian festivals, being only Muslim in name.[79] These converts to Islam, especially the second and third generations, would undoubtedly have brought some Christian material with them into popular Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.

Not only were there Christian converts to Islam, but there was frequent adoption and celebration of Coptic festivals by the Muslim population in Mamluk Egypt. The most famous of these is the Nile festival held in January (*ʿĪd al-Ghiṭās*).[80]

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[76] For more on these disputes, see Perlmann, M., 'Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire' *BSOAS* 10 (1939 – 1942) pp. 843 – 861; Little, 'Communal Strife'; *idem*., 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 625 – 755 / 1293 – 1354)' *BSOAS* 39 (1976) pp. 552 – 569 and *idem*., 'Religion Under the Mamluks'. For the place of Jews in Mamluk society, see Cohen, Mark R., 'Jews in the Mamlūk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (A Geniza Study)' *BSOAS* 47 (1984) pp. 425 – 448.

[77] Cf. Wiederhold, Lutz, 'Blasphemy Against the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (*Sabb al-rasūl*, *sabb al-ṣaḥābah*): The Introduction of the Topic into Shāfiʿī Legal Literature and its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 39 – 70.

[78] Little comments: 'In Egypt, for example, the Copts from time to time during the Mamluk period incurred the wrath of the populace and consequently the government in Egypt, either by displays of conspicuous consumption in violation of Muslim sumptuary laws, by playing too prominent a role in the financial bureaux, or by acts of blasphemy or terrorism. Because such acts disrupted the political and social stability that the Mamluks were so keen to maintain, they attracted the interest of Muslim historians, both Egyptian and Syrian.' Little, 'Communal Strife' p. 70; see also Little, 'Coptic Conversion' and O'Sullivan, Shaun, 'Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt' *MSR* 10:2 (2006) pp. 65 – 79.

[79] Little, 'Religion under the Mamluks' p. 179.

[80] See Huda, Lutfi, 'Coptic Festivals of the Nile: Aberrations of the Past?' in Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 254 – 282.

At the same time, there was also a growth in the observance of other Muslim festivals,[81] which reformers, such as Ibn Taymiyya in the previous century had strived to 'correct', seeing them as innovations (*bida'*) that need to be purged from Islam.[82] The celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mawlid al-nabī*) and the practice of tomb visitation (*ziyāra*) are the most prominent of these innovative practices and there has been much secondary literature written on both of these topics.[83] What is most interesting is the fact that the scholarly and legal classes did not present a united front against these 'innovative' festivals,[84] and some, such as al-Suyūṭī, actually argued that some of these practices were acceptable.[85]

Mamluk Cairo was not, then, an environment in which there was a distinct divide between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, but one where the divisions were much more blurred. Not all the scholars and judges believed that particular festivals were innovations (*bida'*), as Michael Winter has commented: 'The dividing line between popular and normative Islam is sometimes unclear. As in every religion,

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[81] For a comprehensive list of different popular practices and brief analyses of them, see Frenkel, 'Popular Culture', especially pp. 198 – 204. There are articles available on specific practices such as *taḥnīk*, e.g. Gilᶜadi, Avner, 'Some notes on *Taḥnīk* in Medieval Islam' *JNES* 47 (1988) pp. 175 – 179.

[82] Cf. Memon, Muhammad Umar, *Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of his Kitāb iqtiḍā' as-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), especially pp. 2 – 7.

[83] The most extensive study is of the *Mawlid* is Kaplan, N. J., *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and the Development in the Muslim West until the 10th / 16th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); see also Kaptein, Nico, 'Materials for the History of the Prophet's Birthday Celebration in Mecca' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 193 – 203 and Katz, Marion Holmes, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunnī Islam* (London: Routledge, 2007). On tomb visitation see Meri, Josef W., *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Taylor, Christopher S., 'Saints, *Ziyāra*, *Qiṣṣa*, and the Social Construction of Moral Imagination in Late Medieval Egypt) *SI* 88 (1998) pp. 103 – 120.

[84] Shaun Marmon comments: 'In opposition to Ibn Taymiyya, the vast majority of the mamluk ulama valorized the petitioning of the holy dead and the visiting of their tombs. The ulama also set forth a careful etiquette for these activities, an etiquette which, judginig (*sic*) by the learned complaints, ordinary people, especially women, often ignored.' Marmon, Shaun E., 'The Quality of Mercy in Mamluk Society' *SI* 87 (1998) pp. 125 – 139, p. 129.

[85] See al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Al-Ḥusn al-maqṣid fī ᶜamal al-mawlid*; translated in Kaplan, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, pp. 48 – 67.

there are within Islam tensions between orthodox and unorthodox, or popular religion.'[86]

Despite this blurring between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, there *was* a strong divide between the academic élite and the masses. Many scholars went at great lengths to attack uneducated purveyors of religious teaching: especially the preachers (*wāᶜiẓ*, pl. *waᶜᶜāẓ*) and the story-tellers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*).[87] Al-Suyūṭī was one of many to write treatises attacking such people.[88] Éric Geoffroy comments of this period: 'Les *ᶜulamā'*, ajoute Suyūṭī, ont toujours eu la role ingrate de lutter contre l'ignorance des *quṣṣāṣ* et de leur auditoire de bas étage.'[89] Many of these anti-*quṣṣāṣ* works highlight the fact that the utilization of *ḥadīth* required training in the religious sciences, and that without it (i.e. without an appropriate *ijāza*), an individual was not allowed to engage in their study or propagation. There was a strong sense that the religious scholars had a monopoly on religious knowledge, which they were keen to maintain.

Scant evidence means that it is difficult to assess whether the scholarly community was simply attempting to protect its own interests, or whether it was generally concerned about the religious path along which popular preachers could lead their followers. Scholars in this period certainly include a number of more 'popular' materials in their works, especially their *ḥadīth* collections. Is this an

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[86] Winter, 'Popular Religion' p. 115; for a more extensive discussion of these ideas, see Shoshan, Boaz, 'High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam' *SI* 73 (1991) pp. 67 – 107.
[87] Pellat, Ch., 'Ḳāṣṣ' EI2 vol. 4, pp. 733 – 734; Radtke, B., and Jansen, J. J. G., 'Wā'iẓ' *EI²* vol. 11, pp. 56 – 57; Berkey, Jonathan P., *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), *idem.*, 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 – 65; *idem*., 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo' *MSR* 4 (2000) pp. 53 – 74 and Shoshan, Boaz, 'On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 349 – 365.
88 See al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhir al-khawāss min akādhib al-quṣṣās* (Riyadh: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1972).
[89] Geoffroy, Éric, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie Sous les Derniers Mamelouks et les Premiers Ottomans: Orientations Spirituelles et Enjeux Culturels* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995) p. 49.

attempt to appeal to the masses, or is it indicative of the absorption of popular material into normative religion? Is the influence from 'popular religion' to 'normative' Islam, or are fifteenth century academics writing works for their target audience and deliberately including popular elements to appeal to them? Jacques Waardenburg has argued that popular elements of religion can become absorbed into 'normative' religion;[90] but there is also likely to be a conscious effort by scholars of the day to appeal to the masses and weaken the influence of the preachers and story-tellers.

There is some evidence to suggest that scholars in Mamluk Egypt responded to the needs of the ordinary Cairene public; for example, after a series of plagues in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[91] the genre of 'books of consolation' emerged in response to an emotional need of ordinary people.[92] There are also a wide number of other *ḥadīth* collections written by noted academics that would appear to have a more 'popular' audience. Al-Suyūṭī wrote many of these more popular works: encompassing short collections of *ḥadīth*, such as his compilation on the merits of ᶜAlī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī*; [93] religious rulings favouring popular expressions of religion, such as his *al-Ḥusn* seen above; and works of a devotional

[90] Waardenburg, 'Official and Popular Religion' pp. 363 – 371.
[91] See Dols, Michael W., 'The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347 – 1894' *JESHO* 22 (1979) pp. 162 – 189.
[92] See various articles by Avner Gilᶜadi; 'Islamic Consolation Treatises for Bereaved Parents: Some Bibliographical Notes' *SI* 81 (1995) pp. 197 – 202; '*Ṣabr* (Steadfastness) of Bereaved Parents: A Motif in Medieval Muslim Consolation Treatises and Some Parallels in Jewish Writings' *JQR* 80 (1989) pp. 35 – 48 and ' "The Child was small…Not so the Grief for Him": Sources, Structure and Content of al-Sakhawi's Consolation Treatise for Bereaved Parents' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 367 – 386. Al-Suyūṭī wrote in this genre, e.g *Bushrā al-ka'īb bi-liqā' al-ḥabīb* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1988) and *al-Taᶜallul wa'l-itfā' li-nār al-tutfā'* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1987).
[93] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī* (Beirut: Mu'ssasat Nādir, 1990); the brevity of the work implies that it was for popular consumption, cf. al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Matn al-arbaᶜīn*; Abdassamad Clarke (tr.), *The Complete Forty Hadith* (London: Ta-Ha, 1998).

nature, like his *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla*.[94] This suggests that Mamluk academics were engaging with the non-academic community, composing and compiling scholarly works for a wider audience.

The leading scholars of the fifteenth century, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī were all involved in the compilation of what are normally referred to as 'encyclopaedic' works (i.e. non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections),[95] and the subject of this thesis, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik*, falls into this category. Evidence shows that the Cairene libraries were extensive,[96] and these non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections tend to draw on and develop a wide range of earlier works.[97] Scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī, were very adept at drawing *ḥadīth* from a number of different texts into new compilations on new subjects. A. J. Arberry comments: 'It must have been a very elaborate card-index of traditions and traditionists that al-Sakhāwī kept, with such excellent cross-references that he was obviously able at very short notice to compile a new treatise on the subject to satisfy one or other of the eccentric demands made of him by his friends and pupils.'[98] As will be seen below, al-Suyūṭī also makes use of a comprehensive range of sources in his *ḥadīth* collections.

These encyclopaedic works were common in this period and cover a wide range of topics. They tend to avoid technical, scholarly subjects, instead pursuing a

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[94] Al-Suyūṭī, *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī Ḥalabī, 1946); this is a collection of prayers and devotions.
[95] For al-Sakhāwī, see Petry, C. F., 'al-Sakhāwī' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 881 – 882.
[96] See Eche, Youssef, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes: Publiques et Semi-Publiques en Mésopotamie, En Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1967) pp. 249 – 264; and Arberry, A. J., *Sakhawiana: A Study Based on the Chester Beatty Ms. Arab. 773* (London: Emery Walker Ltd., 1951).
[97] Jonathan Berkey comments: 'Intellectual activity in the civilizations on both sides of the Mediterranean… consisted largely of replicated, and commenting upon, the literary productions of previous generations.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 25
[98] Arberry, *Sakhawiana*, p. 32.

more general approach to a subject, and they frequently serve as summaries of more complex material. The lack of more 'scholarly' material would seem to suggest that they are aimed at a literate, but uneducated audience, i.e. the Egyptian middle classes.[99] Similarly, their themes also seem to address more popular devotional and theological ideas. It is always difficult to suggest a definitive reason behind the compilation of these works, but they do seem to be both aimed at the general public and to act as educational tools for the spiritual life of ordinary people. As it has been argued above, it is also difficult to say whether this was driven by an attempt by the *ᶜulamā'* to correct or reform the beliefs of the general public on pure theological grounds, or whether there was a political motivation, notably the curbing of the growing power of popular preachers and story-tellers: it is likely to be a mixture. Late mediaeval authors also seem keen to involve themselves in self-promotion: writing popular pamphlets and short encyclopaedic works would, undoubtedly, have played a key role in this.[100] Whilst the scholarly élite were a well defined and relatively insular section of Cairene society, the scholars do appear to be actively engaged with those outside its circle, particularly in the spiritual education of the middle classes.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* should, therefore, be seen as emerging in this complex social and religious environment. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī was an important scholar in his day, producing a number of important works in the fields of

[99] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does include a 'postscript' (*khātima*) concerning angels in Islamic theology (*kalām*), and the function and purpose of this will be discussed below.

[100] Not achieving wide acknowledgement in Cairo itself, al-Suyūṭī became extremely well known outside Egypt; Nehemia Levtzion comments: 'Al-Suyūṭī's eminence was not universally acknowledged by the *ulamā'* of Cairo, with some of those he was in conflict. He must have been gratified by his reputation in Takrūr.' Levtzion, Nehemia, 'Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr (West Africa)' in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (Jerusalem: Cana & Leiden: Brill, 1986) pp. 183 – 207, p. 200.

Qur'ānic commentary,[101] philology,[102] history[103] and philosophy.[104] Secondly, as part of the scholarly élite, he was concerned with protecting the scholarly monopoly on religious teaching and wrote works that explicitly argue for this, such as his, *Taḥdhir al-khawāṣṣ min akādhib al-quṣṣāṣ*. But, al-Suyūṭī was also engaged in compiling *ḥadīth* collections, with an educative motivation, encouraging the people of Cairo to return to proper 'Islamic' beliefs. Al-Suyūṭī was not, by any means, similar to figures such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥazm, yet there are similarities: all of these authors (including al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries, like al-Sakhāwī) were attempting to promote a renewed Islam. Al-Suyūṭī took his 'reformist' credentials to their limit, portraying himself as the *mujaddid* of the fifteenth century.[105]

The main difference is that the earlier reformist figures of Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya were more forceful in their attacks on 'popular' religion and innovations (*bida'*),[106] whilst the authors in the fifteenth century are, in most cases, more muted in their objections and are seen to engage with popular religion, rather than to attack it openly and directly. Their aims may have been largely similar (i.e. the 'reform' of Islam), but al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Taymiyya went

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[101] E.g. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi-'l-ma'thūr* (Beirut: Dār al-maᶜrifa, s. d.); *Kitāb al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.); *Asrār tartīb al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Iᶜtiṣām, 1396 / 1976); *Lubāb al-taqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl* (Tunis: Dār al-Tunisiyya, 1981); as well as exegeses of specific verses, such as his *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā* (Cairo: Dār al-'Itiṣād, s.d.).

[102] *al-Mutawakkilī*; Bell, William Y. (ed & tr.), *The Mutawakkili of as-Suyuti* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) and *al-Iqtirāḥ fī ᶜilm uṣūl al-nahw* (Istanbul: Jāmiᶜat Istanbul, 1975).

[103] His most famous work is his *Tārīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajariyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969).

[104] Most of his works on philosophy were concerned with logic, e.g. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām ᶜan fann al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, s.d.).

[105] Landau-Tasseron, Ella, 'The "Cyclical Reform": A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition' *SI* (1989) pp. 79 – 117, especially pp. 87 – 88; Jansen, J. J. G., 'Tadjdīd' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, pp. 61 – 62 and Van Donzel, E., 'Mudjaddid' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 290.

[106] Ibn Taymiyya frequently found himself in prison for his beliefs; cf Laoust, H., 'Ibn Taymiyya, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 951 – 955; Little, Donald P., 'Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 93 – 111 and Little, Donald P., 'The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya' *IJMES* 4 (1973) pp. 311 – 327.

about it in very different ways. Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyya typically attacks specific non-Islamic practices, whereas al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries seem more interested in encouraging the religious education of the wider public.

Why does al-Suyūṭī approach 'popular' religion in this way? Firstly, the fact that al-Suyūṭī was a *ṣūfī* may be crucial to understanding his interaction with popular religion.[107] This aspect of al-Suyūṭī's life is one that has received very little attention, but a number of his works, such as his exegetical *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā*, do have distinct *ṣūfī* characteristics. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī was a Shāfiᶜī, rather than a Ḥanbalī, which may account for his less vitriolic attacks on popular religion. His more popular works definitely seek to encourage religious belief and 'proper' practice, rather than criticising specific actions. Al-Suyūṭi, as well as many of his contemporaries, appears to have been more willing to accept and interact with popular religion.

1.4 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Methodology and Sources

There has been relatively little study of al-Suyūṭī and his approach to *ḥadīth*, despite his popularity. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of his output makes it difficult to suggest any firm conclusions about his methods of *ḥadīth* compilation. However, it is feasible to analyse al-Suyūṭī's methods in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and

[107] Al-Suyūṭī was a member of the *Shādhilī* order; cf. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa-tuḥfat al-abrār*; Elmer H. Douglas (tr.), *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and Lory comments that it was successful because its '…strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour.' Lory, P., '*Shādhiliyya*' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 172 – 174, p. 173. For an analysis of al-Suyūṭī as a *sūfī*, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 33 – 37 and Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Égypte*, p. 49.

through a heuristic approach come to some conclusions about al-Suyūṭī's methodology. It is also hoped that it will be possible to come to some understanding of the intended audience of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, placing it within the more general religious and social context of Mamluk Egypt seen above.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is divided into two sections: (i) the collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* and (ii) a fairly substantial postscript (*khātima*) on theological issues regarding angels. The sources of these two sections need to be treated separately, as they draw on different scholarly disciplines. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* and the postscript also needs to be explored. Lastly, the actual content of *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* will also indicate what issues al-Suyūṭī was engaging with, which, in turn, will aid understanding of al-Suyūṭī's target audience.

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik looks at the angelic world, but it is not the only compilation to focus on the mysteries of the supernatural. There are, for example, works on *jinn*, Islamic cosmology, the *Mahdī* and the events in the grave.[108] His *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* seems to complement these other works, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to know whether al-Suyūṭī intended these works to be read in conjunction with each other. What these works do show is that al-Suyūṭī was clearly interested in exploring the divine world and that he devoted a number of *ḥadīth* compilations to the topic.

With a large number of works in a similar area, it might be expected that al-Suyūṭī used material he had included in other works. However, there is remarkably

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[108] *viz*. Heinen, Anton M., *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of as-Suyūṭī's al-Hay'a as-sanīya fī l-hay'a as-sunnīya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); the MS of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* held in the British Library is bound with his *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* and al-Suyūṭī's abridgment of a compilation by Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shiblī, entitled, *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbār al-jānn*; see Vassie, R. (ed.), *A Classified Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts Acquired Since 1912: Volume 2 - Qur'ānic Sciences and Ḥadīth* (London: The British Library, 1995) §416 - 418, p. 63.

little cross-over between some of these collections. For example, both his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and his *Al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya* contain *ḥadīth* stating that angels accompany raindrops as they fall from heaven and record where they land and which humans benefited from them. However, there is not a single *ḥadīth* that is repeated *verbatim* in both collections. Take, for example, the two *ḥadīth* below, which are very similar, taken from the same source (Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*), yet are quite different:

> 'There is no year more abounding in rain than another year; but God directs it wherever He wishes. And with the rain He sends down such and such of the angels in order to note down where that rain falls, whom it provides with sustenance, and what results from every drop.'[109]

> 'He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblis. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.'[110]

Each of the *ḥadīth* includes the same basic *matn* ('…He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels… [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant…'), but the *ḥadīth* included in each of the works is slightly different and are suited to their respective works. The *ḥadīth* in *al-Hay'a* focuses on the physical phenomenon of rain, and the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, which is in the chapter entitled 'The Great Abundance of Angels', emphasises the quantity of angels, using raindrops as a comparison.

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[109] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hay'a* VII:27; see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 163.
[110] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik* §19.

Although this is just one example, it is a very revealing one. It shows that al-Suyūṭī employed *ḥadīth* very carefully, using the most appropriate version of a *ḥadīth* for a particular work. This would also seem to suggest that al-Suyūṭī was conscious of which *ḥadīth* had been included in his other collections and may indicate that these two works were compiled at the same time, or at the very least, relatively closely together. Al-Suyūṭī often gave different sections of larger works individual titles,[111] so it is possible that *Al-Ḥabā'ik* may be linked to other works or be part of a larger one. Above all, it shows that there can be great subtlety in al-Suyūṭī's method of *ḥadīth* compilation.

It is a great help that al-Suyūṭī provides details of the authors and works from which he has taken his *ḥadīth*, making it possible to gain some insight into the way in which he worked and engaged with primary sources. In *al-Ḥabā'ik* al-Suyūṭī draws on eighty-three different authors for his *ḥadīth*,[112] which gives an average of one author for every nine *ḥadīth*, and he mentions thirty-two theologians in the *khātima*.[113] This shows how knowledgeable al-Suyūṭī was in these fields, and the wide variety of sources that he utilized.

As a writer of the ninth / fifteenth century, it might have been expected that al-Suyūṭī would have drawn on collections of *ḥadīth* compiled in later periods, but the table below shows that the majority of the authors that al-Suyūṭī cites, died in the third and fourth centuries A.H. This is important to note, as it shows that al-Suyūṭī turned to works written in the 'golden' period of Islamic literature and *ḥadīth* science, shunning later *ḥadīth* compilations. A similar use of sources can be seen in al-

[111] Saleh,'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 85.
[112] This does not include the authors and *ḥadīth* found in the *khātima*; this is because it is difficult to ascertain whether al-Suyūṭī or another author is making the citation.
[113] This is the number of authors mentioned, rather than the number of works explicitly cited.

Suyūṭī's *Al-Hay'a*. Al-Suyūṭī's sources are, however, quite different in the *khātima*. Here al-Suyūṭī makes much more use of later sources, predominantly from the seventh and eighth centuries A.H, with no sources at all coming from the first to third centuries. This change in the types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* reflects the different genres, audiences and milieu of each of the sections.

Author Date of Death [Century (A.H.)]	*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Ḥadīth*)		*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Khātima*)		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
Second	2	2.4	0	0	0	0
Third	25	30.2	0	0	18	43.9
Fourth	29	34.9	2	6.2	13	31.7
Fifth	11	13.3	7	21.9	5	12.2
Sixth	6	7.2	3	9.4	2	4.9
Seventh	3	3.6	9	28.1	0	0
Eighth	0	0	8	25.0	0	0
Ninth	2	2.4	2	6.3	0	0
Unknown	4	4.8	1	3.1	3	7.3

Fig (i) Table of al-Suyūṭī's Sources in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

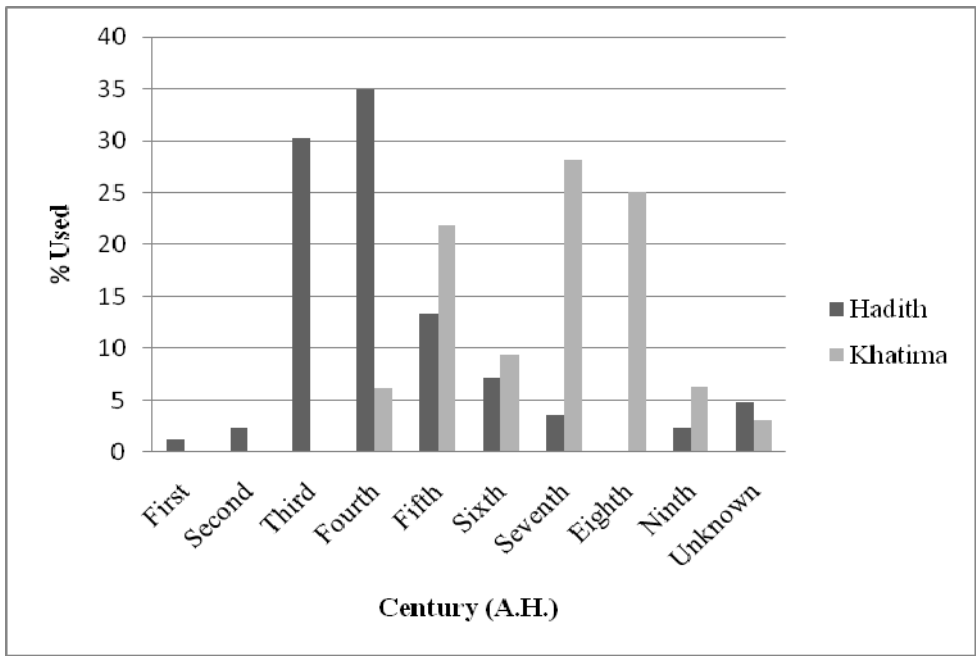

Fig. (ii) Graph of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik*

The most important period in *ḥadīth* collection was in the third to fourth centuries A.H, when the collections of authentic *ḥadīth* were compiled and the *ḥadīth* sciences were developed.[114] The majority of *ḥadith* compilations after this period were commentaries on established works,[115] or *muṣannaf* works, which took *ḥadīth* from various collections on a specific theme, as al-Suyūṭī does in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. As a result of this intense period of studying *ḥadīth*, Islamic scholarship produced a vast corpus of (authentic) *ḥadīth* from which figures like al-Suyūṭī could draw. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a representation or reorganisation of *ḥadīth*, from earlier, respected and reputable scholars on a 'new', more focused, subject area. Al-Suyūṭī is not including 'new' *ḥadīth*, but arranging old *ḥadīth* in a new way. In the *khātima*, however, al-Suyūṭī places his discussion of the angels in Islamic theology in the wider context of past theological debate. Theology, unlike the *ḥadīth*, is not static. Al-Suyūṭī was not attempting to reflect the theological opinions of a specific period, but engages instead with various theological opinions about the angels. It is also a possibility that the authors cited in the *khātima* reflect those studied in the *madrasas*.

Whilst al-Suyūṭī cites a great many authors in *al-Ḥabā'ik*,[116] there is a tendency to focus on a few authors in particular. For example, in the *ḥadīth* section the authors Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī are key sources, with Abū 'l-Shaykh being

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[114] See Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (repr. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) pp. 119 – 147.

[115] Al-Suyūṭī made many such commentaries on earlier works: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Muwaṭṭā' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Akhīra, 1370/1951); *idem*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī bi-sharḥ al-ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa-ḥāshiyyat al-imām al-Sindī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Miṣriyya, 1348/1930); *idem*, *al-Dibāj ᶜalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn Hajjāj* (al-Khubar: Dār ibn ᶜAffān, 1996). For more on commentaries, see Cf. Tokatly, Vardit, 'The *A'lām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī: A Commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or a polemical treatise?' *SI* 92 (2001) pp. 53 – 91, pp. 53 – 55.

[116] 123 in total: 83 in the *ḥadīth* and 32 in the *khātima*, with two featuring in both sections (al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm).

the source of 185 *ḥadīth* (24.6%) and al-Bayhaqī 103 *ḥadīth* (13.7%).[117] A similar trend can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, although a direct comparison cannot be made, as the text integrates both *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-dīn* material. A comparison can, however, be made with *al-Hay'a*:

Name in Text	*Al-Ḥabā'ik*		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Abū 'l-Shaykh	185	24.6	191	73.2
Bayhaqī, al-	103	13.7	4	1.5
Ṭabarānī, al-	87	11.6	14	5.4
Ibn Abī Hātim	72	9.6	68	26.1
Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī]	62	8.3	18	6.9
Ibn al-Mundhir	55	7.3	16	6.1
Aḥmad	49	6.5	6	2.3
Ibn Abī Shayba	41	5.5	3	1.1
Ibn ᶜAsākir	40	5.3	6	2.3
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	37	4.9	10	3.8
Ibn Mardawayh	30	4.0	12	4.6
Ḥākim, al-	29	3.9	9	2.3
Abū Nuᶜaym	28	3.7	2	0.8
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	27	3.6	4	1.5
Muslim	27	3.6	1	0.4
Daylamī, al-	25	3.3	1	0.4
Tirmidhī, al-	22	2.9	3	1.1
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	21	2.8	4	1.5
Bukhārī, al-	19	2.5	8	3.1
Ibn Mājah	17	2.3	1	0.4
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	16	2.1	3	1.1
Abū Dā'ūd	14	1.9	1	0.4
Dinawārī, al-	13	1.7	0	0
Nasā'ī, al-	12	1.6	1	0.4
Bazzār, al-	11	1.5	3	1.1

Fig. (iii) Authors cited as a source in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (more than 10 times) and in *al-Hay'a*

[117] However, it should be noted that the two authors are not responsible for 38.3% of the *ḥadīth*, as some *ḥadīth* cite both authors as sources.

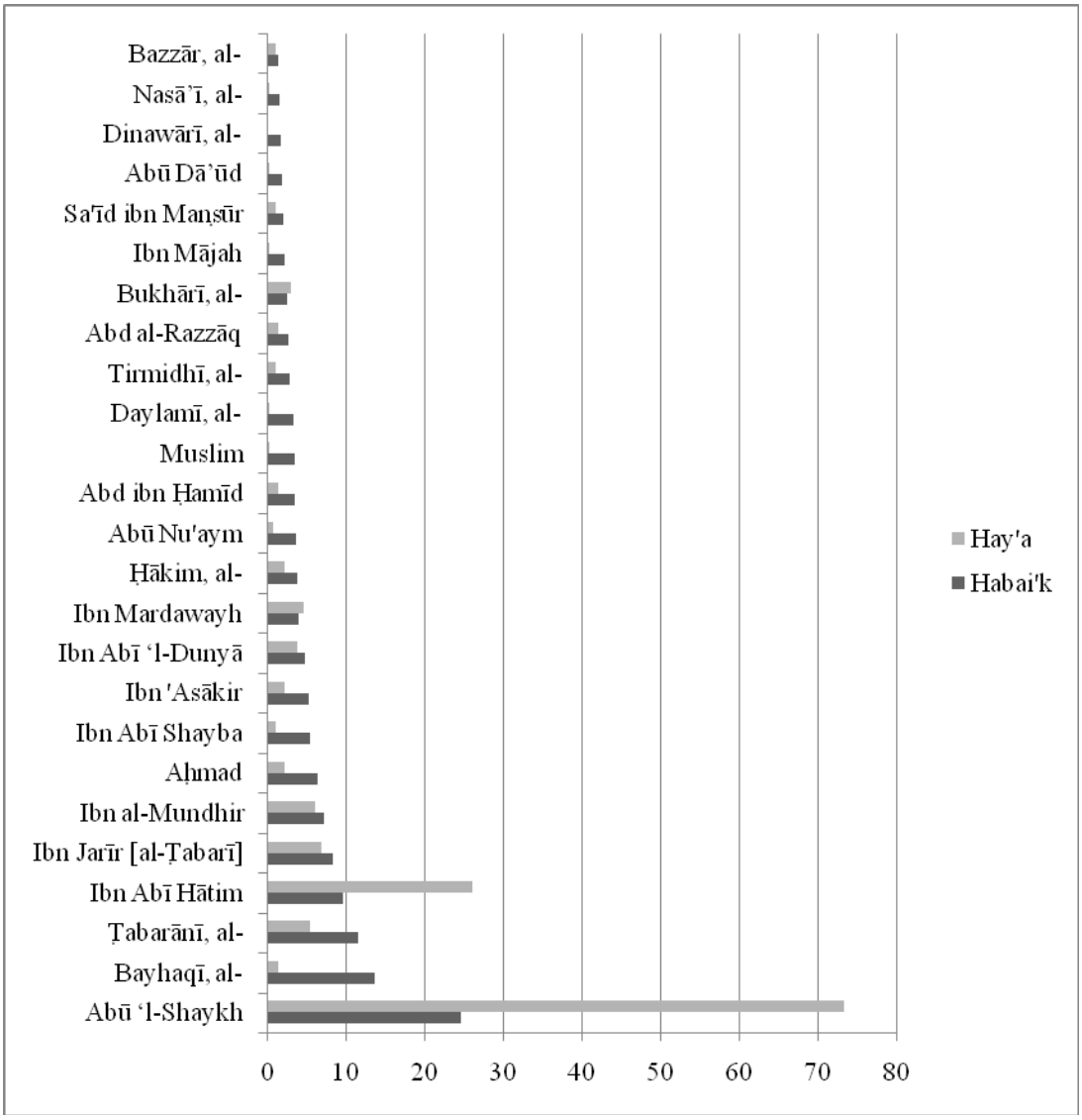

Fig (iv) Chart of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

The data reveal some interesting trends. Firstly, Abū 'l-Shaykh is the most cited author in both *al-Hay'a* and *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but especially so in *al-Hay'a*, where Abū 'l-Shaykh dominates the work. K. E. Nolin's study of al-Suyūṭī's sources for his *Itqān* shows that he adapted and enlarged al-Zarkashī's *Burhān*; the data above seem to reveal a similar relationship between his *al-Hay'a* and Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*. The same relationship is not so evident in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, although the work does also feature prominently. There are also a great number of common

authors, with only four out of forty-one authors appearing in *al-Hay'a* that do not appear in *al-Habā'ik*.[118] Despite this, the frequency of the authors being used in each of the works shows only a weak correlation. This evidence suggests that al-Suyūṭī had a core set of works which he consulted for his *ḥadīth* collections, but the frequency of their use depends on the *ḥadīth* that they contain, and their usefulness to a particular work. It also suggests that al-Suyūṭī, as Nolin has shown, uses one or two particular works as a basis from which to compile a larger collection: in the case of *al-Hay'a*, it appears to be based exclusively on Abū 'l-Shaykh, whereas *al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī.[119]

The *khātima* shows a slightly different relationship between al-Suyūṭī and his sources, which is more difficult to analyse empirically. As it has been seen above, the *khātima* draws on a wide range of sources, collecting and presenting various mediaeval materials on angels in *kalām*. Al-Suyūṭī makes extensive citations throughout the *khātima* with little personal comment, from both brief statements of doctrine, such as al-Kalabādhī's *Kitāb al-taᶜarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, in which al-Kalabādhī's thoughts are not reproduced in full,[120] to the citations of entire chapters, such as the thirty-third chapter of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn*: *Fī an al-malā'ika afḍal aw al-anbiyā*'.[121]

Such extensive quotation suggests that the *khātima* was written to act as a primer, presenting the views of past scholars on the issue of the precedence of angels and prophets. A number of such works were composed in this period, and it was

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[118] Ibn al-Ḥārith, Ibn Abī Zamīl, al-Quṛtubī and Abū ᶜUbayd.
[119] A future area of research would be an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in a much larger sample.
[120] Cf Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 240 and Arberry, A. J. (tr.), *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 53.
[121] Cf. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 207 – 226; al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irāt al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1353 / 1934) pp. 368 – 384.

common to include such a large amount of cited material: 'By the later medieval period, scholars in institutions of higher learning established in several cities and towns of the Mamluk empire had generated myriad texts, treatises, commentaries, handbooks, and primers for curricular use.'[122] Furthermore, the relative lack of analysis or ideas on al-Suyūṭī's part would seem to suggest that it was not necessarily aimed at the scholarly community. It is true that extensive quotation is common in later theological works; yet, there is a tendency to engage with the material and challenge it significantly at some juncture in the work. Al-Suyūṭī does include some personal comment towards the end of the *khātima*, but it is much more limited than in other *kalām* works of the period. Despite the high consideration of his own abilities, al-Suyūṭī never really considered himself to be a *mutakallim*.[123] Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ Sharaf provides an extremely useful portrayal of al-Suyūṭī's relationship with *kalām*, He states:

> 'There is no doubt that al-Suyūṭī's position on the discipline of *kalām* was one of suspicion and mistrust of its influence on the doctrines of Islam and its capability to mislead and cause deviant [views]. But it will be seen that al-Suyūṭī distinguishes between the disciplines of *kalām* that are founded on pure senseless debate, which can be seen in the *mutakallimūn* of the innovators and between *kalām* that is based on the Book, the *Sunna* and defence of Islamic doctrines and the refutation of the innovators and those that have deviated [from Islam].'[124]

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[122] Petry, 'Scholastic Stasis' p. 324; see also Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, pp. 24 – 25.
[123] In his autobiography, al-Suyūṭī highlights eighteen of his works as being particularly important, none of these are in the field of *kalām*; see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 2, p. 105 and Saleh, 'al-Suyūṭī' pp. 86 – 87.
[124] Sharaf, Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: manḥajuhu wa-ārā'uhu al-kalāmiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Naḥda al-ᶜArabiyya, 1981) p. 73 [tr. Burge].

For al-Suyūṭī *kalām* did have its benefits for the study of Islam, but he distanced himself from speculative theology. *Kalām* was acceptable, as long as it sought to support the Qur'ān, the *Sunna* and the creeds.[125] In the *khātima* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, al-Suyūṭī engages with elements of *kalām* that support the *sunna*, but not necessarily *kalām* as a discipline in its entirety. The *khātima* presents a summary of *kalām* arguments that support orthodox beliefs, rather than advancing new ideas into the field.

However, the *khātima* is not the only section that deals with philosophical and theological issues. The presence of an early chapter in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the title: 'The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers' [126] suggests an engagement with Islamic peripatetic philosophy in the *ḥadīth* section as well. Although only three *ḥadīth* (0.4%) are included in this chapter, it clearly shows that it was an issue of concern. The opposition of Islam to Greek philosophy in some quarters is well known,[127] and al-Suyūṭī wrote a number of works against the use of Greek logic himself.[128] The issue at stake in *al-Ḥabā'ik* concerns the physical substance of angels: in Islamic philosophy some held that angels were intellects and were incorporeal.[129] The most famous philosopher to deny angels bodies was Ibn Sīna, who in his *al-Shifā'*

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[125] Cf. Sharaf, *al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 113 – 116.
[126] *Mabda' khalq al-malā'ik wa-'l-dalāla ᶜalā anhum ajsām khalāfan li-'l-falāsifa*'; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 10 – 11, §2 – 4.
[127] See Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Die Stellung der alten Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften' *GS* vol. 5, pp. 357 – 400 and Watt, W. M., *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985) pp. 133 – 148.
[128] See Ali, Mufti, 'A Statistical Portrait of the Resistance to Logic by Sunni Muslim Scholars Based on the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (849-909/1448-1505)' *ILS* 15 (2008) pp. 250 – 267 and Ali, Mufti, *Muslim Opposition to Logic and Theology in the Light of the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)*, PhD. Thesis, University of Leiden, 2008.
[129] See Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.

explicitly refers to angels as incorporeal intellects.[130] Al-Suyūṭī's chapter stresses that the angels are corporeal and that they are made of fire or light, the tradition understanding of angelic substance.[131]

There is little to suggest that al-Suyūṭī is responding to a specific text that propounds the belief in the incorporeality of angels, and he simply appears to be reiterating the case against Islamic peripatetic philosophy. However, interest in *Muᶜtazilī* theology was revived from the thirteenth century onwards,[132] Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 / 1274)[133] being a notable example. This synthesis became the basis of the Isfahan School, which came to dominate Twelver philosophy a century after al-Suyūṭī's death.[134] In the intervening period, a number of scholars advanced such theological thinking, including Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī[135] (d. 726 / 1325) and Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 906 / 1501).[136] Likewise, the angels were held to be incorporeal in Jewish *kabbalah*,[137] but it would seem unlikely that al-Suyūṭī is engaging with medieval Jewish philosophy in *al-Ḥabā'ik* specifically. There is no doubt that speculative theology was being pursued in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime.

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[130] Ibn Sīna refers to '*al-malā'ika al-rūḥāniyya al-mujarrada allatī tasmiyya ᶜaqūlan*' ['…spiritual angels denuded [of matter] that are called "intellects"…' Michael E. Marmura (ed. & tr.), *Avicenna: The Metaphysics of The Healing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005) p. 358.

[131] Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī combines Islamic peripateticism and traditional notions of angels in Islam in his illuminationist philosophy; see Burge, 'Suhrawardian Angeology' for a discussion of these ideas.

[132] See Cooper, John, 'From al-Ṭūsī to the School of Iṣfahān' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996) pp. 585 – 596.

[133] Daiber, H., and Ragep, F. J., 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Abū Djaᶜfar Muḥammad' *EI²* vol. 10 pp. 746 – 752.

[134] For more on the Isfahan School, see Dabashi, Hamad, 'Mīr Dāmād and the founding of the "School of Iṣfahān"' in Nasr and Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 597 – 634.

[135] Jafri, S. H. M., 'al-Ḥillī, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn' *EI²* vol. 3, p. 390; see also Schmidtke, Sabine, *The Theology of al-ᶜAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726 / 1325)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991).

[136] See Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī' *EI²* vol. 12, p. 380; Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Gumhūr al-Aḥsâ'is synthesis of *kalām*, philosophy and Shi'ism' in Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age*, pp. 147 – 156 and Schmidtke, Sabine, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik in zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15/ Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838-1434-35 – nach 906/1501)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[137] See Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava, 'Philosophy and Kabbalah: 1200 – 1600' in Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 218 – 257, p. 227.

However, as al-Suyūṭī does not refer to any specific texts or authors, it is difficult to ascertain whether he is engaging with these *mutakallimūn*. If al-Suyūṭī was not responding to any specific text, it is conceivable that he became aware of a resurgence in the belief in the incorporeality of angels in general terms and so responded to that; but this can only be conjecture. However, its presence and placement at the beginning of the collection do show that al-Suyūṭī believed it was an important issue to discuss.

This survey of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources has shown a number of important aspects of al-Suyūṭī's methodological approach, although much more work needs to be done to understand it more fully. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī appears to have used an *Urtext* for his compilations, around which he adds, removes and expands material. In some cases, this *Urtext* is extremely prominent, in others, such his *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, it is less so. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī applied different types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and *kalām* sections. The *ḥadīth* are sources from an early period, the third to fourth centuries *ḥijrī*, whereas the *kalām* material is derived principally from material from the seventh century onwards. This appears to reflect the need for the *ḥadīth* to be taken from the formative period of *ḥadīth* collection, and the *kalām* material to reflect more contemporary discussions. Lastly, the *khātima* makes use of extended citation, and appears to have the reproduction of key ideas and expositions of the theological problem being discussed as its main aim.

1.5 The Purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and its Audience

The purpose of al-Suyūṭī's *ḥadīth* compilations and their audience can, at times, be a little difficult to ascertain. The discussions above have shown that the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* utilise different types of sources and approaches, and that the historical milieu of fifteenth-century Cairo was complex and dynamic. There are many different audiences to which *al-Ḥabā'ik* could be aimed: the masses, the literate public, students or academics. The juxtaposition of the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* does little to help resolve the issue.

Éric Geoffroy has commented that: '…[al-Suyūṭī] prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to the public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes.'[138] If his works were intended for the general public, some of them certainly required a degree of learning: the *khātima* that follows *al-Ḥabā'ik*, for instance, contains detailed theological discussions. Yet, at the same time, there is a tension in his collections between the use of this overtly scholarly material and his frequent reliance on weak and non-Prophetic *ḥadīth*,[139] as well as elements of folklore.[140]

As it has been seen above, there is textual evidence that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in promoting scholarly *ḥadīth* studies during his lifetime and that he

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[138] Geoffroy, 'al-Suyūṭī' p. 914.

[139] cf. Bauer, Thomas, 'Islamische Totenbücher. Entwicklug einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs' from S. Leder (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002) pp. 421 – 436, p. 424.

[140] There has been much secondary literature written on popular Islamic literature: e.g. Abdel-Malek, Kamal, 'Popular Religious Narratives' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 330 – 346; Reynolds, Dwight F., 'Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 245 – 269; Knappert, Jan, *Islamic Legends: Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) and Brinner, William M., 'Popular Literature in Medieval Jewish Arabic' in Norman Golb (ed.), *Judeo-Arabic Studies: Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997) pp. 59 – 71.

attacked those who used *ḥadīth* without having had any proper training in the field.[141] However, Marlis Saleh suggests the best explanation; she comments that: 'Al-Suyūṭī came to feel that he had been born into an age of widespread ignorance and scholarly decline, and that as the most knowledgeable person of his time he had a special mission to assemble and transmit the Islamic cultural patrimony before it disappeared entirely due to the carelessness of his contemporaries.'[142] It would seem that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in two different activities at the same time: firstly, promoting particular ideas about different subjects (in these case, angels) to the wider Muslim public; and, secondly, addressing more academic and theological issues, preserving them for future generations of scholars and students. It is, perhaps, for this reason that in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the theological arguments are kept within the confines of the *khātima*; those who did not understand *kalām*, or were not interested in it, could simply ignore it.

The *ḥadīth* found in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* are often part of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genre. As has been seen above, al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries like al-Sakhāwī were involved in attempts to combat the growth of the preachers and the story-tellers. These popular preachers, in the opinion of the *ᶜulamā'*, were using *ḥadīth* inappropriately. The *quṣṣāṣ* narrated stories in the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition, which itself had a strong association with 'popular religion': 'The classification of Kisai's [*Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*] as popular religious literature may be suggested by its tendency to simplify Biblical-Quranic legends for the education and enjoyment of the

[141] See Berkey, Jonathan P., 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 –65, pp. 61 - 65 and Berkey, 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power'.
[142] Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 76.

masses…'[143] The use of *qiṣaṣ* material in *al-Ḥabā'ik* may be an indication of its target audience: such material is being used in attempt to wean the general public of the *quṣṣaṣ* onto the works of the orthodox, acceptable and scholarly *ᶜulamā'*.

Naturally, much of this *qiṣaṣ* material is also found in the *tafsīr* works, but al-Suyūṭī does appear to have utilized this material much more frequently than scholars of earlier generations. This trend can been in both his general encyclopaedic *ḥadīth* collections and his more formal exegeses, such as his *al-Durr al-manthūr*. Such a blurring between formal and popular works was common in late Mamluk literature, which '…transcends boundaries: the boundaries between the everyday and literary communication; between popular and high literatures; between poetry and prose; between the private and public; between theory and praxis.'[144] Whether or not such a blurring was a direct response to the growth of the *wuᶜᶜaẓ* and the *quṣṣāṣ* is difficult to ascertain, but there certainly seems to be an engagement with 'popular' material in this period, which al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* also exhibits.

This more 'popular' material is juxtaposed with the *khātima* – a section that clearly requires a high degree of intellectual ability. Al-Suyūṭī refers to the *khātima* in his introduction to the work as the whole, and states: 'I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad.'[145] Al-Suyūṭī clearly intended it to be read, but by whom? The material in the *khātima* and its recapitulation of the work of earlier *mutakallimūn* seems to suggest that the postscript was aimed towards students, acting as a primer or summary of *kalām* arguments about angels. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* is difficult to comprehend, because, except for the presence of the angels, the two sections appear to have little in

[143] Shoshan, 'High Culture', p. 85.
[144] Bauer, 'Mamluk Literature', p. 130.
[145] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 9.

common in their approach, sources and contents. There is, however, one quite general theme that can take both the *ḥadīth* and the *kalām* materials into account. Over the whole text there is a sense that work is attempting to outline all beliefs about angels in Islam, both those raised in the *ḥadīth* and in Islamic theology, making the work almost a 'text book' on belief in angels.

All of this would seem to suggest that *al-Ḥabā'ik* was aimed at a literate audience, but not necessarily those at the highest level of academia. It is not really an 'academic' work in that sense. It has already been seen that al-Suyūṭī wrote many works that could be considered as being fully *academic*, engaging in logic, law, exegesis and the *uṣūl al-dīn*, among many other subject areas. This material is quite different in nature and form to *al-Ḥabā'ik*. Furthermore, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's works shows that he also wrote much material that could be considered as being more popularist. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* sits somewhere in between these two audiences: neither fully academic, nor aimed entirely at the masses, but whether it was aimed at the literate general public or students specifically is difficult to ascertain. It would seem likely that both groups would have benefited from the work.

Appreciating al-Suyūṭī's target audiences produces some interesting insights on al-Suyūṭī as an author. He appears to have been engaged with a wide range of different groups of society: academics, students and the general public. His arrogant nature may not have enamoured him to the Cairene *intelligentsia*, but he does appear to have achieved a degree of fame and reputation, a fact not missed by Reynold Nicholson. After discussing his various disputes with contemporary scholars, Nicholson comments: 'Be this as it may, he saw what the public wanted. His

compendious and readable handbooks were famed throughout the Moslem world…'[146] Al-Suyūṭī knew what sort of books and *ḥadīth* collections were wanted, and he obligingly responded, writing works for a wide range of different social groups in Mamluk Cairo.

Others, such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, appear to have acted similarly;[147] this would seem to imply that scholars of the late Mamluk period were more deeply involved in the world outside academia than previous generations of scholars. This period is often accused of being a period of stagnation and intellectual malaise;[148] but, authors such as al-Suyūṭī show an awareness and interaction with the whole range of audiences in Mamluk Cairo. The Mamluk era was a period of great intellectual activity, not stagnation, seen especially in the interaction of scholars with the wider community – an academic model that, perhaps, has much to resonate with the contemporary world.

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[146] Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p. 455.
[147] Cf. Rosenthal, F., 'Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 776 – 778 and Petry, 'al-Sakhāwī'.
[148] Gardet commented: 'Elle semble avoir marqué l'entrée de la pensée religieuse musulmane en une longue période de stagnation…on peut situer au cours de ce IXe siècle de l'hégire le début effectif de l'ankylose qui se prolongera plus de quatre siècles.' Gardet, Louis, 'De quelle manière s'est ankylosée la pensée religieuse de l'Islam' in R. Brunschwig and G. E. von Grunebaum (eds.), *Classicisme et Déclin Culturel dans l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Paris: Editions Besson, 1957), pp. 93 – 105, p. 95. Such a position is now being questioned, see Bauer, Thomas, 'Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches' *MSR* 9:2 (2005) pp. 105 – 132.

The Origins of Islamic Beliefs About Angels

2. The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

Although angels appear in the Qur'ān, with Gabriel and Michael explicitly named, the traditions included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* show a great increase in the number of angels. The question naturally arises about how these traditions entered Islam and from where they originated. Understanding the provenance of these *ḥadīth* will provide a basis for comprehending the wider interactions between Islam and other religious traditions of the Near East, and allows a particular motif or concept to be placed in context: in what ways is an Islamic motif similar or different to its use in Judaism or Christianity?

The aim of this section is not to analyse the *ḥadīth* in source-critical terms, as this would not actually achieve very reliable results for a number of reasons: firstly, the majority of *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions passed into Islam through oral transmission,[149] often through a number of different sectarian and language groups. [150] This makes literary comparison or any source-critical approach difficult and of questionable value. Secondly, *ḥadīth* present material in a different way to Jewish and Christian texts. There is no real counterpart to the *ḥadīth collection* in Jewish or Christian literature; *ḥadīth* collections reproduce isolated fragments of information, usually

[149] See Nagel, T., 'Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 180 – 181 and Vajda, G., 'Isrā'īliyyāt' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 211 – 212; for a discussion of the term *Isrā'īliyyāt*, see Tottoli, Roberto, 'Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature' *Arabica* 46 (1999) pp. 193 – 210.

[150] Steven Wasserstrom comments: 'Rarely if ever will it be certain that an ancient Jewish pseudepigraph was taken over into Muslim narrative without such Christian intermediation.' Wasserstrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch' in John C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1994) pp. 87 – 114, p. 99.

with little in the way of contextualisation.[151] At most, a *ḥadīth* collection will offer a short narrative unit, such as the *Death of Moses* or the story of *Hārūt and Mārūt*.[152] Furthermore, even if a Judeo-Christian story or motif is found in a Muslim text, it is often adapted and changed to suit its new religious environment. In his discussion of al-Thaᶜlabī's version of the death of David, Kees Wagtendonk comments: 'As is the case with Wahb b. Munabbih's David stories, parts of these stories are derived from or influenced by Jewish or Christian sources. But this does not necessarily determine their intentions. We have to judge them by their new context.'[153] When approaching the *ḥadīth* in this collection in an attempt to understand the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, a number of parallels will be made between the *ḥadīth* and Jewish, Christian and other texts. However, the purpose is not to attribute sources to particular beliefs or motifs in the *ḥadīth*, but to highlight commonalities and differences between Islam and other religious traditions in general terms.[154] It is also important to place any commonalities in the context of their differences, so that a general and full picture about the interaction between Islam with other faiths can be seen.

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[151] Rabbinic texts are often collections of the sayings of the sages, but they are almost always placed within a wider legal or exegetical context (*halakha* and *haggadah*); see Maccoby, Hyam, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 1 – 48. Some Christian texts, such as the *Coptic Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also collections of the sayings of Jesus, but this form is relatively rare in Christian texts.

[152] Eg. §146 & 248 – 255; cf. El Calamawy, Sahair, 'Narrative Elements in the *Ḥadīth* Literature' *CHAL* vol. 1, pp. 308 – 316.

[153] Wagtendonk, 'Stories of David' p. 344; see also Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Psuedepigrapha and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*'.

[154] After a period in Biblical Studies where many studies were untaken drawing parallels between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern literature, Sandmel highlighted the problems that can be encountered when undertaking such work; see Sandmel, 'Parallelomania'.

At a basic level, Islamic beliefs about angels have largely been attributed to Jewish and Christian ones,[155] but there has not been much subsequent study of Islamic angelology as a whole. In order to understand the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels, a wide range of traditions need to be analysed so that a general picture of the situation can be taken. A study of a specific tradition may indicate an influence from one particular source or tradition, but that source may play a very minor role in the influences on Islamic angelology as whole. The study that follows looks at the *ḥadīth* presented by al-Suyūṭī in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in an attempt to assess the influences on Islamic angelology, through (i) the analysis of angelic nomenclature and (ii) a comparison of the depiction and iconography of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. What will be seen is that the influences on Islamic angelic traditions are more varied than may have been expected.

2.1 Angelic Nomenclature

The way in which objects and people are named often reveals much about both the object (or the person) and the one that did the naming. The modern discipline of semiotics is based on this principle and to a certain extent played a part in classical Arabic linguistic theory. Many mediaeval Arabic linguists attempted to find the etymological origins of the names of places and animals etc., so they could understand the word more clearly.[156] Likewise, a study of the way that angels are

[155] For example, Gaudefroy-Demombynes comments: 'From Judaism and Christianity, Islam learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms…' Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M., 'Demons and Spirits (Muslim)' in *ERE* vol. 4, pp. 615 – 619, p. 615.

[156] See Stetkevych, Jaroslav, 'Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry' *JNES* 45 (1986) pp. 89 – 124.

named reveals two key aspects: firstly, the physical origin of the angelic name; and secondly, the way in which the angel was perceived by a particular group.

What is evident from the angels found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is that there is a relatively large quantity of angels that are singled out and 'named' (albeit not always with individual personal names), and that the way in which this is done varies greatly. This, in itself, suggests that angels were incorporated into Islam in different ways and that the origins and development of Islamic beliefs about angels are more complex than some scholars have believed in the past. There are four main ways in which Islamic angels are named: (i) use of the suffix '-īl'; (ii) function names using the formula 'the Angel of X'; (iii) function names formed without *malak*, which are often derivations from concepts or (physical) objects and (iv) other miscellaneous names of varied or complex origin.

The main sources for Jewish and Christian angelic names are the Talmud, Midrash and other rabbinic texts, Old and New Testament Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as other magical incantation texts and later Jewish and Christian mystical treatises.[157] In Judaism the most common form of an angelic name is one composed with the suffix '*-ēl'*, a suffix that is maintained in both Jewish and Christian angelic names in other non-Semitic languages. These types of angelic names have meanings associated with God [*'ēl*]; for example, *Mikā'ēl,* means 'one like God' and *Gabrī'ēl* means 'power of God'. In the Bible named angels only appear in the post-exilic book of Daniel and were developed in the inter-testamental

[157] For a comprehensive survey of angelic names see Michl, J., 'Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen) *RAC* vol. 5, coll. 200 – 239; Petersen, Erik, 'Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara.' *RMP* 75 (1926) pp. 393 – 421 and Davidson, Gustav, *Dictionary of Angels* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1967). Julia Creswell's recent popular *The Watkins's Dictionary of Angels* (London: Watkins, 2006) contains many angelic names and some details about them, but has little information regarding sources.

period, perhaps influenced by Zoroastrianism, [158] and culminated in Pseudepigraphical texts. [159] In his commentary on *1Enoch* George Nickelsburg highlights a number of reasons why named angels became popular in the inter-Testamental period, concluding that: 'In general, however, it has the effect of reifying the heavenly world. If it does not give personalities to these beings, it does give definition and an increasing sense of reality to these beings – whether they be good or evil – concretizing their functions on their names…'[160]

Another important way that angelic names were given in Judaism arose out of exegeses of passages in the Hebrew Bible.[161] In these instances, heavenly objects found in scripture become angelic, often forming a group of angels, rather than individuals. As a result, these groups usually take the form of the standard Hebrew plural (*-īm*) of the hypostasised object. For example, the wheels of God's chariot become the group of angels called the *opannīm* ['the wheels'].[162] These two forms of angelic nomenclature are the most common, but angelic names not taking either of these forms can be found. These angels are usually conceptual, i.e. anthropomorphic (or rather angelomorphic) representations of abstract ideas such as 'Death',

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[158] See Winston, David, 'The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence' *HR* 5 (1966) pp. 183 - 216, pp. 189 - 192. Some early commentators argued that Jewish angelology developed during the period of exile in Persia; e.g. Kohut, A, 'Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?' *ZDMG* 21 (1867) pp. 552-91 and Kohut, A., *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhänigkeit vom Parsismus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866). However, this influence is no longer seen to have been as strong as nineteenth century scholars, such as Kohut, suggested; cf. Barr, James, 'The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity' *JAAR* 53 (1985) pp. 201 – 236.

[159] E.g. *1 Enoch* contains a great number of angelic names formed in this way.

[160] Nickelsburg, George E., *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) p. 45.

[161] Cf. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands.* Olyan, however, does have a tendency to overstate the role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelology, as C. R. A. Morray-Jones comments: 'Beliefs about angels were not simply generated, within a religious and social vacuum, by anomalies in the text of Scripture.' Morray-Jones, C. R. A., 'Review of Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 154 – 159, p. 159.

[162] See Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, pp. 34 – 41 and Halperin, David J., 'The Exegetical Character of Ezek. X 9 - 17' *VT* 26 (1976) pp. 129 - 141.

'Wisdom' and so on;[163] or are ultimately derived from other non-Semitic languages, such as Greek.

This section will look at the different types of angelic names included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, attempting to locate their origin and the significance of their nomenclature.

2.1.1 Theophoric Names

A number of angelic names included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* derive from Hebrew (or North-West Semitic equivalents), with some changes in vocalisation. Angelic names in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac are most often compounds formed with the termination *–'ēl*, meaning 'X of God'. The most common theophoric name in Islam is, of course, Gabriel / *Jibrīl*. The Qur'ānic *muṣḥaf* reads *Jibrīl* for the angel Gabirel, but there are a number of variations extant, including: *jabra'īl, jabrīl, jabrāll, jabrīn*.[164] These variations suggest that the name is of foreign origin and it was thought to be either Hebrew or Syriac in traditional lexicography.[165]

Despite the retention of the ending *–īl* (the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *'ēl*), the angelic name often loses its original meaning when transferred to Arabic and, even when it could be retained, the original Hebrew sense is usually

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[163] Cf. Brandon, S. G. F., 'The Personification of Death in some Ancient Religions' *JJRL* 43 (1960 – 1961) pp. 317 – 335 and Ringgren, Helmar, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostasation of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1947).

[164] See Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary* pp. 100 – 101 & 275 - 276. Variants of the Gabirel can be found in the Codices of Ubai ibn Kaᶜb, ᶜAlī, Ibn ᶜAbbās, ᶜAlqama, ᶜIkrima and al-Aᶜmash on Q 2:97 – 98; see Jeffery, A., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, Brill, 1937) pp. 119, 189, 195, 242, 269 & 315; see also al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.) vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Jawālīqī, Abū Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir), *Al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜjamī ᶜalā ᶜurūf al-muᶜjam* (Tehran; s.n., 1966) pp. 113 – 115 & 327.

[165] See al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46; Jeffrey suggests Syriac as the vocalisation (*Gabri'ēl*) is closer to the Arabic; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 100; cf. Payne-Smith, Robert, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) vol. 1, p. 648.

ignored. For example, §89 states that: 'Gabriel's name [means] servant of God; Michael's name [means] servant of God; and Isrāfīl's name [means] servant of the Merciful.'[166] The *ḥadīth* gives the three names meanings that are not strictly correct in the Hebrew sense; but the new names are revealing. Whereas the Hebrew names enhance the power and might of God, the Arabic names highlight the angels' subservience to God.[167] These translations do, however, still retain the correct translation of *'ēl* / *'īl* as 'God'.[168]

The *–īl* ending is also given an 'incorrect' definition in two of the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: §37 states that 'every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'[169] Again, this translation (or definition) shows some ingenuity, as *'ēl* is the Hebrew word for God and *īl* is not in Arabic, it had to be translated or interpreted in a different way. To say that *īl* means the 'temple of God' circumvents this problem. It also avoids the introduction of another, non-Islamic, name for God. However, in the Arabic lexicographical tradition *īl* is usually given the simple explanation 'a name of God, Most High.'[170]

Al-Ḥabā'ik includes eleven angelic names ending in *–īl*: *Jibrīl* (Gabriel), *Mīkā'īl* (Michael), *Isrāfīl*, *Ismāᶜīl*, *Riyāfīl*, *Ramyā'īl*, *Sharahīl*, *Harahīl*, *Artiyā'īl*, *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* and *Rufīl*. The origin of the angels *Jibrīl / Jibrā'īl* (Hebrew: *Gabri'ēl*) and *Mīkā'īl* (*Mīkā'ēl*) are both well-known and have been frequently

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[166] §89; cf. §36 – 38 & §78; these translations are also found in Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.
[167] Rabbinic texts do, however, still stress that angels are 'lower' than humans, because of their inability to do other than that which God has commanded them to do; cf. Schechter, S., 'Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology' *JQR* 7 (1895) pp. 195 – 215.
[168] Some Arabic texts do not attempt to give a precise meaning for the name, for example in one text about the *miᶜrāj*, Michael says to Muḥammad, 'I am called Mikā'īl simply because I am appointed over the rain and the plants.' McKane, W., 'A Manuscript on the Miᶜrāj in the Bodleian' *JSS* 2 (1947), pp. 366 – 379, p. 370.
[169] §37; §36 also has a similar statement.
[170] Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, p. 45 ; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 436 - 438.

discussed.[171] The use and adaptation of Judeo-Christian theophoric names would, at first sight, produce a strong case for a Judeo-Christian influence on this type of Islamic nomenclature. However, there are a number of idiosyncrasies in the Arabic names that make this relationship more complex.

A number of the names included in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have strong etymological links with Jewish angels,[172] but other names are philologically further removed. For example, Artiyā'īl, an angel responsible for removing grief from humans, bears some philological similarity to the angel Uriel (Hebrew: *'uri'ēl*).[173] An etymological relationship between the two is potentially possible as the Arabic name only includes the addition of the infix '*-ti-*' and some minor vowel modifications. The initial *alif* is left without any diacritical marks and is usually vocalised with a *fatḥa*; however, a *kasra* (i.e. Irtiyā'īl) would, perhaps, make more sense – linking it to VIII R-W-Ā, (to quench one's thirst), which is what this angel does in an abstract way. However, it must be stressed that this is only conjecture, as there is no other textual evidence available to gain a fuller understanding of the name's origin.

Another example relates to the two angels Rūfīl (also given as Rufā'īl)[174] and Riyāfīl, which both appear to derive from the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* (Aramaic *Rapa'ēl*) with a fairly straightforward etymology.[175] There are, however, a few problems with the origins of the name Rūfīl. Firstly, did the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* generate two different

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[171] See Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 100 – 101 and 275 – 276; Pedersen, J., 'Djibrā'il' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 362 – 364 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Mīkāl' *EI*^{2} Vol 7, pp. 24 – 25.

[172] *Viz*: Jibrīl ≡ Gabri'ēl; Mikā'īl ≡ Mīka'ēl; Ismā^{c}īl ≡ Sama^{c}ēl; Isrāfīl ≡ Sarapi'ēl; Ramyā'īl ≡ Rami'ēl; Sharahīl ≡ Sarahi'ēl.

[173] In the Pseudepigraphical text the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Uriel is involved in the burials of Adam and Abel, although it should be noted that the text does not directly associate Uriel with comforting the grieving: cf. *LAE(V)* 48:3, *OTP*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[174] A similar ḥadīth appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Hayā' al-sāniya*, VIII:11 where the name is given as *Rufā'īl*; see Heinen, *Islamic* Cosmology, p. 31 [Ar.]; Heinen suggests that this is Raphiel, see p. 232.

[175] See Barton, George A., 'The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.' *JBL* 31 (1912) pp. 156 – 167, p. 158; 1En 10:4; 13:1.

angels, *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*? With only very limited source material available it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions; although it does seem likely, etymologically at least, that *Rupa'ēl* is related to both *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*. Another problem arises with this angel; Raphael is a prominent angel in both Judaism and Christianity,[176] but in Islam Rūfīl and Riyāfīl are not. Furthermore, whilst Riyāfīl performs a role similar to Raphael,[177] Rūfīl is the Angel of the Clouds, a role not played by either the Jewish or Christian Raphael. In this case, a strong etymological link can be established between Rūfīl / Riyāfīl and Raphael, but the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the angel are not assimilated with the name.

Similar problems are encountered with the pair of angels Harāhīl and Sharāhīl (§409 – 410), the angels responsible for the sun and the moon. In Judeo-Christian tradition the Angel of the Sun is often associated with Uriel,[178] but in 1 Enoch 8:3[179] there is reference to the two demons Shamshiel and Sarahiel.[180] In Enoch, however, Sarahiel is not an angel, as such, but the fallen angel or demon that taught humans the courses of the moon (i.e. astrology).[181] The Arabic Sharāhīl is clearly derived from Sarahiel, with the only change being *sīn* to *shīn* (a common and easily acceptable alteration).[182] Whilst this accounts for the angel of the moon, the angel of

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[176] For a survey of the role of Raphael see Barker, Margaret 'The Archangel Raphael in the Book of Tobit' in Mark Bredin (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Tobit* (London: T&T Clark, 2006) pp. 118 – 128.
[177] §275 – 276; Riyāfīl is the angel that accompanies Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, in much the same that Raphael is Tobit's guide; cf. Tob. 5:16, *NRSV* p. 6.
[178] Cf. *NumR* II:10, p. 39; 1 En. 75:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 54
[179] 1 En 8:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 16.
[180] The two demons are also linked to a Mandaic incantation bowl, see Bhayro, Siam 'Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6 – 11' *JSP* 15 (2006) pp. 163 – 177; pp. 172 – 173.
[181] See Kuhn, Harold B., 'The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses' *JBL* 67 (1948) pp. 217 – 232, p. 226. These two demons bear some resemblance to the story of Hārūt and Mārūt, [Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13] in which the angels are said to have taught humans magic; cf. Bauckham, Richard, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria' *VC* 39 (1985) pp. 313 - 330.
[182] For the relationship between *š*, *ś* and *s* in the Semitic language group, see Moscati, Sabatino *et. al.*, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Lanaguages* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964) §8; pp. 33 – 37.

the sun (Harāhīl) is not included in the pairing of demons found in 1 Enoch 8:3, which uses the name *Shamshiel*. The reason why the Enochic *Shamshiel* was not appropriated into Islam along with *Sarahi'ēl* is unclear, especially as the name means 'Sun of God' and could easily be converted into **shamsā'īl* or **shamsīl* in Arabic. It is deeply unsatisfactory for a pairing of angels to be adopted incompletely, but with no other sources extant that can attest to the origins of *Harāhīl*, the reasons behind it must remain unknown.

The Angel of Death is occasionally given the theophoric name *ᶜAzrā'īl* or *ᶜIzrā'īl* (both of these vocalisations are found).[183] This name came to prominence after the coming of Islam in both Islamic and Jewish literature and folklore,[184] and from its form appears to have been assimilated into Arabic from Judaism. Attempts have been made in the past to identify the *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* with a Jewish (or Christian) angel and the most likely candidate is that it is a corruption of *ᶜAṣri'el*, which was suggested by the eminent Islamic scholar, A. J. Wensinck.[185] The only change to the name is the consonant shift from *samekh* to *zayin*, one that was relatively common in the move from Biblical to Rabbinic Hebrew.[186] However, there are also attestations of the name *ᶜAzra'ēl* extant in five Aramaic incantation texts;[187] but, because of the nature of these incantation texts, there is no evidence to

[183] Cf. al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane *AELex*, p. 2035.
[184] See Wensinck, A. J. 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292-293; El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) vol. 2, p.2:36 and Nov, Doy, 'Angel of Death' *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 952 – 956, col. 955.
[185] Wensinck, A. J., 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{1} vol. 2, pp. 570 – 571 (however, this derivation is not found in *EI*^{2}); see also Bowman, John, 'A British Museum Arabic Eschatological Fragment' *MW* 38 (1948) pp. 198 – 217, pp. 206 – 207.
[186] Cf. Péréz Fernández, Miguel (tr. John Elwolde), *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) p. 13.
[187] Isbell, Charles D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula: Scholars Press. 1975) §12:14 & 41:7, pp. 44 & 98 and Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) §1:13; 2:16; 7:3, pp. 40 – 41, pp. 46 – 47 & 68 – 69. The name also appears in a much later amulet on parchment; see Casanowitz,

link the name to the angel's (Islamic) function as the angel of death, as the name simply appears in lists amongst many others. Generally, these Aramaic incantation texts found in Mesopotamia and the Levant are thought to date to around the seventh century CE,[188] however, there is some archaeological evidence to suggest an earlier date.[189] These incantation texts are important because they reflect an angelology that was a popular and integral part of folk-religion in the Near East on the eve of, and during, the expansion of Islam. Such a popular aspect of religious belief must have had some impact on the formation of Islamic folk-religion and early traditions about angels, and by extension the names of the angels themselves.

A survey of the theophoric names reveals some interesting perspectives on Islamic angelology. Firstly, the use of theophoric names is limited, with only a few instances in the entire collection. Some of these names are important Judeo-Christian angels, such as Gabriel and Michael; others are much more obscure, such as Sharahīl and Irtiyā'īl. This creates a confusing picture of the way in which angelic names were used by the Muslim community. The use of Gabriel and Michael in the Qur'ān clearly point to usage in the earliest nascent community, but is this the case for other theophoric names for angels? Some names such as Isrāfīl are very common and can be found easily in *tafsīrs* and other *ḥadīth* collections, others are much rarer. It would seem plausible to suggest that the more popular angels and angelic names probably entered Islamic tradition early on in the development of its angelology, whilst the rarer names were adopted at a later stage. The retention of the *–īl* ending would seem

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I. M., 'Two Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum' *JAOS* 37 (1917) pp. 43 – 56, p. 55.

[188] See Isbell, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, pp. 3 – 12 and Yamuchi, Edwin M., 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls' *JAOS* 85 (1965) pp. 511 – 523, p. 511.

[189] Concerning Naveh & Shaked §2 & 3, they comment: 'It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of the Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.' Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets*, p. 46.

to indicate closer connections with Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac angelic nomenclature, possibly made known through magic incantation texts, popular in mediaeval period or through other Jewish or Christian texts. The way in which the names were appropriated into Islamic tradition remains, at best, speculative; particularly in cases where no other attestations of the name exist. However, Jewish folk-religion, as reflected in magical incantation texts must present an important influence on the use of some of these theophoric names in Islam. However, it is necessary to contextualise the relatively limited use of theophoric names for angels in Islam against the large volume of names formed by the formula *the Angel of X*. This would seem to suggest that Islamic nomenclature favours that construction, which, in turn, makes angelic neologisms formed with *–īl* endings less likely.

2.1.2 Function Names

The way in which angels are named in Islam is predominately by their function: i.e. The Angel of *X*. This is important as it means the angel is nameless, which is in direct conflict with the main trend in Judeo-Christian angelology of giving angels an actual name.[190] In Jewish angelology the power and authority of God is seen in the theophoric element of the name. When the theophoric element becomes meaningless (as it does when it has been translated into Arabic), the angel achieves some degree of independence as a named being and the preference for descriptive function-formulae may reveal an attempt in Islamic thought to move the focus from the angel to God directly. In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are thirty-two angels (or pairs of

[190] Although the name usually reflects the function of the angel; e.g. Baraqiel = 'Lightning of God' and is the angel responsible for lightning.

angels) whose names are formed in this way, reflecting a wide range of angelic functions. There are four main groups to consider: (a) angels of abstract concepts; (b) cosmological angels; (c) angels of specific things and places; (d) other angels. The idea that there are angels responsible for different things is common to both Judaism and Zoroastrianism.[191]

Function is an important concept in Islamic angelology and it should be noted that in the *ḥadīth* it can be seen that no angel has multiple functions; situations in which multiple functions could occur are given two angels. For example, the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of souls and nothing else (§107 – 171); there are two Scribes that do two different jobs (§312 – 406). In some other cases there are multiple angels performing the same roles, but in each of these cases the group of angels only performs one task. The angels' functions are important, as Fehmi Jadaane comments: 'La plupart du temps les Anges sont définis par leur fonction et non par leur essence; ce sont précisément des êtres fonctionnels.'[192] The idea that angels can only perform one task is, generally speaking, a rule throughout the *ḥadīth* in the collection, the only exceptions being two of the four archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*), Gabriel and Michael.[193] The belief that angels can only carry out one function is also found in Rabbinic thought.[194]

There are a number of angels of abstract concepts included in the work: the angels of death, faith, life, livelihood, weeping, righteousness and unrighteousness, health, suffering, wealth, nobility, *murū'a*, loathing, ignorance, war (the Angel of the

[191] Joshua Trachtenberg comments: '…the personality of the angels was more clearly delineated through an effort to describe them, to name the more important ones, and to accord them peculiar spheres of influence, so that we have "princes" of fire, of hail, of rain, of night, of the sea, of healing and so on…' Trachtenberg, Joshua, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1982) pp. 71 – 72.
[192] Jadaane, 'La place des Anges' p. 43.
[193] See §27 – 35; the other two are Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death.
[194] Cf. *GenR* 50:1, p. 434.

Sword) and courage. The Angel of Death is the only angel in this group that plays a prominent role in Islamic angelology and the last ten angels only appear in one *ḥadīth* (§472). The personification of abstract ideas is common to many late antique religions including Zoroastrianism,[195] Christianity and Judaism,[196] and is particularly common in representations of these ideas in the art of the late-antique and early mediaeval period.[197] Angels representing abstractions also bear some similarity to some pre-Islamic pagan deities such as *Manāt* (Fate).[198] This group of angels is relatively straightforward to consider, although it is important to draw attention to the fact that these angels of abstraction include the specifically Arabian concept of *murū'a*. However, it should be noted that the rarity of this angel seems to suggest it was not commonly personified either in the Islamic period or before. At the very least, this reference to the Angel of *murū'a* attests to the relative ease with which abstract concepts could be turned into angels in Islamic thought.

Cosmological angels form the largest group of angels with this particular style of nomenclature. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* includes references to angels of rain, mountains, the leaves of trees, thunder, clouds, lightning, the sun, shadow, plants and the sea.[199] The angels have similar roles in Jewish tradition, particularly in Pseudepigraphical

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[195] The Zoroastrian *Amәša Spәntas* are personifications of abstract ideas; see Geiger, Bernhard, *Die Amәša Spәntas – Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Vienna: Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1916) and Clark, Peter, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction to an Ancient Faith* (Brighton : Sussex Academic Press, 1998) pp. 27 – 58.

[196] Wisdom is the most common example, which is personified in the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Proverbs); see Camp, Claudia V., *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Sheffield: Almond, 1985).

[197] Cf. Downey, Glanville, 'Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics' *TPAPA* 69 (1938) pp. 349 – 363.

[198] See Fahd, *Panthéon,* pp. 123 – 126. In early twentieth century scholarship, it was thought that many beliefs in angels and spirits were rooted in early animistic beliefs; cf. Langton, Edward, *Good and Evil Spirits: A Study of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine, Its Origin and Development* (London: SPCK, 1942) and Zwemer, Samuel S., 'Animism in Islam' *MW* 7 (1917) pp. 245 – 255.

[199] §172 – 177 (rain and clouds); §298 – 299 (mountains); §407 – 408 (leaves); §257 – 268 (thunder and lightning); §409 – 410; 430 – 434 (sun); §435 (shadow); §485 (plants) and §486 – 487 (sea / tide).

texts, such as *Jubilees* and *Enoch*.[200] However, as Harold Kuhn comments: 'These references indicate that the writers in question thought of angels as controlling intermediaries between God and the inanimate world; and further that they considered them to be rather indistinct personifications of powers, rather than as clear-cut personalities.'[201] These angels are not individuals, like gods or demigods, but are merely designated as the beings that control an aspect of meteorology or cosmology.[202] This depersonalisation is made clearer in Islam where the angels are stripped of a personal name, reversing the reification process of the Jewish theophoric names highlighted by Nickelsberg above. As a result, these meteorological angels reflect God's influence and power over the created world, which is a particularly strong and well-known theme of the Qur'ān.

Five angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* using this descriptive formula are connected with specific objects and places: the veil (§178), cemeteries (§413 – 414), the Yemeni Column (§458 – 460), the three *jimār* at Minā (§461) and the Prophet's Tomb (§448 – 449). These are all sites and objects with particular religious significance in Islam and it is only natural that angels were made responsible for maintaining them and noting whomever performed the rituals associated with them. For example, the Angel responsible for the Yemeni Column says to whoever passes it: 'Amen! Amen!'[203]

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[200] E.g. Angels of fire (Gabriel), hail (Baradiel), wind (Ruhi'el), lightning (Baraqiel), whirlwind (Zaᶜamiel), thunder (Raᶜami'el), Ziqi'el (comets), Ziᶜi'el (tremors), Zaᶜapi'el (hurricanes), Raᶜaši'el (earthquakes), snow (Šalgi'el), rain (Maṯari'el), day (Šimši'el); night (Laili'el), sun (Galgalli'el), moon ('Opanni'el), stars (Kokabi'el) and constellations (Rahaṯi'el) can be found in 3 En. 14:3 - 4, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 266 – 7.

[201] Kuhn, 'Angelology' p. 226.

[202] There are a number of meteorological gods in Semitic and pre-Islamic Arabian religion, but these divinities have individual power over the phenomenon, whereas the meteorological angels in Jewish and Muslim thought have none. Cf. Green, A. R. W., *The Storm God in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbaums, 2003) and Brown, David Allan, *The Deities Worshipped in Central and North-West Arabia at the Advent of Islam, their temples and rituals*. (PhD. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1968.) pp. 529 – 549.

[203] §458 – 460.

Likewise, the seventy thousand angels that visit the Prophet's tomb each day demonstrate its sanctity.[204] The Angel of the Veil is the angel responsible for the veil which surrounds God in the Seventh Heaven. Whilst there may be similar angels in Jewish and Christian traditions,[205] it is difficult to establish the extent to which these ideas influenced Islamic angelology.

There are also a number of angels that cannot be easily placed into any of the groups discussed thus far. Some of these refer to specific incidents in the history of angelic interaction with humans, such as *The Angel of the Prophet of the River* (§256) and *The Angel of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn* (§478 – 484). There are also a number of angels responsible for certain ritual actions, namely: The Angel of the Qur'ān (§462 – 465), which corrects in an individual's 'book' any misreading of the Qur'ān that he or she makes when reciting the Qur'ān; the Angel of the Blessing of the Prophet, who records any occasion when someone says: 'God have mercy upon him and grant him salvation'; the Angel who is responsible for whoever says: 'The Most Merciful of those that are merciful' (§466); the Angel of Private Prayer (§467 – 470); the Angel of Ritual Prayer (§474); the Angels of Funerary Rites (§475 – 477), and the Angel of the Prophet's Prayer (§449 - 457), who tells Muḥammad about who has blessed him. These angels seem to work in addition to the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān*) and they provide an extra encouragement and motivation for Muslims to perform certain ritual practices.[206]

Other angels have more obscure functions. The Angels of the Womb and the Embryo (§436 – 444) are the two angels involved in instilling God's predetermined

[204] §488 – 489.
[205] In Samaritanism, the heavenly temple is surrounded by an angel that is later associated with the Angel of the Lord; see Fossum, Jarl, 'The Angel of the Lord in Samaritanism' *JSS* 46 (2001) pp. 51 - 75.
[206] This will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.

course for the individual and in protecting the embryo throughout gestation. Another example is found in *ḥadīth* that describe the formation of the world. The world stands on a succession of different layers, at the bottom of which is a fish, which is itself supported by an angel. In other conceptions a rock is at the very bottom, but in this case the rock has an angel associated with it.[207] There is another angel that '…creates pieces of jewellery for the people in the Garden from the Day of the Creation until the Resurrection Hour.'[208] Another *ḥadīth* also states that crying is the result of an angel rubbing an individual's liver with its wing.[209] These angels are difficult to classify: they are often very rare and the *ḥadīth* themselves tend to be very short, and accordingly hard to place in a wider context.

What these function formulae show is that Islam often associated events, physical things, meteorological phenomena, abstract ideas and ritual behaviour with angels. The construction of the name allows this to be done relatively easily and, whilst there are sometimes parallels with Jewish and Christian angelology, the link is weak and unlikely to be the result of significant influence. For example, the Jewish angel *Sandalfon* is said to make crowns of flowers from the prayers of the faithful,[210] which bears some resemblance to the Islamic angel who creates jewellery for those in paradise; but there is unlikely to be any 'genetic' link between the two angels and, at the very most, one can only note the similarity between the two ideas.

The use of angels, particularly in the case of these functional angels, creates a bridge between this world and God's world, between the heavenly and the earthly. The nomenclature gives religious authority to certain ritual actions, particular places,

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[207] §415 – 422.
[208] §448
[209] §471
[210] See Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' *EJ* vol. 14, coll. 827 – 828.

and, in the case of the Angel of the Womb, also restates theological ideas, such as predestination. In these *ḥadīth*, the angelic world penetrates almost all forms of human experience and the use of the function name formula goes further and associates individual angels with a large number of specific actions, places and phenomena.

2.1.3 Function Names without *Malak*

There are a few angels named in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* which have names linked to their function, which are not expressed by the angelic formula. These angels include: the *Bearers of the Throne*, *The Spirit*, *The Cockerel*, *The Sakīna*, *The Tempters of the Grave*, *The Scribes*, *The Scroll, The Cherubim* and *The Guardians of the Wind*. These angels are all closely associated with the Qur'ānic text itself, and were developed in Islamic traditions and exegesis.[211]

The Bearers of the Throne (§179 – 206) are mentioned in Q 40:7 & 69:17[212] in a relatively general way, and the material presented in the exegetical literature is much more developed.[213] Q 69:17 states that there are eight bearers of the Throne, but some *ḥadīth* state there are only four (e.g. §189, 190, 192, 193, 197), whilst some take a middle position, arguing that there are four bearers of the Throne, who are replaced by another four on the Day of Resurrection (§188, 191). On the whole, there

[211] Exegesis played a similar important role in Judaism, as Olyan argues: 'The interpretation of texts of the Hebrew Bible by ancient and medieval exegetes is certainly responsible for the vast majority of angelic brigade designations, and many angelic personal names.' Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, p. 118.

[212] See Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 481 & 604; the Qur'an also refers to angels surrounding the Throne of God in Q 39:75; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.

[213] For a discussion of the imagery of the Throne and the Throne Bearers see O'Shaughnessy, T., 'God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an' *Numen* 20 (1973) 202 – 221, particularly 206 – 207; for a discussion of various traditions about the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* and Jewish material, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 467 – 476.

is no attempt to name the Bearers of the Throne with personal names, although the angel Isrāfīl is occasionally believed to be one of the Bearers (§ 194 & 195). This trend highlights the importance of the angels' function, as the majority of the angels in this group remain unnamed.

The Spirit is an angel that has aroused much debate in both Qur'ānic and Islamic studies,[214] as the Qur'an varies in the ways in which it both uses and conceives the Spirit. In the exegetical material the Spirit is most often associated with Gabriel, but it is also often conceived as being an angelic being in its own right.[215] This confused picture can be seen in the chapter on the Spirit in Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§210 – 228). Some of the *ḥadīth* state that the Spirit is a single angelic being[216] and others that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel.[217] The interpretation of *al-Rūḥ* as a group of angels rather than a single angel appears to be a development in later exegesis[218] and the fact that the term *arwāḥ* (spirits, plural of *rūḥ*)[219] is also found in Islamic tradition makes this usage of *al-Rūḥ* quite unusual. To a certain extent it is difficult to determine the original place and role of the *Spirit* in the Qur'ān and early tradition, so understanding its origins is problematic; but Jewish and

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[214] See O'Shaugnessy, T., *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953); MacDonald, D. B., 'The development of the idea of Spirit in Islam' *AO* 9 (1931) 307 – 351; Calverley, E. E., 'Doctrines of the soul (*Nafs* and *Rūḥ*) in Islam' *MW* 33 (1943) pp. 254 – 265 and Sells, Michael A., 'Sound, Spirit and Gender in Sūrat al-Qadr' *JAOS* 111 (1991) pp. 239 – 259.

[215] Al-Ṭabarī refers to three main interpretations of *al-rūḥ al-qudus*: (i) Gabriel; (ii) the *Injīl* (Gospel) or (iii) God. Al-Ṭabarī argues that it refers to Gabriel; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 403 – 406 [Q 2:87]. The idea that the *Spirit (of God)* is an angel began to become popular in Hellenic Judaism, see Levinson, John R., *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[216] E.g. §216: 'The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven, and he is greater than the heavens and the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every saying of 'I praise you'. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.'

[217] E.g. §225: '…concerning His Word: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.' [Q 78:38] He said: Both of them are ranks of the Lord of the two worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the Spirit and a rank of angels.'

[218] See O'Shaughnessy, *Meaning of Spirit*, pp. 16 – 24.

[219] *Arwāḥ* is normally used to refer to a human's spirit, but it is used of a species of angelic being in some traditions; see Wensinck, A. J., *CTM* vol. 2, pp. 317 – 318.

Christian influences are plainly evident. Strong Christian, and particularly, Jewish influences can also be seen in the *karrabiyūn* (Cherubim) and the *Sakīna* (§295 – 297). The *Sakīna* fulfils much the same role as the *Shekina* in post-Biblical Jewish thought.[220]

The Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) appears only in Islamic tradition and there are fifteen *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§280 – 294) devoted to the cockerel.[221] The nomenclature in this case is simple; the *dīk* is an enormous angel in the form of a cockerel, which gives the times of prayer to the angels and the human world (via earthly cockerels), a motif also found in 3 Baruch.[222] Likewise the angel *al-Sijill* (§243 – 247, 'the scroll'), is an angel that is in the form of a scroll. The Tempters of the Grave (*fattān al-qabr*), the Scribes (*al-ḥāfiẓān*), and The Guardian of the Wind (*khaznat al-rīḥ*) are angels that have obvious functions and their names reflect this.

Angels with names not formed by with the suffix *–īl*, or by the angelic formula *the angel of X* are, on the whole, some of the more important angels in Islamic tradition. In most cases the angelic names are derived from the Qur'ān itself and its exegesis. Saul M. Olyan has highlighted the important role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelic nomenclature,[223] and this trend is replicated in the Islamic exegetic tradition. Although some of these angels may have equivalents in

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[220] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, Ignaz, 'La notion de la Sakina chez les Mohamétans' *GS* vol. 2, pp. 296 – 308. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with the Ark of the Covenant. See Patai, Raphael, 'The Shekina' *JR* 44 (1964) pp. 275 – 288 and Rubin, Uri, 'Traditions in transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography' *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp. 196 – 214.

[221] See Tottoli, Robert, 'At Cock-Crow: Some Muslim Traditions About the Rooster' *Der Islam* 76 (1999) pp. 139 – 147; and for the cosmic cockerel see, pp. 142 - 143. This article is a survey of another ḥadīth collection of Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*.

[222] Cf. 'This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do, thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing.' *3Bar*. 6:16; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 671.

[223] Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Serve Him*.

the Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g. the *Spirit* and the *Sakīna*), their development as angels in Islam is most likely to be entirely internal, with a less prominent influence from Judaism and Christianity.

2.1.4 Other Miscellaneous Angelic Names

The majority of the angelic names that have been encountered thus far have been named by their function, with only eleven having personal, theophoric names. There are other names that are not formed in a logical manner, which have either been borrowed from other cultures, or originate within Islam itself. The angels with no formal nomenclature include: Riḍwān, Mālik, Hārūt, Mārūt, Ṣadluqan, Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, Dhū 'l-Nurayn, Dūma, Mīṭaṭrūsh, Qā'id, Munkar, Nakīr (with the variants Ankar and Nākūr) and Rūmān. Some of these are important in Islamic angelology, especially Riḍwān, Mālik, and the two pairs of angels Hārūt & Mārūt and Munkar & Nakīr; whilst others only appear in a limited number of *ḥadīth*, namely: Ṣadluqan (§274), Qā'id (§323), Dhū 'l-Qarnayn as an angel (§277 & 278) and Dhū 'l-Nurayn (§279). This section will briefly look at their etymological history and attempt to understand the way in which the names entered Islamic tradition.

The most interesting etymological history is that of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (§248 – 255). Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels that wished to experience human life, after complaining that humans were sinning and boasting that they did not; the two angels are then tricked by al-Zuhara (Venus) into drinking and they subsequently commit murder and fornication. The story is alluded to in the

Qur'ān,[224] but the story is greatly expanded by the exegetes and in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature.[225] The two names are quite different to other angelic names found in both the Qur'ān[226] and other traditional material and various attempts have been made to suggest an origin. A. J. Wensinck suggested a possible Syriac origin, but it is now generally thought that the names originate from the Zoroastrian *Aməsha Spəntas* Haurvatāt and Amretetāt, through an intermediary language, possibly Middle Persian, Sogdian or Armenian.[227] Direct influence from the Persian tradition can be seen in two *ḥadīth* (§251 & 253), in which there are direct references to *Anāhīd*, a Zoroastrian *yazata* that was associated with both fertility, love and the planet Venus.[228] Another *ḥadīth* contains the following exchange: '[Al-Zuhara] said: "Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without being the same." The two said: "What is your faith?" She said: "Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*)."'[229] All of this suggests a strong Zoroastrian influence on the names of the two angels; however the actual story of Hārūt and Mārūt has other characteristics in common

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[224] 'And they follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels, Harut and Marut, they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve.' Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13.

[225] E.g. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; William M. Brinner (tr.), *ᶜArā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' or "Lives of the Prophets"* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 86 – 91; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 454 - 459; see also Margoliouth, 'Harut and Marut' *MW* 18 (1918) pp. 73 - 79.

[226] There are a few personal names that follow this pattern found in the Qur'ān: *viz. Jālūt* (Saul), *Yājūj* (Gog), *Mājūj* (Magog), *Ṭālūt* (Saul), *Dā'ūd* / *Dāwūd* (David). Some of the names have origins in Hebrew or Aramaic (*Jālūt*, *Dā'ūd*), but the derivation of the others remains unclear. For a longer discussion of these names, see Carter, Michael, 'Foreign Vocabulary' in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) pp. 120 – 139, pp. 134 – 137.

[227] See Wensinck, A. J., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EI*[1] vol. 2, pp. 272 – 273; Vajda, G., 'Hārūt wa-Mārūt' *EI*[2] vol. 3, pp. 236 – 237 and Brinner, Willam M., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 404 – 405. For a fuller analysis of the etymology of the names see de Menasce, P-J., 'Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmanne: á propos de Hārūt et Mārūt' *EA* 1 (1947) pp. 10 – 18; Uhl, Patrice, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le Sorcellerie de Babel – à Propos des Vers Arabes de la Chanson V (MS. *C*) –' *Arabica* 38 (1991) pp. 19 - 39, pp. 19 – 20; Henning, W. B., *Sogdica* (London: s.n., 1940) pp. 16 & 19 and Jeffrey, Arthur, *Foreign* Vocabulary, pp. 282 – 283 and Shabazi, Shapur A., 'Hārut and Mārut' *EIr.* vol. 12, pp. 20 - 22. Al-Jawālīqī states that the names are foreign, *al-Muᶜarrab*, pp. 317 & 349.

[228] For more on Anāhīd, see Choksy, Jamsheed K, 'Ancient Religions' *IrS* 31 (1998) pp. 661 – 679, p. 663 and Boyce, M., Chaumont M. L. & Bier, C., 'Anāhīd' *EIr.* vol. 1, pp. 1003 – 1011.

[229] §255.

with Jewish and Christian stories about the fall of the angels, particularly the two angels Shamhazai and Azael.[230]

The *fattān al-qabr* (Tempters of the Grave) play an important part in Islamic beliefs about life after death. Most commonly, there are two tempters of the grave, traditionally given the names Munkar and Nakīr. There are two variants included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Ankar (§309) and Nākūr (§309, 310); although these variants appear to be very rare. A third angel, Rūmān, is occasionally associated with the two angels (§309 & 310) and one ḥadīth states that Nakīr and Nākūr are two different angels (§310). The names do not appear until relatively late in Islamic tradition, and in the early creeds, there are no angels associated with the punishment in the grave, as Wensinck argues: '… there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding the subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the angel", the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.'[231] The origin of the names is not at all clear, although some have suggested that both the names are related to the base root *NKR*, but Wensinck felt this was unlikely.[232] Two other angels, Riḍwān and Mālik, the guardians of Heaven and Hell (§229 – 247), have similar etymological histories and roles in Islamic angelology. The name Riḍwān may simply be a personified abstraction of *riḍwān*[233] and Mālik, a reference to his dominion over Hell.

The remaining five angels included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* are only referred to once and have a wide range of influences. Dhū 'l-Qarnayn is

[230] See Jung, 'Fallen Angels' *JQR* 16 (1926) pp. 287 – 295. Georges Dumézil argues that the Hārūt and Mārūt story has a close parallel with a story found in the Mahabharata, but this seems less likely; see Dumézil, G., *Naissance d'Archanges (Jupiter Mars Quirinus III)* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945) pp. 158 – 170.
[231] Wensinck, A. J., 'Munkar wa-Nakīr' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 577; for more on the angels, see also Gardet, *Destinée de l'Homme*, pp. 247 - 253.
[232] Wensinck, 'Munkar wa-Nakīr', p. 577.
[233] See Raven, W., 'Riḍwān' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, p. 519. The name is usually associated with Q 3:15.

generally associated with Alexander the Great and much has been written about this tradition.[234] However, there is very little evidence in Islamic tradition to suggest the belief that Dhū 'l-Qarnayn was an angel (as given in §277)[235] was in any way a mainstream belief, as Minoo Southgate concludes: 'In spite of his higher roles as a sage, a protector of mankind, a fighter for religion, and a prophet, the Alexander of Persian romances remains essentially human.'[236]

Dhū 'l-Nūrayn is normally used in reference to the caliph ᶜUthmān, who had two beautiful wives who were the Prophet's daughters,[237] but the reference in §279 to Dhū 'l-Nurayn being an angel is clearly not a reference to ᶜUthmān. *Al-Nūrayn* is sometimes used, particularly by Shiᶜīs, to refer to Muḥammad and ᶜAlī,[238] but, again, this does not appear to be intended, particularly in the phrase *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn*. *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* is sometimes used in relation to the *nūr ᶜalā nūr* of the Light Verse (Q. 24:35), although there is almost nothing to suggest that *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* was commonly believed to be the name of an angel.[239]

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[234] See Southgate, Minoo S., 'Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era' *JAOS* 97 (1977) 278 – 284 and Stoneman, Richard, 'Alexander the Great in the Arabic Tradition' in Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmermann and Wyste Keulen, *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 3 – 22.

[235] 'Dhu 'l-Qarnayn was one of the angels, whom God sent down to earth…'; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[236] Southgate, 'Portrait of Alexander' p. 284.

[237] Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) p. 33.

[238] Tritton, A. S., 'Popular Shi'ism' *BSOAS* 13 (1951) pp. 829 – 839, p. 829.

[239] The only possible example is found in Ibn al-ᶜArabī's *Kitāb ᶜanqa' mughrib*, and Gerald Elmore suggests that the reference is to Ibn al-ᶜArabī himself (Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ᶜArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) p. 590 n.10). The particular reference in question reads: 'On his precious Right was the "Faithful One" (*al-Ṣiddīq* [*sci.* Abū Bakr]); on his most-holy Left was the "Discriminator" (*al-Fārūq* [*sci.* ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]); and before him knelt the Seal [*sci.* Jesus], recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthā*) as ᶜAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] (May God bless him and keep him!) was translating the seal's [words] into his own language, while "He of the Two Lights" (*dhū l-nūrayn*), wrapped in the mantle of his modesty (*riḍā' ḥayā'ihi*), for his part [also] faced the Prophet Muḥammad.' Elmore (tr.), *Islamic Sainthood*, p. 590.

Dūma is the 'Angel who is responsible for souls of the unbelievers…'[240] The same angel appears in the Babylonian Talmud with the same function,[241] confirming the authority of the *ḥadīth* being 'a Man of the Book.' The Angel of the Veil is also given the name *Mīṭaṭrūsh*, which is a close transliteration of the Hebrew *Mīṭaṭron* (Metatron).[242]

A Jewish origin seems possible for another angel, *Ṣadluqan* (§274), although the etymology is rather more complex. Making the analysis more complicated is the fact that the *ḥadīth* about the angel *Ṣadluqan* is relatively short: 'God has an angel and it is said that He has *Ṣadluqan*; the seas of the world are one ninth the size of his big toe.' This angel appears to be very rare in Arabic tradition and the fact that the Leiden MS (fol. 203r, ll. 4 – 5) vocalises the name would seem to imply that Muslim readers were unfamiliar with the name. The name could be derived from the Jewish angel *Ṣandalp̲ōn*,[243] the 'partner' of the important Jewish angel *Mīṭaṭron*. Both *Ṣandalp̲ōn* and *Ṣadluqan* are said to be gigantic and *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is said to have his feet on the earth and his head under the Throne of God.[244] *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is also associated more directly with feet, which is appropriate within the context of this *ḥadīth*: 'Sandalfon was also thought of as the "shoe" of the *Shekhina*, that is to say the angel on which the feet of the *Shekinah* rested.'[245] However, the etymological history of the name is not clear, and there are no other attestations of the name in any other Semitic language through which its development can be traced. The loss of the

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[240] §301
[241] cf. 'But these and those [the wicked and the intermediate] are delivered to Dumah.' *Shab.* 152b, p. 779. Cf. *Ḥag* 5a and *San.* 94a.
[242] For more on the name see, Scholem, G., 'Metatron' *EJ* vol. 11, coll. 1443 – 1446 and Black, Matthew, 'The Origin of the Name Metatron' *VT* 1 (1951) pp. 217 – 219.
[243] See Scholem, 'Sandalfon'; Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels,* p. 257 and Schäfer, Peter, *Der verborgene und offenbare Gott* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991) pp. 99 – 101.
[244] cf. Ḥag 13b, p. 78
[245] Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' col. 828.

nūn can be explained by the assimilation of the *nūn* to the following *dāl*; probably through another Northern Semitic language, possibly Syriac as both Aramaic and South Semitic favour nasalization.[246] The change from *pē* to *qāf* is less clear. Some similar Aramaic words show a change from *pē* to *kaf*: e.g. *ṣandalpōnīn* (gems) has the variant form *ṣandalkōnīm*,[247] but such a form is unattested for *ṣandalp̲ōn*, and a number of factors still remain unexplained. Islamic exegetes did also associate the *malā'ika muqarrabūn* with the *karrūbiyyūn* (i.e. q-r-b and k-r-b), but this appears to be an isolated example.[248] However, whether or not *Ṣadluqan* is actually *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is not that important. The fact that *Ṣandalp̲ōn*, an important angel in later Judaism, was not appropriated into Islam (save this one, rare example), shows that the influence of Jewish angelology on Muslim beliefs about angels was limited.

The survey of angelic names provides an interesting background to Islamic beliefs about angels. The picture is more complicated than may, at first sight, be expected. When angels are given personal names, there is a strong Judeo-Christian influence present. However, Jewish, Christian and, in the case of Hārūt and Mārūt, Zoroastrian influences are relatively limited. In Islam there is a strong preference to use the formula 'Angel of *X*', which is a uniquely Islamic form of nomenclature. In the past there has been a tendency for scholars to stress the Judeo-Christian influences on Islamic angelology, presumably because of the importance of angels such as Gabriel and Michael. Whilst these angels are important, and are clearly taken from Judaism

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[246] Cf. Southern, Mark and Vaughn, Andrew G., 'Where have all the nasals gone? *n*C > CC in North Semitic' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 264 – 282.
[247] Jastrow, Marcus, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Balbi and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) vol. 2, p. 1005.
[248] See Wansbrough, John, *Quranic Studies: Studies and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Repr. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004) p. 30 - 31.

and/or Christianity, it is important to contextualise these influences with the relatively limited amount of named angels in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition is often restricted to the etymology of the name and frequently the conception of the angels and their roles are markedly different after their assimilation into (popular) Islamic belief.

2.2 The Iconography of the Angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

Just as the way in which angelic nomenclature can reveal something about how angels are conceived in Islam, iconography too can act as a similar tool for looking at the development of, and influences on Islamic angelology. Angels are very rarely the focus of a particular work and this is where the originality and usefulness of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* lies, as it provides a relatively large number of descriptions of different angels in one place.

A number of studies in Jewish and Biblical studies have attempted to understand the meaning of angelic elements in different texts through the use of particular motifs that indicate (or, at the very least, *could* indicate) angelic status.[249] Sometimes it is only through specific descriptions and allusions that a particular character in a narrative can be understood to be angelic,[250] or to have angelic

[249] E.g. Piñero, A., 'Angels and Demons in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*' *JSJ* 14 (1993) pp. 191 – 214; Brooke, G. J., 'Men and Women as Angels in *Joseph and Aseneth*' *JSP* 14 (2005) pp. 159 – 177 and Ruffatto, Kristine J., 'Raguel as Interpreter of Moses' Throne Vision: The Transcendent Identity of Raguel in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian' *JSP* 17 (2008) pp. 121 – 139.

[250] Ithamar Gruenwald highlights six key elements found in Throne Visions, two of which are the presence of angels around God's throne and the singing of hymns by angels; see Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31. Gruenwald, also, gives the *Apocalypse of Isaiah* 6:10 – 12 as an example of the importance of angels in attesting to the veracity of a vision: 'Isaiah goes into some detail when he describes the glory of that angel....Obviously, this remark is directed to distinguish between this vision

qualities.[251] As such, a vocabulary or iconography of angels evolved in which certain features are designated as being related to angels. It is these features and their use in Islamic angelology that will be discussed in this section.

Angels are normally included in texts for specific purposes. For example, in apocalyptic texts angels are used most often to confirm the veracity of a prophetic vision.[252] The visions of the throne (*merkebah visions*) in the Bible (*viz*. Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1 and 10; Daniel 7) typify this use of angels: the angels are present, but there is a clear focus on God. The angels are there to express divine power and authority, as well as the need for God to be worshipped. As George Nickelsburg comments, '[The transcendence of God] is understood in the descriptions of the heavenly throne room, in the accounts of Enoch's call and ascent, and in the references to the eschatological theophany.'[253] Angels become very useful signifiers of the fact that the seer is witnessing a vision of the divine world. Although both angelologies and iconographies can differ from one text to another,[254] a number of supernatural, non-human characteristics were used in Jewish and Christian texts to distinguish angels from humans. It is this angelic iconography, developed further in the inter-testamental period, which alerts both the visionary and the reader that they are

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- which entailed a heavenly ascent - and the one in *Isaiah* vi, which the writer apparently believed to entail no such experience.' Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 58.

[251] In some texts, humans are given angelic attributes or are described as being like angels to illustrate their righteousness, in these cases the individuals are not angels, but iconographic details associated with angels are used to describe them. This is seen particularly strongly in the Qumran community; cf. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 316 – 319.

[252] Whilst discussing the opening of the Throne-Vision in the *Testament of Levi*, Paulo Augusto de Souza Nougeira comments that the vision of heaven '…shows too that the seer has special access to hidden secrets and the knowledge of these secrets is crucial, and should have immediate consequences for the everyday lives of his readers.' See de Souza Nougeira, Paulo Augusto, 'Celestial Worship and the Ecstatic-Visionary Experience' *JSNT* 25 (2002) pp. 165 – 184, p. 166.

[253] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40.

[254] Cf. Kuhn, 'Angelology', pp. 217 – 232; Kasher, Rimmon, 'Angelology and the Supernatural Worlds in the Aramaic Targums to the Prophets' *JSJ* 27 (1996) pp. 168 - 191 and Shinan, A., 'The Angelology of the Palestinian Targums on the Pentateuch' *Sefarad* 43 (1983) pp. 181 – 198.

encountering the divine.[255] Angels are not simply used to confirm the reality of a vision, but they are also used to confirm the righteousness of the visionary. For example, in the *Testament of Levi*, the visionary is robed in priestly garments by angels, which '…is meant to reinforce the divine favour of the priesthood for his descendents, to legitimate Levi in his priestly duties.'[256] Angels are not important in and of themselves, but they are used in Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts to convey certain ideas or beliefs.

Islamic texts behave in similar ways. The *mi^{c}rāj* literature draws on similar imagery and the Prophet's tours of heaven have their origin in Pseudepigraphical texts, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[257] Angels are used in these tours of Heaven and Hell (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) to portray the power and might of God and the consequences of human action, in the hope that the reader would return to righteousness or even convert, as Vuckovic argues: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Quran and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muhammad's community.'[258]

It should be noted, however, that symbols and emblems typically used to describe angels in Islamic literary works are not necessarily found in other forms of religious expression, such as art. For example, both Byzantine and Islamic art have

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[255] Cf. Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31.
[256] Segal, Alan F., 'Heavenly Ascent in Hellenic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment' in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase and Joseph Vogt (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergand der römischen Welt* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) pp. 1333 – 1394, p. 1361; see also and Charlesworth, James H., 'The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel' in George W. E. Nickelsburg & John J. Collins (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) pp. 135 – 151.
[257] See Cook, David, 'Moral Apocalyptic in Islam' *SI* 86 (1997) 37 – 69, pp. 37 – 38.
[258] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 97; cf. Alan Segal on *1En*: 'Though the workings of the physical universe are described, the most important message of Enoch is that the unrighteous will be punished and that the suffering of the righteous has meaning.' Segal, 'Heavenly Ascent' p. 1360. See also Porter, J. R., 'Muhammad's Journey to Heaven' *Numen* 21 (1974) pp. 64 – 80, p. 75 and Martha Himmelfarb's two key studies, *Tours of Hell* and *Ascent to Heaven*.

specific motifs to describe angels that are not found in their respective textual traditions. For this reason, the symbols that make up the 'angelic language' are not necessarily universal throughout different media. In Islamic art angels are often seen to wear crowns or coronets,[259] an image that is not found in any of the *ḥadīth* in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*.[260] When Islamic Art developed in the East, much of the imagery and iconography of angels was influenced by East-Asian symbolism.[261] This is important to acknowledge, because it stresses the flexibility of the depiction of angels. Although set motifs did emerge, the supernatural origin of the angels allows for freedom to refer to different (symbolic) attributes.[262] Whilst these differences are observed most profoundly across the different media of one particular religion, the same can also be seen within a textual tradition; even in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are a number of examples where different *ḥadīth* provide contradictory information about a particular angel. To give a basic example, Munkar and Nakīr are

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[259] Cf. al-Bel'ami MS [Freer Gallery of Art 57.16] foll. 182a & 184a; see Soucek, Priscilla P., 'The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions' in Soucek, Priscilla P. (ed.), *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (London : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988) pp. 193 – 217, and the Saray-Album (Topkapı Museum) MS Hazine 1221, fol. 223b; Hazine 2152, fol. 60b; Hazine 2154, foll. 61b, 121a; see Ipşiroğlu, M. Ş, *Das Bild im Islam* (Vienna: Schroll, 1971) pl. 23, 38, 39 and 104; and BNPer. 174, foll. 69r, 113r, 121v; Barrucand, Marianne, 'The Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* (Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia' *IA* 4 (1990 – 1991) pp. 113 – 142. For brief analysis of angels in Islamic art, see Milstein, R., 'Angels in Islamic Art and Architecture' *EI*^{3}.

[260] Some of the ḥadīth, albeit very few, do refer to angels wearing turbans (§626 – 628 & (yellow turbans) 630), and these are also found in Islamic Art (cf. FGA 57.16 fol. 138a, 170b; see Soucek, 'Life of the Prophet'). However, whether the angels' wearing of turbans is related to Islamic tradition or other external infuences is difficult to ascertain.

[261] Cf. Esin, Emel, 'An Angel Figure in the Miscellany Album H. 2152 of Topkapı' in Oktay Aslanapa (ed.) *Beitrag̈e zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens: in Memoriam Ernst Diez* (Istanbul: Istanbul Uṅiversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesiu, 1963) pp. 264 – 282. Esin also includes other information on other motifs used for angels in Islamic and their influence from East-Asian culture.

[262] For example, in the miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, a number of the angels are depicted carrying different objects, representing the objects or seasons over which the angels have influence; see Barrucand, 'Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq*'. Also, in one version of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* (Tokapı, Hazine 2154, fol. 61b), a miniature depicting Muḥammad's encounter with the Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) includes an angelic choir, a motif that is not found in any available text of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* remaining extant; see Ettingahusen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267, pp. 246 – 248.

said to be blue in §302, but black in §305.[263] The colour motifs are used to convey the terrifying form that the two angels take, the actual colour (be it blue or black) is not important.

In Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are actually very few *ḥadīth* in the collection that give full descriptions of what angels look like, with most of the information only given in passing. This creates a slight methodological problem in that different *ḥadīth* may have different conceptions of a particular angel (or even angels in general), so care must be taken when attempting to reconstruct the image and form of particular angels. However, this section attempts to focus on some general trends in the depiction of angels, ignoring the fact that other individual *ḥadīth* could be cited to the contrary.

2.2.1 The Physical Form of Angels

In Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, angels are often represented in anthropomorphic forms. In the Old Testament, God's angels are usually seen in the role of a messenger and there is actually no philological or textual distinction between divine and human messengers.[264] It is only in the prophetic literature that angels begin to adopt more supernatural features: wings, animal characteristics *etc*., culminating in the literature of the inter-testamental period and beyond, in which

[263] Blue and black are often 'negative' colours in folklore; cf. Ugochukwu, Françoise 'The Devil's Colors: A Comparative Study of French and Nigerian Folktales' *OTr* 21 (2006) pp. 250 – 268, p. 260.
[264] 'Divine messengers are usually depicted as indistinguishable from human beings…' Meier, S. A., 'Angel I' p. 48.

angels began to be described in both human and heavenly forms.[265] The following extract from the early Pseudepigraphical text *Joseph and Aseneth* combines anthropomorphic and supernatural elements:

> 'And Aseneth raised her head and saw, and behold, (there was) a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that this face was like lightning, and his eyes like sunshine, and the hairs of his head like a flame of burning torch, and hands and feet like iron shining forth from a fire, and sparks shot from his hands and feet.'[266]

In this example, the angel is described with divine imagery, such as having a face 'like lightning' and 'eyes like sunshine', alongside the comment that the angel was a 'man in every respect similar to Joseph'. The anthropomorphic form of the angel is the most common form in both Jewish and Christian religious writings,[267] and it is an obvious form for the angel to take, as for both Christians and Jews, God created humans in his own image.[268] In early Jewish and Christian art angels were depicted without wings until the fifth century, as Glenn Peers comments: 'In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded, and, in this way, artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels'.[269] Even in the later development

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[265] See also VanderKam, James C., 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 7 (2000) pp. 378 – 393 and Quispel, Gilles 'Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis' *VC* 34 (1980) pp. 1 – 13.

[266] JosAsen 15:9, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 225.

[267] See Meier, 'Angel I' pp. 45 – 50 and van Henten, J. W., 'Angel II' *DDD* vol. 1, pp. 50 – 53. The two forms (celestial and anthropomorphic) are also found in Gnositc and Hermetic texts, see Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G., 'Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Meṭaṭron and Christ' *HTR* 76 (1983) pp. 269 – 288.

[268] See Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, p. 83.

[269] Peers, Glen, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p. 23. See, also, Bussagli, M., 'Angelo' *EdAM* vol. 1, pp. 629 – 638 and Pallas, D. I.,

of Jewish angelology, the angels continued to retain two different forms: human and supernatural.[270]

Angels in Islam are no different and in the Qur'ān angels are described in both explicitly human and supernatural forms.[271] Throughout al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are numerous references to angels being in human form, or, at the very least, having a number of human characteristics. These anthropomorphic images are balanced with images rooted in the supernatural and the heavenly: wings, zoomorphic forms, wearing or bearing heavenly articles, being of a great size, and so on. These make the anthropomorphisms less human; the angel still remains 'like a human', but the imagery plants the angel firmly in the divine world.

In the collection there are a number of general references to angels being in human form.[272] The anthropomorphic form is normally associated with great beauty (cf. Q 12:31) and this is echoed in *al-Ḥabā'ik*[273] with one *ḥadīth* even likening the angel Gabriel to Diḥyā al-Kalbī.[274] The angels are given a number of different body parts, particularly important ones, such as the head, feet, legs, hands, and face.[275] There are a number of references to facial features, including the mouth, nose, forehead, teeth, hair, ears and eyes.[276] Added to this are some references, but more

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'Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel' *RZBK*, vol. 3, coll. 13 – 119, coll. 43 – 56. For depictions of angels with wings in Jewish art, see Landsberger, Franz, 'The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art' *HUCA* 20 (1947) pp. 227 – 254.

[270] Cf. Stoumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 274*f.*

[271] Cf. Q 19:16 – 19 & 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 303 & 444.

[272] §46, 54, 56, 120 - 124, 151, 160, 167, 175, 218, 220 & 223.

[273] §46, 120 & 122 (Gabriel and the Angel of Death).

[274] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of 'such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.' Lammens, H. [-Pellat, Ch.], 'Diḥya' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, p. 274.

[275] *head*: §50, 54, 55, 92, 96, 104, ,122, 184, 190, 195, 197, 219, 222, 243, 234, 494, 498, 499 & 684; *feet*: §29, 44a, 44b, 50, 52, 54, 96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 202, 205, 219, 222, 223, 274, 415, 485 & 486; *legs*: §180, 544 & 625; *hands*: §29, 166, 219, 222, 229, 234, 257, 269, 306, 487, 653 & 684; and *face*: §122, 189, 212 & 214.

[276] *mouth*: §211, 233, 303, 305, 306, 493, 498 & 500; *nose*: §180; *forehead*: §54, 94, 104 & 105; *teeth*: §50; *hair*: §54, 120, 122, 233, 305 & 306; *ears*: §99, 122, 181, 270, 490 & 545 and *eyes*: §87, 95, 120, 123, 146, 183, 197, 199, 233, 303, 305, 306 & 499.

limited, to other areas of the body; including: the neck, shoulders, collarbone and heart.[277] There are 129 *ḥadīth* with direct references to angels being in human form or having human body parts, which is roughly 17% of the collection. This is a relatively high percentage, and it shows the important place that anthropomorphic imagery had in Islamic traditions. It contrasts strongly with the relatively few references to angels having wings, with only 30 *ḥadīth* (around 4%) explicitly referring to them.[278]

The notion that angels have wings is a common one, but there are few references to angels having wings in either the Qur'ān or the *ḥadīth*.[279] In this collection, some of the *ḥadīth* do not give much more information other than the fact that the angels have wings,[280] with one simply stating that the angel's wings are feathered.[281] Other references to the angels' wings are used by the *ḥadīth* to express the great size of the angels by stating they stretch from the East to the West, for example: '…[Isrāfīl] has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West…'[282] As will be seen below, the wings are given further detailing, including: being strung with precious stones (§45 & 49), being green (§54), being like peacock's feathers (§49), and two references to a wing serving to cover the angel's modesty (§93 & 744). However, with only six

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[277] *Neck*: §53, 94, 96, 99, 195 & 233; *shoulders*: §48, 51, 181, 231, 494 & 499; *collarbone*: §490 & 499 and *heart*: 549.
[278] §20, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 92 – 95, 99, 104, 149, 189, 213, 214, 284 – 287, 294, 416, 499, 511, 622, 623, 743 & 744.
[279] See Burge, S. R., 'Angels in *Sūrat al-Malā'ika*: Exegeses of Q 35:1' *JQS* 10 (2009) pp. 50 – 70. This is, also, reflected in Jewish and Christian literature, where there are only a few references to angels having wings: cf. *2En* 12:2 & 72:9, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 122 - 123 & 210 - 211; *3En* 9, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 263; *ApAbr* 18:6, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 698; *QuesEzra* 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LadJac* 2:15, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 408.
[280] Eg. §20, 94, 99,149, 416, 622, 623, 690 & 744.
[281] §744; some modern commentators have argued against conceiving angels as being like birds, e.g. 'We need not suppose that angelic "wings" have muscles and feathers, like the wings of birds.' Ali, Y. H., *The Holy Qur'an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1938, p. 1152, n. 3871.
[282] §94; see also §43, 92 – 95, 213, 214 & 499.

ḥadīth mentioning such specific details, this finer detailing is relatively rare. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to the number of wings that each angel has, but the numbers vary, including: two (§50, 54 & 743), three (§94 & 743), four (§93, 189 & 743), six (§744), twelve (§53), and seventy thousand (§511). Although the Qur'ān gives the number of angels' wings as 'two, three and four' (*mathnā*, *wa-thulāth*, *wa-rubāᶜ*),[283] in Islamic tradition many more wings were added.[284] These *ḥadīth* highlight an important aspect: the actual physical details about the wings are not necessarily generally agreed. This is because such detailing is there to express a theological idea, rather than giving a concrete description of what angels look like; for example, take the following *ḥadīth*:

> [54] '… [Gabriel's] two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: "I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God." Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.'

In this *ḥadīth*, the finer detailing is not aimed at giving the reader a full description of what an angel looks like, but the references to *green feet* highlight the divine origin of the angel and the size of the angel focuses the reader on the marvels of God's creation.[285]

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[283] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.

[284] E.g. During the *miᶜrāj*, Muhammad sees Gabriel with six hundred wings; see, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §4856, p. 593; al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jamiᶜ*, vol. 14, pp. 319 – 320 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*; Fleischer, H. O. (ed.), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1846 – 1848) vol. 2, p. 148. The increase in wings is justified through the exegesis of the phrase '*yazīdū fī'l-khalqi mā yashā'u*' in Q 35:1; cf. al-Ṭabārī's exegesis of this phrase: '…He increases what He wills for his creation, whatever He wills for it; and he decreases as He wills, what ever He wills for a creation; His is the creation, and the power, His is the ability and the authority.' Al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 22, p. 114.

[285] See below for a discussion of the significance and symbolism of the colour green in Arabic.

Beyond the angelomorphic imagery and the basic idea that angels have wings, there are a few references to angels having the forms of animals. One of the most interesting examples is that of the *Bearers of the Throne* (*ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh*), who are associated with two forms; the first is that of the four-faced angel, which is derived from the Jewish *ḥayyōt* ('living creatures') that bear the Throne or Chariot of God; the second is that the four *Bearers of the Throne* are in the form of a mountain goat (*wāᶜil*). In Judaism, the *ḥayyōt* take the forms of a bull, a lion, a human, and an eagle.[286] The use of animal-angels in the imagery of God's Throne may have its antecedents in pagan deities,[287] but, in Judaism and Christianity, the four *ḥayyōt* came to represent the whole of creation, as Richard Bauckham comments: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).'[288] There are six *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* that describe the *Bearers of the Throne* in these zoological forms,[289] although, amongst these there is no consensus, as four state that each angel has four faces and the other two that there are four different angels with one single form.[290] One of the *ḥadīth* alludes to the idea that the four angelic forms refer to creation as a whole:

> '…An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need, and an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need, and an

[286] Ezk. 1:5 – 14; Rev. 4:6 – 8; Apoc. Abr. 18:3 – 7, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698.
[287] Cf. Eggler, Jürg, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2 – 14* (Fribourg: University Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) pp. 42 – 54.
[288] Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.
[289] §189 – 193 & 198; the Angel of the Thunder is, also, described like this, see §267.
[290] Single form: §192 & 193; (four faces): §189 – 191; 198.

> angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need, and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need…'[291]

As noted above, six of the *ḥadīth* in the collection refer to the Bearers of the Throne having horns like mountain goats or looking like mountain goats.[292] David Halperin suggests that similar *ḥadīth* may be referring to a passage in the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Ḥag* 13a), which refers to the horns of the *ḥayyōt*, but can draw no further conclusions.[293] This imagery remains unclear, but horns did have religious significance in Semitic religion, particularly as representations of divinity,[294] and such iconography is also found in a Greek temple to Apollo on the island of Delos.[295] In relation to the divine throne, there are some images of Semitic gods seated on zoomorphic thrones and some evidence of thrones being supported by horns,[296] but it is difficult to ascertain whether the Islamic image of the *Bearers of the Throne* like goats is related to these wider Semitic and pagan ideas.

Beyond these cases of zoomorphic images of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are also two other *ḥadīth* that include a reference to Isrāfīl making himself smaller

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[291] §191.
[292] *goats*: §179; *horns*: §180, 181, 184, 197 & 209
[293] Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[294] Cook, Stanley A., *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930) p. 29; see also Obhink, H. Th., 'The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism' *JBL* 56 (1937) pp. 43 – 49; see, also, Coudert, Allison, 'Horns' *ER*^{2} vol. 6, pp. 4130 – 4131 and Litvinski, B. A. (tr. Sylvia Juan), 'Sheep and Goats' *ER*^{2} vol. 12, pp. 8309 – 8312.
[295] The altar is called the *keratinos bumos*; see Brureau, Philippe, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1970) pp. 22 – 29. The altar was destroyed, but is referred to by the poet Callimachus; see Callimachus, *Εις Απολλωνα*, l. 61; William, F., *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) pp. 59 - 60. The altar of the Jerusalem temple, also, had stone 'horns', see Milgrom, Jacob & Lerner, Blalik Myron, 'Altar', *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 760 - 771.
[296] See Cornelius, Izak, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba^{c}al: Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Periods (c. 1500 – 1000 BCE)* (Fribourg: University Press & Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) pp. 245 – 253 and Metzger, Martin, *Königsthron und Gottesthron: Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und in Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Berkcer; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) p. 253.

'…until he has become like a small sparrow (*was^{c})*…'[297] and the Angel of the Thunder having a tail (§267). These are only minor references and it is difficult to draw further conclusions from them. There is also the angelic cockerel (*al-dīk*);[298] however, this angel should be treated differently, as the imagery is purely of a cockerel, rather than that of an angel with certain features of a cockerel.

On the whole, the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have human, rather than animal, characteristics. The *ḥadīth* frequently draw on Judeo-Christian imagery and the *Bearers of the Throne* are a prominent example of such an influence. The trend, however, is quite a general one. Images do not appear to be derived from Jewish or Christian images, rather general ideas about angelic iconography are adapted by Islam from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen most clearly in the use of the anthropomorphic angel: the image is clearly indebted to a Judeo-Christian iconography, but is adapted, used and developed in Islamic traditions independently.

2.2.2 Angels of Great Size

Whilst many Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts that feature angels usually include very little in the way of descriptions, one of the most common motifs is that the angels are of great size and very rarely are they said to be small. This general scheme is found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, with only one *ḥadīth* (§5) stating that a 'single angel is smaller than a fly.'[299]

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[297] §53.
[298] §280 – 294.
[299] One other ḥadīth state that the angel Isrāfīl can be both huge and incredibly small (the size of a small sparrow), see §53.

There are a number of ways in which their vast size is described, with four of the most common being: (i) describing measurements in terms of travelling long distances; (ii) stating that the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West; (iii) descriptions of the angel filling the horizon; and (iv) describing the angel stretching from the earth to the heavens. There are a number of Jewish and Christian texts that portray angels in similarly large scale terms, which becomes an important theme in the fifth / sixth century *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch* (*3 Enoch*): 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En…In the Hekhalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.'[300] The following extract from *3 Enoch* is a typical example, the prophet Enoch says: 'I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth. He made me to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world.'[301]

A common method that the *ḥadīth* use to describe the angels' huge size is to give the length between two points in terms of the distance equivalent to many years' travel. This often takes the form: 'the distance from *X* to *Y* is a journey of *N* hundred years.' This phrasing appears some twenty times through the compilation.[302] Both the two points of reference for the distance and the distance itself vary from *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth*, as can be seen in the table below.

[300] Alexander, P.,'3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 293 n. 9c.
[301] 3En 9:2 – 3, p. 263.
[302] 20,51,180 (three times), 181, 183, 197, 202, 209, 231 (bis), 485, 490, 494, 499 (four times) & 545.

§	Angel	From	To	Distance (in years)
20	Bearers of the Throne	Head	Throne	100
51	Gabriel	Shoulder	Shoulder	700
180	Bearers of the Throne	Balls of Feet	Ankles	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Collarbone	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Earlobe	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Earlobe	Shoulder	700
183	Bearers of the Throne	Inner part of eye	Outer part of eye	500
197	Bearers of the Throne	Horns	Head	500
202	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Bottom of the foot	500
209	Bearers of the Throne	Bottom of Horn	Top of Horn	500
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	100
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	500
485	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Shoulder	500
490	Cherubim	Earlobe	Collarbone	500
494	Unnamed Angel	Shoulder	Head	100
499	Bearers of the Throne	Horn	Horn	500
500	Unnamed Angel	Wing	Wing	300
500	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Shoulder	400
545	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Collarbone	7000

Fig(i): Distances between body parts in Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

The table shows that a distance of five hundred years is the most common and that there is no general trend in the body parts used for the measurements. Generally, the measurements given are usually short distances making the angels appear even larger. Some of the *ḥadīth* also use further phrases to clarify the distance, such as §71, in which it is said that the distance is 'a journey of seven hundred years for a bird.'[303] The phrase is used most often in connection with the *Bearers of the Throne* and, by extension, of God's Throne and, ultimately, God. Such imagery is typified in the Jewish *Shiᶜūr Qomah* texts, which give similar measurements, not of an angel, but of God,[304] although there is some debate about

[303] See, also, §181 (bird); §231 (100 autumns); §490 (quick-flying bird going downwards); §494 (angel flying) and §545 (quick-flying bird).

[304] The scales are enormous; for example R. Ishmael b. Elosha is said to have remarked that '…the entire measurement (of the Creator) is 2,000,000,000,000,000,000 (i. e. 2 x 10^{18}) parasangs in height, and 10,000,000,000 parasangs in width.' *Sefer Hashiᶜūr*, ll. 5 - 6; Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shiᶜūr*

what the exact intention is of the text giving these measurements.[305] Just as in the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, a wide number of different measurements are made; for example one of the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts, *Siddur Rabbah*,[306] includes the following measurements:

l.	p.	From	To	Distance (in parasangs)
4	38	Right eye	Left Eye	33,000
5	38	Let Arm	Right Arm	770,000
57	44	Souls of Feet	N/A	30,000
58	44	Foot	Ankle	120,000,000
58	44	Ankle	Knee	450,000,000
63	44	Knees	Thigh	600,002,000
65	45	Thigh	Shoulder	600,000,080
67	45	Shoulder	Neck	190,000,000
67	45	Neck	N/A	180,000,000
68	45	Head (circumference)	N/A	500,000,333
75	46	Forehead	N/A	180,000,000
76	46	Pupil	N/A	11,200
78	46	White of the eye	N/A	22,000
90	48	Lips	N/A	21,000
92	48	Left Shoulder	Right Shoulder	120,000,000
93	48	Right Arm	N/A	150,000,000
96	48	Hand	N/A	70,000,000
97	48	Right Arm	Left Arm	770,000,000
98	49	Fingers	N/A	300,000,000
103	49	Right Foot	N/A	10,000,000

Fig.(ii): Table of Distances between Body Parts in Siddur Rabbah

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Qomah:Texts and Recensions (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) p. 29. The date of these texts is unclear [cf. Stemberger, Günter (tr. Markus Bockmuehl), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Repr. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1997), pp. 348 – 349], the tradition appears to have its origins in the period after the *Babylonian Talmud* (5th Century), but, significantly, before the time of the philosopher Saadia Gaon (d. 942); see Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*, pp. 1 - 2 and Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shi^{c}ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (London: University Press of America, 1983) pp. 51*ff.*

[305] Some commentators believe the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts may, actually, be an unusual attempt to de-anthropomorphise God. Gedaliahu Stroumsa argues that the texts appear to be referring to an archangelic divine hypostasis, rather than the actual essence of God (see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 277*f.*); Joseph Dan argues that the measurements are so exceptionally incomprehensible, they become meaningless; see Dan, Joseph, 'Concept of Knowledge in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*' in Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (eds.) *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, (Alabama: University of Alabama Press 1979) pp. 67-73.

[306] Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* (1985), pp. 38 – 53.

A basic comparison between the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and *Siddur Rabbah* shows the practice of giving measurements between specific body parts of cosmic proportions is common to both texts; but there is a notable difference in that *Siddur Rabbah*, as well as the *Shiᶜūr Qomah* in general, do not tend to give the measurements in years, but by physical units of distance (usually *parasangs*).[307] The usage of measuring the distance between two specific body parts is less common in other Jewish and Christian texts[308] and in these cases the distances are given in actual physical measurements, rather than 'years'.[309] However, anthropomorphic representation of the divine on a cosmic scale is a belief generally held in the Ancient world.[310]

Another way that the *ḥadīth* describe the great size of the angels is by stating that the angels (or the angels' wings) stretch from the East to the West, which is fairly common throughout the work, appearing explicitly fifteen times.[311] This

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[307] In *Siddur Rabbah* 'years' are not used, but in another text, *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr*, there is one distance given in 'years' amongst many measurements taken in *parasangs*: 'The distance that a man can walk in a (single) day is ten parasangs, which is to say that, in a year consisting of 365 parasangs, (he can) walk 3,656 parasangs (!). In ten years, the sum totals 36,400 parasangs, and (therefore,) in one hundred years, it reaches, 365,000 parasangs, and in five hundred years, it reaches 1,825,000 parasangs - this is the span of the Creator, may He be blessed".' *Siddur Rabbah* ll: 9 – 12; Cohen, *Shiᶜur Qomah* (1985) pp. 28 - 29.

[308] The distance 'shoulder to shoulder' does, however, appear in the *Book of Elchasai*: an angel is said to be 96 miles high (24 schoinoi) and the distance from shoulder to shoulder to be 6 schoinoi (14 miles): *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 687; this fragment is taken from Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, IX:13.2; Marcovich, Miroslav (ed.), *Hipplytus: Refutatio Ominum Haeresium* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) p. 357.

[309] Although *year*-measurements can be found, usually in relation the size of the earth. In addition to the use in *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr* (see above), it can, also, be found in *DeutR 2:10,* p. 29 and *CantR* 6:9 §2 – 3, p. 266. See, also, Gandz, Solomon, 'The Distribution of Land and Sea on the Earth's Surface According to Hebrew Sources' *PAAJR* 22 (1953) pp. 23 – 53; especially p. 33. This use can be found in al-Masᶜūdī, Abī al-Ḥassan ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī (ed. ᶜAbd al-Amīr ᶜAlī Muhanna), *Murūj al-dhahāb wa-maᶜādin al-jawāhir* (Beirut: Mu'sassa al-Aᶜlamī li-'l-Maṭbuᶜāt, 1321 / 2000) §I:16; vol. 1, p. 172

[310] Cf. Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 269; see also Jackson, Howard M., 'The Origins and Development of *Shiᶜur Qomah* Revelation in Jewish Mysticism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 373 – 415. Jackson looks at representations of the divine in other, non-Jewish, religious traditions.

[311] §42, 53, 92 – 95, 158 – 159, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 & 294.

description is only applied to named angels and is only used in reference to Gabriel, Isrāfīl, the Spirit, the Angel of Death and the Cockerel. The phrase normally comes in the form: *the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West*. This phrase occurs eleven out of the fifteen times, but is only used of the Cockerel and the angel Isrāfīl.[312] Gabriel is said to have 'filled the space between East and West' (§42); the Angel of Death is said to have a spear that reaches from the East to the West (§158 & 159) and the stride of the Angel of Death is said to stretch from the East to the West (§202). Although this phrase is only used of Gabriel twice (§42 & 53), another related description, stating that Gabriel filled the horizon, is used more frequently (§43, 46, 47 & 54).

So far the gigantic size of the angels has been described by measurement and breadth (i.e. East to West), but height is also used relatively frequently.[313] Some of the *ḥadīth* refer to great height in a general way; for example, Gabriel is said to fill 'the space between Heaven and Earth' in §41.[314] However, the most common way to express height is to say that the angel's feet are on the (Seventh) Earth and its head in the (Seventh) Heaven.[315] The concept of the angels' heads reaching heaven is found in the *Acts of John* where it is said of an angel that: '…his feet [.] were whiter than snow, so that the ground was lit up by his feet, and his head stretched up to the heaven.'[316]

The concept of angels as being of a great size is common in Judeo-Christian angelology. Numerous texts, particularly Pseudepigrapha, often describe angels in

[312] §53, 92 – 95, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 and 294.
[313] §41, 96, 180, 181, 184, 190, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[314] Cf. §190
[315] §96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[316] *ActsJ* 90; *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 180 – 181.

this way.[317] There are a number of texts that refer to angels being of a great size in general terms, such as the *Gospel of Philip*, in which it is said that: '...when [Jesus] appeared to the disciples in glory on the mountain, he was not small - he became great - but he made the disciples great, that they might see him in his greatness.'[318] Although only a general comment, this passage from the *Gospel of Philip* reveals, quite clearly, the meaning of the angel of great size: the size is a sign of the truth of the vision.

It is unlikely that direct sources could be traced for the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but the description of these massive angels clearly owes a large debt to the vocabulary and imagery of Judeo-Christian angelology. This is important as it shows that Islam did not only 'borrow' angelic imagery from Jewish and Christian traditions, but Islam developed and utilised this angelic imagery, with the angels *Isrāfīl* and *al-Dīk* the most notable examples.

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2.2.3 Finer Detailing: Clothing, Jewellery & Colours

The majority of the descriptions about angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are fairly general, usually emphasising the size of the angel. However, just as the size of the angel attests to the reality of the vision, certain iconographical details are used to highlight and refine the image of the angel. An angel is often only distinguishable from another angel by certain *props* or other characteristics. It is in the use of these

[317] For a short discussion of this see: De Conick, April D., 'The "Dialogue of the Savior" and the Mystical Sayings of Jesus' *VC* 50 (1996) pp. 178 – 199, pp. 190 – 193.
[318] *GPhil* 26a; *NTA*, vol. 1, p. 191. Cf. *DialSav* 42 & 67; *NTA*, vol. 1, pp. 4 – 11

different props that an iconographic vocabulary emerges.[319] The use of iconographic details is more important in visual media, as a picture, mosaic, or carving tend not to make use of written names; for example, in Byzantine art angels are often pictured holding a sceptre and robed in priestly garments.[320] Clothing is an important iconographical detail, as the way in which someone is clothed often reveals much about their status,[321] as well as distinguishing individuals from others, since clothing '…serves to preserve the boundaries among persons of different statuses.'[322] Likewise, vestments play an important part in the iconography of angels in Islamic art, although this is usually expressed in different ways to the literary tradition.[323] In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there is some evidence that Islamic tradition developed its own iconographic vocabulary, with a number of angels being associated with particular accessories, colours and clothes.

The most prominent item of clothing is a robe, with which angels are particularly associated in Jewish and Christian scriptures, as well as visual media.[324] In Jewish tradition, the robe is normally believed to be white, developing out of

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[319] Cf. Swartz, M. D., 'The Semiotics of the Priestly Vestments in Ancient Judaism' in Albert I Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifices in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 57 - 80. Garments were, also, used to distinguish gods from mortals in Semitic religion: see Oppenheim, A. Leo, 'Golden Garments of the Gods' *JNES* 8 (1949) pp. 172 – 193.

[320] For a comprehensive list of various iconographic details associated with angels, see Pallas, 'Himmelsmächte' *RZBK* vol. 3, coll. 34 – 43. Another interesting article by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy discusses the semiotics of dress in Byzantine art and particularly the way in which the Imperial costume of the angels was also used to stress the worldly power of the Emperor; see Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, 'Note sur la representation des archanges en costume impèrial dans l'iconographie byzantine' *CA* 46 (1998) pp. 121 – 128.

[321] For a discussion of the place of clothing in Judaism and Christianity, see Kim, Jung Hoon, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: Continuum, 2004). For an important work on the semiotics of clothing and dress (in general), see Rubinstein, Ruth P., *Dress Codes: Meaning and Messages in American Culture* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995).

[322] Rubin, Nissan & Kosman, Admiel, 'The Clothing of the Primordial Man: Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources' *HTR* 90 (1997) pp. 155 - 174, p. 163.

[323] Emel Esin includes a discussion of angelic dress in Islamic art and its East-Asian influences, see Esin, 'Angel Figure' p. 269*f.*

[324] For a discussion of angelic clothing in Byzantine art, see Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 42 – 50.

exegeses of Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7:9.[325] The imagery of a white robe is transferred into the Old and New Testamental Pseudepigraphical literature, such as the book of *Jannes and Jambres*.[326] Similar imagery can by found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, e.g. 'Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown…'[327] The white of the angels' gowns normally reflect two main ideas: the purity of the angels' faith and their dazzling brightness.[328] In Islam, white also carries connotations of purity, as Khalil ᶜAthamina comments: '…white garments symbolize the modesty incumbent upon all Muslims in their attitude toward the Creator, especially during prayer. It is for this reason Muslims of all social strata and walks of life have followed the practice of praying in white as a sign of their modesty and piety.'[329] Colour is used to convey certain characteristics of the angel as colours had important meanings in Islamic culture.

White is not the only colour used of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and there are some references to green (*akhḍar*).[330] Gabriel, for example, is associated with the colour

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[325] 'As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne; his clothing was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool…' *NRSV* p.843 Cf. 20:12; 'and he saw two angels in white…' *NRSV* p.111, Martha Himmelfarb discusses the use and symbolism of God's white gown and argues that there are two main ideas: (i) judgement and (ii) purity; she, also, alludes to the wearing of a plain white robe by the Jewish High Priest on the Day of Atonement; see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, pp. 16 – 18; see also Rowland, Christopher, 'A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff and Jewish Angelology' *JSNT* 24 (1985) pp. 99 – 110.

[326] Cf: *JanJam* 25a, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 437 and *ApEl* 5:5 – 6 'Then Gabriel and Uriel will become a pillar of light leading them into the holy land. It will be granted to them to east form the tree of life. They will wear white garments….and angels will watch over them.' *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 750. This text is referring to the righteous, rather than angels, but the intention of the white garments is to signify their righteousness and their place in heaven.

[327] §54; see also §122 (Angel of Death)

[328] '[Weiß] bezeichnet jede Art von Helligkeit, darunter auch die Helligkeit des Weiß, aber ebenso des Strahlen und Leuchten des Lichts und das Funkeln und Schillern reflektierender Gegenstände.' Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung: Untersuchungen zur Wortbedeutung und zur Wortbildung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1965) p. 244.

[329] ᶜAthamina, Khalil, 'The Black Banners and the Socio-Political Significance of Flags and Slogans in Medieval Islam' *Arabica* 36 (1989) p. 311.

[330] *Akhḍar* can, also, refer to blue (see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichungen*, p. 306), but, in these texts, 'green' is clearly intended.

with one *ḥadīth* stating that the 'soles of his feet are green'[331] and another that Gabriel wore a green headband.[332] The use of green, the Prophet's colour, gives these angelic traditions a more Islamic symbolism, distancing the imagery from Judaism and Christianity. Green is also an important colour because of its associations with paradise, as David Alexander comments: 'In the Qur'an green is associated with life itself and as one of the signs of God. Green evoked the idea of tranquillity and refuge.'[333] Although green is used to designate paradise in other religions of the Near East (particularly Zoroastrianism),[334] the association of green with paradise in an arid environment is quite obvious.[335] The symbolism of the colour does not appear to have played such an important part in Jewish and Christian angelic imagery. More generally, the colour green simply carries notions of creation and the physical order of the universe in Judaism and, by extension, the divine – in the sense that the world is God's creation.[336] However, green can have negative connotations, for example, in *3 Enoch* the souls of the 'intermediates' in Hell are green.[337]

Jewels also play an important part in the Islamic iconography of angels. In *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Gabriel's clothing is often described as being encrusted with jewels (normally rubies, pearls or chrysolite), which is a sign of his status in the angelic

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[331] §54, see also §50 & 52.
[332] §690.
[333] Alexander, David: 'The Black Flag of the ᶜAbbasids' *Gladius* 20 (2000) p. 224.
[334] For a discussion of the symbolism of colours in Near Eastern cultures, see Carbó, Antoni Gonzalo, 'El Viaje Espiritual al «Espacia Verde»: el «Jardín de la Visión» en el Sufismo' *Convivium* 20 (2007) pp. 65 - 90.
[335] §42, 44b, 45 & 54; Green robes are, also, said to be worn by those in paradise: e.g. Q 18:31 '…and they shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 292; see also Q 55:76 & 76:21; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 559 and 622; see also ᶜAthamina, 'Black Banners' pp. 325 – 326.
[336] 'The color green is symbolic of the beginning of the things, of the creation, of the physical order and also of the fundamental wisdom which underlies creation.' Bokser, Ben Zion, 'The Thread of Blue' *PAAJR* 31 (1963) p. 11
[337] 'Moreover, the faces of the intermediate were a greenish colour, on account of their deeds, for they are tainted until purified of their iniquity by fire.' *3En* 44:5; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 295.

world. The Cockerel, although not wearing a robe or gown, is also described as having body parts made out of precious metals and jewels.[338] Precious stones play an important part in Jewish and Christian iconography and they are usually associated with God or those that have dealings with the divine, such as priests.[339] For example, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, an account of the dedication of the Jewish Temple, the High Priest was said to be robed in '...all the glorious vestments, including the wearing of the "garment" with precious stones upon it in which he is vested…'[340] and that the '…house faces east, and the rear of it faces west. The whole foundation was decked with (precious) stones…'[341] The *Letter of Aristeas* describes the earthly temple, but the heavenly temple and those making the journey to heaven are also described in similar terms in other Pseudepigraphical works.[342] The importance of precious stones is their association with wealth, power and majesty. Certain angels, particularly Gabriel in Islamic tradition, are given status through the use of jewels and precious stones. Such imagery is natural and widespread in religious iconography of the divine in general.

There are two further motifs in *al-Ḥabā'ik* that are slightly unusual. The first is that some angels wear turbans and a second which describes one of the angels' clothing like a pair of *sarāwīl* (*trousers*). The turbaned angels are the angels that helped the Muslim community at Badr.[343] This imagery is not found in the Judeo-

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[338] §281, 285, 286 & 294.
[339] See Royalty, Robert M., *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) pp. 45 – 58. For the use of precious stones in a whole range of different religions, see Kunz, George Frederick, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (London: s.i., 1913) pp. 225 – 274.
[340] *Let Aris* 96, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 19; cf. Ex 28:4, 27 – 31.
[341] *Let Aris* 88, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 18; see also *Let Aris*, 52 - 82, *OTP* vol. 2 pp. 16 – 18.
[342] Cf. *1En* 14:11 & 24:2, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 20 & 26; *3En* 12, *OTP* Vol 1, p. 265 ; *2Bar* 5:7 *OTP* Vol 2, p. 623; *ApAb* 11:1 – 3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 694 and *Ps.-Phil.* 26:9 – 10 *OTP* vol. 2, p. 338.
[343] §626 – 628 & 630. cf. Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar (ed. Marsden Jones), *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (London: Oxford University Press,

Christian tradition to any great extent, so the use of turbans marks a distinctly Islamic image and it reflects the association of angels with contemporaneous dress.[344] The image of the angel being covered with a wing has obvious resonances with the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6:3;[345] but the motif appears to be very uncommon (only appearing three times) and is only used in reference to Gabriel and Isrāfīl.[346]

The last form of finer detailing that will be discussed here is the use of props and accessories, some of which have already been mentioned. Props and accessories are normally used to symbolise a specific angel or a particular function of an angel, a trend that is seen most clearly in the visual arts. Isrāfīl is the most notable example of this trend; Isrāfīl is associated with the Trumpet that announces the Last Day, and so he is often described as holding it.[347] Other angels, such as the Angel of Death, the Guardian of the Fire and the Angel of the Thunder, are also associated with objects relating to their cosmic function. The Angel of Death is said to hold a spear, with which 'he cuts the vein of life.' The Guardians of Hell and the angel Mālik are believed to have spears or rods with which to persecute those in Hell.[348] Lastly, the Angel of the Thunder (who is, also, responsible for the clouds) is said to have a whip

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1966) vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79, 113 and Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa*; *Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-akhīra, 1370 / 1951) vol. 1 pp. 291 – 292; Bewley, Aisha Abdurrahman (tr.), *Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas: The First Formulation of Islamic Law* (Granada: Madinah Press, 1992) §20.81.254, p. 171; for more on the significance of turbans, see Kister, M. J., '"The Crowns of this Community"…Some Notes on the Turban in Muslim Tradition' *JSAI* 24 (2000) pp. 217 – 245.

[344] This is also found in Western art, as Stephen Prickett comments early renaissance art: 'Biblical characters (once clothed) always wore contemporary dress and appeared in the local context.' Prickett, Stephen, 'The Bible in Literature and Art' in John Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 160 – 178, p. 165.

[345] Cf. Kaiser, Otto (tr. R. A. Wilson), *Isaiah 1 – 12* (London: SCM Press, 1972) p. 76 and Oswalt, John, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1 - 39* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986) p. 179.

[346] §93, 99 & 744.

[347] §85 – 88, 91, 92 & 99; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'Isrāfīl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 211.

[348] §234 & 234.

made of iron (or light) and a rope, with which he moves the clouds through the sky.[349]

Occasionally the relationship between the object and the angel is different, with the object not reflecting the function of the angel, but the status of the angel. Gabriel is said to have a belt strung with pearls (§50 & 54) and Isrāfīl is associated with the *Preserved Tablet* (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūẓ*), the Qur'ān and the Throne of God.[350] The closeness of Isrāfīl to God explains both his prestige and his function as it is Isrāfīl who delivers the messages of God to His angels.

The use of finer detailing allows the *ḥadīth* to highlight certain aspects of an angel. Clothing, jewellery and props allow the reader to understand both the angel's function and status. Such detailing is common to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity in almost all media. In visual media, finer details are often used to distinguish one angel from another.[351] This resulted in the development of a specific iconographic language, in which different angels are represented by different objects. In textual material, however, the ability to name angels verbally makes the use of specific iconographies less important; but a set language did appear to develop, in which objects came to signify certain characteristics, especially references to colour, costume and precious stones.

The basic and most common iconographical form of an angel in Islam is the same as that found in Judaism and Christian, that of an anthropomorphized angel. However,

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[349] §257, 258, 261 & 263.
[350] See §85 – 106.
[351] For example, in Byzantine art different kinds of holy people (martyrs, monks, warrior saints, bishops etc.) are dressed in different clothing to differentiate them; cf. Walter, Christopher, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 270 – 274, 285 – 290 and Maguire, Henry, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

the way in which the angel is anthropomorphised is different in Islamic tradition. In Judaism and Christianity, there are fewer references to specific body parts in the description of angels and their anthropomorphic form is achieved by stating the angels are 'like a man'. References to body parts are not unknown in Judaism and Christianity but they are much rarer, so their use distinguishes Islamic iconographic vocabulary from the other Abrahamic faiths. This is seen further in particular angelic motifs, such as the great size of the angels. These general motifs can be found elsewhere, but the way in which this motif is expressed in Islam is unique. The use of divine measurements can be found in Jewish works (e.g. the *Book of Elchasai*, the *Shi*^{c}*ur Qomah* traditions), but they are not frequently used when referring to or describing angels.

The influence of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels should not, however, be underestimated. In a number of specific examples, the Islamic traditions draw on Jewish (and Christian) motifs directly. The *Bearers of the Throne*, for example, appear to have been assimilated directly from Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. Angels robed in white, the trumpet that heralds the Last Day, the use of precious stones and so on, all relate to Judeo-Christian angelic imagery as well. This should not be surprising, because the use of props, accessories, clothing, and actions are part of a wider symbolic framework. Particular objects are used metonymically to tell the reader what the function of a particular angel is and other finer details are used to confirm the status and divine origin of an angel. When Islamic traditions about angels began to develop, it was only natural that they developed within the same symbolic framework; Islamic traditions grew in a similar milieu and so similar symbolism is often encountered.

2.3 Conclusions: The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

The two discussions above about angelic nomenclature and iconography suggest Islamic traditions about angels are both similar to and yet distinct from Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels. Why? And how can these be explained?

It would seem sensible to suggest a certain number of traditions drew on a common, natural vocabulary that is more universal in nature, rather than specific to the Judeo-Christian tradition. Precious stones, for example, will be associated naturally with wealth and power; things of a great size with the supernatural and the realm of the divine, and so on. These types of iconographic details can be seen throughout Semitic religion in general, as well as beyond.[352] They are commonsense and basic images of power and, by extension, the power of the divine. Other images, such as the anthropomorphic form of the angel, would appear to be more closely aligned with Jewish and Christian thought.

These basic symbols of the divine and the Judeo-Christian emphasis on anthropomorphic angels form the foundation from which the Islamic iconography of angels developed. However, Islamic beliefs about angels also developed independently, which can be seen particularly clearly in the way in which some angels are named. The theophoric name is clearly indebted to Judaism, but whilst an Arabic theophoric name may resemble a Jewish angelic name, its function and status often do not. The angel Raphael, for example, plays an important role in Jewish angelology, but is essentially absent in Islamic angelology; even the angels *Rufīl* and

[352] George Kunz looks at a wide range of different religions' uses of precious stones, ranging from Egyptian to Chinese; see Kunz, *Curious Lore*, pp. 225 – 274.

Riyāfīl, which could be etymologically associated with Raphael, have markedly different roles to their Jewish counterpart. The opposite occurs with Isrāfīl; whilst the Islamic angel may be etymologically related to an angel such as Seraphiel, the Islamic Isrāfīl is much more developed in Islamic tradition, so much so that Isrāfīl bears little resemblance to any angel in Jewish or Christian literature.

Not all of Islam's angels have their origins in Judaism or Christianity, especially angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt, the angel Isrāfīl and the Cockerel (*Dīk*). However, the influences of other religions traditions, such as Zoroastrianism, are markedly weaker and appear to affect only a few, specific examples.[353]

Islamic angelic nomenclature does present a unique approach to angelology: whilst both Islamic and Jewish traditions believe that there is an angel responsible for a whole range of natural phenomena, ranging from lightning to the sea, Judaism has a tendency to give these angels a personal name, usually, but not exclusively, a theophoric one. Islam, on the other hand, prefers to use the generic, non-theophoric formula: 'the Angel of X'. This, again, reveals the tension between the influence and independence of Islamic beliefs about angels. Islam often has the same angels as Judaism (and, to a lesser extent, Christianity), but names them in a completely different way.

The reason behind this tension could be rooted in the history of Islam itself. The references to angels in the Qur'ān clearly indicate some knowledge of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels, especially the direct references to Gabriel and Michael. From the foundation of the Qur'ān, the Islamic exegetical tradition proceeded to generate a number of distinct beliefs about angels. This is reflected by

[353] For a discussion of the influence of Zoroastrianism on on Islam, see Stepaniants Marietta, 'The Encounter of Zoroastrianism with Islam' *PEW* 52 (2002) pp. 159 – 172.

the fact that there are sixty-four *ḥadīth* in the work (c. 9%) that include direct Qur'ānic quotations in their *mitān*,[354] with many more than these more loosely based in the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition; eighty-eight *ḥadīth* (c. 11%) are attributed to one of the principal sources of Islamic exegesis, Ibn ᶜAbbas and so on. All this indicates that exegesis was, as in Judaism, an important springboard from which Islamic beliefs about angels developed. There is, however, a slight difference in the ways in which Jewish and Islamic exegesis developed their angelologies. Jewish angelology is typified by a tendency to turn objects, such as the wheels of God's chariot, into angels. This is not found in Islam; the *qalam* always remains as a 'pen' (albeit a divine pen), and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, always remains a tablet – there is no attempt to turn these into angels, the only example of this in *al-Ḥabā'ik* is *al-Sijill*.

The similarity between Jewish and Islamic angelology is seen more strongly in the traditional material rather than exegesis, particularly the Pseudepigrapha, the Talmud and the Midrashim. In these types of texts, the angels become responsible for various objects in the human world, maintaining them and protecting them, on behalf of God. This is also found in Islamic angelology and much of the traditional material that developed out of the exegetical movement turn to this sort of interpretation. Traditional material, both the various collections of *ḥadīth* in Islam and the Jewish *midrashīm*, often reflect a popular expression of beliefs about angels, which is corroborated by similar beliefs found in magic incantation texts and studies of Jewish and Muslim folklore. The nature of these types of texts does, however, make it extremely difficult to assess how Islamic, Jewish, and Christian beliefs about angels

[354] §1, 9, 25, 26, 44, 56, 74, 75, 128, 129, 141, 187, 198, 207, 208, 222, 225, 234, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249, 313 – 321, 324, 325, 333, 389, 391 – 393, 397, 399 – 401, 417, 422, 425 (*bis*), 426 (*bis*), 458 – 460, 537, 437, 549, 555 (*bis*), 617, 619, 678, 679, 743 & 744.

in the later mediaeval period interacted; but at a basic level, it must be assumed there was a fairly high level of cultural exchange in this area.

As a result of the nature of *ḥadīth*, it is hard (if not impossible) to gain a detailed understanding of how particular beliefs developed; however, beliefs about angels appear to have been influenced by a number of different factors and at different stages. The first stage is the pre-Qur'ānic and Qur'ānic periods in which Judaism and Christianity played an important part in shaping the celestial world of seventh century Arabia. This stage seems to have been followed by a period of largely internal exegesis of the Qur'ān, during which beliefs about angels were developed with a limited amount of influence from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen particularly clearly in the development of a distinctively Islamic system of angelic nomenclature, traditions about angels that are peculiar to Islam, angels derived from the Qur'ān, and so on. However, this does not mean to say that Jewish and Christian beliefs had no influence on Islamic angelology during this period; *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions often reflect Jewish and Christian angelology and popular beliefs must also not be underestimated. The third stage shows the return of stronger Jewish and Christian influences. It is difficult to tell whether this was a result of a greater understanding of Judaism and Christianity by the educated classes; a wish by Muslim scholars to find Jewish and Christian attitudes to certain angels or phenomena; a generally higher degree of interaction between the faiths; or, the percolation of popular folkloric beliefs into formal works. In this later period, it becomes increasingly more difficult to know which faith influenced the other; the Near East became a place where ideas, especially ones about subjects that interested

both those in the academic and popular strata of society, were freely and commonly exchanged.

The interaction between Islamic beliefs about angels and their Jewish and Christian counterparts is complex. Many commentators have simply argued that Islamic angelology has its origins in Judaism and Christianity. When looking at the Qur'ān, the influence of Judaism and Christianity is certainly unmistakable, but surely this is not surprising. However, the influence of Judaism and Christianity appears to diminish during the formative period of Islamic theology and Qur'ānic exegesis. Above all, Islamic angelology always remains distinctly *Islamic* and this distinctiveness cannot be attributed to Jewish and Christian influences. The two other Abrahamic faiths may have provided some basic core beliefs, imagery and conceptualisations, but the Muslim community developed them in their own unique way.

The Angelic World of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

3. The Angelic World of *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*[355]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is unusual when compared to other mediaeval *ḥadīth* collections concerned with visions of the heavenly world, such as al-Ghazālī's (alleged) work, *Al-Durra al-fakhīra*,[356] ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī's, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*,[357] other apocalyptic or eschatological works,[358] and the accounts of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) collected by scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq in his *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*.[359] These eschatological and *miᶜrāj* works usually act as a warning against certain modes of behaviour by describing the future rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, as Vuckovic comments: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Qur'ān and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muḥammad's community.'[360] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* uses

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[355] Parts of this chapter will be published in 2009: Burge, S. R., 'The Angels' Roles in Death and Judgement' in Amanda Philips, Richard Radcliffe & Refqa Abu-Remaileh (eds.), *New Voices, New Visions: The Work of Young Scholars in British Middle East Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

[356] Al-Ghazāli, *Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ᶜulūm al-ākhira*; Smith, Jane I. (tr.), *The Precious Pearl* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

[357] Al-Qāḍī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*; A'isha ᶜAbd al-Rahman at-Tarjumana (*sic*) (tr.), *Islamic Book of the Dead* (Norwich: Diwan Press, 1977).

[358] Anon., *Kitāb aḥwal al-qiyāma*; Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (Leipzig: Commissionsverlag von F. A. Brockhaus, 1872); al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith ibn Asad, *Kitāb al-tawahhum*; Roman, André (ed. & tr.), *Une Vision Humaine des Fins Dernières* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1978) and al-Ashᶜarī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-shajarat al-yaqīn*; Castillo Castillo, Concepción (ed. & tr.), *Kitāb Šaŷarat al-Yaqīn: Tratado de eschtología musulmana – Estudio, edición, traducción, notas y indices* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1987) [this work is also attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl al-Ashᶜarī].

[359] Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 181 – 187; cf. al-Ghayṭī, Najm al-Dīn, *al-Miᶜrāj al-kabīr*; Jeffrey, A. (tr), *A Reader on Islam* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962) pp. 621 – 639. Versions of the the *miᶜrāj* were important in Sufism, cf. al-Sulamī, Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mas'ala bayān laṭā'if al-miᶜrāj*; Colby, Frederick S. (ed. & tr.), *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muhammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006) and Morris, James Winston, 'The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ᶜArabī asnd the Miᶜrāj' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; it also appears in a number of different Islamate languages, e.g. Anon., *Miᶜrājnama*; de Courteille, Abel Pavet (ed. & tr.), *Mirâj-Nâmeh: Récit de l'Ascension de Mahomet au Ciel Composé A.H. 840 (1436/1437)* (repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975).

[360] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys,* p. 97; see also Lange, Christian, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 101 – 175.

similar supra-mundane material, but approaches it from a different angle.[361] The purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is to describe the function of the angels in the universe and their intermediation between God and humans. The aim is to present an angelic world, not of the potential future (as in the eschatological and *miʿrāj* works), but of the contemporary world, to the extent that narratives about both past and future events are used to illustrate what the angels are doing in the present. For example, Isrāfīl, the angel responsible for blowing the trumpet on the Last Day, is not described as actually blowing the trumpet, but is portrayed as kneeling, waiting for the command from God to do it.[362] This *angelic present* is used to explain how God interacts with the human world, how humans are judged, how they die, how revelation is given and how ritual actions should be performed. This is a very different way of presenting the heavenly world and its inhabitants.

This section will comprise two main sections: the first will look at the angels' roles in the life-cycle of a human, from birth to death and beyond; and the second will look at the angels' roles in ritual law. The principal aim of this section is to present the material contained in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection and to highlight its main trends.

[361] Other larger works occasionally include sections on the angels, which bear a resemblance to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, such as al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Al-Jāmiʿ shuʿab al-īmān* (Bombay: Al-Dār al-Salfīyyah, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 407 – 446. However, to my knowledge, *al-Ḥabā'ik* is the only ḥadīth collection devoted to angels.
[362] E.g. §85.

3.1 The Angels' Roles in Human Life

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* angels play a role in a human's life from conception in the womb until death. There are four main groups of angels that need to be considered: (i) the angels of the womb; (ii) the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān al-kātibān*); (iii) the Angel of Death and (iv) various post-mortem angels. These four groups of angels amount to 207 *ḥadīth* (c. 28%). This is a significant portion, especially when a large number of the remaining *ḥadīth* play similar roles.[363]

3.1.1 The Angels of the Womb

The interaction between angels and humans begins before birth and al-Suyūṭī includes nine *ḥadīth* (§436 – 444) about one particular ante-natal event. Soon after conception, God sends an angel to the mother's womb, which then forms the foetus and records what God has ordained for that child. The *ḥadīth* do not provide a strict consensus about when this happens precisely, but it is said to happen at some stage between forty and seventy-two days.[364] The majority of the *ḥadith* say that only one

[363] For example, there is an angel that records the names of those that say '*ṣalā allāh ᶜalayhi wa-sallam*' – which is a role similar to, but separate from, that of the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān*). See §445 – 447 & 449 – 457; for more on this, see Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'* vol. 1, pp. 137 - 138; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §9.22.69 – 71, p. 62; Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion I' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 5 – 21 and de la Puente, Christina, 'The Prayer Upon the Prophet Muhammad (Tasliya): A Manifestation of Islamic Religiosity' *ME* 5 (1999) pp. 121 – 129.

[364] 40 Days: §437 , 440 & 442; 42 Days: §439; 72 Days: §441. Forty days is also an important time period in Greek Medicine (cf. Hippocratic Treatises, *On the Nature of the Child*, §18 – 19; see Lonie, Iain M., (tr. & commentary), *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation", "On the Nature of the Child, "Diseases IV"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) pp. 9 – 11 & 190 – 194); forty days is also important in rabbinic law (probably a result of the influence of Greek medicine); for example, a woman who miscarries before forty days have passed does not have to perform the rites of ritual purity associated with miscarriages and birth, as it is not considered an embryo before forty days; see Bek. §21b, p. 140.

angel is sent to the womb,[365] but one *ḥadīth* (§436) states that: 'God, Most High, has made an angel responsible for the womb; [he said] that is, one responsible for the sperm, one responsible for the clot and one responsible for the embryo.' The *ḥadīth* discuss two important ideas: the first provides an account of traditional embryology and the second concerns the issue of predestination.

Five of the nine *ḥadīth* included describe the early stages in the growth of the embryo in basic terms.[366] These *ḥadīth* are similar to the Qur'ānic accounts, especially Q 23:12 – 14[367] and reflect a '…further development of the thought found already in some Koranic passages dealing with the stage of the development of the embryo.'[368] Here is a representative example from the *ḥadīth*: '...When forty-two nights have passed by the semen, God sends an angel to it, and it shapes it, and creates its ears, its eyes, its skin, its fat and its bones.'[369] The development of the embryo and the stages outlined in this example played an important part in the classical Islamic law of torts, especially in attempting to rule when compensation is

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[365] §437 – 443.

[366] §437, 439, 440, 441 & 443; cf. *Nid*. §31a, p. 214 & *Yom*. §95a, p. 420; for more on embryogenesis in Greek and Jewish thought Kottek, Samuel S., 'Embryology in Talmudic and Midrashic Literature' *JHB* 14 (1981) pp. 299 – 315; Needham, Joseph, *A History of Embryology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) pp. 13 – 65 and Jones, David Albert, *The Soul of the Embryo: Enquiry into the Status of the Human Embryo in the Christian Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2004) pp. 6 – 42.

[367] 'We created man of an extraction of clay, then We set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure, then We created of the drop a clot, the We created of the clot a tissue, then We created of the tissue bones, then We garmented the bones in flesh…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343; for other accounts of embryogenesis, cf. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīh al-gahib* [*Tafsīr al-kabīr*] (Cairo: s. n., 1889 - 1891) vol. 6, pp. 188 - 190 and Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 203 – 208. The accounts of the development of the embryo in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth has been discussed frequently, see O'Shaugnessy, T., *Creation and the Teaching of the Qur'ān* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1965) pp. 10 – 29; Bakker, D., *Man in the Qur'ān* (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland N.V., 1965) pp. 9 – 19; Haas, Samuel S., 'The "Creation of Man" in the Qur'ān' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 268 – 273; Arnaldez, R., 'Insān' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 1237 – 1239 and Ebrahim, Abul Fadl Mohsin, 'Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 229 – 232.

[368] Ringgren, Helmer, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism* (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1955) p. 119

[369] §439; Cf. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜUthmān al-Dhahabī (attr.), *Tibb al-Nabbī* §23; see Elgood, Cyril (tr.), *Tibb-ul-Nabbi or Medicine of the Prophet* (Bruges: Ex Officina "De Tempel", 1962) pp. 165 – 175. This work has been attributed incorrectly to al-Suyūṭī, and it is believed to have been compiled by al-Dhabahī; see Savage-Smith, Emilie, 'Attitudes to Dissection in Medieval Islam' *JHMAS* 50 (1995) pp. 67 – 110, p. 73, n. 14.

liable in cases of injury that subsequently induce a miscarriage.[370] However, whilst the scientific understanding behind these texts is interesting in and of itself, there are greater theological points being made; birth and ante-natal development are all driven by God. The creation of human life, as well as creation more generally, only occur as a result of God's will, as Dirk Bakker comments: 'Allah's power manifested in the creation of man is not restricted to divine initiative, but is active in each stage of development. There is no phase in the process of man's origin in which Allah is not concerned creatively.'[371]

God's will is equally important in the concept of predestination alluded to in these few *ḥadīth*.[372] The most important aspect of the Angel of the Womb is that in the womb, God preordains certain aspects of the foetus' life; take the two following *ḥadīth*:

> '…The [the angel] says: 'Lord, it is male or female?' And your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then he says: 'Lord, what will his sustenance be?' Your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then the angel leaves the page on his hand, and never ceases from the command nor shakes it off.'[373]

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[370] See Katz, Marion Holmes, 'The Problem of Abortion in Classical Sunni *fiqh*' in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.), *Islamic Ethics of Life: Abortion, War and Euthanasia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003) pp. 25 – 50; see especially pp. 30 – 34; for a modern Islamic perspective on these issues see, Bowen, Donna Lee, 'Abortion, Islam and the 1994 Cairo Population Conference' *IJMES* 29 (1997) pp. 161 – 184.

[371] Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an*, p. 18; the importance of birth and death is also reflected in Jewish literature, in which it is said that: 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR.* 73:4, p. 670, cf. *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.

[372] Edward Salisbury's early article on predestination and freewill in Islam contains a useful survey of these themes in pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, ḥadīth and *kalām*; see Salisbury, Edward E., 'Materials for the History of the Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will; compiled from original sources' *JAOS* 8 (1866) pp. 105 – 182; for ḥadīth, see pp. 122 – 147.

[373] §439.

> 'And [the angel] says: 'Lord, is it male or female? Lord will it be wretched or happy?' And God decrees what He wills. Then the one responsible says: 'What is its time?' And God decrees what He wills. Then he closes the book and it is not opened until the Day of Resurrection.'[374]

These two *ḥadīth* show that some aspects of a human's life are preordained: gender, sustenance (*rizq*), happiness or wretchedness,[375] and life-span (*ajal*). Montgomery Watt calls this type of predestination 'modified fatalism', because the elements that are predestined for the individual are limited in scope: 'Here not everything a man does is predetermined, but only the date of his death and the outcome or general effect of his activity.'[376] Some of these preordained elements of life, such as the *ajal* can be found in pre-Islamic religion (cf. *daḥr*),[377] but as Smith and Haddad note, '…the emphasis is not on an impersonal determinism but on divine prerogative; God ascertains the life-spans of persons and of communities, and in His hands lies the fate of all that He has brought into being.'[378] There is a strong focus on God and the juxtaposition of the statements about embryogenesis and this modified determinism seek to place God at the centre of human existence. Although Montgomery Watt doubts that the types of *ḥadīth* seen above were originally intended to be interpreted

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[374] §440.
[375] The meaning intended here is not necessarily referring to the individual's final destiny (i.e. Heaven or Hell), but rather to the type of life that the individual will have.
[376] Watt, W. M., 'Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam' *MW* 36 (1946) pp. 124 – 152, p. 131; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5; Ringgren, *Arabian Fatalism*, pp. 117 – 121 and Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Second Edition)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) pp. 25 – 31.
[377] William Thomson argues that Muslim tradition appropriated pre-Islamic ideas into its belief system, and he concludes: 'The characteristics of Time became in due season the characteristics of God as the Lord of Time and the Controller of History...' Thomson, William, 'The Concept of Human Destiny in Islam' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 281 – 299, p. 299; for more on pre-Islamic concepts of *dahr*, see Bravmann, M. M., *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) pp. 288 – 295 Goldziher, Ignaz (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006) vol. 1, pp. 209 – 238.
[378] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5.

so forcefully,[379] predestinationist *ḥadīth* such as these became important in the subsequent theological disputes over the issue,[380] with whole chapters on *qadar* appearing in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections[381] and whole works devoted to the subject.[382] Above all, the *modified determinism* of these *ḥadīth* highlight God's control of and power over creation, as well as the role of the angels in the process. The angels act as God's emissaries and act on his behalf, revealing the close relationship between God, man and angels, even from the very beginnings of life.

3.1.2 The Scribes

Having been born, every human is accompanied by (two) angels (*al-hāfiẓān*), usually called the 'Watchers' or the 'Scribes' in English. The function of these angels is given simply in §313: '…They record against you your livelihood (*rizq*), your deeds (*ᶜamal*) and your time (*ajal*).'[383] The Scribes are associated with four verses of the Qur'ān in particular: 6:61; 13:11; 50:17 – 18 and 82:10 – 12. The majority of the information about the Scribes in the mediaeval Islamic exegeses is found in the entry for Q 13:11,[384] although more detail can be found on specific issues in the *tafsīrs* of

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[379] 'It is hardly conceivable that the words "whether he is to be miserable or happy" were originally interpreted in the way in which a Muslim would normally interpret them, as referring to Hell and Paradise.' Watt, W. Montgomery., *Free Will and Predestination in Islam* (London: Luzac, 1948) p. 25

[380] Cf. van Ess, Josef, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie: Studien zum Entstehen prädestinatianischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 16 & 24 – 25.

[381] E.g. al-Bukhārī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl; Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karmī (ed.), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998) *Kitāb al-qadar,* §6594 – 6620, pp. 1261 - 1265; for a collection of different ḥadīth on the subject, see de Vlieger, A., *Kitāb al-qadr: Materiaux pour servir à l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination dans la théologie musulman* (Leiden : Brill, 1902).

[382] E.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb shifā' al-ᶜalīl fī masā'il al-qaḍā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥimah wa'l-ta'līl* (Riyadh : Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadītha, 1323 / 1905).

[383] Similar 'recording angels' can be found in Jewish and Christian texts: e.g. *2En*. 19:5, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 132 – 133; *ApZeph*. 3:1 – 9 & 7:1 – 8, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 510 – 511 & 513; *ApPaul* 7, *NTA* vol. 1, p. 718.

[384] Cf. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: s.n., 1388/1968) vol. 7, pp. 216 – 218; vol. 13, pp. 114 – 123; vol. 26, pp. 157 – 160 and vol. 30, p. 88 and

the other three passages. The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's collection (§312 – 406)[385] and the *tafsīrs* agree that the *ḥafiẓān* are angels and are responsible for writing down the actions that humans take. The Scribes are the angels most closely associated with humans and the *ḥadīth* show that angels are integrated into everyday life. Despite the fact that the deeds recorded by these Scribes will affect the human's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī presents the *ḥafiẓān* as being very much part of the present throughout his collection.

The *ḥadīth* (in both the exegeses and *al-Ḥabā'ik*) differ from the Qur'ānic presentation of the material in the descriptions of the technical and practical ways in which the Scribes behave. For example, a number of *ḥadīth* state there are two sets of angels, two for the day and two for the night.[386] The development of such technicalities can be seen particularly clearly in the exegeses of Q 50:17 – 18. The Qur'ānic verse states there are two angels 'sitting one on the right and one on the left.'[387] The *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the exegeses[388] add that: 'The one on his right writes down the good deeds and the one on his left writes down the sins…'[389] This moral distinction between left and right is not explicit in the original Qur'ānic verse; but the notion that the left is bad (and so the angel that writes down bad deeds is on the left) is a very traditional and ancient distinction that is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān.[390]

Al-Quṛtubī, Abī ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1357–1369/1938–1950) vol. 7, p. 6; vol. 9, pp. 291 – 295; vol. 17, pp. 8 – 13 and vol. 19, pp. 245 – 246.

[385] This is the longest chapter on a named angel in *al-Ḥabā'ik*.

[386] E.g. §314, 315, 318, 319, 331.

[387] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

[388] e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 17, p. 9.

[389] See §319.

[390] *yamīn* appears 16 times in the Qur'ān – see ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fuᶜād, *Al-Muᶜjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1996) p. 862. The opening of Sura 56 is a good example of the discourse of left and right; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 560 – 561. For more

The actions of the angelic scribes are further expanded by the *ḥadīth* to show God's mercy to his creations. In §335 the Scribes are said not to record any transgressions for six hours after a sin has been committed and 'If [the person] repents and seeks forgiveness from God, Most High, then He casts [the sin] away from him…'[391] This *ḥadīth* attests to God's mercy and also encourages repentance. This same emphasis on God's mercy is repeated in §336 with a slight difference in that: 'If a servant does a good act, he writes it down ten times…'[392] Here good actions are given extra weight, thereby making entrance into Paradise, technically at least, a little easier. Despite the fact that these two *ḥadīth* are different in some specific details, the general theme of the *ḥadīth* – that God is merciful and allows time for repentance – is common to a great many included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. To a certain extent these *ḥadīth* could be described as being contradictory,[393] but the differences in detail are not problematic; rather, the underlying aim of these *ḥadīth* is to encourage repentance after the committing of a sin, as well as encouragement to act righteously in the first place. The focus on the ethical value of righteous and unrighteous actions can be seen particularly clearly in another *ḥadīth* that states: '…When a servant tells a lie, the angel [of good deeds] is separated from him by a mile from the stench which comes from him.'[394] Here, an unrighteous action is manifested by a (physical) smell.[395] In this way, the *ḥafiẓān* are no longer simply

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on the left-right distinctions in Islam and religion generally, see Hertz, R., 'La prééminence de la main driote: étude sur la polarité religieuse' *RP* 68 (1909) pp. 553 - 558 and Chelhod, J., 'Contribution au problème de la prééminence de la droite, d'après le témoignage arabe' *Anthropos* 59 (1964) pp. 529 – 545.

[391] §335.

[392] §336.

[393] Some exegetes include a ḥadīth that combines these two positions; e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmi^{c}*, vol. 17, p. 10 [on Q 50:17].

[394] §349.

[395] For a discussion of the concept of smell in religious thought, see Evans, Suzanne, 'The Scent of Martyr' *Numen* 49 (2002) pp. 193 - 211.

angelic 'by-standers' or 'witnesses' dispassionately recording a human's deeds; the Scribes are being used to condition human behaviour, urging both the pursuit of righteous deeds in the first instance and repentance for those who commit unrighteous actions in the second. [396]

The *ḥadīth* in both al-Suyūṭī's collection and the exegetical literature seen above have expanded the Qur'ānic concept of the angelic Scribes in minor and logical ways. However, some *ḥadīth* seem to move away from the Qur'ānic descriptions of the Scribes a great deal; for example, §345 says that 'When God puts a servant to the test during an illness; he says to the companion on the left: 'Go away!' And He says to the companion on the right: 'Write down for my servant the good deeds that he does.' Not only is this further evidence of divine mercy, but it can also be viewed in terms of a legal response to a question of ethical and jurisprudential concern: is one culpable of acts committed whilst ill, including any resultant sins of omission? Are the actions of the insane counted against them? In Islamic criminal law for an individual to be culpable of a crime, the person must 'have had the power to commit or not to commit the act (*qudra*); he must have known (*ᶜilm*) that the act was an offence; and he must have acted with intent (*qaṣd*).'[397] The same applies to ritual law and to the judgement that God gives on the Last Day, with the result that during illness (and logically by extension, madness) unrighteous ritual (and criminal) actions, as well as sins of omission are not counted against an individual.

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[396] There are further ḥadīth that give different details but the same concepts: e.g '…when a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.' §373; p. 101.

[397] Peters, Rudolph, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 20; see also Dols, Michael W., *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p. 442*ff.* and Powers, Paul R., *Intent in Islamic Law: Motive and Meaning in Medieval Sunnī Fiqh* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The *ḥadīth* also include information which at first sight does not appear to be the primary intention of the Qur'ān. For example, §371 says: 'whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel [of good deeds] has turned away from him.'[398] This is not implied by any of the descriptions of the Scribes in the Qur'ān discussed above, to the extent that Q 13:11 says: 'he has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by God's command…'[399] and Q 50:18 says of a human '…not a word he utters but by him is an observer ready.'[400] According to these verses of the Qur'ān, the Scribes are ever-present with a human, but this particular *ḥadīth* states that they are absent when a human is naked: is this contradictory? Not necessarily so; the Qur'ān does also say: 'Successful indeed are the believers…. who guard their private parts.'[401] Q 23:5 clearly prohibits exposing the genitals and this *ḥadīth* uses the concept of the Scribes to emphasize this position: i.e. if one exposes oneself, any good actions performed cannot be recorded; and so, it is clearly in the interest of an individual not to let his or her genitals be revealed. Although the Scribes are not referred to in the various *tafsīr*s on Q 23:5,[402] al-Quṛtubī does include a brief discussion about angels and nakedness, including a *ḥadīth* stating that: 'If a servant enters a bath without an *izār*, then his angel will curse him.'[403] In these *ḥadīth* about nudity there is a slight difference in the way that the Scribes are employed: rather

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[398] §371; Yedida Stillman highlights the differences in attitude to nakedness between the pre-Islamic and Islamic societies: 'The new Islamic sensibilities which were in marked contrast to Jāhilī society's easygoing attitude to nudity and very much in line with the biblical notions of propriety (cf. Exodus 20:23) would not permit the exposure of a man's genitalia…' Stillman, Yedida Kalfon, *Arab Dress: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 11.
[399] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 240.
[400] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[401] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343.
[402] The *tafsīr*s on Q 23:1 – 5 are chiefly concerned with the question of nudity and marriage; see al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 18, p. 4 and Al-Quṛtubi, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948), vol. 12, pp. 102 – 111.
[403] Al-Quṛtubi, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 246.

than the *ḥadīth* being used to expand and explain the roles of the Scribes, the Scribes are used to enforce and interpret a specific legal injunction against nudity. Again, the exposure of the genitals could be projected into an eschatological punishment in the future, but these *ḥadīth* are firmly rooted in the present and the habitual actions of the Scribes.

The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* regarding the Scribes are used in different ways to describe similar concepts. The main ideas contained in the *ḥadīth* are (i) the specific details regarding their location and their functions; (ii) God's mercy towards the repentant; (iii) answers to specific questions of theological and legal concern; and (iv) the use of angels in matters of (ritual) law. The *ḥadīth* show that the Scribes were not simply recorders of human deeds, but are used to encourage certain modes of righteous behaviour. The stress on the intimacy of the angels with individuals is great, as is their place in the human world. The final result of these angels' work will send the individual to Paradise or the Fire, but al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the present and what these angels are doing in this world, at this very moment.

3.1.3 The Angel of Death

The portrayal of 'Death' in anthropomorphic or angelomorphic terms is common to a number of belief systems and Islam is no exception.[404] Despite the fact the death is an important theme of the Qur'ān,[405] there is only one reference to the *Angel of*

[404] See Brandon, 'Personifications of Death' and Lonetto, Richard, 'Personifications of Death' *ED* pp. 205 – 206.

[405] See O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Muhammad Abdul Haleem also comments: 'The after-life is not treated in the Qur'an in a separate chapter at the end of the book, or as

Death.[406] In Islamic tradition, however, the Angel of Death became very important and was recognized as one of the four Islamic archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*).[407] This is reflected in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, with the chapter on the Angel of Death being one of the longest, containing sixty-five *ḥadīth* (c. 9%).[408] The *ḥadīth* included give a wide range of information about the angel, which can be divided into three different categories: (i) physical descriptions of the Angel of Death; (ii) the function and processes of the Angel of Death and (iii) narratives about the Angel of Death meeting various prophets. Running throughout these *ḥadīth* is the sense that death is imminent and that death is part of human existence, with eight explicitly stating that '…the Angel of Death studies every person, without exception, twice a day.'[409] Death is an inescapable, inevitable and ever-present part of this world.

There are relatively few physical descriptions of the Angel of Death in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. The angel is said to have been visible in the times before the Prophet Moses, until, for various reasons, the angel became invisible and disease was 'invented' (§146 – 148); other *ḥadīth* describe the angel in human terms (e.g. §150, 168); one describes the angel as having 'two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head';[410] the angel is also said to hold a spear (§158, 159); and some describe the angel as being huge.[411] Three related *ḥadīth* (§120 – 122) also describe the angel as

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something on its own, for its own sake, but always in relations to life in this world.' Abdel Haleem, Muhammad, 'Life and Beyond in the Qur'an' in Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Christopher Lewis (eds.), *Beyond Death: Theological and Philosophical Reflections on Life After Death* (London: MacMillan, 1995) pp. 66 - 79, p. 66.

[406] Q 32:11; 'Say: "Death's angel, who has been charged with you, shall gather you, then to your Lord you shall be returned."' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 424.

[407] For a basic survey see Wensinck, A. J., 'ʿIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292 – 293.

[408] §107 – 171.

[409] §111; the number of times varies, cf. §109 – 113, 115 – 119. Other ḥadīth in this section make similar statements, but in less explicit terms.

[410] §123; p. 42; another ḥadīth states that the angel has multiple eyes in the back and front of his head, see §120.

[411] E.g. §126, 131 – 133 & 135.

having two forms (one for believers and one for non-believers) and one of these three (§122) gives more detail. For believers, the Angel of Death is described as looking like '…a young man, the most beautiful of face, the most fragrant and [wearing] a white gown;' and for non-believers: '…[he was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of his mouth...'[412] These descriptions of the Angel of Death lack much detail, which is quite surprising as graphic descriptions of the angel can be found in other works with similar themes.[413] The absence of extended descriptions of the Angel of Death reflects the collection's focus on the angel's *function*, rather than the *form* of the angel.

Occasionally the Angel of Death is caricatured, for example in §118 the Angel of Death states that: '…if the servant, to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to take his soul while he is laughing!'[414] Above all, this stresses the inescapable nature of death; even when someone is laughing, if the appointed time (*ajal*) comes, the person will die. In §112 the Angel of Death appears almost arrogant, saying to a grieving family: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you! I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there is none of you left!'"[415] These *ḥadīth* emphasise the nature of the angel's work and the lack of compassion reflects the impersonality of 'Death' and its inevitability. Above all, the Angel of Death is not a judge, only a functionary of God and cannot act independently.

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[412] §122.
[413] Cf. Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie,* p. 20*ff.* and al-Qāḍī, *Daqā'iq*, pp. 32 – 35.
[414] §118.
[415] §112; notice that these are the components of Watt's 'modified fatalism', and are written down by the Angel of the Womb; see above.

Many of the *ḥadīth* ask the practical question: just how does the Angel of Death collect everybody's souls? What, asks one *ḥadīth*, does the Angel of Death do '…when there is a war in the East and a famine in the West?'[416] The *ḥadīth* have three answers. The first is that the Angel of Death is huge, and that '…[The earth] was made like a bowl, and he takes out of it when he wants.'[417] The second answer is that God created helpers for the Angel of Death, who collect people's souls and then hand them over to the Angel of Death (§127). The third answer is that the Angel of Death 'calls it and the soul comes to him.'[418] Although each *ḥadīth* tends to suggest one way or another, these answers are sometimes combined (e.g. §125). On the actual process of death, the only descriptions in the Qur'ān are in Q 56:82, in which the soul is described as moving to the throat of the deceased and Q 6:93, which talks of the '*ghamarāt al-mawt*…' which Arberry translates as 'the agonies of death'.[419] However, the actual process of death is not described in great detail by the *ḥadīth* included in this particular collection and often the Angel of Death simply 'takes the soul' (*qabaḍa al-rūḥ*).[420] As noted above, there are also two *ḥadīth* that say that the angel has a spear and that 'he cuts the vein of life with it.'[421] Again, this lack of information is quite unexpected as many texts go into great detail about the actual physical process of death.[422]

There are a number of *ḥadīth* that describe the way in which the Angel of Death is informed who is to be killed and when. There are two main theories: firstly,

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[416] §123; cf. §126, 132, 133, 158 & 159.
[417] §123.
[418] §135.
[419] Aberry, *Koran***,** p. 132.
[420] E.g. §152.
[421] §158 – 159.
[422] Cf. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥāmmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol.4, pp. 421 – 426; Winter, T. J. (tr.), *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989) pp. 121 – 132.

that God instructs the Angel of Death who is to be killed at the moment before death;[423] or, the Angel of Death is informed about the deaths that are to occur during the whole year during the month of Shaʿbān.[424] Despite these two positions, both stress the idea that it is God, and God only, who decides when an individual's life is to come to an end, as Smith and Haddad write: 'It is clear in these eschatological materials that the angel of death himself, as God's instrument, has no responsibility for determining the moment of the individual's death.'[425] This emphasises that the Angel of Death is not acting independently, which also means that the Qur'ānic statement in Q39:42 that 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death'[426] remains valid. Obedience to God is a key characteristic of all angels, in all monotheist religions and disobedience is often perceived as the origin of evil.[427] As Awn comments: '[The angels] act only in accordance with God's will, and function as His instruments. For them to rebel is unimaginable, and in fact, impossible...'[428] This idea that the Angel of Death does not act independently is also found in Judaism, in which '…God is regarded as ultimately responsible for the individual's death, since Hebrew monotheism could not allow for the existence of an evil principle or a death-god that operated among men, contrary to the will of God.'[429]

The *ḥadīth* are, however, more explicit when it comes to a description of the differences between the Angel of Death's treatment of believers and non-believers;

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[423] E.g. '…the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.'§139.
[424] E.g. '…On the middle night of Shaʿbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death regarding the taking of every soul that he wants to be taken during that year.' §144.
[425] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 35.
[426] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 476.
[427] In Islam the obedience of angels presented a problem for understanding the failure of Iblīs to bow to Adam. If all angels obey God by their nature, why did Iblīs not bow down? These issues are discussed in Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, pp. 24 – 33.
[428] Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, p. 27.
[429] Brandon, 'Personification of Death' p. 325.

take this *ḥadīth*: 'When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: "Your Lord says to you: Peace!"[430] This seems to be a reference to Q 16:32 in which God says to the *winners* on the Day of Judgement: 'Peace be on you! Enter Paradise for that you were doing.'[431] A similar statement can be found in §134:

> '…angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy, and when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.'[432]

These *ḥadīth* suggest some form of pre-figured punishment or reward for the individual, exacted before the formal judgement of the Last Day. Souls of the believers are also said to be subsequently handed over to an angel called Ramyā'īl and the souls of the unbelievers to an angel called Dūma.[433]

Sixteen of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are part of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition. These *ḥadīth* are all comparatively long and form two narrative groups: (i) the Angel of Death and its role in the creation of humans and (ii) the Angel of Death's interaction with various prophets.[434] These mythic tales are important for two reasons: firstly, they show Islamic interaction with the wider Judeo-Christian mythic tradition;[435] and secondly, they reveal some important information about the role and function of the Angel of Death.

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[430] §165.
[431] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[432] §134; the Angel of Death is also seen to act compassionately to believers, and in one ḥadīth the angel says: 'Be of good cheer and feel consoled, for I am friend to every believer.' See §119.
[433] See §300 & 301; Duma is a Jewish angel (meaning 'silence'); in *Ḥag* 5a, the Angel of Death states: 'I, have charge over them till they have completed the generation [i.e. their life] and then I hand them over to Dumah' *Ḥag* 5a, p. 18; see also *San* 94a, *Shab.* 152b and *Ber*. 18b.
[434] Creation: §107 – 108; Prophets: Enoch (§149), Abraham (§120 – 123; 150), Moses (§146), Solomon (§ 137 – 138, 167 – 168), David (§151) and Muḥammad (169 – 170).
[435] For more on the interaction between ḥadīth and rabbinic literature, see Rosenblatt, Samuel, 'Rabbinic Legends in Hadith' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 237 – 252.

The first two *ḥadīth* in the section on the Angel of Death do not, as one may expect, give descriptions of how the Angel of Death takes the souls of humans or how the angel looks, but begin with a story about the creation of Adam. In this story, God commands various angels to collect some mud from the Earth, out of which Adam is created. Various angels fail in their mission and only the Angel of Death succeeds.[436] This story is important because it establishes a link between the birth and death of human life. The Angel of Death was involved in the creation of Adam and is likewise responsible for the 'termination' of Adam and his children; or as Haim Schwarzbaum notes '…at the very moment of his birth man already carries within himself the germs of death.'[437] This narrative was very popular in both Jewish and Muslim tradition and testifies to the high degree of interaction between Judaism and Islam in this particular mythic narrative.[438]

In Judaism and Christianity, the characterization of 'death' or the 'Angel of Death' in works such as the *Testament of Abraham* marks a further development in the personification of *Death*, in which prophets interact directly with an anthropomorphic or angelomorphic version of Death and attempt to challenge it.[439]

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[436] §107 – 108; Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a version of this ḥadīth, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *Qiṣas al-anbiyā'* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-malūk* (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜarif bi-Miṣr, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 89 - 90; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The History of Al-Ṭabarī: Volume 1 – From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) pp. 258 – 259 and al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36. For a fuller list of references to this narrative in Arabic literature see Jeffery, A., 'Ibn al-'Arabī's *Shajarat al-Kawn* (Continued)' *SI* 11 (1959) pp. 113 – 160, p. 113, n. 1; and for references in Jewish and Christian literature see Chipman, 'Mythic aspects' pp. 10 – 13.

[437] Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'The overcrowded earth' *Numen* 4 (1957) pp. 59 – 74, p. 65.

[438] See Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'Jewish and Moslem Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth' in Raphael Patai (ed.) *et. al.*, *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960) pp. 41 – 58 and Ullendorf, Edward, 'The "Death of Moses" in the Literature of the Falashas' *BSOAS* 24 (1961) pp. 419 – 443.

[439] *TestAbr., OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 871 – 902; for a commentary on the text see Allison, Dale, C., *The Testament of Abraham* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). See Allison, *Testament*, pp. 53 – 54 for

This challenge ultimately fails and the prophet succumbs to the authority of God and dies. This narrative theme is also prominent in Islamic tradition.

Ḥadīth §120 – 122 describe the Angel of Death appearing to Abraham in two different forms:[440] the first, for the believers in which the Angel of Death '…[was] made of light and radiance, of a kind that only God, Most High knows.'[441] The second form for the unbelievers was, as has been seen above, terrifying; even 'Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul was about to leave.'[442] Here, the narrative of Abraham's meeting with Death (or rather the *Angel of Death*) is used to describe a wider ethical dimension: ease in the death for the faithful and pain in death for the unfaithful – a common idea in earlier Judaism.[443]

One common theme in these stories is the attempt by various prophets and people to escape death: Enoch, Moses, Abraham and a friend of Solomon all attempt to evade the Angel of Death and prolong their appointed time (*ajal*). Enoch and Abraham both seek confirmation from God that they are supposed to die; Moses challenges the angel directly by slapping him and gouging out his eye and Solomon's friend asks Solomon to transport him to India, so that the Angel of Death does not know where he is.[444] All these attempts are futile, as all are taken by the Angel of Death at their appointed time (*ajal*). This is part of a wider theological position in

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editions of the text in its various extant languages (Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavic and Romanian).

[440] These two images are also found in the *Testament of Abraham* 17:12 – 13: 'Then Death put off all his beauty and loveliness and all his glory and his sun-like form that he had worn. And he put on a robe of tyranny, and he made his face gloomy, more fierce that all wild beasts and more unclean than all uncleanness.' Allison, *Testament*, p. 334; see also Ludlow, Jared W., *Abraham Meets Death: Humor in the Testament of Abraham* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) pp. 95 – 118.

[441] §121.

[442] §121.

[443] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665; Cf. §134 – 135 & 163 – 166.

[444] Enoch: §149; Abraham: §150; Moses §146; Solomon's friend: §167 – 168.

which the moment of death and the length of a human's appointed time are conceived as being immoveable and unchangeable. Montgomery Watt comments: 'Both [*ajal* and *rizq*] are thought as determined by God, but, once they have been determined, they seem to have a certain fixity and there is no question of God's altering them.'[445]

If the *ḥadīth* on wine-drinking is disregarded,[446] the last two *ḥadīth* of the section on the Angel of Death describe the events surrounding the death of Muḥammad. Some elements of these two *ḥadīth* can be found in the other prophets' meetings with the Angel of Death. When the Angel of Death takes Abraham's soul, the angel says: 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.'[447] Likewise, in the story of Muḥammad's death, the Angel of Death seeks permission to enter the Prophet's house, and the *ḥadīth* concludes: 'It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone before him, and will not greet anyone after it.'[448] Although different in detail, the two *ḥadīth* use similar expressions to describe the honour in which the prophets are held. This honour is made even more explicit in §167 in which the Angel of Death is made an actual servant of Solomon.[449] However, the main difference between the encounters of Muḥammad and the other prophets with the Angel of Death is that the death of Muḥammad is treated with a great deal more emotion,

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[445] Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' *SI* 50 (1979) pp. 5 – 19, p. 15.
[446] The section on the Angel of Death ends with a ḥadīth (§171) already included in the section on Michael (§84), which simply contains the *matn*: 'The one addicted to wine is an idolater.' The ḥadīth is included in the section on the Angel of Death, because the Angel of Death features in the *isnād*; see §84 & 171.
[447] §150.
[448] §168; cf. the death of Moses in Pseudo-Philo, in which the angels do not sing their heavenly hymn after his death: '...nor was there such a day from the one on which the LORD made man upon the earth, nor shall there be such forever, that the hymn of the angels should stop on account of men; because he loved him very much. And he buried him with his own hands on a high place and in the light of all the world.' *Ps.-Philo* 19:16, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 323
[449] §167; cf. *Ket***.** 77b, pp. 488 – 489.

where the pain and suffering of the Prophet are stressed.[450] Muḥammad, when asked by Gabriel how he feels, replies: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed, and I find myself scared.'[451] Muḥammad is also one of the only prophets (save David)[452] not to challenge the Angel of Death in an attempt to live a longer life. In §170, the Angel of Death says to Muḥammad:

> 'God has sent me to you, and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul, then I will take it; but if you do not want [me to], then I will leave it.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.'

In the *ḥadīth* there is juxtaposition between the honouring of Muḥammad as a prophet and his depiction as an ordinary human being, fearing death. In this way, Muḥammad becomes an example of human behaviour: accepting of God's will, yet simultaneously fearful of it. Even the Prophet, the exemplar of human submission to God, experiences pain and fear of death itself; as al-Ghazālī writes:

> 'Did you think that the office of Prophethood would ward off from him that which was destined? Did the Angel respect his family and relations for his sake? ...Absurd! Rather he followed that which he found inscribed upon the Tablet.'[453]

The importance of these narratives of the prophets is particularly evident in the fact that a quarter of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death are in this form. What is

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[450] Other pseudepigraphical, apocryphal and hagiographical works also treat death with great emotion: e.g. *The History of Joseph the Carpenter* §14*ff*; Cowper, B. Harris (tr.), *The Apocryphal Gospels* (London: David Nutt, 1897) pp. 99 – 127, pp. 111 *ff*.
[451] §170.
[452] §151; In Jewish and Muslim tradition, David is believed to have been very pious and devout, see Pomykala, Kenneth E., *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and Xeravits, Géza, 'The Figure of David in the Book of Ben Sira' *Henoch* 23 (2001) pp. 27 – 38, especially pp. 30 – 32.
[453] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol.4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58.

most interesting about the use of these mythic narratives is that many of them are not simply graphic descriptions of death and its processes. The *ḥadīth* make important statements about the subject within a rich narrative framework, allowing important concepts about death to be made more subtly.

As a whole, the section on the Angel of Death in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on four main areas: (i) the imminence of death; (ii) the fixed nature of the *ajal*; (iii) the treatment of humans by the Angel of Death based on belief; and (iv) the practical question of how the Angel of Death can take everyone's souls. This section is one of the longest sections in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and it contains much information in a variety of different formats: exegeses of the Qur'ān, simple statements, longer narratives, etc. However, much information has not been included. The *ḥadīth* do not give much detail about the physical appearance of the Angel of Death or about the physical process of death and the time spent in the grave.

3.1.4 The Post-Mortem Angels

After burial, there are a number of angels that interact with an individual after death and in the afterlife; namely, the *fattān al-qabr* (*Tempters of the Grave*, §302 – 311) and the guardians of Heaven and Hell, *Riḍwān* and *Mālik* (§229 – 242), along with their subordinates.

Soon after someone has been buried, they are visited by angels and their faith is tested; if they have been believers, they are rewarded and if they are not, they are

punished.[454] Although it should be noted, as F. E. Peters comments, that '…the events following an individual Muslim's death unfold in a somewhat confused fashion in the literature on the subject.'[455] In Islamic tradition the two angels that come to the deceased are normally named as Munkar and Nakīr. However, some other names are given in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: Ankar, Nākūr, Rūmān[456] and they are also referred to more generally in §308 as '…two angels from the Angels of Mercy, and one angel from the Angels of Torment.' These angels do not appear in the Qur'ān, but became an important part of traditional Islamic beliefs about the afterlife.[457] The angels are described as having a terrifying form, having blue or black skin (§302 & 305) and that:

> 'Their voices are like roaring thunder, and their glance is like a flash of lightning; they walk on their hair, and they dig with their fangs; the two of them have a rod of iron; if the people of Mina were to gather together, they would not be able to lift it up.'[458]

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[454] For a basic summary, see Halevi, Leor, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) pp. 197 – 233 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Adhāb al-ḳabr' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 186 – 187.

[455] Peters, F. E., *Islam: A Guide for Jews and Christians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) pp. 256 – 257.

[456] Cf. §309: 'Abū Nuᶜaym from Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.' And §310: 'Abū 'l-Ḥassan al-Qaṭṭān in *al-Ṭawālāt* from Ḍāmra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.' It should be noted that these other names appear to be very rare, and that both §309 & §310 are attributed to the same source, Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb.

[457] Cf. *Al-Fiqh al-akbar II* §23: 'The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body witht the spirit is a reality. The pressure and punishment in the tomb are a relity that will take place in the case of all infidels and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful' Wensinck, A. J., *The Muslim Creed: Its Origin and Historical Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) pp. 195 – 196. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also devotes much of his *Kitāb al-rūḥ* to a discussion of the trial of the grave, possibly in reaction to groups (such as the *Kharijites* and some *Mu'tazilites*) who denied the existence of Munkar and Nakīr; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (Ḥaydarābād: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmānīya, 1357 / 1939). Birgit Krawietz comments that: '[*Kitāb al-rūḥ*] was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.' Krawietz, Birgit, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works' *MSR* 10 (2006) pp. 19 – 64, p. 35.

[458] §307; cf. §303 & 305 where there are similar images.

This terrifying image has something in common with both the form that the Angel of Death takes for unbelievers (see above) and the forms of the anti-Christ, *al-Dajjāl*.[459] Despite their form, Munkar and Nakīr are not 'evil' angels, nor are they devils. Their function is to test the soul of the deceased by asking simple, basic questions of the individual's beliefs, e.g. §303: 'The two will sit with him and ask him what he used to worship, and who his prophet was.' These are fundamental questions, relating directly to the beliefs of the *shahāda*, rather than a judgement based on an individual's actions. The responses to the questions asked by the two angels receive either a punishment or reward; in §302 the reward and punishment is related directly to Heaven and Hell: '…the door to the Garden is opened for him, and it is roomy for him in his grave' and '…the door to the Fire is opened for him.'

The implication is that the period of questioning in the grave acts as a preliminary stage of judgement during which those who can never enter heaven are separated from those that can. Those that pass the test will subsequently be judged on the Day of Resurrection according to their actions, as collected by the Scribes. This would seem to highlight the primacy of belief and the punishment of disbelief; i.e. *kufr* automatically results in punishment in Hell. However, this is not at all clear and statements such as '…his torment does not end until God calls him from that bed of his...' in §302, suggest that the individual is not immediately consigned to Hell during this period, but it would seem extremely unlikely that he or she could gain admittance to Heaven.

The guardians of Heaven and Hell are also named in Islamic tradition as Mālik and Riḍwān, and, although their names are derived from the Qur'ān, they are

[459] See Saritopak, Z., 'The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Anti-Christ): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition' *MW* 93 (2003) pp. 291 - 307 and Halperin, D. J., 'The Ibn Sayyad Traditions and the Legend of al-Dajjāl' *JAOS* 96 (1976) pp. 213 – 225.

not fully developed until the *ḥadīth* literature.[460] They also both figure fairly prominently in the *miᶜrāj* literature.[461] Of the few *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* about post-mortem events, only §237 and §242 are explicitly about Riḍwān, and only §241 about the guardians of Heaven. The majority are descriptions of the individuals responsible for Hell: (i) Mālik, the angel in charge of Hell; (ii) the guardians who punish hell's inhabitants; and (iii) the *zabāniyya*, another group of angels who are also responsible for punishments. Like the Angel of Death and Munkar and Nakīr, they are described as having a terrifying form:

> [229] God, may he be praised and glorified, created Mālik, and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him, no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with his fingers; and by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

> [234] There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people].

These descriptions are designed to make individuals aware of the consequences of their actions in this world. Such descriptions are common in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and eschatological texts.[462]

The *ḥadīth* included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection concerning the post-mortem angels are actually very few, only amounting to twenty-four *ḥadīth* (3%).

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[460] Mālik: Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; Riḍwān: Q 3:15; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 47.
[461] Cf. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 134*ff*. Vockovic comments: '…Malik is a character that Muhammad meets occasionally, and he is the one, when asked who shows Muhammad hell.' Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 37.
[462] See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, pp. 68 – 105.

This is quite surprising as both the angels Mālik and the two tempters of the grave were extremely popular in Islamic tradition.[463] Being angels, al-Suyūṭī could not exclude them from this collection, but their actions in the post-mortem world, that of the eschatological future, appear to jar with the immediacy and everyday focus of the rest of the *ḥadīth* in the collection.

The role of the angels in the everyday lives of humans is an important theme in Islamic tradition and many of the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* deal with this issue. The *ḥadīth* show that angels are continually in contact with humans from the very beginnings of life. One *ḥadīth* shows this with particular clarity:

> [304] '…when God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create him, He said to an angel: 'Write down his blessings (*rizq*)! Write down his report (*athar*)! Write down his allotted time (*ajal*)! Write him down as damned or blessed!' Then that angel ascends and God sends an angel, and it sustains him until he reaches puberty, then that angel ascends. Then God assigns two angels to him, who write down his good deeds and his misdeeds. When he is in the presence of death, those two angels ascend, and the Angel of Death comes to him to take his soul. When he enters his grave, the spirit returns to his body, and the two Angels of the Grave come to him and test him. Then the two ascend. When the Hour comes, the Angel of Good Deeds and the Angel of Misdeeds come down to him and they untie the bound books on his neck. Then the two are with him and one drives him and the other bears witness.'

[463] E.g. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, pp. 426 – 430; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, pp. 135 – 147; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 41 – 49.

There has been a tendency in Islamic (as well as Biblical and Jewish) Studies to focus on the angels' roles in eschatology. Christopher Rowland has argued that Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature is not simply about the future, but is also concerned with the present: 'Such elements point to apocalyptic being not merely a movement which was concerned primarily with the future of the world but with the world above, its secrets and its glory.'[464] But it is not simply apocalyptic texts that are interested in angels and the divine world, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a case in point. The compilation is clearly not apocalyptic, far from it in fact; yet it is deeply interested in the angelic world. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not simply concerned with, as Rowland puts it, the secrets and glory of heaven, but with the interaction of the divine with the human; the relationship between the angels and people, at all times. This relationship is reciprocal: whilst the angels constantly supervise and note down human actions, a close link is also established between the human and the divine worlds and along with it a sense of protection. Whilst it is angels that are the celestial beings that interact with God, there is a constant stress in the *ḥadīth* that they are mere functionaries. All of the angels' actions originate from God.

[464] Rowland, C., 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature' *JSJ* 10 (1979) pp. 138 – 154, p. 138.

3.2 Angels and Ritual

So far, angels have been seen to watch over human activity on behalf of God, recording human actions in readiness for the Day of Judgment. The angels do, however, also relate to the contemporary world (that is, the world of the *now*) in a different way. Rather than perceiving angels as coming down to the earthly realm, humans can also look up to the angels in heaven to seek guidance in the ways and forms of ritual.

The idea that the earth is a replica of the divine is an important and common concept in the ancient world and the temple in Near Eastern religion marked a place of direct connection between the human and divine realms.[465] As Nicholas Wyatt comments: 'The point of the junction is communication between the two, allowing the benefits of cult to reach the god (they were seen as being fed by their servants, like great lords), and for their power to be transmitted downwards as a blessing…'[466] Associated with the precise *locus* of this divine place on earth (the *holy of holies* in the Jewish Temple) and its environs were a number of rites and rituals concerning how it should be engaged with by humans. Jewish ritual law (as well as much criminal and civil law) is associated with these regulations and came to have a profound effect on the daily lives of both the priestly and non-priestly classes. After the destruction of the two Jewish temples, but particularly after that of the Second

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[465] E.g. *Enûma Elish* VI:107 – 122; Heidel, Alexander (tr.), *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) p. 39.

[466] Wyatt, Nicholas, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) p. 161; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'The Significance of Ritual in the Religion of Israel' in H. Kraemer, P. A. H. de Boer and W. C. van Unnik (eds.), *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappil NV, 1941) pp. 51 – 60.

Temple, the *locus* of this divine-human interaction was lost, but the ritual laws and the means of approach to God remained.[467]

In the literature of the inter-testamental and post-biblical periods the concept of heaven as the template for human action on earth became important in the description and performance of certain rituals. Texts such as the *Testament of Levi* portray earthly ritual actions being performed in heaven by angels.[468] The role of the angels in these texts is to act as an exemplar for human behaviour; the way in which the angels worship God, should be how humans worship God. In these works the visionary ascends to heaven and *brings down* revelation to the rest of humanity concerning God and the rituals associated with His worship. There is also, however (as seen above with the Scribes), a movement in the opposite direction: angels are also used to deliver prayers of the faithful to God and to keep information about the ritual actions of individual humans. This movement is seen particularly clearly in the mediaeval *Exodus Rabbah*: 'When they have all finished [praying], the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the Synagogues, weaves them into garlands and places them upon the head of God…'[469]

Ritual also forms the basis of Islamic spiritual life, and there has been much literature written about the history and development of Islamic ritual.[470] However, the role of angels in ritual law and belief has yet to be tackled, which is somewhat surprising as the use of angels to encourage and discourage certain actions is neither obscure, nor solely the domain of popular, folkloric material. For example, Mālik ibn

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[467] See Stone, Michael E., 'Reactions to the Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion' *JSJ* 12 (1981) pp. 195 – 204.
[468] For a discussion of these themes, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*.
[469] *ExodR* 21:4, pp. 262 – 263.
[470] E.g. Katz, Marion Holmes, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

Anas includes a number of *ḥadīth* that use angels for these purposes in his *Muwaṭṭā'*.[471]

There are 224 *ḥadīth* (around 30%) included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, which relate to ritual issues. This is a significant proportion and therefore the subject needs to be addressed comprehensively. This section will look at the roles that angels play in ritual behaviour, looking at the topic from two directions: (i) humans looking *up* towards heaven for templates of ritual action,[472] and (ii) heavenly beings coming *down* to earth, covering both the effects of certain human actions on angels[473] and the angelic encouragement of correct behaviour.[474]

3.2.1 Heaven as a Template for the Performance of Ritual

One of the most important roles for angels is to show believers how they should behave, both in general terms and in specific ritual contexts. The importance of angels outside Islam is best seen in the Qumran community and their liturgical work, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.[475] At Qumran human worship replicates the angelic community and both humans and angels pray and worship simultaneously. Martha

[471] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa*; vol. 1, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142, 165 – 166 and vol. 2 p. 241; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta* §3.2.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85; 15.7.25; 54.3.6; 54.3.8; pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.
[472] 62 ḥadīth: §7, 21, 22, 24, 34, 39, 83, 100, 101, 102, 196, 212, 275, 282, 289 – 290, 458 – 470, 475 – 477, 486, 489; 518 – 528, 549, 566, 567, 575, 609, 625, 683 – 685, 687 – 690, 708 & 736.
[473] 69 ḥadīth: §58, 60 – 63, 84, 120 – 122, 145, 171, 229, 248 – 255, 302, 312, 319,349, 355 – 361, 364 – 368, 371,372, 386, 387,391, 503, 512,574, 582 – 597, 624, 650, 658, 691, 693 – 695, 698 & 715.
[474] 124 ḥadīth: §59 - 62, 65, 119 - 122, 212, 302, 312, 319, 329,330, 333 - 336, 341, 344 - 347, 351 - 354, 369, 370,373, 375, 376, 382, 387, 391, 430, 445 - 470, 474 - 477, 503, 568 - 573, 576, 578 - 580, 598, 599, 604, 609, 614, 615, 617, 618, 621 - 623, 628, 634, 644, 645, 653, 665, 666, 671, 673, 676, 682, 695, 696, 698 - 701, 708, 710 - 722, 738 - 730, 732.
[475] *4Q400 – 4Q407* and *Mas1k*; for a translation of these texts with a commentary, see Davila, James R., *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000) pp. 83 – 167.

Himmelfarb comments that: 'The recitation of the *Sabbath Songs* with their description of the liturgy in the heavenly temple was intended to create a feeling of participation in the service on high.'[476] As will be seen, this is also a key part in the understanding of the role of angels in Islamic ritual.[477]

Before looking at the role of angels in specific ritual actions, it is important to highlight the way in which angels are held to be exemplars of faith. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the angels are said to be continually praising and worshipping God. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that state: 'There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright until the Hour comes.'[478] Here Heaven is described as a world crammed full of angels, constantly praising God.[479] This is seen further in another *ḥadīth*:

> [22] 'God, Most High, divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.'

Of all the angels that are in existence the great majority praise and worship God, with a mere ten percent given specific tasks – the roles normally associated with angels.[480] In one of the *ḥadīth* it says explicitly that the main purpose of the angels is to worship:

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[476] Himmelfarb, *Ascents to Heaven*, p. 49; see also Gzella, H., 'Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen' *EphThL* 78 (2002) pp. 468 – 481.

[477] See also Roff, William R., 'Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam,* pp. 78 – 86.

[478] §7; cf. §8 – 12, 18, 21 and 22 - 25.

[479] In *1En* 60:1, there are said to be 'ten thousand times a million and ten million times ten million' angels; cf. 1En 71:8, 13; *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 50; *2En*. 18 – 19 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 130 – 134 ; *3En*. 17 – 40 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 269 – 292 *QuesEzra*. 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LamR* 3:23, §8, p. 201

[480] E.g. Andrea Pires defines angels in this way: '…the word "angel" applies to ranks of spiritual or heavenly beings which serve as intermediaries between the earthly and divine worlds…' Pires, Andrea (tr. Paul Ellis), 'Angels' *ER*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 343 - 349, p. 343.

> [549] 'I said to Kaᶜb: 'What is your opinion about the Word of God: 'glorifying Him by night and in the daytime and never failing'[481] - particularly regarding those that are occupied with [delivering] messages and those that are occupied with [seeing to people's] needs?' He said: God gave them worship, just as [he gave] you souls. Have you not eaten and drunk, and stood up and sat down, and come and gone, and talked while you breathed? In that way, He created worship for them.'

The worship and praise of God is a natural function of the angel. The actual words of the angels are also important and often reflect invocations used commonly in Muslim ritual, again something seen in Jewish and Christian contexts.[482] The most important of these is the saying of the *tasbīḥ*,[483] which is an integral part of Muslim devotional practices: 'Muslim prayer-manuals show that for the Muslim worshipper too, his act of praise is a sharing in the worship of "angels and men in a wonderful order".'[484] This perpetual worship and glorification of God are personified particularly strongly in the angel *al-Rūḥ*:

> 'The Spirit is an angel. It has seventy thousand faces, and every face has seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue has seventy thousand languages, which praise God in all of those languages; God creates an

[481] Q 21:20; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 324.
[482] For example, '3 Enoch represents the celebration of God's holiness through the recitation of the Qeduššah (the Sanctus) as the central act of heavenly worship. 3 Enoch 35-40 is devoted entirely to this subject.' Alexander, P., '3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch: Introduction' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 245.
[483] *Tasbīḥ* normally refers to the phrase: '*subḥān allāh*' (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-dhikr*; *B. 18 (Subhān allāh)* §6575 - 6580) but according to S. M. Zwemer in relation to the Muslim 'rosary', '[The *tasbīḥ*] generally consists in saying *subhān Allāh* thirty-three times, *al-hamdu-lillāhi* thirty-three times, and *Allāhu akbar* thirty-three times.' Zwemer, S. M., 'The Rosary in Islam' *MW* 21 (1931) pp. 329 – 343, p. 330 and Goldziher, I., 'Le roasaire dans l'Islam' *GS* vol. 2, 374 – 379. For more on its use during the ritual prayers see Padwick, Constance E., *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: SPCK, 1961) pp. 65 – 74.
[484] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 67.

> angel from every praise, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.'[485]

The image here shows the multitude of praises from one being towards one object and it is no surprise that such an image should be included by Ibn Ṭufayl in his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as the ultimate goal for all those who wish to worship God.[486] At a basic level, the angels are beings created to worship God and do so naturally. Indeed, many theologians saw obedience and worship of God as such an innate part of the angels' being that Iblīs' refusal to prostrate to Adam had to be reinterpreted.[487] As worship of God, as well as obedience and submission to God, are part of the angelic nature, the angels then become the epitome of the way in which Muslims should worship.

Thus far, the *ḥadīth* have just outlined two basic principles: firstly, that praise and worship of God should be constant and, secondly, that certain expressions and devotions are used by the angels. However, the angels also play important roles in more technical aspects of the worship of God, especially the ritual prayers and the rites of the *ḥajj*.

One of the most important themes in Islamic tradition is the idea that there is a heavenly counterpart to the *Kaᶜba*, often called the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* (the 'inhabited house'). W. McKane comments that in Islamic visions of heaven, 'There is a doctrine of heavenly prototypes and earthly copies; thus a heavenly *Ka'aba*, a heavenly *mu'addin* and an angel in the form of a cock who regulates the crowing and

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[485] §212; see also §213 – 216.
[486] Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (Beirut: Al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1963) p. 85.
[487] See al-Zamakhsharī, Abū 'l-Qāsim Jārr Allāh Maḥmūd ᶜUmar, *Al-Kashshāf ᶜan ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa-ᶜuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜa al-Kubrā, 1318 – 1319) vol. 3, p. 18 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar (ed. W. Fell), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leizig: Vogel, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 191 - 192 [both on Q 38:75] and the discussion of these themes by Ibrahim, 'Superiority of Angels'.

silence of all earthly cocks.'[488] This heavenly prototype is believed to be directly above the earthly *Kaᶜba*, or as one *ḥadīth* puts it: '…if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it.'[489] The Temple was the primary focus of the cult in ancient religion, generally, and particularly in Judaism because of the direct link between the one temple and God.[490] Likewise, in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the earthly Kaᶜba is a representation of a heavenly version.[491] The traditions often use the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* to describe the great number of angels that worship in it, for example:

> '…It is called *The Inhabited House* because seventy thousand angels pray in it every day; then they come down, when they have spent the night [there], they circumambulate the Kaᶜba, then they bless the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), then they leave and they do not have another turn until the coming of the Hour.'[492]

This does not, at first, appear to establish a model of any particular rite of the *ḥajj*; the *ḥajj* is not performed every day. However, this *ḥadīth* and others like it place the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, and by extension the earthly *Kaᶜba*, at the heart of angelic worship. The angels are not instituting any particular rite, but are stressing the holiness and sanctity of the location.[493] Of course, in Islam the *locus* of the 'temple' as the house

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[488] McKane, 'Manuscript on the Miᶜraj' p. 375; for more on the history of the Kaᶜba, see Rubin, Uri, 'The Kaᶜba: Aspects of its ritual function asnd position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times' *JSAI* 8 (1986) pp. 97 – 131.

[489] §21; see also §498 & 522. §685 states that there are fifteen 'houses', one for each of the seven heavens and earths, and one for God and that if one of the houses were to fall, '… then it would fall one of them on top of the other until the borders to the lowest earth.'

[490] See Wyatt, *Space and Time*, pp. 159 – 182.

[491] As James Davila has commented on the heavenly temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice envisions a macrocosmic Temple conceived on the model of the earthly Tabernacle and the Temple in Jerusalem. (Of course, the composers of the work would see it the other way around: the cosmic Temple is the archetype and model for the earthly sanctuaries.)' Davila, James R., 'The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrfice' *DSD* 9 (2002) pp. 1 – 19, p. 1.

[492] §489; cf. §21, 519 – 521.

[493] Gustave von Grunebaum comments: 'The cosmological sanctity of Muḥammad's birth-place is underpinned, as it were, by its soteriological sanctity as the cradle of Islam.' Von Grunebaum,

of God is a key component of the worship of God as the *qibla* is directed to the *Kaᶜba*: 'The central gesture of this body language is the facing of the direction of prayer, in Arabic, *tawliyat al-wujh*, the turning of one's face (to the house of God).'[494] As the angels focus their activities of worship on the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, the Muslim community looks in the same direction.[495]

The *Inhabited House* is also used explicitly as the template for the earthly *Kaᶜba* in §519 and §687:

> [519]'…The Angel took me up into the Seventh Heaven, until we reached a building. I said to the angel: 'What is that?' And he said: 'This building is His building. God has angels, seventy thousand, who enter it every day. They glorify God and praise Him, and they do not come back to it.'

> [687] 'When God sent Adam down from the Garden, he said: "Adam, I have built a house for me, opposite my house which is in heaven. You can worship me in it, and your children, just as my angels worship around my Throne." So the angels came down to him, and he dug until

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Gustave E., 'The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities' in Dunning S. Wilson (ed.), *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perpsectives* (London: Variorum Imprints, 1976) §5, p. 34. However, it should also be noted that Jerusalem still remained an important site in Islam, with many *faḍā'il* works written about it; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; tr. Reynolds, James, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1836).

[494] Neuwirth, A., 'Face of God – Face of Man: The Significance of the Direction of Prayer in Islam' in A. I. Baumgarten, J. Assmann and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) pp. 298 – 312, p. 302; see also Ashraf, Syed Ali, 'The Inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihād' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, pp. 111 – 130 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Ḳibla: Ritual and Legal Aspects' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

[495] There are a number of works about Mecca and its merits, see Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1861); Wüstenfeld's work includes an edition of Al-Azraqī, Abū Walīd Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, *Kitāb akhbār Makka*; Rudi Paret comments: 'Die Gebetsrichtung nach Mekka, die Qibla, symbolisiert seither die Eigengesetzlichkeit des Islam. Mekka mit seinen Heiligtümern ist das geistige Zentrum, der Richtpunkt der betenden Gemeinde.' Paret, Rudi, *Symbolik des Islam* (Stuttgary: Anton Hiersemann, 1958) pp. 16 – 17.

he reached the Seventh Earth, and the angels threw the rock down until it towered over the face of the earth.' [496]

These two *ḥadīth* both establish a direct link between the earthly and heavenly *Kaᶜbas*, but they are quite different in approach. The first (§519) is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre; during Muḥammad's ascension he sees God's 'house'. It is not described, but Muḥammad's failure to understand the building that he is shown is quite unusual. Had the building been a direct replica of the earthly *Kaᶜba* one would expect him to know, or at least recognise, what he has seen. Nonetheless, the building is clearly the *inhabited house*. Why does Muḥammad not recognise it? The answer probably lies in the fact that it is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre, in which the unknown is made known. The importance is not the fact that it is in the form of the earthly *Kaᶜba*, but that the building is revealed to be *God's* building. The focus is on the association of the *locus* with the divine, not on the physical form of the building. Likewise the location of the building is important in §687, in which the *Kaᶜba* is associated with Adam. In his recent monograph, Brandon Wheeler comments that: 'Adam's role in instituting the rituals of the pilgrimage, and in particular the boundaries of the sanctuary, establishes a link between Mecca and the lineage of the prophets. The observance of the pilgrimage rites and prohibitions of the sanctuary by the prophets reiterates the association of Mecca and Eden.'[497] Whilst the association with Eden (and 'heaven'

[496] See also §523 & 524; for this and other stories associated with the Kaᶜba, see Alexander, Grant, 'The Story of the Kaᶜba' *MW* 28 (1938) pp. 43 – 53; Zwemer, Samuel S. M., 'Al-Haramain: Mecca and Medina' *MW* 37 (1947) pp. 7 – 15; Wheeler, Brandon M., *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) pp. 82 – 87; Campo, Juan Eduardo, 'Authority, Ritual and Spatial Order in Islam' *JRS* 5 (1991) pp. 65 – 91; Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, 'The Religious Dialectics of the Hadjdj' in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) pp. 17 - 37 and Pavlovitch, Pavel, '*Qad kunna lā naᶜbudu 'llāha wa-lā naᶜrifuhu*. On the Problem of the Pre-Islamic Lord of the Kaᶜba' *JAIS* 2 (1998 – 1999) pp. 49 – 74.

[497] Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, p. 85; Marion Katz argues that the association of Adam with the Kaᶜba, gives the pilgrimage a role in the Islamic notion of salvation history, Katz, Marion, 'The Ḥajj and Islamic Studies of Ritual' *SI* 98/99 (2004) pp. 95 – 129, pp. 111 - 112. In Judaism myths associated

more generally) is important, it is the building's specific relationship with God and the fact that the *Kaᶜba / bayt al-maᶜmūr* is God's dwelling that is more important: the focus is on God, rather than Heaven. The *Kaᶜba* is not 'heaven on earth' but 'God's dwelling on earth'.

The *ḥadīth* do not only describe the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in general terms, but they also show the angels performing or supporting specific rituals associated with the *Kaᶜba*. The angels are said to have been the first to perform a circumambulation (*tawwāf*) of the *Kaᶜba*:

> 'Adam (peace be upon him) circumambulated the Holy House, and the angels said: 'Your piety obeys [God], Adam, we have circumambulated this House before you, for two thousand years.'[498]

Adam, as the first man and the first to come into contact with the *Kaᶜba*, is associated with its rituals. However, there is also a deeper sense that the *Kaᶜba* is a form of recompense for Adam's expulsion from paradise, as Adam is not left abandoned by God. Another *ḥadith* (§624) establishes a link between the practice of *ṯawwāf* in heaven and on earth:

> 'And [Adam] walked around it, just as he had walked around the Throne, and he performed the prayers by it, just as he had performed them by the Throne.'[499]

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with early prophets are also used to explain rituals, for a discussion of this theme see, Weitzman, Steven, 'Revising Myth and Ritual in Early Judaism' *DSD* 4 (1997) pp. 21 – 54.

[498] §609; see also §683, 684 & 688.

[499] Note that this ḥadīth uses 'throne': in this case the *Kaᶜba* is a representation of God's Throne, rather than the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*. However, in §684 it is said that 'God, may he be praised, placed a House under the Throne, on four pillars made of green jewels, and he covered them in rubies, and he called the House "The Remote Place" (*al-ḍirāḥ*). Then God said the angels: "Circumambulate around this House and pray to the Throne." The angels circumambulated the House, and they left the Throne…'

The angels are also said to wear the *izār* (§625), to protect the *jimār* (§461) and to circumambulate in the air above the earthly *Kaᶜba* during Ramaḍān (§736), bless those who say a prayer as they pass the Yemeni column of the *Kaᶜba* (§458 – 460) and surround the tomb of the prophet (§488). These *ḥadīth* validate the use of these specific ritual and devotional acts by the Muslim community.

Given the infrequency with which most Muslims have the opportunity to perform the *ḥajj*, the role of the angels in the performance of the ritual prayers is, perhaps, more important. One of the overarching themes in the *ḥadīth* is that the angels are present whenever a Muslim prays and that they support the community. The idea of God sending angels to help and support the Muslim community is an early one, found both in the Qur'ān and in *ḥadīth*.[500] For example, during the Battle of Badr God sent a contingent of angels to help the outnumbered Muslims:

> '…and God most surely helped you at Badr…."Is it not enough for you that your Lord should reinforce you with three thousand angels sent down upon you? Yea if you are patient and godfearing, and the foe come against you instantly, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand swooping angels."'[501]

The idea that angels support a community both in military,[502] but especially ritual and liturgical affairs, is not new and is an extremely important concept in the *Dead*

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[500] For early ḥadīth on angelic support in prayer, cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'*, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta*, 3.12.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85, pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.

[501] Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; for a discussion of the historiographical issues, see Booth, Newell S., 'The Historical and Non-Historical In Islam' *MW* 60 (1970) pp. 109 – 122, pp. 110 – 113.

[502] E.g. 4Q491 (*War Scroll*) l. 10: 'Each man who is not [clean in regard to his genitals] that [nig]ht [shall] no[t g]o out with them to battle. For the holy angels are with their battle lines to[gether].' See also Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* pp. 212 - 234 and Gleason, Randall G., 'Angels and the Eschatology in Heb 1 – 2' *NTS* 49 (2003) pp. 99 – 107.

Sea Scrolls.[503] In both the Judaism of the Qumran community and in Islam the angels' participation and support of the community are crucial to understanding the relationship between God and his creations.

In *al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that reflect these themes. Some *ḥadīth* state the ritual prayers are performed in heaven, e.g.: 'When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.'[504] There are also more specific *ḥadīth* that give the role of *angelic imām* and *angelic mu'adhdhin* to specific angels: §39 states that Gabirel is *imām*, whereas in §83 Michael is *imām* and Gabriel is the *mu'adhdhin* and in §102 Isrāfīl is the *mu'adhdhin*. These contradictions are not important, rather the fact that there is an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* in heaven shows that the earthly practices of the Muslims are a copy of those performed in heaven.[505] The idea that earthly practice is a mirror of the heavenly, is seen most clearly in §83:

> [83] 'The *mu'adhdhin* of the heavenly host is Gabriel, and Michael is their Imam, who leads them in the prayers in the inhabited house, and the angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited*

[503] For a discussion of the role of angels in Qumran liturgical works, see Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 235 – 254; Fletcher-Lewis, Crispin H. T., *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brill: Leiden, 2002); Chazon, Esther G., 'Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran' in Daniel K. Falk *et. al.* (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 95 – 105 and Chazon, Esther G., 'Human and Angelic Prayer in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Esther G. Chazon (ed.), *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19 – 23 January 2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 35 – 47. For similar ideas in the *Hekhalot* literature, see Elior, Rachel, 'From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions' *JSQ* 4 (1997) pp. 217 – 267.

[504] §100; see also §101 & 102 which contain the same idea.

[505] There are a number of ḥadīth that describe the angelic *adhān*, usually witnessed by Muḥammad during his *miᶜrāj*; these are often used in the arguments between different Muslim groups, especially Twelver and Sunnī *fiqh*, concerning the wording of the *adhān*; cf. Howard, I. K. A., 'The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam' *JSS* 26 (1981) pp. 219 – 228, especially pp. 226 – 227. For the role of an angel leading the heavenly worship of God in Judaism, see Orlov, Andrei A., 'Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in 2 Enoch and the Merkebah Tradition' *JSP* 14 (2004) pp. 3 – 29.

> *House*, and they perform the prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).'

Here a whole number of Muslim ritual practices can be seen: the *ṣalāt*, the direction of the *qibla* and the circumambulation of the *house*. Furthermore, the Muslim community actually benefits from these angelic actions. The *ḥadīth* associated with the celestial cockerel (*al-Dīk*; §280 – 294) also locate the origin of the earthly *adhān* in heaven:

> [§282] 'God has a cockerel; its feet are on the Seventh Earth and its head passes through the Seven Heavens, and it praises God at the times of prayer; there is no cockerel on Earth that does not reply to it.'

The words of the angels are also important, as they often form the template of Islamic prayers and devotions. This is seen clearly in §275:

> 'Dhū 'l-Qarnayn (peace be upon him) had a friend from amongst the angels, and it is said he was Riyāfīl. He used to come to him, and visit him, and he said to him: 'Tell me, how do you serve [God] in heaven?' He said: 'In heaven angels stand upright, and they never sit down; and among them [are those that are] prostrating, and they never raise their heads, and there [are those that are] kneeling down, and they never stand upright. However, there is one who raises his face, but he never looks astray. He says: 'Praise be [to God], the King, the All-Holy,[506] the Lord

[506] Cf. 'He is God; there is no god but He. He is the King, the All-holy, the All-peaceable…' Q 59:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 576. The words of the angels are the basic form of the *taṣbīh* and 'The last two nouns are a Qur'ānic couplet, and the *quddūs* is one of the Ninety-nine Names, but no one has traced the origin of this constantly recurring and haunting phrase.' Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66

> of the Angels and the Spirit, Lord, we have not worshiped you, as worship of you demands. '

In the *ḥadīth* concerned with ritual the angels are used to legitimise set forms of worship. The earthly and divine rituals are identical and performed simultaneously. This creates a sense of harmony and a deep relationship between heaven and earth in the performance of ritual. Esther Chazon has highlighted three different ways in which the angels and the community of Qumran interact: (i) humans invite angels to praise God, because of their inability to praise God as well as the angels; (ii) humans pray *like* angels, using their words and (iii) humans join the angels, and they become one choir praising God.[507] All three of these positions can be seen in the *ḥadīth*: (i) prayer and worship are innate characteristics of angels, but not of humans; (ii) specific rites and invocations of the Muslim community were established by the angels; (iii) the heavenly and earthly communities praise God simultaneously. This testifies to the different types of relationship that exist between humans and angels in the sphere of ritual. Much of this is concerned with the 'correctness' of ritual: the correct forms of worship are those performed in heaven.

3.2.2 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong?

Muslims' lives are constantly regulated by the principle of *sharīᶜa*, the divine law, which the *fuqāhā'* strive to interpret and understand. *Sharīᶜa* does not simply govern criminal, civil and ritual law, but it also addresses ethical and moral concerns more

[507] Chazon, 'Human and Angelic Prayer' pp. 46 – 47. Esther Chazon implies that these three positions are discrete, but it would seem feasible for a community to hold these positions simultaneously.

generally.[508] In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that attempt to discourage certain types of behaviour in a whole range of different situations and circumstances, ranging from people's bad habits during the ritual prayer to questions of purity. In this collection angels are used to warn believers of the consequences of certain practices in a number of ways: (i) stating that it offends the angel that writes down good deeds (with the implication that this may affect the individual's own record of good deeds); (ii) by stating that angels do not come into the presence of certain things; and (iii) stating that the angels curse individuals for certain actions.

Ritual purity is an important part of both Jewish and Islamic religious life. In Judaism the ritual purity laws of Leviticus (especially Lev. 11 – 16) were primarily directed at the priestly class, because the priests were required to be ritually clean before coming into contact with the divine in the Holy of Holies.[509] However, as Judaism developed, there was an increasing trend for the laity to adopt the same, or, at the very least, similar purity regulations; as Eyal Regev has concluded: 'Purity is necessary in order to achieve holiness. Thus, we conclude that those who voluntarily observed purity in order to eat, pray and read Scripture were seeking holiness in their everyday life, outside the realm of the Temple and the priestly system.'[510] Impurity, or uncleanness, is derived from a whole range of different things, but the principal sources of impurity are corpses and bodily discharges (including urine, faeces and

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[508] There have been a number of works on Islamic ethics (both philosophical and Qur'anic), e.g. Fakhry, Majid, *Ethical Theories in Islam (Second Edition)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Izutsu, Toshihko, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966) and Cook, Michael, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[509] See any commentary on Leviticus for a discussion of these issues, e.g. Porter, J. R., *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) and Noth, Martin, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965); see also Neusner, Jacob, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism: A Systematic Account* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) pp. 27 – 50.

[510] See Regev, Eyal, 'Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 176 – 202, p. 187.

menstrual blood).[511] After coming into contact with these polluting substances ritual cleansing (in Islam *wuḍū'*, *ghusl* or *tayammum*) is required before performing ritual actions.[512] Islamic notions of ritual impurity are believed to be related to either Rabbinic or Zoroastrian ideas;[513] however, what is important to note is that Islamic purity regulations are usually deemed to be less rigorous than those of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. For example, ritual impurity can be derived from both physical substances and through contact with an unclean person or place; but in Islam, impurity is derived solely from substances.[514] In Judaism and Zoroastrianism, ritual impurity is of major spiritual importance and the notions of purity and holiness became *sacralised*; but the concept of purity in Islam is much more basic, as Janina Safran suggests: 'The Islamic system of purity is focused on ritual worship and treats the defilement of the body, often by bodily acts and substances, as a regular circumstance of the human condition.'[515] It should also be stressed that the concept of purity in Islamic law is *ritual* and not *hygienic*.[516]

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[511] Neusner, *Purity*, pp. 53 – 82 and Harrington, Hannah K., *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

[512] For a discussion of these terms in relation to the Qur'ān, see Burton, John, 'The Qur'ān and the Islamic Practice of *Wuḍū" BSOAS* 51 (1988) pp. 21 – 58 and Maghen, Ze'ev, 'Close Encounters: Some Preliminary Observations on the Transmission of Impurity in Early Sunnī Jurisprudence' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 348 – 392.

[513] Cf. Wensinck, A. J., 'Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung' *Der Islam* 5 (1914) pp. 62 – 80; Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Islamisme et Parsisme' *GS* vol. 4, pp. 232 – 260 and Katz, *Body of Text*, pp. 3 – 13.

[514] 'Sunnī Islam has in fact constructed what may be the only religious purity code extant which *does not recognize – let alone emphasize – the category of ceremonially contagious or contaminating human beings*...' Maghen, 'Close Encounters' p. 350.

[515] Safran, Janina M., 'Rules of Purity and Confession Boundaries: Maliki Debates about the Pollution of the Christian' *HR* 42 (2002) pp. 197 – 212.

[516] The idea that ritual purity laws were based on hygiene regulations was popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this has largely been discredited; see Douglas *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (Repr. London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 36 – 50; Reinhart, 'Impurity / No Danger' *HR* 30 (1990) pp. 1 – 24, p. 6; Wheeler, Brandon, 'Touching the Penis in Islamic Law' *HR* 44 (2004) pp. 89 – 119; Reinhart, Kevin A., 'Ṭahāra' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, p. 99 and Maghen, Z. 'Ablution' *EI*^{3}; for an analysis of some modern approaches to Islamic purity, see Gauvain, Richard, 'Ritual Rewards: A Consideration of Three Recent Approaches to Sunni Purity Law' *ILS* 12 (2005) pp. 333 – 393.

What, then, do the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* add to the subject of ritual purity? The *ḥadīth* in the collection are mostly concerned with individuals in a state of ritual impurity and the effects of that pollution on human interaction with angels. Take the following *hadīth*: '…Angels do not stay in the presence of someone in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*), nor [are they in the presence of someone who has been] anointed with *khalūq* until both [types] have been washed.'[517] At first, this *ḥadīth* may not appear to be of great concern; however, the absence of angels does have profound effects on the person concerned. If angels are driven away from an individual, any righteous acts that the Scribe of good deeds would normally record cannot be included in the person's 'book'. This *ḥadīth* essentially denies those in a state of *junub* the ability to perform credited righteous actions. It is also made clear in other ḥadīth (e.g. §365) that this applies to only 'one of your angels which is with you'[518] (i.e. the angel of good deeds); consequently, bad actions are still recorded during this state of impurity.

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the absence of angels is attributed to a whole range of different things, including:

i. urine / bowls of stagnant urine (§588 & 589)

ii. excrement (§368 & 567)

iii. nakedness (§364 – 366; 371, 372 & 388)

iv. those who are *junub* (§368, 592 & 595)

v. those who have had sexual intercourse (§367 & 368)

vi. houses with dogs (§584, 586 & 595)

vii. houses with idols (§582 – 585 & 595)

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[517] §592.

[518] §365: '…One of your angels which is with you gets embarrassed, just as someone gets embarrassed in front of two virtuous neighbours, who are both with him night and day.'

viii. houses with tambourines (§590 & 591)

ix. men anointed with *khalūq* (§592)

x. the funerals of unbelievers (§593)

xi. the funerals of individuals remaining *junub* (§593)

xii. the funerals of those who have been anointed with saffron (§593)

xiii. animals with bells (§512, 585 – 587, 596 & 597)

xiv. those people who have severed ties from the community (§594).

There are a number of important points raised by these *ḥadīth*. Firstly, in his article on touching the penis in Islamic law, Brandon Wheeler emphasises the point that to many of the jurists simply touching the penis did not necessitate *wuḍū'*, nor was *wuḍū'* necessary, except before ritual actions.[519] The idea behind this is that ritual purity is only obligatory before ritual actions, such as the *ṣalāt*, are actually performed. Reinhart has also shown that *ṭahāra* (ritual purity) is a negative concept; someone who is in a state of *ṭahāra* is someone that does not have to perform an ablution. In theory, ablutions are not necessary to perform the *ṣalāt* if the individual is already in *ṭahāra*.[520]

The *ḥadīth* cast Islamic notions of ritual impurity in a different light, for not only is someone made impure by coming into contact with a polluting substance, but the substance can also affect the ritual purity of an entire dwelling.[521] This is at odds with the standard understanding of ritual impurity, as discussed by scholars such as

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[519] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 119.
[520] See Reinhart, 'Purity / No Danger' pp. 5 – 6.
[521] In both Judaism and Zoroastrianism pollution can occur around a pollutant and through intermediaries. For example, in both religions, to remain ritually clean a set distance must be kept from a menstruating woman; cf. *Shayāst lā-Shayāst*, *III:1 – 35* (especially v. 13), in West, E. W., *Pahlavi Tests: The Bundahisn-Bahman Yast and Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860) pp. 217 - 221. For a thorough discussion of these issues in Judaism, see Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities: Part 22 – The Mishnaic System of Uncleanness* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Katz and Reinhart. For example, the consequences of pollution by urine would not be met until a ritual action was performed; these *ḥadīth* say otherwise, since the individual (as well as any guests and family members) are gravely affected prior to the performance of any ritual action. Being in a state of *junub*, for example, does not only mean that failure to perform the *ghusl* before a ritual makes that action invalid, it also prevents the individual from obtaining merit for any righteous deeds performed from the moment of pollution.

Whilst the absence of angels is usually associated with impure bodily substances, such as urine, semen, menstrual blood etc., animals and other objects (e.g. idols and tambourines) and certain actions (such as being naked) are *quasi*-polluting, as they have consequences for the individuals concerned equal to the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Although in these cases, the removal of the offending item or the cessation of the action will allow the angels to return without the performance of any ritual cleansing; i.e. if an individual is naked, he is not ritually impure, but needs to be covered before the angels will return; but if an individual has had sexual intercourse, then ritual purification is required.

Some of these 'prohibitions' are quite easily understood: for example, the ritual impurity of dogs in Islam has often been seen to be a *shibboleth* to their favour in Zoroastrian culture;[522] the ownership of idols is clearly prohibited as *shirk,* and so on.[523] The ban against playing tambourines is more obscure, but the prohibition of

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[522] Cf. Miller, Geoffrey David, 'Attitudes to Dogs in Ancient Israel: A Reassessment' *JSOT* 32 (2008) pp. 487 – 500 and Moazami, Mahnaz, 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: *Vidēvdād* Chapter XIII' *IIJ* 49 (2006) pp. 127 – 149. However, there are Arabic works that praise the dog, e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Abī ᶜUthmān ᶜAmr ibn Baḥr, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939 – 1945) and Ibn al-Marzūbān, *Kitāb faḍl al-kilāb ᶜalā kathīr mimman labisa 'l-thiyāb*; Smith, G. R. & Abdel Haleem, M. A. S. (eds. & trs.), *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of those who wear clothes* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1978).

[523] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'* vol. 2, p. 241; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §54.3.6 – 8, p. 407.

dancing and tambourines was debated in Islamic jurisprudence.[524] Whilst saffron plays an important role in Islamic society and is not normally considered to be 'impure', Jamsheed Choksy notes that: '…[the use of saffron-dyed shrouds] was intended to prevent a Muslim's corpse from being confused with that of a non-Muslim (Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews in particular were required by Islamic governments to wear a yellow coloured cloth during medieval and premodern times to distinguish them from the Muslim socio-political majority)...'[525] The statement that angels do not accompany people travelling with animals with bells attached to them seems a little strange, especially as none of the *ḥadīth* provide much context. Take §512 as an example: 'God has angels, which descend every night to experience the weariness of a cavalry horse, except a riding animal which has a bell around its neck.' The 'prohibition', however, has quite a simple origin that had practical implications for the nascent Muslim community. Edward Lane includes a translation of §585 in his lexicon, with the comment: '…the reason is said to be, because it guides others to them; for Moḥammad liked not to let the enemy know of his approach until he came upon them suddenly.'[526]

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[524] Ibn Taymiyya is one scholar to prohibit men playing the tambourine: '*…rakhaṣa li-'l-nisā' an yuḍrabna bi-'l-daff fī al-'aᶜrās wa-'l-afrāh wa-ammā al-rijāl ᶜalā ᶜahdihi, fa-lam bakan ahad minhum bi-ḍarab bi-daff wa-lā yaṣfaqu bi-kaff' […it was permitted for women to beat a tambourine at weddings and parties, but as for men during [the Prophet's] time, they did not beat a tambourine or clap their hands]*. Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Halīm ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām, 'Mā taqūlu al-sāda al-aᶜlām' in *Majmūᶜ fatāwa Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyya* (Mecca & Riyadh: Maṭābiᶜ al-Riyāḍ, 1961 – 1967) vol. 11, pp. 558 - 586, p. 565. This is also found in his *Kitāb al-samā wa-'l-raqṣ*; see Michot, Jean R., *Musique et Danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le Livre de Samâ' et de la Danse (Kitâb al-Samâ' wa-'l-Raqṣ) compilé par le Shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijī* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1991) pp. 62 – 63. See also Shehadi, Fadlou, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp. 100 – 101; Cook, *Commanding Right*, pp. 90 – 91 and Lewisohn, Leonard, 'The Sacred Music of Islam: *Samᶜ* in the Persian Sufi Tradition' *Ethnomusicology Forum* 6 (2007) pp. 1 – 33.

[525] Choksy, Jamsheed K., 'Funerary Practices: Iran and Afghanistan' *EWIC*, pp. 119 - 122, p. 119; see also Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, pp. 85 – 100.

[526] Lane, *AELex*, p. 409.

Thus far, angels have been seen to react negatively to certain circumstances and objects, and will remain absent until the offending item has been removed. At first sight, this may appear to be simply a device to correct and regulate human behaviour; however, there is an important ethical aspect that needs to be considered. Brandon Wheeler discusses aspects of purity in Eden, concluding that: 'Urination, defecation, bleeding, and other natural bodily functions require *wuḍū'* because Adam's and Eve's bodies did not produce impure substances in the Garden of Eden.'[527] It was only after their expulsion from the Garden that impurity became a concern. By extension, the divine world, of which the Garden was a part, does not come into contact with impurities. This explains the behaviour of the angels in the human world, if angels are unable to come into contact with pollutants. Similar ideas can be found in Jewish texts, such as *Jubilees*, in which Adam and Eve are created outside of paradise; Martha Himmelfarb comments that: 'One reason that Jubilees delays Adam and Eve's entrance into the Garden is its discomfort with the idea of sexual relations in the Garden, which…it understands as a holy place, equivalent to the sanctuary.'[528] The behaviour of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* can be understood in this sense: angels cannot morally and physically come into the presence of certain actions and substances because of their innate nature.

The angels are not, however, just used to discourage certain behaviour by their absence, the angels are also said to be affected by individuals' actions in other ways. There are some *ḥadīth* that describe actions as hurting or embarrassing angels.

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[527] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 103; the idea that the Garden was ritually clean can be seen in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* in which it is stated that: 'It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise.' Rosenthal (tr.), *From the Creation to the Flood*, p. 279; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 110.

[528] Himmelfarb, Martha, 'Sexual Relations and Purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 6 (1999) pp. 11 – 36, p. 27.

The majority of these *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* are concerned with ritual prayer. Fiddling with stones, placing sandals on the ground, spitting and resting on the *qibla* are all addressed.[529] There is no consensus on how these misdemeanours affect the angels; for example, regarding fiddling with stones during the ritual prayer, §359 states that: 'Fiddling with stones in the mosque [causes] pain to an angel.' And §361: 'Do not fiddle with stones during the ritual prayers, for that [habit] is from the devil.' These two *ḥadīth* clearly indicate that those praying should concentrate on their actions, albeit expressed in different ways.

The *ḥadīth* discussed so far have looked at events and substances that cause a reaction from the angels. However, generally, the discouragement of certain actions is usually done in less explicit ways. The story of *Hārūt and Mārūt* is a good example of a narrative that is used to warn of the consequences of certain behaviour, particularly drinking alcohol. It is only after the angels have become drunk that they worship Zuhara's idols, fornicate with her and commit murder. Whilst the Qur'ān focuses on the two angels and their introduction of magic,[530] the stories of Hārūt and Mārūt are more concerned with human propensity to sin and the dangers of alcohol. Their story is used as an example of how not to behave, as Annemarie Schimmel writes: 'The traditional Sufi leaders recognised seven gates to hell: pride, cupidity, lust, anger, envy, avarice, and hatred, and the story of the two fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, as told in the Koran (Sura 2:96f.), could well illustrate the danger of followings one's own sexual desires.'[531] The two angels are not inherently 'evil' (as

[529] Stones: §359 & 361; Sandals: §356; Spitting: §355, 357, 358 & 360; Qibla: §574.
[530] Cf. Bauckham, 'Fall of the Angels'.
[531] Schimmel, Annemarie, '"I take off the dress of the body": Eros is Sufi Literature' in Sarah Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. 262 – 288, p. 265.

Jacques Waardenburg seems to suggest),[532] they simply fall foul to the problems and difficulties of human life.

The consequences of ritual impurity have often been viewed as less important in Islam than in other religions (especially Zoroastrianism and Judaism). This notion is based primarily on the fact that impurities, or more correctly, substances that cause pollution, do not cause a person to be immediately impure. The Islamic jurists also stress the fact that impurity is confined to the impure individual and that the pollution is not transferable. These *ḥadīth*, however, paint a rather different picture. Although impurity is still not transferred by contact with the polluted, anyone who comes into contact with the polluted individual *does* still suffer, albeit technically remaining clean.[533] Pollution and polluting substances such as urine and excrement, therefore, do have a significant effect on others. The effect is manifested in the alienation of the angel that records the good actions of an individual: essentially, when an individual comes into contact with polluting substances or individuals, any good action that is performed cannot be recorded. The deepest effect, however, is on the polluted individual. Anyone who does not cover himself or herself, leaves urine to stagnate, or does not perform the *ghusl* after intercourse cannot perform any good actions. Whilst the individual is not *legally* impure until he or she performs a ritual action that requires ablutions (such as the *ṣalāt*), the individual remains *eschatologically disadvantaged*, as the state of pollution has clear consequences in the life to come.

There is also a clear purpose to these *ḥadīth*; they attempt to dissuade individuals from remaining in a state of ritual purity, as it not only affects their own

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[532] 'Among the angels only Hārūt and Mārūt (S. 2:102), because of their action in Babel, are bad…'; Waardenburg, 'Changes of Belief' p. 280.

[533] i.e. if an individual enters a house in which there is a man in the state of *junub*, his angel would depart, but the individual remains clean when he has left the presence of the other person.

judgement, but the judgement of those that come into contact with them. The notion of *forbidding the wrong* is well known in Islam, but in these circumstances there is not necessarily any direct wrong. It is not illegal to be ritually unclean until the performance of the *ṣalāt* or other rites, but these *ḥadīth* imply that ritual impurity is morally or ethically *wrong*, or, at the very least, has negative consequences, encouraging the individual to avoid them.

If the angels are used to discourage certain types of negative behaviour, they are also used to encourage positive actions performed by a human. For example, the angel of good deeds writes down righteous deeds more often and the angel of misdeeds allows time for repentance.[534] There are a number of other specific actions that generate a positive response from the angels, either the individual's scribes or other angels. The angels bless: pious young men (§604); those who wear turbans on Friday (§621 & 628); those that seek knowledge (§622 – 623) ; those who say 'the Lord of the Two Worlds' after someone sneezes (§634 & 635); those who perform the fast in Ramaḍān (§665 & 718); those who remember God (§666); those who put on a sword for the *jihād* (§672); those who make their way to Mecca for the *ḥajj* on foot (§676); those who pray for the deceased (§712); those who attend the Friday prayers and hear the sermon (§719 – 722 & 728); and those who circumambulate the *Kaʿba* (§671). The role of the angels is also to encourage certain positive actions through praise, support or blessing.

[534] See §312, 319, 333 – 336, 341, 369, 382, 387, 391 & 445, as well as the discussion of this theme above; cf. §59 – 63, 503. §445 shows that it is not just the scribes that give preference to good actions, e.g. the angel that is responsible for noting who blesses Muḥammad: 'Gabriel came to me and said: 'Muḥammad, whoever blesses you from your community, God, Most High, writes a blessing for him, in it are ten good deeds, and it cancels out ten misdeeds,…'

On more specific issues there are a number of *ḥadīth* that encourage Muslims to recite the Qur'ān in its entirety or on set occasions.[535] The recitation of the Qur'ān was an important part of the ritual of the early Muslim community and there are numerous *ḥadīth* describing the merits of the Qur'ān (*faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*).[536] The reading and recitation of the Qur'ān is important as it is the word of God, and as Frederick Denny comments: 'Reciting the Qur'ān is akin to a sacramental act in that divine power and presence are brought near.'[537] This divine presence is made particularly manifest in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the presence of the angels, who are seen to aid the believers in their recitation or memorisation of the Qur'ān, e.g. §708: 'The house in which the Qur'ān is recited comes into the view of the people of heaven, just as the stars come into the view of the people of earth.'[538] This *ḥadīth* and others like it attempt to show a reward for reciting the Qur'ān, but whilst this just refers to the recitation of the Qur'ān in the home, §713 states that: 'If the servant finishes the Qur'ān, sixty thousand angels pray for him...' If there is intention to memorise the Qur'ān and an individual dies before being able to do so, §696 says that: '…an angel comes to him, and teaches it to him in his grave, and so he meets God, Most High, and he knows it by heart.' An angel is also responsible for 'correcting' any

[535] §692, 695, 696, 698 – 701, 708 & 713; there is also an angel that is responsible for correcting an individual who mispronounces something in the Qur'ān, §462 – 465.
[536] Cf. al-Nawawī, Abū Zakārīyya Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al*-Qur'ān; Furber, Musa (tr.), *Etiquette of the Qur'ān: Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al-Qur'ān* (Illinois: Starlatch, 2003) and al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Iḥyā ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol. 1, pp. 244 - 247; Abul Qaseem, Muhammad, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazālī's Theory* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1979). See also Juynboll, G. H. A., 'The Position of Qur'ān Recitation in Early Islam' *JSS* 19 (1974) pp. 240 – 251 and Afsarrudin, Asma, 'The Excellences of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organisation of Early Islamic Society' *JAOS* 122 (2002) pp. 1 – 24. Qur'ān recitation remains an important part of Muslim devotional piety and is encouraged by the religious community through events such as Qur'ānic recitation competitions; cf. Gade, Anna M., 'Motivating Qur'anic Practice in Indonesia by "Competing in Goodness"' *JRS* 18 (2004) pp. 24 – 42.
[537] Denny, Frederick M., 'Islamic Ritual: Perspectives and Theories' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam* pp. 63 – 77, p. 76; the story of Usayd ibn Ḥudayr and his experience of the *Sakīna* is an extreme example of this; see §297 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83 for a fuller account.
[538] §708; cf. §692 & 698.

misreading that a Qur'ānic reciter may make (§462 – 495), showing that the intention of reciting the Qur'ān is more important than necessarily achieving a perfect vocalisation of the text. There are also a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to specific verses and *suras* of the Qur'ān being particularly associated with angels, e.g. §699: 'The [Sura of the] Cow is the hump of the Qur'ān, and its climax. He sent down eighty angels with every verse.'[539] All these *ḥadīth* help to encourage Muslims to read and recite the Qur'ān, by highlighting the benefits of doing so and the angels act as the mediators of these blessings.

Just as Qur'ānic recitation and knowledge of the Qur'ān are an important part of Islamic spirituality, the performance of the ritual prayers plays a central role. The prayers act as a '…bridge between the human being and God. In their essential form, the canonical prayers in Islam are an affirmation, as indeed all faith is, of God's mercy and majesty.'[540] It has already been seen that the angels are used in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a template for the pattern and form of earthly ritual and that individuals need to be ritually clean before performing the prayers. The angels are also seen in this collection to bless and support Muslims in the *ṣalāt*. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, the majority of the *ḥadith* on this subject are positive, showing angelic support or praise for reciting the Qur'ān,[541] although §695 does say that: '…if he does not finish [the ritual prayers], the two [scribes] hit him on his face.' The main manifestation of this support is the presence of angels with Muslims as they pray:

> 'When a man stands up to perform the prayers in the desert of the Earth, he performs the prayers with two angels behind him. If he is called to

[539] See also §700 & 701, which say much the same about Q6 (Cattle).
[540] Ayoub, Mahmoud, 'Thanksgiving and Praise in the Qur'ān and in Muslim Piety' *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) pp. 1 – 10, p. 2.
[541] See §568 – 573, 576, 578 – 580, 598, 599, 614, 615, 617, 618, 716 & 717.

> prayer, and stands up to perform the prayers, angels like the mountains are behind him.'[542]

The angels are also said to continue praying for an individual who has performed the ritual prayers,[543] and to say 'Amen'.[544] One *ḥadīth* also states that the angels say 'O God forgive him! O God, have mercy upon him' for 'as long as [he] is in his place of prayer;[545] encouraging Muslims to spend more time at prayer. The *ḥadīth* also praise other supererogatory acts of devotion and piety, including: blessing the Prophet;[546] saying a prayer whilst passing the Yemeni corner of the Kaʿba (§458 – 460); saying 'The Most Merciful of those that are Merciful' (§466); and praying for the dead (§467 – 470). The idea behind all of these *ḥadīth* is not simply to encourage adherence to the prescribed regulations of ritual law (i.e. the performance of the ritual prayers), but to add to the religious and spiritual development of the individual. Above all, these actions play a key role in the daily remembrance of God (*dhikr*): 'As long as man is occupied with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, he is free from worldly concerns, and thus there is little chance for Satanic insinuation and temptation (*waswās*).'[547]

Angels, therefore, play an important role in the encouragement and support of the community to perform both obligatory and supererogatory prayers and worship. The angels pray and worship with humans on earth, which creates harmony between divine and human devotions. Angels encourage certain types of behaviour by stating

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[542] §568; see also §569 – 572; although the number of angels differs from four thousand (§571) to seventy thousand (§569), or just 'many' (§570).
[543] §576, 578 – 580, 598.
[544] §614, §615, 617 & 618.
[545] §716.
[546] §446, 447, 449 – 457; e.g. §447 '…Gabriel came to me and said: 'God said: "Whoever blesses you, I will bless him, I and my angels tenfold; whoever wishes you peace, I and my angels will wish him peace tenfold."' See also Robson, J., 'Blessings on the Prophet' *MW* 26 (1936) pp. 365 – 371.
[547] Nakamura, Kojiro, *Ghazali on Prayer* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973) p. 11.

that if humans behave in a certain way, the angels will pray for them. Other *ḥadīth* state that good actions are given more weight in the individual's *book*. All these indicate that certain actions give individuals a sense of *baraka*.

The notion of *commanding right and forbidding wrong* is an important and well-known concept in Islam, and the *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* go to some lengths to describe what behaviour should be encouraged and discouraged. The performance of ritual and the role of angels as the template or archetype for human ritual is an obvious example of *commanding right*. The visions of the heavenly world seek to authenticate the proper modes of ritual worship. The *ḥadīth* establish the sanctity of the *Kaʿba* as God's house, the necessity to constantly worship God and specific rituals associated with the pilgrimage.

If the *Kaʿba* is the *House of God*, then Muslims need to understand how they should approach it. When approaching God, it is necessary that the individual is in a state of *ṯahāra* and a number of different 'events' require an individual to cleanse himself or herself in preparation for encountering the divine. The rules that govern this approach to God are also applicable to the angels; the angels cannot come into contact with certain substances and states. The concept of *ṯahāra* has traditionally been seen as only important for the performance of the ritual prayers, but the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabāik* clearly show that individuals are affected negatively before this. Whether or not being in a state of ritual impurity is 'wrong' (technically it is not until *ṯahāra* is obligatory), the *ḥadīth* clearly imply that it could be equated with a 'wrong'. The *ḥadīth* do not 'forbid' these actions or states, but they do firmly discourage them.

Just as angels are used to discourage particular actions, they are also used to encourage others. All of the actions that the angels encourage are those that focus the individual on God: recitation of the Qur'ān, the performance of the *ṣalāt*, listening to the Friday sermon, saying particular invocations *etc.* The performance of these actions generates blessings and prayers from the angels, which have clear benefits for the individual in his or her individual eschatological future.

3.3 The Purpose and Function of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī ahkbār al-malā'ik*

The main focus of this chapter is the concept of time (or more specifically the notion of temporality) in the collection, in an attempt to understand the function of the work. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is quite different to other eschatological works of mediaeval Islam and the reason why needs to be addressed.

The first section of this chapter has looked at the roles of the angels in the lives of every human and the second at their roles in Islamic ritual. The underlying theme is that the collection is concerned with everyday life. The work could be called *eschatological* in the sense that it is concerned with the final judgement, but it is not *eschatological* in the normal understanding. In Biblical Studies, Christopher Rowland has argued that eschatology is not simply concerned with the future, but can reflect contemporary events.[548] However, even in Rowland's understanding of eschatology, the eschatology of the present still remains *eschatological*. Willem Bijlefeld, who applies the notion of eschatology in Biblical Studies to an Islamic context, comments that: 'Most scholars in this field reject this narrow interpretation of the term and see it as applicable to statements regarding the world to come and the last day(s) as well as to pronouncements regarding decisive turning points at a future date with the ongoing history of this world.'[549] Even with a modified understanding of eschatology, Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* still remains quite distinct and cannot really be considered to be *eschatological*, despite being concerned with the divine world.

[548] Rowland, 'Visions of God'.
[549] Biljefeld, 'Eschatology', p. 36.

What is important to consider is the fact that simply describing the divine world or divine creatures does not necessarily mean that a text is eschatological or apocalyptic.

This compilation is primarily focused on what angels are doing *now*, looking at what could be called the *angelic present*. This shifts the temporality of the compilation from an eschatological future to a contemporary reality. The work is not interested in the *angelic future*; there are no descriptions of the *eschaton* or the Final Day and even the post-mortem world of Munkar and Nakīr, heaven and hell *etc*. are limited to only a few *ḥadīth*. Similarly, the work is not concerned with the *angelic past*, and any references to the past, such as the creation of Adam, are cited because of their relevance to what angels do now.

What does this mean for the function of the work? Al-Suyūṭī seems to be aware of the importance of angels in human action and the work attempts to understand the angelic world and its relation to the human realm. The interaction between humans and angels occurs in a number of different ways, but is seen most clearly in the use of angels in ritual. The angels are both physically and contemporaneously *present* with the Muslim community as they perform ritual actions; the angels pray at the same time, the angels worship with individuals and so on. The collection also discusses how humans should behave given this continual contact with the angelic world. The angels react to certain types of human behaviour, both positively and negatively, and humans need to know about these, as they have important ramifications for an individual's future judgement.

It is misleading to suggest that *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is not at all concerned with the eschatological future, as much of the information provided in the

ḥadīth is related to an individual's *eschatological future*.[550] However, the compilation continually contextualises this *eschatological future* in terms of the interaction of humans and angels at this very moment in time. The *tours of hell* genre (including the *miʿrāj* literature) tend to use Heaven and Hell generally – warning Muslims of the consequences of right and wrong actions, and exhorting them to follow the *true path*. Vuckovic comments: 'These stories of reward and punishment play an integral role in the *miʿraj* narratives and in the ongoing dialogue regarding appropriate morality, behaviour and even political allegiance.'[551] *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the *miʿrāj* literature are both didactic, in that they attempt to teach and inform their readership, but they differ in their approaches. The *miʿrāj* literature tends to be parabolic; the descriptions of heaven and hell, although a future reality, are used to describe a *potential* future to which the reader must respond in order to avoid the punishments described. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not parabolic; rather it is *descriptive* of the current realities of *this world*, with the belief that certain actions will affect the individual's *personal eschatology*. Essentially, *al-Ḥabā'ik* informs its readers that the angels are ever present with humans in this life, at this very instant, and that human actions affect their relationship with the angels.

This chapter has focused on the interaction between humans and angels, but much of the information provided by the *ḥadīth* is encyclopaedic, explaining who the angels are, what they do, what they are called, what they look like and so on. This helps individuals to understand the angels and to identify with them, which is not the aim of the *miʿrāj* and eschatological works.

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[550] Cf. 'That in the Qur'ān, and in general in Islam, the emphasis lies on individual or personal eschatology is undeniable.' Bijlefeld, 'Eschatology' p. 36.
[551] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 120.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* draws together *ḥadīth* from a number of different areas of Islamic thought and practice (e.g. purity, folklore, science, law and visions of heaven and hell), seeking to understand the celestial world and the functions that the various angels perform. Beyond the specific details of the interactions between humans and angels, the *ḥadīth* make clear that the angels are intermediaries and that all of their actions are performed on behalf of God and not independently. This is essential, as the creation of individual, free angels would threaten Islamic monotheism. This focus on the *angelic present* is the main purpose and function of the work, distinguishing it from other *ḥadīth* collections about the divine world and attesting to the originality of al-Suyūṭī's approach to *ḥadīth* and their compilation.

Translation and Commentary

Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; Leiden University, Or. 474 (28) fol. 187v.

4.1 A Note on the Supporting Manuscript

University of Leiden, Or. 474(28) foḷ 187v – 245r (*Legatum Warnerarium*)[552]

The manuscript is a collection of forty-one texts, of which forty are attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and they are all dated to 987 AH / 1579 – 1580 CE. The manuscript has had a relatively stable history, being collected by Levinus Warner (1619 - 1665), an ambassador of the Dutch Republic at the Ottoman court and held by the University of Leiden since 1669.[553] This makes this manuscript of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* a suitable basis for an *Urtext*.[554] The Leiden MS and the modern edition edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl are largely similar, with occasional exclusions, additions and use of synonyms.[555]

The text is written in a clear *nakhsh* with a text box containing thirty-one lines per folio. The text is written in black ink, with titles and the opening of each *ḥadīth* (i.e. *akhraja*) usually written in coloured ink. Throughout the text *hamza* is never written over a *kursī* but is simply marked by the long vowel, or, very occasionally, not at all. *Alif maqṣūra* is also usually written as a final-*yā'*. Most of

[552] I have been unable to study the MS personally, and the summary of the MS made below is based on observations of a facsimile copy of the text and on the information provided by Jan Just Witkam in his *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden - Volume 1– Manuscripts Or. 1 - Or. 1000* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007) pp. 208 – 210. As a result, I am unable to provide details about the dimensions of the manuscript.

[553] See Witkam, *Inventory*, p. 110; Witkam, Jan Just, 'The Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden' *BJMES* 8 (1981) pp. 60 – 64.

[554] The MS held by the Mingana Collection in Birmingham [MS Ar. 651i] is much later, dating to 1666 – 1667 CE; The MS held in the British Library [*Or. 9026/1*] is earlier than the Leiden MS and dates to 973 AH / 1566 CE; however, I have been unable to attain a facsimile of the MS and as the text dates to roughly the same period as the Leiden MS, I have principally used the Leiden MS as my *Urtext*.

[555] This is referred to throughout as the 'DKI Edition'. A list of textual variants has been included in the Appendix.

the lines are justified, but occasionally the titles of some sections (but not all) are centrally justified with indentations. There are also occasionally added notes referring to the chapter headings in the margins, although these are fairly rare and were added later. There are no miniatures or ornamentations, apart from the occasional addition of text-stops.

Please also note the following:

(*Arabic text*)	Arabic terms are occasionally added to clarify the translation.
[ ]^{N}	Textual variants are shown in square brackets, with a footnote.
[ ]	Square brackets (without a footnote) indicate phrases that have been added to clarify the translation.
.....(?)	A dotted line with a question mark is used to mark places where the text appears to be corrupt.
[Nb]	The numbering system of the DKI Edition has been followed. Any *ḥadīth* inserted by the Leiden MS have been marked with a 'b'; i.e. §2b is inserted by the MS after *ḥadīth* §2 in the DKI Edition.

Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr

al-Suyūṭī al-Shāfiᶜī

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

(*The Arrangement of the Traditions*

About Angels)

4.2.1 Preface

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.[556]

'Praise belongs to God, who appointed the Angels to be messengers, having wings, two, three and four…'[557] Blessings and peace upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon the House, the Companions and the Successors. I have put together this small compilation of traditions about the righteous angels. I have included in it those traditions and narrations which mention them, and I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad. I have called it: *The Arrangement of the Traditions About Angels*.[558] By God, the Helper![559] Trust is in him!

4.2.2 The Necessity of Belief in Angels[560]

God, Most High, says: 'The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels'[561] Al-Bayhaqī[562] says in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*:[563] Belief in angels incorporates [the following] ideas: firstly, faith in their existence; secondly, [that] their being sent down [by God]

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[556] This introduction follows a standard format employed by al-Suyūṭī in his ḥadīth collections, consisting of: a relevant Qur'ānic quotation, laudations, a description of the work's contents, its title and a prayer or oath; cf. his *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī-'l-haya' al-sunnīya*; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 1.
[557] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.
[558] For a discussion of the title, see Section 1.3 above.
[559] cf. Q 12:18; Arberry *Koran*, p. 227.
[560] The section is given the full title: *dhukira wujūb al-īmān bi-'l-malā'ika* = What is mentioned [concerning] the necessity of belief in angels.
[561] Q 2:285; Arberry *Koran*, p. 43
[562] See the Appendix for notes on each of al-Suyūṭī's sources.
[563] The text that starts here and ends after the first ḥadīth in the collection is lifted directly from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*; see al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ al-shuᶜab al-īmān* (Bombay: Dār al-Salifiyya, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 405 - 406.

is their status [in the universe] and a proof that they are servants of God. He created them like humans and jinn, ordered and entrusted [with a task]. They have no authority, save that over which God gives them authority and it is right that they should die;[564] but God, Most High, has given them an end in distant time; indeed, he will not receive them until they reach it.[565] They are not described by anything that would, through describing them by it, lead to them being associated with God, Most High; and so they are not called *gods*, as the ancients called them.[566]

Thirdly: recognition that from amongst [them are messengers, which he sends to whichever human he wishes, and it is also allowed that he sends some of them to some;][567] from recognition of that, it follows that among them are the Bearers of the Throne, the Rangers, the Guardians of Paradise, the Guardians of Hell, the Recorders of Deeds, and the Cloud Drivers; indeed the Qur'an shows all of it or most of it.

[1] We related[568] from Ibn ᶜUmar [from ᶜUmar][569] from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), when he was asked about faith; he said: Believe in God, His angels, His Book and His messengers.[570]

[564] Lit: 'death is upon them rightly…'
[565] i.e. the *ajal* of the angels is, like that of humans, fixed and immovable.
[566] In the Qur'ān, the Meccans are told that their deities are not divine, but are merely angels; cf. Q 34:40 & 43:19; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 442 & 506. See also Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* and Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' pp. 733 – 758.
[567] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 12.
[568] Almost all of the ḥadīth begin with the Arabic *akhraja* to introduce each ḥadīth; this has not been translated, but its absence is noted. In this case the ḥadīth is preceeded by *wa-rawaynā*.
[569] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 14.
[570] cf. Q 2:285 & 4:136; this is the end of the quotation from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*.

4.2.3 The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers[571]

[2] [Muslim][572] from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels were created out of light, the Father of the Jinn[573] was created out of a mixture of fire and Adam was created out of what characterizes you.

[2b][574] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*[575] from ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light.

[3] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* from ᶜIkrima; he said: The angels were created from the light of the Glorious One.

[4] Abū ʻl-Shaykh[576] from Zayd ibn Rūmān; that he heard that the angels were created from the spirit of God.

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[571] In Islamic philosophy, angels were believed to be Intellects and were incorporeal; for a discussion of this see Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.
[572] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 16.
[573] *al-Jānn*; this can be used as the collective noun for *jinn*, or as a reference to Iblīs. See Lane, *AELex* pp. 462 & 2704; al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 34, pp. 370 – 371 and Zbinden, Ernst, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1953) pp. 3 – 8.
[574] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, ll. 18 – 19.
[575] Sezgin says that the *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* is ‘ein mystiches Buch, in dem er sich auf den *ṣaḥabī* ᶜAlī b. Salām beruft, dem die Schriften des Propheten Daniel in die Hände gefallen sin sollen.’ Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 201.
[576] Al-Suyūtī does not cite the book from which the *ḥadīth* is taken again, unless two books have been used (as will be seen later). This *ḥadīth* is from the *Kitab al-ᶜaẓama.*

4.2.4 The Great Abundance of the Angels

[God] Most High said: 'And none knows the hosts of the Lord but He.'[577]

[5] al-Bazzār, Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mandah in *Kitab al-radd ᶜalā al-jahamiyyah* from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light and He brought them to life out of it. Then He said: 'Let there be a thousand thousands of you.' A single angel is smaller than a fly[578] and there is nothing more numerous than the angels.

[6] al-Bayhaqī in *Al-Shuᶜab* from Masᶜūd; he said: There is no place in the heavens without a face of an angel or its two feet; then he recited: 'we are the rangers (*ṣāfūna*).'[579]

[7] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr; he said: There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright[580] until the Hour comes.

[8] Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr; he said: The Messenger of God[581] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Heaven groaned

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[577] Q 74:3; Arberry *Koran*, p. 617.
[578] Flies are used as the generic term for something incredibly small, e.g. Q 22:73; 'Surely those upon whom you call, apart from God, shall never create a fly…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 341.
[579] Q 37:165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[580] This and the following ḥadīth with the same phrase could be an allusion to Q 22:26 or 39:9; Arberry *Koran*, pp. 336 and 472.
[581] The Leiden MS reads 'al-nabī'; fol. 187v, l. 31.

– and it could do nothing but groan![582] There is no place in [heaven] to set four fingers except upon the place of an angel's forehead.[583]

[9] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is nowhere to place a foot in heaven, except upon an angel prostrating or standing upright – and so the Word [of the Most High]:[584] 'None of us is there, but has a known station; we are the rangers'.[585]

[10] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḍiyā' in *al-Mukhtāra*, and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with his friends, he said to them: 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'We have not heard anything.' He said: 'Indeed, I heard the creaking of the heavens, and it is not to blame for its creaking; there is no place in it [for a foot],[586] except upon an angel bowed down in worship or standing.'

[11] al-Ṭabarānī from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is no place for a foot in the Seven Heavens,[587] nor a hand outstretched, nor a palm of the hand, without an angel standing or an angel prostrating in [that place]; when it is the Day of Resurrection,

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[582] *aṭṭat / ta'iṭṭa* ['-Ṭ-Ṭ]. This is a relatively rare root meaning to groan or creak, often with particular reference to camels (be it the camel itself or a saddle *&c.*). This particular *ḥadīth* is usually cited as an example in the lexicons – see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 19, pp. 164 – 165 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 66.
[583] This same ḥadīth also appears in al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[584] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 1.
[585] Q 37:164 – 165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[586] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 4.
[587] The concept of 'Seven Heavens' is also important in Judaism and Christianity; see Collins, Adela Yarbo, 'The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses' in Collins and Fishbane, *Other Worldly Journeys*, pp. 59 - 93.

they will say [together]:[588] 'We worship you! We have only worshipped You in a manner worthy of You. We have not associated anything with You.'[589]

[12] al-Dīnawārī in *al-Mujālasa* from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: There is nothing more numerous in God's creation than the angels: [for] none of the sons of Adam are without two angels,[590] the driver who drives him, and the watcher, who watches him;[591] therefore, there are twice the number of the sons of Adam; then in addition to that, the heavens [and the earth][592] are crammed full, and beyond the heavens are yet still [more]: those around the Throne[593] are more numerous than those which are in the heavens.

[13] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Saᶜīd from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: In the Garden [there is] a river[594] and Gabriel does not enter it, get out and shake himself, without God creating an angel from every drop that falls from him.[595]

[14] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih; he said: God has a river in the air, covering the earths, all of them. Seven times [a day] God sends into that river an

[588] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 6.
[589] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[590] § 312 – 406 deal with the Srcibes in more detail.
[591] Cf. Q 50:21: *wa-jā'at kullu nafsin maᶜahā sā'iqun wa-shahīdun*; 'And every soul shall come, and with it a driver and a witness.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[592] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, ll. 9 – 10.
[593] These angels are presumably additional to the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* (Bearers of the Throne).
[594] In the pre-Islamic pantheon *Allah* was both the creator of the world and the rain-god; the Qur'ān emphasises the supremacy of *Allah* as the creator and the life-sustainer, as it is He and He alone that provides humans with water, and by extension life: '[Water] reveals aspects of the dependence of creation on him, his dealings with it, and its duty to serve him.' Johns, Anthony H., 'Water' *EQ* vol. 5, p. 462.
[595] Although containing a few ḥadīth that locate the origins of rain in heaven, al-Suyūṭī's *al-Hay'a* does not include this ḥadīth (nor any others included in this collection); see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 160 – 164.

angel from heaven, and it gets into it, immersing the whole of its body, then it washes in it; when it gets out, rain [falls] from it; rain is from light, and from every raindrop emanates[596] an angel, which praises God; all of creation praises God.[597]

[15] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzā^{c}ī; he said: Moses (peace be upon him) said: 'Lord, who is with you in heaven?' He said: 'My angels.' He said: 'How many are there, Lord?' He said: 'Twelve tribes.' He said: 'How many does each tribe add up to?' He said: 'The sum of the dust [of the earth].'

[16] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ka^{c}b; he said: Nothing trickles from an angel's eye unless there is an angel flying from the fear of God.[598]

[17] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-^{c}Alā' ibn Hārūn; he said: Every day, Gabriel is immersed in the al-Kawthar,[599] and then he shakes himself; and so every raindrop is created from an angel.

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[596] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-khalaqa min kulla qaṭra malakan*' ['He creates an angel from every raindrop *or* An angel is created (*fa-khuliqa*) from every raindrop]; fol. 188r, l. 14.

[597] See also §172 – 177 for ḥadīth on the Angel of the Rain. Rain was believed to come from angels, e.g. al-Shahrastānī, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn ^{c}Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Milāl wa-'l-nihāl* (Tūfīq, M. (ed)), (Cario: Matba^{c}at Hijāzī bi-'l-Qāhira, 1948), vol. 2, p. 111; for secondary material, see Lawrence, Bruce B., 'Shahrastānī on Indian Idol Worship' *SI* 38 (1973), pp. 61 – 73, p. 67 and for this belief in modern practice, see: Başgöz, Ilhan, 'Rain-Making Ceremonies and Seasonal Festivals' *JAOS* 87 (1967) pp. 304 – 306, p. 305. The Angel of the Rain is named as *Ridya* in the Babylonian Talmud; see *Ta'* 25b, p. 133 and *Yom.* 21a, p. 90. A similar ḥadīth to this appears in Al-Tha^{c}labī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23. However, the ḥadīth is attributed to Abū Hurrayah, and Gabriel immerses himself in a *baḥr min nūr* (a sea of light). Ibn Khaldūn also includes similar imagery when describing Jesus' return at the end of time, see Ibn Khaldūn, ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamamd al-Maghribī (ed. Muṣtafā Fahmī al-Kutbī), *al-Muqaddima min al-kitāb al-^{c}ibar* (Cairo: Maṭba^{c}at al-Taqaddam bi-Sharḥ Muḥammad ^{c}Alī, n.d.) p. 259; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History (Second Edition)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 2, p. 194.

[598] In the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth weeping is generally not discouraged; cf. Chittick, William C., 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' in Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (eds.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in The Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) pp. 132 – 144, pp. 132 – 134.

[599] A river in paradise, also shown to Muḥammad during the *Mi^{c}rāj*. See Alvorado, Salustio, 'Sobre al-Kawṯar y Otros Ríos del Paraíso en la Eschatología Islámica y Cristiana' *BAEO* 41 (2005) pp. 247

[18] Abū ʻl-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: There is no creation of God more numerous than the angels; there is nothing that grows without an angel being responsible for it.

[19] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from al-Ḥakam; he said: I heard that He sends down with the rain [such and such] [600] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblīs. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.

[20] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Seven Heavens are filled with angels; if you measured a hair,[601] you would not be able to compare it with something you had already measured;[602] amongst them one is standing still, one prostrated and one worshipping, terrified and shaking their wings in fear[603] of God. Not even the blink of an eye disobeys him. The distance between the back and the head of one of the Bearers of the Throne is a journey of a hundred years.

– 253; Horovitz, J [-Gardet, L.], ʻKawthwarʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 805 – 806; and El-Zein, Amira, ʻWater of Paradiseʼ *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 466 – 467; cf. *GenR* 78:1, p. 714 – 715 and *LamR* 3:2 §8, pp. 201 – 202.

[600] This has been inserted on the basis of an extremely similar ḥadīth which appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥayʼa al-sanīya*. The ḥadīth reads: ʻ*…wayanzilu maᶜa kadhā wa-kadhā min al-malāʼika yatukbūna ḥaythu yaqaᶜu dhālika ʻl-maṭar wa-man yarzuquhu wa-mā yakhruju minhu maᶜa kulla qaṭra*.ʼ §VI:27; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 26.

[601] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 13; Brinner, *Lives,* p .22.

[602] i.e. the angel's hair is immeasurable.

[603] The Leiden MS uses the slightly stronger ʻ*faraqan*ʼ (*terrified*); fol. 188r, l. 25.

[20b][604] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no place [the size] of the eye of a needle[605] without an angel being responsible for it, raising knowledge about it up to God and the angels of heaven; [the angels] are more numerous than the number of specks of dust and as small.

[21] Ibn al-Mundhir in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr; it was attributed to [Muḥammad]; he said: The angels are in ten parts: nine parts are Cherubim, who glorify God night and day, without rest; and one part is responsible for everything that is hidden. There is no place in the heavens without a worshipper or an angel bowing; and the sacred place is around the Throne, and the Inhabited House[606] is around the Kaᶜba; if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it. Every day seventy thousand angels pray in it;[607] then they do not come back to it.

[22] Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜAmr al-Bakālī; he said: God, [Most High],[608] divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.[609]

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[604] The Leiden MS inserts this ḥadīth; fol. 188r, ll. 26 – 28.
[605] A common metaphor in Islam; cf. Q 7:40; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 147 (although the phrase is *samm al-khiyāṭ*); much has been written about this Qur'ānic phrase: cf. Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Eye of the Needle' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 354 – 359 and Rippin, A. 'Qur'ān 7:40: «Until a Camel Pases through the Eye of the Needle»' *Arabica* 27 (1980) pp. 107 – 113.
[606] Q. 52:4; the *bayt al-ma'mur* is thought to be the seventh heaven and it is said to be located directly above the Kaᶜba. See Porter, 'Muhammad's Journey p. 77 and Morris, 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 636, n. 35 & *JAOS* 108 (1988) p. 69 n. 169; cf. also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 27.
[607] 70,000 is a traditional number in Islamic tradition for the size of an angelic army; cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[608] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 2
[609] There is a scribal error in the Leiden MS with a repition of 'and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest…'; fol. 188v, ll. 4 – 5.

[23] Ibn Abī Hātim through the intermediary of Khabīb[610] ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs from his father; he said: Humans and jinn are in ten parts, humans form one part and jinn nine parts; the jinn and the angels are in ten parts, the jinn are one part, the angels nine; the angels and the Spirit are ten parts, the angels are one part, the Spirit nine; the Spirit and the Cherubim are ten parts, the Spirit forms one part of it, the Cherubim are nine parts.[611]

[24] Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, al-Khaṭīb and Ibn ᶜAsākir thorough the intermediary of ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr from ᶜĀdī ibn Arṭā from one of his worthy friends - ᶜUbbād said: I have forgotten his name - from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: God has angels which tremble [in fear of Him].[612] There is no angel from amongst them that does not shed a tear from its eyes, except an angel found standing, praising God. Angels were prostrating when God created the heavens and the earth and they did not raise their heads,[613] and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; angels were bowing, and they did not raise their heads, and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; and those that were posted, they have not left their posts, and they will not leave them until the Day of Resurrection. Thus, when it is the Day of Resurrection, it will be made manifest to them by their Lord (may He be praised and glorified) and they will look at Him, and they will say, ‘Praise be to You, we have served You just as we should.’

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[610] Given in the Leiden MS as ‘Ibn Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān…’; fol. 188v, l. 6.
[611] If these numbers were read as ‘for every one human there are ten jinn’ the final number of Cherubim would be 10,000 (a myriad - which is a traditional number for counting angels, cf. Deut. 33:2 and Rev. 5:11) for every human; however, as read, the total number are 6,561 cherubim for every human.
[612] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 10.
[613] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

[25] Ibn Mandah in *al-Maᶜrifa* and Ibn ᶜAsākir from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ᶜĀlāʾ from Banū Sāᶜada from his father al-ᶜĀlāʾ ibn Saᶜd, from someone who submitted on the Day of Victory[614] that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said one day at a social gathering, 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'What have you heard, Messenger of God?' He said, 'I heard the sky groan, and it could do nothing but groan! There is no place for a foot in it without an angel standing or bowing down or prostrating in [that place]; then he recited: 'We are the rangers,[615] We are they that give glory.'[616]

[26] Ibn Jarīr from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas concerning His Word: 'And he taught Adam the names, all of them'[617] he said: The names of the angels.

4.2.5 The Four Archangels[618] who are in charge of the command of the World

[27] [Ibn Abī Shayba],[619] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Shuᶜab* from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: Four are in charge of the command of this world:

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[614] Namely, the conquest of Mecca – see *AELex* (1984) p. 2328; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad,* p. 533.
[615] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 18.
[616] Q 37:166; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[617] Q 2:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.
[618] Although there is no designation of 'archangel' in Islamic angelology as such, the Greek *αρχαγγελος* is translated into Arabic as *ra'īs malā'ika*; cf. 1Th. 4:16; *UBS* p. 703; and the Mount Sinai Codex 151 (dated to 867 C.E.), Staal, H. (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Codex 151 – I:Pauline Epistles* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1983) p. 173. This is also the standard translation in modern translations of the Bible into Arabic: see *Kitāb al-ᶜahd al-jadīd* (Cambridge: Jamᶜīyyat al-tawrā al-brīṭānīyya wa-'l-ajnabīyya, 1917) p. 233.
[619] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, ll. 20 – 21.

Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death and Isrāfīl.[620] As for Gabriel, he is responsible for the winds and the army;[621] Michael[622] is responsible for the rain and the plants;[623] the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls; and Isrāfīl, he is sent down to them with the command [of God].

[28] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: 'In the *Umm al-Kitāb*, everything will be in existence until the Day of Resurrection, and three of the angels are responsible for preserving [existence]: Gabriel is responsible for the Book, which he brings down to the Messengers, and Gabriel is also responsible for the acts of destruction when God has willed [Gabriel] to annihilate peoples; and he is responsible for victory in battle.[624] Michael is responsible for preservation [of life], rain and the plants of the earth. The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls. When this world comes [to an end], they [will compare] what they have preserved to the *Umm al-Kitāb* (?),[625] and they will find it to be the same. Ibn Abī Shayba narrated it.[626]

[29] Al-Bayhaqī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with Gabriel, who

[620] Gabriel is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (Q 2:97, 98 and 64:4), Michael once (Q 2:98); the Angel of Death once (Q 32:11) and Isrāfīl is not mentioned.
[621] Gabriel has a similar role in the Talmud; cf. *BB* 74b, p. 297 and *San.* 19b, p. 99 & 95b, p. 644.
[622] The Leiden MS reads 'Isrāfīl' in error; fol. 188v, l. 22.
[623] In Islamic tradition, Michael is frequently associated with nature and the sustenance of humans, cf. al-Qazwīni, *Ajā'ib*, p. 37.
[624] Cf. the Battle of Badr; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79 and 113.
[625] The Leiden MS reads: '….*al-dunyā jamᶜ bayn hufzihim wamā fī umm al-kitāb fa-yajidūnahu siwā"* fol. 188v, l. 23. However, both the Arabic of the Leiden MS and the DKI edition are unclear, and the ḥadīth appears to be corrupted.
[626] Ibn Abī Shayba is mentioned at the start of the ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 20.

was confiding in him;[627] suddenly, the highest heaven was split open and Gabriel began to become smaller and [an angel][628] drew close and came nearer to the earth, and there was an angel standing directly in front of the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: 'Muḥammad, your Lord greets you; and He gives you the choice between becoming an angelic prophet or a human prophet.'[629] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Then Gabriel beckoned to me with his hand that I should be humble,[630] and I knew that he was my guide, so I said: 'A human prophet.'

Then that angel ascended into heaven, and I said: 'Gabriel, I have wanted to ask you about this, but seeing your form[631] distracted me from my asking the question. Who is this, Gabriel?' He said: 'This is Isrāfīl. On the day of his creation, God created him with his feet lined up directly in front of him; he does not look up; between him and the Lord are Seventy Lights; and from these there is no light close to Him, save it being consumed by fire; between his hands is the *Preserved Tablet*;[632] when God allows anything in heaven or in earth, that tablet ascends, [descends][633] and it hits [Isrāfīl] on the forehead. Then [Isrāfīl] sees and if there is anything for me to do, he orders me to do it; and if there is anything for Michael to do, he orders him to do it; and if there is anything for the Angel of Death to do, he orders him to do it.'

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[627] In Islamic tradition Muḥammad is often alone when he encounters Gabriel, e.g. in the narrative of the first revelation, Muḥammad seeks seclusion on Mount Ḥirā' before meeting the angel; see al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §3, pp. 3 – 4.
[628] As Gabriel is already with Muḥammad, it must be the other angel (Isrāfīl) who is approaching.
[629] Lit.: 'servant prophet'.
[630] Lit.: 'you should be humble' – but this does not make sense.
[631] Lit.: 'state' or 'condition' – i.e. when Gabriel became small.
[632] This is generally considered to be above the Seventh Heaven. Daniel Madigan notes that, 'Taken literally, [these images of writing] are difficult to read as a whole. Alternatively, they can be read, and often are in the Islamic tradition, as complementary, symbolic representations of God's knowledge and will.' Madigan, Daniel A., 'Preserved Tablet' *EQ* vol. 4, p. 262.
[633] This is not included in the text, but the Tablet needs to come back down to Isrāfīl.

I said: ‘Gabriel, What are you responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the winds and the army.’ I said: ‘What is Michael responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the plants and the rain.’ I said: ‘What is the Angel of Death responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the taking of the souls.’ [Muḥammad said]: ‘And I do not think that [Isrāfīl] will descend [to earth] until the coming of the Hour. What you have seen [in the way of my behaviour] is nothing but fear of the coming of the Hour.’

[30] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The creations closest to God are Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl; the distance between them and God is a journey of fifty thousand years:[634] Gabriel is on his right and Michael on the other, with Isrāfīl between them.

[31] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: These four are angels:[635] Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death; [they were] the first of the creations of God, [and they will be] the last whom God will cause to die; [and] the first of those whom God will bring to life; they are the ones who organize a command,[636] and they are the ones who carry out an order.[637]

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[634] The Leiden MS reads ‘five thousand years’; fol. 189r, l. 12.
[635] *Amlāk*: the plural of paucity (*jumᶜ al-qilla*) for *malak*– i.e. referring to 3 – 10 angels. Elsewhere in the text no number is given, as it is here. For more on these plurals see Ratcliffe, Robert R., *The Broken Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic* (Amsterdam : J. Benjamins, 1998) p. 69*f.* and ᶜAbbās Abū ‘l-Suᶜūd, *Al-Fayṣal fī alwān al-jumūᶜ* (Cairo: Dar al-Maᶜārif bi-Miṣr, 1971) pp. 33 – 44.
[636] Cf. Q 79:5 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 30, pp. 30 - 31; the *mudabbirāt* are said to be angels.
[637] Cf. Q 51:4 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 26, pp. 187 – 188; the *muqassimāt* are said to be angels.

[32][638] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān; he said: Gabriel is the agent of God to His messengers, and Michael receives the Book which is sent up concerning the deeds of the people; and Isrāfīl is in the role of the gatekeeper.

[33] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid that a man said: ‘Messenger of God, which angel is the dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ Gabriel came to him, so he said: ‘Gabriel, which of the creations is dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ So Gabriel ascended, then descended and said: ‘Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death. As for Gabriel, he is responsible for war and the messengers; as for Michael, he is responsible every raindrop that falls, every leaf that grows and every leaf that falls; as for the Angel of Death, he is responsible for the taking of the soul of every servant on land and sea; and as for Isrāfīl, he is the intermediary of God between Him and between them.’

[34] al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḥākim from Abū ‘l-Malīḥ from his father, that he was performing the two ritual prostrations of the morning prayers with the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), and he was praying near him; and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) performed two lively prostrations, and I heard him say three times: ‘O God, the Lord of Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and Muḥammad, I take refuge in you from the Fire.’[639]

[638] This ḥadīth is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189r, l. 15.
[639] This is said as part of the prayers said during the circumambulation of the Kaᶜba during the hajj; see Kamal, Ahmad, ‘The Sacred Journey’ in A. de L. Rush (ed.), *Records of the Hajj – Vol. 1: Prayer, Invocations and Rites* (London: Archive Editions), p. 159; it is also reminiscent of Q 11:47; 23:97 and 23:98; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 216 and 350.

[35] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜĀʾisha that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted while his head was in her lap,[640] and she began to stroke his face and pray for him to be cured. When he came to, he said: 'No! Do not ask God! The highest companion is with Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl - peace be upon them.'

4.2.6 Gabriel (peace be upon him)[641]

[36] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn; he said: Gabriel's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God', Michael's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜubayd*)[642] of God', and Isrāfīl [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful'; Everything derives from *Īl*, that is the temple of God[643] – may He be praised and glorified.

[37] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: Gabriel [means] 'the Servant of God'; Michael [means] 'the Servant of God'; every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'

[38] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr; he said; Gabriel's name amongst the angels is 'Servant of His Lord' – may He be praised and glorified.

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[640] cf. al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* §2, p. 3.
[641] This and almost all of the chapters that follow, begin with the phrase '*mā jā'a fī*...' = 'what is said / found concerning…'. This has not been translated.
[642] *ᶜUbayd* is the diminutive of *ᶜabd* (see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1935); the use of the diminutive may be being used to lower the status of Michael, who is the dominant angel in Judaism (cf. Hag 12b & Ber 4b) and promote Gabriel. This trend can be seen in other Islaimc eschatological texts, see Bowman, 'Eschatological Fragment' pp. 203 – 204.
[643] From the Hebrew *'el* which is the standard word for 'God' not 'temple of God'; see *BDB*, p. 41. The *TA* does not contain any of these temple etymologies, and simply states that it is a name of God; see al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.

[39] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ’isha; he said; I heard that Gabriel is the Imām of the people of Heaven.

[40] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Indeed, I tell you that the best of the angels is Gabriel.

[41] Muslim from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel, in a green[644] robe; he filled the space between Heaven and Earth.

[42] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I saw Gabriel descending and he filled the space between East and West, wearing a silk gown[645] encrusted with pearls and rubies.[646]

[43] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha (God be pleased with her);[647] she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘I would

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[644] *khadrā’* can also indicate blue: ‘Das Wort bezeichnet die den ganzen dunklen Farbbereich umfassende Grundfarbe, sowohl ‘grün’ als auch ‘blau’.’ Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) p. 306. It would seem more likely to be green as in the Qur’ān green is closely associated with God and paradise – see Rippin, Andrew, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365. Ibn Khaldūn also includes a ḥadīth in which Khadījah says: ‘…green and white are the colours of goodness and the angels.’ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, p. 74; Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah,* vol. 1, p. 186.

[645] Silk was very expensive and in the Qur’ān it is associated with the paradise and redemption: ‘Clearly referring to the cultural context of the qur’ānic revelation, a recurrent image presents the redeemed as garbed in silk or other fine fabrics and wearing valuable jewels.’ Golnaldez, V., ‘Silk’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 11. Being described in this way, Gabriel is firmly rooted in the divine world. For more on silk and the development of the silk-trade in early Islamic history see: Lombard, Maurice, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman: VIIe – XIIe siècle* (Paris: Mouton Editeur, 1978) pp. 79 – 104.

[646] Rubies, pearls and coral are the only precious stones mentioned in the Qur’ān and they are only used in passages about paradise; see Troupeau, Géerad, ‘Metals and Minerals’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 383 – 384. Pearls are also associated with the First and Seventh Heavens – see MacDonald, John, ‘Paradise’ *IS* 5 (1966), p. 344.

[647] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 16.

like to see you in your image.' He said: 'You would like that?!' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Your appointed time is on such and such a night at Baqīᶜ al-Gharqad.'[648] So he met him at the appointed time, and he spread out one of his wings,[649] and it blotted out the horizon until he could not see anything in the sky.

[44] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd concerning His Word: 'Indeed he saw him another time.'[650] He said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel hanging in the air, on his feet were pearls, like raindrops on the grass.

[44b][651] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās from Waraqa al-Aṣārī; he said: I said: 'Muḥammad, how does the creature, [which comes to you],[652] come to you?' – meaning Gabriel; He said: 'He comes to me from the sky, his two wings are pearls and the soles of his feet are green.

[45] Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Do you see your Lord?' He said: 'Between me and Him there are seventy veils[653] of fire and light, if I were to see the lowest of them, I would be consumed by fire.'

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[648] The oldest cemetery in Medina in the South-East of the town; for more information, see Wensinck, A. J. [-Bazmee Anasri, A. S.], 'Baḳīᶜ al-Ghaṛḳad' *EI²* vol. 1, pp. 957 – 958.
[649] Gabriel is also believed to have six hundred wings; cf. al-Rabghūzī, Naṣīr al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Dīn; Boeschoten, H. E., O'Kane, J. & Vandamme, M., *Al-Rabghūzī: The Stories of the Prophets – Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' – An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) vol. 2, p. 596.
[650] Q 53:13; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550.
[651] The DKI edition includes two ḥadīth with the number 44; so as to maintain the DKI numbering, the second 44 has been labelled 44b; it is not an edition of the Leiden MS.
[652] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 12.
[653] Here, as in the Qur'ān, *hijāb* refers to a dividing curtain as opposed to a face veil; see Toorawa, Shawkat M., 'Clothing' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 346 – 347.

[46] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) when he ascended into Heaven, saw Gabriel in [his] true form,[654] his wings strung with chrysolites, pearls and rubies; he said: ‘It seemed to me that the space between his eyes filled the horizon, but I used to see him before that in a different form and more often I used to see him in the form of Diḥya al-Kalbī,[655] and sometimes I used to see him just as a man sees his friend through the bottom of a sieve.[656]

[47] Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) only saw Gabriel in his true form twice; as for the first time, he asked to see his soul, and he saw his soul, and it filled the horizon; as for the other, it was on the Night Journey ‘by the Lote-Tree.’[657]

[48] Abū ‘l-Shaykh the intermediary of[658] ᶜAṭā’ from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The space between Gabriel’s shoulders is a [journey of][659] five hundred years for a quick-flying bird.

[49] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Isḥāq al-Hāshimī[660] from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel has six

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[654] This is a common theme of the *miᶜrāj* literature: cf. al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 595 – 596.
[655] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of ‘such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.’ Lammens, ‘Diḥya’ p. 274; cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 595.
[656] *Ghirbāl* can also mean a tambourine (see *TA* vol. 30, pp. 87 – 89), but the haziness of looking through the bottom of a sieve is the main idea here.
[657] Q 53:14; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550; according to Al-Thaᶜlabī this is the abode of Gabriel, see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[658] A number of the ḥadīth include the phrase ‘*min ṭarīq*…’= ‘through the intermediary of…’; see Appendix E for more information on these intermediaries.
[659] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 23.

hundred wings [adorned] with pearls and he spread them out like peacocks' feathers.[661]

[50] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa, Ibn Jurayj[662] and Qatāda – the Tradition came from amongst them: Gabriel has two wings, and he has a belt strung with pearls;[663] his front teeth shine like a bald forehead; his head is platted tightly like small pearls, and the pearls are like snow; his feet are greenish.

[51] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih that he was asked about the creation of Gabriel; he reported that the space between his shoulders, from this one to that one, is [a journey][664] of seven hundred years for a bird.

[52] Ibn Sa^{c}d and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Dalā'il* from ^{c}Ammār ibn Abī ^{c}Ammār that Ḥamza ibn ^{c}Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: 'Messenger of God, show me Gabriel in his true form.' He said: 'You are not able to see him.' He said: 'Yes, but show him to me.' He said: 'Sit down!' So he sat down; [then] Gabriel [came down and][665] was on a piece of wood in the Ka^{c}ba. The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation)

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[660] The Leiden MS gives the fuller name; fol. 189v, l. 24.
[661] The *Yezīdīs* (a Kurdish sect) venerated a peacock angel (*malak ta^{c}ūs*); see Ebeid, R. Y., and Young, M. J. L., 'An Account of the History and Rituals of the Yazīdīs of Mosul' *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) pp. 481 – 522; see also Ahmed, Sami Said, *The Yazidis: Their Life and Beliefs* (Miami: Field Research Projects, 1975). For more general information on the Yezīdīs see Kreyenbroeck, Philip G., 'Religion and Religions in Kurdistan' in Philip G. Kreyenbroeck and Christine Allison (eds.), *Kurdish Culture and Identity* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996) pp. 85 – 110. However, the more likely influence is Byzantine / Christian, as peacocks were associated with heaven and paradise and appropriated into Islamic iconography, see al-Khamis, Ulrike, 'An early Islamic bronze ewer examined' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998) pp. 9 – 19, particularly p. 12.
[662] Given as Ibn Jarīr in the Leiden MS, but this appears to be an error; fol. 189v, l. 26.
[663] A belt is referred to once in the Talmud, *Men.* 29a, p. 188.
[664] *khafq al-ṭayr* = the beating of (the wings of) the bird.
[665] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 1.

said: ‘Raise your eyes and look!’ So he raised his eyes and looked and he saw his feet, like green chrysolite; and he fell down unconscious.

[53] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Shihāb that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) asked Gabriel to show himself to him in his true form. Gabriel said, ‘You will never be able to bear it.’ He said, ‘I would like you to do it.’ So the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) went to pray on a moonlit night and Gabriel came to him in his true form. And the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted as soon as he saw him, then he came round while Gabriel supported him, placing one of his hands upon his chest and the other between his shoulder blades, and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘I did not think that there could be a creation like that!’ Gabriel said: ‘Just imagine what it would have been like if you had seen Isrāfīl! He has twelve wings, of which one is in the East and one is the West; the Throne is on the nape of his neck, and sometimes, for the glory of God, he makes himself smaller until he has become like a small sparrow[666] so that only [God’s] glory can carry His Throne.[667]

[54] Ibn Mardawayh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown,[668] hemmed with pearls and precious stones, his head is like a mountain[669] and

[666] *Al-waṣᶜ* or *al-waṣaᶜ*; a small bird, like a sparrow (*ᶜuṣfūr*); see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 10, p. 276; Ibn Manẓūr also cites this ḥadīth.
[667] This ḥadīth is also in the short section on Gabriel in al-Qazwīnī’s *ᶜAjā’ib*, p. 37.
[668] This is a motif carried through into Islamic tradition from Judeo-Christian imagery: cf. Ezekiel 9:3; 10:2; Daniel 7:9; John 20:12 *&c*.

his hair like small pearls, and he is the colour of snow,[670] [he has a] bald forehead [which] is [like] the glistening of the front teeth, and he [wears] two belts made of strung pearls, and his two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God.[671]' Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.

[55] Ibn ᶜAsākir in a weak chain of authority[672] from ᶜĀ'isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God created Gabriel's skull as large as the oasis of al-Ghūṭa.[673]

[56] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) visited a man from among the *Ansār*; when he came near to his home, he heard him talking in the doorway. After he had sought permission [to enter], he entered, but he did not see anyone. The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'I heard someone other than you talking.' He said: 'Messenger of God, [I entered, worried by [the sound] of someone talking, which I sought sanctuary from][674] and he came to me. I have never seen a more noble man after you sitting there and there is no better narrator than him.' He said: 'That is

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[669] The Leiden MS reads '*ka-'l-ḥubk*' (cf. Q 51:7), but the meaning is unclear; the DKI reading is more suitable; fol. 190r, l. 12.
[670] Lit.: 'his colour is like snow...'
[671] Gabriel is frequently identified with the *ruḥ al-qadūs*; see Griffith, Sidney H., 'Holy Spirit' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 442 - 444 and Webb, Gisela, 'Gabirel' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 278 – 280.
[672] The ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ defines a weak ḥadīth simply as one which is neither sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) nor fair (*ḥasan*) i.e. any ḥadīth in which there are questions concerning the veracity of one of the authorities in the *isnād*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (tr. E. Dickinson), *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth – Kitāb maᶜrifat anwāᶜ ᶜilm al-ḥadīth* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2005) p. 25.
[673] An area of orchards and gardens in Damascus fed by the Baradā; thought to be one of the four earthly paradises; see Elisséeff, N. , 'Ghūṭa' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 1104 – 1106.
[674] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 20.

Gabriel. From amongst you there is a man; if one of them swears an oath by God, then [Gabriel] will fulfil it.'[675]

[57] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel (peace be upon him) said: 'If my Lord sends me to do something, and I then go to it; I find the being, but He has arrived there before me.'

[58] Al-Ṭabarānī from Maymūna bint Saᶜd; she said: I said: 'Messenger of God, can someone in a state of ritual impurity[676] go to sleep?' He said: I do not like him to go to sleep until he has performed the ritual ablutions, for I fear that if he dies, then Gabriel will not be with him.

[59] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The angel closest to God is Gabriel, then Michael. If God singled out a servant for a very good action that he did; He says so-and-so has done such-and-such a pious act, My blessings are upon him; then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' Then Michael asks: 'Which of the people of heaven can see him?' They say: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth. If God singled out a servant for a very bad action that he did; he says: 'My servant, so-and-so, has done such-and-such a disobedient act, my curse is upon him.' Then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?'

[675] In the DKI Edition, this is marked as a Qur'ānic quotation, but it is not.
[676] Particularly ritual impurity after sexual intercourse, after which ablutions are necessary; for more on ritual purity laws see Burton, 'Practice of *wuḍūᶜ*'.

And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very disobedient action that he did, and the curse of God is upon him.’ And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth.[677]

[60] al-Ṣābūnī in *al-Mi’atayn* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel is responsible for the human desires. If a believer prays, then [God][678] says: ‘Gabriel withhold from my servant what he wants,[679] for I love him and I love his voice.’ If a non-believer prays, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate him and I hate his voice.’

[61] al-Bayhaqī from Thābit, he said; we heard that God, Most High, made Gabriel (peace be upon him) responsible for the needs of the people. When a believer asks for something, He says: ‘Gabriel, withhold from my servant what he wants, for I love his prayer.’ If a non-believer asks for something, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate his prayer.’ Al-Bayhaqī said this is how it was given [to me] (*maḥfūẓ*).

[62] Ibn Abī Shayba through the intermediary of Thābit from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar;[680] he said: Gabriel is responsible for needs; if a believer asks his Lord for something, He says: ‘Hold back! Hold back out of love for his prayer, so that [his

[677] A similar ḥadīth to this appears in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā’* – see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 153 - 154; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 255.
[678] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 5.
[679] Lit.: ‘Hold back the need of my servant’ and ‘Fulfill the need of my servant’. In Islamic belief, having ones needs fulfilled can lead to faithlessness in God; cf. ‘Sometimes He gives while depriving you, and sometimes He deprives you in giving.’ Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Ḥikām*; Victor Danner (tr.), *Ibn ᶜAṭā’illāh’s Ṣūfī Aphorisms* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) §83, p. 36.
[680] Given as ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmayr in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 10.

prayer] may increase.' If an unbeliever asks for something, He says: 'Give it [to him]! Give it [to him] out of hatred for his prayer.'

[63] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī from Abū Dharr; he said; When God says: 'Gabriel, take away from the believing heart of my servant the sweetness which I used to find. He said: 'The faithful servant has become a confused disciple, whose soul used to be protected. I have sent him misfortune, the like of which had never been sent to him before.' When God saw him in that state, he said: 'Gabriel, go back to the heart of my servant. I did not take it away from him. Indeed, I have put him to the test, and I find him truthful, and I will help him increasingly from my heart.

[64] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAmr ibn Murra; he said: Gabriel is on the South Wind.

[65] Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I did not choose to see Gabriel (peace be upon him) perched on the curtains of the Kaᶜba, as he said: 'O the one who finds, O illustrious one; you never cease from blessing me; yet you bestow it upon me, without having seen Him.'

[66] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād; he said: God looked at Gabriel and Michael, and the two of them were crying; so God said: 'What has made you cry? You know that I have not committed an outrage.' The two said: 'Lord, we

do not feel safe from your devising.' And He said this, and they were affected by it: 'The only ones who feel safe from my devising are all the losers.'[681]

[67] Imām Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawni that he heard that Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) crying and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'Why should the mouth of God not make me cry? I did not dry my eyes when God created the Fire; for fear that I might disobey him, he threw me into it.'

[68][682] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī[683] informed us, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī informed me in Mecca; al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād told us; [Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī; Abū 'l-Faḍl narrated it from his father ᶜĀṣim from his father ᶜUmar from Qatāda ibn al- Nuᶜmān; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said:][684] 'God sent Gabriel (peace be upon him) down in the most beautiful form of what had come to me in form, and he said: 'God salutes you, Muḥammad, and He says to you: "I revealed to the world, in such a way that [the world] should be bitter, troubling, oppressive and that it should act harshly towards my close associates, so that they

[681] This is almost a direct quotation of Q 6:99 'None feels secure against God's devising but the people of the lost.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 155.
[682] In both the DKI edition and Leiden MS, there is no '*akhraja*' at the beginning of this ḥadīth; fol. 190v, l. 26.
[683] Al-Suyūṭī occasionally includes the whole *isnād*, if there is some concern over the *isnād* (see the end of this ḥadīth).
[684] The Leiden MS gives a slightly different version of the section of the *isnād*: Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀsim from ᶜAmr ibn Qatāda ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī form his father, Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said…'; fol. 190v, ll. 27 – 29.

want to meet me; and that [the world] should be [made comfortable, agreeable, and good for my enemies, so that they are loathe to meet me].[685] Indeed, I created it as a prison for my friends and a paradise for my enemies.' Al-Bayhaqī said: We only write it with this *isnād* and there are unknown[686] things in it(?).[687]

[69] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Wāthila ibn al-Asqaᶜ; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) came to a curly-haired,[688] cross-eyed, short-necked, feet-deformed, small-eared,[689] left-handed, emaciated Yemeni who walked with his legs apart, he said: 'Messenger of God, explain to me what God has given me.' When he told him, he said: 'I swear to God that I will not do any more religious duties.' He said: 'Why [do] that?' He said: 'Because he created me, and created me deformed.' Then he ran away. So Gabriel came to [Muhammad] and said: 'Muhammad, where is the one who rebuked [God]? He rebuked a beautiful Lord, so He has castigated him. [God] said: 'Say to him: Truly, [Messenger of God],[690] he should be happy that God will send him in the image of Gabriel on the Day of Resurrection.' So he said [this] to him; and he said: 'Yes, Messenger of God, I am rebuking God for not making my body sufficiently strong to do any of the duties that please God except what the deeds

[685] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 1.
[686] The validity of a ḥadīth that includes an unknown transmitter (*majhūl*) is disputed in Ḥadīth scholarship; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 85; however the Arabic text does not appear to be be referring to *isnād*.
[687] This appears to refer to the various *isnāds*, but one would normally expect *–hā* instead of *–hum*.
[688] Evil is traditionally portrayed by ugliness, for example the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) is described as a human with a number of deformities, so much so that '…even a Jewish man named Ibn Sayyād (d. 683) was believed to be the Antichrist and was nearly killed by Omar…' Saritoprak, 'Legend of al-Dajjāl' p. 292. However, this ḥadīth is more likely to simply be describing someone with the most afflictions possible, rather than portraying him as being evil.
[689] The Leiden MS reads '*aḍjam*', which according to Lane is '…having a nose that inclines towards one side of the face.' (i.e. a crooked nose), see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1770; fol. 191r, l. 3.
[690] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 7.

that I have done for him.' On this [*ḥadīth*] al-ᶜAlā ibn Kathir said: al-Bukhārī did not accept this *ḥadīth*.[691]

[70][692] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr concerning His Word: 'Save only to such a messenger as He is well-pleased with: then He despatches before him and behind him watchers.'[693] He said: He only sends down Gabriel for the Revelation, and with him are four angelic *ḥufaẓa*.

[71] al-Ṭabarānī in a chain of trusted authorities (*bi-'snād rijālihi thiqāt*)[694] from Umm Salama that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: In Heaven there are two angels; one of the two is responsible for misery and the other is responsible for tenderness; the appropriate ones responsible are Gabriel and Michael. And there are two Prophets, one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other is responsible for misery, the appropriate ones are responsible, [and he said that these are Abraham and Noah. I have two companions; one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other for misery.][695] The appropriate one is responsible and he mentioned Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[696]

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[691] *Munkar* is used both of rejected and unfamiliar ḥadīth; many ḥadīth scholars rejected ḥadīth attributed to transmitters designated *munkar*, e.g. Muslim, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī) vol. 1, pp. 55 - 56; however some ḥadīth scholars did accept these ḥadīth, see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 59, n. 1. See also, Juynboll, G. H. A., 'Muslim's Introduction to his *Saḥīḥ*, Translated and Annotated with an excursus on the chronology of the *fitna* and *bid'a*' *JSAI* 5 (1984) pp. 263 – 302, p. 269, n. 9.

[692] In the Leiden MS there is an empty space left between *akhraja* and Abū 'l-Shaykh, an author's name may be missing; fol. 191r, l. 9.

[693] Q 72:27; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 613.

[694] *Thiqāt* is the technical term for reliable authorities, as opposed to an unreliable authorities (*ḍuᶜafā'*); various ḥadīth scholars collected volumes listing reliable and unreliable authorities, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā' al-saghīr* (Aleppo: Dār al-Wāᶜī, 1976).

[695] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 14.

[696] For a discussion of Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar, cf. Al-Suyūṭī (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd), *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajarīyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969) pp. 44 – 48; Jarret, H. S. (tr.), *History of the Caliphs* (repr. Karachi: Krimsons, 1977) pp. 40 – 41.

[72] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: ʻGabriel, I think that I have good standing with you.ʼ He said: ʻOf course – by the One who sent you in Truth! I have not been sent to a prophet whom I have loved more than you.ʼ He said: ʻI would like you to tell me about my standing with you here.ʼ He said: ʻI am able to do that.ʼ He said: ʻBy the One who sent you in truth! I was drawn unprecendetly close to my Lord [regarding my standing], and I have never approached the like of him before. And He had decreed that I could approach Him. It was a journey of five hundred years. The closest creation of God (may he be praised and glorified) is Isrāfīl. And [Isrāfīl] decreed that [Muḥammad] could approach [Isrāfīl]; the distance [between Isrāfīl and God(?)][697] is a journey of seventy years; among them are seventy lights and the lowest light blinds the eyes, so how could I have come to know what is beyond that? But it appeared to me on the Tablet;[698] then he called us and then sent us away.

[73] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Rabbāḥ; he said: I narrated that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ʻYou only come to me looking like you are grieving.ʼ[699] He said: ʻI have not laughed since the Fire was created.ʼ[700]

[74] al-Firyābī[701] and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ʻFor the trumpet[702] shall be blown and

[697] The text is unclear here.
[698] i.e. Muḥammad approaches God, but can only go as far as Isrāfīl, the angel nearest to God. Muḥammad is told what exists beyond Isrāfīl by the Tablet.
[699] See Lane for a discussion of this idiomatic expression, *AELex*, p. 1673.
[700] This ḥadīth appears again with Michael and Isrāfīl being the angels who do not laugh; see §79 & 97.

whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills.'[703] They said: 'Messenger of God, who are these whom God, may he be praised and glorified, will exclude?' He said: 'Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death, Isrāfīl and the Bearers of the Throne. For when God grasps the souls of the created beings, he will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you, my Lord, and I extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death remain.' And he will say: 'Take the soul of Isrāfīl!' So he will take the soul of Isrāfīl. And God will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you and I bless my Lord and extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death remain.' And He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael!' So he will take the soul of Michael, and he will fall down like a great mountain. And He will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' He will say: 'Gabriel [and][704] the Angel of Death.' And He will say: 'Die, Angel of Death!' and he will die. Then He will say: 'Gabriel, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and everlasting face remains.' And Gabriel is about to die and pass away. He said: it was necessary for him to die, and he fell down prostrating, his wings flapping.

He said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said that he preferred his creation over the creation of Michael as a great mountain.

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[701] This could be either Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī (d. 301 / 913) or Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī (d. 212 / 827). Abū Bakr was a ḥadīth collector and Abū ᶜAlī was an exegete; as this is an exegetical ḥadīth it is difficult to ascertain which al-Firyābī is meant; See Sezgin, *GAS,* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 166.

[702] For more on the trumpet that heralds the resurrection see: Smith, Jane I., 'Eschatology' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 47 – 48.

[703] Q 39:68; Arberry. *Koran*, p. 479.

[704] This appears to be an error in the text and 'wa-' has been added following earlier examples above.

[75] Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from a *ḥadīth* attributed to Anas concerning His Word: 'For the trumpet shall be blown…'[705] (and the rest of the verse); he said: From these God, may He be praised and glorified, will exclude three: Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death. God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and compassionate face remains and your servant Gabriel, and Michael and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael.' Then God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal face remains and your servant Gabriel and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Gabriel.' Then He, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and generous face remains and your servant the Angel of Death.' When he is about to die, he will say: 'Die!' Then he will proclaim: 'I began the creation then I take it back.'

[76] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜAṭā' ibn al-Sā'ib; he said: The first among those who are held to account is Gabriel because he is the faith of God to His messengers.

[77] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa; he said: The one responsible for the Scales[706] on the Day of Resurrection is Gabriel (peace be upon him).

[705] Q 39:68; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.
[706] Cf. Q 42:17 & 55:7-9, Arberry; *Koran*, pp. 500 & 557.

4.2.7 Michael (Peace be upon him)

[78] Ibn al-Mundhir[707] from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel's name [means] Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God, Michael's name [means] Servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God.[708]

[79] Aḥmad and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Anas that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Why have I never seen Michael laughing?'[709] He said: 'Michael has not laughed since the Fire was created.'

[80] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in *Nawādir al-uṣūl* from Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ; he said: Gabriel and Michael came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) while he was cleaning his teeth and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) gave Gabriel the toothpick.[710] He said: Gabriel said, 'God is Great!' Al-Ḥakīm said: that is, [Muḥammad] gave [it] to Michael and then [Gabriel] said: 'God is Great!'

[81] al-Ḥākim from Abū Saᶜīd; he said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: My two ministers from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael and from the earthly world are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[711]

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[707] Given as Ibn ᶜAbd al-Mundhir in the Leiden MS, this seems to be an error; fol. 191v, l. 10.
[708] See §36 for a discussion of the use of *ᶜabd* and *ᶜubayd*.
[709] For the negative attitude to laughing in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth, see Chittick, 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' pp. 133 – 134.
[710] Teeth-cleaning is an important part of Islamic ritual purity, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* §244 – 245; p. 69; and Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, vol. 1, pp. 64 - 65 (Bewley, *Al-Muwaṭṭa'*, §2.32.115—117, p. 23). For more secondary sources on this see: Risplet-Chaim, Vardit, 'The siwāk: A Medieval Islamic Contribution to Dental Care' *JRAS* 2 (1992) pp. 13 – 20 and Janot, Francis, Vezie, Philippe & Bottero-Cornillac, Marie-Jeanne, 'Le siwāk (bâtonnet frotte-dents), instrument à usages religieux et médical' *AI* 32 (1998) pp. 101 – 123.
[711] Cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 569 – 572.

[82] al-Bazzār, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God supports me with four ministers: the two from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael, the two from earthly word are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

[83] al-Daylāmī[712] through the intermediary of al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī from ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna from Abū Umāma from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; ascribing it to the Prophet, [he said]: The muezzin of the heavenly host is Gabriel and Michael is their Imam,[713] who leads them in the prayers in the *Inhabited House*. The angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited House* and they perform the ritual prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).

[84] Ibn al-Najjār said in his *Ta'rīkh*: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb related to me an oral tradition in Isfahan from Abu Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah related to him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī[714] informed him; he said: I swear by God that Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī informed him; he said: Abū 'l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-

[712] There are a number of authors with the name al-Daylamī, but the reference to al-Sulamī indicates that this is Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī, as he made a commentary on al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī's *al-Sirr fī anfās al-ṣūfīya*; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol.1, pp. 647 – 648; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 207 and Arberry, A. J., 'The Works of Shams al-Dīn al-Dailamī' *BSOAS* 29 (1966) pp. 49 – 56.
[713] Cf. ḥadīth §39, which says that Gabriel is the Imām of heaven.
[714] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 25.

Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib informed him; he said: I swear by God that Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī told him; he said: I swear by God that al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī told him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā][715] [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar][716] told me; he said: I swear by God that Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me; he said: I swear that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib][717] told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [told me; he said: I swear by God that Gabriel][718] told me; he said: I swear by God that Michael told me; he said: I swear by God that Israfīl told me from the Preserved Tablet that God the Blest and the Most High said: The wine-drinker is like the idolater.

The *ḥafiẓ* Ibn Hajar said in his *Lisān al-mīzān*: This *matn* with this aforementioned *isnād* is [attributed] to ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā; Abu Nuᶜaym excludes him from his *isnād* in *al-Ḥilya*. Whoever does not know its status [see] al-Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī as well, but he only mentions Gabriel; Muḥammad said: 'The wine addict is like the idolater.'[719] Ibn Ḥibbān attributed the *matn* in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

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[715] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[716] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[717] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 32.
[718] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v , l. 32 – fol. 192r, l. 1.
[719] This ḥadīth is well-known, although the following *matn* is more common: *wa-man shariba al-khamr fi-'l-dunyā, fa-māta, wa-huwa yudumnuhā*; see Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 2, p. 144. The *matn* found here (and in §171) is found in Ibn Māja, Abu ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (ed. Muḥammad Fuᶜād ᶜAbd al-Baqī), *Sunan Ibn Māja* (Cairo: Bābī al-Ḥalabī, s.d.) vol. 2, p. 1120, §3375.

4.2.8 Isrāfīl (peace be upon him)

[85] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: God, Most High, created the Trumpet[720] out of white pearls with the purity of glass; then he said to the Throne: 'Take the trumpet and keep hold of it.' Then He said: 'Be!' And Isrāfīl came into being, and He ordered him to take the Trumpet, so he took it and it had a hole for the number of every created soul (*rūḥ*) and spirit (*nafs*) that is born; two souls do not go through one hole. In the middle of the Trumpet there is an aperture like the roundness of the Heaven and the Earth. And Isrāfīl placed his mouth over that aperture. Then the Lord said to him: 'I have made you responsible for the Trumpet, and yours is the blowing and the shouting.'[721] And Isrāfīl came before the Throne, placed his right foot under the Throne and his left foot; he has not looked away since God created him, so that he can wait for what He commands him [to do].

[86] al-Tirmidhī and declared it to be fair (*ḥasan*), al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'How can I be happy when the possessor of the trumpet has already put the mouthpiece to his mouth, tilted his head and inclined his ear? He will wait until he is commanded to blow it.' They said: 'What should we say?' He

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However, the *isnād* is different: Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shayba & Muḥammad ibn al-Sabbāḥ – Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Aṣbahānī - Suhayl – Abū Suhayl – Abū Hurayrah.

[720] This is the trumpet that announces the end of the world; it is mentioned ten times in the Qur'ān (Q 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13 and 78:18); a description of Isrāfīl can also be found in al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 596.

[721] Cf. Q 36:50 – 55; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 453.

said: ‘Say: “God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is he”[722] “In God have we put our trust.”’[723]

[87] al-Ḥākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Possessor of the Trumpet looks fixedly whilst he is responsible for it. Prepared, he looks towards the Throne, fearing that [if he were to look away], he would be ordered to let out a cry before he [could] return his gaze; his eyes are two milky stars.[724]

[88] Ibn Abi Ḥātim from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī;[725] he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The two Possessors of the Trumpet[726] do not stop holding onto the trumpet, waiting until they are ordered [to blow it].

[89] al-Daylāmī from Abū Umāma; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of God;[727] Michael’s name [means] servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God; and Isrāfīl’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful.

[90] al-Ṭabarānī, Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Hilya* and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; that a Jew said: ‘Messenger of God, tell me about the angel of God which is near

[722] Q 3:173; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 67.
[723] Q 7:89 and 10:85; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 154 and 207.
[724] Milk, like pearls, is used to represent holiness; see Rippin, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365.
[725] Given as ‘al-Khudhrī’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 18.
[726] This ḥadīth and others do not explain who the two angels of the trumpet are. Isrāfīl is normally the only angel associated with the Trumpet, but occasionally others are also associated with it – see §99.
[727] As before, see §36, 37 & 87 above.

him.' [He said: 'The angel which is near Him is][728] Isrāfīl, then Gabriel, then Michael, then the Angel of Death.'

[91] Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim [and Ibn Mardawayh][729] from Abu Saᶜīd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Isrāfīl is the Possessor of the Trumpet and Gabriel is on his right and Michael is on his left.[730]

[92] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī; he said: No created thing is closer to God than Isrāfīl, and between him and between God are seven veils. And he has a wing in the East, and a wing in the West; a wing on the Seventh Earth and a wing on his head. His head is placed between his two wings. When God gives him an order, the tablets (*alwāḥ*) are lowered down to Isrāfīl with God's command [written] on them, then Isrāfīl will look at them; Gabriel then calls out and [Isrāfīl] answers him. As none of the angels can hear his voice without being made unconscious, when they come round, they say: 'What [was that]?' [Isrāfīl] says: '[It was] your Lord.' They will say: 'The Truth, and He is the All-High, the All-Great.'[731] The Angel of the Trumpet (who is the one responsible for it)[732] [has] one of his feet on the Seventh Earth, whilst he kneels on his knees, staring fixedly at Isrāfīl. He has not looked up since God made him; he will look when he is given the signal and then he will blow the Trumpet.

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[728] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[729] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[730] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 29; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 47. In this section of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā'* Adam ascends to heaven on the horse al-Maymūn: Gabriel takes the reins, Michael is on the right and Isrāfīl is on the left. This is a different context but it does highlight the fact that these three angels are often mentioned together and that their positions vary. See also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 103; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 175.
[731] Q 34:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 440.
[732] Note that in this ḥadīth the Angel of the Trumpet is not Isrāfīl, as elsewhere.

[93] Ibn Abī Zamanīn in *al-Sunna* from Kaᶜb; he said: The closest of the angels to God is Isrāfīl; he has four wings: a wing in the East, a wing in the West, he is covered[733] by the third [wing] and the fourth is between him and the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). If God wants to reveal a command, the Preserved Tablet comes down until it slams into Isrāfīl's forehead; and he raises his head and looks; when the command is written, he calls out to Gabriel and he responds. And he says: 'You are commanded to do such and such an order.' Gabriel does not descend from one heaven to another without its people becoming terrified with fear of the Hour, until Gabriel says: 'the Truth is from the Truth!'[734] And he descends to the Prophet and gives the revelation to him.

[94] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth;[735] he said: I was with ᶜĀ'isha, while Kaᶜb was with her and she said: 'Kaᶜb, tell us about Isrāfīl.' And he said: 'He is the Angel of God. There is nothing in his presence. He has a wing in the East and he has a wing in the West, and a wing is on the nape of his neck and the Throne is on the nape of his neck.' ᶜĀ'isha said: 'I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say the same.' Kaᶜb said: 'The Tablet is on his forehead, so when God wants to give a command, he writes it on the Tablet.'

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[733] The *sarawīl* is an undergarment used to cover male and female genitalia; see Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 10 – 11, and for pictures of earlier and later *sarawīl* see Scarce, Jennifer, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 33 & 74 - 75. Although normally referring to 'trousers' specifically, *sarāwīl* can have a more general meaning, e.g. the *TA* describes a *sirwāl* as a *qamīṣ*, *darᶜ* or '*kulla mā lubisa*' Al-Zabīdī, *TA,* vol. 29, p. 196. The association of the *sarāwīl* with personal modesty implies that the wing is being used to cover the Isrāfīl's genitalia, in the same way that the seraphim in Is. 6:3 'cover their feet'. The same ḥadīth, with a slightly different *isnād* and *matn*, appears below (§99), but Isrāfīl's wing is said to be 'clothed' (*tasarbala* [Form II *srbl*]) as opposed to '*trouser-ed'* (*tasarwala* [Form II *srwl*]).

[734] cf. Q 8:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 172.

[735] The Leiden MS gives the name as 'Abd al-Ḥarth'; fol. 192r, l. 11.

[95] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith that Kaᶜb said to ᶜĀ’isha: ‘Did you hear the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [say anything about Isrāfīl?’ She said: ‘Yes, I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation)][736] saying, “He has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West; and the Tablet is between his eyes, so if God wants to write a revelation, He inscribes it between his eyes.”’

[96] Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: It is said that one of the Bearers of the Throne[737] [is Isrāfīl]; and that Isrāfīl has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck; his feet go down to the lowest part of the Seventh Heaven and his head passes through the highest part of the Seventh Heaven.

[97] Al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Muṭṭalib that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I said to Gabriel: ‘Gabriel, why have I not seen Isrāfīl laughing? None of the angels have come to me without me seeing them laughing.’ Gabriel said: ‘We have not seen that angel laughing since the Fire was created.’[738]

[736] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 12.
[737] The Bearers of the Throne are referred to in Q 40:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 481; see also Elias, Jamal, ‘Throne of God’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 276 – 278.
[738] This is almost identical to §79.

[98] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) heard a crash,[739] and he said: ‘Gabriel, is the hour coming?’ He said: ‘No, this is Isrāfīl coming to earth.’

[99] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith; he said: I was with ᶜĀ’isha while Kaᶜb al-Ḥabr[740] was at her house, and he mentioned Isrāfīl. ᶜĀ’isha said: ‘Tell me about Isrāfīl.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘Feel free to ask.’[741] She said: ‘By all means! So tell me.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘He has four wings; two wings are in the air, a wing, with which he is clothed,[742] and one wing is in the nape of his neck; the Pen is on his ear; when He sends down revelation, the Pen writes, then the angels wipe it off [the Tablet]. The Angel of the Trumpet is lower than him, and he genuflects on one of his knees and he raises the other; and he puts the Trumpet to his mouth, bending his back and his side towards Isrāfīl. When he has been ordered, he will look at Isrāfīl, and when [Isrāfīl’s] two wings are closed, [the Angel of the Trumpet] will blow into the Trumpet. ᶜĀ’isha said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [talking][743] in this way.

[100] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī; he said: When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.

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[739] This appears to be related the various ‘I heard the heavens groaning’ ḥadīth above (§10 & 25).
[740] i.e. Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār; *aḥbār* is the plural *ḥibr* / *ḥabr* and is used as a compliment; the word is derived from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, a title of an Jewish scholar below that of Rabbi; see Schmitz, M., ‘Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār, Abū Isḥāḳ b. Mātī’ b. Haysu’ / Haynū’’ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 316; for more on the Jewish *ḥāber*, see Spiro, Solomon J., ‘Who was the *Ḥaber*? A New Approach to an Ancient Institution’ *JSJ* 11 (1980) pp. 186 – 216.
[741] Lit: ‘The knowledge is yours’ – an Arabic idiom.
[742] cf. §93; see note above.
[743] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192v, l. 29.

[101] Also from him;[744] he said: None of God's creations have a better voice that Isrāfīl; when he begins to glorify God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and praising of the people of the Seven Heavens.

[102] [Abū 'l-Shaykh] through the intermediary of al-Layth; Khālid told me from Saᶜīd; he said: I was told that Isrāfīl is the muezzin of the people of heaven,[745] and he makes the call to prayer [twelve times during the day][746] and twelve times at night; and at every hour's proclamation, whoever is in the Seven Heavens and whoever is in the Seven Earths hears his proclamation, except jinn and humans. Then he, the greatest of the angels, goes to the front of them and performs the ritual prayer for them. [Saᶜīd] said it reached me that Michael leads the angels in the *Inhabited House*.

[103] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Abī Jabala in his *Isnād*; he said: The first of those to be called on the Day of Resurrection is Isrāfīl; God will say, 'Have you delivered my covenant?' And he will say, 'Yes, Lord, I delivered it to Gabriel.' And he will summon Gabriel, and it is said: 'Did Isrāfīl deliver my covenant to you?' He will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Isrāfīl. And he will say to Gabriel, 'What did you do with my covenant?' And he will say, 'Lord, I delivered it to the Messengers.' So he will summon the Messengers, and it will be said to them: 'Did Gabriel deliver my covenant to you?' And they will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Gabriel.

[104] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Sinān; he said: The created thing closest to God is the Tablet, and it is suspended from the Throne; and if God wants to reveal something,

[744] i.e. Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī.
[745] This is said to be Gabriel in §83.
[746] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 2.

He writes on the [Preserved] Tablet [and the Tablet moves][747], and the Tablet goes [down] until it hits Isrāfīl's forehead;[748] Isrāfīl covers his head with his wings so that he does not raise his eyes to the majesty of God and looks at [the Tablet]; if it is [a command] for the people of the heaven, then he hands it over [to Michael; if it is [a command] for the people of the earth, then he hands it over][749] to Gabriel. The first to be called to account on the Day of Resurrection is the [Tablet. It is called by Him. Its whole body trembles in fear, and it will be said to it: 'Did you send out [my commands]?' It will say: 'Yes.' It will be said: 'Who saw you?' And it will say, 'Isrāfīl.' Then Isrāfīl][750] will be called and his body will tremble with fear. And it will be said to him: 'Did the Tablet send [my commands to] you?' When he has said 'yes' the Tablet says: 'Praise be to God, who saved me[751] from evil reckoning.[752] Then like that.'

[105] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḍamra; he said: I heard that the first to bow down to Adam[753] (peace be upon him) was Isrāfīl; God rewarded him by putting the Qur'ān on his forehead.

[106] al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and al-Bazzār from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: A group of people came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) and they said: 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr claimed that

[747] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 10.
[748] The Leiden MS reads '*wajh*' for '*ra's*'; fol. 193r, l. 11.
[749] Omitted in the Leiden MS, but is an error; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[750] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[751] cf. Q 23:28; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 345.
[752] Q 13:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 242.
[753] The principal Qur'anic narratives of the prostration to Adam can be found at Q 2:29 – 34 & 38:71 – 75; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 5 &469. See also Jung, *Fallen Angels* for a discussion of the narrative's origins. Some texts say that Gabriel or Michael were the first to bow down – see Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration' p. 30, n. 96.

righteous actions are from God and unrighteous actions are from humans, but ᶜUmar has said that both righteous actions and unrighteous actions come from God, and a group follows this one and a group follows that one.'[754] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'The judgment between you both is [found] in the judgment of Isrāfīl between Gabriel and Michael: Michael said the words of Abū Bakr; and Gabriel the words of ᶜUmar; Gabriel said to Michael: "When the people of the heavens differ, [or] the people of the earth differ, we should seek a legal ruling from Isrāfīl." And so the two of them went to seek a legal ruling from him and he made a ruling between the two of them concerning the truth about predestination: "His kindness, His wickedness, His sweetness and His bitterness, all of them come from God." Then [Muḥammad] said: 'Abū Bakr, if God did not want disobedience then he would not have had created Iblīs.' Abū Bakr said: 'God and His Prophet have spoken the truth.'

4.2.9 The Angel of Death[755] (peace be upon him)

[107] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Abū Hurayrah; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create Adam,[756] He sent an angel from the Bearers of the Throne to fetch some dust from the earth.[757] When

[754] This is a famous ḥadīth; see van Ess *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie,* pp. 160 – 178.
[755] For basic information on the Angel of Death, see Wensinck, 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*[1] & *EI*[2]; cf. the short section on the angel in al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, pp. 37 – 38.
[756] This and the next ḥadīth have different *mitān* but are essentially the same story. Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a different version, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36.
[757] The Qur'ān includes many references to Adam being made of earth: e.g. Q 2:264; 3:59; 16:59; 18:37; 22:5; 30:20: 35:11; 40:67 &c. For an analysis of these narratives and their relation to Jewish and Christian literature see, Chipman, 'Mythic Aspects'.

[the angel] came down to take [it], the Earth said: 'I implore you, by the One who sent you, not to take anything from me today, part of which is to be for the Fire tomorrow.' So [the angel] left it, and when he ascended to his Lord; He said: 'What prevented you from fetching what I ordered you to fetch?' He said: 'The Earth sought Your [protection] and I was worried about bringing back something that had been protected [by You].' So He despatched another [angel] to [the Earth], and it said the same thing until He had sent all of them;[758] and so He sent out the Angel of Death and [the Earth] said the same to him; so [the Angel of Death] said: 'The One who sent me is more deserving of obedience than you.' So he took [mud] from the face of the whole Earth, from its goodness and its wickedness, and took it to his Lord, and He poured water of the Garden onto it and it became moulded mud[759] and he created Adam from it.

[108] Ibn Jarīr, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and Ibn ᶜAsākir through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik, Abū Sāliḥ, Ibn ᶜAbbās, Murra, Ibn Masᶜūd and some of the Companions;[760] they said: God sent Gabriel to the Earth to fetch some clay from it. The Earth said: 'God protect me from you from [mud] being taken away[761] from me!' So [Gabriel] returned without taking anything; and he said: 'O Lord, [the Earth] took your protection, so I respected [the protection that it sought].' So He sent Michael and it was as before; and so He sent the Angel of Death, and [the Earth] sought protection from him; but he said: 'I seek God's protection that I may

[758] i.e. all of the Bearers of the Throne.
[759] See Q 15:26, 27 & 33; Arberry translates this as 'mud moulded', *Koran*, pp. 254 – 255; Adam is also said to have been made from a clot (ᶜ*alaq*) in Q 96:2; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651. However, the ᶜ*alaq* is not prominent in these narratives of Angel of Death and the creation of Adam.
[760] i.e. this is not an *isnād* but a ḥadīth with multiple narrators.
[761] The Leiden MS reads *yunaqqiṣu* (fol. 193v, l. 2).

return, without not having carried out His command.' And he took [mud] from the face of the Earth.

[109] al-Daylamī from Zayd ibn Thābit; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: If you were to learn of the moment of [your] death (*ajal*),[762] and know how far it were away, then you would come to hate hope and its deception; there is no-one of any family without the Angel of Death coming to them twice every day; and whoever senses him, then indeed the moment of death has come. He takes his soul (*rūḥ*),[763] and if his family cries and mourns, he says: 'Do not cry and do not mourn! By God! I have not lessened your age, nor have I kept your livelihood from you, and there is no sin[764] for me [in doing this], and I will return to you again and again, until there are none of you left.'

[110] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: There is no tent,[765] nor any mud-brick house on the surface of the Earth, without the Angel of Death circumambulating it twice a day.

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[762] The concept of *dahr* [fate] was important in the pre-Islamic concept of death; Jacques Waardenburg notes that 'In the Qur'ān it is not *dahr* [fate] but God who decides the appointed time (*ajal*) of each individual and who causes the person to die…' Jacques Waardenburg, 'Death and the Dead' *EQ* vol. 1, p. 508. See also Goldziher, I., *Muslim Studies,* p. 230; Goldziher, I., 'Ajal' *EI²* Vol 1, p. 140; Watt, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' pp. 14 – 15; O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* and Smith & Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*; cf. also *MK* 28a, p. 183.

[763] *Nafs* and *rūḥ* are usually seen as being synonymous (e.g. Calverly, 'Doctrines of the Soul' p. 254 and Tritton, A. S., 'Man, *Nafs*, *Rūḥ*, *ᶜAql*' *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp. 491 - 495, p. 491). The ḥadīth in this collection, particularly in this section, uses the terms both as synonyms and as terms applying to different parts of soul (e.g. §124); see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 17 – 21.

[764] For a discussion of the different meanings of Arabic words for 'sin', see Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion III' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 194 – 209.

[765] *Bayt shaᶜr* = house of hair; this is a Bedouin tent.

[111] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* and ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zawā'id al-Zuhd* from ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī; he said: There is no inhabitant of a house, without the Angel of Death studying them twice a day.

[112] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in *Dhikr al-mawt* and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Ḥasan; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies every house three times, and if one of them senses him, then his life (*rizq*) has indeed come to an end, and his appointed time of death (*ajal*) has come; [the Angel of Death] takes his soul (*rūḥ*) and [when he has taken his soul],[766] his family draws near to him wailing and crying; and the Angel of Death takes hold of two posts of the doorframe and says: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you![767] I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your[768] food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there are none of you left!' Al-Ḥasan said: By God! If they were to see his place or hear his words, then they would forget their dead and cry for their own souls.

[113] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: The Angel of Death watches every house five times every day and he studies the face of the sons of Adam every day. He said: And from [this experience] is the terror which hits people, meaning[769] shaking and shuddering.[770]

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[766] Added by the Leiden MS (fol. 193v, l. 14).
[767] If read as *dhanab* (dependant) rather than *dhanb* (sin, misdeed) this would mean: 'Why should I care about your family?' [Lit: 'What are your dependents to me?].
[768] The Leiden MS reads *la-hā* for *li-kum* throughout; (see fol. 193v, l. 16).
[769] The Leiden MS reads: *wa-min-hā* instead of *yaᶜnī*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.
[770] The Leiden MS reads: *al-inqibāḍ* (depression, gloom) for *al-intifāḍ*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.

[114] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shakyh from ᶜIkrima; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies the Book of people’s lives.[771] Some say [ᶜIkrima] said three times, and some say he said five times.

[115][772] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no-one in any house,[773] without the Angel of Death being at his door seven times every day,[774] looking to see whether there is anyone in it, whom He has ordered to be taken [up to God].

[116] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜAṭā’ ibn Yisār; he said: There is no person in a house, without the Angel of Death studying them five times every day [to see] if he has been commanded to take anyone from among them.

[117] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Thābit al-Banānī; he said: Night and day, [all] twenty four hours, there is not a single hour that passes one who breathes,[775] without the Angel of the Death standing over [the soul]; if he has been ordered to take [a soul],[776] he takes it; otherwise he goes away.

[118] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta’rīkh* from a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet[777] given by Anas that the Angel of Death looks upon the faces of the servants of God seventy

[771] There are a number of different things to which ‘*al-kitāb’* can apply, here it is the book of an indiviudal’s deeds, as recorded by the scribes; see Berg, Herbert, ‘Ṭabārī’s Exegesis of the Qur’ānic Term *al-Kitāb*’ *JAAR* 63 (1995) pp. 761 – 724, p. 763.
[772] In the Leiden MS §115 comes after §116; fol. 193v, ll. 22 – 24.
[773] Lit: ‘There is not in any house anyone…’
[774] The Leiden MS omits *kulla yawm*; fol 193v, l. 25.
[775] *dhū rūḥ* = ‘one who has *rūḥ*.’
[776] Or: ‘If He [i.e. God] has ordered the taking of [a soul]…’
[777] *marfūᶜ* = ‘raised’. This is a ḥadīth that is attributable to the Prophet; see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Maᶜrifat*, p. 31.

times a day; if the servant [of God], to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to him to take his soul (*rūḥ*) while he is laughing!'

[119] Al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr*, Abū Nuᶜaym, Ibn Mandah, both of them in their works called *al-Maᶜrifa* through the intermediary of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad from his father, from al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj [from his father];[778] he said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) say, as he looked at the Angel of Death while he was [standing by] the head of one of the *anṣār*: 'Angel of Death, be kind to my friend, he is a believer.' The Angel of Death said: 'Be of good cheer! Be happy! I am kind to every believer, and know, Muḥammad, that I am going to take the soul of [every] son of Adam! If he gives out a great shout; then I come to the house, and his soul (*rūḥ*) is mine. And I say: "What is this cry? By God! We have not wronged him,[779] and we have not [taken his soul] before his appointed time (*ajal*), nor have we hastened his destiny (*qadar*). There is no sin for us in taking his soul." If they are pleased by what God has arranged [for them], then they are rewarded; if they are displeased, then they are sinning and transgressing. We will return to you, again and again, so be on your guard! There is no person who lives in a tent, or in a mud house, on the land, or on the plain, or on the mountain, without me studying them every day and night until I know the trivialities and the great things in

[778] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 193v, l. 32.
[779] Cf. Q 7:101; 'And We wronged them not, they have wronged themselves…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 223; in this case the third person plural verb appears to refer to the Angel of Death; the use of plural may indicate the Angel of Death's helpers (cf. §127), especially considering the Angel of Death has already used the first person singular in this ḥadīth.

their souls; by God! If I wanted to take a soul of a mosquito,[780] I could not do it until God had let it be – He is the One who orders its taking.'

Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad said: I heard that when [the Angel of Death] studies [people] during the appointed times for the ritual prayer, if [someone] is about to die,[781] and if he is one of those who remembers the ritual prayers, then the angel approaches him and drives Satan away from him, and the angel whispers the *talqīn*[782] to him at that great moment: 'There is no god, but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.'

[120] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt* from ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr; he said: While Abraham (peace be upon him) was in his house one day, suddenly a man of beautiful appearance came into his presence, and [Abraham] said: 'Servant of God, who admitted you into my house?' He said: 'Its Lord admitted me into it.' He said: 'Its Lord is the most right [to do] that. Who are you?' He said: 'The Angel of Death.' He said: 'Things have been described to me about you [that I cannot see in you][783].' [Abraham] said: 'Turn around.' And so he turned around, and there were eyes at the front and eyes at the back and every one of his hairs were like people standing on end. So Abraham begged God for protection against that and said: 'Return to your first form.' He said: 'Abraham, when God sends me to someone He wants to meet, He sends me in the form which you saw first.[784]

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[780] Cf. Q 2:26: 'God is not ashamed to strike a similitude even of a gnat, or aught above it.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[781] The Leiden MS reads: *fa-idhā naẓara* (see fol. 194r, l. 8); = 'if he sees Death with him…'
[782] 'It was *sunna* to whisper the *shahāda* in the ear of a dying man whose face is turned towards Mecca.' Tritton, A. S., 'Djanāza' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 441 – 442, p. 441.
[783] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 13.
[784] Al-Suyūṭī also includes other accounts of the death of Abraham in his *Faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, pp. 346 – 352.

[121] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from Kaᶜb; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) saw a man in his house, and he said: ʻWho are you?ʼ He said: ʻI am the Angel of Death.ʼ Abraham said: ʻIf you are right, then show me a sign so that I might know that you are the Angel of Death.ʼ The Angel of Death said: ʻI shall appear before you.ʼ And he appeared, then [Abraham] looked and he saw [the Angel of Death] in the form in which he takes the believers; he saw that he was made of light and dazzlement, which only God, Most High, could have told him about. Then [the Angel of Death] said: ʻI will appear before you.ʼ And he appeared before him, then [Abraham] looked and the Angel of Death showed him the form in which he takes unbelievers and adulterers; and Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul (*nafs*) was about to leave.

[122] [Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā] from Ibn Masᶜūd and Ibn ᶜAbbās; the two said: When God, Most High, took Abraham as a friend, the Angel of Death asked his Lord for permission to send [Arbraham] the good news [about it].[785] And so he came to Abraham and gave him the good news about it, and he said: ʻPraise be to God!ʼ Then he said: ʻAngel of Death, show me how you take the souls of the unbelievers.ʼ He said: ʻAbraham, you will not be able to bear it.ʼ He said: ʻOn the contrary!ʼ He said: ʻI will come before you.ʼ And [the Angel of Death] came before him, then [Abraham] looked [and there was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of him; there were no hairs on his body, except it being in the form of a man coming out of him, with flames of fire coming out of his ears. Abraham fainted. When he came round, the Angel of Death had changed back

[785] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 23.

into his previous form. Then he said: 'Angel of Death, if an unbeliever, in his grief and distress, saw only your form, then that would be enough for him! Show me how you take the believers.' [The Angel of Death] said: 'I will come before you.' And he came before him, then [Abraham] looked and he was a young man, whose face was very beautiful, the most pleasing of odour, [wearing] a white gown. [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, if a believer at the moment of death saw in the way of happiness and kindness only this face of yours, then that would suffice!'

[123] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Ashᶜath ibn Aslam; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) asked the Angel of Death, whose name is Azrā'īl,[786] and who has two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head;[787] [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, what do you do if there is a soul (*nafs*) in the East and a soul in the West, whilst a plague[788] strikes a [particular place on] earth and two armies meet – how do you deal with them?' He said: 'I call the spirits (*arwāḥ*), by the permission of God, and they are between these two fingers of mine.' He said: The earth is flattened for him, it was made like a basin,[789] and [the Angel of Death] takes out of it when He wants.

[124] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam that Jacob (peace be upon him) said: 'Angel of Death, is [it right that] from every person's soul (*nafs*) without exception, you take

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[786] Both spellings *ᶜAzrā'il* and *ᶜIzrā'īl* can be found; see al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 2035.
[787] *qifāhu* – more precisely the 'back of the neck'. See *AELex*, pp. 2991 – 2292.
[788] *wabā'* is used as a general major epidemic, as opposed to *ṭāᶜūn* which is used for the plague specifically; see Conrad, Lawrence I., '*Ṭāᶜūn* and *Wabā'*: Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam' *JESHO* 25 (1981) pp. 268 – 307, p. 271.
[789] *ṭast*: a large basin, which is used by al-Kindī for the preparation of musk and according to Lane is used for washing hands before a meal; see al-Kindī, Yaᶜqūb ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb fī kīmīyā' al-ᶜiṭr wa-'l-taṣᶜīdāt* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1948) p. 5 and Lane, E. W., *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (repr. London: Constable, 1973) pp. 142 – 143.

its spirit (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'How? While you are here with me, souls (*anfus*) are in the outermost parts of the Earth?' He said: 'God has flattened the Earth for me, and it is like a bowl placed in front of one of you, and He takes whoever is at its outermost parts [that He] wants.[790] That is how the world is for me.'

[125] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: The Earth was created for the Angel of Death like a bowl; [God] takes from it whenever He wishes, and He created helpers for [the Angel of Death], who receive the souls; then [the Angel of Death] takes [the souls] from [the helpers].

[126] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas that it was asked of the Angel of Death whether it is he alone who takes the souls (*arwāḥ*). He said he is the one who is responsible for the [fulfilment of the] command of the souls (*arwāḥ*)[791] but he has helpers for that; however, the Angel of Death is in charge and every stride of his [goes] from the East to the West.

[127] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word, Most High: 'Our messengers take him.'[792] He said: The helpers of the Angel of Death are from the angels.

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[790] The ḥadīth could either be referring to God or to the metaphorical person (i.e. one of you) with the bowl between his legs.
[791] Note that *arwāḥ* is used both of human 'souls' or 'spirit' and the (angelic) spirits that aid the Angel of Death.
[792] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

[128] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaᶜī concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[793] He said the angels take the souls (*anfus*), then the Angel of Death takes [the souls] from [the angels] afterwards.

[129] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Qatāda concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[794] He said: The Angel of Death has messengers, and he makes the messengers responsible for taking [the souls] then they hand them over to the Angel of Death.

[130] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Wahb in Munabbih; he said that the angels who are associated with the people[795] are the ones who receive them and they write their time [of death]; when they take the soul [to God], they hand them over to the Angel of Death, who is like the one who comes after[796] - meaning the tax collector,[797] who draws up to himself what is beneath him.

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[793] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[794] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[795] i.e. the Scribes; see §312 – 406.
[796] *al-ᶜĀqib* (in the sense of ‘follower’ or ‘successor’) is a significant title: in a ḥadīth Muḥammad says that it is one of his five names; see Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, §3532, p. 679; the epithet is also used in devotional literature, cf. al-Jazūlī, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (si.: s. n, s.d) p. 23 and Ebeid, R. Y. and Young, M. J. L., ‘A List of the Appellations of the Prophet Muḥammad’ *MW* 66 (1976) pp. 259 – 262, p. 260.
[797] The *ᶜashār* was the collector of the *ᶜushr* land tax, which was paid by Muslims; non-Muslims paid the *kharāj* land tax; see Løkkegaard, Frede, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (repr. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978) p. 78; for more details on these two land taxes see Yaḥyā ibn Adām, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Salafīyya wa-Maktabtumā, 1347 / 1928/9) pp. 24 – 31; and Duri, ᶜAbdal ᶜAziz, ‘Notes on Taxation in Early Islam’ *JESHO* 17 (1974) pp. 136 – 144. Although the use of this term for the Angel of Death is rare (cf. Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 4, pp. 224), it is reminiscent the Qur’ānic use of metaphors derived from commerce and daily life; see Rippin, A. J., ‘The Commerce of Eschatology’ in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur’an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 125 – 135.

[131] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Shahar ibn Ḥawshab; he said: The Angel of Death is sitting and the world is between his knees, and the Tablet is in his hands, on which is [written] the appointed times of death of the sons of Adam; with angels standing in front of him, he studies the Tablet, not raising his eyes. And when he comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God],[798] he says: 'Take this one!'

[132] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that it was asked about [a situation in which] two souls that came to die in the twinkling of an eye, one in the East and the other in the West; how is the Angel of Death in a position to deal with them both? [Ibn ᶜAbbās] said: The ability of the Angel of Death to [deal with] creatures in the East and the West, in darkness, in the air and in the seas is always like a man with a table in front of him, taking from it whatever he wishes.

[133] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: It was said: 'Messenger of God, the Angel of Death is alone; but [there are] two armies meeting between the East and the West, and in the area between that there are the fallen and the dead?' He said: 'God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death able [to cope]: He made [the Earth] like a bowl between one of your hands, and [the Angel of Death] can pass over anything in it.

[134] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is the one who takes all of the souls [to God]; indeed he has power over what is on the earth, just as one of

[798] Or: 'When it comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God]…'

you has power over his leisure; angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy; when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.

[135] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Abū ʻl-Muthannā al-Ḥimṣī; he said: The world, with its lowlands and its mountains, is between the thighs of the Angel of Death, and with him are angels of mercy and angels of suffering. When he takes the souls (*arwāḥ*), these hand over to these, and those over to those, meaning the angels of mercy and the angels of suffering. It is said [that] if there is a fierce battle and the sword is like lightning, then [he said], he summons them and the souls come to him.

[136] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Abū Qays al-Azdī; he said; It was said to the Angel of Death: 'How do you take the souls?' He said: 'I summon them, and they come to me.'

[137] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death came to Solomon, son of David,[799] while he had a friend with him and Solomon said to him: 'Why is it that you either come to a household and take them all together, or you go away from a household, leaving them alone, without taking anyone from them?' He said: 'I do not know what I take from them, rather I am under the Throne, and He sends down the deeds[800] on which are the names.

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[799] For the death of Solomon in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiya'* see Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* pp. 326 - 328; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 544 – 548; a similar story appears in *Shab.* 30a, p. 133.

[800] *ṣikāk* (plural of *ṣakk*) – derived from the Persian *chak* [see Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1892) p. 386] – are normally used in

[138] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Khaythama; he said: Solomon, son of David, said to the Angel of Death: 'When you want to take my soul (*rūḥ*), would you let me know about it?' He said: 'I do not know when it is your [time].[801] It is something written that comes down to me, which names who is going to die.'

[139] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Maᶜmar; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.

[140] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Ibn Jarīr; he said: It reached me that it is said to the Angel of Death: 'Take so-and-so at a certain time on a certain day!'

[141] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜIkrima concerning His Word, Most High: 'It is He who recalls you by night…'[802] He said: He receives souls during sleep; there is no night - by God! - without Him grasping souls – all of them; and He asks every soul about what its owner did during the day, then He calls the Angel of Death, and he says: 'Take this one! Take this one!'

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connection with legal documents and pensions; however Lane notes that the middle of Shaᶜbān was also called *laylat al-ṣakk*, and on this day God allots the *rizq* for every human being; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1709.

[801] *Mā anā uᶜlimu bi-dhālika min-ka* = I do not know about that concerning you.

[802] Q. 6:60; Arberry, Koran, p. 128.

[142] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from ᶜAṭāʼ ibn Yisār; he said: When it is the middle night of Shaᶜbān,[803] He hands over a page to the Angel of Death, and it is said: ʻTake from those on this page!ʼ If the servant is lying in bed, or couples marry, or someone builds a building,[804] [he does so] while his name has already been copied into the [book of the] dead.

[143] Ibn Jarīr from ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara; he said: [The names of] whoever is going to die on the Night of Power[805] until the following one[806] is copied to the Angel of Death; and [the Angel] will find the man who has married a woman, and the man who has planted the plant; but [only] when the name is amongst the dead.

[144] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: On the middle night of Shaᶜbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death [information] regarding the taking of every soul that He wants to be taken during that year.

[145] al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Najjār from ᶜĀʼisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to abstain[807] during the whole of Shaᶜbān

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[803] i.e. 15th Shaᶜbān. Some scholars have considered that this night may have been influenced by a pre-Islamic New Year festival; Wensinck also notes that ʻAccording to the ḥadīth, Muḥammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Shaᶜbān.ʼ Wensinck, ʻShaᶜbānʼ *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, p. 154. See also von Grunebaum, G. E., *Muhammadan Fesitvals* (London: Curzon Press, 1976) pp. 52 – 53.

[804] In a Prophetic ḥadīth about another unnamed prophet, people who have married, built a house and acquired new livestock are exempted from fighting in battle (see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 249; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 412); here these people are not exempted from death.

[805] Note that there is not any consensus on the date when this happens (cf. §142). The Night of Power is the evening of 27th Ramaḍān – see Plessner, M., ʻRamaḍānʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 417 – 418 and Marcotte, Roxanne D., ʻNight of Powerʼ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 537 – 539.

[806] Lit.: ʻ…until its likeness.ʼ

[807] Sheila McDonough comments that ʻDrawing close to God requires abstaining or fleeing from all that might inhibit the human response to the divine initiate.ʼ McDonough, Sheila, ʻAbstinenceʼ *EQ* vol. 1, p. 19. Cf. Q 66:1, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 593.

until Ramaḍān; but he only fasted for a whole month during Shaᶜbān.[808] She said: 'Messenger of God, is it because Shaᶜbān is the dearest month for you that you fast during it?' He said: 'Yes, ᶜĀ'isha, the taking [of souls] is written for the Angel of Death during it; I do not want my name to be deleted, so I fast.

[146] Aḥmad, al-Bazzār and al-Ḥākim and he declared the ḥadīth to be authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Abū Hurayrah from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: The Angel of Death used to come to people manifestly, but he came to Moses and he [Moses] slapped him and gouged out his eye, and [the Angel of Death] went to his Lord; and he said: 'Lord, your servant Moses has gouged out my eye. Unless you favour him, tear him open.' He said to him: 'Go to my servant [Moses] and say to him that he should place his hand on a skin of an ox, and then he will have a year for every hair that his hand has covered.' So he came to him and [Moses] said: 'What is after this?' He said: 'Death.' And he said: 'Let it be now.' And so [the Angel of Death] smelt [Moses], took his soul and God gave him back his eye. After that he came to people in stealth.[809]

[147] Abū Nuᶜaym from al-Aᶜmash; he said: The Angel of Death used to be visible to people, but he came to [one particular] man, saying: 'Finish your business, for I

[808] i.e. Shaᶜbān was the only month during which he performed superogatory fasting for its entirety.

[809] This ḥadīth is found in many Arabic sources; see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 247; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 409; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 237 – 240; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 434; Brinner, W. M. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume III – The Children of Israel*, pp. 87 – 88. This popularity of this tradition can be seen in its influence on the Falsahas of Ethiopia, see Ullendorf, Edward, 'Literature of the Falashas'. There are many examples in extra-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature of Prophets (particularly figures such as Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon) meeting the Angel of Death before they die. The *Testament of Abraham* is a good example of this genre (see Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death*). Narratives including highly anthropomorphised and comic depictions of the Angel of Death are still found in Arab folktales, cf. El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folktales of Egypt* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) pp. 117 – 122 and Hanauer, J. E., *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1935) pp. 32, 36 – 39.

want to take your soul.' And [the man] made a complaint; consequently, [God] then sent down disease and made death a secret.

[148] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd that the Angel of Death used to take souls without pain, but the people cursed him and worried about him, so he complained to his Lord. Consequently, God established diseases and they forgot about the Angel of Death. It is said someone dies like this or like that.[810]

[149] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās that an angel sought permission from his Lord to go down to Enoch;[811] and he came to him and greeted him, and Enoch said to him: 'Is there anything between you and the Angel of Death?' He said: 'He is one of my brother angels.' He said: 'Are you able to help me with something concerning him?' He said: '[If you want to] delay [death] any [amount of time],[812] or hasten it, then no, but I will ask him for you, and he will treat you kindly concerning death.' He said: 'Ride between my wings!' So Enoch rode and ascended into the highest heaven, and he met the Angel of Death, with Enoch between his wings; and the angel said to him: 'I have need of you.' He said: 'I already know about your need; you spoke to me about Enoch, [and what remains of his age,][813] but his name has been wiped out, and

[810] Lit: it was said that so-and-so died in that way and in that way.
[811] Al-Thaᶜlabī includes one continuous narrative of Enoch; this ḥadīth contains a number of similar elements, but some differences too; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 49 - 50; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 83 – 85; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 81 – 85 and al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 52.
[812] *Ammā an yu'khiru shay'an aw yuqdamuhu fa-lā* = (lit.) 'As for delaying anything or arriving at it, then no.'
[813] This is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 195v, l. 13,

none of his appointed term[814] remains, save half the blinking of an eye**,** and then Enoch died between the wings of the angel.

[150] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir that the Angel of Death said to Abraham (peace be upon him):[815] 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.' He said: 'I ask you in the truth of the One who sent you that you consult Him about me.' He said: 'Your friend[816] asked that I consult with you about him.' [God] said: 'Go to him and say to him: Your Lord says: the Friend wants to meet His friend.' So he came to him, and he said: 'I was in pain when you ordered him [to take my soul].' He said: 'Abraham, have you drunk wine?'[817] He said: 'No.' Then [the Angel of Death] asked him to breathe over him[818] [and] he took his soul (*nafs*) in that way.

[151] Aḥmad from Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: David[819] (peace be upon him) was extremely jealous,[820] and he had the habit that when he went out, the doors [of his harem] would be shut. No-one would go into his family until he returned. One day he went out and returned,

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[814] *Ajal* refers to both the appointed moment of death, and the total time allotted for life.
[815] For a different account of the death of Abraham, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 97 - 98; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 164 – 165.
[816] Abraham is designated the *khalīl allāh* and the portrayal of Abraham as the 'friend of God' is important in Judaism, Christianity and Islam; see Guthrie, A., 'The Importance of Abraham' *MW* 45 (1955) pp. 113 – 120; p. 118 and Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Qumran Scrolls and the Qur'an' *MW* 48 (1958) pp. 223 – 236, pp. 225 – 226.
[817] s*harāb* is used by jurists to indicate wine; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1528; cf. §171.
[818] *istankaha* (X) is relatively rare and refers to the action of breathing over someone's nose so that they can smell the individual's breath; see Hava, J. G., *Farā'id al-durīya* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1964) p. 799.
[819] For the death of David in the *Qiṣas al-Anibiya'*, which is relatively similar, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 292; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 489 – 490; al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 277 – 278; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 397.
[820] *ghayra* refers to sexual jealousy specifically; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2316. For analysis of a similar story in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* see Wagtendonk, 'The Stories of David' p. 349. This tradition is also told of Abraham; see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 395; Winter (tr.), *Remembrance of Death*, p. 44 – 45.

and there was a man standing in doorway of his house. [David] said to him: 'Who are you?' He said: 'I am the one who does not revere kings, and the one who is not prevented from passing through the veil.' David said: 'You, therefore, by God! - are the Angel of Death. [I] welcome the command of God!' And David hurried[821] to his place [before the Angel of Death] and his soul was taken.

[152] Ibn Mājah from Abū Umāma; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death responsible for the taking of the souls (*arwāḥ*) except those martyred at sea – He takes charge of the taking their souls Himself.[822]

[153] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of human souls, and he is the one who orders the taking of their souls; and [there is] an angel for the *Jinn*, an angel for the *Shayṭāns*, and an angel for the birds, wild animals, the predatory animals, the large fish and the ant; so there are four angels. Angels die in the first strike of the lightning. The Angel of Death is responsible for taking of their souls, then [the angel] dies. As for those who are martyred at sea, God is responsible for the taking of their souls; He does not give the responsibility for that to the Angel of Death, for their honour is with Him when they travel through the depths of the sea for His sake.

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[821] *zamala*: 'He was as though he limped, by reason of his briskness, or sprightliness…' Lane, *AELex*, p. 1252; see also Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 13, p. 328 and al-Zabidī, *TA*, vol. 29, p. 135.

[822] Although sea trade routes existed before and after the advent of Islam, the Arabs relied on land trade most heavily; however, sea-trade and naval forces did develop – see Hourani, George Fadlo, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) pp. 53 – 55.

[154] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī; he said: It reached me that the last to die is the Angel of Death; it is said to him: ‘Angel of Death, die!’ So with that he will let out a cry, (if the creatures of the heavens and the earth were to hear it, they would die of fright); then he will die.[823]

[155] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Ziyād al-Numayrī; he said: I have read in a certain book that death is harder for the Angel of Death than it is for the rest of the creations.

[156] al-ᶜUqaylī in *al-Ḍuᶜafā’*, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Daylamī from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The allotted time (*ajal*) for all livestock and insects of the earth is [devoted to] the worship of God. When their glorification of God is completed, God takes their souls and there is nothing for the Angel of Death [to do] in that.

[157] al-Khaṭīb in *Ruwāt Mālik* from Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī; he said: I was with Mālik ibn Anas, when a man asked him about fleas: ‘Does the Angel of Death take their souls (*arwāḥ*)?’ He bowed his head for a long while and then said: ‘Do they have a soul (*nafs*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Then the Angel of Death takes their souls (*arwāḥ*) [and] God receives their souls (*anfus*) in full when they die.’

[823] The Leiden MS may read *lam* for *thumma*, but the writing is not clear (fol. 196r, l. 1); *thumma* makes more sense here.

[158] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Muᶜādh ibn Jabal; he said: The Angel of Death has a spear,[824] which has the space from the East to the West in its reach, and when the appointed time of death of a servant of the world comes, he hits his head with that spear and he says: 'Now the army of death is called upon you.'

[159] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Ibn ᶜAbbās which is traceable to the Prophet (*marfūᶜ*); that the Angel of Death has a poisoned spear, which has one end in the East, and another end in the West, and he cuts the vein of life with it.[825]

[160] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: The Angel of Death sits on a ladder between Heaven and Earth and he has messengers[826] from amongst the angels. When the soul (*nafs*) is in the throat[827] the Angel of Death sees him from his ladder, and he looks intently at him, then another which dies sees him.

[161] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān; he said: ᶜIkrima was asked: 'Does a blind man see the Angel of Death when he comes to take his soul (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.'

[162] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: A servant does not get ill from any illness without the messenger of the Angel of Death being with him until there is

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[824] The Angel of Death is said to have a spear (*'idrā'*) in *CantR.* 4:7, although the exact meaning of *'idrā'* is disputed. Cf. Cohen (tr.), p. 117 and Bender, A. P., 'Belief, Rites and Customs of the Jews, Connected with Death, Burial and Mourning' *JQR* 6 (1894) pp. 317 – 347, p. 323.

[825] The way in which the Angel of Death kills humans is similar to the way in which humans kill animals in ritual slaughter (*dhabḥ*); see Bousquet, G.-H., 'Dhabīḥa' *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, pp. 213 – 214.

[826] The Leiden MS reads *rusul* for *rasūl*; fol. 196r, l. 13. A large number of angelic helpers would seem more appropriate; cf. § 125, 127 – 129 & 135.

[827] *Thughrat al-naḥr = fossa jugularis*; see Fonahn, A., *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology* (Kristiana: Jacob Dybwad, 1922) §3282, p. 152; cf. Q 50:16 '….and We are nearer to him than the jugular vein.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

another illness which the servant gets ill from; the Angel of Death comes to him, and says: Messenger after messenger has come to you, but you did not care about them, and now a messenger has come to you, who will cut your ties[828] with this world!'

[163] Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-ᶜArīf in his *Fawā'id*, and Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī in his *Fawā'id* from Anas ibn Mālik; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the Angel of Death comes to a friend of God, Most High, he greets him and his greeting is to say: 'Peace be upon you, friend of God. Rise and leave your house, which you have left in ruin,[829] [and go] to your house which you have built [with your good deeds].'[830] When it is not a friend of God, he says to him: 'Rise and leave your house, which you have made comfortable, and [go] into your house, which you have ruined [with your misdeeds].'[831]

[164] Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl wa-'l-īmān* concerning a question from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wants to take a soul of a believer, He reveals to the Angel of Death: 'Recite to him from me: "Peace!"' And when the Angel of Death comes to take his soul, he recites: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

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[828] Lit. 'footprint'.

[829] The text could read 'which I have left in ruin etc.' However, this ḥadīth appears to express the idea that a pious Muslim should be paying more attention to remembering God, than making their home comfortable; and that the good actions of an individual prepares their place in heaven.

[830] *ᶜamara* carries positive meanings (e.g. flourishing, full of camels etc.); see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2153 – 2154.

[831] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665: 'When a righteous man departs from the world he is welcomed by three companies of angels. One exclaims, 'Come into peace'; the other exclaims, *He who walketh in his uprightness*, while the third exclaims, '*He shall enter into peace; they shall rest on their beds*'. When a wicked man perishes form the world he is met by three groups of angels of destruction. One announces, '*There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked'*, the other tells him, '*He shall lie in sorrow'*, while the third tells him, '*Go down and be thou laid with the uncircumcised'*.' See also *Shab.* 152b, p. 779.

[165] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

[166][832] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Hākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzab concerning the Word, Most High: '[Their greeting], on the day that they shall meet Him, will be "Peace!"'[833] He said: On that day, they will meet the Angel of Death; whoever is a believer, [the Angel of the Death] will take their soul more peacefully for him.

[166b] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurayẓī he said: When the soul of the believing servant is spent, the Angel of Death comes to him and says to him: 'Peace be upon you, Friend of God! God says to you: Peace!' Then he recites this verse: '…whom the angels take while they are godly saying, 'Peace be on you!'[834]

Al-Silafī said in *al-Mashyakha al-Baghdādiyya*: I heard Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāᶜiẓ saying; [I heard Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan saying;][835] I heard my father saying: I saw in a book that God, Most High, makes the phrase 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' appear on the palm of the Angel of Death

[832] This follows the Leiden MS fol. 196r, l. 27*f.* In the DKI edition, the *isnād* of §166 used with the *matn* of 166b.
[833] Q. 33:44; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 432.
[834] Q. 16:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[835] This is included in the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 3.

in writing of light; then He commands [the Angel of Death] to stretch out his hand to the Knower[836] at the time his death, and that writing is shown to him; when the soul of the one who knows sees it, it flies towards Him[837] more quickly than a blink of an eye.

[167] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death was made responsible for Solomon (peace be upon him), and he was told: 'Go into his presence every day, and ask what he needs; then do not leave him until you have performed it.'[838] He used to enter upon him in the image of a man, and he would ask him how he was. Then he would say: 'Messenger of God, do you need anything?' If he said: 'Yes', then he did not leave him until he had done it; and if he said: 'No', then he left him until the following morning. One day he entered upon him while there was an old man with him. [Solomon] stood up, and greeted [him], then [the Angel of Death] said: 'Do you need anything, Messenger of God?' He said: 'No.' The [angel] glanced at [the old man] and the old man trembled; the Angel of Death left and the old man stood up and said to Solomon: 'I beg you, by the truth of God! to command the wind[839] to carry me and throw me down on the furthest lump of mud in the land of India!' So [Solomon] commanded it and it carried him [there]. The Angel of Death came into Solomon the next morning and asked him about the

[836] *Al-ᶜĀrif* is not a name of God, but is commonly used to refer to Sufi mystics; see Shah-Kazemi, Reza, 'The notion and significance of *maᶜrifa* in Sufism' *JIS* 13 (2002) pp. 155 – 181, p. 157.
[837] Or 'to the Angel of Death'.
[838] i.e. until he had fulfilled Solomon's needs.
[839] Solomon is believed to have had magic powers, including the command of the winds, which were given to him by God. See Johns, Anthony H., 'Air and Wind' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 51 – 55; Soucek, Priscilla, 'Solomon' *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 76 – 78 and Walker, J., [-P. Fenton], 'Sulaymān b. Dāwūd' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 822 – 824. This power is mentioned in the Qur'ān; cf. Q 21:81; 34:12 and 38:36; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 329, 438 & 467.

old man. [The Angel of Death] said: 'His book[840] came down to me yesterday, [saying] that I should take his soul tomorrow at the rising of dawn in the furthest lump of mud in the land of India; but when I came down, and thinking that he was there, I then found him with you. I was astonished and could not think of [anything] other than him;[841] I came down to him today at the break of dawn and found him on the highest lump of mud in the land of India, and he trembled, and I took his soul (*rūḥ*).'

[168] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death went into Solomon and began to look at one of his companions who continued to look at him. When he left, the man said: 'Who was that?' He said: 'That was the Angel of Death.' He said: 'I saw him looking at me as if he wanted me.' He said: 'What do you want [me to do]?' He said: 'I want to you to carry me on the wind until you put me down in India.' So [Solomon] called the wind and he carried him upon it, and he put him down in India. Then the Angel of Death came to Solomon, and [Solomon] said to him: 'You were looking at the man from my companions.' He said: 'I was astonished by him. I was ordered to take him in India and he was with you!'

[169] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death went to the Prophet during the illness which he contracted[842] and he sought permission to enter [his

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[840] This is the book that contains the details of the individual's *ajal*; see Berg, 'Ṭabārī's Exegesis' p. 763.
[841] Lit.: *mā lī hammun ghayrihi* 'I had no concerns other than him.'
[842] This ḥadīth and the following do not appear in the *Sīra* (see Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad* pp. 678 – 683) nor al-Ṭabarī's account of the Prophet's death (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 183 – 199; Poonawala, Ismail K. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Vol. IX – The Last Years of the Prophet* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990) pp. 162 – 183). The death of Muḥammad became important in Muslim spirituality as Muḥammad accepted death willingly; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*

presence] while his head was in ᶜAlī's lap.[843] He said: 'Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God and his blessings.' ᶜAlī said: 'Come back again [at another time]! We are too busy[844] to deal with you.' The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Do you know who this is, Abū 'l-Ḥasan? This is the Angel of Death. Bring him in, in good faith.' When [the Angel of Death] entered, he said: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Where is Gabriel?' He said: 'He is not near me, but he is coming.' The Angel of Death left until Gabriel came down to him. And Gabriel said to him while he was standing at the door: 'Why did he expel you, Angel of Death!' He said: 'Muḥammad asked for you.' When the two sat down, Gabriel said: 'Peace be upon you, Abū 'l-Qāsim![845] This is a farewell for you and for me.' It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone from a household before him, and will not greet [anyone][846] after it.

[170] al-Ṭabarānī from al-Ḥusayn that Gabriel came down to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) on the day of his death, and he said: 'How do you find yourself?' He said: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed and I find myself scared.' The Angel of Death sought permission to enter from the door. Gabriel said: 'Muhammad, this is the Angel of Death, who is seeking permission to enter your house. He has not sought permission from me [to come to] a human before you, and he will not seek permission from me [to come to] a human after you.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Give him

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vol. 4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58. Al-Rabghūzī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* includes similar material to these ḥadīth, see al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 671 – 679, especially pp. 673 – 678.

[843] Some ḥadīth say that this was ᶜĀ'isha; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 199; Poonwawala, *Last Years of the Prophet*, p. 183 al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 403; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 65.

[844] *mashāghīl* in the *mafāᶜīl* form is a broken plural of *mashghūl*; see Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) vol. 1, §305a, p. 229.

[845] Qāsim was one of Muḥammad's sons by Khadīja, and Abū 'l-Qāsim was his *kunya*; see Déclais, Jean-Louis, 'Names of the Prophet' *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 501 – 505, p. 501.

[846] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 29.

permission!' So [Gabriel] let him in. [The Angel of Death] approached until he stood before [Muḥammad] and said: 'God has sent me to you and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul (*nafs*), then I will take it; if you do not want [me to take it], then I will leave it.' He said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.' Gabriel said to [Muḥammad]: 'God indeed desires to meet you.' Then the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Carry out what you have been commanded [to do] by Him'

[171] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta'rīkh* said: Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsiṭī told me;[847] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh[848] ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me;[849] he said: I bear witness by

[847] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 6.
[848] 'Ibn ᶜAbd Allāh is missing from this person's name in the Leiden MS, however the rest of the name is present; fol. 197r, l. 7.
[849] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 9

God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me;[850] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Gabriel told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Michael told me;[851] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAzrā'īl told me; he said: he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that God, Most High, told me; he said: The one addicted to wine is like the slave of an idol.[852]

4.2.10 The Bearers of the Throne[853](peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord…'[854]

[179] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī in *Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmīya*,[855] Abū Yaᶜlā, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Mardawayh and al-

[850] The DKI edition includes Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī twice in the *isnād*; the Leiden MS does not include him at all; see fol 197r, l. 10.
[851] Michael is omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 14.
[852] This ḥadīth has already appeared above (§84) in the section on the Angel Michael; the *isnād* is different in each of the ḥadīth, but they have a *common link* in Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar. The 'angelic *isnād*' is also different, with the chain going through Isrāfīl in §84 and ᶜAzrā'īl in §171.
[853] In the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha the angels that carry God's Throne are given as Gabriel, Michael, Rafael / Rufael and Fanuel / Penuel (cf. *1 En.* 40:2, 9-10; 71:7- 13; *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 32 & 50 and *Sib. Or.* 2:215; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 350); in the Qur'ān and Islamic tradition, however, the Throne Angels are distinct from other named angels, which bears a closer resemblance to later Jewish exegesis in which aspects of God's Throne become angelic (e.g. the *opannīm* and the *galgallīm* are derived from the wheels of the Throne); see Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands* pp. 31 – 69 and Barton, 'Names of Angels and Demons' pp. 156 – 159.
[854] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[855] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 22.

Ḥākim who declared to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) [in *al-Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jaḥmiyyah*][856] from al-ᶜAbbās[857] ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib concerning His Word: '[eight] shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord' – Eight angels in the form of goats.[858]

[180] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd from Ibn ᶜAbbās: The Bearers of the Throne have horns, which have corners like the corners of spears. The space between one of their balls of their feet to their ankles is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the space between the tip of his nose to his collarbone is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the distance from the tip of his nose to the earlobe is five hundred years. [859]

[181] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd and Abū Yaᶜlā in a sound chain of authorities from Abū Hurayrah; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I was told about an angel whose two legs pass through the Seven Earths and that the Throne was on his shoulders, [this angel] says: 'I worship you, where you are and where you will be.'

[181b][860] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I

[856] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[857] Given as 'Ibn ᶜAbbās' in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[858] The origin of the belief that the bearers are in the form of goats is unclear, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[859] 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En. …In the Hekalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.' Alexander, '3 Enoch – Introduction', p. 263 n. 9c. See also the discussion about the size of the angels in Chapter 3.
[860] This ḥadīth is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 30 - 198r, l. 1.

was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne; the distance between his earlobe to the shoulder is a distance of seven hundred years.

[182] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā᾽ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Hear me, that I was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne: his two feet are on the lowest Earth and the Throne is on his horn; and [the space] between his earlobe and his shoulder is the distance it would take a bird to fly for seven hundred years. That angel says: ‘I worship you wherever[861] you are!’

[183] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Abū Qabīl that he heard ᶜAbd Allāh say: The Bearers of the Throne; the space that is between the inner corner of one of their eyes to the outer corner of his eye is the distance of five hundred years.

[184] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ḥassān ibn ᶜAṭiyya; he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight. Their feet are firmly fixed on the Seventh Earth, their heads pass through the Seventh Heaven, their horns are the same as their height and on top of [their horns] is the Throne.

[185] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Zādhān;[862] he said: The Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the limits [of the universe]. They are not able to look up because of the beams of light.[863]

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[861] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ayna*’ for ‘*ḥaythu*’; ‘*ḥaythu*’ seems more appropriate; fol. 198r, l. 4.
[862] Given as ‘Zādān’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 8.
[863] God is often described in these terms in Islam; cf. The Light Verse; Q 24:35; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 356 - 357.

[186] Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Hārūn ibn Ri’āb, he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight and they call back to each other in merciful voices; four of them saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your clemency after Your knowledge [of sins committed]!’; and [the other] four saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your forgiveness of sins, according to Your decree!’

[187] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Rabīᶜ concerning His Word: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’[864] [Eight][865] from the angels.

[188] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Zayd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Four carry him today, eight [will carry him] on the Day of Resurrection.[866]

[189] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the ones that carry him are four angels, and each angel has four faces and four wings, with two wings on its face, which [prevent it from][867] looking at the Throne, [for if it were to look] it would be struck unconscious, and two [other] wings, with which they fly. Their feet are on the ground

[864] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604; cf. Rev. 4:6, where there are four bearers of the Throne.
[865] Added by the Leiden MS, fol 198r, l. 13.
[866] Cf. Q 69:17: ‘…and the angels shall stand upon its borders, and upon that day eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604. There is some debate in the exegetical literature about what this meant exactly, e.g. al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948) vol. 12, pp. 266 – 267; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta’wīl al-Qur’ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 29, pp. 58 – 59; and al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥmmad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜAmīra al-Sharafiyya, c. 1906) vol. 8, p. 200.
[867] Omitted in the the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, ll. 15 – 16.

and the Throne is on their shoulders. Each one of them has a face of a bull, a face of a lion, a face of a human and a face of an eagle.[868] They do not say a word, except that they say: 'Holy! God Almighty, your glory fills the heaven and the earth!'[869]

[190] Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik; he said: The rock which is under the Earths[870] is the extent of creation and on its limits are four angels; each one of them has four faces: a face of a man, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle and a face of a bull; while they are standing on it, they encompass the heavens and the earth and their heads are under the Throne.

[191] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: today they are four, but when the Day of Resurrection comes, they will be supported by four others. An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need; an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need;[871] an angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need. Each angel has four faces: a face of a human, a face of an eagle, a face of a bull and a face of a lion; and when they carry

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[868] Cf. Ezk. 1:10 and Rev. 4:8; this Arabic text is very close to Ezekiel's first Throne Vision (Ezekiel 1:1 – 2:11). The four different faces represent creation as a whole rather than just humans; cf. Richard Bauckham on Rev. 4:9: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).' Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.

[869] This is almost a direct translation of the *trisagion* of the Seraphim in Is. 6:3.

[870] The Leiden MS reads '*arḍīn*'; fol. 198r, l. 22. For a discussion of the rock under the earth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 194 (on Q 2:29); see also Mahmoud, Muhammad, 'The Creation Story in *Sūrat al-Baqara*, wihh Special Refernce to Al-Ṭabarī's Material: An Analysis' *JAL* 26 (1995) pp. 201 – 214, pp. 202 – 203. The idea of the earth being diving into seven layers, with a rock and a sea below is also found in Judaism; see Gaster, T. H., 'Earth' *EJ* vol. 6, coll. 338 – 340 and Lane-Poole, Stanley, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Muhammadan) *ERE* vol. 4, p. 174.

[871] See Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 471 – 472.

the Throne, they fall down onto their kness because of the glory of God. They whisper: 'There is no power and no strength save in God.' And standing up on their feet they are the same height.

[192] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Makḥūl; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There are four angels amongst the Bearers of the Throne; an angel is in charge of the forms and he is the human;[872] an angel has the likeness of the master of the predatory animals, and he is the lion; an angel is in the likeness of livestock, he is the bull (and he has been angry since the day of [the worship of][873] the calf[874] until now);[875] and an angel has the likeness of the master of the birds, and he is an eagle.

[193] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from ᶜUrwa; he said: The Bearers of the Throne – one of their forms is in the likeness of a man; one of their forms is in the likeness of an eagle; one of their forms is in the likeness of a bull and one of their forms is in the likeness of a lion.

[872] This alludes to the human dominion over animals.
[873] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 30.
[874] Cf. '…he said, "and I seized a handful of dust from the messenger's track, and cast it into the thing [i.e. the calf]. So my soul prompted me."' Q 20:96; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 318. A tradition of Ibn Masᶜūd interprets the phrase *athar al-rasūl* as *athar faras al-rasūl*; David Halperin argues that this could be related to a Jewish tradition, in which the dust from the footstep of the ox-*ḥayyah* was added to the image of the calf (see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 176 – 187 and 478 – 479), and concerning the original Jewish tradition comments: 'The Israelites draw the living essence of the *merkevah* ox, through the dust of its footprint, into the molten calf that they have made.' Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 178.
[875] 'this hour of mine', i.e. the time of the Prophet.

[194] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Zayd; he said: There is no-one higher amongst the Bearers of the Throne, save Isrāfīl. He said: Michael is not one of the Bearers of the Throne.

[195] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) came up to his friends and said: ʻWhy are you meeting?ʼ And they said: ʻWe have come together to remember our Lord and we are contemplating his glory.ʼ He said: ʻYou will never [be able to] continue meditating on his glory, unless I tell you about something of the glory of your Lord.ʼ They said: ʻIndeed, Messenger of God!ʼ He said: ʻAn angel from amongst the Bearers of the Throne, it is said Isrāfīl, has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck, his feet pierce the lowest Seventh Earth and his head pierces the highest Seventh Heaven; the created world of your Lord is in his likeness.

[196] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the month of Ramaḍān begins, [God, Most High,][876] orders the Bearers of the Throne to refrain from saying the *tasbīḥ* and they ask [God's] forgiveness for the community of Muḥammad and the believers.

[197] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Mālik ibn Dīnār; he said: I heard that in a part of the heavens there is an angel which has eyes the number of little pebbles [on earth];[877] there is no eye among them that does not have a tongue and two lips

[876] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198v, l. 9.
[877] In Jewish tradition the Cherubim and the *Ḥayyōt* are said to have many eyes: cf. *2En* 21:1, *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 134 – 135; *ApAbr.* 18:3 – 7. *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698; *3En* 22, *OTP,* vol. 1, p. 278; these images are largely based on the desriptions of God's chariot in Ezk. 1 & 10. Having many eyes is a symbol

underneath it, which praise God, the Blessed and the Most High, in a language which is not understood by its neighbours. The Bearers of the Throne have horns between their shoulders. Their horns and their heads are a distance of five hundred years apart and the Throne is above that.

[198] al-Dīnawarī from Abū Mālik concerning His Word: 'His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth'[878] He said: The Rock which is under the Seventh Earth; on its four sides are four from amongst the angels; each of the angels has four faces: a face of a human, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle, and the face of a bull; they stand on its sides and they surround the Earth and the Heavens; their heads are under the Seat and the Seat is under the Throne.[879]

[199] al-Dīnawarī from Khālid ibn Maᶜdān; he said: The Throne has been heavy for the Bearers of the Throne from the very begining; when those who are praising [God] stand up, it becomes lighter for them.

[200] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* through the intermediary of Qutayba from Bakr ibn Maḍr from Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh from Ziyād ibn Abī Ḥayya; he said: I heard that regarding the Bearers of the Throne, there streams from [one of their] eyes the

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of omniscience and God bestowing this power on his creations. Cf. God transforming Enoch into a creature with 365,000 eyes in *3En.* 9; 25:2 & 26:6, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 263, 278 – 280; see also Ulmer, Rivka, *The Evil Eye in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature* (Jerusalem: Ktav, 1994) pp. 21 – 23.

[878] Q. 2:255; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 37.

[879] There is some debate in Islamic tradition about the differences between the Throne (*ᶜarsh*) and the Seat (*kursī*); the *kursī* is often interpreted as 'footstool' as it is a more general word for a 'support'. See Hurat, Cl. [-Sadan, J.], 'Kursī' *EI²* vol. 5, p. 509; Elias, 'Throne of God' and Vitestam, Gösta, '*ᶜArsh* and *kursī*. An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam' in Jakob H. Grønbæk *et al.* (eds.), *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1990) pp. 369 – 378, p. 374.

likeness of rivers of tears.[880] When one raises its head, it says: 'I worship You! We do not fear You as much as You deserve to be feared!' God, may He be praised and glorified, says: 'But those who swear falsely by My name are liars, they do not know [that they should be fearful].'

[201] Ibn Mardawayh from Umm Sa^{c}d; she said: I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say: The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel, its feet are on the limits of the earth, and its two wings are in the East and his neck is under the Throne.[881]

[202] ^{c}Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Mardawayh, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Ibn ^{c}Abbās; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the [distance] between one of their ankles to the bottom of their foot is the [time it would take to travel] five hundred years. He mentioned that the stride of the Angel of Death [reaches] from the East to the West.

[880] Cf. *GenR* 78:1, pp. 714 – 715 & *LamR* 3:2 §8, po. 201 – 202; the rivers of paradise are said to be fed by the perspiration of the *ḥayyōt*, caused by their bearing the Throne.

[881] Al-Suyūṭī devotes a chapter to the Cockerel (§280 – 294) as well as part of his collection *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*. (Tottoli, 'At Cock-Crow' pp. 142 – 143). The 'cosmic cockerel' has been mentioned in passing by a number of scholars, but the significance of the 'cosmic cockerel' has not been discussed. Asin Palacios comments: 'El gallo de la layenda musulmana es también de gigantesco tamaño, y se ofrece a los ojos de Mahoma llendano el cielo; sus alas agítanse igualmente al entonar sus cánticos religiosos excitando a los hombres a la prática de la oración, y reposan después…' Asin Palacios, M., *Escatologia Musulmana*, pp. 31 & 52; Kopf, 'Dīk'. The cockerel does, however, have a long history of being associated with the divine, especially the light or the sun – see Ehrenburg, Erica, 'The Rooster in Mesopotamia' in Erica Ehrenburg (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) pp. 53 – 62.

[203] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜIkrima; he said: All of the Bearers of the Throne are *ṣawr*. ᶜIkrima was asked: 'What is meant by *ṣawr*? He said: 'He bows his cheek a little.'[882]

[204] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: The angels who carry the Throne are not able to look at what is above them because of the beams of light.

[205] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: '[Concerning] the feet of the Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the lowest earth and their heads pierce the Throne; they are humble and do not raise their eyes; they have a more intense fear [than the people of the Seventh Heaven, and the people of the seventh heaven have a more intense fear than][883] the people of the heaven which is below, and that which is below [that] has a more intense sense of fear than that which is beneath it.

[206] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* from Abū Umāma; he said: The angels who carry the Throne talk in Persian.[884]

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[882] '*ṣawr*' is a general term for 'bowing' or 'inclination' and as such does not describe the inclination or bowing of a particular part of the body, see *AELex*, p. 1744.

[883] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 1.

[884] This is unusual as the Arabic language of the Qur'ān is seen as paramount in Qur'ānic self-perception (see Jenssen, Herbjørn, 'Arabic Language' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 127 – 135; especially, pp. 132 - 134), to the extent that non-Arabic loanwords in the Qur'ān were viewed as obscure Arabic words by Islamic scholars (see Kopf, L, 'Religious Influences on Islamic Philology' *SI* 5 (1956) pp. 33 – 59). Likewise angelic speech (a form of divine revelation) is normally associated with a faith's language of revelation, as a symbol of the faith's claim on true religion, (cf. The Pseudepigraphical work *Jubilees* 12:25 – 27). Steve Weitzmann has commented that: 'To understand Hebrew, according to *Jubilees*, is to belong to a divinely selected group with access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel. In *Jubilees* Hebrew is also said to connect those who use it to the heavenly community.' Weitzman, Steve, 'Why did the Qumran community write in Hebrew?' *JAOS* 119 (1999) pp. 35 – 45, p. 41. There are some other Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts that believe that angels speak in an esoteric language that humans cannot understand (e.g. *ApAbr.* 15:7; *2En.* 17:1, *2Cor.* 12:4). In this case, however, the angels are speaking in a language other than Arabic that was understood by a large number of Muslims. For more on the relationship between Persian and Arab literature and culture see Danner, Victor, 'Arabic Literature in Iran' *CHI*, vol. 4, pp. 566 – 594.

[207] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the Word of the Most High: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[885] He said: Their feet are on the limits [of the earth] and their heads are with the Throne. They are not able to raise their eyes because of the beams of light.

[208] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[886] He said: Eight ranks of angels – only God knows their number.

[209] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning the verse;[887] he said: It is said: Eight ranks, only God knows their number.[888]

[209b] [889] [ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the verse];[890] it is said: The heads of the eight angels are with the Throne in the Seventh Heaven and their feet are on the lowest Earth; they have horns like mountain goats and the distance between the roots of their horns to their tips is a journey of five hundred years.

[885] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[886] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[887] i.e. Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[888] This interpretation is relatively common, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 29, pp. 58 - 59.
[889] This is given as a separate ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 8.
[890] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, ll. 8 – 9. The verse being referred to is Q 69:17.

4.2.11 The Spirit (peace be upon him)

The Most High said: 'in it the angels and the Spirit descend'[891] and He said: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks'.[892]

[210] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* through the intermediary of Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is a creation from the greatest of the angels.[893]

[211] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Ḍaḥḥāk; he said: The Spirit is the veil[894] of God, [Most High];[895] he will stand in front of God on the Day of Resurrection, and he is the greatest of the angels; if he were to open his mouth, there would be enough room for all of the angels together. The creations look to him; but out of fear of him, they are not able to raise their eyes to what is above him.

[212] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* in a weak *isnād* from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he said: The Spirit is an

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[891] Q 97:4; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 652.
[892] Q 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627. In Judaism, particularly in the Hellenic period, the 'spirit of God' was considered in angelic terms; for a discussion of this in Philo and others see Levinson, John R., 'The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel according to Philo' *HTR* 88 (1995) pp. 189 – 207. In Islam, the Spirit was often identified with Gabriel, rather than being a separate angel; cf. al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, p. 37.
[893] The Leiden MS reads: *al-rūḥ <u>malak</u> min aᶜẓam al-malā'ika khalqan*; fol. 199r, ll. 14 – 15.
[894] The veil is related to the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple in Judaism (for a full discussion of the Veil of the Temple, see Légasse, S., 'Les voiles du Temple de Jérusalem: Essai de Parcours Historique' *RB* 87 (1980) pp. 560 – 589). Some Jewish, Christian and Samaritan texts describe the Veil of the Temple as an angel, for a full discussion of these descriptions see Fossum, 'Angel of the Lord'. For a discussion of the veil in Islam see Winter, Tim, 'The Chador of God on Earth: the Metaphysics of the Muslim Veil' *NB* 85 (1996) pp. 144 – 157.
[895] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 20.

angel. It has seventy thousand faces; every face has seventy thousand tongues; every tongue has seventy thousand languages,[896] which praise God in all of those languages; and from every act of praise God creates an angel, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.

[213] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of ᶜAṭā' from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is an individual angel;[897] he has ten thousand wings; two wings [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces and every face has a thousand tongues, and two eyes, and two lips, which praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[214] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Spirit is one of the angels; he has ten thousand wings, two wings of which [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces, and every face has a thousand tongues and two lips, which will praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[215] Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān; he said: The Spirit is the most exalted angel, and the nearest of them to the Lord, and he is the one responsible for revelation (*waḥy*).[898]

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[896] Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,* p. 85.
[897] Some commentators believed that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel; cf. §219, 222 – 228.
[898] *waḥy* is an intimate, non-verbal form of revelation (as opposed to *nuzul, inzāl* &c.); see Izutsu, Toshihiko, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964) pp. 158 – 162; Wensinck [-Rippin] 'Waḥy' *EI*^{2} vol. 11, pp. 53 – 56 and Nwyia, Paul, *Exégèse Coranqiue et Language Mystique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1970) pp. 56 – 57. Gabriel is usually associated with revelation that is communicated to prophets by *tanzīl* whereas the Spirit is associated with *waḥy* ("inspiration").

[216] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven and he is greater than the heavens, the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every act of praise. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.[899]

[217] Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī from ᶜĀ'isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to say during his kneelings (*rukūᶜ*) and prostrations (*sujūd*): 'Glory to the Holy One, the Lord of the Angels and the Spirit.'[900]

[218] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirit was created in the likeness of a human.[901]

[219] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits eat;[902] they have two hands, feet and heads, whereas the angels do not.

[220] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜIkrima; he said: The Spirit is the greatest creation from among the angels and no angel descends without the Sprit.

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[899] A literal reading of Q. 78:38 mentioned above.
[900] Cf. 'All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God, the King, the All-Holy…' Q 62:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 583.
[901] Cf. '...then we sent to her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault.' Q 19:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 303.
[902] Note the plural verb; this ḥadīth is referring to *al-Rūḥ* as a species or class of angel, rather than as an individual angel; as such the translation 'Spirits' seems to be preferable, although the Arabic does strictly say 'the Spirit'.

[221] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit was created from the creations of God in the image of a human; an angel does not come down[903] from heaven without one of the Spirits (*wāḥid min al-rūḥ*) with him.

[222] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Spirit is an army amongst the armies of God; they are not part of the angels; they have heads, two hands and feet. Then he recited: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks’[904] and he said: These are an army and these are an army.[905]

[223] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Abū Ṣāliḥ; he said: The Spirits are a creation similar to people, but they are not people; they have two hands and feet.

[224] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda; he said: The *Jinn*, the humans, the angels and the devils do not make one tenth of the Spirit.[906]

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[903] The Leiden MS reads: *mā nazala*; ‘an angel has not come down from heaven…’ fol. 199v, l. 7.
[904] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[905] The Jalālayn gloss ‘*yaqūmu al-rūḥ*’ with: ‘*Jibrīl aw jund allāh*’ / ‘Gabriel or an army of God.’ al-Jalālayn [al-Maḥalī, Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad & al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr], *Tafsīr* (s.i.: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c. 1920), p. 499; whereas al-Bayḍawī is even vaguer: ‘…the spirt is an angel responsible for the spirits (*arwāḥ*) or a group of them, or Gabiel or a creation mighter than the angels (*khalq ’aᶜẓam min al-malā’ika*).’ al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 383.
[906] Cf §21 – 23.

[225] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Shaᶜbī concerning His Word: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.’[907] He said: Both of them are ranks[908] of the Lord of the Two Worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the spirits and a rank of angels.

[226] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Salmān; he said: Humans and *jinn* are ten parts: humans make one part and the *jinn* make nine parts; the angels and the *jinn* are ten parts: *jinn* make one part and the angels make nine parts; the angels and the spirits are ten parts: the angels make one part and the Spirit makes nine parts; [the Spirit and][909] the cherubim are ten parts: the Spirit makes one part and the cherubim make nine parts.[910]

[227] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Abī Nujīḥ; he said: The Spirit is the *hafīẓ* of the angels.[911]

[228] Ibn al-Anbārī in *Kitāb al-aḍdād* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits are a creation amongst the angels, but the angels do not see them; just as you do not see the angels.

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[907] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[908] Read *simāṭā* for *ṣimāṭā* and likewise *ṣimāt* (*bis*), cf. Leiden MS fol. 199v, l. 17; = ranks of people, see *AELex*, p. 1427.
[909] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199v, l. 20.
[910] Cf. §23 above; al-Suyūṭī has taken the same ḥadīth from a different source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim), but the authority is the same (given as Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs).
[911] Note the ambiguity between the singular *al-Rūḥ* and the plural noun in apposition (*ḥafaẓa*). *Al-Rūḥ* is strictly singular – the correct plural is *arwāh* – but is considered as a plural is certain places.

4.2.12 Riḍwān, Mālik and the Keepers of the Fire (peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'And they shall call, 'O Malik, let thy Lord have done with us!' He will say, 'You will surely tarry.'[912] And the Most High said: 'And those who are in the Fire will say to the keepers of Gehenna'[913] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'and over which are harsh, terrible angels'[914] and the rest of the verse; and he said: 'over it are nineteen. We have appointed only angels to be masters of the Fire'[915] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'the guards of hell'. [916]

[229] al-Qutbī[917] in *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār* from Ṭāwus[918] that God, may He be praised and glorified, created Mālik[919] and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him; no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with one of his fingers; by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

[230] al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī in *Ṣifat al-nār* from Anas; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grand him salvation) saying: By the one who [holds] my soul in

[912] Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; *Mālik* has normally been interpreted as an actual name (although it could simply mean 'possessor'), a variant reading of *Māl*, would seem to support this, see al-Baydawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 243 and Bell, Richard (ed. C. E. Bosworth & M. E. J. Richardson), *A Commentary on the Qur'ān* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), vol. 2, p. 248.
[913] Q 40:49; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 486.
[914] Q 66:6; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 594.
[915] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 616 – 617.
[916] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[917] This is possibly Ibn Qutayba, who wrote a work called, *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 1, p. 120.
[918] The Leiden MS reads: *Tāwūs / Tā'ūs*, fol. 199v, l. 2.
[919] The Leiden MS reads: *malakan*; 'created an angel'; fol. 199v, l. 28.

his hand![920] The Angels of Hell were created a thousand years before Hell itself; every day they increase their power.

[231] ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zuwā'id al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī; he said: I heard that there are nineteen Keepers of the Fire.[921] The space between one of their shoulders is a journey of a hundred autumns; there is no mercy in their hearts; indeed, they were made for torture, one of these angels beats one of inhabitants of the Fire[922] vigorously**,** then he leaves him crushed [like dust] from his head to his feet.

[232] Ibn Jarīr from Kaᶜb; he said: The space between the shoulders of one of the Keepers is a journey of [five][923] hundred years; every of them has a pole with two prongs, and he prods [the inhabitant of Hell] vigorously with it; he harasses seven hundred thousand [people] with it.

[233] Ibn al-Mundhir from Mujāhid; he said: I was told that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) described the Guardians of Hell; he said: Their eyes are like lightning, and their mouths are like cockerels' spurs, their hair trails [on the floor],[924] they are as strong as humans and *jinn*[925] and one of them receives a

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[920] Cf. 'So Glory be to Him, in whose hand is the dominion and unto whom you shall be returned' and 'Blessed by He in whose hand is the Kingdom - He is powerful over everything, who created death and life...' Q36:83 & 67:1 – 2; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 455 & 596.

[921] The number nineteen has, as Bell comments '…given much rise to questioning and speculation.' Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 2, p. 453. Al-Bayḍawī says that the number could refer to angels '*malakan*' or a species of angels '*ṣanfan malā'ika*' that are responsible for punishing different types of sinners or that the nineteen are responsible for punishing the people in the Fire for an hour each, with five hours left aside for the ritual prayers, see Al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 396. Karl Ahrens associated with the number nineteen with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, citing Mandaean beliefs as a possible source, see Ahrens, Karl, *Muhammad als Religionsstifter* (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1935) pp. 30 – 31.

[922] Lit: 'the angel from amongst them beats the man from amongst the people of the Fire.'

[923] The Leiden MS reads, '*mā'ia*'; fol. 200r, l. 4.

[924] Cf. the descriptions of Munkar and Nakīr, §302 – 311.

[whole] community of people [and] he herds them; on his neck is a mountain, until he casts them into the Fire, and he throws the mountain on top of them [afterwards].

[234] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Abī Shayba, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* through the intermediary of al-Azraq ibn Qays from a man from the Banū Tammīm; he said: We were with Abū 'l-ᶜAwām, when he recited this verse: 'over it are nineteen.'[926] He said: 'What do you say: nineteen angels or nineteen thousand?' I said: 'There is no doubt:[927] nineteen angels.' And he said: 'How do you know that?' I said: 'For God, Most High, said: 'and their number we have appointed only as a trial for the unbelievers'[928] He said: 'You are right. There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one[929] of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people]. Between the shoulders of every angel is a distance of this much.' Al Quṛtubī said: 'The intention of His Word is nineteen of their heads, as for the number of the Keepers, no-one knows their number, except God, may He be praised and glorifed!'[930]

[235] Hannād ibn al-Sarī in *Kitāb al-zuhd* from Kaᶜb; he said: When men are ordered into the Fire, a hundred thousand angels await him.

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[925] The *thaqalayn* are humans and jinn; see Lane, *AELex,* p. 344.
[926] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 616.
[927] The Leiden MS reads, '*ba-lā*'; fol. 200r, l. 11.
[928] Q 74:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 617.
[929] The Leiden MS reads, '*malak*'; fol. 200r, l. 13.
[930] See al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 79. This ḥadīth is also mentioned in his *tafsīr* of this verse, see al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ* vol. 19, p. 78.

[235b][931] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from Mujāhid concerning His Word: 'the guards of hell'[932]: [They are] angels.

[236] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith;[933] he said: The myrmidons (*al-zabāniyya*):[934] their feet are on earth and their heads are in heaven.

[237][935] al-Wāḥidī in *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* through the intermediary of Isḥāq ibn Bashar from Juwaybir from al-Ḍaḥḥāk from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When some polytheists reproached the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) for being poor, they said: 'What ails this Messenger that he eats food and goes in the markets?'[936] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was saddened by that, so Gabriel came down to him[937] and said: 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!" And He says to you: "We have not sent any messengers before you who did not eat food whilst walking in the markets."' While Gabriel and the Prophet (God bless him

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[931] The Ledien MS includes this ḥadīth; fol. 200r, ll. 16 – 18.
[932] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[933] A different list of sources is given in the Leiden MS (fol. 200r, ll. 18 – 19): al-Firyābī, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith.
[934] *Al-zabānīya* (Arberry = 'the Keepers of Hell'; Q 96:18, *Koran*, p. 651); the word poses questions about its root (c.f. al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 411) and it is believed to be foreign, derived from either Syriac or Persian, see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 148 (Syriac) and Eilers, Wilhelm, 'Iranisches Lehngut im arabishen Lexikon: Über einige Berufsnamen und Titel' *IIJ* 5 (1962) pp. 203 – 232, p. 220 (Persian). Tor Andrae associates the word with the Syriac *shabbāyā*, 'bodyguards', see Andrae, Tor (tr. Jules Roche), *Les Origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adiren Maisonneuve, 1955), p. 159.
[935] The opening '*akhraja*' is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 200r, l. 20.
[936] Q. 25:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 362.
[937] Q 25:7 – 8 continues the Meccans' words with: 'Why has an angel not been sent down to him, to be a warner with him, or why is not a treasure (*kanz*) thrown to him, or why has he not a Garden to eat of?' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363. Although not focusing on the life of Muḥammad, Michael Bonner has written an article that looks at the importance of poverty in the theology of the Qur'ān, see Bonner, Michael, 'Poverty and Economics in the Qur'an' *JIH* 35 (2005) pp. 391 – 406.

and grant him salvation) were talking to each other, Gabriel suddenly made himself smaller[938] until he was like a bird.[939] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Why have you made yourself smaller until you are like a bird?' He said: 'Muḥammad, one of the gates of heaven has opened and it had not been opened before [I did] that.'[940] Suddenly Gabriel returned to his [normal] state, and he said: 'Muḥammad, I introduce you to this [angel], Riḍwān, the Guardian of the Garden.' Then Riḍwān drew closer until he greeted [him]. He said: 'Muḥammad, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!"' (And he had with him, a basket of light,[941] which glistened) 'And your Lord says to you: "These are the keys to the treasuries of the this world,[942] however, whatever [you take] will not decrease your reward which will be with you in in the next world, [for me] it is like the wing of a flea."'[943] Then the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) looked at Gabriel,[944] who was like the advisor to him,[945] and Gabriel hit him to the ground with his hand; and he said: 'Humble yourself before God!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Riḍwān, there is nothing that I need on earth.' Riḍwān said: 'You are right, God is with you.' They saw that this verse was sent down by Riḍwān: 'Blessed be He who, if He will, shall assign to

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[938] In Classical Arabic *dhāba [al-jism]* can have the meaning 'to become thin'; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 986.
[939] The Leiden MS reads '*hūda*' throughout; fol. 200r, ll. 25 – 26.
[940] Cf. §29 & 53 above; in these cases the angel Isrāfīl appears.
[941] *Safaṭ al-nūr*; a basket that is formed by weaving leaves together, which was, appropriately for Riḍwān, also used in burials in pre-Islamic times; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1372.
[942] Cf. 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR* 73:4, p. 670; see also *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.
[943] Cf Q 2:26; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[944] The Leiden MS omits '*ilā jibrīl*'; fol. 200r, l. 30.
[945] Angels frequently take on this role (the *angelus interpres*) in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature; Wansbrough comments: 'In Muslim, as in Rabbinic, tradition one of Gabriel's primary functions is that of pedagogue: as he had been guide and mentor to Joseph....and to Moses...so too for Muhammad he performed thie rites of initiation into prophethood, instructed him during his ascension to heaven and arranged from him the conent of revelation during meetings in Ramaḍān.' Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 63; see also Hannah, Darrell D., *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) p. 47.

thee better than that – gardens underneath which rivers flow, and he shall assign to thee palaces.'[946]

[238] al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: During my night journey I saw Moses, son of ᶜImrān with me, as a tall man with curly hair, as if he were a man form the tribe of Shanū'a;[947] and I saw Jesus, son of Mary, [who as of medium height],[948] and of moderate complexion, [ranging between] red and white; and his hair was lank; and I saw Mālik, the Guardian of Gehenna and al-Dajjāl in the verses [of the Qur'ān] that God showed.[949]

[239] Ibn Mardawayh from ᶜUmar; he said: When the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) travelled by night,[950] he saw Mālik, the Keeper of the Fire; when a person frowns, [Mālik] can see the anger in his face.

[240] Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī in *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* from Abū Salama; he said: I saw ᶜUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmt east of the Holy House, crying; and it was asked of him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'In this place, the Messenger of God (God bless

[946] Q. 25:10; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363.
[947] More commonly known as the ᶜAzd Shanū'a; see Strenziok, G., 'Azd' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 811 – 813, p. 812.
[948] This is included because it is found in the ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī's, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* §3229, p. 621 and in the context of Moses being described as tall, makes sense here.
[949] Al-Bukhārī includes Q 32:23; '…so be not in doubt concerning the encounter with him.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 425.
[950] The two events of the *isrā'* (Night Journey) and the *miᶜrāj* (Ascension) were sometimes combined, and sometimes separated; for a discussion of these themes, see Nünlist, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit*.

him and grant him salvation) told me that he saw Mālik[951] turn over a live coal like bunch [of fruit].'

[241] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When God wants a servant to be good, he sends an angel from the Keepers of the Garden to him; [the angel] wipes his back and bestows his soul (*nafs*) with purity.

[242] al-Khalīlī in his *Mashyakha* from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I will be the first [person] to knock on the Gate of the Garden, and the Keeper will stand up and say: 'Who are you?' And I will say: 'I am Muḥammad.' And he will say: 'I will go and open it for you. I have not got up for anyone before you, and I will not get up for anyone after you.'

4.2.13 Al-Sijill [952] (peace be upon him)

[243] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAlī concerning the Word of the Most High: 'as a scroll is rolled'[953] He said: Mālik.

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[951] The Leiden MS reads, '*malakan*'; fol. 200v., l. 9. Cf. §229 and fol. 199v, l. 28.
[952] This Chapter heading is not given in the DKI edition, but given in the Leiden MS; fol. 200v, l. 14.
[953] Q 21:104; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 331. Jeffrey comments that *sijill* is only used of the 'divine scroll', whereas *sifr* is used for earthly books; see Jeffrey, A., 'The Qur'ān as Scripture' *MW* 40 (1950) pp. 41 – 55, p. 47 n4. A similar phrase occurs in Is. 34:4, but here the Hebrew word *ṣēfer* (Ar. *sifr*) is used; (see *BHS*, p. 725). There is some debate about the derivation of *sijill*, but it is now generally accepted to have been derived ultimately from the Latin *sigullum*, and reached Arabic through Greek, Aramaic, Syriac or Armenian. For a full discussion of its etymology see Vacca, V., 'Sidjill' *EI*[1] vol. 4, p. 403; de Blois, F. C., 'Sidjill – In Ḳur'ānic and Early Arabic Usage' *EI*[2] vol. 9, p. 538; Ambros, Arne A., with Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), p. 129;

[244] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAṭiyya;[954] he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel's name.[955]

[245] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, when forgiveness ascends, he says: 'Write it in light!'

[246] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from al-Suddī; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel responsible for the pages; when a person dies, he hands over his book to *Al-Sijill* and he shuts it and keeps it until the Day of Resurrection.

[247] Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir from Abu Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, and Hārūt and Mārūt[956] were amongst his helpers, and every day he would glance three times, by which he would look at the *Umm al-Kitāb*, and he would have a look. [The book] is not his, but [one day] he caught sight of some information in it about the creation of Adam,[957] and what is in [the *Umm al-Kitāb*] concerning them; and he secretly told Hārūt and Mārūt about it, and when the Most High said: '"I am creating on earth a viceroy." They said, "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there."'[958]; the two of them said: 'That is disrespectful to the angels.'

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and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 163 - 164. Al-Suyūṭi believed it to be a foreign word, see al-Suyūṭī (ed. & tr. William Y. Bell), *al-Mutawakkilī* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) pp. 19 & 41.

[954] The Leiden MS omits '*ᶜan ᶜAṭiyya*''; fol. 200v, l. 16.

[955] Some exegetes believed that *al-Sijill* referred to an angel others that it refers to a scribe of Muḥammad, e.g. al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. 17, pp. 99 – 100. Al-Suyūṭi also states al-Sijill is an angel in his *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[956] The Leiden MS occasionally uses the form *Harūt* instead of *Hārūt* (e.g. fol. 200v, ll, 20, 22; 201r, l. 8 etc.) and these instances will not be noted further.

[957] Al-Sijill sees a reference to the creation of Adam in the *Umm al-Kitāb*, before God reveals to the angels his intentions, regarding his creation.

[958] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.

4.2.14 Hārūt and Mārūt[959] (peace be upon them)[960]

[248] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd in their *Musnads*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in *Kitab al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Ḥibbān in his *Saḥīḥ* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar that he heard the Messenger of the God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: Concerning Adam; when God brought him down to earth, the angels said: ‘What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while We proclaim Thy praise and call Thee holy?’ He said, ‘Assuredly I know that you know not.’[961] [The angels] said: ‘Our Lord, we are more obedient than the Children of Adam.’ God, Most High, said to the angels:[962] ‘Pick out two angels. We will send them down to Earth and see how the two [angels] will do. The angels said: ‘Our Lord, Hārūt and Mārūt!’[963] And so both of them were sent down to Earth, and al-Zuhara appeared to the two of them[964] as the most beautiful woman.[965] She came to the two of them and they asked her for her soul, and she

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[959] Al-Thaᶜlabī devotes a whole chapter to Hārūt and Mārūt, which provides a useful comparison for these stories; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91; al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 45 – 48; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, Vol .2, pp. 52 – 55; see also al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā’ib*, pp. 40 – 41.

[960] The Leiden MS adds: *ᶜalayhumā al-salām*’; fol. 200v, l. 23.

[961] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5. The DKI edition marks the Qur’ānic quotation from ‘*in Ādam lamma...*’ This is an error, the Qur’ānic quotation begins at ‘*ayy rabb...*’ Also note that this ḥadīth combines two separate narratives (that of the creation of Adam and the Hārūt and Mārūt narrative). The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most frequently placed during the lifetime of the Prophet Idrīs (e.g. §255). There is a certain disjunction between the image of Hārūt and Mārūt in the Qur’ān and Islamic tradition.

[962] The Leiden MS adds: *li-‘l-malā’ika* (fol. 200v, l. 28).

[963] For a discussion of the origin of the names Hārūt and Mārūt, see Section 2 above.

[964] The ḥadīth in this section present two versions of the same story, firstly that al-Zuhara was a woman who then became the star/planet Venus and secondly (e.g. §255) that al-Zuhara / Venus came down from heaven to seduce and test the two angels. The story is not, however, aetiological.

[965] Al-Zuhara is associated with Anahīd (= Amretatat) in §251, and Anahīd was associated with great beauty: cf. *Yast* V:78 ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him [Vistaru] in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant.’ For more on Amretatat see Herzfeld, Ernst, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) pp. 356 – 368. In Astrology, Venus is also associated with beauty, fornication, prostitutes and fermented drinks (among other things), cf. al-Qabīṣī, Abū al-Ṣaqr ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn ᶜUthmān ᶜAlī al-Mawṣilī (ed. & tr. Charles Burnett &al.), *Kitāb al-mudhal ilā ṣināᶜat aḥkam al-nujūm* (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute

said: 'No! By God! Not until you accept the worship of idols.'[966] The two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never associate anything with God.' So she went away from them. Then she returned with a baby boy,[967] whom she was carrying; and they asked her for her soul, and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you kill this baby boy.'[968] And the two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never kill him!' So she went away and then she returned with a glass of wine, which she was carrying. They asked her for her soul and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you have drunk this wine.' So they drank,[969] became drunk, fornicated with her,[970] and killed the boy. When the two woke up, the woman said: 'By God! You have not left anything! You both denied me it, but you did it when you were drunk!' As a result the two had to make a choice between the punishment of this world or the next and they chose the punishment of this world.

[249] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels looked down upon this world and they saw the children of Adam being disobedient. They said: 'Lord! How ignorant these [humans] are! How little knowledge they have of your Majesty!' God,

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& Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), pp. 74 – 75 and al-Birūnī, Abū 'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awā'il ṣināᶜat al-tanjim*; R. Ramsey Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology* (London: Luzac & Co., 1934) pp. 232, 240, 245 and 251.

[966] Lit: Not until you say this word about idolatry.

[967] *al-ṣabī*; a baby that has not yet been weaned; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1650.

[968] The Qur'ān takes a strong position against infanticide, suggesting that it was common in pre-Islamic Arabic; for a discussion of this theme, see Giladi, Avner, 'Some Observations on Infanticide in Medieval Islamic Society' *IJMES* 22 (1990) pp. 185 – 200, especially pp. 186 – 188.

[969] Cf. Q 5:91; 'Satan only desires to precipitate enmity and hatred between you in regard to wine and arrow-shuffling, and to bar you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 114. Although the Hārūt and Mārūt narratives could be appropriate in the passages forbidding the consumption of wine, the narratives are usually found in the *tafsīrs* of Q 2:102; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 456 – 459; vol. 2, pp. 356 – 375; and vol. 7, pp. 32 – 35.

[970] The association of sexual immorality was also connected with the pagan worship of Venus / Aphrodite; cf. Moore, Michael S., 'Jesus Christ: "Superstar" (*Revelation xxii 16b*), *NT* 24 (1982) pp. 82 – 91, p. 86.

may He be praised and glorified said: 'If you were in their skin, then you would disobey me.' They said: 'How can this be? We worship Your praiseworthiness and we glorify You.' He said:[971] 'Choose two angels from amongst you!' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt; then the two of them came down to earth and [the earth] roused in them human desires. A woman presented herself to them but they did not disobey until they fornicated with her. God said: 'Choose between the punishment of this world or the next!' And one of the two looked to his friend and said: 'Whatever you say, I will choose.' He said: 'I say that the punishment of this world will end, but the punishment of the next world will not end.' So, the two chose the punishment of this world.' The two are those two whom God mentions in His Book: 'and that which was sent upon Babylon's two angels…'[972] and the rest of the verse.[973]

[250] al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Ibn ᶜUmar that he used to say: 'Has the *red one*[974] appeared yet?' When he saw it, he said: 'It is not welcome.'[975] Then he said: 'Two angels from amongst the angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, asked God if they could go down to earth. So they went down to earth,[976] and judged the people. When they got to a point where they could say words,

[971] The Leiden MS reads *qālū* for *qāla* (fol. 201r, l. 8); this appears to be a scribal error.
[972] Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 12.
[973] None of the ḥadīth in this section actually refer Hārūt and Mārūt teaching people magic, as mentioned in Q 2:101, but are all concerned with the fall of Hārūt and Mārūt. The fall-narratives are often attached to this verse in the exegetical tradition without much elaboration. Incidentally, a number of Christian theologians attributed the teaching of Greek philosophy to fallen angels, see Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels' and Margoliouth, 'Hārūt and Mārūt'.
[974] *Al-Ḥamrā'* usually refers to the planet Mars, but in this ḥadīth (as well as §255) Venus is clearly intended.
[975] This would make more sense if *al-Ḥamrā'* were understood to be the planet Mars, as Mars (and Jupiter) were traditionally seen as brining bad luck in Near Eastern astrology. Cf. Reiner, E., *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995) p. 4 – 7, Jastrow, Morris, 'Signs and Names of the Planet Mars' *AJSLL* 27 (1910) pp. 64 – 83, Al-Qabīṣī, *K. al-mudhal,* pp. 68 – 69. The planet Venus is not normally seen as bringing bad luck, but is associated with immorality; this is probably what ᶜUmar is referring to.
[976] The Leiden MS adds '*fa-ahbaṭa harūt wa-mārūt illā 'l-arḍ*' (fol. 201r, l. l4).

they went up from [earth] to heaven. God[977] sent to them the most beautiful woman. She asked them a question about desire and she asked them a question about their souls; and they did not leave until she promised them a meeting. Then she came to them for the meeting and she said: "You two can teach me the word which allows you to ascend." And they taught her [the word].[978] She said it and ascended into heaven. She was transformed and made just as you have seen. At the very moment that the two said the word, they could not ascend, so [God] sent them [a message] that the two should choose between the punishment of the afterlife or the punishment of this world; and one of the two said to the other: "Indeed, we should choose the pain of his world."'

[251] Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh in his *Musnad*, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd in his *Tafsīr*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Jarīr, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Hākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Tālib; he said: This is *Al-Zuhara*: the Arabs call her *al-Zuhara* and the Persians call her *Anahīd*.[979] The two angels were passing verdicts on the people [of Earth]. She came to the two of them, and they saw[980] her. Al-Zuhara said to the two: 'Will the two of you not tell me by what means you go up to heaven and by what means you come down to earth?' (And the two said 'In the name of God, the Greatest.' [to go up to heaven and down to earth).[981] She said: 'I will not leave you[982] until you teach it to me.' One of the two said to his companion: 'Teach it to her!' The [other angel] said:

[977] The Leiden MS omits *Allāh* (fol. 201r, l. 16).
[978] The Leiden MS adds '*al-kalima*' (fol. 201r, l. 18).
[979] Also known in Persian as *Bīdukht*; see Moᶜīn, Muḥammad (ed.), *Lughatnāma* (Tehrān: Chāpkhāne-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1959 – 1975) Fasc. 87, p. 264 and Fasc. 174, p. 479.
[980] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādāhā*' (fol. 201r, l. 22); '…they wanted her…'.
[981] The phrase 'In the name of God, the Greatest' acts as a password for entering and leaving heaven.
[982] The Leiden MS reads '*bi-mawtaykumā*' (fol. 201r, l. 23).

‘How severe God’s punishment will be for us?!’ The [other angel] said: ‘We will hope in the great abundance of God[’s mercy]![983]’ So [one of the angels] taught it to her; she said it and she flew to heaven. An angel of heaven was terrified by her ascent; so he bowed his head and did not sit down afterwards; God transformed her and she became a star.

[252] Ibn Rāhwayh and Ibn Mardawayh in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God cursed al-Zuhara, for it was she who seduced the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt.

[253] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The people of the lowest heaven looked down on the Earth[984] and they saw them acting disobediently, so they said: ‘Lord, the people of Earth are acting disobediently.’ God, may He be praised and glorified, said: ‘You are with me, but they are hidden from me.’ And it was asked of them: ‘Choose three of you.’[985] So they chose three from them on the condition that they came down to earth and judged between the people of earth. Human desire would be aroused in them, but they were ordered that they could not drink wine, that they could not kill anyone, that they could not fornicate, and that they could not prostrate themselves before idols. And from them was one that wished to be released [from this task], and he asked and two were sent down to the earth.[986] The most beautiful woman came to the two of them and it was said she [was called] Anahīd, and the two together fell in love with her. Then the two came to her house, they met

[983] The Leiden MS reads: ‘*saᶜat raḥmat allāh*’ (fol. 201r, l. 24).
[984] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ᶜalā ahl al-arḍ’* (fol. 201r, ll. 28 – 29).
[985] The third angel is possibly *al-Sijill* (cf. §247), although this appears to be rare and most accounts of this story only refer to Hārūt and Mārūt being selected.
[986] The could possible be *al-Sijill*; cf. §247.

with her and they wanted her. She said [to them]:[987] 'Not until you drink my wine, kill my neighbour's son and bow down before my idols.' The two of them said: 'We will not bow down [to your idols].' Then the two drank the wine, killed [the boy], then they bowed down [before the idols]. The angels in the sky looked down at them, and she said to them: 'Tell me the word which, if you both say it, the two of you can fly away.' And they told her,[988] and she flew away then she was turned into live coal, and this is *al-Zuhara*. As for the two, Solomon, son of David, sent for them, and they had to make a choice between the punishment of this world and the [pains of the][989] next. They chose the punishment of this world and they are suspended between heaven and earth.

[254] Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ḥākim, and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When the people after Adam fell into the situation that they fell into and began to be disobedient and to not believe in God, the angels in Heaven said: 'The Lord of This World, who created them; you only created them to worship you and to obey you, but they now fall into the situation that they have fallen in to, committing unbelief, commiting suicide, eating unlawful food, fornicating, stealing and drinking wine; they have begun to curse each other, and they do not circumcise themselves.' [Some sources] say that they were in hiding (?)[990] and they did not circumcise themselves. And it was said to them: 'Choose from amongst you the two best angels and I will give the two of them of them a task; and I will prohibit the two of them [from doing certain

[987] The Leiden MS omits '*la-humā*' (fol. 201v, l. 3).
[988] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-akhbarahā*' – 'it was told to her' (fol. 201v, l. 5).
[989] The Leiden MS reads '*wa-ᶜadhāb al-akhira*' (fol. 201v, l. 6).
[990] The text is a little confused here.

things].' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. So the two of them were sent down to Earth and the desires of the sons of Adam were aroused in them. [God] ordered the two that they should serve Him and not associate anything with Him. He banned them from killing prohibited individuals, from eating prohibited foods and from fornicating, stealing and drinking wine. The two remained on the Earth for a time ruling the people with justice. This was during the time of Enoch.[991] And at that time there was a woman, who was the most beautiful woman, just as the beauty of Venus is amongst the rest of the stars. The two of them came to her, spoke softly to her,[992] and wanted her on her own; but she refused unless the two took her orders and her faith. So the two asked her about her faith and she brought out to them an idol and said: 'This is what I worship.' And the two said: 'There is no need for us to worship this.' So they went and stayed away[993] for a while. Then the two came to her and they wanted[994] her on her own [and she said as she had said before, so they went away. Then they came to her [again] and they wanted her on her own**,]**[995] and when she saw that they refused to worship the idol, she said to the two of them: 'Choose one of the three faults:[996] worshiping this idol, killing this person, or drinking wine.' And the two said: 'None of these are right, but the least contemptible of the three is the drinking of the wine.' So they drank the wine. [The wine][997] was taken from them

[991] The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most often placed during the time of Enoch (*Idrīs*); cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91.
[992] Cf. Q 33:32; 'If you are godfearing, be not abject (*takhḍaᶜna*) in your speech, so that he in whose heart is sickness may be lustful, but speak honourable words.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 430; the verb also has a strong connotation of love, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 757.
[993] The Leiden MS reads '*ghabarā*' for '*ghābā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17), *ghābā* is more suitable here.
[994] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[995] The Leiden MS is missing a portion of the text from '*fa-faᶜalat mithl dhālik….fa-arādāhā ᶜalā nafsihā*' (fol. 201v, l. 18). This appears to be a scribal error.
[996] Note the woman's avoidance of words such as *dhanb* etc.; *khilāl* is a general word, which does not necessarily carry any religious overtones, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 780.
[997] *Khamr* can be both masculine and feminine (see Lane, *AELex*, pp. 808 – 809).

both and they fornicated with the woman. The two then feared that the person[998] would reveal what they had done, so they killed him. When the drunkenness lifted from them and they realised what sin they had done, they wanted to go up to heaven; but they could not, as it had been made inaccessible to them.[999] And the cover that was between the two of them and between the people of heaven was lifted up,[1000] and the angels looked down at what had come to pass. They wondered with great wonder and they came to understand that whoever is hidden [from God], is the one with less fear. After that they began to ask for forgiveness for whoever was on the earth.

It was said to the two of them: 'Choose[1001] between the punishment of this world and the punishment of the next.' The two said: 'As for the punishment of this world, it will come to an end and it will pass. As for the pain of the next world, it will not come to an end.' So they chose the punishment of this world. The two stayed in Babylon and they were punished.

[255] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Mujāhid; he said: I was camping with ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar during a journey, when, one night, he said to his servant: 'Look the *red one* has risen. There is no welcome in it, nor any greeting; God does not give life to it; it is the friend[1002] of the two angels.

The angels said: 'Lord, how can you ignore the disobedience of the sons of Adam, while they are shedding blood unlawfully, violating your prohibitions and

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[998] i.e. a witness; in §255 the angels kill a man (most likely al-Zuhara's husband) so that their crime is not revealed; in other versions (e.g. §248) the two kill a child.
[999] For the idiomatic expression, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 674. This is reminiscent of Q 34:53: 'And a barrier is set between them and that they desire…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 443.
[1000] Cf. Q. 50:22; 'Thou wast heedless of this; therefore We have now removed (*fa-kashafnā*) from thee they covering (*ghiṭā'*), and so thy sight today is piercing.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[1001] The Leiden MS uses a 2 m. pl. imperative (*ikhtārū*) for the DKI dual (*ikhtārā*), fol. 201v, l. 24; the dual is preferable.
[1002] Or 'master'; which could be appropriate in this context.

spreading corruption in the land?' He said: 'Indeed, I have put them to test; perhaps if I tested you in the same way as I have tested them, you would do as they have done.' They said: 'No!' He said: 'Choose two from the best of you.' So they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. He said to the two of them, 'I [am going to permit] your going down to earth. I am going to make you swear that you will not associate [anything with Me], that you will not fornicate and that you will not act treacherously. So they came down to earth and lust overwhelmed them both. Al-Zuhara came down to them, in the form of a most beautiful woman, and paraded herself in front of them, and they wanted[1003] her on her own. She said: 'Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without them being the same [religion as me].' The two said: 'What is your faith?' She said: 'Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*).' The two said: 'This is idolatry.[1004] We cannot associate ourselves with it.' So she left them for a period of time. Then she came up to them, and they wanted her by herself. She said: 'What you wish is only [the right of] a husband of mine. I would not like it if [someone] were to catch sight of me doing this; [as] this [would cause me] to be dishonoured.[1005] If you two profess my faith to me and you promise that you will take me up to heaven, then I will do it.' So they professed her faith to her, and they came to her [whilst she was in the form that] they saw; then the two took her up to

[1003] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 202r, l. 2) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[1004] Zoroastrianism held an unusual place in Islamic theory: 'Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists [Zoroastrians] along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture.' Morony, M., 'Madjūs' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 1110 – 1118, p. 1110. See also Bürgel, J. Christoph, 'Zoroastrians as Viewed in Medieval Islamic Sources' in Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 202 – 212.
[1005] Much has been written on the death penalty for adultery in Islam *fiqh*; e.g. Burton, John, 'The Origin of the Islamic Penalty for Adultery' *TGUOS* 26 (1978) pp. 16 – 27 and Burton, John, 'Law and exegesis: The Penalty for Adultery in Islam' in G. R. Hawting & Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 269 – 284.

heaven, and when they got to heaven, she grabbed them and cut off their wings, and the two fell [down to Earth] frightened, remorseful, and crying.

On earth is a prophet, who spent hit time in personal devotion from one Friday to the next, and on Friday his prayers would be answered. The two said: 'If we come to somebody, we will ask him to teach us [how to] repent. And they came to him, he said: 'May God have mercy upon you both!' How can inhabitants from the earth teach an angel?!' And they said: 'Indeed, we have been put to the test.' He said: 'Come to me on Friday.' So they came to him and he said: 'I have nothing to say to you. Come to me on the following Friday!' So they came to him, and he said: 'Choose! Indeed, you must choose if you want to be released from the earth and [receive] the punishment of the afterlife; or if you want the punishment of this life, the judgement of God will be upon you both on the Day of Resurrection.' One of the two said: 'This world will only last a short time.' And the other one said: 'Woe unto you! I have obeyed you from the beginning, so I will obey you now.' So the two chose the pain of this world.

This story can be enhanced by many other chains of transmission (*turuq*);[1006] the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar[1007] collected them into a single section and he said in his book *Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī-'l-dhabb ᶜan musnad Aḥmad*, that anyone who had concerns about [the story], could attest with certainty to the veracity of this story, because of the many different chains of transmission and the strength of their sources.[1008] He

[1006] The Leiden MS highlights this is red (fol. 202r, l. 12).
[1007] Al-Suyūṭī's father studied with Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Suyūṭī believed that he may have attended 'the *majlis* (gathering, here probably a kind of seminar is meant) held by an old man whose name he had not been able to remember, but he had thought that it must have been the famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī.' Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 26. Al-Suyūṭī was evidently well acquainted with his work and considered him one of his teachers.
[1008] Ibn Ḥajar uses word play, referring to 'entrances' and 'exits': the 'entrances' are clearly the chains of transmission, but the 'exits' are more vague, perhaps referring to the sources (i.e. texts and compilations) in which the ḥadīth are found.

said that he had studied a portion of these, which Aḥmad had compiled, and he mentioned over ten different chains of transmission; and [Ibn Ḥajar said:] I collected the different chains of transmission from exegeses and I reckoned them to amount to some twenty-odd chains.

4.2.15 The Sakīna[1009] (peace be upon it)[1010]

[295] al-Ṭabaranī in *al-Awsaṭ* from ᶜAlī (may God be pleased with him); he said: When the pious are mentioned, be quick to mention ᶜUmar. We, the Companions of the Prophet, did not think it unlikely that the *Sakīna* articulated itself on the tongue of ᶜUmar (may God be pleased with him). Ibn al-Athīr said in *al-Nihāya*: The *Sakīna* is an angel.

[296] al-Ṭabarānī from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr that he came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: 'Messenger of God, yesterday I recited *Surat al-Kahf*[1011] and something came and covered my mouth.' The Prophet (God

[1009] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, 'Notion de la Sakina'. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with Ark of the Covenant, see Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

[1010] Note the masculine, rather than feminine, suffix; this is because the *Sakīna* is an angel, which is masculine.

[1011] Q. 18; Arberry (1998) 288 – 301. *Surat al-kahf* is recited for protection against the anti-Christ (al-Dajjāl); Massigon also states that the entire *sūra* is recited every Friday at the congregational prayers ; see Massingon, Louis, 'Les "Septs Dormants", Apocalypse de l'Islam' *AB* 68 (1949) pp. 245 – 260; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 18, p. 65.

bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'That is the *Sakīna*. It came to hear the Qur'ān.'[1012]

[297] al-Ṭabarānī from Abū Salama; he said: When Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr al-Anṣārī was praying – he said[1013] – when it was night; [he said]: Suddenly [something] like a cloud covered me, and in it were things like lights, and [my] wife was sleeping beside me and she was pregnant; the horse was tethered in the courtyard and I feared that the horse[1014] would bolt away; [my] wife was terrified and she delivered her child; so I concluded my prayers.' So [the Prophet][1015] said: 'Recite, Usayd! That was an angel that listens to the Qur'ān.'

[1012] The *sakīna* is associated with the recitation of the Qur'ān; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, §5011, p. 996; see also Firestone, Reuven, 'Shekina' *EQ* vol. 4, pp. 589 – 591, p. 591.
[1013] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 204r, l. 15.
[1014] The Leiden MS reads *faras* and the DKI *ḥisān*; fol. 204r, l. 16.
[1015] This ḥadīth is quite famous, but here the *matn* is omits some information; in the fuller narrative, Usayd tells the Prophet about his experience, asks what it was and what he should have done; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

Conclusions

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis has been to widen the study of angels in Islam beyond that of Qur'ānic studies and Islamic eschatology. The study of angels in Islam has tended to be restricted to these two areas. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a corpus of *ḥadīth* that focus Islamic angelology in Islamic tradition more generally. The translation and commentary have shown that the relationship between humans and angels is a very close one, far closer than one may have expected.

The *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* do however reveal a complex mix of ideas. Every human has two (or more) recording angels; this establishes a direct relationship between angels and humans; yet despite their closeness to humanity, the angels always retain their unique angelic character. This is seen particularly clearly in the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Ritual impurity acts as a *shibboleth* between humans and angels: after the expulsion of Adam from the Garden, humans defecate, copulate, menstruate, and so on, and live in a world of impurity. Angels, as creatures of the divine world, remain ritually pure and cannot come into contact with impurity. This relationship, as I have argued in Section 3, has important consequences in Islamic ritual law. Being unclean is not technically sinful, but impurities do still have an effect on angels, and individuals can become *eschatologically disadvantaged* by their inability to perform credited actions. This intricate relationship with the angels is not, however, entirely negative for humans, as the angels pray for the Muslim community, bless and pray for pious devotional behaviour, give more weight

to good actions and so on. The angels, therefore, also enable humans to be *eschatologically advantaged* by certain actions.

Despite the fact that the relationship between humans and angels has a bearing on an individual's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is quite different from the standard Islamic eschatological material (as well as Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature). Traditionally, descriptions of heaven and hell are used as a warning, focused on the *potentiality* of punishment and reward. Hell is the *potential* future for those that do not return to the *straight path*, heaven is the reward for those that do. Sins and crimes in this kind of literature tend to be quite general, or when they are specific, refer to major sins such as murder, *kufr* and so on. Crudely, these works argue: Do not [*commit murder*], because those who [commit *murder*] will be sent to the Fire; and those that do not [*commit murder*] will be admitted into the Garden. In contrast, *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does not refer to major sins, but discusses the relationship between humans and angels at a much more basic, everyday level; and raises the question of the effects that certain human actions have on angels. The collection says that angels are present in this world and that the reader should be aware of their existence as human actions have an effect on their behaviour, and consequently, on the reader's *eschatological future*. This is a very different argument.

Section 2 raised the question of the origins and development of Islamic angelology through an analysis of angelic nomenclature and iconography. Past scholarship has usually portrayed Islamic angelology as being entirely derived from Jewish and Christian beliefs. However, the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* show that this relationship is much more complex. The naming of angels in Islam, except for a few isolated borrowings, shows a particularly Islamic approach, especially the use of the

formula: *The Angel of X*. Whilst there are a number of angels derived from divine hypostases in Judaism, some of the angels, such as *al-Sijill* are purely Islamic, derived form the text of the Qur'ān. Likewise, the iconography of angels in Islam has both commonalities with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also some unique elements. This would seem to suggest that Islam, whilst aware of the role and iconography of angels in Judaism and Christianity, adapted these ideas for its own use, and consequently an Islamic angelology evolved. The inclusion of a number of less well known angels in Islam, such as Ṣadluqan and Miṭaṭrūsh (Sandalphon and Metatron) suggest a much later borrowing, after Islamic angelology had developed and established itself.

The work appears to have been aimed at either a literate public or students, both of whom would have found al-Suyūṭī's approach of spiritual and educational benefit. The world in which *al-Ḥabā'ik* was written was in a state of political and social decline, with the Mamluks falling to the rising power of the Ottomans only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death. However, the *ᶜulamā'* and the higher education establishments in Cairo were able to flourish in this period, a result of their independence through the *waqf* system. There also seems to have been a deeper engagement with society at large in this period, with whole genres emerging to reflect the needs of the contemporary society.

Many of these trends in late-Mamluk scholarship can be seen in a-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, both in the main body of the *ḥadīth* compilation, as well as in the theological *khātima* that follows it. The two sections act to convey the importance of angels in Islam, belief in their existence, and their place in the universe. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* acts as a compendium of information about angels,

suitable for both the growing literate public and the significant amount of students that passed through the Cairene higher education establishments.

Al-Suyūṭī is famed for his ability to compile collections of *ḥadīth* in original subject areas, and *al-Ḥabā'ik* is no exception. Al-Suyūṭī's wide knowledge of *ḥadīth* is shown throughout, with the work drawing a wide range of authors and texts. Likewise, the *khātima* shows a strong familiarity with many *mutakallimūn*. There has been some analysis of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources in the past, and the analysis of the sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that the *ḥadīth* are principally drawn from the formative period of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Islam, namely the third and fourth centuries *hijrī*; whereas the sources for the *khātima* are much later. This shows that al-Suyūṭī wished to engage with more contemporary sources in the theological postscript and accepted reputable collections of *ḥadīth* in the main body of the text. The analysis of the sources also suggests that al-Suyūṭī used the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī as *Urtexte* for his new compilation. Although, the great number of other works incorporated in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that it was not simply an act of plagiarism. Above all, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the impressive skill that al-Suyūṭī demonstrates in the arrangement and compilation of material. Al-Suyūṭī takes material from diverse sources and reshapes them into an accessible and readable resource.

It is hoped that this thesis has widened the study of Islamic angelology beyond the accounts of Muhammad's *miʿrāj*, the Qur'an and the eschatological literature. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the wonders of the angelic world, as well as its intimacy with *this* world. At the heart of this relationship is that fact that the angels are God's emissaries, and that everything

that the angels do is done on behalf of God. The angels act as intermediaries between humans and God and this intermediation works in both directions: the angels keep watch over human actions on God's behalf, but the angels also bring blessings to humans, and pray for humanity, especially pious Muslims. It has not been possible to explore all of the questions that the angelology of the *ḥadīth* raise, but it is hoped that this thesis has brought the possibility of further research into this interesting and exciting area of Islamic belief and spirituality.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ARABIC TEXT

Extracts from al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; (ed.) Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya, 1408 / 1988).

الحبائك في أخبار الملائك

للإمام جلال الدين عبد الرحمن السيوطي

٨٤٩ هـ - ٩١١ هـ

تحقيق
خادم السنة المطهرة
أبو هاجر محمد السعيد بن بسيوني زغلول

بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد للّه جاعل الملائكة رسلاً أولي أجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد والآل والصحب والأتباع. فهذه تأليف لطيف جمعته في أخبار الملائكة الأبرار. استوعبت فيه ما وردت به الأحاديث والآثار، وختمته بفوائد يبتهج بها أولو الأبصار. وسميته (الحبائك، في أخبار الملائك) واللّه المستعان. وعليه التكلان.

ذكر وجوب الإيمان بالملائكة

قال اللّه تعالى: ﴿**آمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربه والمؤمنون كل آمن باللّه وملائكته**﴾ قال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان: والإيمان بالملائكة ينتظم في معانٍ:

(**أحدها**) التصديق بوجودهم.

و (**الثاني**) إنزالهم منازلهم وإثبات أنهم عباد اللّه وخلقه كالإنس والجن مأمورون مكلفون لا يقدرون إلّا على ما أقدرهم اللّه عليه والموت عليهم جائز ولكن اللّه تعالى جعل لهم أمداً بعيداً فلا يتوفاهم حتى يبلغوه ولا يوصفون بشيء يؤدي وصفهم به إلى إشراكهم باللّه تعالى، ولا يدعون آلهة كما دعتهم الأوائل.

و (**الثالث**) الاعتراف بأن منهم رسلاً يرسلهم إلى من يشاء من

البشر وقد يجوز أن يرسل بعضهم إلى بعض، ويتبع ذلك الاعتراف منهم حملة العرش ومنهم الصافون ومنهم خزنة الجنة ومنهم خزنة ومنهم كتبة الأعمال ومنهم الذين يسوقون السحاب فقد ورد بذلك كله أو بأكثره:

١ - وروينا عن ابن عمر عن النبي ﷺ حين سئل الإيمان فقال «ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله».

مبدأ خلق الملائكة والدلالة على أنهم أجسام خلافاً للفلاسفة

٢ - (أخرج) مسلم عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ وخلقت الملائكة من نور وخُلِق الجانّ من مارج من نار وخلق آدم مما وصف لكم».

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١ - الترغيب، والترهيب ٢/١٦٥ وعزاه المنذري لأحمد بإسناد صحيح عمرو بن عبسة ورواته محتج بهم في الصحيح والطبراني وغيره ورواه البيهقي عن أبي أمامة عن رجل من أهل الشام عن أبيه.

وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢/٢٣٦ - ١٠/٩٤.

الجامع الكبير ١/١٠٨٤ و١٢١٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث عمر بن الخطاب رواه لمسلم، وأبو داود، والترمذي، والنسائي، وابن ماجة وأحمد.

٢ - مسلم كتاب الزهد ب ١٠ رقم ٦٠ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

وانظر مسند أحمد ٦/١٥٣ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٤. / الدار المنثور ٦/١٤٣.

البيهقي ٩/٣. / تفسير القرطبي ١٠/٢٤.

تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٣٨٨ و ١٦٣٥ و ٧/٤٦٧.

٣ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ في كتاب العظمة عن عكرمة قال خلقت الملائكة من نور العزة.

٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زيد بن رومان أنه بلغه أن الملائكة خلقت من روح الله.

كثرة الملائكة جداً

قال تعالى ﴿وما يعلم جنود ربك إلاّ هو﴾.

٥ - (وأخرج) البزار وأبو الشيخ وابن منده في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن ابن عمرو قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور وينفخ في ذلك ثم يقول ليكن منكم ألف ألفان فإن من الملائكة لخلقاً أصغر من الذباب وليس شيء أكثر من الملائكة.

٦ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في الشعب عن ابن مسعود قال ما في السموات شيء منها موضع إلاّ وعليه جبهة ملك أو قدماه ثم قرأ وإنا لنحن الصافون.

٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير قال ما في السماء موضع إلاّ عليه ملك إما ساجد وإما قائم حتى تقوم الساعة.

٨ - (وأخرج) أحمد والترمذي وابن ماجه والحاكم عن أبي ذر قال

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٨ - الترمذي الزهد ب ٩ رواه الترمذي بلفظة وزاد عليه [والله لو تعلمون ما أعلم لضحكتم قليلاً ولبكيتم كثيراً وما تلذذتم بالنساء على الفرش ولخرجتم إلى الصعدات تجأرون إلى الله لوددت أني كنت شجرة تعضد] قال أبو عيسى: وفي الباب عن أبي هريرة وعائشة وابن عباس وأنس. قال هذا حديث حسن غريب، ويروى من غير هذا الوجه أن أبا ذر قال: لوددت أني شجرة تعضد.

وانظر ابن ماجة الزهد باب ١٩ حديث رقم ١٤٩٠ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر =

قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ما منها موضع أربع أصابع إلّا وعليه ملك واضع جبهته) .

٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (ما في السماء موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم فذلك قوله: ﴿وما منا إلّا له مقام معلوم وإنا لنحن الصافون﴾ .

١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم والطبراني والضياء في المختارة وأبو الشيخ عن حكيم بن حزام قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ مع أصحابه فقال

= مع اختلاف في ألفاظ الحديث. وله زيادة طويلة.

وانظر مسند أحمد ١٧٣/٥ . / الحاكم ٥١٠/٢، ٥٧٩/٤ .

وانظر البيهقي ٥٢/٧ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر مع اختلاف في الألفاظ وله زيادة طويلة.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢١٧/١٠ . ـ الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥ .

٩ ـ تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٦/٨ وذكره ابن كثير عن عائشة بلفظ [ما في السماء الدنيا موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم، وذلك قول الملائكة: وذكر الآية وقد ذكره أيضاً بلفظ نحواً من هذا اللفظ وبإسناد غير إسناد حديثنا وعن العلاء بن سعد [وقد شهد فتح مكة] وقال هذا إسناد غريب جداً.

وانظر تفسير القرطبي ٣١٧/١٥.

الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥، ٢٩٣ وعزاه لمحمد بن نصر في كتاب الصلاة وابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ . وابن مردوية عن عائشة رضي اللّه عنها.

اللآلىء المصنوعة ١٢٣/٢ .

١٠ـ كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٦٥ و ٢٩٨٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه لحسن بن سفيان، وأبو نعيم.

وانظر الجامع الكبير ٣٧٦/٢ و ٥٨٦ . / تفسير ابن كثير ٦٦٤/٤ / ٣٢٩.

هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا ما نسمع من شيء قال إني لأسمع أطيط السماء وما تلام أن تئط ما فيها موضع قدم إلّا عليها ملك ساجد أو قائم.

١١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما في السموات السبع موضع قدم ولا شبر ولا كف إلّا وفيه ملك قائم أو ملك ساجد فإذا كان يوم القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك ما عبدناك حق عبادتك إلّا انا لم نشرك بك شيئاً.

١٢ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن أسلم قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ليس من بني آدم أحد إلّا ومعه ملكان سائق يسوقه وشاهد يشهد عليه فهذا ضعف بني آدم ثم بعد ذلك السموات والأرض مكبوسات ومن فوق السموات بعد، الذين حول العرش أكثر مما في السموات.

١٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سعيد عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال (إن في الجنة لنهراً ما يدخله جبريل من دخلة فيخرج فينتفض إلّا خلق اللّه من كل قطرة تقطر منه ملكاً).

١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه: إن للّه نهراً في الهواء سعة الأرضين كلها سبع مرات ينزل على ذلك النهر ملك من السماء فيملؤه ويسد ما بين أطرافه ثم يغتسل منه فإذا خرج قطر منه قطرات من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة منها ملك يسبح اللّه بجميع تسبيح الخلائق كلهم.

= الدر المنثور ٢٩٣/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن حكيم بن حزام رضي اللّه عنه.

مشكل الآثار ٤٣/٢ .

١١ - تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٥/٨ وذكره بلفظه إلّا أنه زاد فيه [أو ملك راكع].

١٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال قال موسى عليه السلام يا رب من معك في السماء قال ملائكتي قال وكم هم يا رب قال إثنا عشر سبطاً قال وكم عدد كل سبط قال عدد التراب.

١٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن كعب قال لا تقطر عين ملك منهم إلّا كانت ملكاً يطير من خشية اللّه.

١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن العلاء بن هارون قال: لجبريل في كل يوم اغتماسة في الكوثر ثم ينتفض فكل قطرة يخلق منها ملك.

١٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق مجاهد عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ما من شيء ينبت إلّا ملك موكل به.

١٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الحكم قال بلغني أنه ينزل مع المطر من الملائكة أكثر من ولد آدم وولد إبليس يحصون كل قطرة وأين تقع من يرزق من ذلك النبات.

٢٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن السموات السبع شوة من الملائكة لو قيست شعرة ما انقاست، منهم الراكد والراكع لساجد ترعد فرائصهم وتضطرب أجنحتهم خوفاً من اللّه ولم يعصوه فة عين وإن حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى مخه مسيرة مائة م.

٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر في تفسيره عن عبد اللّه بن عمرو يرفعه

١٨ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٥ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظ «ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من ئكة يخلقهم مثل الذباب» ثم يقول تبارك وتعالى «كونوا ألف ألفين» رواه البزار، اله رجال الصحيح والحديث عن عبد اللّه بن عمر، وصدق عليه ابن عباس ي اللّه عنهما.

قال «الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء الكروبيون الذين يسبحون الليل والنهار لا يفترون وجزء قد وكلوا بخزانة كل شيء وما من السماء موضع إلّا فيه ساجد أو ملك راكع وإن الحرم بحيال العرش وإن البيت المعمور لبحيال الكعبة لو سقط لسقط عليها يصلي فيه كل يوم سبعون ألف ملك ثم لا يعودون إليه».

٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن عمرو البكاليّ قال إن اللّه تعالى جزأ الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء منهم الكروبيون وهم الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم أيضاً الذين يسبحون بالليل والنهار لا يفترون قال ومن بقي من الملائكة لأمر اللّه ورسالات اللّه.

٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم من طريق حبيب بن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان أبي الأعيس عن أبيه قال: الإنس والجن عشرة أجزاء فالإنس من ذلك جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء، والجن والملائكة عشرة أجزاء فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة والملائكة والروح عشرة أجزاء فالملائكة جزء والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح من ذلك جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان والخطيب وابن عساكر من طريق عبّاد بن منصور عن عدي بن أرطاة عن رجل من

٢٤ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٤٥ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لأبي الشيخ في العظمة والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، والخطيب، وابن عساكر عن رجل من الصحابة.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٧. / تاريخ بغداد ١٢/٣٠٧.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/١٢٦، ١٠/٢١٧. / الحاوى للفتاوى ٢/٣٥٠.

كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٣٦ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي وأبو الشيخ في العظمة، والبيهقي في الشعب، والخطيب، وابن عساكر - عن رجل من الصحابة.

سحبة سماه ـ قال عباد فنسيت اسمه ـ عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال «إن ملائكة ترعد فرائصهم من مخافته ما منهم ملك تقطر من عينيه دمعة وقعت ملكاً قائماً يسبح، وملائكة سجوداً منذ خلق اللّه السموات أرض لم يرفعوا رؤسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وملائكة ركوعاً لم فعوا رؤوسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وصفوفاً لم ينصرفوا عن افهم ولا ينصرفون عنها إلى يوم القيامة فإذا كان يوم القيامة تجلى لهم م عز وجل فنظروا إليه وقالوا سبحانك ما عبدناك كما ينبغي لك.

٢٥-(وأخرج) ابن منده في المعرفة وابن عساكر عن عبد الرحمن بن لاء من بني ساعدة عن أبيه العلاء بن سعد وكان ممن بايع يوم الفتح النبي ﷺ قال يوماً لجلسائه هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا وما تسمع سول اللّه قال أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ليس منها موضع قدم إلّا به ملك قائم أو راكع أو ساجد ثم قرأ ﴿وإنا لنحن المسبحون﴾.

٢٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن الربيع بن أنس في قوله ﴿وعلم آدم سماء كلها قال أسماء الملائكة﴾.

رؤوس الملائكة الأربعة الذين يدبرون أمر الدنيا

٢٧ ـ (أخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة هقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط قال يدبر أمر الدنيا أربعة جبريل ائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل فأما جبريل فموكل بالرياح والجنود وأما ئيل فموكل بالقطر والنبات وأما ملك الموت فموكل بقبض الأرواح إسرافيل فهو ينزل بالأمر عليهم.

٢٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن سابط قال في أم الكتاب كل هو كائن إلى يوم القيامة ووكل ثلاثة من الملائكة أن يحفظوه فوكل

٢٧ ـ سبق برقم ١٠.

جبريل بالكتاب أن ينزل به إلى الرسل ووكل جبريل أيضاً بالهلكات إذا أراد اللّه أن يهلك قوماً ووكله بالنصر عند القتال ووكل ميكائيل بالحفظ والقطر ونبات الأرض ووكل ملك الموت بقبض الأنفس فإذا ذهبت الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل أم الكتاب فيجدونه سواء. رواه ابن أبي شيبة.

٢٩ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي والطبراني وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ ومعه جبريل يناجيه إذ انشق أفق السماء فأقبل جبريل يتضاءل ويدخل بعضه في بعض ويدنو من الأرض فإذا ملك قد مثل بين يدي رسول اللّه ﷺ فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام ويخيرك بين أن تكون نبياً ملكاً أو نبياً عبداً قال رسول اللّه ﷺ فأشار جبريل إليّ بيده أن تواضع فعرفت أنه لي ناصح فقلت نبياً عبداً فعرج ذلك الملك إلى السماء فقلت يا جبريل قد كنت أردت أن أسألك عن هذا فرأيت من حالك ما شغلني عن المسئلة فمن هذا يا جبريل قال هذا إسرافيل خلقه اللّه يوم خلقه بين يديه صافاً قدميه لا يرفع طرفه بينه وبين الرب سبعون نوراً ما منها نور يدنو منه إلّا احترق، بين يديه اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أذن اللّه بشيء في السماء أو في الأرض ارتفع ذلك اللوح فضرب جبهته فينظر فيه فإن كان من عملي أمرني به وإن كان من عمل ميكائيل أمره به وإن كان من عمل ملك الموت أمره به قلت يا جبريل على أي شيء أنت قال على الرياح والجنود قلت على أي شيء ميكائيل قال على النبات والقطر قلت على أي شيء ملك الموت قال على قبض الأنفس وما ظننت أنه هبط إلّا بقيام الساعة وما ذاك الذي رأيت مني إلّا خوفاً من قيام الساعة.

٣٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال

٣٠ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/ ١٠.

ل رسول اللّه ﷺ إن أقرب الخلق من اللّه جبرئيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل
نهم من اللّه لمسيرة خمسين ألف سنة جبرائيل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن
خرى وإسرافيل بينهما.

٣١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال هؤلاء الأربعة أملاك
ريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت أول من خلقهم اللّه من الخلق
خر من يميتهم وأول من يحييهم هم المدبرات أمراً والمقسمات أمراً.

٣٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن خالد بن أبي عمران قال: جبريل
ن اللّه إلى رسله وميكائيل يتلقى الكتب التي ترفع من أعمال الناس
سرافيل بمنزلة الحاجب.

٣٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عكرمة بن خالد أن رجلاً قال
رسول اللّه أيُ الملائكة أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فجاءه جبريل فقال
جبريل أي الخلق أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فعرج جبريل ثم هبط
ل: جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فأما جبريل فصاحب
رب وصاحب المرسلين وأما ميكائيل فصاحب كل قطرة تسقط وكل
ة تنبت وكل ورقة تسقط وأما ملك الموت فهو موكل بقبض روح كل
- في بر أو بحر وأما إسرافيل فأمين اللّه بينه وبينهم.

٣٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني والحاكم عن أبي المليح عن أبيه أنه
ى مع النبي ﷺ ركعتي الفجر فصلى قريباً منه فصلى النبي ﷺ ركعتين
يفتين فسمعته يقول «اللهم رب جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل ومحمد
ذ بك من النار» ثلاث مرات.

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٣٤ - مجمع الزوائد ٢/٢١٩، ١٠/١٠٤ و ١١٠.
وذكره الهيثمي بنحوه، وقال رواه النسائي بنحوه من غير تقييد بركعتي الفجر -
ا أبو يعلى عن شيخه سفيان بن وكيع وهو ضعيف.

٣٥ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن عائشة أن النبي ﷺ أغمي عليه
ورأسه في حجرها فجعلت تمسح وجهه وتدعو له بالشفاء فلما أفاق قال
لا بل إسألي اللّه الرفيق الأعلى مع جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل عليهم
السلام.

ما جاء في جبريل عليه السلام

٣٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن علي بن حسين قال
إسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه وإسرافيل عبد الرحمن
وكل شيء رجع إلى إيل فهو معبد للّه عز وجل.

٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن عباس قال: جبريل عبد اللّه
وميكائيل عبيد اللّه وكل اسم فيه «إيل» فهو معبد للّه.

٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن عمير
قال إسم جبريل في الملائكة خادم ربه عز وجل.

٣٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن موسى بن أبي عائشة قال بلغني أن
جبريل إمام أهل السماء.

٤٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ
ألا أخبركم بأفضل الملائكة جبريل.

٤١ - (وأخرج) مسلم عن ابن مسعود قال رأى رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٤٠ - مجمع الزوائد ٣/١٤٠، ٨/١٩٨ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه ولو زيادة في
الحديث وعزاه للطبراني وفيه نافع بن هرمز وهو متروك،
وانظر الدار المنثور ١/٩٢.
كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٣٤٣ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه للطبراني عن ابن عباس
رضي اللّه عنه، وله زيادة.

جبريل في حلة خضراء قد ملأ ما بين السماء والأرض.

٤٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ قال رأيت جبريل منهبطاً قد ملأ ما بين الخافقين عليه ثياب سندس معلق بها اللؤلوء والياقوت.

٤٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ لجبريل وددت لو رأيتك في صورتك قال وتحب ذلك قال نعم قال موعدك كذا وكذا من الليل بقيع الغرقد فلقيه موعده فنشر جناحاً من أجنحته فسد أفق السماء حتى ما يرى من السماء شيء.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود في قوله ﴿ولقد رآه نزلة أخرى﴾ قال رأى رسول الله ﷺ جبريل معلقاً رجليه عليها الدرّ كأنه قطر المطر على البقل.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس عن ورقة الأنصاري قال قلت يا محمد كيف يأتيك الذي يأتيك يعني جبريل قال يأتيني من السماء جناحاه لؤلؤ وباطن قدميه أخضر.

٤٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول

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٤٢ - كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٧ و١٥١٦٨ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها وعزاه لأبي الشيخ.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٢.

٤٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٥/١٣٧ وأشار الزبيدي إلى الحديث.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٣ وذكر حديثاً يشابه حديثنا وفيه أن رجلاً من اليهود سأل رسول الله ﷺ فقال يا رسول الله هل احتجب الله بشيء عن خلقه غير سموات. قال: نعم وبينه وبين الملائكة... وذكر نحواً منه.
وانظر اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٩.

الله ﷺ لجبريل هل ترى ربك قال إن بيني وبينه لسبعين حجاباً من نار ونور لو رأيت أدناها لاحترقت.

٤٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن شريح بن عبد الله أن النبي ﷺ لما صعد إلى السماء رأى جبريل في خلقته منظوم أجنحته بالزبرجد واللؤلؤ والياقوت قال فخيل لي أن ما بين عينيه قد سد الأفق وكنت أراه قبل ذلك على صور مختلفة وأكثر ما كنت أراه على صورة دحية الكلبي وكنت أحياناً أراه كما يرى الرجل صاحبه من وراء الغربال.

٤٧ - (وأخرج) أحمد وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود أن رسول الله ﷺ لم ير جبريل في صورته إلاّ مرتين أما واحدة فإنه سأله أن يريه نفسه فأراه نفسه فسد الأفق وأما الأخرى فليلة الإسراء عند السدرة.

٤٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ما بين منكبي جبريل مسيرة خمسمائة عام للطائر السريع الطيران.

٤٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق إسحاق عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال جبريل له ستمائة جناح من لؤلؤ قد نشرها مثل ريش الطواويس.

٥٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل حديث بعضهم في بعض: لجبريل جناحان وعليه وشاح من در منظوم وهو براق الثنايا أجلى الجبين ورأسه حبك حبك مثل المرجان وهو اللؤلؤ كأنه الثلج وقدماه إلى الخضرة.

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٤٨ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأبي الشيخ عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٥١ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه أنه سئل عن خلق جبريل فذكر أن ما بين منكبيه من ذي إلى ذي خفق الطير سبعمائة عام.

٥٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن سعد والبيهقي في الدلائل عن عمار بن أبي عمار أن حمزة بن عبد المطلب قال يا رسول اللّه أرني جبريل في صورته قال إنك لا تستطيع أن تراه قال بلى فأرنيه قال فاقعد فقعد جبريل على خشبة كانت في الكعبة فقال النبي ﷺ إرفع طرفك فانظر فرفع طرفه فرأى قدميه مثل الزبرجد الأخضر فخر مغشياً عليه.

٥٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ سأل جبريل أن يتراءى له في صورته فقال جبريل إنك لن تطيق ذلك قال إني أحب أن تفعل فخرج رسول اللّه ﷺ إلى المصلى في ليلة مقمرة فأتاه جبريل في صورته فغشي على رسول اللّه ﷺ حين رآه ثم فاق وجبريل مسنده وواضع إحدى يديه على صدره والأخرى بين كتفيه فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما كنت أرى أن شيئاً من الخلق هكذا فقال جبريل كيف لو رأيت إسرافيل إن له لاثني عشر جناحاً منها جناح في المشرق وجناح في المغرب وإن العرش على كاهله وإنه ليتضاءل الأحيان لعظمة اللّه حتى يصير مثل الوصع حتى ما يحمل عرشه إلّا عظمته.

٥٤ ـ (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال إن

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٥٢ ـ ابن سعد البيهقي في الدلائل.

٥٣ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب.

وانظر الزهد لإبن المبارك ص ٧٤ وذكره بنحوه.

٥٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.

جبريل ليأتيني كما يأتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض مكفوفة باللؤلؤ والياقوت رأسه كالجبل وشعره كالمرجان ولونه كالثلج أجلى الجبين براق الثنايا عليه وشاحان من درّ منظوم وجناحاه أخضران ورجلاه مغموستان في الخضرة وصورته التي صور عليها تملأ ما بين الأفقين وقد قال ﷺ أشتهي أن أراك في صورتك يا روح اللّه فتحول له فسد ما بين الأفقين.

٥٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر بسند ضعيف عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ خلق اللّه جمجمة جبريل على قدر الغوطة.

٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال عاد رسول اللّه ﷺ رجلاً من الأنصار فلما دنا من منزله سمعه يتكلم في الداخل فلما استأذن عليه دخل عليه فلم ير أحداً فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ سمعتك تكلم غيرك قال يا رسول اللّه لقد دخل عليّ داخل ما رأيت رجلاً قط بعدك أكرم مجلساً ولا أحسن حديثاً منه قال ذاك جبريل ﴿**وإن منكم لرجالاً لو أن أحدهم يقسم على اللّه لأبره**﴾.

٥٧ ـ (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن عكرمة قال قال جبريل عليه السلام إن ربي عز وجل ليبعثني إلى الشيء لأمضيه فأجد الكون قد سبقني إليه.

٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ميمونة بنت سعد قالت قلت يا رسول اللّه هل يرقد الجنب قال ما أحب أن يرقد حتى يتوضأ فإني أخاف أن يتوفى فلا يحضره جبريل.

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٥٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لابن عساكر عن عائشة قال الذهبي في الميزان: هذا حديث منكر.

٥٨ ـ الحاوي للفتاوى ٢٩٤/٢ وذكر السيوطي استشهاداً بالحديث على نزول جبريل عليه السلام إلى الأرض بعد وفاة الرسول ﷺ.

٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن أدنى الملائكة من اللّه
ريل ثم ميكائيل فإذا ذكر اللّه عبداً بأحسن عمله قال فلان بن فلان
ل كذا وكذا من طاعتي صلواتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ما
دث ربنا فيقول فلان بن فلان ذكر بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات
ه عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل من يراه من أهل السماء فيقولون ماذا أحدث
نا فيقول ذكر فلان ابن فلان بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات اللّه
يه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء حتى يقع إلى الأرض وإذا ذكر عبداً
سوأ عمله قال عبدي فلان ابن فلان عمل كذا وكذا من معصيتي
نتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ماذا أحدث ربنا فيقول ذكر فلان
، فلان بأسوأ عمله فعليه لعنة اللّه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء
ى يقع إلى الأرض.

٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) الصابوني في المائتين والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن
بر بن عبد اللّه عن النبي ﷺ قال إن جبريل موكل بحاجات العباد
ا دعا المؤمن قال اللّه يا جبريل أحبس حاجة عبدي فإني أحبه وأحب
ته وإذا دعا الكافر قال اللّه يا جبزيل أقض حاجة عبدي فإني أبغضه
غض صوته.

٦١ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي عن ثابت قال بلغنا أن اللّه تعالى وكّل
يل عليه السلام بحوائج الناس فإذا دعا المؤمن قال يا جبريل إحبس
جته فإني أحب دعاءه وإذا دعا الكافر قال يا جبريل اقض حاجته فإني
ض دعاءه قال البيهقي هذا هو المحفوظ.

٦٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة من طريق ثابت عن عبد اللّه بن
ر قال إن جبريل موكل بالحوائج فإذا سأل المؤمن ربه قال احبس

٦٠ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي والصابوني في المائتين عن
رضي اللّه عنه.

احبس حباً لدعائه أن يزداد وإذا سأل الكافر قال أعطه أعطه بغضاً لدعائه.

٦٣ ـ (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي عن أبي ذر قال إن اللّه يقول يا جبريل إنسخ من قلب عبدي المؤمن الحلاوة التي كان يجدها لي قال فيصير العبد المؤمن والهاً طالباً للذي كان يعهد من نفسه نزلت به مصيبة لم ينزل به مثلها قط فإذا نظر اللّه إليه على تلك الحال قال يا جبريل رد إلى قلب عبدي ما نسخت منه فقد ابتليته فوجدته صادقاً وسأمده من قبلي بزيادة.

٦٤ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عمرو بن مرة قال: جبريل على ريح الجنوب.

٦٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر في تاريخه عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما شئت أن أرى جبريل عليه السلام متعلقاً بأستار الكعبة وهو يقول يا واجد يا ماجد لا تزل عني نعمة أنعمت بها علي إلّا رأيته.

٦٦ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن أبي رواد قال نظر اللّه إلى جبريل وميكائيل وهما بكيان فقال اللّه ما يبكيكما وقد علمتما أني لا أجور فقالا يا رب إنا لا نأمن مكرك قال هكذا فافعلا فإنه لا يأمن من مكري إلّا كل خاسر.

٦٧ ـ (وأخرج) الإمام أحمد في الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني أنه بلغه أن جبريل أتى النبي ﷺ وهو يبكي فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ ما يبكيك قال وما لي لا أبكي فواللّه ما جفت لي عين منذ خلق اللّه النار مخافة أن أعصيه فيقذفني فيها.

٦٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٥٠٦٣ و٦٤٣٣ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن علي رضي اللّه عنه إلّا أنه قال (يا واحد يا أحد) ولم يقل (يا واجد يا ماجد).

٦٨ - وقال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان أنبأنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن يوسف الأصبهاني أنبأنا أبو بكر أحمد بن سعيد بن فرضخ الأخميمي بمكة حدثنا الوليد بن حماد حدثنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن الفضل بن عاصم ابن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الأنصاري حدثني أبي الفضل عن أبيه عاصم عن أبيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أنزل اللّه جبريل عليه السلام في أحسن ما كان يأتيني في صورة فقال إن اللّه يقرئك السلام يا محمد ويقول لك إني قد أوحيت إلى الدنيا أن تمرري وتكدري وضيقي وتشددي على أوليائي كي يحبوا لقائي وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لأعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي فإني قد خلقتها سجناً لأوليائي وجنة لأعدائي، قال البيهقي لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا الإسناد وفيهم مجاهيل.

٦٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن واثلة بن الأسقع قال أتى النبي ﷺ جل من أهل اليمن أكشف أحول أوقص أحنف أصمع أعسر أرسح سج فقال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني بما فرض اللّه عليَّ فلما أخبره قال إني اشهد اللّه أن لا أزيد على فريضته قال ولم ذاك قال لأنه خلقني فشوه لقي ثم أدبر فأتاه جبريل فقال يا محمد اين العاتب إنه عاتب رباً كريماً عتبه قال قل له ألا يرضى أن يبعثه اللّه في صورة جبريل يوم القيامة ال له، فقال بلى يا رسول اللّه فإني أعاهد اللّه أن لا يقوى جسدي ى شيء من مرضاة اللّه إلّا عملته، فيه العلاء بن كثير قال البخاري كر الحديث.

٧٠ - (وأخرج) وأبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير في قوله إلّا من

٦٨ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤٥٢١ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه الاّ [وتسهلي وتوسعي ليعي لإعدائي] وعزاه للبيهقي عن قتادة بن النعمان وقال، لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا ناد، وفيه مجاهيل. وانظر كنز العمال ٦١١٠ نحوه.

ارتضى من رسول فإنه يسلك من بين يديه ومن خلفه رصداً قال ما نزل جبريل بشيء من الوحي إلا ومعه أربعة حفظة من الملائكة.

٧١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني بسند رجاله ثقات عن أم سلمة أن النبي ﷺ قال إن في السماء ملكين أحدهما يأمر بالشدة والآخر يأمر باللين وكل مصيب جبريل وميكائل، ونبيان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر يأمر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر إبراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر أبا بكر وعمر.

(وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود قال جاء جبريل إلى النبي ﷺ فقال يا جبريل إني لأحسب أن لي عندك منزلة قال أجل والذي بعثك بالحق ما بعثت إلى نبي قط أحب إليَّ منك قال فإني أحب أن تعلمني منزلتي هناك قال إن قدرت على ذلك قال والذي بعثك بالحق لقد دنوت فيها من ربي دنواً ما دنوت مثله قط وإن كان قدر دنوي منه مسيرة خمسمائة سنة وإن أقرب الخلق من اللّه عز وجل إسرافيل وإن قدر دنوه منه مسيرة سبعين سنة فيهن سبعون نوراً إن أدناها ليغشى بالأبصار فكيف لي بالعلم فيما وراء ذلك ولكن يعرض لي بلوح ثم يدعونا فيبعثنا.

٧٣ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن رباح قال حدثت أن النبي ﷺ قال لجبريل لم تأتني إلّا وأنت صارٌّ بين عينيك قال إني لم أضحك منذ خلقت النار.

٧١ - مجمع الزوائد ٥١/٩ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه وعزاه للطبراني ورجاله ثقات. وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٤/١ نحوه.

٧٣ - الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لإحمد في الزهد عن رباح رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٢٧.

٧٤ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول
له ﷺ ﴿ونفخ في الصور فصعق من في السماوات ومن في الأرض إلّا ما
اء اللّه﴾ قالوا يا رسول اللّه من هؤلاء الذين استثنى اللّه عز وجل قال
بريل وميكائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل وحملة العرش فإذا قبض اللّه
واح الخلائق قال لملك الموت من بقي فيقول سبحانك ربي وتعاليت ذا
علال والإكرام بقي جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ
س إسرافيل فيأخذ نفس إسرافيل فيقول اللّه لملك الموت من بقي
قول سبحانك تباركت ربي وتعاليت ذا الجلال والإكرام بقي جبريل
يكائيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ نفس ميكائيل فيأخذ نفس ميكائيل
نع كالطود العظيم فيقول يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول جبريل: ملك
ت فيقول مت يا ملك الموت فيموت فيقول يا جبريل من بقي فيقول
ي وجهك الدائم الباقي وجبريل الميت الفاني قال لا بد من موته فيقع
جداً يخفق بجناحيه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن فضل خلقه على خلق
كائيل كالطود العظيم.

٧٥ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أنس رفعه في
ه ﴿ونفخ في الصور﴾ الآية قال فكان ممن استثنى اللّه عز وجل ثلاثة
ريل وميكائيل وملك الموت فيقول اللّه وهو أعلم يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل وميكائيل وملك
ت فيقول توف نفس ميكائيل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي وعبدك جبريل وملك الموت فيقول توف
س جبريل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول بقي
هك الباقي الكريم وعبدك ملك الموت وهو ميت فيقول مت ثم
ي أنا بدأت الخلق ثم أعيده.

٧٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عطاء بن السائب قال أول من

يحاسب جبريل لأنه كان أمين اللّه إلى رسله.

٧٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة قال صاحب الموازين يوم القيامة جبريل عليه السلام.

ما جاء في ميكائيل عليه السلام

٧٨ - (أخرج) ابن المنذر عن عكرمة قال جبريل اسمه عبد اللّه وميكائيل اسمه عبيد اللّه.

٧٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد وأبو الشيخ عن أنس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال لجبريل مالي لم أر ميكائيل ضاحكاً قط قال ما ضحك ميكائيل منذ خلقت النار.

٨٠ - (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي في نوادر الأصول عن زيد بن رفيع قال دخل على رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل وميكائيل وهو يستاك فناول رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل السواك فقال جبريل كبّر قال الحكيم أي ناول ميكائيل فإنه أكبر.

٨١ - (وأخرج) الحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ وزيراي من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل ومن أهل الأرض أبو بكر وعمر.

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٧٩ - مسند أحمد ٣/٢٢٤ ورواه بلفظه.
وانظر الشريعة للآجري ص ٣٩٥. / الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٦٩.

٨١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي للحاكم عن أبي سعيد رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٦٧٩ و ٣٦١٤٨. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٢٨٦ و ٤٧٤.

٨٢ - (وأخرج) البزار والطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن اللّه أيدني بأربعة وزراء اثنين من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل واثنين من أهل الأرض أبي بكر وعمر.

٨٣ - (وأخرج) الديلمي من طريق السرى بن عبد اللّه السلمي عن عبد الحميد بن كنانة عن أبي أمامة عن علي ابن أبي طالب رفعه: مؤذن أهل السماوات جبريل وإمامهم ميكائيل يؤم بهم عند البيت المعمور فتجتمع ملائكة السماوات فيطوفون بالبيت المعمور وتصلي وتستغفر فيجعل اللّه ثوابهم واستغفارهم وتسبيحهم لأمة محمد ﷺ.

٨٤ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو عبد اللّه الأديب مشافهة بأصبهان عن أبي طاهر ابن أبي نصر التاجر أن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن إسحاق بن منده أخبره قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو عبد اللّه الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين الدينوري قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو القاسم عبد اللّه بن إبراهيم الجرجاني قال أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو الحسن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن القاسم بن الحسن بن

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٨٢ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٤٧٣ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه للخطيب، وابن عساكر وقالا تفرد بروايته محمد بن (نجيب) عن وهيب عن عطا.

وانظر جمع الجوامع ٤٧٢٣. / كنز العمال ٣٢٦٥٨، ٢٦١١٩.

تاريخ بغداد ٣/٢٩٨. / مجمع الزوائد ٩/٥١. / الدر المنثور ١/٩٤.

الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢٩٢. / حلية الأولياء ٨/١٩٠.

٨٤ - الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠ وذكر الحديث بسنده الطويل، وقال السيوطي: قال أبو نعيم: صحيح ثابت.

وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩. / كنز العمال رقم ٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨. / حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤. / لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦.

زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أحمد بن عبد اللّه الشعبي البغدادي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني الحسن بن علي العسكري قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي الحسين بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني محمد رسول اللّه ﷺ وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني إسرافيل عن اللوح المحفوظ أنه يقول اللّه تبارك وتعالى شارب الخمر كعابد وثن، قال الحافظ ابن حجر في لسان الميزان هذا المتن بالسند المذكور إلى علي بن موسى أخرجه أبو نعيم في الحلية بسند له فيه من لا يعرف حاله إلى الحسن العسكري أيضاً لكن لم يذكر فيه إلاّ جبريل قال يا محمد إن مدمن الخبر كعابد وثن. والمتن أورده ابن حبان في صحيحه من حديث ابن عباس.

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٨٥ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال خلق اللّه تعالى الصور لؤلؤة بيضاء في صفاء الزجاج ثم قال للعرش خذ الصور فتعلق به ثم قال كن فكان إسرافيل فأمره أن يأخذ الصور فأخذه وبه ثقب بعدد كل روح مخلوقة ونفس منفوسة لا تخرج روحان من ثقب واحدة وفي وسط الصور كوة كاستدارة السماء والأرض وإسرافيل واضع فمه على تلك الكوة ثم قال له الرب قد وكلتك بالصور فأنت للنفخة وللصيحة فدخل إسرافيل في مقدم العرش فأدخل رجله اليمنى تحت العرش وقدم اليسرى

ولم يطرف منذ خلقه اللّه لينتظر ما يؤمر به.

٨٦ - (وأخرج) الترمذي وحسنه والحاكم والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ كيف أنعم وصاحب الصور قد التقم القرن وحنى جبهته وأصغى سمعه ينتظر متى يؤمر به فينفخ قالوا فما نقول يا رسول اللّه قال قولوا حسبنا اللّه ونعم الوكيل على اللّه توكلنا.

٨٧ - (وأخرج) الحاكم وصححه وأبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن طرف صاحب الصور مذ وكل به مستعد ينظر حول العرش مخافة أن يؤمر بالصيحة قبل أن يرتد إليه طرفه كأن عينيه كوكبان دريان.

٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما زال صاحبا الصور ممسكين بالصور ينتظران متى يؤمران.

٨٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٨٦ - حلية الأولياء ٥/١٠٥، ٧/١٣٠ وذكره أبو نعيم بلفظ [كيف أنعم وصاحب القرن قد التقم القرن، وأصغى بسمعه متى يؤمر فينفخ فيه] وقال غريب من حديث الثوري عن عمرو ولم نكتبه إلّا من حديث الفريابي. ورواه ابن عيينة عن عمار الدهني عن عطية / تاريخ بغداد ٣/٣٦٣. وانظر الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩.

٨٧ - الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩ ورواه الحاكم بلفظه غير «حول» فعنده (نحو) وقال هذا حديث صحيح الإسناد ولم يخرجاه..

وانظر الدرر المنثور ٣/٢٢. / جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٦٤٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٨٩٠٥.

٨٩ - الدر المنثور ١/٩١ وعزاه السيوطي لإبن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة =

اسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه واسم إسرافيل عبد الرحمن.

٩٠(وأخرج) الطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة أن رجلاً من اليهود قال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني عن ملك اللّه الذي يليه قال إن الملك الذي يليه إسرافيل ثم جبريل ثم ميكائيل ثم ملك الموت عليهم السلام.

٩١ - (وأخرج) أحمد والحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إسرافيل صاحب الصور وجبريل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن يساره.

٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي بكر الهذلي قال ليس شيء من الخلق أقرب إلى اللّه من إسرافيل وبينه وبين اللّه سبعة حجب وله جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وجناح في الأرض السابعة وجناح عند رأسه. وهو واضع رأسه بين جناحيه فإذا أمر اللّه بالأمر تدلت الألواح على إسرافيل بما فيها من أمر اللّه فينظر فيها إسرافيل ثم ينادي جبريل فيجيبه فلا يسمع صوته أحد من الملائكة إلّا صعق فإذا أفاقوا قالوا ماذا قال ربكم قالوا الحق وهو العلي الكبير وإن ملك الصور الذي وكل به إن إحدى قدميه لفي الأرض السابعة وهو جاث على ركبتيه شاخص بصره إلى إسرافيل ما طرف منذ خلقه اللّه ينظر متى يشير إليه فينفخ في الصور.

٩٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي زمنين في السنّة عن كعب قال إن أقرب

= عن علي بن حسين وزاد عليه [وكل شيء راجع إلى «إيل» فهو معبد للّه عز وجل].

٩١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي لسعيد بن منصور وأحمد وابن أبي داود في المصاحف وأبي الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم وصححه، وابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري.

الملائكة إلى اللّه إسرافيل وله أربعة أجنحة جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وقد تسرول بالثالث والرابع بينه وبين اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي أمراً جاء اللوح المحفوظ حتى يصفق جبهة إسرافيل فيرفع رأسه فينظر فإذا الأمر مكتوب فينادي جبريل فيلبيه فيقول أمرت بكذا أمرت بكذا فلا يهبط جبريل من سماء إلى سماء إلّا فزع أهلها خافة الساعة حتى يقول جبريل الحق من عند الحق فيهبط على النبي فيوحي إليه.

٩٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب فقالت يا كعب حدثنا عن إسرافيل قال هو ملك اللّه ليس لدنه شيء جناح له بالمشرق وجناح له بالمغرب وجناح على كاهله والعرش على كاهله فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت النبي ﷺ قال كعب واللوح على جبهته فإذا أراد اللّه أمراً أثبته في اللوح.

٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث أن كعباً قال لعائشة هل سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول في إسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول: له أربعة أجنحة منها جناحان أحدهما بالمشرق والآخر بالمغرب واللوح بين عينيه فإذا أراد اللّه أن يكتب الوحي يقرين جبهته.

٩٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه من الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا.

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٩٦ - حلية الأولياء ٦/٦٦ وذكره أبو نعيم، وقال تفرد به إسماعيل بن عياش الأحوص عن شهر بن حوشب عن ابن عباس، ورواه عبد الجليل بن عطية عن شهر عن عبد اللّه بن سلام. - الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٧.

٩٧ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن المطلب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال قلت لجبريل يا جبريل مالي لا أرى إسرافيل يضحك ولم يأتني أحد من الملائكة إلّا رأيته يضحك قال جبريل ما رأينا ذلك الملك ضاحكاً منذ خلقت النار.

٩٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال سمع النبي ﷺ هدّة فقال يا جبريل أقامت الساعة قال لا هذا إسرافيل هبط إلى الأرض.

٩٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب الحبر فذكر إسرافيل فقالت عائشة أخبرني عن إسرافيل فقال كعب عندكم العلم قالت أجل فأخبرني قال: له أربعة أجنحة جناحان في الهواء وجناح قد تسربل به وجناح على كاهله والقلم على أذنه فإذا نزل الوحي كتب القلم ثم درست الملائكة وملك الصور أسفل منه جاث على إحدى ركبتيه وقد نصب الأخرى فالتقم الصور محني ظهره وطرفه إلى إسرافيل وقد أمر إذا رأى إسرافيل قد ضم جناحيه أن ينفخ في الصور فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ.

١٠٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال إذا سبح إسرافيل قطع على كل ملك في السماء صلاته استماعاً له.

١٠١ - (وأخرج) عنه أيضاً قال ليس أحد من خلق اللّه أحسن صوتاً من إسرافيل فإذا أخذ في التسبيح قطع على أهل سبع سماوات صلاتهم وتسبيحهم.

١٠٢ (وأخرج) من طريق الليث حدثني خالد عن سعيد قال بلغنا أن إسرافيل مؤذن أهل السماء فيؤذن لاثنتي عشرة ساعة من النهار ولاثنتي عشرة ساعة من الليل لكل ساعة تأذين يسمع تأذينه من في السماوات

لسبع ومن في الأرضين السبع إلاّ الجن والإنس ثم يتقدم منهم عظيم لملائكة فيصلي بهم، قال وبلغنا أن ميكائيل يؤم الملائكة في البيت لمعمور.

١٠٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن أبي جبلة بسنده ال أول من يدعى يوم القيامة إسرافيل فيقول اللّه هل بلغت عهدي يقول نعم يا رب قد بلغته جبريل فيدعى جبريل فيقال هل بلغك سرافيل عهدي فيقول نعم فيخلى عن إسرافيل فيقول لجبريل ما صنعت في عهدي فيقول يارب بلغت الرسل فيدعى الرسل فيقال لهم ل بلغكم جبريل عهدي فيقولون نعم فيخلى عن جبريل.

١٠٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سنان قال أقرب الخلق من للّه اللوح وهو معلق بالعرش فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي بشيء كتب في لوح فيجيء اللوح حتى يقرع جبهة إسرافيل وإسرافيل قد غطى رأسه جناحه لا يرفع بصره إعظاماً للّه فينظر فيه فإن كان إلى أهل السماء دفعه لى ميكائيل وإن كان إلى أهل الأرض دفعه إلى جبريل فأول ما يحاسب وم القيامة اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم يقال من يشهد لك فيقول إسرافيل فيدعى إسرافيل ترعد فرائصه فيقال ، هل بلغك اللوح فإذا قال نعم قال اللوح الحمد للّه الذي نجاني من سوء الحساب ثم كذلك.

١٠٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ضمرة قال بلغني ن أول من سجد لآدم عليه السلام إسرافيل فأثابه اللّه أن كتب القرآن ، جبهته.

١٠٦ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط والبيهقي في الأسماء الصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو قال جاء فِئام[1] من الناس إلى رسول

) بكسر الفاء أي جماعة.

اللّه ﷺ فقالوا يا رسول اللّه زعم أبو بكر أن الحسنات من اللّه والسيئات من العباد وقال عمر الحسنات والسيئات من اللّه فتابع هذا قوم وهذا قوم فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ لأقضين بينكما بقضاء إسرافيل بين جبريل وميكائيل إن ميكائيل قال بقول أبي بكر وقال جبريل بقول عمر فقال جبريل لميكائيل إنا متى يختلف أهل السماء يختلف أهل الأرض فلنتحاكم إلى إسرافيل فتحاكما إليه فقضى بينهما بحقيقة القدر خيره وشره وحلوه ومره كله من اللّه ثم قال يا أبا بكر إن اللّه لو أراد أن لا يعصى لم يخلق إبليس فقال أبو بكر صدق اللّه ورسوله.

ما جاء في ملك الموت عليه السلام

١٠٧ - (أخرج) سعيد بن منصور وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن أبي هريرة قال لما أراد اللّه عز وجل ان يخلق آدم بعث ملكاً من حملة العرش يأتي بتراب من الأرض فلما هوى ليأخذ قالت الأرض أسألك بالذي أرسلك أن لا تأخذ مني اليوم شيئاً يكون للنار منه نصيب غداً فتركها فلما رفع إلى ربه قال ما منعك أن تأتي بما أمرتك قال سألتني بك فعظمت أن أرد شيئاً سألني بك فأرسل لها آخر فقال مثل ذلك حتى أرسلهم كلهم فأرسل ملك الموت فقالت له مثل ذلك فقال إن الذي أرسلني أحق بالطاعة منك فأخذ من وجه الأرض كلها من طيبها وخبيثها فجاء به إلى ربه فصب عليه من ماء الجنة فصار حماً مسنوناً فخلق منه آدم.

١٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات وابن عساكر من طريق السدي عن أبي مالك وعن أبي صالح عن ابن عباس وعن مرة عن ابن مسعود وناس من الصحابة قالوا بعث اللّه جبريل إلى الأرض ليأتيه بطين منها فقالت الأرض أعوذ باللّه منك أن تنقص مني

فرجع ولم يأخذ شيئاً وقال يا رب إنها عاذت بك فأعذتها فبعث ميكائيل كذلك فبعث ملك الموت فعاذت منه فقال وأنا أعوذ بالله أن أرجع ولم أنفذ أمره فأخذ من وجه الأرض.

١٠٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت قال قال رسول الله ﷺ لو رأيتم الأجل ومسيره لأبغضتم الأمل وغروره وما من أهل بيت إلّا وملك الموت يتعاهدهم في كل يوم مرتين فمن وجده قد انقضى أجله قبض روحه فإذا بكى أهله وجزعوا قال لم تبكون ولم تجزعون فوالله ما نقصت لكم عمراً ولا حبست لكم رزقاً ما لي ذنب وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي منكم أحداً.

١١٠ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال ما على ظهر الأرض من بيت شعر ولا مدر إلّا وملك الموت يطوف به كل يوم مرتين.

١١١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف وعبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن عبد الأعلى التميمي قال ما من أهل دار إلّا وملك الموت يتصفحهم في اليوم مرتين.

١١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت وأبو الشيخ عن الحسن قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يتصفح في كل بيت ثلاث مرات فمن وجده منهم قد استوفى رزقه وانقضى أجله قبض روحه وأقبل أهله برنة وبكاء فيأخذ ملك الموت بعضادتي الباب فيقول ما لي إليكم من ذنب وإني لمأمور والله ما أكلت لكم رزقاً ولا أفنيت لكم عمراً ولا انتقصت لكم أجلاً وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي

١٠٩ - عن كنز العمال رقم ٤٢١٣٣ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت رضي الله عنه.

منكم أحداً قال الحسن فوالله لو يرون مقامه ويسمعون كلامه لذهلوا عن ميتهم ولبكوا على أنفسهم.

١١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن زيد بن أسلم قال يتصفح ملك الموت المنازل كل يوم خمس مرات ويطلع في وجه ابن آدم كل يوم اطلاعه قال فمنها الذعرة التي تصيب الناس يعني القشعريرة والانتفاض.

١١٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عكرمة قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يطلع في كتاب حياة الناس؛ قائل يقول ثلاثاً وقائل يقول خمساً.

١١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن كعب قال ما من بيت فيه أحد إلّا وملك الموت على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات ينظر هل فيه أحد أمر به يتوفاه.

١١٦ - (وأخرج) سعيد بن منصور وأحمد في الزهد عن عطاء بن يسار قال ما من أهل بيت إلّا يتصفحهم ملك الموت في كل يوم خمس مرات هل منهم أحد أمر بقبضه.

١١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن ثابت البناني قال الليل والنهار أربع وعشرون ساعة ليس فيها ساعة تأتي على ذي روح إلّا وملك الموت قائم عليها فإن أمر بقبضها قبضها وإلّا ذهب.

١١٨ - (وأخرج) ابن النجار في تاريخه عن أنس مرفوعاً إن ملك الموت لينظر في وجوه العباد كل يوم سبعين نظرة فإذا ضحك العبد الذي بعث إليه يقول يا عجباً بعثت إليه لأقبض روحه وهو يضحك.

١١٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الكبير وأبو نعيم وابن منده كلاهما في المعرفة من طريق جعفر بن محمد عن أبيه عن الحارث بن الخزرج قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول - ونظر إلى ملك الموت عند رأس رجل من الأنصار - فقال يا ملك الموت ارفق بصاحبي فإنه مؤمن فقال ملك الموت طب نفساً وقر عيناً فإني بكل مؤمن رفيق واعلم يا محمد أني لأقبض روح ابن آدم فإذا صرخ صارخ قمت في الدار ومعي روحه فقلت ما هذا الصارخ والله ما ظلمناه ولا سبقنا أجله ولا استعجلنا قدره وما لنا في قبضه من ذنب فإن ترضوا بما صنع الله تؤجروا وإن تسخطوا تأثموا وتوزروا وإن لنا عندكم عودة ثم عودة بعد عودة فالحذر الحذر وما من أهل بيت شعر ولا مدر بر ولا فاجر سهل ولا جبل إلّا أنا اصفحهم في كل يوم وليلة حتى لأنا أعرف بصغيرهم وكبيرهم منهم بأنفسهم والله لو أردت أن أقبض روح بعوضة ما قدرت على ذلك حتى يكون الله هو يأذن بقبضها. قال جعفر بن محمد **بلغني إنما يتصفحهم عند** مواقيت الصلاة فإذا حضر عند الموت فإن كان **ممن يحافظ على الصلوات** دنا منه الملك وطرد عنه الشيطان ويلقنه الملك **لا إله إلّا الله محمد رسول** الله في ذلك الحال العظيم.

١٢٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب ذكر الموت عن عبيد بن عمير قال بينما إبراهيم عليه السلام يوماً في داره إذ دخل عليه رجل حسن الشارة فقال يا عبد الله من أدخلك داري قال أدخلنيها ربها

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١١٩ - الطبراني في الكبير ٤/٢٦١ ورواه الطبراني بزيادة في الألفاظ والحديث عنده عن الحارث بن الخزرج عن أبيه.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٦/٣٦٣. / مجمع الزوائد ٢/٣٢٦.

الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٨٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٤٢٨١٠. / الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣.

قال ربها أحق بها فمن أنت قال ملك الموت قال لقد نعت لي منك أشياء ما أراها فيك قال أدبر فأدبر فإذا عيون مقبلة وعيون مدبرة وإذا كل شعرة منه كأنها إنسان قائم فتعوذ إبراهيم من ذلك وقال عد إلى الصورة الأولى قال يا إبراهيم إن الله إذا بعثني إلى من يحب لقاءه بعثني في الصورة التي رأيت أولاً.

١٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن كعب قال إن إبراهيم عليه السلام رأى في بيته رجلاً فقال من أنت قال أنا ملك الموت قال إبراهيم إن كنت صادقاً فأرني منك آية أعرف أنك ملك الموت قال ملك الموت أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها المؤمنين فرأى من النور والبهاء شيئاً لا يعلمه إلّا الله تعالى ثم قال أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها الكفار والفجار فرعب إبراهيم رعباً حتى أرعدت فرائصه وألصق بطنه بالأرض وكادت نفسه تخرج.

١٢٢ - (وأخرج) عن ابن مسعود وابن عباس قالا لما اتخذ الله تعالى إبراهيم خليلاً سأل ملك الموت ربه أن يأذن له فيبشره بذلك فأذن له فجاء إبراهيم فبشره بذلك فقال الحمد لله ثم قال يا ملك الموت أرني كيف تقبض أنفاس الكفار قال يا إبراهيم لا تطيق ذلك قال بلى قال فأعرض، فأعرض ثم نظر فإذا برجل أسود ينال رأسه السماء يخرج من فيه لهب النار ليس من شعرة في جسده إلّا في صورة رجل يخرج من فيه ومناخره لهب النار فغشي على إبراهيم ثم أفاق وقد تحول ملك الموت في الصورة الأولى فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم يلق الكافر من البلاء والحزن إلّا صورتك لكفاه فأرني كيف تقبض أنفاس المؤمنين قال أعرض فأعرض ثم التفت فإذا هو برجل شاب أحسن الناس وجهاً وأطيبهم ريحاً في ثياب بيضاء فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم ير المؤمن عند موته من قرة العين

والكرامة إلّا صورتك هذه لكان يكفيه.

١٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن أشعث بن أسلم قال سأل إبراهيم عليه السلام ملك الموت واسمه عزرائيل وله عينان في وجهه وعينان في قفاه فقال يا ملك الموت ما تصنع إذا كانت نفس بالمشرق ونفس بالمغرب ووقع الوباء بأرض والتقى الزحفان كيف تصنع قال أدعو الأرواح بإذن الله فتكون بين أصبعي هاتين قال ودحيت له الأرض فتركت مثل الطست يتناول منها حيث يشاء.

١٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم أن يعقوب عليه السلام قال يا ملك الموت ما من نفس منفوسة إلّا وأنت تقبض روحها قال نعم قال فكيف وأنت عندي ها هنا والأنفس في أطراف الأرض قال إن الله يخر لي الدنيا فهي كالطست يوضع قدام أحدكم فيتناول أنا من أطرافها شاء، كذلك الدنيا عندي.

١٢٥ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن الحسن قال جعلت الأرض لملك الموت مثل الطست يتناول من حيث شاء وجعل له أعوان يتوفون الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم.

١٢٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس أنه سئل عن ملك الموت هل هو وحده الذي يقبض الأرواح قال هو الذي يلي أمر الأرواح وله أعوان على ذلك غير أن ملك الموت هو الرئيس وكل خطوة منه من المشرق إلى المغرب.

١٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن ابن عباس في قوله تعالى ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾

قال أعوان ملك الموت من الملائكة.

١٢٨ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن إبراهيم النخعي في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال الملائكة تقبض الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم ملك الموت بعد.

١٢٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال إن ملك الموت له رسل فيلي قبضها الرسل ثم يدفعوها إلى ملك الموت.

١٣٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن وهب بن منبه قال إن الملائكة الذين يقرنون بالناس هم الذين يتوفونهم ويكتبون لهم آجالهم فإذا توفوا النفس دفعوها إلى ملك الموت وهو كالعاقب يعني العشار الذي يؤدي إليه من تحته.

١٣١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن شهر بن حوشب قال: ملك الموت جالس والدنيا بين ركبتيه واللوح الذي في آجال بني آدم في يديه وبين يديه ملائكة قيام وهو يعرض اللوح لا يطرف فإذا أتى على أجل عبد قال اقبضوا هذا.

١٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أنه سئل عن نفسين اتفق موتهما في طرفة عين واحد في المشرق وآخر بالمغرب كيف قدر ملك الموت عليهما قال ما قدرة ملك الموت على أهل المشارق والمغارب والظلمات والهواء والبحور إلّا كرجل بين يديه مائدة يتناول من أيها شاء.

١٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال قيل يا رسول الله ملك الموت واحد والزحفان يلتقيان بين المشرق والمغرب وما بين ذلك من السقط والهلاك فقال إن الله عز وجل قوى ملك الموت

حتى جعلها كالطست بين يدي أحدكم فهل يفوته منها شيء.

١٣٤ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال ملك الموت الذي يتوفى الأنفس كلها وقد سلط على ما في الأرض كما سلط أحدكم على ما في راحته ومعه ملائكة من ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب فإذا توفى نفساً طيبة دفعها إلى ملائكة الرحمة وإذا توفى نفساً خبيثة دفعها إلى ملائكة العذاب.

١٣٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي المثنى الحمصي قال إن الدنيا سهلها وجبلها بين فخذي ملك الموت ومعه ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب فيقبض الأرواح فيعطي هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب قيل فإذا كانت ملحمة وكان السيف مثل البرق قال يدعوها فتأتيه الأنفس.

١٣٦ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن أبي قيس الأزدي قال قيل لملك الموت كيف تقبض الأرواح قال أدعوها فتجيئني.

١٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال أتى ملك الموت سليمان بن داود وكان له صديقاً فقال له سليمان ما لك تأتي أهل البيت فتقبضهم جميعاً وتدع أهل البيت إلى جنبهم لا تقبض منهم أحداً قال لا أعلم بما أقبض منها إنما أكون تحت العرش فتلقى إلى صكاك فيها أسماء.

١٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن خيثمة قال قال سليمان بن داود لملك الموت إذا أردت أن تقبض روحي فأعلمني بذلك قال ما أنا أعلم بذلك منك إنما هي كتب تلقى إليّ فيها تسمية من يموت.

١٣٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد وابن أبي الدنيا عن معمر قال بلغنا أن ملك الموت لا يعلم متى يحضر أجل الإنسان حتى يؤمر بقبضها.

١٤٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن جرير قال بلغنا أنه يقال لملك الموت اقبض فلاناً في وقت كذا في يوم كذا.

١٤١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وهو الذي يتوفاكم بالليل﴾ قال يتوفى الأنفس عند منامها ما من ليلة إلاّ والله يقبض الأرواح كلها فيسأل كل نفس عما عمل صاحبها من النهار ثم يدعو ملك الموت فيقول إقبض هذا إقبض هذا.

١٤٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن عطاء بن يسار قال إذا كانت ليلة النصف من شعبان دفع إلى ملك الموت صحيفة فيقال إقبض من في هذه الصحيفة فإن العبد ليفرش الفراش وينكح الأزواج ويبني البنيان وإن اسمه قد نسخ في الموتى.

١٤٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن عمر مولى غفرة قال ينسخ لملك الموت من يموت ليلة القدر إلى مثلها فتجد الرجل ينكح النساء ويغرس الغرس واسمه في الأموات.

١٤٤ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعيد أن النبي ﷺ قال في ليلة النصف من شعبان يوحي الله إلى ملك الموت بقبض كل نفس يريد قبضها في تلك السنة.

١٤٥ - (وأخرج) الخطيب وابن النجار عن عائشة قالت كان رسول الله ﷺ يصوم شعبان كله حتى يصله برمضان ولم يكن يصوم شهراً تاماً إلاّ شعبان فقلت يا رسول الله إن شعبان لمن أحب الشهور

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١٤٤ - كنز العمال رقم ٣٥١٧٦ وعزاه السيوطي للدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعد مرسلاً. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢٨٢/١٠.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٢٦/٦

ليك أن تصومه قال نعم يا عائشة إنه يكتب فيه لملك الموت من يقبض تحب أن لا ينسخ اسمي إلاّ وأنا صائم.

١٤٦ - (وأخرج) أحمد والبزار والحاكم وصححه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال إن ملك الموت كان يأتي الناس عياناً فأتى موسى فلطمه ففقأ عينه فأتى ربه فقال يا رب عبدك موسى فقأ عيني ولولا كرامته عليك لشققت عليه قال له إذهب إلى عبدي فقل له فليضع يده على جلد ثور فله بكل شعرة وارت يده سنة فأتاه فقال ما بعد هذا قال الموت قال فالآن فشمه شمة فقبض روحه ورد الله عليه عينه فكان بعد يأتي الناس في خفية.

١٤٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم عن الأعمش قال كان ملك الموت يظهر للناس فيأتي الرجل فيقول إقض حاجتك فإني أريد أن أقبض روحك فشكا فأنزل الداء وجعل الموت خفية.

١٤٨ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي الشعثاء جابر بن زيد أن ملك الموت كان يقبض الأرواح بغير وجع فسبه الناس ولعنوه فشكى إلى ربه فوضع اللّه الأوجاع ونسي ملك الموت يقال مات فلان بكذا وكذا.

١٤٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس أن ملكاً استأذن ربه أن يهبط إلى إدريس فأتاه فسلم عليه فقال له إدريس هل بينك وبين

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١٤٦ - الحاكم ٢/٥٧٨ ورواه الحاكم بنحوه، وقال هذا حديث صحيح على شرط مسلم ولم يخرجاه.
/ جمع الجوامع رقم ٧١٠٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٨٣. / الأتحافات السنية ص ١٧٨.

ملك الموت شيء قال ذاك أخي من الملائكة قال هل تستطيع أن تنفعني عنده بشيء قال أما أن يؤخر شيئاً أو يقدمه فلا، ولكن سأكلمه لك فيرفق بك عند الموت قال إركب بين جناحي فركب إدريس فصعد إلى السماء العليا فلقي ملك الموت وإدريس بين جناحيه فقال له الملك إن لي إليك حاجة قال قد علمت حاجتك تكلمني في إدريس وقد محى اسمه ولم يبق من أجله إلاّ نصف طرفة عين فمات إدريس بين جناحي الملك.

١٥٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن محمد بن المنكدر أن ملك الموت قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام إن ربك أمرني أن أقبض نفسك بأيسر ما قبضت نفس مؤمن قال فإني أسألك بحق الذي أرسلك أن تراجعه فيَّ فقال إن خليلك سأل أن أراجعك فيه فقال ائته وقل له إن ربك يقول إن الخليل يحب لقاء خليله فأتاه فقال امض لما أمرت به قال يا إبراهيم هل شربت شراباً قال لا فاستنكهه قبض نفسه على ذلك.

١٥١ - (وأخرج) أحمد عن أبي هريرة أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال كان داود عليه السلام فيه غيرة شديدة فكان إذا خرج أغلقت الأبواب فلم يدخل على أهله أحد حتى يرجع فخرج ذات يوم ورجع فإذا في الدار رجل قائم فقال له من أنت قال أنا الذي لا أهاب الملوك ولا يمنع مني الحجاب قال داود أنت إذاً واللّه ملك الموت مرحباً بأمر اللّه فزمل داود مكانه فقبضت نفسه.

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١٥١ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/٢٠٦ ذكره الهيثمي وله زيادة طويلة، وعزاه لأحمد وفيه المطلب بن عبد اللّه بن حنطب وثقه أبو زرعة وغيره، وبقية رجاله رجال الصحيح.
وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٢٧. / تفسير ابن كثير ٦/١٩.

١٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن ماجه عن أبي أمامة سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن الله عز وجل وكّل ملك الموت بقبض الأرواح إلاّ شهداء البحر فإنه يتولى قبض أرواحهم.

١٥٣ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال: وكل ملك الموت بقبض أرواح الآدميين فهو الذي يلي قبض أرواحهم وملك في الجن وملك في الشياطين وملك في الطير والوحش والسباع والحيتان والنمل فهم أربعة أملاك والملائكة يموتون في الصعقة الأولى وإن ملك الموت يلي قبض أرواحهم ثم يموت فأما الشهداء في البحر فإن الله يلي قبض أرواحهم لا يوكل ذلك إلى ملك الموت لكرامتهم عليه حيث ركبوا لجج البحر في سبيله.

١٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال بلغني أن آخر من يموت ملك الموت يقال له يا ملك الموت مت فيصرخ عند ذلك صرخة لو سمعها أهل السماوات والأرض لماتوا فزعاً ثم يموت.

١٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن زياد النميري قال قرأت في بعض الكتب أن الموت أشد على ملك الموت منه على جميع الخلق.

١٥٦ - (وأخرج) العقيلي في الضعفاء وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والديلمي عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ آجال البهائم وخشاش

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١٥٢ - ابن ماجه رقم ٢٧٧٨ ورواه بزيادته عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣. / إرواء الغليل ٥/١٧.

١٥٦ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤, ٥ وعزاه السيوطي للعقيلي في الضعفاء وقال: لا أصل له وأورده ابن الجوزي في الموضوعات، وفي اللالىء المصنوعة: «موضوع والمتهم به الوليد (بن موسى الدمشقي) قال العقيلي أحاديثه بواطل».

الأرض كلها في التسبيح فإذا انقضى تسبيحها قبض الله أرواحها وليس إلى ملك الموت من ذلك شيء.

١٥٧ - (وأخرج) الخطيب في رواة مالك عن سليمان بن معمر الكلابي قال حضرت مالك بن أنس وسأله رجل عن البراغيث أملك الموت يقبض أرواحها فأطرق طويلاً ثم قال: ألها نفس قال نعم قال فإن ملك الموت يقبض أرواحها الله يتوفى الأنفس حين موتها.

١٥٨ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن معاذ ابن جبل قال إن لملك الموت حربة تبلغ ما بين المشرق والمغرب فإذا انقضى أجل عبد من الدنيا ضرب رأسه بتلك الحربة وقال الآن يزار بك عسكر الموت.

١٥٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن بن عباس مرفوعاً إن لملك الموت حربة مسمومة طرف لها بالمشرق وطرف لها بالمغرب يقطع بها عرق الحياة.

١٦٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال: ملك الموت جالس على معراج بين السماء والأرض وله رسول من الملائكة فإذا كانت النفس في ثغرة النحر رأى ملك الموت على معراجه شخص بصره إليه فنظره آخر ما يموت.

١٦١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم بن أبان قال سئل عكرمة أيبصر الأعمى ملك الموت إذا جاء يقبض روحه قال نعم.

وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٩٢١. / الدر المنثور ٢/٢١، ٤/١٨٤.
اللآلىء المصنوعة ٢/٢٢٥. / الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢١.

الفوائد المجموعة ص ٢٧١. / لسان الميزان ٦/٨٠٧.

١٦٢ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن مجاهد قال ما من مرض يمرضه العبد إلاّ رسول ملك الموت عنده حتى إذا كان آخر مرض يمرضه العبد أتاه ملك الموت فقال أتاك رسول بعد رسول فلم تعبأ به وقد أتاك رسول يقطع أثرك من الدنيا.

١٦٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الحسين ابن العريف في فوائده وأبو الربيع المسعودي في فوائده عن أنس بن مالك قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إذا جاء ملك الموت إلى ولي الله تعالى سلم عليه وسلامه عليه أن يقول السلام عليك يا ولي الله قم فاخرج من دارك التي خربتها إلى دارك التي عمرتها وإذا لم يكن ولياً لله قال له قم فاخرج من دارك التي عمرتها إلى دارك التي خربتها.

١٦٤ - (وأخرج) أبو القاسم ابن منده في كتاب الأهوال والإيمان بالسؤال عن ابن مسعود قال إذا أراد الله عز وجل قبض روح المؤمن أوحى إلى ملك الموت اقرئه مني السلام فإذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روحه قال ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٥ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في تفسيره عن ابن مسعود قال إذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روح المؤمن قال: ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن أبي الدنيا وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال إذا استنفقت نفس العبد المؤمن جاءه ملك الموت فقال له السلام عليك يا ولي الله، والله يقرأ عليك السلام ثم نزع بهذه الآية: ﴿الذين تتوفاهم الملائكة طيبين يقولون سلام عليكم﴾ وقال السلفي في المشيخة البغدادية سمعت أبا سعيد الحسن بن علي الواعظ يقول سمعت أبي

يقول رأيت في بعض الكتب أن الله تعالى يظهر على كف ملك الموت بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بخط من النور ثم يأمره أن يبسط كفه للعارف في وقت وفاته ويريه تلك الكتابة فإذا رأتها روح العارف طارت إليه في أسرع من طرف العين.

١٦٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن داود بن أبي هند قال بلغني أن ملك الموت كان وكّل بسليمان عليه السلام فقيل له ادخل عليه كل يوم دخلة فسله عن حاجته ثم لا تبرح حتى تقضيها فكان يدخل عليه في صورة رجل فيسأله كيف هو ثم يقول يا رسول الله ألك حاجة فإن قال نعم لم يبرح حتى يقضيها وإن قال لا انصرف عنه إلى الغد فدخل عليه يوماً وعنده شيخ فقام فسلم ثم قال ألك حاجة يا رسول الله قال لا ولحظ الشيخ لحظة فارتعد الشيخ وانصرف ملك الموت فقام الشيخ فقال لسليمان أسألك بحق الله إلاّ ما أمرت الريح فتحملني فتلقيني بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فأمرها فحملته ودخل ملك الموت على سليمان من الغد فسأله عن الشيخ فقال هبط إليّ كتابه أمس أن اقبض روحه غداً مع طلوع الفجر بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فهبطت وما أحسبه إلاّ ثم فوجدته عندك فجعلت أتعجب وأنظر إليه ما لي هم غيره فهبطت عليه اليوم مع طلوع الفجر فوجدته بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند ينتفض فقبضت روحه.

١٦٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال دخل ملك الموت إلى سليمان فجعل ينظر إلى رجل من جلسائه يديم النظر إليه فلما خرج قال الرجل من هذا قال هذا ملك الموت قال رأيته ينظر إليّ كأنه يريدني قال فما تريد قال أريد أن تحملني على الريح حتى تلقيني بالهند فدعا الريح فحمله عليها فألقته في الهند ثم أتى ملك الموت سليمان فقال إنك كنت تديم النظر إلى رجل من جلسائي قال كنت أعجب منه أمرت أن

قبضه بالهند وهو عندك.

١٦٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال جاء ملك الموت إلى نبي ﷺ في مرضه الذي قبض فيه فاستأذن ورأسه في حجر علي فقال لسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته فقال علي إرجع فإنا مشاغيل عنك قال النبي ﷺ أتدري من هذا يا أبا الحسن. هذا ملك الموت، أدخل اشداً فلما دخل قال إن ربك يقرئك السلام قال أين جبريل قال ليس و قريب مني، الآن يأتي، فخرج ملك الموت حتى نزل عليه جبريل قال له جبريل وهو قائم بالباب ما أخرجك يا ملك الموت قال التمسك حمد فلما أن جلسا قال جبريل سلام عليك يا أبا القاسم هذا وداع مني منك فبلغني أنه لم يسلم ملك الموت على أهل بيت قبل ولا يسلم على حد بعده.

١٧٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن الحسين أن جبريل هبط على لنبي ﷺ يوم موته فقال كيف تجدك قال أجدني يا جبريل مغموماً أجدني مكروباً فاستأذن ملك الموت على الباب فقال جبريل يا محمد هذا ملك الموت يستأذن عليك ما استأذن عليَّ آدمي قبلك ولا يستأذن عليَّ آدمي بعدك قال ائذن له فأذن له فأقبل حتى وقف بين يديه فقال إن لله أرسلني إليك وأمرني أن أطيعك إن أمرتني أن أقبض نفسك قبضتها إن كرهت تركتها قال وتفعل يا ملك الموت قال نعم بذلك أمرت فقال ه جبريل إن الله قد اشتاق إلى لقائك فقال رسول الله ﷺ امض لما مرت به.

١٧٠ - الطبراني في الكبير ٣/١٣٩ ورواه بنحوه.
وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ١٠/٢٩٥ و ٢٩٦. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٤٧.
/ كنز العمال رقم ١٨٨٢. / بدائع المنن رقم ١٨٢٠. / مجمع الزوائد ٣٥/٤.

١٧١ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أخبرنا يوسف بن المبارك بن الحامل الخفاف قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد أخبرني محمد بن عبد الباقي الأنصاري قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثنا القاضي أبو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن عبد الله بن المليح السجزي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن محمد الهروي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عبد السلام بن صالح وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن موسى الرضى وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني رسول الله ﷺ قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني جبريل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عزرائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله إن الله تعالى قال مدمن خمر كعابد وثن.

ما جاء في ملك القطر عليه السلام

١٧٢ - (أخرج) البغوي في معجم الصحابة والطبراني عن أنس

١٧١ - حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤ وذكره الأصبهاني، وقال هذا حديث صحيح ثابت رواته العترة الطيبة ولم نكتبه على هذا الشرط بالشهادة بالله ولله إلاّ عن هذا الشيخ.
وانظر لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨.
وانظر الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠. وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩.

حاتم والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس قال السماء الدنيا موج مكفوف والثانية مرمرة بيضاء والثالثة حديد والرابعة نحاس والخامسة فضة والسادسة ذهب والسابعة ياقوتة حمراء وما فوق ذلك صحارى من نور ولا يعلم ما فوق ذلك إلاّ اللّه تعالى وملك موكل بالحجب يقال له ميطا طروش.

ما جاء في حملة العرش عليهم السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية ﴾.

١٧٩ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وعثمان بن سعيد الدارمي وأبو يعلى وابن المنذر وابن خزيمة وابن مردويه والحاكم وصححه في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن العباس بن عبد المطلب في قوله ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية قال ثمانية أملاك على صورة الأوعال.

١٨٠ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد عن ابن عباس في قوله حملة العرش قرون لها كعوب ككعوب القنا ما بين أخمص أحدهم إلى كعبه مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين أرنبته إلى ترقوته مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين ترقوته إلى موضع القرط خمس مائة عام.

١٨١ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وأبو يعلى بسند صحيح عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك قد مرقت رجلاه الأرض السابعة والعرش على منكبيه وهو يقول سبحانك أين كنت وأين تكون.

١٨٢ - (وأخرج) أبو داود وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن جابر أن النبي ﷺ قال أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك من

حملة العرش رجلاه في الأرض السفلى وعلى قرنه العرش وبين شحمة أذنه وعاتقه خفقان الطير سبع مائة عام يقول ذلك الملك سبحانك حيث كنت.

١٨٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق أبي قبيل أنه سمع عبد اللّه يقول: حملة العرش ما بين موق أحدهم إلى مؤخر عينيه مسيرة خمس مائة عام.

١٨٤ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن حسان بن عطية قال حملة العرش ثمانية أقدامهم مثبتة في الأرض السابعة رؤوسهم قد جاوزت السماء السابعة وقرونهم مثل طولهم عليها العرش.

١٨٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زاذان قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في التخوم لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

١٨٦ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن هارون بن رئاب قال: حملة العرش ثمانية يتجاوبون بصوت رخيم تقول أربعة منهم: سبحانك وبحمدك على حلمك بعد علمك وأربعة، يقولون: سبحانك وبحمدك على عفوك بعد قدرتك.

١٨٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الربيع في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ من الملائكة.

١٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن زيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ يحمله اليوم أربعة ويوم القيامة ثمانية.

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١٨٨ - تفسير الطبري ٢٩/٣٧ وذكره بلفظه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٦/٢٦١. / تفسير القرطبي ١٨/٢٦٦.

١٨٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين يحملونه أربعة أملاك لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وأربعة أجنحة جناحان على وجهه يمنعانه من أن ينظر إلى العرش فيصعق وجناحان يطير بهما أقدامهم من الثرى والعرش على أكتافهم لكل واحد منهم وجه ثور ووجه أسد ووجه إنسان ووجه نسر ليس لهم كلام إلاّ أن يقولوا قدوس، اللّه القوي ملأت عظمته السماوات والأرض.

١٩٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق السدي عن ابن مالك قال الصخرة التي تحت الأرض منتهى الخلق على أرجائها أربعة أملاك لكل واحد منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه ثور وهم قيام عليها قد أحاطوا الأرض والسماوات والسماوات تحت العرش.

١٩١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش اليوم أربعة فإذا كان يوم القيامة أيدوا بأربعة أخرى ملك منهم في صورة إنسان يشفع لبني آدم في أرزاقهم وملك في صورة نسر يشفع للطير في أرزاقها وملك في صورة ثور يشفع للبهائم في أرزاقها وملك في صورة أسد يشفع للسباع في أرزاقها ولكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه نسر ووجه ثور ووجه أسد فلما حملوا العرش وقروا على ركبهم من عظمة اللّه فلقنوا لا حول ولا قوة إلاّ باللّه فاستووا قياماً على أرجلهم.

١٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن مكحول قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن في حملة العرش أربعة أملاك ملك على صورة الصور وهو ابن

١٩٢ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لأبو الشيخ عن مكحول رضي اللّه عنه.

آدم وملك على صورة سيد السباع وهو الأسد وملك على صورة الأنعام وهو الثور فما زال غضبان منذ يوم عبد العجل إلى ساعتي هذه وملك على صورة سيد الطير وهو النسر.

١٩٣ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد الدارمي والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن عروة قال حملة العرش منهم من صورته على صورة إنسان ومنهم من صورته على صورة النسر ومنهم من صورته على صورة الثور ومنهم من صورته على صورة الأسد.

١٩٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن زيد قال لم يسم من حملة العرش إلاّ إسرافيل قال وميكائيل ليس من حملة العرش.

١٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ خرج على أصحابه فقال ما جمعكم فقالوا اجتمعنا نذكر ربنا ونتفكر في عظمته فقال لن تدركوا التفكير في عظمته ألا أخبركم ببعض عظمة ربكم قالوا بلى يا رسول اللّه قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه في الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا في مثله من خليقة ربكم.

١٩٦ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إذا

١٩٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٣٢٠/١، ١٦٢/١ وذكره الزبيدي وعزاه للأصبهاني في ترتيبه وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن طريق حوشب عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٣٤٧/٥. / كشف الخفاء ٣٧١/١.

١٩٦ - جمع الجوامع ١٧٦٧ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي اللّه عنه.
وانظر كنز العمال ٢٣٧١٦.

دخل شهر رمضان أمر الله تعالى حملة العرش أن يكفوا عن التسبيح ويستغفروا لأمة محمد والمؤمنين».

١٩٧ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن مالك بن دينار قال: بلغني أن في بعض السموات ملكاً له من العيون مثل عدد الحصا ما منها عين إلّا وتحتها لسان وشفتان يحمدون الله تبارك وتعالى بلغة لا تفقهها صاحبتها وإن حملة العرش لهم قرون بين أظلافهم ورؤوسهم مقدار خمسمائة سنة والعرش فوق ذلك.

١٩٨ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن أبي مالك في قوله ﴿وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض﴾ قال إن الصخرة التي تحت الأرض السابعة، على أرجائها أربعة من الملائكة لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه نسر ووجه ثور وهم قيام على أقدامهم قد أحاطوا بالأرض والسماوات ورؤوسهم تحت الكرسي والكرسي

١٩٩ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن خالد بن قال: إن العرش ثقيل على حملة العرش من أول النهار فإذا قام الليل خف عليهم.

٢٠٠ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان من طريق قتيبة عن بكر بن مضر عن صخر بن عبد الله عن زياد بن أبي حبة قال: بلغني أن من حملة العرش لمن يسيل من عينيه أمثال البكاء فإذا رفع رأسه قال: سبحانك ما نخشى حق خشيتك يا الله عز وجل لكن الذين يحلفون باسمي كاذبين لا يعلمون.

٢٠١ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن أم سعد قالت سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤة على صورة ديك رجلاه في تخوم

٢٠١ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي الله عنها.

الأرض وجناحاه في المشرق وعنقه تحت العرش».

٢٠٢ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن مردويه والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن ابن عباس قال حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى أسفل قدمه مسيرة خمسمائة عام وذكر أن خطوة ملك الموت ما بين المشرق إلى المغرب.

٢٠٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عكرمة قال: حملة العرش كلهم صور قيل لعكرمة وما صور فأمال خده قليلاً.

٢٠٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: لا تستطيع الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش أن ينظروا إلى ما فوقهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٥ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في الأرض السفلى ورؤوسهم قد خرقت العرش وهم خشوع لا يرفعون طرفهم وهم أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء السابعة وأهل السماء السابعة أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء التي تليها والتي تليها أشد خوفاً من التي تليها.

٢٠٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن أبي أمامة قال: إن الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش يتكلمون بالفارسية.

٢٠٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن المنذر عن ميسرة في قوله تعالى: ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال أرجلهم في التخوم ورؤوسهم عند العرش لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال: ثمانية صفوف من الملائكة لا يعلم عدتهم إلّا الله.

٢٠٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الضحاك في الآية قال: يقال ثمانية صفوف لا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله ويقال: ثمانية أملاك رؤوسهم عند العرش في السماء السابعة وأقدامهم في الأرض السفلى ولهم قرون كقرون الوعلة ما بين أصل قرن أحدهم إلى منتهاه مسيرة خمسمائة عام.

ما جاء في الروح عليه السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿تنزل الملائكة والروح فيها﴾. وقال: ﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً﴾.

٢١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات من طريق ابن [illegible] عن ابن عباس قال: الروح من أعظم الملائكة خلقاً.

٢١١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الضحاك قال: الروح حاجب الله: يقوم بين يدي الله يوم القيامة، وهو أعظم [illegible] لوسع جميع الملائكة، فالخلق إليه ينظرون فمن [illegible] إلى من فوقه.

٢١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات بسند ضعيف [illegible] أبي طالب قال: الروح ملك له سبعون ألف وجه لكل [illegible] ألف لسان لكل لسان سبعون ألف لغة يسبح الله بتلك [illegible] خلق الله من كل تسبيحة ملكاً يطير مع الملائكة إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس قال: الروح ملك واحد له [illegible] ألف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب، له [illegible] في كل وجه ألف لسان وعينان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال: الروح ملك من الملائكة له عشرة آلاف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب له ألف وجه لكل وجه ألف لسان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مقاتل بن حيان قال: الروح أشرف الملائكة وأقربهم من الرب وهو صاحب الوحي.

٢١٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن مسعود قال: الروح في السماء الرابعة وهو أعظم من السماوات والجبال والملائكة يسبح كل يوم اثني عشر ألف تسبيحة يخلق الله تعالى من كل تسبيحة ملكاً من الملائكة يجيء يوم القيامة صفاً وحده

٢١٧ - (وأخرج) مسلم وأبو داود والنسائي عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ كان يقول في ركوعه وسجوده «سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح».

٢١٨ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق على صورة بني آدم.

٢١٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال: الروح يأكلون ولهم أيدي وأرجل ورؤوس وليسوا بملائكة.

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٢١٧ - أبو داود، كتاب استفتاح الصلاة تفريع أبواب الركوع والسجود ب ١٥١ حديث رقم ٨٧١ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
وانظر النسائي كتاب الافتتاح ب٩٨، ١٦١. / البيهقي ٢/٨٧ و١٠٩، ١٣١/٥.
/ إحياء علوم الدين ١/٣٢٨. / تفسير القرطبي ١/٢٧٧. / الإتحافات السنية ٣/٧٥، ٥/٦٤ و٩٦ و١٧١.

٢٢٠ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن
أعظم خلقاً من الملائكة ولا ينزل ملك إلّا

٢٢١ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد و
ابن عباس قال: الروح خلق من خلق الله
من السماء ملك إلّا ومعه واحد من الروح

٢٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
مجاهد عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال
بملائكة لهم رؤوس وأيدي وأرجل، ثم
صفاً﴾ قال: هؤلاء جند وهؤلاء جند.

٢٢٣ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق و
الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن
يشبهون الناس وليسوا بالناس لهم أيدي

٢٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
قال: ما يبلغ الجن والإنس والملائكة

٢٢٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً
القيامة صماط من الروح وصماط من

٢٢٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن
أجزاء فالإنس جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء
فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة، والملائكة

٢٢٢ - الدر المنثور ٦/٣٠٩ وعزاه السيوطي في العظمة وابن أبي حاتم وابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن أبي نجيح قال: الروح حفظة على الملائكة.

٢٢٨ - (وأخرج) ابن الأنباري في كتاب الأضداد عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق من الملائكة لا تراهم الملائكة كما لا ترون أنتم الملائكة.

ما جاء في رضوان ومالك وخزنة النار عليهم السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿ونادوا يا مالك ليقض علينا ربك قال إنكم ماكثون﴾ وقال تعالى ﴿وقال الذين في النار لخزنة جهنم﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿عليها ملائكة غلاظ شداد﴾. الآية وقال ﴿عليها تسعة عشر وما جعلنا أصحاب النار إلّا ملائكة وما جعلنا عدتهم إلّا فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿سندع الزبانية﴾.

٢٢٩ - (وأخرج) القتبي[1] في عيون الأخبار عن طاوس أن الله عز وجل خلق مالكاً وخلق له أصابع على عدد أهل النار، فما من أهل النار يعذب إلّا ومالك يعذبه بأصبع من أصابعه فوالله لو وضع مالك اصبعاً من أصابعه على السماء لأذابها.

٢٣٠ - (وأخرج) الضياء المقدسي في صفة النار عن أنس سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: والذي نفسي بيده لقد خلقت ملائكة جهنم قبل أن تخلق جهنم بألف عام فهم كل يوم يزدادون قوة إلى قوتهم.

٢٣١ - (وأخرج) عبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني قال: بلغنا أن خزنة النار تسعة عشر ما بين منكبي أحدهم مسيرة

(١) ويقال: القتبي وهو عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، اللغوي والأديب المشهور، قليل الرواية، صدوق.

مائة خريف، ليس في قلوبهم رحمة إنما خلقوا للعذاب يضرب الملك منهم الرجل من أهل النار الضربة فيتركه طحيناً من لدن قرنه إلى قدمه.

٢٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن كعب قال: ما بين منكبي الخازن من خزنتها مسيرة خمسمائة سنة، مع كل واحد منهم عمود وشعبتان يدفع به الدفع يصدع به في النار سبعمائة ألف.

٢٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن مجاهد قال: حدثت أن النبي ﷺ وصف خُزان جهنم فقال «كأن أعينهم البرق وكأن أفواههم الصياصي يجرون أشعارهم، لهم مثل قوة الثقلين يقبل أحدهم بالأمة من الناس يسوقهم. على رقبته جبل حتى يرمى بهم في النار فيرمي بالجبل عليهم.

٢٣٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد وابن أبي شيبة وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر والبيهقي في البعث من طريق الأزرق بن قيس عن رجل من بني تميم قال كنا عند أبي العوام فقرأ هذه الآية ﴿وعليها تسعة عشر﴾ فقال ما تقولون أتسعة عشر ملكاً أو تسعة عشر ألفاً؟ قلت: لا بل تسعة عشر ملكاً، فقال ومن أين علمت ذلك؟ قلت لأن الله قال يقول ﴿وما جعلنا عدتهم إلاّ فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ قال صدقت كم تسعة عشر ملكاً وبيد كل واحد منهم مرزبة من حديد لها شعبتان فضرب بها الضربة يهوي بها سبعين ألفاً بين منكبي كل ملك منهم مسيرة كذا وكذا، قال القرطبي المراد بقوله عليها تسعة عشر رؤساؤهم، وإنما جُعلت المنزلة فلا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله عز وجل.

٢٣٥ - (وأخرج) هناد بن السري في كتاب الزهد عن كعب قال: يؤمر بالرجل إلى النار فيبتدره مائة ألف ملك.

٢٣٦ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال: الزبانية أرجلهم في

الأرض ورؤوسهم في السماء.

٢٣٧ - (وأخرج) الواحدي في أسباب النزول وابن عساكر في تاريخه من طريق إسحق بن بشر عن جويبر عن الضحاك عن ابن عباس قال: لما عيّر المشركون رسول الله ﷺ بالفاقة قالوا «ما لهذا الرسول يأكل الطعام ويمشي في الأسواق» حزن رسول الله ﷺ لذلك فنزل عليه جبريل فقال: السلام عليك يا رسول الله رب العزة يقرئك السلام ويقول لك وما أرسلنا قبلك من المرسلين إلاّ أنهم ليأكلون الطعام ويمشون في الأسواق فبينما جبريل والنبي ﷺ يتحدثان إذ ذاب جبريل حتى صار مثل الهوذة فقال رسول الله ﷺ «مالك ذبت حتى صرت مثل الهوذة» قال: يا محمد فتح باب من أبواب السماء لم يكن فتح قبل ذلك إذ عاد جبريل إلى حاله فقال: يا محمد أبشر هذا رضوان خازن الجنة فأقبل رضوان حتى سلم ثم قال يا محمد رب العزة يقرئك السلام ومعه سفط من نور يتلألأ ويقول لك ربك هذه مفاتيح خزائن الدنيا مع مالا ينتقص لك مما عندي في الآخرة مثل جناح بعوضة، فنظر النبي ﷺ إلى جبريل كالمستشير له، فضرب جبريل بيديه إلى الأرض فقال تواضع لله فقال يا رضوان لا حاجة لي في الدنيا، فقال رضوان: أصبت أصاب الله بك. ويرون أن هذه الآية أنزلها رضوان ﴿تبارك الذي إن شاء جعل لك خيراً من ذاك جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ويجعل لك قصوراً﴾.

٢٣٨ - (وأخرج) البخاري ومسلم عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «رأيت ليلة أسري بي موسى بن عمران رجلاً طويلاً جعداً كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى بن مريم مربوع الخلق إلى الحمرة

٢٣٨ - مسند أحمد ١/ ٢٤٥ ورواه بلفظه عن ابن عباس ولم يذكر فيه [ورأيت مالكاً خازن جهنم والرجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى].
وانظر مشكاة المصابيح ٥ رقم ٥٧١٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٢٧١.

والبياض سبط الرأس ورأيت مالكا خازن جهنم والدجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى.

٢٣٩ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن عمر قال: لما أسري برسول الله ﷺ رأى مالكا خازن النار فإذا رجل عابس يعرف الغضب في وجهه.

٢٤٠ - (وأخرج) أبو بكر الواسطي في فضائل بيت المقدس عن أبي سلمة قال رأى عبادة بن الصامت على شرقي بيت المقدس يبكي فقيل له: ما يبكيك؟ فقال من ها هنا حدثني رسول الله ﷺ أنه رأى مالكا يقلب جمراً كالقطف.

٢٤١ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إذا أراد الله بعبد خيراً بعث إليه ملكاً من خزان الجنة فمسح ظهره فسخى نفسه بالزكاة».

٢٤٢ - (وأخرج) الخليلي في مشيخته عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «أنا أول من يقرع باب الجنة فيقوم الخازن فيقول من أنت؟ فأقول أنا محمد فيقول أقوم فأفتح لك ولم أقم لأحد قبلك ولا أقوم لأحد بعدك».

٢٤٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن علي في قوله تعالى ﴿كطي السجل﴾ قال مالك.

٢٤٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عطية قال السجل اسم ملك.

٢٤٥ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عمر قال: السجل ملك فإذا صعد بالاستغفار قال اكتبوها نوراً.

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٢٤١ - جمع الجوامع رقم ١١١٢ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي الله عنه.

وانظر تنزيه الشريعة ١٤١/٢. / كشف الخفاء ٣٠٩/٢. / تذكرة الموضوعات ص ٦٣.

٢٤٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن السدي قال: السجل ملك موكل بالصحف فإذا مات الإنسان دفع كتابه إلى السجل فطواه ورفعه إلى يوم القيامة.

٢٤٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وابن عساكر عن أبي جعفر الباقر قال: السجل ملك، وكان هاروت وماروت من أعوانه، وكان له كل يوم ثلاث لمحات ينظرهن في أم الكتاب فنظر نظرة لم تكن له فأبصر فيها خلق آدم وما فيه من الأمور، فأسر ذلك إلى هاروت وماروت فلما قال تعالى ﴿إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة قالوا أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها﴾ قالا ذلك استطالة على الملائكة.

ما جاء في هاروت وماروت

٢٤٨ - (أخرج) أحمد بن حنبل وعبد بن حميد في مسنديهما وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن حبان في صحيحه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن عبد الله بن عمر أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول ﴿إن آدم لما أهبطه الله إلى الأرض قالت الملائكة أي رب أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها ويسفك الدماء ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال إني أعلم ما لا تعلمون﴾ قالوا ربنا نحن أطوع لك من بني آدم، قال الله تعالى: هلموا ملكين من الملائكة حتى نهبطهما إلى الأرض فننظر كيف يعملان فقالوا: ربنا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض فتمثلت لهما الزهرة امرأة من أحسن البشر فجاءتهما فسألاها نفسها فقالت: لا والله حتى تكلما بهذه الكلمة من الإشراك، قالا لا والله لانشرك بالله أبداً فذهبت عنهما ثم رجعت بصبي تحمله، فسألاها نفسها فقالت لا والله حتى تقتلا هذا الصبي، قالا والله لا نقتله أبداً، فذهبت ثم رجعت بقدح من خمر تحمله فسألاها نفسها، فقالت لا والله حتى تشربا هذا الخمر فشربا فسكرا فوقعا عليها وقتلا الصبي، فلما أفاقا قالت المرأة والله

ما تركتما شيئاً أبيتماه عليّ إلّا قد فعلتماه حين سكرتما، فخيرا عند ذلك بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا».

٢٤٩ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «أشرفت الملائكة على الدنيا فرأت بني آدم يعصون فقالت يا رب ما أجهل هؤلاء ما أقل معرفة هؤلاء بعظمتك! فقال اللّه عز وجل لو كنتم في مسلاخهم لعصيتموني قالوا كيف يكون هذا ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال فاختاروا منكم ملكين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت، ثم أهبطا إلى الأرض وركبت فيهما شهوات بني آدم ومثلت لهما امرأة فما عصما حتى واقعا المعصية فقال اللّه اختارا عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فنظر أحدهما إلى صاحبه قال ما تقول فاختر قال أقول إن عذاب الدنيا ينقطع وإن عذاب الآخرة لا ينقطع، فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما اللذان ذكر اللّه في كتابه ﴿وما أنزل على الملكين﴾ الآية.

٢٥٠ - (وأخرج) الحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن ابن عمر أنه كان يقول: أطلعت الحمراء بعد؟ فإذا رآها قال، لا مرحباً ثم قال إن ملكين من الملائكة هاروت وماروت سألا اللّه أن يهبطا إلى الأرض، فكانا يقضيان بين الناس فإذا أمسيا تكلما بكلمات فعرجا بها إلى السماء، فقيض اللّه لهما امرأة من أحسن الناس وألقيت عليهما الشهوة وألقيت في أنفسهما فلم يزالا حتى وعدتهما ميعاداً فأتتهما للميعاد فقالت علماني الكلمة التي تعرجان بها فعلماها فتكلمت بها فعرجت إلى السماء

٢٤٩ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٥٠٩ وذكره السيوطي عن ابن عمر رضي اللّه عنهما. وفيه [قرأت بني آدم يعصون] وكلمة [مسالحهم] غير كلمة [مسلاخهم].
شعب الإيمان ١/١١٣ ورواه بلفظه ثم قال البيهقي في تعليقه: ورويناه موقوفاً من وجه آخر عن مجاهد عن ابن عمر، وهو الأصح فإن ابن عمر أنه أخذه عن كعب.

فمسخت فجعلت كما ترون، فلما أمسيا تكلما بالكلمة فلم يعرجا فبعث إليهما إن شئتما فعذاب الآخرة وإن شئتما فعذاب الدنيا فقال أحدهما لصاحبه بل نختار عذاب الدنيا.

٢٥١ - (وأخرج) إسحاق بن راهويه في مسنده وعبد بن حميد في تفسيره وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال إن هذه الزهرة تسميها العرب الزهرة والعجم أناهيد، وكان الملكان يحكمان بين الناس فأتتهما فرأياها فقالت لهما الزهرة: ألا تخبراني بما تصعدان به إلى السماء وبما تهبطان به إلى الأرض فقالا باسم اللّه الأعظم، قالت ما أنا بمواتيكا حتى تعلمانيه فقال أحدهما لصاحبه علمها إياه فقال كيف بنا بشدة عذاب اللّه؟ قال الآخر انا نرجو سعة اللّه فعلمها إياه فتكلمت به فطارت إلى السماء، ففزع ملك في السماء لصعودها فطأطأ رأسه فلم يجلس بعد ومسخها اللّه فكانت كوكباً.

٢٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن راهويه وابن مردويه في تفسيره عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ لعن اللّه الزهرة فإنها هي التي فتنت الملكين هاروت وماروت.

٢٥٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس قال: إن أهل سماء الدنيا أشرفوا على الأرض فرأوهم يعملون بالمعاصي فقالوا يا رب أهل الأرض يعملون بالمعاصي فقال اللّه عز وجل: أنتم معي وهم غيب عني، فقيل لهم اختاروا منكم ثلاثة فاختاروا منهم ثلاثة على أن يهبطوا إلى الأرض فيحكموا ما بين أهل الأرض وجعل فيهم شهوة الآدميين

٢٥٢ - تذكرة الموضوعات ص ١١٠ وأشار الفتني إلى الحديث وعزاه لأبي نعيم عن علي وقال: الصحيح وقفة على كعب كذا قال البيهقي.

فأمروا أن لا يشربوا خمراً ولا يقتلوا نفساً ولا يزنوا ولا يسجدوا لوثن، فاستقال منهم واحد فأقيل وأهبط اثنان إلى الأرض، فأتتهما امرأة من أحسن الناس يقال لها أناهيد، فهوياها جميعاً ثم أتيا منزلها فاجتمعا عندها فأراداها، فقالت لهما: لا حتى تشربا خمري وتقتلا ابن جاري وتسجدا لوثني فقالا: لا نسجد ثم شربا من الخمر ثم قتلا ثم سجدا فأشرف أهل السماء عليهما، وقالت لهما أخبراني بالكلمة التي إذا قلتماها طرتما فأخبراها فطارت فمسخت جمرة وهي هذه الزهرة، وأما هما فأرسل إليهما سليمان بن داود فخيرهما بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما مناطان بين السماء والأرض.

٢٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عباس قال: لما وقع الناس من بعد آدم فيما وقعوا فيه من المعاصي والكفر باللّه قالت الملائكة في السماء: رب هذا العالم الذي إنما خلقتهم لعبادتك وطاعتك قد وقعوا فيما وقعوا فيه وركب الكفر وقتل النفس وأكل مال الحرام والزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فجعلوا يدعون عليهم ولا يعذرونهم، فقيل إنهم في غيب فلم يعذروهم فقيل لهم: اختاروا منكم من أفضلكم ملكين آمرهما وأنهاهما فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض وجعل لهما شهوات بني آدم وأمرهما أن يعبداه ولا يشركا به شيئاً ونهاهما عن قتل النفس الحرام وأكل مال الحرام وعن الزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فلبثا في الأرض زماناً يحكمان بين الناس بالحق، وذلك في زمان إدريس وفي ذلك الزمان امرأة حسنها في النساء كحسن الزهرة في سائر الكواكب وأنها أتيا عليها فخضعا لها في القول وأراداها على نفسها فأبت إلّا أن يكونا على أمرها ودينها فسألاها عن دينها فأخرجت لهما صنماً فقالت هذا أعبده فقالا لا حاجة لنا في عبادة هذا فذهبا فغابا ما شاء اللّه، ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها

ففعلت مثل ذلك فذهبا ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها، فلما رأت أنهما أبيا أن يعبدا الصنم فقالت لهما اختارا إحدى الخلال الثلاث إما أن تعبدا هذا الصنم وإما أن تقتلا هذا النفس وإما أن تشربا الخمر فقالا: هذا لا ينبغي وأهون الثلاثة شرب الخمر، فشربا الخمر فأخذت منهما فواقعا المرأة فخشيا أن يخبر الإنسان عنهما فقتلاه، فلما ذهب عنهما السكر وعلما ما وقعا فيه من الخطيئة أرادا أن يصعدا إلى السماء فلم يستطيعا وحيل بينهما وبين ذلك، وكشف الغطاء فيما بينهما وبين أهل السماء، فنظرت الملائكة إلى ما وقعا فيه، فعجبوا كل العجب وعرفوا أنه من كان في غيب فهو أقل خشية، فجعلوا بعد ذلك يستغفرون لمن في الأرض، فقيل لهما اختارا عذاب الدنيا أو عذاب الآخرة فقالا: أما عذاب الدنيا فإنه ينقطع ويذهب، وأما عذاب الآخرة فلا انقطاع له فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فجعلا ببابل فهما يعذبان.

٢٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن مجاهد قال: كنت نازلاً على عبد اللّه بن عمر في سفر فلما كان ذات ليلة قال لغلامه: أنظر طلعت الحمراء لا مرحباً بها ولا أهلاً ولا حياها اللّه هي صاحبة الملكين قالت الملائكة رب كيف تدع عصاة بني آدم وهم يسفكون الدم الحرام وينتهكون محارمك ويفسدون في الأرض، قال إني قد ابتليتهم فلعل إن ابتليتكم مثل الذي ابتليتهم به فعلتم كالذي يفعلون قالوا لا، قال فاختاروا من خياركم اثنين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فقال لهما إني مهبطكما إلى الأرض وعاهد إليكما أن لا تشركا ولا تزنيا ولا تخونا فأهبطا إلى الأرض وألقي عليهما الشبق وأهبطت لهما الزهرة في أحسن صورة امرأة، فتعرضت لهما فأراداها على نفسها فقالت إني على دين لا يصلح لأحد أن يأتيني إلّا من كان على مثله، قالا وما دينك قالت المجوسية قالا الشرك هذا شيء لا نقربه فمكثت عنهما ما شاء اللّه ثم تعرضت لهما

فأراداها على نفسها فقالت ما شئتما غير أن لي زوجاً أكره أن يطلع عليَّ هذا مني فافتضح فإن أقررتما لي بديني وشرطتما أن تصعدا بي إلى السماء فعلت، فأقرا لها بدينها وأتياها فيما يريان ثم صعدا بها إلى السماء فلما انتهيا إلى السماء اختطفت منهما وقطعت أجنحتهما فوقعا خائفين نادمين يبكيان، وفي الأرض نبي يدعو بين الجمعتين فإذا كان يوم الجمعة أجيب، فقالا لو أتينا فلاناً فسألناه يطلب لنا التوبة فأتياه فقال: رحمكما الله كيف يطلب أهل الأرض لأهل السماء؟ قالا إنا قد ابتلينا، قال: ائتياني في يوم الجمعة، فأتياه فقال ما أجبت فيكما بشيء ائتياني في الجمعة الثانية، فأتياه فقال اختارا فقد خيرتما فإن أحببتما معافاة الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة، وإن أحببتما فعذاب الدنيا وأنتما يوم القيامة على حكم الله قال أحدهما الدنيا لم يمض منها إلاّ القليل وقال الآخر ويحك إني قد أطعتك في الأول فأطعني الآن فاختارا عذاب الدنيا؛ لهذه القصة طرق أخرى كثيرة جمعها الحافظ ابن حجر في جزء مفرد، وقال في كتابه القول المسدد في الذب عن مسند أحمد، إن الواقف عليه يكاد يقطع بوقوع هذه القصة لكثرة الطرق الواردة فيها وقوة مخارج أكثرها وقد وقفت على الجزء الذي جمعه فوجدته أورد فيه بضعة عشر طريقاً، وقد جمعت أنا طرقها في التفسير فبلغت نيفاً وعشرين طريقاً.

ذكر قصة ملك آخر عليه السلام

٢٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن عبد الله بن عيسى قال: كان فيمن كان قبلكم رجل عبد الله أربعين سنة في البر، قال: يا رب قد اشتقت أن أعبدك في البحر، فأتى إلى قوم فاستحملهم فحملوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم ما شاء الله أن تجري ثم قامت، فإذا شجرة في ناحية الماء فقال: ضعوني على هذه الشجرة فوضعوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم فأراد ملك أن يعرج إلى السماء فتكلم بكلامه الذي كان

يعرج به فلم يقدر على ذلك فعلم أن ذلك لخطيئة كانت منه، فأتى صاحب الشجرة فسأله أن يشفع له إلى ربه، فصلى ودعا للملك، وطلب الملك إلى ربه أن يكون هو يقبض نفسه ليكون أهون عليه من ملك الموت، فأتاه حين حضر أجله فقال: إني طلبت إلى ربي أن يشفعني فيك كما شفعك فيَّ، وأن أكون أنا أقبض نفسك فمن حيث شئت قبضتها، فسجد سجدة فخرجت من عينه دمعة فمات.

ما جاء في الرعد والبرق عليهما السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ويسبح الرعد بحمده والملائكة من خيفته﴾.

٢٥٧ ـ (أخرج) أحمد والترمذي وصححه والنسائي وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وابن مردويه وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس قال: أقبلت يهود إلى رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: أخبرنا ما هذا الرعد؟ قال «ملك من ملائكة الله موكل بالسحاب، بيده مخراق من نار يزجر به السحاب، يسوقه حيث أمره الله» قالوا: فما هذا الصوت الذي نسمع؟ قال «صوته» قالوا صدقت.

٢٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب المطر وابن جرير وابن المنذر والبيهقي في سننه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال: الرعد ملك والبرق ضربة السحاب بمخراق من حديد.

٢٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال: الرعد ملك يسوق السحاب بالتسبيح كما يسوق الحادي الإبل بحدائه.

٢٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) البخاري في الأدب وابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن

٢٥٧ ـ الدر المنثور ٤/٥٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث طويل وعزاه للترمذي وصححه، وأحمد والنسائي وابن مردويه وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبي الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٢٨٧ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ من طريق سالم بن أبي الجعد عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن مما خلق اللّه ديكاً براثنه على الأرض السابعة وعرفه منطو تحت العرش قد أحاط جناحه بالأفقين فإذا بقي ثلث الليل الآخر ضرب بجناحيه ثم قال سبحوا الملك القدوس سبحان ربنا الملك القدوس لا إله لنا غيره، فيسمعها من بين الخافقين إلّا الثقلين» فيرون أن الديكة إنما تضرب بأجنحتها وتصرخ إذا سمعت ذلك.

٢٨٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي صادق قال الديكة تجاوب الملائكة بالتسبيح هل رأيتم طيراً يصيح بالليل.

٢٨٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن أبي عمرة قال حين يقول الملك: سبحوا القدوس فحينئذ تحرك الطير أجنحتها.

٢٩٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الحميد بن يوسف قال صاح ديك عند سليمان عليه السلام فقال سليمان هل تدرون ما يقول هذا؟ قالوا لا: قال فإنه يقول: إذكروا اللّه يا غافلين.

٢٩١ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن صفوان بن عسال قال: إن للّه ديكاً تحت العرش جناحه في الهواء وبراثنه في الأرض فإذا كان في الأسحار وأذان الصلوات خفق بجناحه وصفق بالتسبيح فتسبح الديكة تجيبه بالتسبيح.

٢٩٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان وضعفه عن

٢٨٧ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٣٢.

٢٩٢ ـ جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٦١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، وضعفه عن جابر رضي اللّه عنه، وعنده لفظ (هاج) غير لفظ (صاح) وفي الباب أربعة أحاديث بلفظ (إن للّه ديكاً كلها ضعيفة).

جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن للّه ديكاً رجلاه في التخوم وعنقه تحت العرش منطوية فإذا كان هنة من الليل صاح سبوح قدوس فصاحت الديكة».

٢٩٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي عن العرش بن عميرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن للّه تعالى ديكاً براثنه في الأرض السفلى وعنقه تحت العرش يصرخ عند مواقيت الصلاة ويصرخ له ديك السماوات سماء سماء ثم يصرخ بصراخ ديك السماوات ديكة الأرض سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح.

٢٩٤ ـ (وأخرج) الديلمي في مسند الفردوس عن أم سعد، امرأة من المهاجرات، قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤ على صورة ديك رجلاه في التخوم السفلى وعنقه مثنية تحت العرش وجناحاه بالمشرق والمغرب فإذا سبح اللّه ذلك الملك لم يبق شيء إلّا سبح اللّه عز وجل».

ما جاء في السكينة عليه السلام

٢٩٥ ـ (أخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط عن علي رضي اللّه عنه قال «إذا ذكر الصالحون فحي هلا بعمر، ما كنا أصحاب محمد نبعد أن السكينة تنطق على لسان عمر رضي اللّه عنه. قال ابن الأثير في النهاية السكينة هنا ملك.

٢٩٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أسيد بن حضير أنه أتى النبي ﷺ

٢٩٣ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٢٨٠ أنظر حديث ٢٨٤.

٢٩٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٦ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي اللّه عنها.

فقال يا رسول الله إني كنت أقرأ البارحة سورة الكهف فجاء شيء حتى غطى فمي فقال النبي ﷺ تلك السكينة جاءت حتى تسمع القرآن.

٢٩٧ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أبي سلمة قال بينا أسيد بن حضير الأنصاري يصلي بالليل فإذا غشيني مثل السحابة فيها مثل المصابيح والمرأة نائمة إلى جنبي وهي حامل، والفرس مربوط في الدار فخشيت أن تنفر الحصان فتفزع المرأة فتلقي ولدها فانصرفت من صلاتي فقال اقرأ يا أسيد فإن ذلك ملك استمع القرآن.

ما جاء في ملك الجبال عليه السلام

٢٩٨ - (أخرج) أحمد والبخاري ومسلم عن عائشة أنها قالت قلت للنبي ﷺ أتى عليك يوم أشد من يوم أحد؟ قال «لقد لقيت من قومك وكان أشد ما لقيت منهم يوم العقبة إذ عرضت نفسي على ابن عبد يا ليل ابن عبد كلال فلم يجبني إلى ما أردت فانطلقت وأنا مهموم على وجهي فلم أستفق إلا وأنا بقرن الثعالب فرفعت رأسي فإذا أنا بسحابة قد أظلتني فنظرت فإذا فيها جبريل فناداني فقال إن الله قد سمع قول قومك لك وما ردوا عليك وقد بعث إليك ملك الجبال لتأمره بما شئت فيهم فناداني ملك الجبال فسلم عليّ ثم قال يا محمد إن شئت أطبق عليهم الأخشبين، قال النبي ﷺ بل أرجو أن يخرج الله من أصلابهم

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٢٩٨ - فتح الباري ٧/١٦٦ وأشار إلى الحديث ولم يذكره.
- مشكاة المصابيح رقم ٥٨٤٨ وذكره بلفظه وقال متفق عليه.
وانظر إحياء علوم الدين ٤/١٣٩. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/٨٨.
تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٢٥٩. / رياض الصالحين ص ٢٨٥.
كنز العمال رقم ٣١٩٨٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأحمد، والبخاري، ومسلم عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

من يعبد الله وحده لا يشرك به شيئاً».

٢٩٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة قال قال رسو
الله ﷺ «جاءني جبريل فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام وهذا ملك
الجبال قد أرسله معك وأمره أن لا يفعل شيئاً إلا بأمرك فقال له ملك
الجبال إن شئت دمدمت عليهم الجبال وإن شئت رميتهم بالحصباء وإ
شئت خسفت بهم الأرض قال يا ملك الجبال فإني أأني بهم لعلهم أ
يخرج منهم ذرية يقولون لا إله إلا الله، فقال ملك الجبال أنت ك
سماك ربك رؤوف رحيم».

ما جاء في رميائيل خازن أرواح المؤمنين عليه السلام

٣٠٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت عن وهب بن منب
قال: إن أرواح المؤمنين إذا قبضت ترفع إلى ملك يقال له رميائيل وه
خازن أرواح المؤمنين.

ما جاء في دومة خازن أرواح الكفار عليه السلام

٣٠١ - (أخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت من طريق أبان بر
تغلب عن رجل من أهل الكتاب قال: الملك الذي على أرواح الكفا
يقال له دومة.

ما جاء في فتان القبر عليهم السلام

٣٠٢ - (أخرج) الترمذي وحسنه وابن أبي الدنيا والآجري في

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٣٠٢ - موارد الظمآن رقم ٧٨٠ ورواه بنحو من لفظه.
وانظر شرح السنة ٥/٤١٦ قال البغوي حديث حسن.
مشكاة المصابيح رقم ١٣٠. / جمع الجوامع ٢٣١٨. / كنز العما
٤٢٥٠٠.

Appendix B

Chapter Details for Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

A Table Cross-referencing the MS [Or. 474/28] and the Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya Edition

Chapter	Hadith Nos.	DKI	Leiden MS	
			Begins	Ends
Preface	1	pp. 9 – 10	fol. 187v, l. 1	fol. 187v, l. 15
Substance	2 - 4	pp. 10 - 11	fol. 187v, l. 15	fol. 187v, l. 21
Great Number	5 - 26	pp. 11 - 16	fol. 187v, l. 21	fol. 188v, l. 19
Archangels	27 – 35	pp. 16 - 19	fol. 188v, l. 19	fol. 189r, l. 26
Gabriel	36 – 77	pp. 19 - 29	fol. 189r, l. 26	fol. 191v, l. 10
Michael	78 – 84	pp. 29 – 31	fol. 191v, l. 10	fol. 192r, l. 5
Israfil	85 – 106	pp. 31 – 37	fol. 192r, l. 5	fol. 193r, l. 22
Angel of Death	107 - 171	pp. 37 - 53	fol. 193r, l. 22	fol. 197r, l. 14
Throne Bearers	179 – 209	pp. 56 - 62	fol. 197v, l. 20	fol. 199r, l. 11
The Spirit	210 – 228	pp. 62 – 65	fol. 199r, l. 11	fol. 199v, l. 22
Ridwan etc.	229 – 242	pp. 65 – 68	fol. 199v, l. 23	fol. 200v, l. 9
Al-Sijill	243 – 247	pp. 68 – 69	fol. 200v, l. 9	fol. 200v, l. 23
Hārūt & Mārūt	248 – 256	pp. 69 – 74	fol. 200v, l. 23	fol. 202r, l. 16
Sakīna	295 - 297	pp. 83 - 84	fol. 204r, l. 9	fol. 204r, l. 17

Appendix C

Textual Variants: Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

MS Variants [Leiden MS Or.474/28]

Chapter	No.	Fol.	Line	MS Reading	DKI Reading
Preface	-	187v	1	Marginalia: السابعة والعشرون في الملايكة من وجوه	
	-	187v	1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه تقتي	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
	-	187v	2	اما بعد حمد الله	الحمد الله
	-	187v	3	فهذا تاليف	فهذه تاليف
	-	187v	4	استوعبدت فيها	استوعبدت فيه
	-	187v	7	الملائكة ينتظم معابن (؟)	الملائكة ينتظم في معان
	-	187v	10	ولا يدعون الهتهم لهة	ولا يدعون آلهة
	-	187v	12	Omitted	الاعتراف بان منهم رسلا يرسل الى من يشاء من البشر وقد يجوز ان يرسل بعضهم الى الارض ويتبع ذلك
	1	187v	16	عن ابن عمر عن النبي	عن ابن عمر عن عمرعن النبي
Substance	2	187v	17-18	اخرج عن عائشة	اخرج مسلم عن عائشة
	2	187v	18-19	Ḥadīth inserted	
Great Abundance	6	187v	25	ما في السماء سماء منها موضع	ما في السماوات شيء منها موضع
	8	187v	29	ثُئط	
	9	187v	31	النبي	رسول الله
		188r	1	قائم فذلك قوله تعالى	قاءم ذلك قوله
	10	188r	2	بينما	بينا
		188r	4	موضع قدم الا عليه ملك	موضع قدم الا عليها ملك
	11	188r	6	لقيامة قالوا سبحانك	القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك
		188r	7	عبادتك انا لم	عبادتك الا انا لم
	12	188r	9-10	ذلك اسماوات مكبوسات	ذلك السماوات والارض مكبوسات
	14	188r	14	فاذا خرج قطرت منه	فاذا خرج قطر منه
		188r	14	من نور فخلق من كل قطرة	من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة

Great Abundance	15	188r	16	رب من معك	يا رب ن معك
	20	188r	25	اجنحتهم فرقاً من الله	اجنحتهم خوفاً من الله
		188r	26	Ḥadīth inserted	
	21	188r	31	موضع اهاب الا فيه ملك ساجد	موضع الا فيه ساجد
	22	188v	2	قال ان الله	قال ان الله تعالى
		188v	2	فتسعة	تسعة
		188v	4-5	من بقي من الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم ايضاً الذين يسحون الليل والنهار ولا يفترون ومن بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله	من بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله
	23	188v	6	ابن خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاغيش	خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاعيس
	24	188v	10	فرائصهم ما منهم ملك	فرائص من مخافعه ما منهم ملك
	25	188v	18	وانا لنحن الصافون وانا لنحن المسبحون	انا لنحن المسبحون
Four Archangels	27	188v	20-21	ابن ابي شببة وابن ابي حاتم والبيهقي في الشعب وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن ابن سابط	ابن اي حاتم وابو الشيخ في العظمة ولبيهقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط
		188v	22	اما السرافيل فموكل القطر	اما ميكائيل فموكل القطر
	28	188v	23	الدنيا جمع بين حفظهم وما في ام الكتاب	الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل ام الكتاب
		188v	20	[Mentioned at the beginning of the ḥadīth]	...رواه ابن ابي شيبة
	29	188v	28	بينما	بينا
	30	189r	12	خمسة الاف سنة	خمسين الف سنة
	32	189r	15	Omitted	
	35	189r	25	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الاعلى / الا على	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الأعلى
Gabriel	36	189r	28	معبّد	
	43	189v	6	Omitted	رضي الله عنها
	44b	189v	12	يا محمد كيف ياتك يعني جبريل	يا محمد كيف ياتك الذي ياتك يعني جبريل
	48	189v	23	Omitted	مسيرة
	49	189v	24	اسحاق الهاشمي	اسحاق

Gabriel	50	189v	26	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جرير وقتادة دخل	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل
		189v	27	حُبك حُبك	
	52	190r	1	فقعد فنزل جبريل على خشبة	فقعد جبريل على خشبة
	53	190r	7	ما كنتُ	
	54	190r	12	راسه كالحبك	راسه كالجبل
	56	190r	20	لقد دخلت الداخل اغتماماً بكلام الناس مما بي من الحمى فدخل علي داخل	فدخل علي داخل
		190r	21	رجلاً بعدك قط اكرم	رجلاً قط بعدك اكرم
	60	190v	5	دعى المؤمن قال يا جبريل	دعى المؤمن قال الله يا جبريل
	62	190v	10	عبد الله ابن عمير	عبد الله ابن عمر
	68	190v	26	The ḥadīth runs on from the last with *qāla* (no *akhraja*) as per the DKI edition	
		190v	27-29	محمد بن عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم عن عمرو بن قتادة بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله	ابو محمد عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم بن بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله
		191r	1	Omitted	وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لاعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي
	69	191r	3	احنف اضجم اعسر	احنف اصمع اعسر
		191r	6	قل الا	قل له الا
		191r	7	فقال له قل بلا يا رسول الله	فقال له قل بلا
	70	191r	9	Large gap between *akhraja* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh – name missing (?)	
	71	191r	14	Omitted	وذكر ابراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان احمدهما يا عر باللين والاخر بالشدة وكل مصيب
	72	191r	19	مسيرة سبعين عاماً	مسيرة سبعين سنة

Gabriel	74	191r	30	فيقول جبريل وملك الموت	فيقول جبريل :ملك الموت
	75	191v	5	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك وعبدك جبريل	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل
Michael	78	191v	10	ابن عبد المنذر	ابن المنذر
	84	191v	25	Omitted	ابو عبد الله الحسين الدينوري
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو علي بن موسى
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو موسى بن جعفر
		191v	32	Omitted	ابن علي بن علي طالب
		191v	32	وقال اشهد بالله لقد حدثنا جبريل وقال...	Omitted
Isrāfīl	85	192r	6	Ornamentation	
		192r	6 – 7	الصور من لؤلؤة	الصور لؤلؤة
		192r	7	ضفاء الزجاجة	ضفاء الزجاج
		192r	9	من ثقب واحد	من ثقب واحدة
		192r	9	كوة كاستدار	كوة كاستدارة
	87	192r	17	مستعد ينظر نحو العرش	مستعد ينظر حول العرش
	88	192r	18	ابي سعيد الخذري	ابي سعيد الخدري
	90	192r	22	عن ملك الله الذي يليه اسرافيل تم	عن ملك الله الذي يليه قال ان الملك الذي يليه اسرافيل ثم
	91	192r	23	احمد والحاكم وابن مردويه عن ابن سعيد	احمد والحاكم عن ابن سعيد
	93	192v	5	بكذا فلا تهبط	بكذا فلا يهبط
	94	192v	6	Omitted (but a space left)	اخرج
		192r	8	ليس دونه سيء	ليس لدونه شيء
	95	192r	11	عن عبد الحرث ان كعبا	عن عبد الرحمنبن الحارثان كعبا
		192r	12		يقول في اسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول
	97	192r	20	قال رسول الله صلعم	قال النبي صلعم
	99	192v	29	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعميقول	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعم
	100	193r	1	In black	اخرج

Isrāfīl	102	193r	2	Omitted	لاثنى عشرة ساعة من النهار و[لاثنى]
	103	193r	6	نعم رب	نعم يا رب
	104	193r	10	بشيء كتب في اللوح المحفوظ فنحى اللوح حتى	بشئء كتب في اللوح حتى
		193r	10-11	اسرافيل قد غطى وجهه بجناحه	اسرافيل قد غطى راسه بجناحه
		193r	11	فان كان الى السماء	فان كان الى اهل السماء
		193r	12	Omitted	الى ميكائيل وان كان الى اهل الارض دفعه
		193r	12	Omitted	اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم فيقال من يشهد لك فيقول اسرافيل فيدعى اسرافيل
		193r	12	فيقال له قد بلغك	فيقال له هل بلغك
	106	193r	15	البزار والطبراني والبيهقي فى السماء والصفات عن ابن عمرو	الطبراني في الاوسط والبيهقي في الاسماء والصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو
		193r	16	الى النبي	الى الرسول الله
		193r	16	اهل الارض فليحاكم الى اسرافيل	اهل لارض فلنتحاكم الى اسرافيل
Angel of Death	107	193r	27	فارسل اخر	فارسل لها اخر
		193r	29	Marked (ink stain?) after: كلها من طيبها	
	108	193v	2	بلله منك عن ينقص مني	بلله منك عن تنقص مني
	112	193v	14	اجله قبض روحه فاذا قبض روحه اقبل	اجله قبض روحه اقبل
		193v	16	والله ما اكلت لها رزقا	والله ما اكلت لكم رزقا
		193v	16	...لها عمرا	... لكم عمرا
		193v	16	...لها اجلا	... لكم اجلا
	113	193v	20	تسيب الناس ومنها	تسيب الناس يعني...
		193v	20	الاقباض	الاتتفاض
	115	193v	22	Placed after 116	
	116	193v	24	Placed before 115	

Angel of Death	115	193v	25	على بابه سبع مرات	على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات
		193v	25	ينظر فه	ينظر حال فه
	119	193v	32	الحارث بن الخزرج عت ابيه قال	الحارث بن الخزرج قال
		193v	32	ونظر ملك الموت [Corrected in margin]	ونظر الى ملك الموت
		194r	6	الى انا تصفحهم	الى انا اصفحهم
		194r	6	حتي لا انا اعرف	حتي لانا اعرف
		194r	8	بلغني عنه انما	بلغني انما
		194r	8	الصلى فاذا نظر عند...	الصلى فاذا حضر عند...
	120	194r	12	السارة	الشارة
		194r	13	لي منك قال ادبر	لي منك اشياء ما ارلها فيك قال ادبر
		194r	15	ornamentation: dot in a circle	
	122	194r	22	فيبسره	فيبشره
		194r	23	فبشره فقال	فبشره بذلك فقال
	123	194r	32	سلم	اسلم
		194v	1	وعين في قفاه	وعينان في قفاه
		194v	2	باذن الله فيكون	باذن الله فتكون
	124	194v	5	ههننا	ها هنا
		194v	6	ان الله سخر [؟] لي	ان الله يخر لي
		194v	6	ما اي اطرافها	ما ايا اطرافها
	126	194v	9	من حيث شاء وجعلت له	من حيث وجعل له
	129	194v	16	ابن جرير في قوله تعالى...	وابن جرير وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله...
	131	194v	21	قال ملك جالس...	قال ملك الموت جالس...
	133	194v	29 - 30	...عز وجل حوى\قوى[؟] لملك الموت الدنيا حتى جعلها كالطست	...عز وجل قوى ملك الموت حتى جعلها كالطست
	134	194v	32	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم والعذاب	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب
	135	195r	2	ابن ابي حاتم	ابن ابي الدنيا

Angel of Death	135	195r	3*ff*	بين فخذي ملك الموت فاذا توفى نفسا طيبا دفعها الى ملائكة الرحمة فاذا توفى نفسا خبيثة دفعها الى ملائكة العذاب.	LEI MS: §135 is confused with §134; §135b [LEI] is the same as §135 [DKI]
	135b	195r	N/A	Omitted	فيقبض الرواح فيعطى هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرهمة وملائكة العذاب
	136	195r	11	تحت العرش فيلفى	تحت العرش فتلقى
	136	195r	11	صكا	صكاك
	138	195r	12-13	ما انا باعلم ذلك	ما انا اعلم بذلك
	139	195r	14	حتى يؤمر بقبضه	حتى يؤمر بقبضها
	142	195r	20	Ornamental nūn at end of line	
	144	195r	23	راشد بن سعد	راشد بن سعيد
	146	195v	1	لسقفت	لشققت
	146	195v	2 – 3	ورد الله عليه حينه	ورد الله عليه عينه
	149	195v	12 – 3	...اليك حاخة قا ل علمت حاجتك	...اليك حاخة قا ل قد علمت حاجتك
	149	195v	13	...في ادريس وقد بقى من عمره محى اسمه	...في ادريس وقد محى اسمه
	150	195v	16	فقال ان خليلك سالك ان...	فقال ان خليلك سال ان...
	150	195v	18	شربت شرابا قط قال لا	شربت شرابا قال لا
	154	196r	1	فزعاً لم يمت	فزعا ثم يموت
	157	196r	6	ابن انس وقد ساله	ابن انس وساله
	158	196r	10	عسكر الموات	عسكر الموت
	160	196r	13	وله رسل من الملائكة	وله رسول من الملائكة
		196r	13	النفس في تعرة (؟)	النفس في ثغرة
	163	196r	19	الربيع المسودي عن	الربيع المسودي في فوائده عن
	166	196r	27f	hadith inserted	
		196r	32-1	قال السلام	قال له السلام
		196v	1	يا ولي الله الله	يا ولي الله والله
		196v	3	...الواعظ يقول سمعت محمد بن الحسن يقول سمعت ابي	...الواعظ يقول سمعت ابي

Angel of Death	166	196v	4	على كف الموت	على كف ملك الموت
				من النور امر ان...	من النور ثم امره ان...
	167	196v	8	يا رسول االه لك حاجة	يا رسول الله الك حاجة
		196v	14	فجعلت العجب وانظر اليه	فجعلت اتعجب وانظر اليه
	168	196v	20	كنت اعجب عنه اريد ان اقبضه	كنت اعجب عنه امرت اقبضه
	169	196v	25	هو قريب الآن ياتيك	هو قريب الان ياتي
		196v	29	ولا يسلم بعده	ولا يسلم على احد بعده
		196v	32	على ادمي بعدك قالوا	على ادمي بعدك قال
	171	197r	4	ابن النجار في تاريخه انبانل (؟)	ابن النجار في تاريخه اخبرنا
		197r	6	Omitted	القاضي ابو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي
		197r	7	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن المايح السجزي	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن عبد الله بن المايح السجزي
		197r	9	Omitted	جعفر بن محمد
		197r	10	Omitted	ابن محمد بن علي
		197r	13	Omitted	ميكائيل
		197r	14	مدن الخمر كالعباد وثن	مدمن الخمر كالعباد وثن
Bearers of the Throne	179	197v	22	الدارمي في كتاب الرعد الجهمية	الدارمي
		197v	23	الحاكم	الحاكم في كتاب الرعد الجهمية
		197v	23	ابن عباس	العباس
	181	197v	29	منكبه	منكبيه
	181b	197v	30	Extra hadith inserted	
	182	198r	4	اين	حيث
	185	198r	8	زادان	زاذان
	186	198r	11	يقول اربعة منهم	تقول اربعة منهم
	187	198r	13	ثمانية ن الملائكة	ن الملائكة
The Spirit	210	199r	14-15	الروح ملك من	الروح من
	212	199r	20	الله تعالى	الله
		199r	21	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
		199r	22	ملائك	ملائكة

The Spirit	213	199r	23	فيهما	منهما
	216	199r	29	السموات	السماوات
	217	199r	30	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
	221	199v	7	ما نزل	ما ينزل
	225	199v	17	سماطا	صماطا
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
	226	199v	20	تسعة والكروبيون	تسعة والروح والكروبيون
		199v	18-20	و	ف
Riḍwān, Mālik and the Guardians of the Fire	229	199v	27	طاووس	طاوس
		199v	28	ملكاً	مالكاً
		199v	29	اصابعاً	اصابع
	232	220r	4	مائة	خمسمائة
	234	220r	11	بلا	لا بل
		220r	12	وبيد كل ملك منهم	وبيد كل واحد منهم
	235	220r	16-18	Extra hadith inserted	
	236	220r	18-19	Different *isnād* used	
	237	220r	20	Omitted	اخرج
		220r	25	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	26	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	27	ابشر يا محمد	يا محمد ابشر
		220r	30	Omitted	الى جبريل
	240	220v	9	صلعم رأى	صلعم انه رأى
		220v	9	ملكاً	مالكاً
Al-Sijill	243	220v	10	New title added: ما جاء في السجل عليه السلام	
	244	220v	16	Omitted	عن عطية
	247	220v	20	هروت	هاروت
		220v	22	هروت	هاروت
Hārūt & Mārūt	248	220v	23	عليهما السلام	Omitted
		220v	28	قال الله تعالى لالمالئكة هلموا	قال الله تعالى هلموا
	249	201r	8	قالوا فاختاروا	قال فاختاروا
		201r	8	هروت	هاروت
	250	201r	14	فاهبط هروت وماروت الى الارض	Omitted

		201r	16	فقيض لهما	فقيض الله لهما
Hārūt & Mārūt	250	201r	18	فعلّماها الكلمة	فعلّماها
	251	201r	19	اسحق	اسحاق
		201r	22	فاراداها	فراياها
		201r	23	بمواتيتكما	بمواتيتك
		201r	24	كيف لنا	كيف بنا
		201r	24	Scribal correction added to text: سعد > سعة	
		201r	24	سعة رحمة الله	سعة الله
	252	201r	27	هروت	هاروت
	253	201r	28-29	على اهل الارض	على الارض
		201r	31	فيحكموا بين	فيحكموا ما بين
		201v	3	فقالت لا	فقالت اهما لا
		201v	5	فاخبرها	فاخبراها
		201v	6	وعذاب الاخرة	والاخرة
	254	201v	12	هروت	هاروت
		201v	17	فغبرا	فغابا
		201v	17	فارادها	فاراداها
		201v	18	Omitted	ففعلت....على نفسها
		201v	24	اختاروا	اختارا
	255	201v	29	فعل	فلعل
		201v	30	هروت	هاروت
		202r	2	ارادها	اراداها
		202r	12	اطلعتك	اطعتك
		202r	12	In red: لهذه القصة طرف	
		202r	15	اكثرها انتهى وقد	اكثرها انتهى وقد
		202r	15	على جزئه	على الجزء
		202r	16	والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم	Omitted
Sakīna	295	204r	10	عن علي رضي الله عنه اذا ذكر	عن علي رضي الله عنه قال اذا ذكر
	297	204r	15	الانصاري يصلي قال اذ بالليل فاذا غشيني	الانصاري يصلي بالليل فاذا غشيني
		204r	16	فخشيت ان تنفر الفرس	فخشيت ان تنفر الحصان
		204r	17	ولدها فانصرفت	ولدها فانصرف
Tempters	302	204v	8-9	اتاه ملكان اسودان ازرقان	اتاه ملكان ازرقان
		204v	12	فيقول هو عبد الله	فيقول ما كان تقول هو عبد الله

Appendix D

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the Ḥadīth Section

The following is a table giving the full names of the sources used by al-Suyūṭī in those ḥadīth from *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* translated in this thesis. The table includes:

(i) the name, as used by al-Suyūṭī (and other classical Arabic texts)
(ii) the full name of the author
(iii) the author's date of death
(iv) a reference to either Sezgin's *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums* or, where appropriate, Brockelmann's *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur.*

? indicates an uncertain attribution
X indincates an author that I have been unable to trace

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827	I:99	
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963	I:113	
Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-ᶜArīf	X			
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	X			
Abū 'l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū 'l-Shaykh	369 / 979	I:200-1	
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932	I:659-60	

Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888	I:149	
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038		I:362
Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919	I:171-2	
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855	I:502-9	
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905	I:162	
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870	I:115f	
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895	I:600-1	
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193	I:648	II:207
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922	I:521-2	I:154
Ḍiyā', al-	Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245		I:112; SI:690
Firyābī, al-	Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī or ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[1]	301 / 913 212 / 827	I:40 I:166	
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933	I:221-2	
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857	I:111	
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894		SI:247
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938	I: 178-9	
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849	I:108-9	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008	I:46	
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939		I:119
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176		I:331
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797	I:95	

[1] Without further information, such as titles of works, it is impossible to tell who is being cited, as both were scholars of *tafsīr* and ḥadīth; Heinen suggests ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf; Heien, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 274.

Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930	I:495-9	
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011	I:350	
Ibn Hanbal	*See Ahmad*			

Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965	I:189-91	
Ibn Jarīr	See al-Ṭabarī			
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924	I:601	
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886	I:147-8	
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005	I:214-5	
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019	I:225	
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889		I:120
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845	I:300-1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853	I:109-10	
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714	I:30	
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī[2]	446 / 1054	-	-
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071		I:329
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945	I:443	
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875	I:136-43	
Nasā’ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā’ī	303 / 915	I:167f	
Qutbī, al-	*See Ibn Qutayba*			
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983		I:362
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842	I:104	

[2] From the information provided by Ibn Khallikān, this appears to be the correct attribution, as al-Khalīlī is said to be a ḥadīth scholar and biographer; however I have been unable to trace the author any further, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aᶜyān wa-anbāᶜ abnā’ al-zamān*; (tr. MacGukin de Slane), *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary* (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842 – 1871) Vol. 1, p. 53 n. 3 and Vol. 4, p. 27.

Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181		I:365
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ʻl-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971	I:195-7	
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923	I:323-8	
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938		SI:184
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930	I:653-9	
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934	I:177	
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075		I:411-2

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827
Firyābī, al-	ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[3]	212 / 827
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886
Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905
Nasā'ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā'ī	303 / 915

[3] Following Heinen (see above).

Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924
Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ‘l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971
Abū ‘l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū ‘l-Shaykh	369 / 979
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī	446 / 1054

Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176
Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193
Ḍiyā’, al-	Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449

Works Cited by Al-Suyūṭī

Name	Short Title	Full Title in *GAS* / *GAL*	Ḥadīth No.	GAS	GAL
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad al-kabīr*	248	I:113 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	251	I:113 §2	
Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī	*Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*	?	240		
Abū Nuᶜaym	*Al-Ḥilya*	*Kitāb ḥilyat al-anbiyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*	57, 82, 90, 96, 117, 125, 131, 158, 162		I:362 §1
	Al-Maᶜrifa	Not listed	119		
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	*Fawā'id*	Not listed	163		
Abū 'l-Shaykh	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* or *Kitāb ᶜaẓamat Allāh wa-makhlūqātihi*	2, 27, 30, 123, 125, 129, 130, 251	I:201 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	128, 166b		
al-Bayhaqī	*Al-Asmā'*	Not listed	106, 108, 181b, 182, 193, 202, 210, 212, 223, 246, 249, 254		
	Al-Baᶜth	Not listed	75, 86, 234		
	Al-Dalā'il	*Kitāb al-dalā'il al-nubūwwa*	52		I:363 §3
	Shu'ab al-īmān	*Al-Jāmiᶜ al-muṣannaf fī shuᶜab al-īmān*	Preface, 6, 24, 27, 60,68,97,166,166b, 186, 200		I:363 §5
al-Dārimī	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	179	I:601 §2	
al-Dinawarī	*Al-Mujālisa*	*Kitāb al-mujālasa*	12, 136, 144, 197		I:154 §1

al-Ḍiyā’	*Al-Mukhtāra*	*Al-Mukhtāra*	10		I:690 §10
	Ṣifāt al-nār	Not listed[4]	230		
al-Ḥākim	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	Not listed	179		
	Al-Mustadrak	*Al-Mustadrak ᶜalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*	250, 251	I:221 §1	
Hannād al-Sārī	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	235	I:111 §1	
Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā	*Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*	Not listed	248, 251		
	Dhikr al-mawt	Not listed[5]	112, 120		
Ibn Abī Shayba	*Al-Muṣannaf*	*Al-Muṣannaf* (*al-Musnad*)	111, 206	I:108 §3	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	*Al-Sunna*	? *Risāla fī ᶜaqīdat ahl al-sunna*	93	I:46 §1	
Ibn al-Anbārī	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	228		I:119 §1
Ibn al-ᶜArīf	*Fawā’id*	Not listed	163		
Ibn ᶜAsākir	*Ta’rīkh*	*Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*	65, 237		I:331 §1
Ibn Ḥajar	*Lisān al-mīzān*	*Lisān al-mīzān*	84		II:68 §4
Ibn Ḥanbal	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	248	I:504 §1	
	Al-Zuhd	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	35, 67, 73, 110, 111, 116, 125, 139	I:506 §3	
Ibn Ḥibbān	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad*	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī ‘l-dhabb ᶜan Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*	255	I:505	
	Ṣaḥīḥ	*Al-Musnad al-ṣahīh ᶜala al-taqāsim wa-‘l-anwā’*	84, 248	I:190 §1	
Ibn Mandah	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	5	I:215 §3	
	Al-Maᶜrifa	*Maᶜrifat al-ṣaḥāba*	25, 119	I:215 §1	

[4] However a work with the title *Ṣifat al-janna* is listed (*GAL* SI:690 §12), and the *Ṣifat al-nār* is likely to be part of this text, or a companion work.

[5] The work is no longer extant, but it has been reconstructed by Leah Kinberg; see Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā (reconstructed Leah Kinberg), *Kitāb al-mawt wa-kitāb al-qubūr* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1983).

Ibn Mardawayh	*Tafsīr*	No longer fully extant	252	I:225 §5	
Ibn al-Mundhir	*Tafsīr*	*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*	21	I:496 §1	
Ibn al-Najjār	*Ta'rīkh*	*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*[6]	84, 118, 171	I:350 §1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	251	I:110	
al-Khalilī	*Mashaykha*	*Al-Mashaykha*[7]	242		
al-Khaṭīb	*Rūwāt Māik*	Not listed	157		
al-Marwazī	*Al-Janā'iz*	Possibly part of his *al-Kāfī fī 'l-fiqh*	148, 165	I:443	
al-Qutbī / Ibn Qutayba (?)	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	229		I:121 §1
al-Sābūnī	*Al-Mi'atayn*	*Kitāb al-mi'atayn*	60		I:363
Al-Silafī	*Al-Mashaykha al-Baghdādiyya*	*Muᶜjam shuyūkh Baghdād*	166b		I:365 §2
al-Ṭabarānī	*Al-Awsaṭ*	*Al-Muᶜjam al-awsaṭ*	99, 106, 295	I:196 §2	
	Al-Kabīr	*Al-Muᶜjam al-kabīr*	119	I:196 §1	
al-Tirmidhī	*Nawādir al-usūl*	*Nawādir al-uṣūl fī maᶜrifat akhbār al-rasūl*	80	I:655 §9	
al-ᶜUqaylī	*Al-Ḍuᶜafā'*	*Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā'* (*wa-'l-matrūkīn*)	156	I:177 §1	
Al-Wāḥidī	*Asbāb al-nuzūl*	*Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl*	237		I:411 §1

[6] There is also a *Ta'rīkh Kūfā* by the same author (*GAS* I:350 §2) but it is most likely to be his more famous *Ta'rīkh Baghdād.*
[7] See the note on al-Khalīlī above.

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the *Khātima*

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268		SI:550
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā’	458 / 1065	I:513	SI:686
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286		SI:126
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013	I:608	
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149		I:369
Al-Safawī al-Urmawī	*See* Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī			
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392		SII:108
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327		II:105
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262		
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366		
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209		SI:359
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111		SI:744
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933		
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012	I:607	
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī ʻl-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243		SI:610
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ʻl-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū ʻl-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053		SI:671

Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025		
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018	I:223	
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999	I:668	
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240		SI:790
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142		
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278		SI:680
Quṛtubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Quṛtubī	656 / 1258		I:384
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226		I:393
Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa'd al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389		I:295
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323		SII:15
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350		SII:126
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403		SII:110
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370		SII:105
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā'	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309		
Tayyibī, al-	X			

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018
Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū 'l-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā'	458 / 1065
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'l-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243
Qurṭubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī	656 / 1258
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262

Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’ Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Thanā’ Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370
Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa’d al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449
Tayyibī, al-	X	

Appendix E

The Authorities of the *Ḥadīth*

Index of Authorities

The authorities cited by al-Suyūṭī are only given with a short name in most instances. The table below gives the full names as given in Volume 8 of A. J. Wensinck's, *Concordance de la Tradition Muslumane*.

X : marks an authority I have been unable to trace
* : marks a name which could refer to a number of different people
? : marks a possible, although not definite, authority

Cited Name	Full Name	*CTM*	§
al-Aᶜamash	Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aᶜmash	142	147
al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hishām Abū ‘l-Faḍl	141	179
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī	X		111
ᶜAbd Allāh	*		183
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda ibn al-Ḥaṣīb al-Aslamī	145	224
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth	? ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth ibn Nawfal	146	94, 99, 236
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr	*see Ibn ᶜAmr*		21
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	157	62, 248
Abū ‘l-ᶜAwām	X		234
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād	X		66
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr	X		38
Abū ‘l-Muthnā al-Ḥimṣī	Muslim ibn al-Muhtannā Abū ‘-Muthannā	254	135
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān[1]	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas	173	23
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam	X		12
Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	Abū Ṭālib ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	128	84, 171
Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī	X		92
Abū Dharr	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	78	8, 63
Abū Hurayrah	Abū Hurayrah	278	87, 90, 107, 146, 151, 181
Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Jawnī Abū ᶜImrān	179	67, 231
Abū Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir	X		247
Abū Mālik	Abū Mālik al-Ghifārī	237	108, 190, 198
Abū Qays al-Azdī	X		136
Abū Saᶜīd	*	99	13, 81, 91
Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī	a.k.a. Saᶜd ibn Mālik Sinān	99	86, 88
Abū Salama	*	107	240, 297

[1] Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas from his father.

Abū Ṣāliḥ	*	122	223
Abū Sinān	ᶜĪsā ibn Sinān Abū Sinān	216	104
Abū Umāma	? Abū Umāma ibn Taᶜlaba al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī	17	89, 152, 206
ᶜĀ'isha	ᶜĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr	135	2, 9, 35, 42, 43, 55, 95, 145, 217
al-ᶜAlā' ibn Ḥārūn	X		17
ᶜAlī [ibn Abī Ṭālib]	ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū 'l-Ḥasan	197	65, 83, 196, 212, 241, 243, 251, 252, 295
ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn	ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Zayn al-ᶜAbdidīn	197	36
ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	200	52
ᶜAmr al-Bakālī	X		22
ᶜAmr ibn Murra	ᶜAmr ibn Murra	212	64
Anas	*see Anas ibn Mālik*		45, 74, 75, 79, 118, 156, 230, 242
Anas ibn Mālik	Anas ibn Mālik	19	163
Ashᶜath ibn Aslam	X		123
ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	192	76
ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	192	116, 142
ᶜAtiyya	*	192	244
al-Awzāᶜī	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜAmr al-Awzāᶜī Abū ᶜAmr	175	15, 100, 101
al-Barā' ibn ᶜAzāb	Al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzib ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜUmāra al-Awsī	27	166
al-Ḍaḥḥāk	*	127	209, 211
Ḍamra	*	127	105
Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	76	167
Ḥudhayfa	?Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān al-ᶜAbsī	57	50, 77
al-Ḥakam	*	64	19, 124
al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān	X		161
Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	65	10
Hārūn ibn Ri'āb	X		186
al-Ḥasan	al-Ḥasan ibn Abi Ḥasan al-Baṣrī Abū Saᶜīd	60	112

Ḥasan ibn ᶜAtiyya	X		184
al-Ḥusayn	Ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	61	170
Ibn Abī Jabala	X		103
Ibn Abī Nujīḥ	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Abī Nujīḥ Yasār al-Thaqafī	169	227
Ibn ᶜAbbās	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAbbās Abū ᶜAbbās	151	18, 29, 37, 40, 48, 49, 54, 56, 82, 97, 98, 108, 122, 127, 132, 134, 149, 153, 159, 169, 180, 195, 202, 208, 210, 213, 221, 222, 237, 238, 253, 254
Ibn ᶜAmr	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ al-Qurashī	163	2b, 5, 106
Ibn Jarīr	X		140
Ibn Jurayj	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn Jurayj	180	50
Ibn Masᶜūd	ᶜAbd Allāh Ibn Masᶜūd Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	166	6, 41, 44, 47, 72, 108, 122, 164, 165, 216
Ibn Sābiṭ	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sābiṭ Abū Sābiṭ	173	27, 28
Ibn Shihāb	Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī Abū Bakr	248	53
Ibn ᶜUmar	*see ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar*		1, 245, 249, 250
Ibn Zayd	X		188, 194
Ibrahīm al-Nakhaᶜī	Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd ibn Qays al-Nakhaᶜī	3	128
ᶜIkrima	ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	3, 57, 78, 114, 141, 203, 220
ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid	?ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	33
Jābir	? *see Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh*		181b, 182
Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh	Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	40	11, 30, 60
Kaᶜb	Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār ibn Māṭiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	232	16, 20b, 93, 95, 115, 121, 232, 235
Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān	X		32
Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	71	199
Khaythama	Khaythama ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sabra	75	137, 138, 168
al-Khazraj (father of al-Ḥārith ibn	X		119

al-Khazraj)			
Maᶜmar	*	261	139
Makḥūl	Makḥūl al-Dimashqī	263	192
Mālik ibn Dīnār	Mālik ibn Dīnār	238	197
Maymūna bint Saᶜd	Maymūna bint Saᶜd	269	58
Maysara	*	268	205, 207, 209b
Muᶜādh ibn Jabal	Muᶜādh ibn Jabal al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	257	158
Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir	Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir Abū Bakr	249	150
Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	248	154, 166b
Mujāhid	? Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makhzūmī	239	110, 125, 162, 218, 219, 228, 233, 235b, 255
Muqātil ibn Ḥayyan	X		215
Murra	Murra	251	108
Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	267	39
Qatāda	*	224	50, 129
Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān	Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Ẓafarī Abū ᶜUmar	225	68
Rabāḥ	*	80	73
al-Rabīᶜ	*	81	187
al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas	X		26, 126
Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd	X		144
Saᶜīd	*	102	102
Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr	Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	102	7, 70
Salmān	*	106	226
al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd	X		148
Shahar ibn Ḥawshab	Shahar ibn Ḥawshab al-Ashᶜarī	120	131
al-Shaᶜbī	ᶜĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Shaᶜbī Abū ᶜAmr	133	225
Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh	X		46
Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī	X		157

al-Suddī	Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Karīma al-Suddī	13	246
Ṭāwus	Ṭāwus ibn Kaysan al-Yamānī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	128	229
Thābit	*	37	61
Thābit al-Banānī	Thābit ibn Aslam al-Banānī Abū Muḥammad	37	117
ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr	ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr ibn Qatāda Abū ᶜĀsim	183	120
ᶜUmar	ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ	201	239
ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara	X		143
Umm Saᶜd	Umm Saᶜd	96	201
Umm Salama	Umm Salama al-Anṣārī	108	71
ᶜUrwa	*	190	193
Usayd ibn Ḥudayr	Usayd ibn Ḥudayr ibn Simāk al-Awsī al-Anṣārī Abū Yaḥyā	14	296
Wahb ibn Munnabih	Wahb ibn Munnabih al-Dhimārī	291	14, 20, 31, 51, 59, 85, 130, 189, 191, 214
Waraqa al-Anṣārī	X		44b
Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ	Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ ibn Kaᶜb al-Laythī	289	69
Zādhān (or Zādān)	X		185
Zayd al-Aslam	Zayd al-Aslam Abū Usāma	89	113
Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ	X		80
Zayd ibn Rūmān	X		4
Zayd ibn Thābit	Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī Abū Saᶜīd	89	109
Ziyād al-Numayrī	X		155
Ziyād ibn Abī Hayya	? Ziyād ibn Jubayr ibn Ḥayya al-Thaqafī	88	200
Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad	X		133, 160
Unknown	N/A		24
Unknown (father of Abū ‘l-Malīḥ)	X		34
Unknown (some companions)	N/A		108

Appendix F

Summary of the *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

Summary of *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

172 – 177 The Angel of the Rain

172 al-Baghawī and al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

173 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

174 Ibn Jarīr
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

175 Abū ᶜAwāna and al-Ḍiyā'
An angel drives the clouds and he has a rope.

176 al-Ṭayālisī, Aḥmad and Muslim
A man hears a voice in the clouds and then follows the clouds to Yemen; he then meets the Angel of the Rain.

177 al-Dīnawarī
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

178 The Angel of the Veil

178 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh

The heaven of this world has invisible waves; the Second Heaven is made of white marble; the Third Heaven is made of iron, the Fourth Heaven is made of copper; the Fifth Heaven is made of silver; the Sixth Heaven is made of gold; and the Seventh Heaven is made of rubies; above that is a desert of light and no one knows what is above it except God, Most High. The angel responsible for the veil is called Mīṭāṭrūsh.

256 Another Angel

256 Ibn Abī Shayba
A pious man wishes to worship God in the sea and he is taken there by a group of people. The man asks to be left by a tree in a river. An angel wanted the pious man to go to heaven, so God commands the Angel of Death to take his soul.

257 – 267 Thunder and Lightning

257 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Diyā'

An angel is responsible for the clouds; the angel has a whip to drive the clouds; thunder is the sound of his voice.

258 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel and lightning is the sound of the clouds being driven with a whip.

259 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

260 al-Bukhārī and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel.

261 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Mardawayh
Thunder is an angel; his voice is thunder and lightning is his whip.

262 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

263 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel is responsible for moving the clouds; lightning is the raising of the angel's whip and thunder is the sound of the whip being cracked.

264 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Lightning is an angel coming into view.

265 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is the sound of the Angel of the Cold clapping and lightning is when he looks at the people on Earth.

266 Ibn Mardawayh
There is an angel responsible for moving the clouds; he is called Rūfīl.

267 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Lightning is an angel; the angel has four faces: a face of a human, an eagle, a lion and a bull; lightning is when the angel flicks its tail.

268 – 273 Ismāᶜīl

268 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl who is in charge of 70,000 angels.

269 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
During the *miᶜrāj* Muḥammad sees Ismāᶜīl, who is responsible for the Second Heaven; he is in charge of 70,000 angels; each angel has an army of 100,000 angels.

270 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl.

271 al-ᶜAdani
Before the Prophet's death, Gabriel comes to him three times; on the third day Gabriel shows Muḥammad the angel Ismāᶜīl, who is the Angel of Death.

272 al-Shāfiᶜī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 100,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 100,000 angels.

273 al-Bayhaqī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 70,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 70,000 angels.

274 Ṣadluqan

274 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Ṣadluqān is an angel; his toe is a ninth of the size of the seas.

275 – 276 Riyāfīl

275 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Riyāfīl was the angel that accompanied Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn; he tells Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn how the angels worship God in heaven.

276 Ibn Abī Ḥatim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn asks Riyāfīl about the Water of Life.

277 – 278 Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn

277 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

278 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

279 Dhū ‘l-Nurayn

279 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Dhū ‘l-Nurayn was an angel.

280 – 294 The Cockerel

280 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven in the form of Cockerel; when the Cockerel praises God in heaven, the earthly cockerels reply.

281 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel is underneath the Throne; its claws are made of pearls, and its spurs are made of green chrysolite; it causes the cockerels to crow at dawn.

282 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

283 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Ḥākim
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

284 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth, its head is under the Throne and its wings are in the air.

285 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel in the lowest heaven; its chest is made of gold, its stomach is made of silver, and its legs are made of sapphires, its claws are made of emeralds, and its claws are under the lowest earth. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its neck is under the Throne and its crest is made of light, protecting the space between the Throne and the Seat; it flutters his wings every night, three times.

286 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel; its two wings are ornamented with chrysolite, pearls and sapphires. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its feet are on the lowest earth and its head is under the throne. It causes the cockerels to crow at dawn. On the Day of Resurrection it will be told to stop beating its wings.

287 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

288 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Cockerels reply to the angels and praise God.

289 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
When the angel says ‘Praise the Holy One’, the cockerels on earth flap their wings.

290 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A cockerel crowed in the presence of Solomon and he told people that it was praising God.

291 al-Ṭabarānī
God has a Cockerel under the Throne; its wings are in the air and its claws are on the earth; when it is dawn, and it is the time of the call to prayer, it flaps its wings and the cockerels praise God.

292 Ibn ᶜAddī and al-Bayhaqī
The Cockerel’s feet are on the extremities of the Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

293 Ibn ᶜAddī
God has a Cockerel; its claws are on the lowest earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out when it is the time for the ritual prayers; the cockerel calls out to the heavens: ‘Exalt! Exalt!’ Then the Cockerel of the heavens and the cockerels of the earth call out.

294 al-Daylamī
The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel; its feet are on the boundaries of the lowest [earth] and its neck is under the throne; its wings are in the East and the West; when that angel worships God, there does not remain anything except the praise of God.

298 – 299 The Angel of the Mountains

298 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl ibn ᶜAbd Kalāl was approached by Muḥammad to enter into a treaty, but he refused. At Qarn al-Thaᶜālib Muḥammad looked to heaven and saw Gabriel. Gabriel tells him that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains asks Muḥammad if he would like him to cause the mountains to fall up Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl and his people. Muḥammad says no, but asks that their children may become Muslims.

299 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Gabriel informs Muḥammad that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains tells Muḥammad that he can do anything he wants. Muḥammad says that he does not want anything, other than for people to profess *tawḥīd*. The Angel tells Muḥammad that he is very merciful.

300 Ramyā'il

300 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the believers are handed over to Ramyā'īl.

301 Dūma

301 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the unbelievers are handed over to Dūma.

302 – 311 The Tempters of the Grave

302 al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, al-Ājurrī and al-Bayhaqī
An account of the events in the grave.

303 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

304 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of human interaction with angels, including references to: The Angel of the Womb, the angel that accompanies an individual until puberty, The Noble Watching Scribes and the Angels of the Grave (unnamed).

305 al-Bayhaqī
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

306 al-Ṭabarānī
The names of the two angels who come to the grave are Munkar and Nakīr.

307 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

308 Juwaybir
An account of what happens at the moment of death and the questions asked by the angels in the grave.

309 Abū Nuᶜaym
There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.

310 Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān
There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.

311 Ibn al-Najjār
The angels of the daytime are kinder than the angels of the night.

312 – 406 The Noble Watching Scribes

312 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right, the angel of bad deeds is on the left. If the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet. There are two angels responsible for the man at night and another two responsible for him during the day; a fifth angel is with the man continuously.

313 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 6:60.

314 Ibn Abī Zamanīn
There are four scribes: two for the night and two for the day; they come together at the dawn prayers.

315 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Ḥibbān
Angels follow people at night and day and they come together at the dawn prayers.

316 Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

316b[1] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

317 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

318 [Ibn Jarīr][2] and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels alternate between day and night.

319 [Ibn Jarīr] and Ibn al-Mundhir[3]
An exegesis of Q 13:11 & 50:17; if the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; the angel on the right, writes things down without the approval of the angel on the left, but the angel on the left has to seek approval from the angel on the right. if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet.

320 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the Scribes are ordered by God to do what they do.

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[1] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, ll. 12 – 14.
[2] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, l. 14.
[3] The Leiden MS combines §318 & 319 (fol. 205v, l. 15); the DKI edition also omits *akhraja*, so this ḥadīth appears to be a continuation of §318.

321 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 50:17; there are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right; the angel of bad deeds is on the left.

322 al-Daylamī
The two angels sit on the teeth, and the person's tongue is their pen and his spit their ink.

323 Abū Nuᶜaym
The name of the Scribe of Misdeeds is Qaᶜīd.

324 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the scribe writes down everything that a person talks about; but on Thursday, the scribe notes down both what the individual says and does.

325 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Ḥākim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel only writes down deeds and sins, it does not write down mundane things.

326 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angel of good deeds only writes down actions that reward and strengthen his companion.

327 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The scribe of good deeds is on the right and the scribe of bad deeds is on the left. When an individual does a good deed, the angel writes it down ten times; when an individual does a bad action, the angel of good deeds tells the angel of bad deeds to hold off writing it against the individual until Thursday, in case the person repents.

328 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Once a man was riding a donkey and it stumbled and the man said: 'I have stumbled'; the angel of bad deeds said that it was a bad action and the angel of good deeds thought that it was a good action; the angel of bad deeds was called away, but the angel of good deeds remained and wrote it down.

329 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

330 al-Khaṭṭīb
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

331 Ibn Jarīr
There are two scribes at night and two during the day.

332 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The human's tongue is the angel's pen and his spit his ink.

333 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel on the right writes down good deeds and the one on the left, bad deeds.

334 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for three hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

335 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

336 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
Good actions are written down ten times, but bad actions are only recorded once; if an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six or seven hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

337 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a person dies, the angels remain with the individual in the grave, in case the person seeks forgiveness.

338 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and al-Ḥākim
The first to know of an individual's death are the scribes, as they descend every day with the individual's *rizq*; when it is not given, they know that the person will die.

339 Ibn Mardawayh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn*.

340 al-Ṭabarānī
At the end of the day, the angel looks at the devil's book; if the angel finds any good actions recorded in the devil's book, the angel wipes it out and records it as a good action ten times. When individuals go to sleep they should say 33 *takbīrs*, 34 *taḥmīds* and 33 *tasbīḥs*.

341 Aḥmad
A man said 'Praise be to God' many times and the angel noted it down and magnified them.

342 ᶜAbd Allāh and al-Dīnawarī
The angels take their records up to heaven after the evening prayers.

343 Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn* and the angel of good deeds leaves his records in *ᶜIlliyun*.

344 al-Daylamī
God told the scribes not to record anything while an individual is angry.

345 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds departs from an individual when he is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

346 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunya and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

347 Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

348 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning how the angels write down their records.

349 al-Tirmidhī
When a servant tells a lie, the angel is separated from him by a mile form the stench which comes from him.

350 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

351 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

352 al-Ḥākim
When a person is ill, God reveals to the Scribes: ʻI have bound my servant in some of my chains. If I take him, I will forgive him; if I keep him alive, during the time of his illness I will stop his sin being recorded.ʼ

353 al-Ṭabarānī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

354 Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dāraquṭnī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

355 Aḥmad and al-Bukhārī
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him, for that is the direction of God; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

356 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Individuals should keep their sandals on their feet or place them in front of them; there is an angel on their right and there is their brother's angel on their left.

357 Ibn Abī Shayba
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

358 Ibn Abī Shayba
The Prophet saw spit on the *qibla*, and he reproached the people and told them not to spit in front of them, or to their right.

359 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones causes pain to an angel.

360 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A man is told to spit on his left, not on his right.

361 Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones during prayer is a habit from the Devil.

362 Ibn Mājah and al-Ṭabarānī
A man says a prayer and the scribes seek confirmation from God whether it is a good or bad action.

363 al-Bazzār
The Scribes record all actions.

364 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity and if there are any children present when an adult reveals him or herself, the child could be taken by a devil.

365 al-Bayhaqī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity.

366 al-Bayhaqī
Angels remain with individuals constantly, except when two people have sexual intercourse.

367 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels stay away from two things: human excrement and sexual intercourse.

368 al-Bazzār
Angels get embarrassed by nudity; angels stay away from three things: human excrement, those in *janāba* and those that need a major ritual ablution (*ghusl*).

369 Ibn Mardawayh
A man is praised for performing *tayammum*; angels stay away from an individual in two cases: when he is on the toilet and when he is with his wife; a person should conceal himself behind a wall or a camel.

370 al-Dīnawarī
If a man finishes the Qur'ān, the angel kisses him between the eyes.

371 Ibn Abī Shayba
Whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel has turned away from him.

372 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels never look when you reveal yourself.

373 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.

374 al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

375 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

376 al-Ḥākim
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

377 Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

378 al-Dāraquṭnī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

379 Ibn al-Jawzī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

380 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

381 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

382 Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a servant repents, God makes the Scribes forget his sin.

383 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Sammūya and al-Ṭabarānī
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

384 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

385 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should clean their teeth, as they are the seats of the Scribes; there is nothing more harmful to them than a remnant of food.

386 al-Shīrāzī
Whoever takes a bath uncovered, the two angels curse him.

387 al-Dīnawarī
When an individual thinks about doing a good action, it is written down once; when the individual does it, it is written down ten times; when a servant thinks of doing a bad action, it is not written down, but is written down once, when he does it. The angels know about an individual's intentions by smell.

388 al-Dīnawarī
Every person has five angels: one on the left, one on the right, on in front and one behind and one above him.

389 al-Dīnawarī
An exegesis of Q 50:18; the angels are between a person's two canines.

389b Aḥmad
A person does not speak good things, without the angels saying much of it.

390 al-Daylamī
Believers should refrain from kneeling down after sunset as it is painful for the two angels.

391 Ibn Jarīr
There is an angel on the right, which is responsible for good deeds and which has authority over the angel on the left. If a person does a good action, it is recorded ten times; when a person does a bad action, the angel asks the one of the right if it can write the action down; the angels on the right says, 'No' as the person may seek forgiveness. The angel on the left asks the angel on the right three times, after which the angel on the right tells the angel on the left to write it down.

An exegesis of Q 50:18 & 13:11; there is an angel on a person's forehead; when he bows down, the angel raises him; when the person is proud, the angel beats him. There are two angels on a person's lips and they only record when a person says: 'God bless him and grant him salvation.' There is an angel standing on your mouth which prevents snakes from entering; and

two angels on your eyes. There are ten angels and two sets for the day and the night, making twenty angels in total.

392 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, al-Firyābī, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; when a person dies, the angels leave an individual.

393 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual from *jinn*.

394 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

395 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

396 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

397 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; every individual has two angels during the day and two angels during the night; they guard the individual.

398 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

399 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Abū Ibn Kaᶜb.

400 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

401 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

402 Abū Dā’ūd, Ibn Abū ‘l-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

403 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā
Three hundred and sixty angels are responsible for a believer, which protect him; these include: an angel for sight, seven angels who drive away events which have not been ordained. If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

404 Ibn Jarīr and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

405 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels show people the rewards of the pious and the punishments of the impious, so that they may learn.

406 ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad
A believer and an unbeliever go fishing. The believer says a prayer to God before casting his net, and the unbeliever prays to his gods, before casting his. The unbeliever catches many fish, but the believer does not. Eventually the believer catches a fish, but when he picks it up, it wriggles out of his hand and returns to the sea. The believer's angel complains to God, but God shows the angel the places set for the believer and the unbeliever in heaven, and the angel sees that the believer receives a great reward.

407 – 408 The Angels Responsible for the Leaves of the Trees

407 al-Bayhaqī
Angels write down and record details about leaves as they fall off trees.

408 al-Bayhaqī
An angel helps a Muslim to find his way when he is lost on his way to Mecca.

409 – 410 Sharahīl and Harahīl

409 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Sharahīl is the angel responsible for the night; Harahīl is the angel responsible for the day.

410 al-Ṭabarānī
Unnamed angels are responsible for the coming of the day and the night.

411 – 412 Irtiyā'il

411 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

412 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

413 – 414 The Angel responsible for Cemeteries

413 Ibn Baṭṭa
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

414 al-Daylamī
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

415 – 422 The Angel which bears the Fish and the Rock

415 al-Bazzār, Ibn ᶜAddī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

416 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

417 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

418 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Four angels surround the rock at the bottom of the Earth.

419 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

420 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are four angels responsible for each of the corners of the rock

421 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The distance between each of the earths is 500 years and under the Seventh Earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

422 Ibn Jarīr
Q 68:1; under the earth is a fish; under the fish is a sea; under the sea is an angel; the angel is on a rock; and the rock is on the wind.

423 – 429 The Guardians of the Winds

423 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Ḥākim
The wind is kept in the Second Earth and was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

424 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

425 Abū ʻl-Shaykh, al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

426 al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

427 Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

428 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

429 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

430 – 434 The Angel of the Sun

430 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The noblest angel is the Angel of the Sun and he is the most influential over the Angel of Death.

431 Ibn Abī Shayba
The sun is driven by 360 angels.

432 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh
Seven angels are responsible for the sun.

433 Ibn al-Mundhir
The sun does not rise until 70,000 angels have called out to it.

434 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Two angels are responsible for the sun.

435 The Angel of the Shade

435 Ibn Jarīr
Abraham was protected by the Angel of the Shade when he was thrown into the Fire of Nimrod.

436 – 443 The Angel of the Womb

436 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
One angel is responsible for the sperm, another for the clot and another for the embryo; God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male or female, and the individual's *rizq* and *ajal*.

437 Aḥmad
After 40 days and angel comes to womb and writes down whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male of female, short or tall; and the individual's *rizq*, health and *ajal*.

438 al-Bazzār, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Dāraquṭnī
God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched and male or female.

439 Muslim
After 42 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *rizq*.

440 al-Ṭabarānī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

441 al-Bāwardī
After 72 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

442 ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be wretched or happy.

443 Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of embryogenesis.

444 The Angel of the Foetus

444 Abū 'l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the foetus; when the mother lies down, the angel raises the foetus' head so that it does not drown in blood.

445 – 447 The Angel responsible for the Blessing of the Prophet

445 al-Ṭabarānī
If a Muslim blesses the Prophet, God blesses him with a blessing that is worth ten good deeds and which cancels out ten bad deeds.

446 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Baghawī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless the individual tenfold.

447 al-Ṭabarānī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless him tenfold; whenever anyone wishes the Prophet peace, the angels wish the individual peace tenfold.

448 The Angels which Creates Jewellery for the People in the Garden

448 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
God has an angel that makes jewellery for the inhabitants of paradise.

449 – 457 The Angel of the Prophet's Prayer

449 al-ᶜUqaylī, al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

450 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

451 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

452 al-Khaṭṭīb
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

453 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

454 al-Daylamī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

455 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

456 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him and extra blessings are granted for those that do so on Friday and Friday nights.

457 Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī

God has angels that tell the Prophet of the peace of the community.

458 – 460 The Angel of the Yemeni Corner

458 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

459 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

460 al-Jindī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

461 The Angel responsible for the Stoning Pillars of Minā

461 al-Azraqī
An angel is responsible for the *jimār*.

462 – 465 The Angel responsible for the Qur'ān

462 Al-Ḥākim
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

463 Abū Saᶜīd al-Salmān
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

464 al-Daylamī
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

465 al-Khaṭīb
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

466 The Angel Responsible for saying 'The Most Merciful…'

466 al-Ḥākim
An angel blesses and grants the requests of those that say: 'The Most Merciful of those that Merciful' three times.

467 – 470 The Angel responsible for the prayer of those hidden

467 Ibn Saᶜd
Two angels are responsible for dealing with prayers for the deceased.

468 Ibn Abī Shayba, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Mājah
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

469 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

470 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

471 The Angel responsible for Crying

471 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A human does not cry until an angel rubs the individual's liver with his wing.

472 The Angels responsible for Faith, Life and other things

472 al-Dinawārī
After the scattering of the people of Babel, a number of angels disperse to different areas of the world.

473 The Angel responsible for Livelihoods

473 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
Angels are responsible for giving sustenance to humans.

474 The Angel responsible for Ritual Prayer

474 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī
God has an angel that calls out to humans at the times of the ritual prayers.

475 – 477 The Angel responsible for funerary rites

475 al-Rāfiᶜī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

476 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels walk with funerary processions.

477 al-Bayhaqī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

478 – 484 The Angel that delights Ḥasan and Ḥusayn

478 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

479 Ibn Manda
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

480 Ibn Mandah, Abū Nuᶜaym and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

481 Aḥmad
If an angel comes down to earth, it has never been down to earth before.

482 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

483 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

484 al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

485 The Angel responsible for the plants

485 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Angels are responsible for plants; the distance between the ankles and shoulders of the Bearers of the Throne is a distance of 500 years.

486 – 487 The Angel responsible for the Sea

486 Aḥmad and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the sea; when it puts its foot into the sea, the sea rises and when it lifts it out, the sea falls; this is the ebb and flow of the sea.

487 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An angel is responsible for the sea; if it did not hold it back, it would flood the earth.

488 – 489 The Angel responsible for the Noble Tomb

488 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Angels visit the Tomb of the Prophet.

489 Al-Azraqī
70,000 angels pray in the *Bayt al-maᶜmūr*, then they circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

490 – 491 The Cherubim

490 Ibn ᶜAsākir
On the cherubim; the distance between their collar bone and their earlobes is a distance of 500 years.

491 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The Spirit is under the wings of the Cherubim, who carry the Throne.

492 The Spirits

492 al-Bayhaqī
The spirits are in the Seventh Heaven; on the Night of Power they descend to Earth and pray for all those who are praying in the mosque.

493 – 545 On the Characteristics of the Angels

493 al-Ṭabarānī
An unnamed angel can devour the world in one bite.

494 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The distance between an unnamed angel's shoulder and ear is a distance of 100 years.

495 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of light and snow.

496 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

497 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

498 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel with 360 heads.

499 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel, which has a vast number of eyes and tongues which praise God. The Bearers of the Throne have horns, and the distance between the horns and their heads is 500 years.

500 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are 70,000 angels standing in ranks.

501 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerns eight angels which praise God.

502 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The Prophet saw an angel that was the same size as the Kaᶜba.

503 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels watch and comment on the behaviour of humans.

504 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the angel at the gate of Heaven.

505 Abū Ya’lā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

506 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

507 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel says ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

508 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nuᶜaym
Concerning the judgement of humans.

509 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and al-Ḥākim
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

510 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

511 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Throne is made of rubies; angels have 70,000 wings

512 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels accompany cavalry detachments, except groups in which the horses are adorned with bells.

513 Ibn Lāl
Concerning the creation of the angels.

514 al-Daylamī
God has made angels responsible for the *ḥaram*.

515 al-Daylamī
Angels talk about what humans say.

516 al-Daylamī
Angels cry out every night: ‘Sons of the forty seeds, the time for harvest is approaching.’

517 al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

518 al-ᶜUqaylī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn Mardawayh
Gabriel enters a river of paradise and from the drops of rain, angels are created. The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

519 al-Ṭabarāni and Ibn Mardawayh
Concerning the *miᶜrāj*; Muhammad is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in the Seventh Heaven; he is told that 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

520 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

521 al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

522 al-Jindī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

523 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Jindī
Adam is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and told to build the Kaᶜba in the same form.

524 Ibn Jarīr
The Kaᶜba is built in the place where Adam descended to earth and it is in the same form as the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

525 al-ᶜAzraqī
When Adam feared Satan, he sought help from God and God sent angels to protect him in the Kaᶜba and made it a sacred site.

526 Hannād al-Sārī
There are two angels in heaven who comment on hypocrisy and greed.

527 Ibn Mājah
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

528 al-Ṭabarānī
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

529 Ibn Jarīr, Abū Yaᶜlā, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Badr, Gabriel came down with 1000 angels on the Prophet's right hand side, and Michael and Isrāfīl came down with 1000 angels each on the Prophet's left hand side.

530 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels have not died, except at the Battle of Badr.

531 al-Ṭabarānī
A detachment of angels came down to Earth at the Battle of Badr, wearing white turbans; at the Battle of Ḥunayn they wore red turbans; the angels have not been hit on any day other than the Battle of Badr.

532 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels killed at Badr by hitting people on their necks.

533 al-Ṭabarānī
The detachment of angels wore black turbans at the Battle of Badr and red turbans at the Battle of Ḥunayn.

534 Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans at the Battle of Badr.

535 Ibn Abī Shayba and Ibn Jarīr
The angels were the first rank at the Battle of Badr.

536 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

537 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Q 3:125; The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

538 Aḥmad and Muslim
A Muslim became harassed by a polytheist and then he heard the cracking of a whip behind him, and the sound of horse and the polytheist was struck by the whip and went green. The Prophet told him it was from the auxiliaries in the Third Heaven.

539 Abū Nuᶜaym al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Ḥunayn someone saw a man in white.

540 al-Wāḥidī and al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad asks Gabriel about the angels at the Battle of Badr.

541 Abū Nuᶜaym
A vision concerning Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

542 al-Ḥākim
The Prophet has a dream about a black sheep; Abū Bakr interprets the vision

543 Ibn Saᶜd
The Prophet has a vision in which he sees Ḥanẓala ibn Abī ᶜĀmīr being washed by angels.

544 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Prophet sees a vision of an angel standing on earth, with one foot on the ground and the other on top of the sky.

545 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The space between an angel’s earlobe and collarbone is a distance of 7000 years.

546 – 681 General Traditions About Angels

546 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels are created and do not have hearts.

547 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Q 21:20; angels were created to glorify God.

548 al-Bukhārī
Angels were created to be God’s servants.

549 Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
Q 21:20; angels were created to serve and worship God.

550 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A prayer of the angels.

551 al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating.

552 Aḥmad
Devils are warded off with the words ‘What God wills’.

553 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of the angels.

554 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels worship God in heaven during the night.

555 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God does not talk to the angels.

556 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The decrees of God pass through the heavens.

557 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Waḥy sounds like ringing to the angels and when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

558 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
The decrees of God pass through the heavens and *waḥy* sounds like ringing to the angels; when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

559 Abū Nuᶜaym
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

560 al-Khaṭṭīb and al-Daylamī
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

561 Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
ᶜUmar wished to punish a hypocrite, who performed the ritual prayers sitting down.

562 Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Ḥakīm and al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating; an angelic prayer.

563 Abū ‘l-Shaykh.
Angelic prayers.

564 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angelic prayers.

565 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A description of each of the Seven Heavens and the forms of the angels.

566 al-Shāfiᶜī
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

567 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

568 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

569 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

570 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

571 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

572 Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜĀmir
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

573 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

574 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels dislike those who rested on the *qibla* after two prostrations during the dawn prayers.

575 al-Daylamī
God made the acceptance of *tawḥīd* incumbent on humans and angels.

576 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for humans for as long as they are prostrating.

577 Abū ᶜUbayd
ᶜUmar recited *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and said that it was the prayer that the angels said during the night.

578 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

579 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray during the night.

580 al-Daylamī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

581 al-Rāfiᶜī
A description of an unnamed angel with 1000 heads, each head with a 1000 faces (*etc*.)

582 Mālik, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

583 Mālik, Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

584 Ibn Mājah
A house with idols and dogs is not entered by angels.

585 al-Baghawī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym.
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells.

586 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells or a dog.

587 Aḥmad
Angels do not accompany riding beasts with bells or go into houses with bells.

588 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

589 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

590 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

591 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

592 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* or anointed with *khāluq* in it.

593 Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not attend the funerals of unbelievers, or those anointed with saffron or who are ritually impure.

594 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel does not come near a group that has severed the bonds of kinship.

595 Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* in it, or if there is a dog or idols in it.

596 al-Nasā'ī
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

597 Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

598 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for individuals for as long as their tables are set.

599 al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Bayhaqī
Angels do not go near someone who has eaten garlic, onion or leek.

600 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are hurt by whatever hurts humans.

601 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
A person is told to wash the head of someone who has died with water and to sprinkle his bed with water.

602 Ibn Mandah
A man says a prayer before going to bed.

603 al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
An angelic prayer.

604 Aḥmad
The angels are proud of pious men.

605 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

606 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels come to Damascus on Friday nights and pray for the sick.

607 al-Bayhaqī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

608 al-Daylamī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

609 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

610 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a specific prayer of supplication is used, 70,000 angels pray for the believer to be forgiven.

611 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Kharā’iṭī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

612 Ibn Ṣaṣarī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

613 Ibn Mājah
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

614 al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

615 al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

616 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

617 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

618 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

619 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The first rank is like a rank of angels

620 Muslim
The ranks of angels are crammed tight, one after the other.

621 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels bless those who wear turbans on Fridays.

622 al-Ṭayālisī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

623 al-Bayhaqī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

624 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels do not see any human entertainment except for betting and fighting.

625 al-Daylamī
The angels wear the *izār* when they are in the presence of God.

626 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angels were wearing turbans at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn.

627 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels wear turbans.

628 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels wear turbans.

629 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of horses.

630 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans and rode black and white horses at the Battle of Badr.

631 al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

632 Mālik and al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

634 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn al-Sunnī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

635 al-Bayhaqī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

636 al-Bukhārī
The angels come down to Earth in the clouds.

637 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels give people wisdom.

638 al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī
Angels give people wisdom.

639 Abū ‘l-Fatḥ al-Azdī
God listened to the prayers of Moses.

640 al-Kharā’iṭī
On the right hand side of the Throne is someone who calls out to the Seven Heavens.

641 Abū Nuᶜaym
If God loves a servant, He casts His love into the hearts of His angels; if God hates a servant, He casts His hate into the hearts of the angels.

642 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels bless the child of a slave-girl.

643 al-Ṭabarānī
When a daughter is born to a man, the angels bless the family and cover her in their wings.

644 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, Abū Yaᶜlā', Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim
When someone goes to bed, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his last action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his last action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the night. The same happens when the individual wakes in the morning.

645 Abū 'l-Shaykh
When someone wakes up in the morning, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his first action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his first action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the day.

646 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

647 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

648 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

649 al-Bayhaqī
A man should not engage in trade or military leadership until he is able to do so.

650 al-Bayhaqī
When God hates a servant, God sends an angel to the individual to surround him with luxury.

651 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bayhaqī
God puts believers to the test.

652 Ibn ᶜAddī
The angels rejoice in believers who dye their hair green (i.e. with henna)

653 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
A devil comes to a man in human form and befriends him. An angel also comes to him in human form and befriends him. The devil recognises that the angel is an angel, but the man does not. The angel then kills the devil. The man and the angel then receive hospitality and the angel steals a silver bowl. The man says that he can not be a friend of someone who commits murder and steals. The angel then explains to the man that the other 'human' was a devil who wanted to kill him.

654 al-Bayhaqī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

655 al-Bayhaqī
The angels do not have names in heaven.

656 al-Ṭabarānī
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

657 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

658 al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Angels are ashamed of nudity.

659 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels bear witness to God in heaven.

660 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels led Solomon to making the correct legal judgments.

661 Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah
There is no servant that prays for the Prophet, without the angels praying for him.

662 al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

663 Aḥmad
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

664 Ibn Mājah
The Prophet tells someone about the Gates of Heaven.

665 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels are proud of the Muslims during Ramaḍān.

666 Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Muḥammad berates a group for sitting down whilst praising God and tells them that Gabriel boasts about the Muslims in heaven.

667 al-Bazzār, Ibn Jarīr and al-Bayhaqī
On the Day of Resurrection, God will boast to his angels about his creations.

668 al-Daylamī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

669 Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

670 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God boats about humans to the angels.

671 Ibn ᶜAddī, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans and those that circumambulate the Kaᶜba to the angels.

672 al-Khaṭṭīb
God boasts about humans and those that fight in His path to the angels; the angels pray for a human as he fights in God's path.

673 Aḥmad
When a servant sleeps whilst prostrating, God boasts about him to the angels.

674 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Gabriel comes down to Earth with a troop of angels who pray for all those who are praying and remembering God. When it is ᶜĪd, God boasts about them to the angels.

675 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Riḍwān opens the Gates of Heaven and Mālik shuts the gates of Hell. Gabriel comes down to earth with a troop of angels and places a green flag on top of the Kaᶜba. Gabirel has 600 wings.

676 al-Bayahqī
The angels bless those who are performing the pilgrimage and embrace those who make the journey on foot.

677 Aḥmad
Angels curse people who make a sign to their brother with an iron object.

678 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels were created on Wednesday, the jinn were created on Thursday and Adam was created on Friday.

679 Ibn Jarīr
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

680 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

681 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When the Earth was created, it was spread out from the Kaᶜba and the angels were the first to circumambulate it.

682 – 744 On the Circumambulation of the Holy House

682 al-Jindī
God sent an angel to circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

683 al-Jindī
Adam is told by the angels that they had been circumambulating the Kaᶜba for 2000 years.

684 al-Azraqī
Concerning the creation of Adam, the protestation of the angels and the building of the Kaᶜba and the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

685 al-Azraqī
There are fifteen houses of God, one in each of the seven heavens and earths and God's house. They are all directly above each other.

686 al-Azraqī
Angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

687 al-Azraqī
Adam is told to worship God in the Kaᶜba, just as the angels worship God in the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

688 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

689 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

690 al-Azraqī
Muḥammad sees Gabriel wearing a green headband, which is covered by dust. Gabriel tells him that he has been prostrating at the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and the beating of the angels' wings beat dust into the air.

691 Ibn Mājah
Angels curse those who sell faulty goods.

692 Abū Nuᶜaym
Angels are with those who finish reciting the Qur'ān.

693 Ibn al-Sunnī
The angels curse those who pray in a name other than their own.

694 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels curse those who give religious rulings, whilst knowing that a different ruling is the correct one.

695 al-Dāraquṭnī
No place of prayer is without an angel: one on the left and one of the right of the person praying.

696 Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn ibn Bashrān and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel teaches the Qur’ān to whoever had intended to learnt it by heart, but who died before being able to do so.

697 Abū Yaᶜlā
Concerning ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAffān.

698 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
Angels are with anyone who recites the Qur’ān in the Kaᶜba

699 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
Eighty angels were sent down with the *Sura of the Cow*.

700 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Mardawayh
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

701 al-Ḥakīm [al-Tirmidhī] and al-Bayhaqī
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

702 Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī
God’s commands pass through the heavens and the jinn hear, but do not pay heed them

703 al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
God’s commands pass through the heavens.

704 Muslim
Two angels receive the soul of the deceased.

705 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A vision of an angel.

706 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels do not listen to humans, except with the permission of God.

707 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
The houses of believers light up for the angels.

708 al-Bayhaqī
Houses in which the Qur’ān is being recited look like stars to the angels.

709 Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī
God came to Muḥammad in the most beautiful form.

710 al-Ṭabarānī
There is no house in a city without an angel standing over the lintel with its sword unsheathed to prevent the Anti-Christ entering the house.

711 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
When a woman makes the midday-bed of her husband, angels help her.

712 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
When someone is in the presence of the deceased, the angels say 'Amen' to whatever prayers are said.

713 al-Daylamī
If someone finishes the Qur'ān, 60,000 angels pray for him.

714 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Cockerels crow when they see angels; donkeys bray when they see a devil.

715 al-Bazzār
Angels curse a Muslim who unsheathes his sword against another Muslim.

716 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for people performing the ritual prayers for the length of time that they remain praying.

717 al-Khaṭṭīb
Angels are present at the ritual prayers.

718 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for someone who is fasting who comes into the presence of food.

719 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

720 Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

721 Aḥmad, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

722 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

723 al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, al-Bāwardī and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels call out to Muslims on the Day of *Fiṭr*.

724 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels rejoice at the passing of winter.

725 al-Shīrāzī
The angels prayed for Adam.

726 al-Dāraquṭnī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Gabriel and the angels prayed for Adam (on the day of the prostration to Adam) and Gabriel then understood the significance of Adam's role as God's *khalīf*.

727 al-Daylamī
Concerning the events of the Day of Resurrection.

728 Ibn Mājah
Angels pray for those who attend the Friday prayers.

729 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

730 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

731 Ibn ᶜAsākir
God has knowledge of the hidden.

732 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer; the Prophet told him that it was an angel.

733 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer.

734 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God's blessings on his creations pass through the heavens.

735 Ibn ᶜAsākir and Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī
A Muslim sees Gabriel, Michael and other angels praying in the Kaᶜba.

736 al-Bayhaqī
During Ramaḍān, the angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

737 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī
The angels greet people on the Night of Power.

738 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn al-Mundhir
During the night, the angels pass over all the believers and pray for them.

739 Ibn al-Mundhir
Angels beat their wings in peace on the Night of Power.

740 Aḥmad
On the Night of Power and other days the angels on the earth are more numerous than the pebbles.

741 al-Daylamī
The angels perform the ritual prayers.

742 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not like a spirit of copper.

743 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 35:1; the angels have two, three or four wings.

744 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels have two to twelve wings and they are feathered. Gabriel has six wings.

Appendix G

Images of Angels in Islamic Art

Angels in Islamic Art

Six images from Islamic Art have been included below, simply to give an idea of the standard forms of angelic iconography.

Miᶜrājnāma [BNF Turc 190 fol unknown]
This is one of only a few images that show the huge size of the angel Gabriel. This image is taken from an account of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) and he is seated on Burāq.

Source: Colby, Frederick S., *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muḥammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006).

Album [TSMK Hazine 2154] fol. 61v
A picture of the angel, *al-Dīk*, one of the few purely zoomorphic angels; here the image is simply that of a cockerel. In the ḥadīth, *al-Dīk* is given more angelic attributes. One of these attributes is the cockerel's great size, which can be seen to some degree in this image, as it is a twice the size of Muḥammad. The cockerel is also associated with precious stones, which cannot be seen in this image.

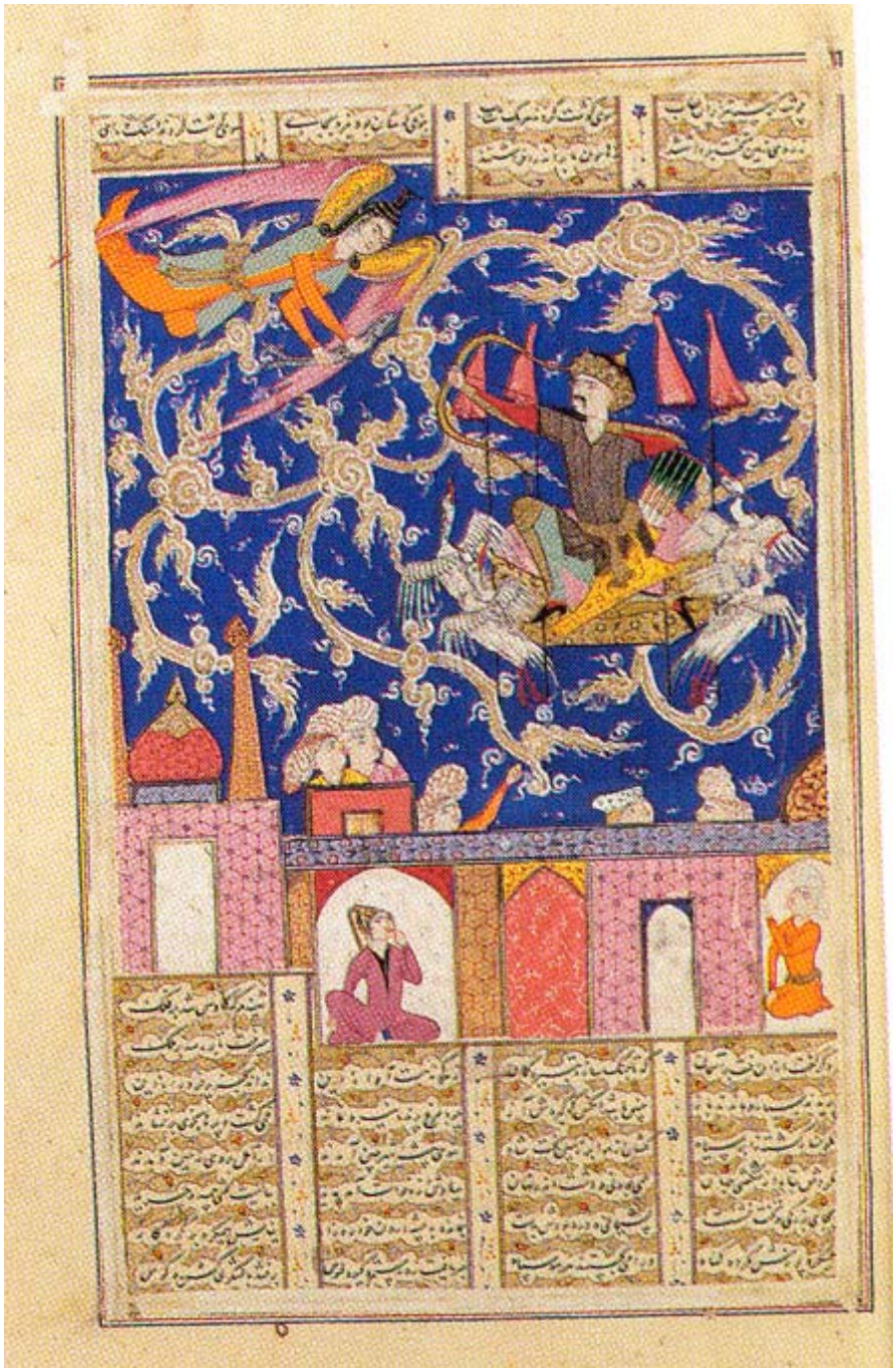
Source: Ettinghausen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen (ed. Myriam Rosen-Alayon), *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267; fig. (i), p. 247.

Al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib al-makhluqāt* [British Library Or. 47011 fol 38r]

There are a number of illustrated manuscripts of al-Qazwīnī's *Kitāb ᶜajā'ib al-makhluqāt*, which have a similar form for the angels. It is often difficult to distinguish between different angels and often the only means to tell the angels apart is by their place in the Arabic text.[1]

Source: Jones, Dalu *et. al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Islam: Haywood Gallery 8th April – 4th July 1976* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), p. 347

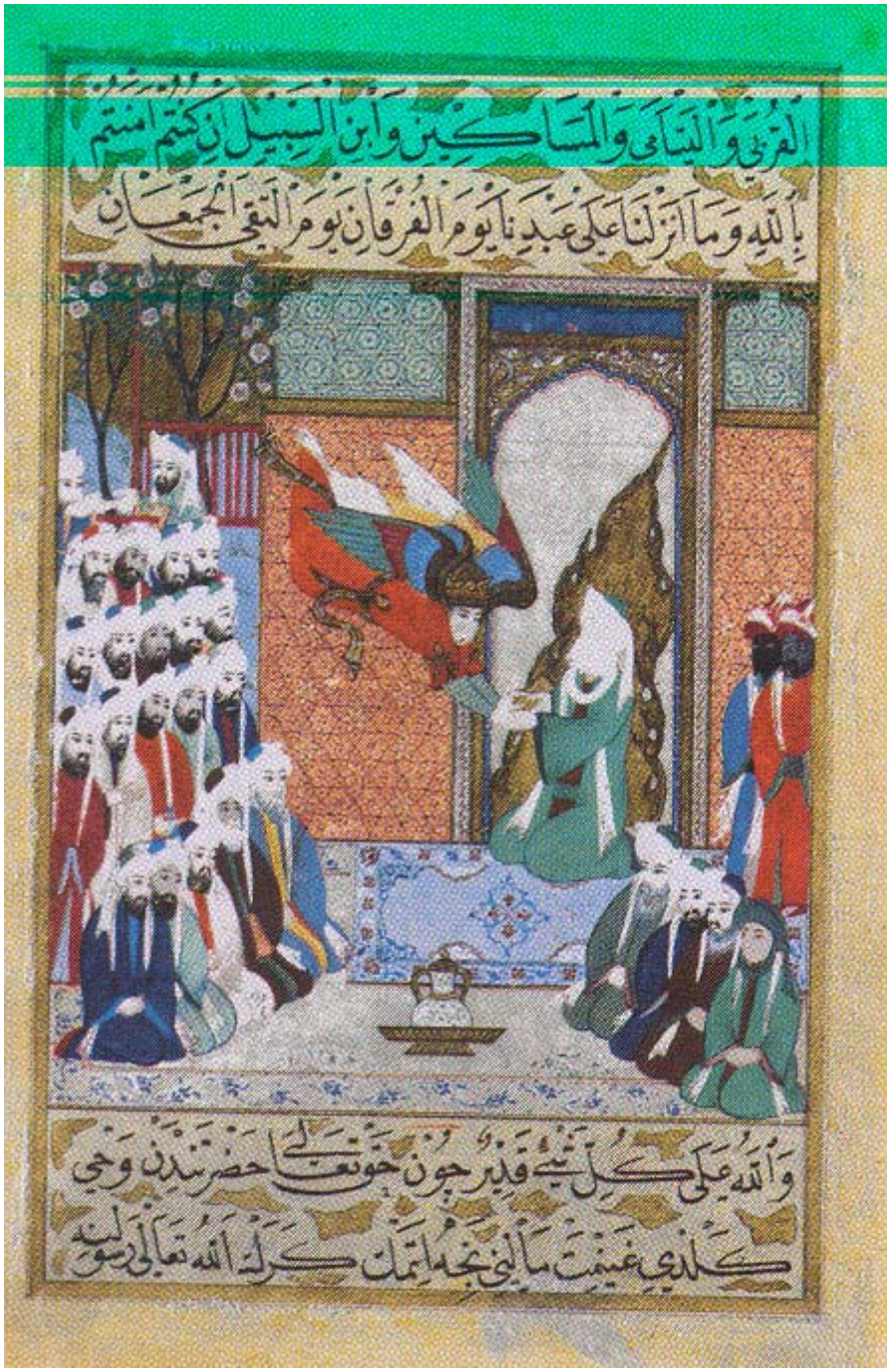
[1] For a discussion of these images, see Baidee, Julie A. D., *An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī* (PhD. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1978).



Shāhnāma [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Persan 490 fol 62r]

Persian images of angels tend to have more slender wings, as in this miniature. The angels are often depicted with their hair worn up, ornamented with pearls. Although Gabriel's hair is said to look 'like white pearls' (e.g. §50), there are no ḥadīth that actually suggest that the angels' hair were adorned with them. This is likely to be a reflection of contemporary dress.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, Marthe, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam: Paris, musée du Louvre 23 avril – 23 juillet, 2001* (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Naionaux, 2001) p. 206.



Siyar-i Nabi [Louvre MAO 149] loose leaf

This image depicts Gabriel revealing Sura 8. Angels are often exactly the same size as the humans in the miniature, as can be seen here (as well as some of the images included in this small selection). This image also shows the angel with four wings, this is quite rare as angels are usually given two wings in Islamic art.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux*, p. 284.

Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* [EUL Arabic MS 20 fol 22r]

Angels are very rarely depicted in a completely anthropomorphic form, this is one of only a few examples (another good example is from a *Siyār-i Nabī* [TSMK Hazine 1222 fol. 155r]).[2] The image follows the description of *al-Rūḥ* (identified with Gabriel) coming to Mary as a *basharan sawīyan*; cf. Q 19:17.

Source: Rice, David Talbot, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976) p. 85.

[2] See: Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press), p. 246 and Ipşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam*, p. 142.

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Intermediaries

Some of the ḥadīth include transmission through a limited *isnād*, frequently with the words '*min ṭarīq*...'; these individuals are listed below:

83	ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna
95	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥarīth
34	Abū 'l-Malīḥ
183	Abū Qabīl
24	ᶜĀdī ibn Arṭā
48, 213	ᶜAṭā'
234	al-Azraq ibn Qays
200	Bakr ibn Maḍr
237	al-Ḍaḥḥāk
119	al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj
210	Ibn Abī Talḥā
49	Isḥāq al-Hāshimī
237	Isḥāq ibn Bashar
119	Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
237	Juwaybir
23	Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-Aᶜīs
102	Khālid
102	al-Layth
119	Muḥammad (father of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad)
18, 221, 222	Mujāhid
200	Qutayba
200	Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh
83	al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī
108, 190	Al-Suddī
62	Thābit
24	ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr
234	Unknown (man from Banū Tammīm)

Authorities Mentioned in Full Isnāds (§68, 84 & 171)

(The authorities have been left in the same order as they appear in the *isnād*.)

68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yusūf al-Iṣfahānī
68 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī
68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmā al-Anṣārī
68 Abū ‘l-Faḍl
68 ᶜĀsim (father of Abū ‘l-Faḍl)
68 al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād

84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb
84 Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir
84 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah
84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī
84 Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāal-Jurjānī
84 Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
84 Aḥmad ibnᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī
84 Al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad
84 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
84 Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
84 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

171 Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf
171 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī
171 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭṭīb
171 Al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā’ Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsitī
171 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī
171 ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī
171 ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ
171 ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī
171 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
171 Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
171 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
171 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

Bibliography

8.1 Abbreviations

8.1.1 Journals, Encyclopaedia and Monographs

AAS	African and Asian Studies
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AELex	Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*
AI	Annales Islamologiques
AJCP	Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Lanugages and Literatures
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
BAEO	Boletín de la Asociacíon Española de Orientalistas
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BHS	Hebrew Bible; *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
CHAL	Cambridge History of Arabic Literature
CHI	Cambirdge History of Iran
CTM	Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane*
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EA	Etudes Asiatiques
EAL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature
ED	Encyclopedia of Death
EdAM	Enciclopedia dell'arte Medievale
EHR	The Economic Historical Review
EI^1	Encyclopaedia of Islam (First Edition)
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)
EI^3	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Third Edition)
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EphThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EQ	Encyclopedia of the Qur'an
ER^2	Encyclopedia of Religion (Second Edition)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
EWIC	Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures
FGA	Freer Gallery of Art
GAS	Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GS	Goldziher (ed. DeSomogyi), *Gesammelte Schriften*
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IA	Islamic Art
IC	Islamic Culture
ICMR	Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJMES	International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IrS	Iranian Studies
IS	Islamic Studies
Isl.	Der Islam
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAIS	Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies
JAL	Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHB	Journal for the History of Biology
JHMAS	Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies
JJRL	Journal of the John Rylands Library
JMMA	Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JQS	Journal of Qur'anic Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Ritual Studies
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
LA	Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-ᶜarab*
ME	Medieval Encounters
MS	Manuscript
MSR	Mamlūk Studies Review
MW	Muslim World
NB	New Blackfriars
NRSV	Bible (New Revised Standard Version)
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OTr	Oral Tradition
OTP	Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*

PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PEW	Philosophy East and West
PP	Past and Present
PT	Poetics Today
QA	Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ [used for al-Thaʾlabī, al-Kisāʾī & al-Rabghūzī]
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chrsitentum
RB	Revue Biblique
RC	Religion Compass
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RP	Revue Philosophique
RZBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
SI	Studia Islamica
TA	Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
TPAPA	Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association
UBS	Greek New Testament; United Bible Society (4th Edition)
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdI	Die Welt des Islams
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

8.1.2 Abbreviations (Ancient Texts)

1 En.	First Enoch (Ethiopic)
1Th.	First Letter to the Thessalonians
2En	Second Enoch (Slavonic)
2Cor	Second Letter to the Corinthians
3Bar	Third Baruch
3En	Third Enoch (Hebrew)
ActsJ	Acts of John
ApAb	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApEl	Apocalypse of Elijah
ApIs	Apocalypse of Isaiah
ApPaul	Apocalypse of Paul
ApZeph	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
BB	Baba Bathra
CantR	Song of Songs (Qohelet) Rabbah
DeutR	Deuteronomy Rabbah
DialSav	Dialogue of the Saviour
Ezk.	Ezekiel
GenR	Genesis Rabbah
GPhil	Gospel of Philip
Ḥag	Ḥagigah
JanJam	Jannes and Jambres
JosAsen	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub.	Book of Jubilees

Ket.	Ketuboth
LadJac	Ladder of Jacob
LAE(V)	Life of Adam and Eve (*Vita*)
LamR	Lamentations Rabbah
Men.	Menahot
MK	Mo'ed Katan
NumR	Numbers Rabbah
Q.	Qur'ān
QuesEzra	Questions of Ezra
San.	Sanḥedrin
Shab.	Shabbat
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Ta'	Ta'anith
Tob.	Tobit
Yom	Yoma

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ANGELS IN ISLAM

A Commentary with Selected Translations of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*)

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2009

A loose-leaf from a MS of al-Qazwīnī's, *ʿAjā'ib fī makhlūqāt* (British Library)
Source: Du Ry, Carel J., *Art of Islam* (New York: Abrams, 1971), p. 188

0.1 Abstract

This thesis presents a commentary with selected translations of Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*). The work is a collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* about angels, followed by a postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological questions regarding their status in Islam.

The first section of this thesis looks at the state of the study of angels in Islam, which has tended to focus on specific issues or narratives. However, there has been little study of the angels in Islamic tradition outside studies of angels in the Qur'an and eschatological literature. This thesis hopes to present some of this more general material about angels.

The following two sections of the thesis present an analysis of the whole work. The first of these two sections looks at the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, focusing on angelic nomenclature and angelic iconography. The second attempts to understand the message of al-Suyūṭī's collection and the work's purpose, through a consideration of the roles of angels in everyday life and ritual. The translation and annotated commentary that follow focus on angels mentioned in the Qur'ān itself: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.

The aim of the thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth*, beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

0.2 Declaration

I declare that I, Stephen Russell Burge, have written this thesis and that the work is my own. The thesis has been submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

S. R. Burge

0.3 Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have helped me enormously during my doctoral studies and whom I wish to thank.

I am very grateful for the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), who have provided me with a Doctoral Studentship throughout my studies, which covered my fees, maintenance and a grant for a research trip. I would not have been able to complete this work without their generous financial support.

Firstly, I would like to thank Prof. Julia Bray, now of the Université de Paris VIII, for introducing me to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. She also encouraged me greatly in my undergraduate studies at the University of St. Andrews.

A number of colleagues and staff in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies have provided me with helpful comments on my work, but I would like to mention especially Dr. Ayman Shihadeh, Jokha Al-Ḥarthī and Samy Ayoub for their comments on my Arabic; Songul Mecit for helping me with my German; Margaret Graves for introducing me to Islamic Art and especially Saeko Yazaki and Alex Mallett who have both been a joy to work with and to know.

Special thanks go to my parents who have been extremely encouraging and supportive throughout my studies. My interest in Arabic and Islam began when we lived in Khartoum in the mid 1980s, but I doubt that they ever anticipated one of their children would be writing a thesis as a result.

I would like, especially, to thank my supervisor, Prof. Carole Hillenbrand OBE, for all her encouragement since we first met in 2003. I hope that she has been as fascinated as I have been by Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the weird and wonderful world of Islamic angelology. She has not only supervised my work, but encouraged me to publish and to develop as an academic, a researcher, a tutor and an individual; for that I am eternally grateful.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife, Laurelin. Our family has doubled since I began my studies and she has been happy to look after two young children on her own, whilst I worked long hours. She has also been willing to listen to me talking about angels in Islam for more than most could stand and has commented on all of my ideas and random thoughts. I could not have completed this thesis without her constant and steadfast support. I also thank, although they do not yet understand, my two children, Christian and Peter, who show me constantly that play is just as important as work.

0.4 Transliteration System

Arabic

The transliteration used in this thesis is a modified version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

Consonants	’, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ᶜ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y
Vowels	ā, a, ī, i, ū, u,
Diphthongs	ay, aw
Feminine Endings	-a / at (in *iḍaāfa*)
Nisba adjectives	iyy
Definite article	al- / ‘l- [‘sun’ letters have not been assimilated]
Enclitics:	bi-‘l-

Case endings are only marked when necessary.

Common English names (such as Michael, Gabriel and Adam) have not been transliterated.

ان الملائكة تبسط أجنحتها لطالب العلم

السيوطي
الحبائك في اخبار الملائك

for

Laurelin, Christian and Peter

with love

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Introduction: Angels in Islam

1. Angels in Islam: Classical Islam and Previous Scholarship

In an article published in *The Muslim World* in 1937, the American missionary Samuel M. Zwemer commented: 'The angelology of Islam is very extensive and has been treated only partially by western scholars, although it holds such an important place in the belief of popular Islam…'[1] There still remains a large gap in the scholarly literature on the role of angels in Islam, with only two early monographs available on the subject.[2] Admittedly, there are a number of studies in areas that include the angels, but none devoted exclusively to them. This is quite surprising as angels are a fundamental part of Islamic belief, as Sachiko Murata notes: 'The Islamic concepts of creation, revelation, prophecy, the events that occur in the world, worship, the spiritual life, death, resurrection, and the central position of man in the cosmos cannot be understood without reference to angels.'[3] In fact, belief in angels is necessary in Islam and their rejection constitutes *kufr*.[4] This strong stance on angels can be seen quite clearly in the Qur'ān, for example: 'Whoever is an enemy to God and His angels and His messengers, Gabriel, and Michael – surely God is an enemy

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[1] Zwemer, Samuel M., 'The Worship of Adam by Angels (With Reference to Hebrews 1.6)'*MW* 27 (1937) pp. 115 – 127, p. 115.

[2] Eickmann, Walther, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* (New York & Leipzig: Verlag Paul Eger, 1908); Eichler, Paul Arno, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran* (Leipzig: Klein, 1928). These are both focused on the Qur'ān rather than than *ḥadīth*; there is also a short, but fairly basic, article on Jewish, Christian and Islamic angelology: Bishop, Eric F. F., 'Angelology in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' *ATR* 46 (1964) pp. 142 – 154.

[3] Murata, Sachiko, 'The Angels' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) pp. 324 – 344, p. 324.

[4] Belief in angels features in many of the credal statements: cf. Al-Ashᶜarī §1 & 24; al-Ṭahāwī §20 & 24; *al-Fiqh al-akbār* II §1; Al-Qayrawānī §28 and al-Nasafī §23; Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Creeds* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) pp. 41, 43, 52 – 54, 62, 72 & 83. In the contemporary world, disbelief in angels is still regarded as leading to *kufr*; for example, it was cited (fairly or unfairly) in the case of Naṣr Abū Zayd; see Najjar, Fauzi M., 'Islamic Fundamentalism and the Intellectuals: The Case of Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd' *BJMES* 27 (2000) pp. 177 – 200, p. 194.

to the unbelievers.'[5] Angels, then, are an integral part of the Islamic worldview and deserve attention.

Despite the lack of a single monograph exploring angels in Islamic thought, it would be inaccurate to suggest that there has been no scholarship on the subject. The roles of the angels in specific mythic events (such as the prostration of the angels to Adam) and their role in the eschatological works (including the *miʿrāj*) have been discussed, albeit not always in much depth. Angels encompass a range of different areas of study: Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* studies, accounts of the *miʿrāj* and Islamic eschatology, notions of popular religion and discussions in systematic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy. Although not the focus of one work, Islamic angels have often been featured in all of these areas of Islamic Studies.

1.1 The Study of Angels in Previous Scholarship

There has been no study on the development of Islamic angelology, but there have been a number of works on the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels. These have focused on two main areas: (i) the Jewish or Christian provenance of particular angels or narratives involving angels and (ii) the development of Islamic angelology and its relation to pre-Islamic religion, both usually relating to the study of the Qur'ān.

[5] Q 2:97; Arberry, A. J., *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 12; cf. Q 2:161, 177, 285 and 4:136; see also Abdel Haleem, M. A. S., 'Qur'an and Hadith' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 19 – 32, p. 27 and Boubakeur, Hamza, *Traité moderne de théologie islamqiue* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1985) pp. 63 - 71.

That the Qur'ān is the principal source for Muslim beliefs about angels is undeniable, but a number of scholars have attempted to analyse and find the origins of specific Qur'ānic narratives. Sometimes the association of angels in Islam, such as Gabriel, with their Jewish or Christian antecedents are quite obvious and were also acknowledged in mediaeval Islamic sources.[6] Western studies of the foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān, particularly Arthur Jeffery's study of 1938,[7] attempted to use these examples of non-Arabic vocabulary to locate the origins of Islam in a particular milieu.[8] Similar source-critical methods were also used in the study of various Qur'ānic pericopes, originally as part of a broader polemic against Islam.[9] More recently, the methodology has been used to understand the shared heritage of Jewish, Christian and Muslim stories, motifs and traditions more broadly.[10] Steven

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[6] Cf. al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍā', *Tāj al-ᶜarūs min jawāhīr al-qāmūs*. (Kuwait: Maṭbaᶜat Ḥukuma al-Kuwayt, 1965 – 2001) vol. 28, pp. 45 – 4; see also Reichmuth, Stefan, 'Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (D. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts. Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century' *WdI* 39 (1999) pp. 64 – 102.

[7] Jeffery, Arthur, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938).

[8] cf. Nöldeke, Theodor with Schwally, Friedrich, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962) pp. 6 – 20; Torrey, C. C., *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933) and Bell, Richard, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1926); prior to these, there were a number of more polemic studies, obvious examples include Geiger, Abraham, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*. (Repr. Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1902); Tisdal, William St. Clair, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân* (London: SPCK, 1905) and Speyer, Heinrich, *Die Biblische Erzählungen im Qoran* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms, 1988).

[9] These polemic works often attributed 'sources' to the Qur'ān without much analysis. They often made connections between the Qur'ān and Jewish or Christian works simply on account of a similar theme. The establishment of parallels in source criticism was also popular in Old Testament Studies, where links were made between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. For a discussion of the problems of establishing parallels between two different texts, see Sandmel, Samuel, 'Parallelomania' *JBL* 81 (1962) pp. 1 – 13.

[10] E.g. Newby, Gordon D., 'The Drowned Son: Midrash and Midrash Making in the Qur'an and *Tafsīr*' in William M. Brinner & Steven D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 19 – 32; Waldman, Marilyn Robinson, 'New Approaches to "Biblical" Materials in the Qur'ān' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 1, pp. 47 – 64; Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 'Early Muslim Traditionists and their Familiarity with Jewish Sources' *Tafsīr*' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 59; Halperin, David J., *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988) pp. 467 – 476 and Wagtendonk, Kees, 'The Stories of David in al-Thaᶜlabī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā"* in Robert Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: Actes du 8eme Congrès de l'Union*

Wasserstrom's work on the relationship between Islamic tradition and Jewish Pseudepigrapha is the best example of this type of approach in recent times.[11] These studies do not aim, as with the early polemicists, to establish a genetic link between the Qur'ān (as well as *ḥadīth*) and earlier Jewish works, but to explore the intricate relationships between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the early period of Islam.[12]

The secondary literature on narratives involving angels has tended to focus on the Qur'ān and its exegetical literature (including both *tafsīr* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Taking the narrative of the angelic prostration to Adam as an example, it can be seen that some scholars look at the Qur'ānic accounts specifically, [13] whilst others look at the narrative more broadly, but always with the Qur'ānic episode in mind.[14] The earliest articles and studies on this Qur'ānic pericope attempt to find a 'source' for the story.[15] William St. Clair Tisdall comments that the story: '…is doubtless

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Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Aix-en-Provence, 1976 (Aix-en-Provence : Edisud, 1978) pp. 343 – 352.

[11] Wasserstorm, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and Wassertrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'' in Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern (eds.), *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interactions: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 237 - 253.

[12] For example, Brannon Wheeler concludes in his study of Moses in *tafsīr* that early scholars actively used Jewish and Christian material: 'The Muslim exegetical use of the Torah, Gospel, and other non-Quranic sources does not appear to be a confused or haphazard "borrowing" of Jewish and Christian ideas.' Wheeler, Brannon M., *Moses in the Qur'an and Islamic Exegesis* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002) p. 123.

[13] Cf. Seligsohn, M., 'Adam' *EI*[1] vol. 1, p. 127; Zwemer, 'The Worship of Adam by Angels'; Pederson, J. 'Adam' *EI*[2] vol. 1, pp. 176 – 178; MacDonald, D. B., 'Malāʾika' 189; Husayn, Muhammad Kamil, 'Story of Adam' *MW* 54 (1964) pp. 4 – 13; Jung, Leo, 'Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature' *JQR* 15 (1925) pp. 467 – 502; 16 (1926) pp. 45 -88; 171 – 205; 287 – 336; Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Creation and Judgement in the Koran and in Mystico-Poetical Interpretation' from Schimmel & Falatūri (eds.), *We Believe in One God* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979) pp. 148 – 180; Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration (*sujūd*). 1. Arabs and Prostration at the beginning of Islam and in the Qur'an' *SI* 88 (1998) 5 – 34 and Mir, Mustansir, 'Adam in the Qur'an and Islamic Literature' *IC* 62 (1998) pp. 1 – 11.

[14] Cf. Vadet, J.-C., 'La création et l'investiture de l'homme dans le sunnisme ou la légende d'Adam chez al-Kisā'ī'*SI* 42 (1975), pp. 5 – 38, pp. 27-28; Kister, M.J., 'Ādam: A study of some legends in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 113 – 174; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Adam and the Angels: An Examination of Mythic Elements in Islamic Sources' *Arabica* 93 (2001) pp. 5 – 25; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam's creation' *Arabica* 49 (2002) pp. 429 – 455 and Wassertrom, 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha'.

[15] Cf. Seligsohn, 'Adam' p. 127 and Pederson, 'Adam' p. 177.

borrowed from a misapprehension of Heb. i. 6…'[16] More recent studies, however, have tended to treat the material interpretively. For example, M. J. Kister attempts to place the traditional *qiṣaṣ* literature about the prophets in the context of the Qur'ān, arguing that: 'The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ḥawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate.'[17] Likewise, Annemarie Schimmel is less interested in the sources of the narrative, but explores Muslim responses to the story in theology and mysticism.[18] In Sufism, it is Iblīs that becomes an important subject; as Iblīs refused to bow down to something other than God, he comes to be seen, by some, as a kind of proto-Sufi and strict monotheist.[19] Other commentaries have included a contextualisation of the narrative in its Arabian context,[20] thematic analyses and comparative approaches.[21] However there is a tendency in all of these studies to discuss events and characters other than the angels; authors are interested in what the prostration says about Adam and humans more generally (or in the case of Sufism, Iblīs). There has, however, been relatively little work pursued on the role of angels in Islamic tradition more widely.[22]

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[16] Tisdall, *Sources*, p. 196; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen*, pp. 54 – 58 and Katsh, Abraham, *Judaism in Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1954) pp. 32 – 33.
[17] Kister, 'Ādam', p. 115.
[18] Schimmel, 'Creation and Judgement' pp. 159 – 160.
[19] The most notable example is al-Ḥallāj, Abū 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr, *Tawāsīn*; Massignon, Louis (tr. H. Mason), *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr – Vol. 3. The Teaching of Al-Hallāj* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 282 – 326, especially pp. 306 – 316. See also Awn, Peter, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi Psychology* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) for a full discussion of this theme.
[20] Tottoli, 'Attitudes to Prostration'.
[21] E.g. Mir, 'Adam in the Qur'ān' and Chipman, 'Mythic aspects'.
[22] Islamic eschatology will be dealt with below.

The second focus of the secondary literature on the origins and development of angelology in Islam focuses on its relationship with pre-Islamic paganism.[23] The most notable studies have been by Joseph Chelhod, Jacques Waardenburg and Alford T. Welch.[24] These studies relate the development of Qur'ānic angelology to the decline of pre-Islamic paganism, with particular focus on the various verses of the Qur'ān that accuse the Meccans of angel and jinn worship.[25] There are a number of problems with this type of research. The idea that Arabian religion progressed from animism to monotheism, through various other stages (including polydaemonism, polytheism and panentheism) is based on the concept of religious evolutionism.[26] Religious evolutionism has been largely rejected by anthropologists of religion because of the results of anthropological research, as well as its strong imperialist overtones. Both Waardenburg and Welch approach Qur'ānic angelology on evolutionist lines, but their arguments frequently encounter problems. Welch, for example, bases his thesis on the chronological ordering of the verses of the Qur'ān and the historiographical and practical problems associated with this are well known.[27]

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[23] The Egyptologist Wallis Budge also suggests that Islamic angelology may be related to Egyptian polytheism; see Budge, Wallis E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians* (repr. New York: Dover, 1969) vol. 1, p. 6.

[24] Chelhod, Joseph, *Les Structures du Sacré chez les Arabes* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965); Waardenburg, J., 'Changes of Belief in Spiritual Beings, Prophethood and the Rise of Islam' in Hans G. Kippenburg (ed.), *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984) pp. 259 - 290 and Welch, Alford T., 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings: The Emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of *tawḥīd*' *JAAR* 47 (1979) pp. 733 – 758; see also Hawting, G. R., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[25] Cf. Q 34:40; 37:149 – 152; 43:19; 45:43 and 53:21.

[26] Evolutionist views consider societies to be '…in a process of evolution during which they became more complex and more rational and less simple and "primitive"; but some seemed to have got stuck at lower steps of the escalator.' Gellner, David N., 'Anthropological Approaches' in Peter Connolly and Ninian Smart (eds.), *Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999) pp. 10 – 41, p. 10.

[27] Cf. 'It should be obvious from my summary of Nöldeke and Schwally's work that, plausible as their scheme may seem, it is based on very little hard-and-fast evidence. In fact, many of the surahs are

For those who argue from an evolutionist perspective, the Qur'ān uses angels in a larger polemic against polytheism, in which other deities become labelled 'angels' to prove that they have no power or authority. Their use in evolutionist arguments often leads to strange conclusions. For example, Welch states that: 'The angels become little more than symbols and extensions of divine power…'[28] Why is this surprising? This is exactly what angels are and what they are supposed to be. Welch believes that the Battle of Badr (or the changing of the *qibla*) marked a moment in which the angels moved from being conceived as humans to taking invisible forms.[29] Again, this is a misunderstanding of the angelology and the result of an attempt to place Qur'ānic angelology in a developmental scheme. A brief survey of Judeo-Christian literature shows that angels are often conceived in different ways, with both human and divine forms.[30] There is no reason to suggest that the use of two different iconographies marks a development in the angelology of the Qur'ān. Welch and Waardenburg fundamentally misunderstand angelology and attempt to force Qur'ānic angelology into a developmental scheme that does not necessarily exist.[31]

G. R. Hawting provides a different account of the use of angels in anti-polytheist polemic in his *Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*. Hawting's general thesis in this work is that the Qur'ān is not directed towards Meccan

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extremely hard to date accurately.' Robinson, Neal, *Discovering the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach to a Veiled Text* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1996) p. 80; for more on Western dating of the verses see pp. 76 – 96.

[28] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 750.

[29] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 748.

[30] See Section 2.2 for a discussion of these themes.

[31] Other accounts of the origins and development of Arabian monotheism do not force angelology into a developmental framework; Watt's 'High God Theory' is the most notable; see, Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Belief in a "High God" in pre-Islamic Arabia' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 35 – 40, p. 40; see also Watt, W. Montgomery, 'The Qur'an and belief in a "High God"' *Isl.* 56 (1979) pp. 205 – 211 and Fahd, Toufic, *Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968).

polytheists, but rather, towards other monotheists. The direct reference to the *Banāt Allāh* (*Allāt*, *al-ᶜUzza* and *Manāt*) obviously presents problems for this argument: if the Qur'ān is aimed at monotheists, who are these deities? In the final chapter of the book,[32] Hawting argues that the *Banāt Allāh* are actually angels and that the Qur'ān is referring to angel-worship. Hawting argues that, like the *Banāt Allāh*, angels in Judaism are often female and associated with astral bodies.[33] However, there are a number of problems with his argumentation. Firstly, angels are rarely gendered in Judaism and even when they are given gender, they are usually conceived as being male. Secondly, the names of the *Banāt Allāh* are clearly native Arabic names, and are not in the standard form of Jewish and Christian angelic nomenclature.[34] Thirdly, Hawting does not take into account any angel-cults that existed in the Near East prior to the expansion of Islam.[35] Lastly, there is archaeological evidence that these goddesses did exist in other religions in the surrounding areas.[36] Hawting forces Qur'ānic angelology to fit into a larger construct, the same mistake committed by Welch and Waardenburg. These examples are important to consider (albeit very briefly), as they show the ways in which angels have been treated in Islamic Studies. Angelology in Islam is often an afterthought and has not tended to be considered on

[32] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 130 – 149.
[33] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 146 – 147.
[34] See section 2.1 for a longer discussion of angelic nomenclature.
[35] Angelolatry was evidently a problem for the Early Church with the Council of Laodicea (343 – 381) explicitly banning the practice; see Canon §35: 'Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry.' Percival, Henry R., (tr.), 'Synod of Laodicea' in Henry R. Percival (ed. & tr.), *The Seven Ecumencial Councils of the Undivided Church* (Repr. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 123 – 160, p. 151.
[36] Cf. Healey, John F., *The Religion of the Nabateans: A Conspectus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) pp. 80 – 119 and Ryckmans, Jacques, 'Le Panthéon de l'Arabie du Sud Pré-Islamique' *RHR* 206 (1989) pp. 151 – 170, pp. 155 – 156.

its own terms. Furthermore, angelology is frequently forced to fit within larger theses, leading scholars to come to false or contrived conclusions.

Beyond Qur'ānic Studies angels are most frequently discussed in the eschatological and *miᶜrāj* literature in which they play a key role. As with the study of angels in the Qur'ān and its exegesis the focus is not generally on the angels themselves. There is no need to outline the vast body of scholarship on Islamic eschatology,[37] but it should be noted that there are three main areas of study within the field: (i) the events of the *eschaton*;[38] (ii) death and personal eschatology;[39] and (iii) the ascent literature, including Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*.[40]

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[37] For a good overview, see Chittick, William C., 'Eschatology' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, pp. 378 – 409; Hermansen, Marcia, 'Eschatology' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 308 –324 and Danner, Victor, 'The Last Days in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' in Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Fragments of Infinity: Essays in Religion and Philosophy - A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Huston Smith* (Bridport: Prism, 1991) pp. 63 – 86; as well as various articles in encyclopaedias, e.g. Gardet, L., 'Ḳiyāma' *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 235 – 238; Leemhuis, F., 'Apocalypse' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 111 – 114; and Lewinstein, Keith, 'Gog and Magog' *EQ*, vol. 2, pp. 331 – 333.

[38] Cf. Makino, Shinya, *Creation and Termination: a semantic study of the Structure of the Qur'anic World View* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1970); Galloway, D., 'The Resurrection and Judgment in Qur'an' *MW* 12 (1922) pp. 348 – 372; Kinberg, L., 'Interaction between this world and the after world in Islamic tradition' *Oriens* 29 (1986) pp. 285 – 308 and Bashear, Suliman, 'Muslim Apocalypses and the hour: a case-study tradition re-interpretation' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 75 – 99.

[39] O'Shaugnessy, Thomas, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); Smith, Jane I., and Haddad, Y. Y., *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Casanova, Paul, *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde: Étude Critique sur l'Islam Primitif* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911); Gardet, Louis, *Dieu et la Destinée de l'Homme* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1967) pp. 237 – 257; Smith, Jane I., 'Reflection on aspects of immortality in Islam' *HTR* 70 (1977) pp. 85 – 98 and *eadem*, 'The understanding of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in contemporary Muslim considerations on the nature of sleep and death' *MW* 69 (1979) pp. 151 – 161

[40] Cf. Vuckovic, Brooke Olson, *Heavenly Journey, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Miᶜrāj in the Formation of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2005); Nünlist, Tobias, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit im Islam: Eine Studie unter besondere Berücksichtigung von Ibn Sīnā's Miᶜrāj-nāmeh* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002); Asin Palacios, M., *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Seguida de la Historia y Crítica de una Polémica* (Madrid: Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1943) also available in translation: Sutherland, H. (tr.), *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London: John Murray, 1926); El-Azma, N., "Some notes on the impact of the story of the *Mi'raj* on Sufi literature", *Muslim World* 63 (1973) pp. 93 – 104; Morris, James Winston 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī and the Miᶜrāj – Part I' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; van Ess, Josef, 'Vision and Ascension: *Sūrat al-Najm* and Its Relationship with Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*' *JQS* 1(1999) pp. 47 – 62 and Halperin, David J., 'Hekhalot and Miᶜrāj: Observations on the Heavenly Journey in Judaism and Islam' in John J. Collins & Michael A. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) pp. 269 – 288.

In addition to the work done on Islamic eschatology, Biblical and Jewish Studies have much to offer in regard to the theoretical approaches to angelology and and beliefs about angels more broadly. These studies could be incorporated into Islamic studies with beneficial results and the discussions in Sections 2 & 3 below make much use of this material.[41] A large number of works on angels are available, ranging from studies of Biblical[42] and sectarian angelologies,[43] apocalypticism and eschatological literature.[44]

To a lesser extent, angels have featured in theological and philosophical discussions in Islam. These usually focus on particular issues that were discussed in the mediaeval period, such as the status of angels in relation to humans;[45] or on the

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[41] Willem Bijlefeld has adapted some of these ideas; see, Biljefeld, Willem A., 'Eschatology: Some Muslim and Christian Data' *ICMR* 15 (2004) pp. 35 – 54.

[42] Olyan, Saul M., *A Thousand Thousands Served Him* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993); Tavard, Georges, with Caquot, André & Michl, Johann, *Die Engel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968) and Mach, Michael: *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992).

[43] Davidson, Maxwell J., *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1 – 36, 72 - 108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Sullivan, Kevin P., *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Schäfer, Peter, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975); Tuschling, R. M. M., *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study of their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Rowland, Christopher, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982) and Elior, Rachel, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature' *JSQ* 1 (1993) pp. 3 – 53.

[44] Gruenwald, Ithamar, *Apocalyptic and Merkevah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Himmelfarb, Marthta, *Tours of hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Himmelfarb, Martha, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Collins, John J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); there also a number of collections of articles, which are very useful, particularly, Collins & Fishbane (eds.), *Other Worldly Journeys*; Collins, John J. (ed.), *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* in *Semeia* 14 (1979) and Bauckham, Richard, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). From a philosophy of religion perspecitive, see Culianu, Ioan P., *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascenion of the Soul and Its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

[45] Jadaane, Fehmi, 'La place des Anges dans la théologie musulmane' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 23 – 62; Lupti, Ibrahim, 'The Questions of the Superiority of Angels and Prophets between Az-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī' *Arabica* 28 (1981) pp. 65 – 75; Stern, S. M., *Studies in Early Ismā^{c}īlism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983) and Webb, Gisela, 'Hierarchy, Angels, and the Human Condition in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī' *MW* 81 (1991) pp. 245 – 253.

use of angels by philosophers and theologians in a wider cosmology.[46] However, Islamic philosophy is not of great concern to the angelology of the *ḥadīth* and will not be considered as part of this thesis.

In general, the study of angels in Islam has been quite restrictive, with scholars only looking at angels as and when necessary. Angels have rarely been the primary focus of research and any discussion of them tends to be incidental to other wider issues. The study of angels has also been largely compartmentalised into specific areas: eschatology, Qur'ānic studies, exegesis, the *miᶜrāj* literature, theology, philosophy and so on. Surprisingly, there has been virtually no study of angels in non-eschatological material. There does not appear to be any real reason for this and it simply seems to be an area that has yet to provoke much interest. One of the aims of this thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth* beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

The aim of this thesis is to present material about angels directly, rather than considering their position within a larger schematic framework. The two approaches to angels in Islamic Studies mentioned above have focused on the Qur'ān or its exegesis rather than Islamic tradition in general.[47] This thesis hopes to move scholarship away from Qur'ānic Studies, focusing instead on the role of angels in the *ḥadīth* literature more generally, using Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a basis from which to begin an exploration of Islamic beliefs about

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[46] Cf. Netton, Ian R., *Allah Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy* (Richmond: Curzon, 1994) and Sweetman, J. Windrow, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947) Part I, vol. 2, pp. 75 – 79 and Burge, Stephen R., 'The Provenance of Suhrawardian Angelology' *ArOr* 76 (2008) pp. 435 – 457.

[47] To see a discussion of these two themes, see Burge, S. R., *Qur'ānic Angelology*. MSc. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2004.

angels. Section 2 below will look at the origins and development of Islamic angelology, but without the constraints that have been placed upon it by scholars in the past.

In past scholarship the study of *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* collections by non-Muslims has tended to focus on the *isnād* and the authenticity of prophetic *ḥadīth*,[48] but more recently scholars have turned their focus to the development of the four *madhāhib* and the role of *ḥadīth* scholarship in this process.[49] However, the actual way in which *ḥadīth* collections have been put together has not really been addressed.[50] Andrew Newman's *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism* is one of the only monographs to discuss and explore the meanings behind the structure and selection of *ḥadīth* in a collection.[51] An analysis of the way in which *ḥadīth* are presented in a collection, and which sources the author has used will often reflect a compiler's intentions for a work. This thesis will attempt to understand the underlying message behind *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the ideas that al-Suyūṭī wished to convey when he compiled it, through an analysis of the *ḥadīth*, their themes and the sources of the work.

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[48] E.g. Goldziher, Ignaz, (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006); Schacht, Joseph, *On the Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950); Horovitz, Josef, 'The Antiquity and Origin of the Isnād' in Harald Motzki (ed.), *Hadith: Origins and Development* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2004), pp. 151 – 158 and Robson, James, 'The *isnād* in Muslim tradition' *TGUOS* 15 (1953) pp. 15 – 26.

[49] Motzki, Harald, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991); Melchert, Christopher, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Dickinson, Eerik, *The Development of Early Sunnite Hadith Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and Dutton, Yasin, *The Origins of Islamic Law* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Brown, Jonathan, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[50] There has, however, been structural analysis of narrative *ḥadīth* considered independently; e.g. Speight, R. Marston, 'Narrative Structures in the Ḥadīth' *JNES* 59 (2000) pp. 265 – 271.

[51] Newman, Andrew, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). Newman argues that the three main early Shi'ī *ḥadīth* collections (of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣaffār and al-Barqī) differed in content and arrangement, suggesting differing or competing statements about theological truth in Twelver Shi'ism; see pp. 193 – 201. A similar structuralist approach has been made by Hilary Kilpatrick in her study of the composition of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*; see Kilpatrick, Hilary, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the author's craft in Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî's Kitâb al-aghânî* (London, 2003).

1.2 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The great Egyptian polymath Abū 'l-Faḍl ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Khudayrī (849/1445 – 911/1505)[52] was one of the leading scholars of his day, famous for both his wide knowledge and his contempt for contemporary scholars. His work is important, not simply because of his historical context, writing at the end of the classical period; but because his *œuvre* was vast, covering many different subjects: from linguistics and philology, to history, medicine, cosmology and zoology.[53] Al-Suyūṭī was well respected in his own lifetime (although to a lesser degree in Egypt and Cairo),[54] with evidence of his influence stretching from East Africa to India.[55] Al-Suyūṭī continues to hold an

[52] For a biography of al-Suyūṭī (including his own autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-niᶜmat Allāh*), see Sartain, E. M., *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Saleh, Marlis J., 'Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present' *MSR* 5 (2001) pp. 73 – 89.

[53] The number of works of al-Suyūṭī (including short tracts and *fatwās*) is not agreed, with estimates ranging from 550 – 980; see Jackson, Roy, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006) pp. 137 – 141; Geoffroy, E., 'Al-Suyūṭī' *EI²* vol. 9, pp. 913 – 916 and Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Zur Charakteristik Gelâl ud-dîn us-Sujûṭî's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit' *GS* vol. 1, pp. 52 – 73 (available in translation, see Hunwick, J. O (ed.) and Barry, Michael (tr.), 'Ignaz Goldziher on Al-Suyūṭī' *MW* 68 (1978) pp. 79 – 99).

[54] Marlis Saleh comments: 'It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance.' Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 78 and Irwin, R., 'Al-Suyūṭī (849 – 911 / 1445 – 1505)' *EAL* vol. 2, p. 746. For a contemporary and negative assessment of his work see, al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ* (Beirut: Dār al-Maktaba bi-'l-ḥayāt, 1966) vol. 4, pp. 65 – 71.

[55] For example, al-Suyūṭī is known to have had frequent dealings with scholars in East Africa; cf. Sartain, E. M., 'Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 193 – 198; John Voll also comments that almost all *isnāds* during the eighteenth century in the area around the Mediterranean were attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (from whom al-Suyūṭī received his *ijāza*) and Zakarīya al-Anṣārī; see Voll, John O., 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact on the Islamic World' *AAS* 15 (1980) pp. 264 – 273, p. 265.

important place in both Muslim and non-Muslim studies in Islam, particularly his work on philology and exegesis.[56]

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a collection that is devoted entirely to *ḥadīth* about angels and complements other collections of his with similar themes. The compilation includes around 750 *ḥadīth* and is followed by a relatively long postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological issues associated with angels, particularly the status of the angels in relation to humans, a popular theme in *tafsīr* and *kalām*.[57] It appears to have been a relatively popular work, with twenty-one known manuscript copies still extant.[58]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides one of the most comprehensive catalogues of Islamic traditions about angels in Arabic literature. Whilst there are a number of works that feature a great many angels, particularly in the *miᶜrāj* literature and the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, none presents angelic traditions in such a logical and systematic way. For this reason, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a very useful starting point from which to look at Muslim beliefs about angels. The work is not, by any means, a *corpus* of *ḥadīth* about angels, but it does provide a significant and fairly representative sample.

The *ḥadīth* are organised into short to medium length chapters, each looking at a particular angel. The chapters begin logically, with *ḥadīth* about the necessity of

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[56] Cf. Musa, Sulaiman, 'The Influence of *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* on Some Notable Nigerian *Mufassirun* in the Twentieth-Century Nigeria' *JMMA* 20 (2000) pp. 323 - 328. Works of al-Suyūṭī are commonly cited in both Muslim and non-Muslim scholarly works on almost any subject. For an assessment of his reception in modern Islamic thought, see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' pp. 80 – 82.

[57] Cf. Ibrahim, 'The questions of the superiority of angels' and Jadaane, 'La place des anges'.

[58] See Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Berlin: Emil Feber, 1898 – 1902 and (Supplement) Leiden: Brill, 1937 – 1942), vol. 2, p. 147, §51 and Khazinda, Aḥmad & Shaybānī, Muḥammad, *Dalīl makhtutāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amakin wujūdihā* (Kuwait: Maktabat ibn Taymīyya, 1403 / 1983) p. 144; in addition to the MSS detailed by these two catalogues, there are two other MSS held in (i) the Mingana Collection, Birmingham, MS 651 and (ii) The British Library, *Or. 9026/1* fol. 1r – 76v.

belief in angels, their great number and the most important angels (Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death) appearing first (§1 – 171). Beyond the four archangels there is not any obvious pattern to the arrangement of the *ḥadīth*. The last three chapters (§493 – 744) are general and do not appear to be arranged with much intent.

As is al-Suyūṭī's usual style, *isnāds* do not precede each *ḥadīth* (except in a few cases), but the traditions are taken from a written source with the name of the authority given.[59] Al-Suyūṭī typically gives an author's name, without citing the work, except in cases where he uses more than a single text of one author.[60] This method of compilation can be seen in most of al-Suyūṭī's collections, as Leon Nemoy comments, concerning al-Suyūṭī's *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*: 'Like most Arabic works on matters of antiquity, the treatise is predominately composed of extracts from older writers, many of whom, in their turn, depended more or less upon still older authorities, without being too anxious to indicate the source of their information.'[61]

This thesis presents a translation and commentary of a selection of the *ḥadīth* included in the work, with two introductory chapters introducing the origin and development of angels in Islam, and a study of the purposes and function of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. The whole collection has not been translated because of the word-limit restrictions of the thesis. The *ḥadīth* that have been translated are of those angels mentioned in the Qur'ān, as it was felt that these

[59] For the use of books in the Mamlūk period, see Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 24 – 30.
[60] Details of the the authors and their works can be found in the Appendix.
[61] Nemoy, Leon, 'The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*)' *Isis* 30 (1939) pp. 17 – 37, pp. 17 – 18; because of his compositional style some of al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries accused him of plagiarism; see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 79.

would be the most relevant to translate, namely: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.[62] A précis of the remaining *ḥadīth* has been included in the appendices. The fairly substantial *khātima* has also not been included for the same reasons, but the majority of the theological discussion in the postscript is largely lifted from other authors and it serves mainly as a recapitulation of beliefs about the status of the angels and their relationship to humans.

The work's name follows the pattern of many of al-Suyūṭī's works, using a rhyme, pun or metrical title.[63] The title *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is difficult to translate precisely. Firstly, the most common form of the plural of *malak* is *malā'ika* and the plural *malā'ik* is, although acceptable in classical Arabic, relatively rare. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is also another rare word. The basic meaning of the verb *ḥabaka* means 'to plait or braid (hair)', but it is also used in connection with the courses of the planetary bodies, so there is an obvious pun linking *ḥabā'ik* to the celestial *beings*, rather than the celestial *bodies*. The word still poses a problem, especially in the context of *akhbār* – how can *ḥadīth* have a 'course' or a 'trail'? This difficulty may account for a common translation of the work as *The Book of Angels*, but this is not that suitable as it avoids a translation of *ḥabā'ik*.[64] The best translation, although not entirely acceptable, appears to be *The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*. Just as hair is braided and arranged, and the heavenly bodies are ordered in the

[62] The section on the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān al-kātibān*) could not be included because of its length.
[63] E.g. *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunnīya*; *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdi*; *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbar al-jānn* etc.
[64] Although Brockelmann's entry for *al-Ḥabā'ik* suggests that the word is not always found in the manuscripts; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 147, §51.

heavens, al-Suyūṭī arranges the *ḥadīth* about angels in this collection. The translation has been based on a modern edition, edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl[65] and supported by manuscript evidence; namely, the copy held in the Warner Collection at the University of Leiden.[66]

The commentary that accompanies the partial translation of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is divided into two parts. The following two sections look at the work as a whole, including a discussion of *ḥadīth* that have not been translated. The first looks at the origins and development of angelology in Islamic tradition, using al-Suyūṭī's collection as a basis from which to approach the subject in a general way. It looks particularly at the nomenclature of angels in Islam and the textual iconography of angels. The second section looks at the purpose and function of the work as a whole, attempting to understand what al-Suyūṭī attempted to convey through this collection, particularly through the angels' interactions with humans. Much more could be written about the work, but these two areas have been highlighted as two of the most important themes.

The commentary that accompanies the translation is aimed at explaining difficult terms and vocabulary, referring readers to important concepts, making notes on the text itself and so on. The comments are often designed only to direct the reader to other literature on the subject, rather than giving detailed analyses. The principal aim of the commentary is to provide the reader with a context in which to place the *ḥadīth*. Where possible, references to other Islamic works have been given. There is also frequent reference to other Jewish and Christian texts: these are not intended to imply a source for the *ḥadīth*, but merely to reflect the commonalities

[65] Al-Suyūṭi, Jalāl al-Dīn, (ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl), *Al-Ḥabāik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1408/1988).
[66] A note on the manuscript can be found below.

between Jewish, Christian and Islamic beliefs about angels, placing Islamic traditions about angels in a wider Near Eastern milieu.

1.3 Contextualizing Al-Suyūṭī in the Late Mamluk Milieu

To understand al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-*malā'ik more fully, it is important to place al-Suyūṭī and his works in their wider historical and social context. The work which is the focus of this thesis emerged during the waning of the Circassian (*Burjī*) Mamluk sultanate,[67] and only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death, the Ottomans had gained control of the majority of the Near East and North Africa, save Iran. Mamluk society, especially the relationships between the different classes and faith-communities, has received much attention in the past[68] and is important to consider, when placing al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in its religious and social context.

Whilst the Mamluks faced increasing political, social and economic problems during the fifteenth century,[69] the scholarly élite remained relatively strong and

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[67] See Holt, P. M., 'Mamlūks' *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, pp. 321 – 331, especially pp. 323 – 325; Ayalon, David, 'The Circassians in the Mamlük Period' *JAOS* 69 (1949) pp. 135 – 147; Garcin, Jean-Claude, 'The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks' in C. F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt – vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640 – 1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 290 – 317; Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) pp. 32 – 43 and Staffa, Susan Jane, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo. A.D. 642 – 1850* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 101 – 226.

[68] Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Some Glimpses of the Religious Life of Egypt During the Late Mamlūk Period' *IS* 4 (1965) pp. 353 – 392; Little, Donald P., 'Religion under the Mamluks' *MW* 73 (1983) pp. 165 – 181; Winter, Michael, 'Popular Religion in Egypt Since the Mamluks' *The Arabist* 9 – 10 (1994) pp. 103 – 118 and Frenkel, Yehoshua, 'Popular Culture (Islam, Early and Middle Periods)' *RC* 2 (2008) pp. 195 – 225.

[69] See Little, Donald P., 'Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 69 – 96; Shoshan, Boaz, 'Exchange-Rate Policies in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *JESHO* 29 (1986) pp. 28 – 51; *idem*, 'Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *EHR* 36 (1983) pp. 47 – 67; *idem*, 'Grain Riots and the Moral Economy' *JIH* 10 (1980) pp. 459 - 478

productive, with Cairo being the centre of academic achievement in the Near East.[70] Most importantly, academia in late Mamluk Egypt became increasingly independent and secure through the establishment of endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*); as Carl Petry comments: 'The scholarly establishment owed its relative freedom of action to the autonomy of the endowed academic position, unlike either the bureaucracy or the judiciary – both of which were tied to the state.'[71] There were a great number of colleges and institutions of higher education, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī grew up in a highly literate and educated environment.[72] As Islamic education was primarily based on the personal relationship between teacher and pupil, most scholars came from Cairene families with a long history in the scholarly world;[73] but some, like al-Suyūṭī's father, were able to succeed, having come into Cairo from the provinces.[74]

Whilst scholarship was relatively fruitful in this period, academics and judges were involved in a number of important controversies that have some bearing on the cultural and religious milieu of the fifteenth century.[75] The place of Christians, particularly Coptic Christians, in Mamluk society was the cause of a number of

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[70] Jonathan Berkey comments: '… the immense number of manuscripts that survive from, say, the fifteenth century, testify to the important role of the book in a highly literate academic world that …. [was] vibrant throughout the Middle Ages.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* p. 24; see also Petry, Carl F., 'Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered: Mamluk Patronage in Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 323 – 348.

[71] Petry, Carl, 'Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century' *JESHO* 23 (1980) pp. 119 – 141, p. 140.

[72] For more on Islamic higher education, see Makdisi, George, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

[73] See Petry, 'Geographic Origins of Academicians' p. 119; Jonathan Berkey comments: 'The person connection – the education model relying not simply on close study of a text, but on intensive, personal interaction with a shaykh – has always been central to Islamic education, not simply in Mamluk Egypt.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 21.

[74] Petry, Carl F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) p. 50; see also Waardenburg, Jacques, 'Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies' in Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979) pp. 340 – 346, pp. 361 – 362.

[75] Maribel Fierro has used scholarly literature written against innovations (*bida'*) to attempt to understand Muslim society in medieval Spain; likewise, through the output of the Egyptian scholars, it is possible to gain an understanding of contemporary practices, as well as the preoccupations and concerns of the scholarly élite; see Fierro, Maribel, 'The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bida*^{c})' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 204 – 246, especially pp. 238 – 240.

disputes, both in Cairo and Damascus,[76] often involving accusations of blasphemy against the prophet.[77] There were particular moments when the tensions between Coptic Christians and local Muslims became particularly strong, but, generally, the relationship between each of the groups was one of mutual distrust. Earlier in the Mamluk period, the secretaries of the court (who were mainly Copts) were legislated against, largely due to resentment from the Muslim majority and subsequently secretaries could only be Muslims.[78] This prompted a large number of Copts to convert to Islam, as the court was their main employer. However, their conversions were not usually whole-hearted, with many still celebrating Christian festivals, being only Muslim in name.[79] These converts to Islam, especially the second and third generations, would undoubtedly have brought some Christian material with them into popular Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.

Not only were there Christian converts to Islam, but there was frequent adoption and celebration of Coptic festivals by the Muslim population in Mamluk Egypt. The most famous of these is the Nile festival held in January (*ʿĪd al-Ghiṭās*).[80]

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[76] For more on these disputes, see Perlmann, M., 'Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire' *BSOAS* 10 (1939 – 1942) pp. 843 – 861; Little, 'Communal Strife'; *idem*., 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 625 – 755 / 1293 – 1354)' *BSOAS* 39 (1976) pp. 552 – 569 and *idem*., 'Religion Under the Mamluks'. For the place of Jews in Mamluk society, see Cohen, Mark R., 'Jews in the Mamlūk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (A Geniza Study)' *BSOAS* 47 (1984) pp. 425 – 448.

[77] Cf. Wiederhold, Lutz, 'Blasphemy Against the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (*Sabb al-rasūl*, *sabb al-ṣaḥābah*): The Introduction of the Topic into Shāfiʿī Legal Literature and its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 39 – 70.

[78] Little comments: 'In Egypt, for example, the Copts from time to time during the Mamluk period incurred the wrath of the populace and consequently the government in Egypt, either by displays of conspicuous consumption in violation of Muslim sumptuary laws, by playing too prominent a role in the financial bureaux, or by acts of blasphemy or terrorism. Because such acts disrupted the political and social stability that the Mamluks were so keen to maintain, they attracted the interest of Muslim historians, both Egyptian and Syrian.' Little, 'Communal Strife' p. 70; see also Little, 'Coptic Conversion' and O'Sullivan, Shaun, 'Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt' *MSR* 10:2 (2006) pp. 65 – 79.

[79] Little, 'Religion under the Mamluks' p. 179.

[80] See Huda, Lutfi, 'Coptic Festivals of the Nile: Aberrations of the Past?' in Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 254 – 282.

At the same time, there was also a growth in the observance of other Muslim festivals,[81] which reformers, such as Ibn Taymiyya in the previous century had strived to 'correct', seeing them as innovations (*bida'*) that need to be purged from Islam.[82] The celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mawlid al-nabī*) and the practice of tomb visitation (*ziyāra*) are the most prominent of these innovative practices and there has been much secondary literature written on both of these topics.[83] What is most interesting is the fact that the scholarly and legal classes did not present a united front against these 'innovative' festivals,[84] and some, such as al-Suyūṭī, actually argued that some of these practices were acceptable.[85]

Mamluk Cairo was not, then, an environment in which there was a distinct divide between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, but one where the divisions were much more blurred. Not all the scholars and judges believed that particular festivals were innovations (*bida'*), as Michael Winter has commented: 'The dividing line between popular and normative Islam is sometimes unclear. As in every religion,

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[81] For a comprehensive list of different popular practices and brief analyses of them, see Frenkel, 'Popular Culture', especially pp. 198 – 204. There are articles available on specific practices such as *taḥnīk*, e.g. Gilᶜadi, Avner, 'Some notes on *Taḥnīk* in Medieval Islam' *JNES* 47 (1988) pp. 175 – 179.

[82] Cf. Memon, Muhammad Umar, *Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of his Kitāb iqtiḍā' as-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), especially pp. 2 – 7.

[83] The most extensive study is of the *Mawlid* is Kaplan, N. J., *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and the Development in the Muslim West until the 10th / 16th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); see also Kaptein, Nico, 'Materials for the History of the Prophet's Birthday Celebration in Mecca' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 193 – 203 and Katz, Marion Holmes, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunnī Islam* (London: Routledge, 2007). On tomb visitation see Meri, Josef W., *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Taylor, Christopher S., 'Saints, *Ziyāra*, *Qiṣṣa*, and the Social Construction of Moral Imagination in Late Medieval Egypt) *SI* 88 (1998) pp. 103 – 120.

[84] Shaun Marmon comments: 'In opposition to Ibn Taymiyya, the vast majority of the mamluk ulama valorized the petitioning of the holy dead and the visiting of their tombs. The ulama also set forth a careful etiquette for these activities, an etiquette which, judginig (*sic*) by the learned complaints, ordinary people, especially women, often ignored.' Marmon, Shaun E., 'The Quality of Mercy in Mamluk Society' *SI* 87 (1998) pp. 125 – 139, p. 129.

[85] See al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Al-Ḥusn al-maqṣid fī ᶜamal al-mawlid*; translated in Kaplan, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, pp. 48 – 67.

there are within Islam tensions between orthodox and unorthodox, or popular religion.'[86]

Despite this blurring between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, there *was* a strong divide between the academic élite and the masses. Many scholars went at great lengths to attack uneducated purveyors of religious teaching: especially the preachers (*wāᶜiẓ*, pl. *waᶜᶜāẓ*) and the story-tellers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*).[87] Al-Suyūṭī was one of many to write treatises attacking such people.[88] Éric Geoffroy comments of this period: 'Les *ᶜulamā'*, ajoute Suyūṭī, ont toujours eu la role ingrate de lutter contre l'ignorance des *quṣṣāṣ* et de leur auditoire de bas étage.'[89] Many of these anti-*quṣṣāṣ* works highlight the fact that the utilization of *ḥadīth* required training in the religious sciences, and that without it (i.e. without an appropriate *ijāza*), an individual was not allowed to engage in their study or propagation. There was a strong sense that the religious scholars had a monopoly on religious knowledge, which they were keen to maintain.

Scant evidence means that it is difficult to assess whether the scholarly community was simply attempting to protect its own interests, or whether it was generally concerned about the religious path along which popular preachers could lead their followers. Scholars in this period certainly include a number of more 'popular' materials in their works, especially their *ḥadīth* collections. Is this an

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[86] Winter, 'Popular Religion' p. 115; for a more extensive discussion of these ideas, see Shoshan, Boaz, 'High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam' *SI* 73 (1991) pp. 67 – 107.
[87] Pellat, Ch., 'Ḳāṣṣ' EI2 vol. 4, pp. 733 – 734; Radtke, B., and Jansen, J. J. G., 'Wā'iẓ' *EI²* vol. 11, pp. 56 – 57; Berkey, Jonathan P., *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), *idem.*, 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 – 65; *idem*., 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo' *MSR* 4 (2000) pp. 53 – 74 and Shoshan, Boaz, 'On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 349 – 365.
88 See al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhir al-khawāss min akādhib al-quṣṣās* (Riyadh: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1972).
[89] Geoffroy, Éric, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie Sous les Derniers Mamelouks et les Premiers Ottomans: Orientations Spirituelles et Enjeux Culturels* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995) p. 49.

attempt to appeal to the masses, or is it indicative of the absorption of popular material into normative religion? Is the influence from 'popular religion' to 'normative' Islam, or are fifteenth century academics writing works for their target audience and deliberately including popular elements to appeal to them? Jacques Waardenburg has argued that popular elements of religion can become absorbed into 'normative' religion;[90] but there is also likely to be a conscious effort by scholars of the day to appeal to the masses and weaken the influence of the preachers and story-tellers.

There is some evidence to suggest that scholars in Mamluk Egypt responded to the needs of the ordinary Cairene public; for example, after a series of plagues in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[91] the genre of 'books of consolation' emerged in response to an emotional need of ordinary people.[92] There are also a wide number of other *ḥadīth* collections written by noted academics that would appear to have a more 'popular' audience. Al-Suyūṭī wrote many of these more popular works: encompassing short collections of *ḥadīth*, such as his compilation on the merits of ᶜAlī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī*; [93] religious rulings favouring popular expressions of religion, such as his *al-Ḥusn* seen above; and works of a devotional

[90] Waardenburg, 'Official and Popular Religion' pp. 363 – 371.
[91] See Dols, Michael W., 'The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347 – 1894' *JESHO* 22 (1979) pp. 162 – 189.
[92] See various articles by Avner Gilᶜadi; 'Islamic Consolation Treatises for Bereaved Parents: Some Bibliographical Notes' *SI* 81 (1995) pp. 197 – 202; '*Ṣabr* (Steadfastness) of Bereaved Parents: A Motif in Medieval Muslim Consolation Treatises and Some Parallels in Jewish Writings' *JQR* 80 (1989) pp. 35 – 48 and ' "The Child was small…Not so the Grief for Him": Sources, Structure and Content of al-Sakhawi's Consolation Treatise for Bereaved Parents' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 367 – 386. Al-Suyūṭī wrote in this genre, e.g *Bushrā al-ka'īb bi-liqā' al-ḥabīb* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1988) and *al-Taᶜallul wa'l-itfā' li-nār al-tutfā'* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1987).
[93] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī* (Beirut: Mu'ssasat Nādir, 1990); the brevity of the work implies that it was for popular consumption, cf. al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Matn al-arbaᶜīn*; Abdassamad Clarke (tr.), *The Complete Forty Hadith* (London: Ta-Ha, 1998).

nature, like his *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla*.[94] This suggests that Mamluk academics were engaging with the non-academic community, composing and compiling scholarly works for a wider audience.

The leading scholars of the fifteenth century, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī were all involved in the compilation of what are normally referred to as 'encyclopaedic' works (i.e. non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections),[95] and the subject of this thesis, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik*, falls into this category. Evidence shows that the Cairene libraries were extensive,[96] and these non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections tend to draw on and develop a wide range of earlier works.[97] Scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī, were very adept at drawing *ḥadīth* from a number of different texts into new compilations on new subjects. A. J. Arberry comments: 'It must have been a very elaborate card-index of traditions and traditionists that al-Sakhāwī kept, with such excellent cross-references that he was obviously able at very short notice to compile a new treatise on the subject to satisfy one or other of the eccentric demands made of him by his friends and pupils.'[98] As will be seen below, al-Suyūṭī also makes use of a comprehensive range of sources in his *ḥadīth* collections.

These encyclopaedic works were common in this period and cover a wide range of topics. They tend to avoid technical, scholarly subjects, instead pursuing a

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[94] Al-Suyūṭī, *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī Ḥalabī, 1946); this is a collection of prayers and devotions.
[95] For al-Sakhāwī, see Petry, C. F., 'al-Sakhāwī' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 881 – 882.
[96] See Eche, Youssef, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes: Publiques et Semi-Publiques en Mésopotamie, En Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1967) pp. 249 – 264; and Arberry, A. J., *Sakhawiana: A Study Based on the Chester Beatty Ms. Arab. 773* (London: Emery Walker Ltd., 1951).
[97] Jonathan Berkey comments: 'Intellectual activity in the civilizations on both sides of the Mediterranean… consisted largely of replicated, and commenting upon, the literary productions of previous generations.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 25
[98] Arberry, *Sakhawiana*, p. 32.

more general approach to a subject, and they frequently serve as summaries of more complex material. The lack of more 'scholarly' material would seem to suggest that they are aimed at a literate, but uneducated audience, i.e. the Egyptian middle classes.[99] Similarly, their themes also seem to address more popular devotional and theological ideas. It is always difficult to suggest a definitive reason behind the compilation of these works, but they do seem to be both aimed at the general public and to act as educational tools for the spiritual life of ordinary people. As it has been argued above, it is also difficult to say whether this was driven by an attempt by the *ᶜulamā'* to correct or reform the beliefs of the general public on pure theological grounds, or whether there was a political motivation, notably the curbing of the growing power of popular preachers and story-tellers: it is likely to be a mixture. Late mediaeval authors also seem keen to involve themselves in self-promotion: writing popular pamphlets and short encyclopaedic works would, undoubtedly, have played a key role in this.[100] Whilst the scholarly élite were a well defined and relatively insular section of Cairene society, the scholars do appear to be actively engaged with those outside its circle, particularly in the spiritual education of the middle classes.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* should, therefore, be seen as emerging in this complex social and religious environment. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī was an important scholar in his day, producing a number of important works in the fields of

[99] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does include a 'postscript' (*khātima*) concerning angels in Islamic theology (*kalām*), and the function and purpose of this will be discussed below.

[100] Not achieving wide acknowledgement in Cairo itself, al-Suyūṭī became extremely well known outside Egypt; Nehemia Levtzion comments: 'Al-Suyūṭī's eminence was not universally acknowledged by the *ulamā'* of Cairo, with some of those he was in conflict. He must have been gratified by his reputation in Takrūr.' Levtzion, Nehemia, 'Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr (West Africa)' in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (Jerusalem: Cana & Leiden: Brill, 1986) pp. 183 – 207, p. 200.

Qur'ānic commentary,[101] philology,[102] history[103] and philosophy.[104] Secondly, as part of the scholarly élite, he was concerned with protecting the scholarly monopoly on religious teaching and wrote works that explicitly argue for this, such as his, *Taḥdhir al-khawāṣṣ min akādhib al-quṣṣāṣ*. But, al-Suyūṭī was also engaged in compiling *ḥadīth* collections, with an educative motivation, encouraging the people of Cairo to return to proper 'Islamic' beliefs. Al-Suyūṭī was not, by any means, similar to figures such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥazm, yet there are similarities: all of these authors (including al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries, like al-Sakhāwī) were attempting to promote a renewed Islam. Al-Suyūṭī took his 'reformist' credentials to their limit, portraying himself as the *mujaddid* of the fifteenth century.[105]

The main difference is that the earlier reformist figures of Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya were more forceful in their attacks on 'popular' religion and innovations (*bida'*),[106] whilst the authors in the fifteenth century are, in most cases, more muted in their objections and are seen to engage with popular religion, rather than to attack it openly and directly. Their aims may have been largely similar (i.e. the 'reform' of Islam), but al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Taymiyya went

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[101] E.g. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi-'l-ma'thūr* (Beirut: Dār al-maᶜrifa, s. d.); *Kitāb al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.); *Asrār tartīb al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Iᶜtiṣām, 1396 / 1976); *Lubāb al-taqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl* (Tunis: Dār al-Tunisiyya, 1981); as well as exegeses of specific verses, such as his *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā* (Cairo: Dār al-'Itiṣād, s.d.).

[102] *al-Mutawakkilī*; Bell, William Y. (ed & tr.), *The Mutawakkili of as-Suyuti* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) and *al-Iqtirāḥ fī ᶜilm uṣūl al-nahw* (Istanbul: Jāmiᶜat Istanbul, 1975).

[103] His most famous work is his *Tārīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajariyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969).

[104] Most of his works on philosophy were concerned with logic, e.g. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām ᶜan fann al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, s.d.).

[105] Landau-Tasseron, Ella, 'The "Cyclical Reform": A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition' *SI* (1989) pp. 79 – 117, especially pp. 87 – 88; Jansen, J. J. G., 'Tadjdīd' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, pp. 61 – 62 and Van Donzel, E., 'Mudjaddid' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 290.

[106] Ibn Taymiyya frequently found himself in prison for his beliefs; cf Laoust, H., 'Ibn Taymiyya, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 951 – 955; Little, Donald P., 'Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 93 – 111 and Little, Donald P., 'The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya' *IJMES* 4 (1973) pp. 311 – 327.

about it in very different ways. Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyya typically attacks specific non-Islamic practices, whereas al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries seem more interested in encouraging the religious education of the wider public.

Why does al-Suyūṭī approach 'popular' religion in this way? Firstly, the fact that al-Suyūṭī was a *ṣūfī* may be crucial to understanding his interaction with popular religion.[107] This aspect of al-Suyūṭī's life is one that has received very little attention, but a number of his works, such as his exegetical *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā*, do have distinct *ṣūfī* characteristics. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī was a Shāfiᶜī, rather than a Ḥanbalī, which may account for his less vitriolic attacks on popular religion. His more popular works definitely seek to encourage religious belief and 'proper' practice, rather than criticising specific actions. Al-Suyūṭi, as well as many of his contemporaries, appears to have been more willing to accept and interact with popular religion.

1.4 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Methodology and Sources

There has been relatively little study of al-Suyūṭī and his approach to *ḥadīth*, despite his popularity. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of his output makes it difficult to suggest any firm conclusions about his methods of *ḥadīth* compilation. However, it is feasible to analyse al-Suyūṭī's methods in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and

[107] Al-Suyūṭī was a member of the *Shādhilī* order; cf. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa-tuḥfat al-abrār*; Elmer H. Douglas (tr.), *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and Lory comments that it was successful because its '…strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour.' Lory, P., '*Shādhiliyya*' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 172 – 174, p. 173. For an analysis of al-Suyūṭī as a *sūfī*, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 33 – 37 and Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Égypte*, p. 49.

through a heuristic approach come to some conclusions about al-Suyūṭī's methodology. It is also hoped that it will be possible to come to some understanding of the intended audience of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, placing it within the more general religious and social context of Mamluk Egypt seen above.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is divided into two sections: (i) the collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* and (ii) a fairly substantial postscript (*khātima*) on theological issues regarding angels. The sources of these two sections need to be treated separately, as they draw on different scholarly disciplines. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* and the postscript also needs to be explored. Lastly, the actual content of *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* will also indicate what issues al-Suyūṭī was engaging with, which, in turn, will aid understanding of al-Suyūṭī's target audience.

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik looks at the angelic world, but it is not the only compilation to focus on the mysteries of the supernatural. There are, for example, works on *jinn*, Islamic cosmology, the *Mahdī* and the events in the grave.[108] His *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* seems to complement these other works, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to know whether al-Suyūṭī intended these works to be read in conjunction with each other. What these works do show is that al-Suyūṭī was clearly interested in exploring the divine world and that he devoted a number of *ḥadīth* compilations to the topic.

With a large number of works in a similar area, it might be expected that al-Suyūṭī used material he had included in other works. However, there is remarkably

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[108] *viz*. Heinen, Anton M., *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of as-Suyūṭī's al-Hay'a as-sanīya fī l-hay'a as-sunnīya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); the MS of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* held in the British Library is bound with his *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* and al-Suyūṭī's abridgment of a compilation by Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shiblī, entitled, *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbār al-jānn*; see Vassie, R. (ed.), *A Classified Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts Acquired Since 1912: Volume 2 - Qur'ānic Sciences and Ḥadīth* (London: The British Library, 1995) §416 - 418, p. 63.

little cross-over between some of these collections. For example, both his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and his *Al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya* contain *ḥadīth* stating that angels accompany raindrops as they fall from heaven and record where they land and which humans benefited from them. However, there is not a single *ḥadīth* that is repeated *verbatim* in both collections. Take, for example, the two *ḥadīth* below, which are very similar, taken from the same source (Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*), yet are quite different:

> 'There is no year more abounding in rain than another year; but God directs it wherever He wishes. And with the rain He sends down such and such of the angels in order to note down where that rain falls, whom it provides with sustenance, and what results from every drop.'[109]

> 'He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblis. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.'[110]

Each of the *ḥadīth* includes the same basic *matn* ('…He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels… [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant…'), but the *ḥadīth* included in each of the works is slightly different and are suited to their respective works. The *ḥadīth* in *al-Hay'a* focuses on the physical phenomenon of rain, and the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, which is in the chapter entitled 'The Great Abundance of Angels', emphasises the quantity of angels, using raindrops as a comparison.

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[109] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hay'a* VII:27; see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 163.
[110] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik* §19.

Although this is just one example, it is a very revealing one. It shows that al-Suyūṭī employed *ḥadīth* very carefully, using the most appropriate version of a *ḥadīth* for a particular work. This would also seem to suggest that al-Suyūṭī was conscious of which *ḥadīth* had been included in his other collections and may indicate that these two works were compiled at the same time, or at the very least, relatively closely together. Al-Suyūṭī often gave different sections of larger works individual titles,[111] so it is possible that *Al-Ḥabā'ik* may be linked to other works or be part of a larger one. Above all, it shows that there can be great subtlety in al-Suyūṭī's method of *ḥadīth* compilation.

It is a great help that al-Suyūṭī provides details of the authors and works from which he has taken his *ḥadīth*, making it possible to gain some insight into the way in which he worked and engaged with primary sources. In *al-Ḥabā'ik* al-Suyūṭī draws on eighty-three different authors for his *ḥadīth*,[112] which gives an average of one author for every nine *ḥadīth*, and he mentions thirty-two theologians in the *khātima*.[113] This shows how knowledgeable al-Suyūṭī was in these fields, and the wide variety of sources that he utilized.

As a writer of the ninth / fifteenth century, it might have been expected that al-Suyūṭī would have drawn on collections of *ḥadīth* compiled in later periods, but the table below shows that the majority of the authors that al-Suyūṭī cites, died in the third and fourth centuries A.H. This is important to note, as it shows that al-Suyūṭī turned to works written in the 'golden' period of Islamic literature and *ḥadīth* science, shunning later *ḥadīth* compilations. A similar use of sources can be seen in al-

[111] Saleh,'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 85.
[112] This does not include the authors and *ḥadīth* found in the *khātima*; this is because it is difficult to ascertain whether al-Suyūṭī or another author is making the citation.
[113] This is the number of authors mentioned, rather than the number of works explicitly cited.

Suyūṭī's *Al-Hay'a*. Al-Suyūṭī's sources are, however, quite different in the *khātima*. Here al-Suyūṭī makes much more use of later sources, predominantly from the seventh and eighth centuries A.H, with no sources at all coming from the first to third centuries. This change in the types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* reflects the different genres, audiences and milieu of each of the sections.

Author Date of Death [Century (A.H.)]	*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Ḥadīth*)		*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Khātima*)		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
Second	2	2.4	0	0	0	0
Third	25	30.2	0	0	18	43.9
Fourth	29	34.9	2	6.2	13	31.7
Fifth	11	13.3	7	21.9	5	12.2
Sixth	6	7.2	3	9.4	2	4.9
Seventh	3	3.6	9	28.1	0	0
Eighth	0	0	8	25.0	0	0
Ninth	2	2.4	2	6.3	0	0
Unknown	4	4.8	1	3.1	3	7.3

Fig (i) Table of al-Suyūṭī's Sources in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

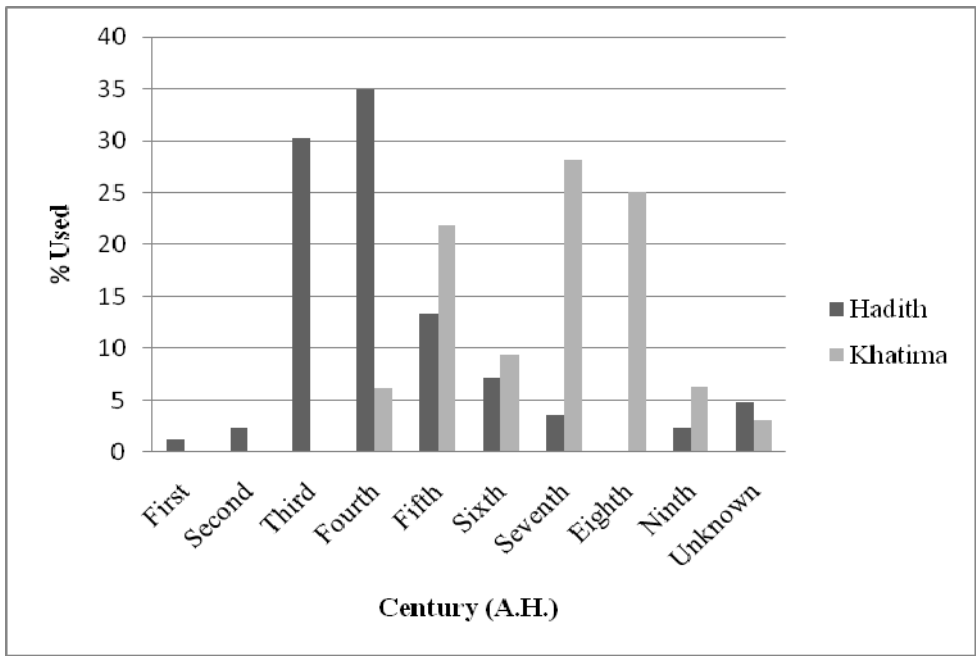

Fig. (ii) Graph of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik*

The most important period in *ḥadīth* collection was in the third to fourth centuries A.H, when the collections of authentic *ḥadīth* were compiled and the *ḥadīth* sciences were developed.[114] The majority of *ḥadith* compilations after this period were commentaries on established works,[115] or *muṣannaf* works, which took *ḥadīth* from various collections on a specific theme, as al-Suyūṭī does in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. As a result of this intense period of studying *ḥadīth*, Islamic scholarship produced a vast corpus of (authentic) *ḥadīth* from which figures like al-Suyūṭī could draw. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a representation or reorganisation of *ḥadīth*, from earlier, respected and reputable scholars on a 'new', more focused, subject area. Al-Suyūṭī is not including 'new' *ḥadīth*, but arranging old *ḥadīth* in a new way. In the *khātima*, however, al-Suyūṭī places his discussion of the angels in Islamic theology in the wider context of past theological debate. Theology, unlike the *ḥadīth*, is not static. Al-Suyūṭī was not attempting to reflect the theological opinions of a specific period, but engages instead with various theological opinions about the angels. It is also a possibility that the authors cited in the *khātima* reflect those studied in the *madrasas*.

Whilst al-Suyūṭī cites a great many authors in *al-Ḥabā'ik*,[116] there is a tendency to focus on a few authors in particular. For example, in the *ḥadīth* section the authors Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī are key sources, with Abū 'l-Shaykh being

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[114] See Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (repr. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) pp. 119 – 147.

[115] Al-Suyūṭī made many such commentaries on earlier works: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Muwaṭṭā' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Akhīra, 1370/1951); *idem*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī bi-sharḥ al-ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa-ḥāshiyyat al-imām al-Sindī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Miṣriyya, 1348/1930); *idem*, *al-Dibāj ᶜalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn Hajjāj* (al-Khubar: Dār ibn ᶜAffān, 1996). For more on commentaries, see Cf. Tokatly, Vardit, 'The *A'lām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī: A Commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or a polemical treatise?' *SI* 92 (2001) pp. 53 – 91, pp. 53 – 55.

[116] 123 in total: 83 in the *ḥadīth* and 32 in the *khātima*, with two featuring in both sections (al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm).

the source of 185 *ḥadīth* (24.6%) and al-Bayhaqī 103 *ḥadīth* (13.7%).[117] A similar trend can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, although a direct comparison cannot be made, as the text integrates both *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-dīn* material. A comparison can, however, be made with *al-Hay'a*:

Name in Text	*Al-Ḥabā'ik*		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Abū 'l-Shaykh	185	24.6	191	73.2
Bayhaqī, al-	103	13.7	4	1.5
Ṭabarānī, al-	87	11.6	14	5.4
Ibn Abī Hātim	72	9.6	68	26.1
Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī]	62	8.3	18	6.9
Ibn al-Mundhir	55	7.3	16	6.1
Aḥmad	49	6.5	6	2.3
Ibn Abī Shayba	41	5.5	3	1.1
Ibn ᶜAsākir	40	5.3	6	2.3
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	37	4.9	10	3.8
Ibn Mardawayh	30	4.0	12	4.6
Ḥākim, al-	29	3.9	9	2.3
Abū Nuᶜaym	28	3.7	2	0.8
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	27	3.6	4	1.5
Muslim	27	3.6	1	0.4
Daylamī, al-	25	3.3	1	0.4
Tirmidhī, al-	22	2.9	3	1.1
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	21	2.8	4	1.5
Bukhārī, al-	19	2.5	8	3.1
Ibn Mājah	17	2.3	1	0.4
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	16	2.1	3	1.1
Abū Dā'ūd	14	1.9	1	0.4
Dinawārī, al-	13	1.7	0	0
Nasā'ī, al-	12	1.6	1	0.4
Bazzār, al-	11	1.5	3	1.1

Fig. (iii) Authors cited as a source in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (more than 10 times) and in *al-Hay'a*

[117] However, it should be noted that the two authors are not responsible for 38.3% of the *ḥadīth*, as some *ḥadīth* cite both authors as sources.

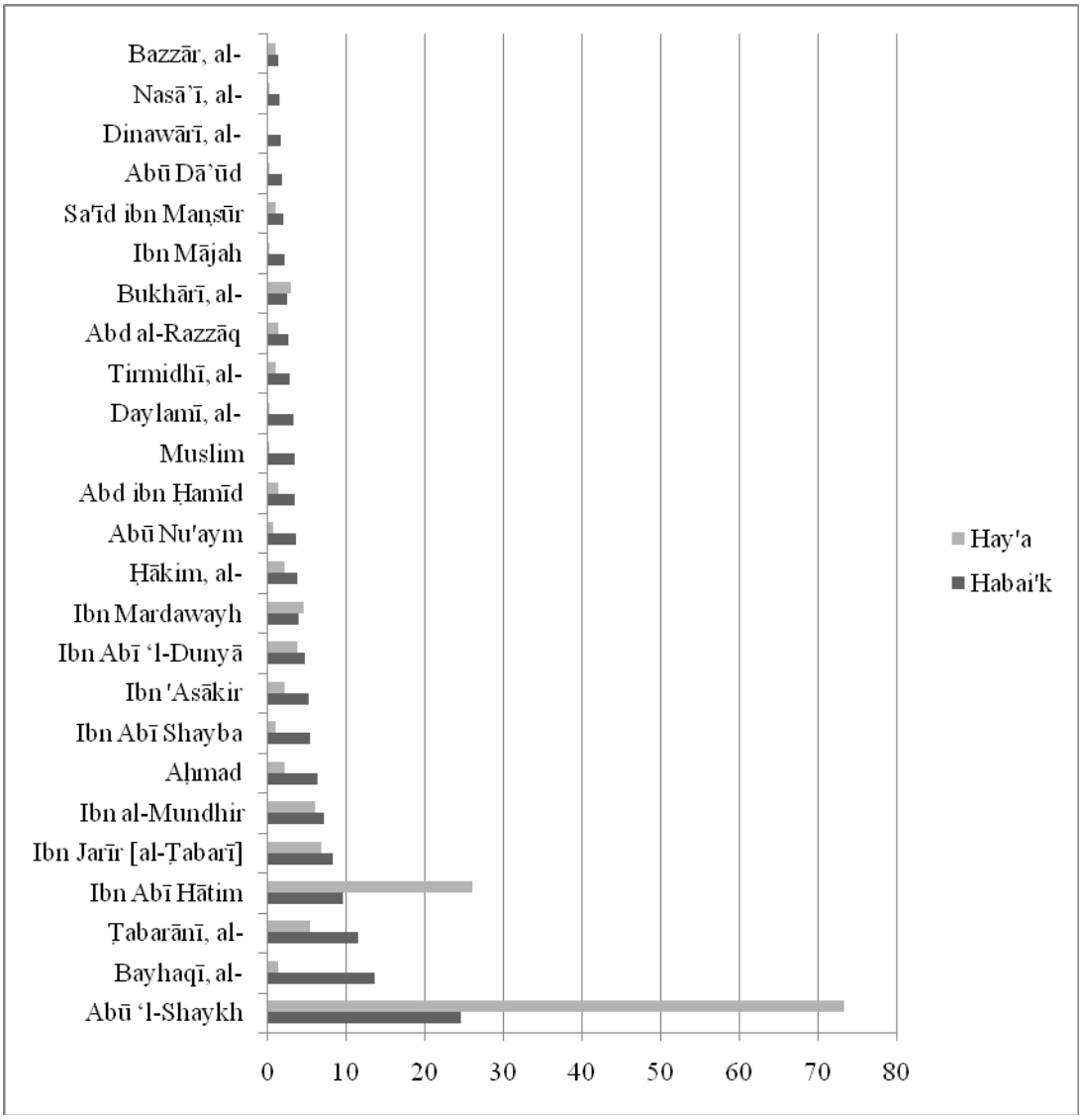

Fig (iv) Chart of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

The data reveal some interesting trends. Firstly, Abū 'l-Shaykh is the most cited author in both *al-Hay'a* and *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but especially so in *al-Hay'a*, where Abū 'l-Shaykh dominates the work. K. E. Nolin's study of al-Suyūṭī's sources for his *Itqān* shows that he adapted and enlarged al-Zarkashī's *Burhān*; the data above seem to reveal a similar relationship between his *al-Hay'a* and Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*. The same relationship is not so evident in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, although the work does also feature prominently. There are also a great number of common

authors, with only four out of forty-one authors appearing in *al-Hay'a* that do not appear in *al-Habā'ik*.[118] Despite this, the frequency of the authors being used in each of the works shows only a weak correlation. This evidence suggests that al-Suyūṭī had a core set of works which he consulted for his *ḥadīth* collections, but the frequency of their use depends on the *ḥadīth* that they contain, and their usefulness to a particular work. It also suggests that al-Suyūṭī, as Nolin has shown, uses one or two particular works as a basis from which to compile a larger collection: in the case of *al-Hay'a*, it appears to be based exclusively on Abū 'l-Shaykh, whereas *al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī.[119]

The *khātima* shows a slightly different relationship between al-Suyūṭī and his sources, which is more difficult to analyse empirically. As it has been seen above, the *khātima* draws on a wide range of sources, collecting and presenting various mediaeval materials on angels in *kalām*. Al-Suyūṭī makes extensive citations throughout the *khātima* with little personal comment, from both brief statements of doctrine, such as al-Kalabādhī's *Kitāb al-taᶜarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, in which al-Kalabādhī's thoughts are not reproduced in full,[120] to the citations of entire chapters, such as the thirty-third chapter of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn*: *Fī an al-malā'ika afḍal aw al-anbiyā*'.[121]

Such extensive quotation suggests that the *khātima* was written to act as a primer, presenting the views of past scholars on the issue of the precedence of angels and prophets. A number of such works were composed in this period, and it was

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[118] Ibn al-Ḥārith, Ibn Abī Zamīl, al-Quṛtubī and Abū ᶜUbayd.
[119] A future area of research would be an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in a much larger sample.
[120] Cf Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 240 and Arberry, A. J. (tr.), *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 53.
[121] Cf. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 207 – 226; al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irāt al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1353 / 1934) pp. 368 – 384.

common to include such a large amount of cited material: 'By the later medieval period, scholars in institutions of higher learning established in several cities and towns of the Mamluk empire had generated myriad texts, treatises, commentaries, handbooks, and primers for curricular use.'[122] Furthermore, the relative lack of analysis or ideas on al-Suyūṭī's part would seem to suggest that it was not necessarily aimed at the scholarly community. It is true that extensive quotation is common in later theological works; yet, there is a tendency to engage with the material and challenge it significantly at some juncture in the work. Al-Suyūṭī does include some personal comment towards the end of the *khātima*, but it is much more limited than in other *kalām* works of the period. Despite the high consideration of his own abilities, al-Suyūṭī never really considered himself to be a *mutakallim*.[123] Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ Sharaf provides an extremely useful portrayal of al-Suyūṭī's relationship with *kalām*, He states:

> 'There is no doubt that al-Suyūṭī's position on the discipline of *kalām* was one of suspicion and mistrust of its influence on the doctrines of Islam and its capability to mislead and cause deviant [views]. But it will be seen that al-Suyūṭī distinguishes between the disciplines of *kalām* that are founded on pure senseless debate, which can be seen in the *mutakallimūn* of the innovators and between *kalām* that is based on the Book, the *Sunna* and defence of Islamic doctrines and the refutation of the innovators and those that have deviated [from Islam].'[124]

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[122] Petry, 'Scholastic Stasis' p. 324; see also Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, pp. 24 – 25.
[123] In his autobiography, al-Suyūṭī highlights eighteen of his works as being particularly important, none of these are in the field of *kalām*; see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 2, p. 105 and Saleh, 'al-Suyūṭī' pp. 86 – 87.
[124] Sharaf, Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: manḥajuhu wa-ārā'uhu al-kalāmiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Naḥda al-ᶜArabiyya, 1981) p. 73 [tr. Burge].

For al-Suyūṭī *kalām* did have its benefits for the study of Islam, but he distanced himself from speculative theology. *Kalām* was acceptable, as long as it sought to support the Qur'ān, the *Sunna* and the creeds.[125] In the *khātima* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, al-Suyūṭī engages with elements of *kalām* that support the *sunna*, but not necessarily *kalām* as a discipline in its entirety. The *khātima* presents a summary of *kalām* arguments that support orthodox beliefs, rather than advancing new ideas into the field.

However, the *khātima* is not the only section that deals with philosophical and theological issues. The presence of an early chapter in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the title: 'The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers' [126] suggests an engagement with Islamic peripatetic philosophy in the *ḥadīth* section as well. Although only three *ḥadīth* (0.4%) are included in this chapter, it clearly shows that it was an issue of concern. The opposition of Islam to Greek philosophy in some quarters is well known,[127] and al-Suyūṭī wrote a number of works against the use of Greek logic himself.[128] The issue at stake in *al-Ḥabā'ik* concerns the physical substance of angels: in Islamic philosophy some held that angels were intellects and were incorporeal.[129] The most famous philosopher to deny angels bodies was Ibn Sīna, who in his *al-Shifā'*

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[125] Cf. Sharaf, *al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 113 – 116.
[126] *Mabda' khalq al-malā'ik wa-'l-dalāla ᶜalā anhum ajsām khalāfan li-'l-falāsifa*'; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 10 – 11, §2 – 4.
[127] See Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Die Stellung der alten Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften' *GS* vol. 5, pp. 357 – 400 and Watt, W. M., *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985) pp. 133 – 148.
[128] See Ali, Mufti, 'A Statistical Portrait of the Resistance to Logic by Sunni Muslim Scholars Based on the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (849-909/1448-1505)' *ILS* 15 (2008) pp. 250 – 267 and Ali, Mufti, *Muslim Opposition to Logic and Theology in the Light of the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)*, PhD. Thesis, University of Leiden, 2008.
[129] See Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.

explicitly refers to angels as incorporeal intellects.[130] Al-Suyūṭī's chapter stresses that the angels are corporeal and that they are made of fire or light, the tradition understanding of angelic substance.[131]

There is little to suggest that al-Suyūṭī is responding to a specific text that propounds the belief in the incorporeality of angels, and he simply appears to be reiterating the case against Islamic peripatetic philosophy. However, interest in *Muᶜtazilī* theology was revived from the thirteenth century onwards,[132] Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 / 1274)[133] being a notable example. This synthesis became the basis of the Isfahan School, which came to dominate Twelver philosophy a century after al-Suyūṭī's death.[134] In the intervening period, a number of scholars advanced such theological thinking, including Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī[135] (d. 726 / 1325) and Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 906 / 1501).[136] Likewise, the angels were held to be incorporeal in Jewish *kabbalah*,[137] but it would seem unlikely that al-Suyūṭī is engaging with medieval Jewish philosophy in *al-Ḥabā'ik* specifically. There is no doubt that speculative theology was being pursued in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime.

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[130] Ibn Sīna refers to '*al-malā'ika al-rūḥāniyya al-mujarrada allatī tasmiyya ᶜaqūlan*' ['…spiritual angels denuded [of matter] that are called "intellects"…' Michael E. Marmura (ed. & tr.), *Avicenna: The Metaphysics of The Healing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005) p. 358.

[131] Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī combines Islamic peripateticism and traditional notions of angels in Islam in his illuminationist philosophy; see Burge, 'Suhrawardian Angeology' for a discussion of these ideas.

[132] See Cooper, John, 'From al-Ṭūsī to the School of Iṣfahān' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996) pp. 585 – 596.

[133] Daiber, H., and Ragep, F. J., 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Abū Djaᶜfar Muḥammad' *EI²* vol. 10 pp. 746 – 752.

[134] For more on the Isfahan School, see Dabashi, Hamad, 'Mīr Dāmād and the founding of the "School of Iṣfahān"' in Nasr and Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 597 – 634.

[135] Jafri, S. H. M., 'al-Ḥillī, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn' *EI²* vol. 3, p. 390; see also Schmidtke, Sabine, *The Theology of al-ᶜAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726 / 1325)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991).

[136] See Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī' *EI²* vol. 12, p. 380; Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Gumhūr al-Aḥsâ'is synthesis of *kalām*, philosophy and Shi'ism' in Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age*, pp. 147 – 156 and Schmidtke, Sabine, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik in zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15/ Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838-1434-35 – nach 906/1501)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[137] See Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava, 'Philosophy and Kabbalah: 1200 – 1600' in Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 218 – 257, p. 227.

However, as al-Suyūṭī does not refer to any specific texts or authors, it is difficult to ascertain whether he is engaging with these *mutakallimūn*. If al-Suyūṭī was not responding to any specific text, it is conceivable that he became aware of a resurgence in the belief in the incorporeality of angels in general terms and so responded to that; but this can only be conjecture. However, its presence and placement at the beginning of the collection do show that al-Suyūṭī believed it was an important issue to discuss.

This survey of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources has shown a number of important aspects of al-Suyūṭī's methodological approach, although much more work needs to be done to understand it more fully. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī appears to have used an *Urtext* for his compilations, around which he adds, removes and expands material. In some cases, this *Urtext* is extremely prominent, in others, such his *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, it is less so. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī applied different types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and *kalām* sections. The *ḥadīth* are sources from an early period, the third to fourth centuries *ḥijrī*, whereas the *kalām* material is derived principally from material from the seventh century onwards. This appears to reflect the need for the *ḥadīth* to be taken from the formative period of *ḥadīth* collection, and the *kalām* material to reflect more contemporary discussions. Lastly, the *khātima* makes use of extended citation, and appears to have the reproduction of key ideas and expositions of the theological problem being discussed as its main aim.

1.5 The Purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and its Audience

The purpose of al-Suyūṭī's *ḥadīth* compilations and their audience can, at times, be a little difficult to ascertain. The discussions above have shown that the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* utilise different types of sources and approaches, and that the historical milieu of fifteenth-century Cairo was complex and dynamic. There are many different audiences to which *al-Ḥabā'ik* could be aimed: the masses, the literate public, students or academics. The juxtaposition of the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* does little to help resolve the issue.

Éric Geoffroy has commented that: '…[al-Suyūṭī] prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to the public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes.'[138] If his works were intended for the general public, some of them certainly required a degree of learning: the *khātima* that follows *al-Ḥabā'ik*, for instance, contains detailed theological discussions. Yet, at the same time, there is a tension in his collections between the use of this overtly scholarly material and his frequent reliance on weak and non-Prophetic *ḥadīth*,[139] as well as elements of folklore.[140]

As it has been seen above, there is textual evidence that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in promoting scholarly *ḥadīth* studies during his lifetime and that he

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[138] Geoffroy, 'al-Suyūṭī' p. 914.

[139] cf. Bauer, Thomas, 'Islamische Totenbücher. Entwicklug einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs' from S. Leder (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002) pp. 421 – 436, p. 424.

[140] There has been much secondary literature written on popular Islamic literature: e.g. Abdel-Malek, Kamal, 'Popular Religious Narratives' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 330 – 346; Reynolds, Dwight F., 'Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 245 – 269; Knappert, Jan, *Islamic Legends: Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) and Brinner, William M., 'Popular Literature in Medieval Jewish Arabic' in Norman Golb (ed.), *Judeo-Arabic Studies: Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997) pp. 59 – 71.

attacked those who used *ḥadīth* without having had any proper training in the field.[141] However, Marlis Saleh suggests the best explanation; she comments that: 'Al-Suyūṭī came to feel that he had been born into an age of widespread ignorance and scholarly decline, and that as the most knowledgeable person of his time he had a special mission to assemble and transmit the Islamic cultural patrimony before it disappeared entirely due to the carelessness of his contemporaries.'[142] It would seem that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in two different activities at the same time: firstly, promoting particular ideas about different subjects (in these case, angels) to the wider Muslim public; and, secondly, addressing more academic and theological issues, preserving them for future generations of scholars and students. It is, perhaps, for this reason that in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the theological arguments are kept within the confines of the *khātima*; those who did not understand *kalām*, or were not interested in it, could simply ignore it.

The *ḥadīth* found in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* are often part of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genre. As has been seen above, al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries like al-Sakhāwī were involved in attempts to combat the growth of the preachers and the story-tellers. These popular preachers, in the opinion of the *ᶜulamā'*, were using *ḥadīth* inappropriately. The *quṣṣāṣ* narrated stories in the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition, which itself had a strong association with 'popular religion': 'The classification of Kisai's [*Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*] as popular religious literature may be suggested by its tendency to simplify Biblical-Quranic legends for the education and enjoyment of the

[141] See Berkey, Jonathan P., 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 –65, pp. 61 - 65 and Berkey, 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power'.
[142] Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 76.

masses…'[143] The use of *qiṣaṣ* material in *al-Ḥabā'ik* may be an indication of its target audience: such material is being used in attempt to wean the general public of the *quṣṣaṣ* onto the works of the orthodox, acceptable and scholarly *ᶜulamā'*.

Naturally, much of this *qiṣaṣ* material is also found in the *tafsīr* works, but al-Suyūṭī does appear to have utilized this material much more frequently than scholars of earlier generations. This trend can been in both his general encyclopaedic *ḥadīth* collections and his more formal exegeses, such as his *al-Durr al-manthūr*. Such a blurring between formal and popular works was common in late Mamluk literature, which '…transcends boundaries: the boundaries between the everyday and literary communication; between popular and high literatures; between poetry and prose; between the private and public; between theory and praxis.'[144] Whether or not such a blurring was a direct response to the growth of the *wuᶜᶜaẓ* and the *quṣṣāṣ* is difficult to ascertain, but there certainly seems to be an engagement with 'popular' material in this period, which al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* also exhibits.

This more 'popular' material is juxtaposed with the *khātima* – a section that clearly requires a high degree of intellectual ability. Al-Suyūṭī refers to the *khātima* in his introduction to the work as the whole, and states: 'I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad.'[145] Al-Suyūṭī clearly intended it to be read, but by whom? The material in the *khātima* and its recapitulation of the work of earlier *mutakallimūn* seems to suggest that the postscript was aimed towards students, acting as a primer or summary of *kalām* arguments about angels. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* is difficult to comprehend, because, except for the presence of the angels, the two sections appear to have little in

[143] Shoshan, 'High Culture', p. 85.
[144] Bauer, 'Mamluk Literature', p. 130.
[145] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 9.

common in their approach, sources and contents. There is, however, one quite general theme that can take both the *ḥadīth* and the *kalām* materials into account. Over the whole text there is a sense that work is attempting to outline all beliefs about angels in Islam, both those raised in the *ḥadīth* and in Islamic theology, making the work almost a 'text book' on belief in angels.

All of this would seem to suggest that *al-Ḥabā'ik* was aimed at a literate audience, but not necessarily those at the highest level of academia. It is not really an 'academic' work in that sense. It has already been seen that al-Suyūṭī wrote many works that could be considered as being fully *academic*, engaging in logic, law, exegesis and the *uṣūl al-dīn*, among many other subject areas. This material is quite different in nature and form to *al-Ḥabā'ik*. Furthermore, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's works shows that he also wrote much material that could be considered as being more popularist. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* sits somewhere in between these two audiences: neither fully academic, nor aimed entirely at the masses, but whether it was aimed at the literate general public or students specifically is difficult to ascertain. It would seem likely that both groups would have benefited from the work.

Appreciating al-Suyūṭī's target audiences produces some interesting insights on al-Suyūṭī as an author. He appears to have been engaged with a wide range of different groups of society: academics, students and the general public. His arrogant nature may not have enamoured him to the Cairene *intelligentsia*, but he does appear to have achieved a degree of fame and reputation, a fact not missed by Reynold Nicholson. After discussing his various disputes with contemporary scholars, Nicholson comments: 'Be this as it may, he saw what the public wanted. His

compendious and readable handbooks were famed throughout the Moslem world…'[146] Al-Suyūṭī knew what sort of books and *ḥadīth* collections were wanted, and he obligingly responded, writing works for a wide range of different social groups in Mamluk Cairo.

Others, such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, appear to have acted similarly;[147] this would seem to imply that scholars of the late Mamluk period were more deeply involved in the world outside academia than previous generations of scholars. This period is often accused of being a period of stagnation and intellectual malaise;[148] but, authors such as al-Suyūṭī show an awareness and interaction with the whole range of audiences in Mamluk Cairo. The Mamluk era was a period of great intellectual activity, not stagnation, seen especially in the interaction of scholars with the wider community – an academic model that, perhaps, has much to resonate with the contemporary world.

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[146] Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p. 455.
[147] Cf. Rosenthal, F., 'Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 776 – 778 and Petry, 'al-Sakhāwī'.
[148] Gardet commented: 'Elle semble avoir marqué l'entrée de la pensée religieuse musulmane en une longue période de stagnation…on peut situer au cours de ce IXe siècle de l'hégire le début effectif de l'ankylose qui se prolongera plus de quatre siècles.' Gardet, Louis, 'De quelle manière s'est ankylosée la pensée religieuse de l'Islam' in R. Brunschwig and G. E. von Grunebaum (eds.), *Classicisme et Déclin Culturel dans l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Paris: Editions Besson, 1957), pp. 93 – 105, p. 95. Such a position is now being questioned, see Bauer, Thomas, 'Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches' *MSR* 9:2 (2005) pp. 105 – 132.

The Origins of Islamic Beliefs About Angels

2. The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

Although angels appear in the Qur'ān, with Gabriel and Michael explicitly named, the traditions included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* show a great increase in the number of angels. The question naturally arises about how these traditions entered Islam and from where they originated. Understanding the provenance of these *ḥadīth* will provide a basis for comprehending the wider interactions between Islam and other religious traditions of the Near East, and allows a particular motif or concept to be placed in context: in what ways is an Islamic motif similar or different to its use in Judaism or Christianity?

The aim of this section is not to analyse the *ḥadīth* in source-critical terms, as this would not actually achieve very reliable results for a number of reasons: firstly, the majority of *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions passed into Islam through oral transmission,[149] often through a number of different sectarian and language groups. [150] This makes literary comparison or any source-critical approach difficult and of questionable value. Secondly, *ḥadīth* present material in a different way to Jewish and Christian texts. There is no real counterpart to the *ḥadīth collection* in Jewish or Christian literature; *ḥadīth* collections reproduce isolated fragments of information, usually

[149] See Nagel, T., 'Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 180 – 181 and Vajda, G., 'Isrā'īliyyāt' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 211 – 212; for a discussion of the term *Isrā'īliyyāt*, see Tottoli, Roberto, 'Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature' *Arabica* 46 (1999) pp. 193 – 210.

[150] Steven Wasserstrom comments: 'Rarely if ever will it be certain that an ancient Jewish pseudepigraph was taken over into Muslim narrative without such Christian intermediation.' Wasserstrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch' in John C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1994) pp. 87 – 114, p. 99.

with little in the way of contextualisation.[151] At most, a *ḥadīth* collection will offer a short narrative unit, such as the *Death of Moses* or the story of *Hārūt and Mārūt*.[152] Furthermore, even if a Judeo-Christian story or motif is found in a Muslim text, it is often adapted and changed to suit its new religious environment. In his discussion of al-Thaᶜlabī's version of the death of David, Kees Wagtendonk comments: 'As is the case with Wahb b. Munabbih's David stories, parts of these stories are derived from or influenced by Jewish or Christian sources. But this does not necessarily determine their intentions. We have to judge them by their new context.'[153] When approaching the *ḥadīth* in this collection in an attempt to understand the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, a number of parallels will be made between the *ḥadīth* and Jewish, Christian and other texts. However, the purpose is not to attribute sources to particular beliefs or motifs in the *ḥadīth*, but to highlight commonalities and differences between Islam and other religious traditions in general terms.[154] It is also important to place any commonalities in the context of their differences, so that a general and full picture about the interaction between Islam with other faiths can be seen.

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[151] Rabbinic texts are often collections of the sayings of the sages, but they are almost always placed within a wider legal or exegetical context (*halakha* and *haggadah*); see Maccoby, Hyam, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 1 – 48. Some Christian texts, such as the *Coptic Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also collections of the sayings of Jesus, but this form is relatively rare in Christian texts.

[152] Eg. §146 & 248 – 255; cf. El Calamawy, Sahair, 'Narrative Elements in the *Ḥadīth* Literature' *CHAL* vol. 1, pp. 308 – 316.

[153] Wagtendonk, 'Stories of David' p. 344; see also Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Psuedepigrapha and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*'.

[154] After a period in Biblical Studies where many studies were untaken drawing parallels between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern literature, Sandmel highlighted the problems that can be encountered when undertaking such work; see Sandmel, 'Parallelomania'.

At a basic level, Islamic beliefs about angels have largely been attributed to Jewish and Christian ones,[155] but there has not been much subsequent study of Islamic angelology as a whole. In order to understand the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels, a wide range of traditions need to be analysed so that a general picture of the situation can be taken. A study of a specific tradition may indicate an influence from one particular source or tradition, but that source may play a very minor role in the influences on Islamic angelology as whole. The study that follows looks at the *ḥadīth* presented by al-Suyūṭī in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in an attempt to assess the influences on Islamic angelology, through (i) the analysis of angelic nomenclature and (ii) a comparison of the depiction and iconography of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. What will be seen is that the influences on Islamic angelic traditions are more varied than may have been expected.

2.1 Angelic Nomenclature

The way in which objects and people are named often reveals much about both the object (or the person) and the one that did the naming. The modern discipline of semiotics is based on this principle and to a certain extent played a part in classical Arabic linguistic theory. Many mediaeval Arabic linguists attempted to find the etymological origins of the names of places and animals etc., so they could understand the word more clearly.[156] Likewise, a study of the way that angels are

[155] For example, Gaudefroy-Demombynes comments: 'From Judaism and Christianity, Islam learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms…' Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M., 'Demons and Spirits (Muslim)' in *ERE* vol. 4, pp. 615 – 619, p. 615.

[156] See Stetkevych, Jaroslav, 'Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry' *JNES* 45 (1986) pp. 89 – 124.

named reveals two key aspects: firstly, the physical origin of the angelic name; and secondly, the way in which the angel was perceived by a particular group.

What is evident from the angels found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is that there is a relatively large quantity of angels that are singled out and 'named' (albeit not always with individual personal names), and that the way in which this is done varies greatly. This, in itself, suggests that angels were incorporated into Islam in different ways and that the origins and development of Islamic beliefs about angels are more complex than some scholars have believed in the past. There are four main ways in which Islamic angels are named: (i) use of the suffix '-īl'; (ii) function names using the formula 'the Angel of X'; (iii) function names formed without *malak*, which are often derivations from concepts or (physical) objects and (iv) other miscellaneous names of varied or complex origin.

The main sources for Jewish and Christian angelic names are the Talmud, Midrash and other rabbinic texts, Old and New Testament Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as other magical incantation texts and later Jewish and Christian mystical treatises.[157] In Judaism the most common form of an angelic name is one composed with the suffix '*-ēl'*, a suffix that is maintained in both Jewish and Christian angelic names in other non-Semitic languages. These types of angelic names have meanings associated with God [*'ēl*]; for example, *Mikā'ēl,* means 'one like God' and *Gabrī'ēl* means 'power of God'. In the Bible named angels only appear in the post-exilic book of Daniel and were developed in the inter-testamental

[157] For a comprehensive survey of angelic names see Michl, J., 'Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen) *RAC* vol. 5, coll. 200 – 239; Petersen, Erik, 'Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara.' *RMP* 75 (1926) pp. 393 – 421 and Davidson, Gustav, *Dictionary of Angels* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1967). Julia Creswell's recent popular *The Watkins's Dictionary of Angels* (London: Watkins, 2006) contains many angelic names and some details about them, but has little information regarding sources.

period, perhaps influenced by Zoroastrianism, [158] and culminated in Pseudepigraphical texts. [159] In his commentary on *1Enoch* George Nickelsburg highlights a number of reasons why named angels became popular in the inter-Testamental period, concluding that: 'In general, however, it has the effect of reifying the heavenly world. If it does not give personalities to these beings, it does give definition and an increasing sense of reality to these beings – whether they be good or evil – concretizing their functions on their names…'[160]

Another important way that angelic names were given in Judaism arose out of exegeses of passages in the Hebrew Bible.[161] In these instances, heavenly objects found in scripture become angelic, often forming a group of angels, rather than individuals. As a result, these groups usually take the form of the standard Hebrew plural (*-īm*) of the hypostasised object. For example, the wheels of God's chariot become the group of angels called the *opannīm* ['the wheels'].[162] These two forms of angelic nomenclature are the most common, but angelic names not taking either of these forms can be found. These angels are usually conceptual, i.e. anthropomorphic (or rather angelomorphic) representations of abstract ideas such as 'Death',

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[158] See Winston, David, 'The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence' *HR* 5 (1966) pp. 183 - 216, pp. 189 - 192. Some early commentators argued that Jewish angelology developed during the period of exile in Persia; e.g. Kohut, A, 'Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?' *ZDMG* 21 (1867) pp. 552-91 and Kohut, A., *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhänigkeit vom Parsismus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866). However, this influence is no longer seen to have been as strong as nineteenth century scholars, such as Kohut, suggested; cf. Barr, James, 'The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity' *JAAR* 53 (1985) pp. 201 – 236.

[159] E.g. *1 Enoch* contains a great number of angelic names formed in this way.

[160] Nickelsburg, George E., *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) p. 45.

[161] Cf. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands.* Olyan, however, does have a tendency to overstate the role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelology, as C. R. A. Morray-Jones comments: 'Beliefs about angels were not simply generated, within a religious and social vacuum, by anomalies in the text of Scripture.' Morray-Jones, C. R. A., 'Review of Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 154 – 159, p. 159.

[162] See Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, pp. 34 – 41 and Halperin, David J., 'The Exegetical Character of Ezek. X 9 - 17' *VT* 26 (1976) pp. 129 - 141.

'Wisdom' and so on;[163] or are ultimately derived from other non-Semitic languages, such as Greek.

This section will look at the different types of angelic names included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, attempting to locate their origin and the significance of their nomenclature.

2.1.1 Theophoric Names

A number of angelic names included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* derive from Hebrew (or North-West Semitic equivalents), with some changes in vocalisation. Angelic names in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac are most often compounds formed with the termination *–'ēl*, meaning 'X of God'. The most common theophoric name in Islam is, of course, Gabriel / *Jibrīl*. The Qur'ānic *muṣḥaf* reads *Jibrīl* for the angel Gabirel, but there are a number of variations extant, including: *jabra'īl, jabrīl, jabrāll, jabrīn*.[164] These variations suggest that the name is of foreign origin and it was thought to be either Hebrew or Syriac in traditional lexicography.[165]

Despite the retention of the ending *–īl* (the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *'ēl*), the angelic name often loses its original meaning when transferred to Arabic and, even when it could be retained, the original Hebrew sense is usually

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[163] Cf. Brandon, S. G. F., 'The Personification of Death in some Ancient Religions' *JJRL* 43 (1960 – 1961) pp. 317 – 335 and Ringgren, Helmar, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostasation of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1947).

[164] See Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary* pp. 100 – 101 & 275 - 276. Variants of the Gabirel can be found in the Codices of Ubai ibn Kaᶜb, ᶜAlī, Ibn ᶜAbbās, ᶜAlqama, ᶜIkrima and al-Aᶜmash on Q 2:97 – 98; see Jeffery, A., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, Brill, 1937) pp. 119, 189, 195, 242, 269 & 315; see also al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.) vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Jawālīqī, Abū Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir), *Al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜjamī ᶜalā ᶜurūf al-muᶜjam* (Tehran; s.n., 1966) pp. 113 – 115 & 327.

[165] See al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46; Jeffrey suggests Syriac as the vocalisation (*Gabri'ēl*) is closer to the Arabic; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 100; cf. Payne-Smith, Robert, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) vol. 1, p. 648.

ignored. For example, §89 states that: 'Gabriel's name [means] servant of God; Michael's name [means] servant of God; and Isrāfīl's name [means] servant of the Merciful.'[166] The *ḥadīth* gives the three names meanings that are not strictly correct in the Hebrew sense; but the new names are revealing. Whereas the Hebrew names enhance the power and might of God, the Arabic names highlight the angels' subservience to God.[167] These translations do, however, still retain the correct translation of *'ēl* / *'īl* as 'God'.[168]

The *–īl* ending is also given an 'incorrect' definition in two of the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: §37 states that 'every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'[169] Again, this translation (or definition) shows some ingenuity, as *'ēl* is the Hebrew word for God and *īl* is not in Arabic, it had to be translated or interpreted in a different way. To say that *īl* means the 'temple of God' circumvents this problem. It also avoids the introduction of another, non-Islamic, name for God. However, in the Arabic lexicographical tradition *īl* is usually given the simple explanation 'a name of God, Most High.'[170]

Al-Ḥabā'ik includes eleven angelic names ending in *–īl*: *Jibrīl* (Gabriel), *Mīkā'īl* (Michael), *Isrāfīl*, *Ismāᶜīl*, *Riyāfīl*, *Ramyā'īl*, *Sharahīl*, *Harahīl*, *Artiyā'īl*, *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* and *Rufīl*. The origin of the angels *Jibrīl / Jibrā'īl* (Hebrew: *Gabri'ēl*) and *Mīkā'īl* (*Mīkā'ēl*) are both well-known and have been frequently

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[166] §89; cf. §36 – 38 & §78; these translations are also found in Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.
[167] Rabbinic texts do, however, still stress that angels are 'lower' than humans, because of their inability to do other than that which God has commanded them to do; cf. Schechter, S., 'Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology' *JQR* 7 (1895) pp. 195 – 215.
[168] Some Arabic texts do not attempt to give a precise meaning for the name, for example in one text about the *miᶜrāj*, Michael says to Muḥammad, 'I am called Mikā'īl simply because I am appointed over the rain and the plants.' McKane, W., 'A Manuscript on the Miᶜrāj in the Bodleian' *JSS* 2 (1947), pp. 366 – 379, p. 370.
[169] §37; §36 also has a similar statement.
[170] Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, p. 45 ; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 436 - 438.

discussed.[171] The use and adaptation of Judeo-Christian theophoric names would, at first sight, produce a strong case for a Judeo-Christian influence on this type of Islamic nomenclature. However, there are a number of idiosyncrasies in the Arabic names that make this relationship more complex.

A number of the names included in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have strong etymological links with Jewish angels,[172] but other names are philologically further removed. For example, Artiyā'īl, an angel responsible for removing grief from humans, bears some philological similarity to the angel Uriel (Hebrew: *'uri'ēl*).[173] An etymological relationship between the two is potentially possible as the Arabic name only includes the addition of the infix '*-ti-*' and some minor vowel modifications. The initial *alif* is left without any diacritical marks and is usually vocalised with a *fatḥa*; however, a *kasra* (i.e. Irtiyā'īl) would, perhaps, make more sense – linking it to VIII R-W-Ā, (to quench one's thirst), which is what this angel does in an abstract way. However, it must be stressed that this is only conjecture, as there is no other textual evidence available to gain a fuller understanding of the name's origin.

Another example relates to the two angels Rūfīl (also given as Rufā'īl)[174] and Riyāfīl, which both appear to derive from the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* (Aramaic *Rapa'ēl*) with a fairly straightforward etymology.[175] There are, however, a few problems with the origins of the name Rūfīl. Firstly, did the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* generate two different

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[171] See Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 100 – 101 and 275 – 276; Pedersen, J., 'Djibrā'il' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 362 – 364 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Mīkāl' *EI*^{2} Vol 7, pp. 24 – 25.

[172] *Viz*: Jibrīl ≡ Gabri'ēl; Mikā'īl ≡ Mīka'ēl; Ismā^{c}īl ≡ Sama^{c}ēl; Isrāfīl ≡ Sarapi'ēl; Ramyā'īl ≡ Rami'ēl; Sharahīl ≡ Sarahi'ēl.

[173] In the Pseudepigraphical text the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Uriel is involved in the burials of Adam and Abel, although it should be noted that the text does not directly associate Uriel with comforting the grieving: cf. *LAE(V)* 48:3, *OTP*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[174] A similar ḥadīth appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Hayā' al-sāniya*, VIII:11 where the name is given as *Rufā'īl*; see Heinen, *Islamic* Cosmology, p. 31 [Ar.]; Heinen suggests that this is Raphiel, see p. 232.

[175] See Barton, George A., 'The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.' *JBL* 31 (1912) pp. 156 – 167, p. 158; 1En 10:4; 13:1.

angels, *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*? With only very limited source material available it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions; although it does seem likely, etymologically at least, that *Rupa'ēl* is related to both *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*. Another problem arises with this angel; Raphael is a prominent angel in both Judaism and Christianity,[176] but in Islam Rūfīl and Riyāfīl are not. Furthermore, whilst Riyāfīl performs a role similar to Raphael,[177] Rūfīl is the Angel of the Clouds, a role not played by either the Jewish or Christian Raphael. In this case, a strong etymological link can be established between Rūfīl / Riyāfīl and Raphael, but the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the angel are not assimilated with the name.

Similar problems are encountered with the pair of angels Harāhīl and Sharāhīl (§409 – 410), the angels responsible for the sun and the moon. In Judeo-Christian tradition the Angel of the Sun is often associated with Uriel,[178] but in 1 Enoch 8:3[179] there is reference to the two demons Shamshiel and Sarahiel.[180] In Enoch, however, Sarahiel is not an angel, as such, but the fallen angel or demon that taught humans the courses of the moon (i.e. astrology).[181] The Arabic Sharāhīl is clearly derived from Sarahiel, with the only change being *sīn* to *shīn* (a common and easily acceptable alteration).[182] Whilst this accounts for the angel of the moon, the angel of

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[176] For a survey of the role of Raphael see Barker, Margaret 'The Archangel Raphael in the Book of Tobit' in Mark Bredin (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Tobit* (London: T&T Clark, 2006) pp. 118 – 128.
[177] §275 – 276; Riyāfīl is the angel that accompanies Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, in much the same that Raphael is Tobit's guide; cf. Tob. 5:16, *NRSV* p. 6.
[178] Cf. *NumR* II:10, p. 39; 1 En. 75:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 54
[179] 1 En 8:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 16.
[180] The two demons are also linked to a Mandaic incantation bowl, see Bhayro, Siam 'Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6 – 11' *JSP* 15 (2006) pp. 163 – 177; pp. 172 – 173.
[181] See Kuhn, Harold B., 'The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses' *JBL* 67 (1948) pp. 217 – 232, p. 226. These two demons bear some resemblance to the story of Hārūt and Mārūt, [Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13] in which the angels are said to have taught humans magic; cf. Bauckham, Richard, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria' *VC* 39 (1985) pp. 313 - 330.
[182] For the relationship between *š*, *ś* and *s* in the Semitic language group, see Moscati, Sabatino *et. al.*, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Lanaguages* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964) §8; pp. 33 – 37.

the sun (Harāhīl) is not included in the pairing of demons found in 1 Enoch 8:3, which uses the name *Shamshiel*. The reason why the Enochic *Shamshiel* was not appropriated into Islam along with *Sarahi'ēl* is unclear, especially as the name means 'Sun of God' and could easily be converted into **shamsā'īl* or **shamsīl* in Arabic. It is deeply unsatisfactory for a pairing of angels to be adopted incompletely, but with no other sources extant that can attest to the origins of *Harāhīl*, the reasons behind it must remain unknown.

The Angel of Death is occasionally given the theophoric name *ᶜAzrā'īl* or *ᶜIzrā'īl* (both of these vocalisations are found).[183] This name came to prominence after the coming of Islam in both Islamic and Jewish literature and folklore,[184] and from its form appears to have been assimilated into Arabic from Judaism. Attempts have been made in the past to identify the *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* with a Jewish (or Christian) angel and the most likely candidate is that it is a corruption of *ᶜAṣri'el*, which was suggested by the eminent Islamic scholar, A. J. Wensinck.[185] The only change to the name is the consonant shift from *samekh* to *zayin*, one that was relatively common in the move from Biblical to Rabbinic Hebrew.[186] However, there are also attestations of the name *ᶜAzra'ēl* extant in five Aramaic incantation texts;[187] but, because of the nature of these incantation texts, there is no evidence to

[183] Cf. al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane *AELex*, p. 2035.
[184] See Wensinck, A. J. 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292-293; El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) vol. 2, p.2:36 and Nov, Doy, 'Angel of Death' *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 952 – 956, col. 955.
[185] Wensinck, A. J., 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{1} vol. 2, pp. 570 – 571 (however, this derivation is not found in *EI*^{2}); see also Bowman, John, 'A British Museum Arabic Eschatological Fragment' *MW* 38 (1948) pp. 198 – 217, pp. 206 – 207.
[186] Cf. Péréz Fernández, Miguel (tr. John Elwolde), *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) p. 13.
[187] Isbell, Charles D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula: Scholars Press. 1975) §12:14 & 41:7, pp. 44 & 98 and Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) §1:13; 2:16; 7:3, pp. 40 – 41, pp. 46 – 47 & 68 – 69. The name also appears in a much later amulet on parchment; see Casanowitz,

link the name to the angel's (Islamic) function as the angel of death, as the name simply appears in lists amongst many others. Generally, these Aramaic incantation texts found in Mesopotamia and the Levant are thought to date to around the seventh century CE,[188] however, there is some archaeological evidence to suggest an earlier date.[189] These incantation texts are important because they reflect an angelology that was a popular and integral part of folk-religion in the Near East on the eve of, and during, the expansion of Islam. Such a popular aspect of religious belief must have had some impact on the formation of Islamic folk-religion and early traditions about angels, and by extension the names of the angels themselves.

A survey of the theophoric names reveals some interesting perspectives on Islamic angelology. Firstly, the use of theophoric names is limited, with only a few instances in the entire collection. Some of these names are important Judeo-Christian angels, such as Gabriel and Michael; others are much more obscure, such as Sharahīl and Irtiyā'īl. This creates a confusing picture of the way in which angelic names were used by the Muslim community. The use of Gabriel and Michael in the Qur'ān clearly point to usage in the earliest nascent community, but is this the case for other theophoric names for angels? Some names such as Isrāfīl are very common and can be found easily in *tafsīrs* and other *ḥadīth* collections, others are much rarer. It would seem plausible to suggest that the more popular angels and angelic names probably entered Islamic tradition early on in the development of its angelology, whilst the rarer names were adopted at a later stage. The retention of the *–īl* ending would seem

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I. M., 'Two Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum' *JAOS* 37 (1917) pp. 43 – 56, p. 55.

[188] See Isbell, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, pp. 3 – 12 and Yamuchi, Edwin M., 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls' *JAOS* 85 (1965) pp. 511 – 523, p. 511.

[189] Concerning Naveh & Shaked §2 & 3, they comment: 'It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of the Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.' Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets*, p. 46.

to indicate closer connections with Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac angelic nomenclature, possibly made known through magic incantation texts, popular in mediaeval period or through other Jewish or Christian texts. The way in which the names were appropriated into Islamic tradition remains, at best, speculative; particularly in cases where no other attestations of the name exist. However, Jewish folk-religion, as reflected in magical incantation texts must present an important influence on the use of some of these theophoric names in Islam. However, it is necessary to contextualise the relatively limited use of theophoric names for angels in Islam against the large volume of names formed by the formula *the Angel of X*. This would seem to suggest that Islamic nomenclature favours that construction, which, in turn, makes angelic neologisms formed with *–īl* endings less likely.

2.1.2 Function Names

The way in which angels are named in Islam is predominately by their function: i.e. The Angel of *X*. This is important as it means the angel is nameless, which is in direct conflict with the main trend in Judeo-Christian angelology of giving angels an actual name.[190] In Jewish angelology the power and authority of God is seen in the theophoric element of the name. When the theophoric element becomes meaningless (as it does when it has been translated into Arabic), the angel achieves some degree of independence as a named being and the preference for descriptive function-formulae may reveal an attempt in Islamic thought to move the focus from the angel to God directly. In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are thirty-two angels (or pairs of

[190] Although the name usually reflects the function of the angel; e.g. Baraqiel = 'Lightning of God' and is the angel responsible for lightning.

angels) whose names are formed in this way, reflecting a wide range of angelic functions. There are four main groups to consider: (a) angels of abstract concepts; (b) cosmological angels; (c) angels of specific things and places; (d) other angels. The idea that there are angels responsible for different things is common to both Judaism and Zoroastrianism.[191]

Function is an important concept in Islamic angelology and it should be noted that in the *ḥadīth* it can be seen that no angel has multiple functions; situations in which multiple functions could occur are given two angels. For example, the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of souls and nothing else (§107 – 171); there are two Scribes that do two different jobs (§312 – 406). In some other cases there are multiple angels performing the same roles, but in each of these cases the group of angels only performs one task. The angels' functions are important, as Fehmi Jadaane comments: 'La plupart du temps les Anges sont définis par leur fonction et non par leur essence; ce sont précisément des êtres fonctionnels.'[192] The idea that angels can only perform one task is, generally speaking, a rule throughout the *ḥadīth* in the collection, the only exceptions being two of the four archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*), Gabriel and Michael.[193] The belief that angels can only carry out one function is also found in Rabbinic thought.[194]

There are a number of angels of abstract concepts included in the work: the angels of death, faith, life, livelihood, weeping, righteousness and unrighteousness, health, suffering, wealth, nobility, *murū'a*, loathing, ignorance, war (the Angel of the

[191] Joshua Trachtenberg comments: '…the personality of the angels was more clearly delineated through an effort to describe them, to name the more important ones, and to accord them peculiar spheres of influence, so that we have "princes" of fire, of hail, of rain, of night, of the sea, of healing and so on…' Trachtenberg, Joshua, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1982) pp. 71 – 72.
[192] Jadaane, 'La place des Anges' p. 43.
[193] See §27 – 35; the other two are Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death.
[194] Cf. *GenR* 50:1, p. 434.

Sword) and courage. The Angel of Death is the only angel in this group that plays a prominent role in Islamic angelology and the last ten angels only appear in one *ḥadīth* (§472). The personification of abstract ideas is common to many late antique religions including Zoroastrianism,[195] Christianity and Judaism,[196] and is particularly common in representations of these ideas in the art of the late-antique and early mediaeval period.[197] Angels representing abstractions also bear some similarity to some pre-Islamic pagan deities such as *Manāt* (Fate).[198] This group of angels is relatively straightforward to consider, although it is important to draw attention to the fact that these angels of abstraction include the specifically Arabian concept of *murū'a*. However, it should be noted that the rarity of this angel seems to suggest it was not commonly personified either in the Islamic period or before. At the very least, this reference to the Angel of *murū'a* attests to the relative ease with which abstract concepts could be turned into angels in Islamic thought.

Cosmological angels form the largest group of angels with this particular style of nomenclature. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* includes references to angels of rain, mountains, the leaves of trees, thunder, clouds, lightning, the sun, shadow, plants and the sea.[199] The angels have similar roles in Jewish tradition, particularly in Pseudepigraphical

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[195] The Zoroastrian *Amәša Spәntas* are personifications of abstract ideas; see Geiger, Bernhard, *Die Amәša Spәntas – Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Vienna: Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1916) and Clark, Peter, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction to an Ancient Faith* (Brighton : Sussex Academic Press, 1998) pp. 27 – 58.

[196] Wisdom is the most common example, which is personified in the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Proverbs); see Camp, Claudia V., *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Sheffield: Almond, 1985).

[197] Cf. Downey, Glanville, 'Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics' *TPAPA* 69 (1938) pp. 349 – 363.

[198] See Fahd, *Panthéon,* pp. 123 – 126. In early twentieth century scholarship, it was thought that many beliefs in angels and spirits were rooted in early animistic beliefs; cf. Langton, Edward, *Good and Evil Spirits: A Study of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine, Its Origin and Development* (London: SPCK, 1942) and Zwemer, Samuel S., 'Animism in Islam' *MW* 7 (1917) pp. 245 – 255.

[199] §172 – 177 (rain and clouds); §298 – 299 (mountains); §407 – 408 (leaves); §257 – 268 (thunder and lightning); §409 – 410; 430 – 434 (sun); §435 (shadow); §485 (plants) and §486 – 487 (sea / tide).

texts, such as *Jubilees* and *Enoch*.[200] However, as Harold Kuhn comments: 'These references indicate that the writers in question thought of angels as controlling intermediaries between God and the inanimate world; and further that they considered them to be rather indistinct personifications of powers, rather than as clear-cut personalities.'[201] These angels are not individuals, like gods or demigods, but are merely designated as the beings that control an aspect of meteorology or cosmology.[202] This depersonalisation is made clearer in Islam where the angels are stripped of a personal name, reversing the reification process of the Jewish theophoric names highlighted by Nickelsberg above. As a result, these meteorological angels reflect God's influence and power over the created world, which is a particularly strong and well-known theme of the Qur'ān.

Five angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* using this descriptive formula are connected with specific objects and places: the veil (§178), cemeteries (§413 – 414), the Yemeni Column (§458 – 460), the three *jimār* at Minā (§461) and the Prophet's Tomb (§448 – 449). These are all sites and objects with particular religious significance in Islam and it is only natural that angels were made responsible for maintaining them and noting whomever performed the rituals associated with them. For example, the Angel responsible for the Yemeni Column says to whoever passes it: 'Amen! Amen!'[203]

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[200] E.g. Angels of fire (Gabriel), hail (Baradiel), wind (Ruhi'el), lightning (Baraqiel), whirlwind (Zaᶜamiel), thunder (Raᶜami'el), Ziqi'el (comets), Ziᶜi'el (tremors), Zaᶜapi'el (hurricanes), Raᶜaši'el (earthquakes), snow (Šalgi'el), rain (Maṯari'el), day (Šimši'el); night (Laili'el), sun (Galgalli'el), moon ('Opanni'el), stars (Kokabi'el) and constellations (Rahaṯi'el) can be found in 3 En. 14:3 - 4, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 266 – 7.

[201] Kuhn, 'Angelology' p. 226.

[202] There are a number of meteorological gods in Semitic and pre-Islamic Arabian religion, but these divinities have individual power over the phenomenon, whereas the meteorological angels in Jewish and Muslim thought have none. Cf. Green, A. R. W., *The Storm God in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbaums, 2003) and Brown, David Allan, *The Deities Worshipped in Central and North-West Arabia at the Advent of Islam, their temples and rituals*. (PhD. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1968.) pp. 529 – 549.

[203] §458 – 460.

Likewise, the seventy thousand angels that visit the Prophet's tomb each day demonstrate its sanctity.[204] The Angel of the Veil is the angel responsible for the veil which surrounds God in the Seventh Heaven. Whilst there may be similar angels in Jewish and Christian traditions,[205] it is difficult to establish the extent to which these ideas influenced Islamic angelology.

There are also a number of angels that cannot be easily placed into any of the groups discussed thus far. Some of these refer to specific incidents in the history of angelic interaction with humans, such as *The Angel of the Prophet of the River* (§256) and *The Angel of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn* (§478 – 484). There are also a number of angels responsible for certain ritual actions, namely: The Angel of the Qur'ān (§462 – 465), which corrects in an individual's 'book' any misreading of the Qur'ān that he or she makes when reciting the Qur'ān; the Angel of the Blessing of the Prophet, who records any occasion when someone says: 'God have mercy upon him and grant him salvation'; the Angel who is responsible for whoever says: 'The Most Merciful of those that are merciful' (§466); the Angel of Private Prayer (§467 – 470); the Angel of Ritual Prayer (§474); the Angels of Funerary Rites (§475 – 477), and the Angel of the Prophet's Prayer (§449 - 457), who tells Muḥammad about who has blessed him. These angels seem to work in addition to the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān*) and they provide an extra encouragement and motivation for Muslims to perform certain ritual practices.[206]

Other angels have more obscure functions. The Angels of the Womb and the Embryo (§436 – 444) are the two angels involved in instilling God's predetermined

[204] §488 – 489.
[205] In Samaritanism, the heavenly temple is surrounded by an angel that is later associated with the Angel of the Lord; see Fossum, Jarl, 'The Angel of the Lord in Samaritanism' *JSS* 46 (2001) pp. 51 - 75.
[206] This will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.

course for the individual and in protecting the embryo throughout gestation. Another example is found in *ḥadīth* that describe the formation of the world. The world stands on a succession of different layers, at the bottom of which is a fish, which is itself supported by an angel. In other conceptions a rock is at the very bottom, but in this case the rock has an angel associated with it.[207] There is another angel that '…creates pieces of jewellery for the people in the Garden from the Day of the Creation until the Resurrection Hour.'[208] Another *ḥadīth* also states that crying is the result of an angel rubbing an individual's liver with its wing.[209] These angels are difficult to classify: they are often very rare and the *ḥadīth* themselves tend to be very short, and accordingly hard to place in a wider context.

What these function formulae show is that Islam often associated events, physical things, meteorological phenomena, abstract ideas and ritual behaviour with angels. The construction of the name allows this to be done relatively easily and, whilst there are sometimes parallels with Jewish and Christian angelology, the link is weak and unlikely to be the result of significant influence. For example, the Jewish angel *Sandalfon* is said to make crowns of flowers from the prayers of the faithful,[210] which bears some resemblance to the Islamic angel who creates jewellery for those in paradise; but there is unlikely to be any 'genetic' link between the two angels and, at the very most, one can only note the similarity between the two ideas.

The use of angels, particularly in the case of these functional angels, creates a bridge between this world and God's world, between the heavenly and the earthly. The nomenclature gives religious authority to certain ritual actions, particular places,

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[207] §415 – 422.
[208] §448
[209] §471
[210] See Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' *EJ* vol. 14, coll. 827 – 828.

and, in the case of the Angel of the Womb, also restates theological ideas, such as predestination. In these *ḥadīth*, the angelic world penetrates almost all forms of human experience and the use of the function name formula goes further and associates individual angels with a large number of specific actions, places and phenomena.

2.1.3 Function Names without *Malak*

There are a few angels named in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* which have names linked to their function, which are not expressed by the angelic formula. These angels include: the *Bearers of the Throne*, *The Spirit*, *The Cockerel*, *The Sakīna*, *The Tempters of the Grave*, *The Scribes*, *The Scroll, The Cherubim* and *The Guardians of the Wind*. These angels are all closely associated with the Qur'ānic text itself, and were developed in Islamic traditions and exegesis.[211]

The Bearers of the Throne (§179 – 206) are mentioned in Q 40:7 & 69:17[212] in a relatively general way, and the material presented in the exegetical literature is much more developed.[213] Q 69:17 states that there are eight bearers of the Throne, but some *ḥadīth* state there are only four (e.g. §189, 190, 192, 193, 197), whilst some take a middle position, arguing that there are four bearers of the Throne, who are replaced by another four on the Day of Resurrection (§188, 191). On the whole, there

[211] Exegesis played a similar important role in Judaism, as Olyan argues: 'The interpretation of texts of the Hebrew Bible by ancient and medieval exegetes is certainly responsible for the vast majority of angelic brigade designations, and many angelic personal names.' Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, p. 118.

[212] See Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 481 & 604; the Qur'an also refers to angels surrounding the Throne of God in Q 39:75; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.

[213] For a discussion of the imagery of the Throne and the Throne Bearers see O'Shaughnessy, T., 'God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an' *Numen* 20 (1973) 202 – 221, particularly 206 – 207; for a discussion of various traditions about the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* and Jewish material, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 467 – 476.

is no attempt to name the Bearers of the Throne with personal names, although the angel Isrāfīl is occasionally believed to be one of the Bearers (§ 194 & 195). This trend highlights the importance of the angels' function, as the majority of the angels in this group remain unnamed.

The Spirit is an angel that has aroused much debate in both Qur'ānic and Islamic studies,[214] as the Qur'an varies in the ways in which it both uses and conceives the Spirit. In the exegetical material the Spirit is most often associated with Gabriel, but it is also often conceived as being an angelic being in its own right.[215] This confused picture can be seen in the chapter on the Spirit in Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§210 – 228). Some of the *ḥadīth* state that the Spirit is a single angelic being[216] and others that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel.[217] The interpretation of *al-Rūḥ* as a group of angels rather than a single angel appears to be a development in later exegesis[218] and the fact that the term *arwāḥ* (spirits, plural of *rūḥ*)[219] is also found in Islamic tradition makes this usage of *al-Rūḥ* quite unusual. To a certain extent it is difficult to determine the original place and role of the *Spirit* in the Qur'ān and early tradition, so understanding its origins is problematic; but Jewish and

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[214] See O'Shaugnessy, T., *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953); MacDonald, D. B., 'The development of the idea of Spirit in Islam' *AO* 9 (1931) 307 – 351; Calverley, E. E., 'Doctrines of the soul (*Nafs* and *Rūḥ*) in Islam' *MW* 33 (1943) pp. 254 – 265 and Sells, Michael A., 'Sound, Spirit and Gender in Sūrat al-Qadr' *JAOS* 111 (1991) pp. 239 – 259.

[215] Al-Ṭabarī refers to three main interpretations of *al-rūḥ al-qudus*: (i) Gabriel; (ii) the *Injīl* (Gospel) or (iii) God. Al-Ṭabarī argues that it refers to Gabriel; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 403 – 406 [Q 2:87]. The idea that the *Spirit (of God)* is an angel began to become popular in Hellenic Judaism, see Levinson, John R., *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[216] E.g. §216: 'The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven, and he is greater than the heavens and the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every saying of 'I praise you'. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.'

[217] E.g. §225: '…concerning His Word: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.' [Q 78:38] He said: Both of them are ranks of the Lord of the two worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the Spirit and a rank of angels.'

[218] See O'Shaughnessy, *Meaning of Spirit*, pp. 16 – 24.

[219] *Arwāḥ* is normally used to refer to a human's spirit, but it is used of a species of angelic being in some traditions; see Wensinck, A. J., *CTM* vol. 2, pp. 317 – 318.

Christian influences are plainly evident. Strong Christian, and particularly, Jewish influences can also be seen in the *karrabiyūn* (Cherubim) and the *Sakīna* (§295 – 297). The *Sakīna* fulfils much the same role as the *Shekina* in post-Biblical Jewish thought.[220]

The Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) appears only in Islamic tradition and there are fifteen *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§280 – 294) devoted to the cockerel.[221] The nomenclature in this case is simple; the *dīk* is an enormous angel in the form of a cockerel, which gives the times of prayer to the angels and the human world (via earthly cockerels), a motif also found in 3 Baruch.[222] Likewise the angel *al-Sijill* (§243 – 247, 'the scroll'), is an angel that is in the form of a scroll. The Tempters of the Grave (*fattān al-qabr*), the Scribes (*al-ḥāfiẓān*), and The Guardian of the Wind (*khaznat al-rīḥ*) are angels that have obvious functions and their names reflect this.

Angels with names not formed by with the suffix *–īl*, or by the angelic formula *the angel of X* are, on the whole, some of the more important angels in Islamic tradition. In most cases the angelic names are derived from the Qur'ān itself and its exegesis. Saul M. Olyan has highlighted the important role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelic nomenclature,[223] and this trend is replicated in the Islamic exegetic tradition. Although some of these angels may have equivalents in

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[220] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, Ignaz, 'La notion de la Sakina chez les Mohamétans' *GS* vol. 2, pp. 296 – 308. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with the Ark of the Covenant. See Patai, Raphael, 'The Shekina' *JR* 44 (1964) pp. 275 – 288 and Rubin, Uri, 'Traditions in transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography' *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp. 196 – 214.

[221] See Tottoli, Robert, 'At Cock-Crow: Some Muslim Traditions About the Rooster' *Der Islam* 76 (1999) pp. 139 – 147; and for the cosmic cockerel see, pp. 142 - 143. This article is a survey of another ḥadīth collection of Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*.

[222] Cf. 'This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do, thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing.' *3Bar*. 6:16; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 671.

[223] Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Serve Him*.

the Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g. the *Spirit* and the *Sakīna*), their development as angels in Islam is most likely to be entirely internal, with a less prominent influence from Judaism and Christianity.

2.1.4 Other Miscellaneous Angelic Names

The majority of the angelic names that have been encountered thus far have been named by their function, with only eleven having personal, theophoric names. There are other names that are not formed in a logical manner, which have either been borrowed from other cultures, or originate within Islam itself. The angels with no formal nomenclature include: Riḍwān, Mālik, Hārūt, Mārūt, Ṣadluqan, Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, Dhū 'l-Nurayn, Dūma, Mīṭaṭrūsh, Qā'id, Munkar, Nakīr (with the variants Ankar and Nākūr) and Rūmān. Some of these are important in Islamic angelology, especially Riḍwān, Mālik, and the two pairs of angels Hārūt & Mārūt and Munkar & Nakīr; whilst others only appear in a limited number of *ḥadīth*, namely: Ṣadluqan (§274), Qā'id (§323), Dhū 'l-Qarnayn as an angel (§277 & 278) and Dhū 'l-Nurayn (§279). This section will briefly look at their etymological history and attempt to understand the way in which the names entered Islamic tradition.

The most interesting etymological history is that of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (§248 – 255). Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels that wished to experience human life, after complaining that humans were sinning and boasting that they did not; the two angels are then tricked by al-Zuhara (Venus) into drinking and they subsequently commit murder and fornication. The story is alluded to in the

Qur'ān,[224] but the story is greatly expanded by the exegetes and in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature.[225] The two names are quite different to other angelic names found in both the Qur'ān[226] and other traditional material and various attempts have been made to suggest an origin. A. J. Wensinck suggested a possible Syriac origin, but it is now generally thought that the names originate from the Zoroastrian *Aməsha Spəntas* Haurvatāt and Amretetāt, through an intermediary language, possibly Middle Persian, Sogdian or Armenian.[227] Direct influence from the Persian tradition can be seen in two *ḥadīth* (§251 & 253), in which there are direct references to *Anāhīd*, a Zoroastrian *yazata* that was associated with both fertility, love and the planet Venus.[228] Another *ḥadīth* contains the following exchange: '[Al-Zuhara] said: "Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without being the same." The two said: "What is your faith?" She said: "Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*)."'[229] All of this suggests a strong Zoroastrian influence on the names of the two angels; however the actual story of Hārūt and Mārūt has other characteristics in common

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[224] 'And they follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels, Harut and Marut, they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve.' Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13.

[225] E.g. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; William M. Brinner (tr.), *ᶜArā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' or "Lives of the Prophets"* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 86 – 91; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 454 - 459; see also Margoliouth, 'Harut and Marut' *MW* 18 (1918) pp. 73 - 79.

[226] There are a few personal names that follow this pattern found in the Qur'ān: *viz. Jālūt* (Saul), *Yājūj* (Gog), *Mājūj* (Magog), *Ṭālūt* (Saul), *Dā'ūd* / *Dāwūd* (David). Some of the names have origins in Hebrew or Aramaic (*Jālūt*, *Dā'ūd*), but the derivation of the others remains unclear. For a longer discussion of these names, see Carter, Michael, 'Foreign Vocabulary' in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) pp. 120 – 139, pp. 134 – 137.

[227] See Wensinck, A. J., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EI*[1] vol. 2, pp. 272 – 273; Vajda, G., 'Hārūt wa-Mārūt' *EI*[2] vol. 3, pp. 236 – 237 and Brinner, Willam M., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 404 – 405. For a fuller analysis of the etymology of the names see de Menasce, P-J., 'Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmanne: á propos de Hārūt et Mārūt' *EA* 1 (1947) pp. 10 – 18; Uhl, Patrice, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le Sorcellerie de Babel – à Propos des Vers Arabes de la Chanson V (MS. *C*) –' *Arabica* 38 (1991) pp. 19 - 39, pp. 19 – 20; Henning, W. B., *Sogdica* (London: s.n., 1940) pp. 16 & 19 and Jeffrey, Arthur, *Foreign* Vocabulary, pp. 282 – 283 and Shabazi, Shapur A., 'Hārut and Mārut' *EIr.* vol. 12, pp. 20 - 22. Al-Jawālīqī states that the names are foreign, *al-Muᶜarrab*, pp. 317 & 349.

[228] For more on Anāhīd, see Choksy, Jamsheed K, 'Ancient Religions' *IrS* 31 (1998) pp. 661 – 679, p. 663 and Boyce, M., Chaumont M. L. & Bier, C., 'Anāhīd' *EIr.* vol. 1, pp. 1003 – 1011.

[229] §255.

with Jewish and Christian stories about the fall of the angels, particularly the two angels Shamhazai and Azael.[230]

The *fattān al-qabr* (Tempters of the Grave) play an important part in Islamic beliefs about life after death. Most commonly, there are two tempters of the grave, traditionally given the names Munkar and Nakīr. There are two variants included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Ankar (§309) and Nākūr (§309, 310); although these variants appear to be very rare. A third angel, Rūmān, is occasionally associated with the two angels (§309 & 310) and one ḥadīth states that Nakīr and Nākūr are two different angels (§310). The names do not appear until relatively late in Islamic tradition, and in the early creeds, there are no angels associated with the punishment in the grave, as Wensinck argues: '… there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding the subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the angel", the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.'[231] The origin of the names is not at all clear, although some have suggested that both the names are related to the base root *NKR*, but Wensinck felt this was unlikely.[232] Two other angels, Riḍwān and Mālik, the guardians of Heaven and Hell (§229 – 247), have similar etymological histories and roles in Islamic angelology. The name Riḍwān may simply be a personified abstraction of *riḍwān*[233] and Mālik, a reference to his dominion over Hell.

The remaining five angels included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* are only referred to once and have a wide range of influences. Dhū 'l-Qarnayn is

[230] See Jung, 'Fallen Angels' *JQR* 16 (1926) pp. 287 – 295. Georges Dumézil argues that the Hārūt and Mārūt story has a close parallel with a story found in the Mahabharata, but this seems less likely; see Dumézil, G., *Naissance d'Archanges (Jupiter Mars Quirinus III)* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945) pp. 158 – 170.
[231] Wensinck, A. J., 'Munkar wa-Nakīr' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 577; for more on the angels, see also Gardet, *Destinée de l'Homme*, pp. 247 - 253.
[232] Wensinck, 'Munkar wa-Nakīr', p. 577.
[233] See Raven, W., 'Riḍwān' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, p. 519. The name is usually associated with Q 3:15.

generally associated with Alexander the Great and much has been written about this tradition.[234] However, there is very little evidence in Islamic tradition to suggest the belief that Dhū 'l-Qarnayn was an angel (as given in §277)[235] was in any way a mainstream belief, as Minoo Southgate concludes: 'In spite of his higher roles as a sage, a protector of mankind, a fighter for religion, and a prophet, the Alexander of Persian romances remains essentially human.'[236]

Dhū 'l-Nūrayn is normally used in reference to the caliph ᶜUthmān, who had two beautiful wives who were the Prophet's daughters,[237] but the reference in §279 to Dhū 'l-Nurayn being an angel is clearly not a reference to ᶜUthmān. *Al-Nūrayn* is sometimes used, particularly by Shiᶜīs, to refer to Muḥammad and ᶜAlī,[238] but, again, this does not appear to be intended, particularly in the phrase *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn*. *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* is sometimes used in relation to the *nūr ᶜalā nūr* of the Light Verse (Q. 24:35), although there is almost nothing to suggest that *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* was commonly believed to be the name of an angel.[239]

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[234] See Southgate, Minoo S., 'Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era' *JAOS* 97 (1977) 278 – 284 and Stoneman, Richard, 'Alexander the Great in the Arabic Tradition' in Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmermann and Wyste Keulen, *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 3 – 22.

[235] 'Dhu 'l-Qarnayn was one of the angels, whom God sent down to earth…'; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[236] Southgate, 'Portrait of Alexander' p. 284.

[237] Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) p. 33.

[238] Tritton, A. S., 'Popular Shi'ism' *BSOAS* 13 (1951) pp. 829 – 839, p. 829.

[239] The only possible example is found in Ibn al-ᶜArabī's *Kitāb ᶜanqa' mughrib*, and Gerald Elmore suggests that the reference is to Ibn al-ᶜArabī himself (Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ᶜArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) p. 590 n.10). The particular reference in question reads: 'On his precious Right was the "Faithful One" (*al-Ṣiddīq* [*sci.* Abū Bakr]); on his most-holy Left was the "Discriminator" (*al-Fārūq* [*sci.* ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]); and before him knelt the Seal [*sci.* Jesus], recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthā*) as ᶜAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] (May God bless him and keep him!) was translating the seal's [words] into his own language, while "He of the Two Lights" (*dhū l-nūrayn*), wrapped in the mantle of his modesty (*riḍā' ḥayā'ihi*), for his part [also] faced the Prophet Muḥammad.' Elmore (tr.), *Islamic Sainthood*, p. 590.

Dūma is the 'Angel who is responsible for souls of the unbelievers…'[240] The same angel appears in the Babylonian Talmud with the same function,[241] confirming the authority of the *ḥadīth* being 'a Man of the Book.' The Angel of the Veil is also given the name *Mīṭaṭrūsh*, which is a close transliteration of the Hebrew *Mīṭaṭron* (Metatron).[242]

A Jewish origin seems possible for another angel, *Ṣadluqan* (§274), although the etymology is rather more complex. Making the analysis more complicated is the fact that the *ḥadīth* about the angel *Ṣadluqan* is relatively short: 'God has an angel and it is said that He has *Ṣadluqan*; the seas of the world are one ninth the size of his big toe.' This angel appears to be very rare in Arabic tradition and the fact that the Leiden MS (fol. 203r, ll. 4 – 5) vocalises the name would seem to imply that Muslim readers were unfamiliar with the name. The name could be derived from the Jewish angel *Ṣandalp̲ōn*,[243] the 'partner' of the important Jewish angel *Mīṭaṭron*. Both *Ṣandalp̲ōn* and *Ṣadluqan* are said to be gigantic and *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is said to have his feet on the earth and his head under the Throne of God.[244] *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is also associated more directly with feet, which is appropriate within the context of this *ḥadīth*: 'Sandalfon was also thought of as the "shoe" of the *Shekhina*, that is to say the angel on which the feet of the *Shekinah* rested.'[245] However, the etymological history of the name is not clear, and there are no other attestations of the name in any other Semitic language through which its development can be traced. The loss of the

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[240] §301
[241] cf. 'But these and those [the wicked and the intermediate] are delivered to Dumah.' *Shab.* 152b, p. 779. Cf. *Ḥag* 5a and *San.* 94a.
[242] For more on the name see, Scholem, G., 'Metatron' *EJ* vol. 11, coll. 1443 – 1446 and Black, Matthew, 'The Origin of the Name Metatron' *VT* 1 (1951) pp. 217 – 219.
[243] See Scholem, 'Sandalfon'; Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels,* p. 257 and Schäfer, Peter, *Der verborgene und offenbare Gott* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991) pp. 99 – 101.
[244] cf. Ḥag 13b, p. 78
[245] Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' col. 828.

nūn can be explained by the assimilation of the *nūn* to the following *dāl*; probably through another Northern Semitic language, possibly Syriac as both Aramaic and South Semitic favour nasalization.[246] The change from *pē* to *qāf* is less clear. Some similar Aramaic words show a change from *pē* to *kaf*: e.g. *ṣandalpōnīn* (gems) has the variant form *ṣandalkōnīm*,[247] but such a form is unattested for *ṣandalp̲ōn*, and a number of factors still remain unexplained. Islamic exegetes did also associate the *malā'ika muqarrabūn* with the *karrūbiyyūn* (i.e. q-r-b and k-r-b), but this appears to be an isolated example.[248] However, whether or not *Ṣadluqan* is actually *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is not that important. The fact that *Ṣandalp̲ōn*, an important angel in later Judaism, was not appropriated into Islam (save this one, rare example), shows that the influence of Jewish angelology on Muslim beliefs about angels was limited.

The survey of angelic names provides an interesting background to Islamic beliefs about angels. The picture is more complicated than may, at first sight, be expected. When angels are given personal names, there is a strong Judeo-Christian influence present. However, Jewish, Christian and, in the case of Hārūt and Mārūt, Zoroastrian influences are relatively limited. In Islam there is a strong preference to use the formula 'Angel of *X*', which is a uniquely Islamic form of nomenclature. In the past there has been a tendency for scholars to stress the Judeo-Christian influences on Islamic angelology, presumably because of the importance of angels such as Gabriel and Michael. Whilst these angels are important, and are clearly taken from Judaism

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[246] Cf. Southern, Mark and Vaughn, Andrew G., 'Where have all the nasals gone? *n*C > CC in North Semitic' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 264 – 282.
[247] Jastrow, Marcus, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Balbi and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) vol. 2, p. 1005.
[248] See Wansbrough, John, *Quranic Studies: Studies and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Repr. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004) p. 30 - 31.

and/or Christianity, it is important to contextualise these influences with the relatively limited amount of named angels in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition is often restricted to the etymology of the name and frequently the conception of the angels and their roles are markedly different after their assimilation into (popular) Islamic belief.

2.2 The Iconography of the Angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

Just as the way in which angelic nomenclature can reveal something about how angels are conceived in Islam, iconography too can act as a similar tool for looking at the development of, and influences on Islamic angelology. Angels are very rarely the focus of a particular work and this is where the originality and usefulness of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* lies, as it provides a relatively large number of descriptions of different angels in one place.

A number of studies in Jewish and Biblical studies have attempted to understand the meaning of angelic elements in different texts through the use of particular motifs that indicate (or, at the very least, *could* indicate) angelic status.[249] Sometimes it is only through specific descriptions and allusions that a particular character in a narrative can be understood to be angelic,[250] or to have angelic

[249] E.g. Piñero, A., 'Angels and Demons in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*' *JSJ* 14 (1993) pp. 191 – 214; Brooke, G. J., 'Men and Women as Angels in *Joseph and Aseneth*' *JSP* 14 (2005) pp. 159 – 177 and Ruffatto, Kristine J., 'Raguel as Interpreter of Moses' Throne Vision: The Transcendent Identity of Raguel in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian' *JSP* 17 (2008) pp. 121 – 139.

[250] Ithamar Gruenwald highlights six key elements found in Throne Visions, two of which are the presence of angels around God's throne and the singing of hymns by angels; see Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31. Gruenwald, also, gives the *Apocalypse of Isaiah* 6:10 – 12 as an example of the importance of angels in attesting to the veracity of a vision: 'Isaiah goes into some detail when he describes the glory of that angel....Obviously, this remark is directed to distinguish between this vision

qualities.[251] As such, a vocabulary or iconography of angels evolved in which certain features are designated as being related to angels. It is these features and their use in Islamic angelology that will be discussed in this section.

Angels are normally included in texts for specific purposes. For example, in apocalyptic texts angels are used most often to confirm the veracity of a prophetic vision.[252] The visions of the throne (*merkebah visions*) in the Bible (*viz*. Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1 and 10; Daniel 7) typify this use of angels: the angels are present, but there is a clear focus on God. The angels are there to express divine power and authority, as well as the need for God to be worshipped. As George Nickelsburg comments, '[The transcendence of God] is understood in the descriptions of the heavenly throne room, in the accounts of Enoch's call and ascent, and in the references to the eschatological theophany.'[253] Angels become very useful signifiers of the fact that the seer is witnessing a vision of the divine world. Although both angelologies and iconographies can differ from one text to another,[254] a number of supernatural, non-human characteristics were used in Jewish and Christian texts to distinguish angels from humans. It is this angelic iconography, developed further in the inter-testamental period, which alerts both the visionary and the reader that they are

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- which entailed a heavenly ascent - and the one in *Isaiah* vi, which the writer apparently believed to entail no such experience.' Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 58.

[251] In some texts, humans are given angelic attributes or are described as being like angels to illustrate their righteousness, in these cases the individuals are not angels, but iconographic details associated with angels are used to describe them. This is seen particularly strongly in the Qumran community; cf. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 316 – 319.

[252] Whilst discussing the opening of the Throne-Vision in the *Testament of Levi*, Paulo Augusto de Souza Nougeira comments that the vision of heaven '…shows too that the seer has special access to hidden secrets and the knowledge of these secrets is crucial, and should have immediate consequences for the everyday lives of his readers.' See de Souza Nougeira, Paulo Augusto, 'Celestial Worship and the Ecstatic-Visionary Experience' *JSNT* 25 (2002) pp. 165 – 184, p. 166.

[253] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40.

[254] Cf. Kuhn, 'Angelology', pp. 217 – 232; Kasher, Rimmon, 'Angelology and the Supernatural Worlds in the Aramaic Targums to the Prophets' *JSJ* 27 (1996) pp. 168 - 191 and Shinan, A., 'The Angelology of the Palestinian Targums on the Pentateuch' *Sefarad* 43 (1983) pp. 181 – 198.

encountering the divine.[255] Angels are not simply used to confirm the reality of a vision, but they are also used to confirm the righteousness of the visionary. For example, in the *Testament of Levi*, the visionary is robed in priestly garments by angels, which '…is meant to reinforce the divine favour of the priesthood for his descendents, to legitimate Levi in his priestly duties.'[256] Angels are not important in and of themselves, but they are used in Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts to convey certain ideas or beliefs.

Islamic texts behave in similar ways. The *mi^{c}rāj* literature draws on similar imagery and the Prophet's tours of heaven have their origin in Pseudepigraphical texts, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[257] Angels are used in these tours of Heaven and Hell (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) to portray the power and might of God and the consequences of human action, in the hope that the reader would return to righteousness or even convert, as Vuckovic argues: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Quran and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muhammad's community.'[258]

It should be noted, however, that symbols and emblems typically used to describe angels in Islamic literary works are not necessarily found in other forms of religious expression, such as art. For example, both Byzantine and Islamic art have

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[255] Cf. Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31.
[256] Segal, Alan F., 'Heavenly Ascent in Hellenic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment' in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase and Joseph Vogt (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergand der römischen Welt* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) pp. 1333 – 1394, p. 1361; see also and Charlesworth, James H., 'The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel' in George W. E. Nickelsburg & John J. Collins (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) pp. 135 – 151.
[257] See Cook, David, 'Moral Apocalyptic in Islam' *SI* 86 (1997) 37 – 69, pp. 37 – 38.
[258] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 97; cf. Alan Segal on *1En*: 'Though the workings of the physical universe are described, the most important message of Enoch is that the unrighteous will be punished and that the suffering of the righteous has meaning.' Segal, 'Heavenly Ascent' p. 1360. See also Porter, J. R., 'Muhammad's Journey to Heaven' *Numen* 21 (1974) pp. 64 – 80, p. 75 and Martha Himmelfarb's two key studies, *Tours of Hell* and *Ascent to Heaven*.

specific motifs to describe angels that are not found in their respective textual traditions. For this reason, the symbols that make up the 'angelic language' are not necessarily universal throughout different media. In Islamic art angels are often seen to wear crowns or coronets,[259] an image that is not found in any of the *ḥadīth* in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*.[260] When Islamic Art developed in the East, much of the imagery and iconography of angels was influenced by East-Asian symbolism.[261] This is important to acknowledge, because it stresses the flexibility of the depiction of angels. Although set motifs did emerge, the supernatural origin of the angels allows for freedom to refer to different (symbolic) attributes.[262] Whilst these differences are observed most profoundly across the different media of one particular religion, the same can also be seen within a textual tradition; even in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are a number of examples where different *ḥadīth* provide contradictory information about a particular angel. To give a basic example, Munkar and Nakīr are

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[259] Cf. al-Bel'ami MS [Freer Gallery of Art 57.16] foll. 182a & 184a; see Soucek, Priscilla P., 'The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions' in Soucek, Priscilla P. (ed.), *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (London : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988) pp. 193 – 217, and the Saray-Album (Topkapı Museum) MS Hazine 1221, fol. 223b; Hazine 2152, fol. 60b; Hazine 2154, foll. 61b, 121a; see Ipşiroğlu, M. Ş, *Das Bild im Islam* (Vienna: Schroll, 1971) pl. 23, 38, 39 and 104; and BNPer. 174, foll. 69r, 113r, 121v; Barrucand, Marianne, 'The Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* (Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia' *IA* 4 (1990 – 1991) pp. 113 – 142. For brief analysis of angels in Islamic art, see Milstein, R., 'Angels in Islamic Art and Architecture' *EI*^{3}.

[260] Some of the ḥadīth, albeit very few, do refer to angels wearing turbans (§626 – 628 & (yellow turbans) 630), and these are also found in Islamic Art (cf. FGA 57.16 fol. 138a, 170b; see Soucek, 'Life of the Prophet'). However, whether the angels' wearing of turbans is related to Islamic tradition or other external infuences is difficult to ascertain.

[261] Cf. Esin, Emel, 'An Angel Figure in the Miscellany Album H. 2152 of Topkapı' in Oktay Aslanapa (ed.) *Beitrag̈e zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens: in Memoriam Ernst Diez* (Istanbul: Istanbul Uṅiversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesiu, 1963) pp. 264 – 282. Esin also includes other information on other motifs used for angels in Islamic and their influence from East-Asian culture.

[262] For example, in the miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, a number of the angels are depicted carrying different objects, representing the objects or seasons over which the angels have influence; see Barrucand, 'Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq*'. Also, in one version of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* (Tokapı, Hazine 2154, fol. 61b), a miniature depicting Muḥammad's encounter with the Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) includes an angelic choir, a motif that is not found in any available text of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* remaining extant; see Ettingahusen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267, pp. 246 – 248.

said to be blue in §302, but black in §305.[263] The colour motifs are used to convey the terrifying form that the two angels take, the actual colour (be it blue or black) is not important.

In Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are actually very few *ḥadīth* in the collection that give full descriptions of what angels look like, with most of the information only given in passing. This creates a slight methodological problem in that different *ḥadīth* may have different conceptions of a particular angel (or even angels in general), so care must be taken when attempting to reconstruct the image and form of particular angels. However, this section attempts to focus on some general trends in the depiction of angels, ignoring the fact that other individual *ḥadīth* could be cited to the contrary.

2.2.1 The Physical Form of Angels

In Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, angels are often represented in anthropomorphic forms. In the Old Testament, God's angels are usually seen in the role of a messenger and there is actually no philological or textual distinction between divine and human messengers.[264] It is only in the prophetic literature that angels begin to adopt more supernatural features: wings, animal characteristics *etc*., culminating in the literature of the inter-testamental period and beyond, in which

[263] Blue and black are often 'negative' colours in folklore; cf. Ugochukwu, Françoise 'The Devil's Colors: A Comparative Study of French and Nigerian Folktales' *OTr* 21 (2006) pp. 250 – 268, p. 260.
[264] 'Divine messengers are usually depicted as indistinguishable from human beings…' Meier, S. A., 'Angel I' p. 48.

angels began to be described in both human and heavenly forms.[265] The following extract from the early Pseudepigraphical text *Joseph and Aseneth* combines anthropomorphic and supernatural elements:

> 'And Aseneth raised her head and saw, and behold, (there was) a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that this face was like lightning, and his eyes like sunshine, and the hairs of his head like a flame of burning torch, and hands and feet like iron shining forth from a fire, and sparks shot from his hands and feet.'[266]

In this example, the angel is described with divine imagery, such as having a face 'like lightning' and 'eyes like sunshine', alongside the comment that the angel was a 'man in every respect similar to Joseph'. The anthropomorphic form of the angel is the most common form in both Jewish and Christian religious writings,[267] and it is an obvious form for the angel to take, as for both Christians and Jews, God created humans in his own image.[268] In early Jewish and Christian art angels were depicted without wings until the fifth century, as Glenn Peers comments: 'In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded, and, in this way, artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels'.[269] Even in the later development

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[265] See also VanderKam, James C., 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 7 (2000) pp. 378 – 393 and Quispel, Gilles 'Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis' *VC* 34 (1980) pp. 1 – 13.

[266] JosAsen 15:9, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 225.

[267] See Meier, 'Angel I' pp. 45 – 50 and van Henten, J. W., 'Angel II' *DDD* vol. 1, pp. 50 – 53. The two forms (celestial and anthropomorphic) are also found in Gnositc and Hermetic texts, see Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G., 'Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Meṭaṭron and Christ' *HTR* 76 (1983) pp. 269 – 288.

[268] See Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, p. 83.

[269] Peers, Glen, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p. 23. See, also, Bussagli, M., 'Angelo' *EdAM* vol. 1, pp. 629 – 638 and Pallas, D. I.,

of Jewish angelology, the angels continued to retain two different forms: human and supernatural.[270]

Angels in Islam are no different and in the Qur'ān angels are described in both explicitly human and supernatural forms.[271] Throughout al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are numerous references to angels being in human form, or, at the very least, having a number of human characteristics. These anthropomorphic images are balanced with images rooted in the supernatural and the heavenly: wings, zoomorphic forms, wearing or bearing heavenly articles, being of a great size, and so on. These make the anthropomorphisms less human; the angel still remains 'like a human', but the imagery plants the angel firmly in the divine world.

In the collection there are a number of general references to angels being in human form.[272] The anthropomorphic form is normally associated with great beauty (cf. Q 12:31) and this is echoed in *al-Ḥabā'ik*[273] with one *ḥadīth* even likening the angel Gabriel to Diḥyā al-Kalbī.[274] The angels are given a number of different body parts, particularly important ones, such as the head, feet, legs, hands, and face.[275] There are a number of references to facial features, including the mouth, nose, forehead, teeth, hair, ears and eyes.[276] Added to this are some references, but more

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'Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel' *RZBK*, vol. 3, coll. 13 – 119, coll. 43 – 56. For depictions of angels with wings in Jewish art, see Landsberger, Franz, 'The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art' *HUCA* 20 (1947) pp. 227 – 254.

[270] Cf. Stoumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 274*f.*

[271] Cf. Q 19:16 – 19 & 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 303 & 444.

[272] §46, 54, 56, 120 - 124, 151, 160, 167, 175, 218, 220 & 223.

[273] §46, 120 & 122 (Gabriel and the Angel of Death).

[274] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of 'such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.' Lammens, H. [-Pellat, Ch.], 'Diḥya' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, p. 274.

[275] *head*: §50, 54, 55, 92, 96, 104, ,122, 184, 190, 195, 197, 219, 222, 243, 234, 494, 498, 499 & 684; *feet*: §29, 44a, 44b, 50, 52, 54, 96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 202, 205, 219, 222, 223, 274, 415, 485 & 486; *legs*: §180, 544 & 625; *hands*: §29, 166, 219, 222, 229, 234, 257, 269, 306, 487, 653 & 684; and *face*: §122, 189, 212 & 214.

[276] *mouth*: §211, 233, 303, 305, 306, 493, 498 & 500; *nose*: §180; *forehead*: §54, 94, 104 & 105; *teeth*: §50; *hair*: §54, 120, 122, 233, 305 & 306; *ears*: §99, 122, 181, 270, 490 & 545 and *eyes*: §87, 95, 120, 123, 146, 183, 197, 199, 233, 303, 305, 306 & 499.

limited, to other areas of the body; including: the neck, shoulders, collarbone and heart.[277] There are 129 *ḥadīth* with direct references to angels being in human form or having human body parts, which is roughly 17% of the collection. This is a relatively high percentage, and it shows the important place that anthropomorphic imagery had in Islamic traditions. It contrasts strongly with the relatively few references to angels having wings, with only 30 *ḥadīth* (around 4%) explicitly referring to them.[278]

The notion that angels have wings is a common one, but there are few references to angels having wings in either the Qur'ān or the *ḥadīth*.[279] In this collection, some of the *ḥadīth* do not give much more information other than the fact that the angels have wings,[280] with one simply stating that the angel's wings are feathered.[281] Other references to the angels' wings are used by the *ḥadīth* to express the great size of the angels by stating they stretch from the East to the West, for example: '…[Isrāfīl] has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West…'[282] As will be seen below, the wings are given further detailing, including: being strung with precious stones (§45 & 49), being green (§54), being like peacock's feathers (§49), and two references to a wing serving to cover the angel's modesty (§93 & 744). However, with only six

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[277] *Neck*: §53, 94, 96, 99, 195 & 233; *shoulders*: §48, 51, 181, 231, 494 & 499; *collarbone*: §490 & 499 and *heart*: 549.
[278] §20, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 92 – 95, 99, 104, 149, 189, 213, 214, 284 – 287, 294, 416, 499, 511, 622, 623, 743 & 744.
[279] See Burge, S. R., 'Angels in *Sūrat al-Malā'ika*: Exegeses of Q 35:1' *JQS* 10 (2009) pp. 50 – 70. This is, also, reflected in Jewish and Christian literature, where there are only a few references to angels having wings: cf. *2En* 12:2 & 72:9, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 122 - 123 & 210 - 211; *3En* 9, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 263; *ApAbr* 18:6, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 698; *QuesEzra* 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LadJac* 2:15, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 408.
[280] Eg. §20, 94, 99,149, 416, 622, 623, 690 & 744.
[281] §744; some modern commentators have argued against conceiving angels as being like birds, e.g. 'We need not suppose that angelic "wings" have muscles and feathers, like the wings of birds.' Ali, Y. H., *The Holy Qur'an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1938, p. 1152, n. 3871.
[282] §94; see also §43, 92 – 95, 213, 214 & 499.

ḥadīth mentioning such specific details, this finer detailing is relatively rare. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to the number of wings that each angel has, but the numbers vary, including: two (§50, 54 & 743), three (§94 & 743), four (§93, 189 & 743), six (§744), twelve (§53), and seventy thousand (§511). Although the Qur'ān gives the number of angels' wings as 'two, three and four' (*mathnā*, *wa-thulāth*, *wa-rubāᶜ*),[283] in Islamic tradition many more wings were added.[284] These *ḥadīth* highlight an important aspect: the actual physical details about the wings are not necessarily generally agreed. This is because such detailing is there to express a theological idea, rather than giving a concrete description of what angels look like; for example, take the following *ḥadīth*:

> [54] '… [Gabriel's] two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: "I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God." Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.'

In this *ḥadīth*, the finer detailing is not aimed at giving the reader a full description of what an angel looks like, but the references to *green feet* highlight the divine origin of the angel and the size of the angel focuses the reader on the marvels of God's creation.[285]

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[283] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.

[284] E.g. During the *miᶜrāj*, Muhammad sees Gabriel with six hundred wings; see, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §4856, p. 593; al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jamiᶜ*, vol. 14, pp. 319 – 320 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*; Fleischer, H. O. (ed.), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1846 – 1848) vol. 2, p. 148. The increase in wings is justified through the exegesis of the phrase '*yazīdū fī'l-khalqi mā yashā'u*' in Q 35:1; cf. al-Ṭabārī's exegesis of this phrase: '…He increases what He wills for his creation, whatever He wills for it; and he decreases as He wills, what ever He wills for a creation; His is the creation, and the power, His is the ability and the authority.' Al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 22, p. 114.

[285] See below for a discussion of the significance and symbolism of the colour green in Arabic.

Beyond the angelomorphic imagery and the basic idea that angels have wings, there are a few references to angels having the forms of animals. One of the most interesting examples is that of the *Bearers of the Throne* (*ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh*), who are associated with two forms; the first is that of the four-faced angel, which is derived from the Jewish *ḥayyōt* ('living creatures') that bear the Throne or Chariot of God; the second is that the four *Bearers of the Throne* are in the form of a mountain goat (*wāᶜil*). In Judaism, the *ḥayyōt* take the forms of a bull, a lion, a human, and an eagle.[286] The use of animal-angels in the imagery of God's Throne may have its antecedents in pagan deities,[287] but, in Judaism and Christianity, the four *ḥayyōt* came to represent the whole of creation, as Richard Bauckham comments: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).'[288] There are six *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* that describe the *Bearers of the Throne* in these zoological forms,[289] although, amongst these there is no consensus, as four state that each angel has four faces and the other two that there are four different angels with one single form.[290] One of the *ḥadīth* alludes to the idea that the four angelic forms refer to creation as a whole:

> '…An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need, and an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need, and an

[286] Ezk. 1:5 – 14; Rev. 4:6 – 8; Apoc. Abr. 18:3 – 7, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698.
[287] Cf. Eggler, Jürg, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2 – 14* (Fribourg: University Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) pp. 42 – 54.
[288] Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.
[289] §189 – 193 & 198; the Angel of the Thunder is, also, described like this, see §267.
[290] Single form: §192 & 193; (four faces): §189 – 191; 198.

> angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need, and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need…'[291]

As noted above, six of the *ḥadīth* in the collection refer to the Bearers of the Throne having horns like mountain goats or looking like mountain goats.[292] David Halperin suggests that similar *ḥadīth* may be referring to a passage in the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Ḥag* 13a), which refers to the horns of the *ḥayyōt*, but can draw no further conclusions.[293] This imagery remains unclear, but horns did have religious significance in Semitic religion, particularly as representations of divinity,[294] and such iconography is also found in a Greek temple to Apollo on the island of Delos.[295] In relation to the divine throne, there are some images of Semitic gods seated on zoomorphic thrones and some evidence of thrones being supported by horns,[296] but it is difficult to ascertain whether the Islamic image of the *Bearers of the Throne* like goats is related to these wider Semitic and pagan ideas.

Beyond these cases of zoomorphic images of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are also two other *ḥadīth* that include a reference to Isrāfīl making himself smaller

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[291] §191.
[292] *goats*: §179; *horns*: §180, 181, 184, 197 & 209
[293] Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[294] Cook, Stanley A., *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930) p. 29; see also Obhink, H. Th., 'The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism' *JBL* 56 (1937) pp. 43 – 49; see, also, Coudert, Allison, 'Horns' *ER*^{2} vol. 6, pp. 4130 – 4131 and Litvinski, B. A. (tr. Sylvia Juan), 'Sheep and Goats' *ER*^{2} vol. 12, pp. 8309 – 8312.
[295] The altar is called the *keratinos bumos*; see Brureau, Philippe, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1970) pp. 22 – 29. The altar was destroyed, but is referred to by the poet Callimachus; see Callimachus, *Εις Απολλωνα*, l. 61; William, F., *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) pp. 59 - 60. The altar of the Jerusalem temple, also, had stone 'horns', see Milgrom, Jacob & Lerner, Blalik Myron, 'Altar', *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 760 - 771.
[296] See Cornelius, Izak, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba^{c}al: Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Periods (c. 1500 – 1000 BCE)* (Fribourg: University Press & Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) pp. 245 – 253 and Metzger, Martin, *Königsthron und Gottesthron: Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und in Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Berkcer; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) p. 253.

'…until he has become like a small sparrow (*was^{c})*…'[297] and the Angel of the Thunder having a tail (§267). These are only minor references and it is difficult to draw further conclusions from them. There is also the angelic cockerel (*al-dīk*);[298] however, this angel should be treated differently, as the imagery is purely of a cockerel, rather than that of an angel with certain features of a cockerel.

On the whole, the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have human, rather than animal, characteristics. The *ḥadīth* frequently draw on Judeo-Christian imagery and the *Bearers of the Throne* are a prominent example of such an influence. The trend, however, is quite a general one. Images do not appear to be derived from Jewish or Christian images, rather general ideas about angelic iconography are adapted by Islam from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen most clearly in the use of the anthropomorphic angel: the image is clearly indebted to a Judeo-Christian iconography, but is adapted, used and developed in Islamic traditions independently.

2.2.2 Angels of Great Size

Whilst many Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts that feature angels usually include very little in the way of descriptions, one of the most common motifs is that the angels are of great size and very rarely are they said to be small. This general scheme is found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, with only one *ḥadīth* (§5) stating that a 'single angel is smaller than a fly.'[299]

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[297] §53.
[298] §280 – 294.
[299] One other ḥadīth state that the angel Isrāfīl can be both huge and incredibly small (the size of a small sparrow), see §53.

There are a number of ways in which their vast size is described, with four of the most common being: (i) describing measurements in terms of travelling long distances; (ii) stating that the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West; (iii) descriptions of the angel filling the horizon; and (iv) describing the angel stretching from the earth to the heavens. There are a number of Jewish and Christian texts that portray angels in similarly large scale terms, which becomes an important theme in the fifth / sixth century *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch* (*3 Enoch*): 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En…In the Hekhalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.'[300] The following extract from *3 Enoch* is a typical example, the prophet Enoch says: 'I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth. He made me to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world.'[301]

A common method that the *ḥadīth* use to describe the angels' huge size is to give the length between two points in terms of the distance equivalent to many years' travel. This often takes the form: 'the distance from *X* to *Y* is a journey of *N* hundred years.' This phrasing appears some twenty times through the compilation.[302] Both the two points of reference for the distance and the distance itself vary from *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth*, as can be seen in the table below.

[300] Alexander, P.,'3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 293 n. 9c.
[301] 3En 9:2 – 3, p. 263.
[302] 20,51,180 (three times), 181, 183, 197, 202, 209, 231 (bis), 485, 490, 494, 499 (four times) & 545.

§	Angel	From	To	Distance (in years)
20	Bearers of the Throne	Head	Throne	100
51	Gabriel	Shoulder	Shoulder	700
180	Bearers of the Throne	Balls of Feet	Ankles	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Collarbone	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Earlobe	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Earlobe	Shoulder	700
183	Bearers of the Throne	Inner part of eye	Outer part of eye	500
197	Bearers of the Throne	Horns	Head	500
202	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Bottom of the foot	500
209	Bearers of the Throne	Bottom of Horn	Top of Horn	500
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	100
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	500
485	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Shoulder	500
490	Cherubim	Earlobe	Collarbone	500
494	Unnamed Angel	Shoulder	Head	100
499	Bearers of the Throne	Horn	Horn	500
500	Unnamed Angel	Wing	Wing	300
500	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Shoulder	400
545	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Collarbone	7000

Fig(i): Distances between body parts in Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

The table shows that a distance of five hundred years is the most common and that there is no general trend in the body parts used for the measurements. Generally, the measurements given are usually short distances making the angels appear even larger. Some of the *ḥadīth* also use further phrases to clarify the distance, such as §71, in which it is said that the distance is 'a journey of seven hundred years for a bird.'[303] The phrase is used most often in connection with the *Bearers of the Throne* and, by extension, of God's Throne and, ultimately, God. Such imagery is typified in the Jewish *Shiᶜūr Qomah* texts, which give similar measurements, not of an angel, but of God,[304] although there is some debate about

[303] See, also, §181 (bird); §231 (100 autumns); §490 (quick-flying bird going downwards); §494 (angel flying) and §545 (quick-flying bird).

[304] The scales are enormous; for example R. Ishmael b. Elosha is said to have remarked that '…the entire measurement (of the Creator) is 2,000,000,000,000,000,000 (i. e. 2 x 10^{18}) parasangs in height, and 10,000,000,000 parasangs in width.' *Sefer Hashiᶜūr*, ll. 5 - 6; Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shiᶜūr*

what the exact intention is of the text giving these measurements.[305] Just as in the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, a wide number of different measurements are made; for example one of the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts, *Siddur Rabbah*,[306] includes the following measurements:

l.	p.	From	To	Distance (in parasangs)
4	38	Right eye	Left Eye	33,000
5	38	Let Arm	Right Arm	770,000
57	44	Souls of Feet	N/A	30,000
58	44	Foot	Ankle	120,000,000
58	44	Ankle	Knee	450,000,000
63	44	Knees	Thigh	600,002,000
65	45	Thigh	Shoulder	600,000,080
67	45	Shoulder	Neck	190,000,000
67	45	Neck	N/A	180,000,000
68	45	Head (circumference)	N/A	500,000,333
75	46	Forehead	N/A	180,000,000
76	46	Pupil	N/A	11,200
78	46	White of the eye	N/A	22,000
90	48	Lips	N/A	21,000
92	48	Left Shoulder	Right Shoulder	120,000,000
93	48	Right Arm	N/A	150,000,000
96	48	Hand	N/A	70,000,000
97	48	Right Arm	Left Arm	770,000,000
98	49	Fingers	N/A	300,000,000
103	49	Right Foot	N/A	10,000,000

Fig.(ii): Table of Distances between Body Parts in Siddur Rabbah

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Qomah:Texts and Recensions (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) p. 29. The date of these texts is unclear [cf. Stemberger, Günter (tr. Markus Bockmuehl), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Repr. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1997), pp. 348 – 349], the tradition appears to have its origins in the period after the *Babylonian Talmud* (5th Century), but, significantly, before the time of the philosopher Saadia Gaon (d. 942); see Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*, pp. 1 - 2 and Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shi^{c}ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (London: University Press of America, 1983) pp. 51*ff.*

[305] Some commentators believe the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts may, actually, be an unusual attempt to de-anthropomorphise God. Gedaliahu Stroumsa argues that the texts appear to be referring to an archangelic divine hypostasis, rather than the actual essence of God (see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 277*f.*); Joseph Dan argues that the measurements are so exceptionally incomprehensible, they become meaningless; see Dan, Joseph, 'Concept of Knowledge in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*' in Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (eds.) *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, (Alabama: University of Alabama Press 1979) pp. 67-73.

[306] Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* (1985), pp. 38 – 53.

A basic comparison between the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and *Siddur Rabbah* shows the practice of giving measurements between specific body parts of cosmic proportions is common to both texts; but there is a notable difference in that *Siddur Rabbah*, as well as the *Shiᶜūr Qomah* in general, do not tend to give the measurements in years, but by physical units of distance (usually *parasangs*).[307] The usage of measuring the distance between two specific body parts is less common in other Jewish and Christian texts[308] and in these cases the distances are given in actual physical measurements, rather than 'years'.[309] However, anthropomorphic representation of the divine on a cosmic scale is a belief generally held in the Ancient world.[310]

Another way that the *ḥadīth* describe the great size of the angels is by stating that the angels (or the angels' wings) stretch from the East to the West, which is fairly common throughout the work, appearing explicitly fifteen times.[311] This

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[307] In *Siddur Rabbah* 'years' are not used, but in another text, *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr*, there is one distance given in 'years' amongst many measurements taken in *parasangs*: 'The distance that a man can walk in a (single) day is ten parasangs, which is to say that, in a year consisting of 365 parasangs, (he can) walk 3,656 parasangs (!). In ten years, the sum totals 36,400 parasangs, and (therefore,) in one hundred years, it reaches, 365,000 parasangs, and in five hundred years, it reaches 1,825,000 parasangs - this is the span of the Creator, may He be blessed".' *Siddur Rabbah* ll: 9 – 12; Cohen, *Shiᶜur Qomah* (1985) pp. 28 - 29.

[308] The distance 'shoulder to shoulder' does, however, appear in the *Book of Elchasai*: an angel is said to be 96 miles high (24 schoinoi) and the distance from shoulder to shoulder to be 6 schoinoi (14 miles): *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 687; this fragment is taken from Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, IX:13.2; Marcovich, Miroslav (ed.), *Hipplytus: Refutatio Ominum Haeresium* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) p. 357.

[309] Although *year*-measurements can be found, usually in relation the size of the earth. In addition to the use in *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr* (see above), it can, also, be found in *DeutR 2:10,* p. 29 and *CantR* 6:9 §2 – 3, p. 266. See, also, Gandz, Solomon, 'The Distribution of Land and Sea on the Earth's Surface According to Hebrew Sources' *PAAJR* 22 (1953) pp. 23 – 53; especially p. 33. This use can be found in al-Masᶜūdī, Abī al-Ḥassan ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī (ed. ᶜAbd al-Amīr ᶜAlī Muhanna), *Murūj al-dhahāb wa-maᶜādin al-jawāhir* (Beirut: Mu'sassa al-Aᶜlamī li-'l-Maṭbuᶜāt, 1321 / 2000) §I:16; vol. 1, p. 172

[310] Cf. Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 269; see also Jackson, Howard M., 'The Origins and Development of *Shiᶜur Qomah* Revelation in Jewish Mysticism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 373 – 415. Jackson looks at representations of the divine in other, non-Jewish, religious traditions.

[311] §42, 53, 92 – 95, 158 – 159, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 & 294.

description is only applied to named angels and is only used in reference to Gabriel, Isrāfīl, the Spirit, the Angel of Death and the Cockerel. The phrase normally comes in the form: *the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West*. This phrase occurs eleven out of the fifteen times, but is only used of the Cockerel and the angel Isrāfīl.[312] Gabriel is said to have 'filled the space between East and West' (§42); the Angel of Death is said to have a spear that reaches from the East to the West (§158 & 159) and the stride of the Angel of Death is said to stretch from the East to the West (§202). Although this phrase is only used of Gabriel twice (§42 & 53), another related description, stating that Gabriel filled the horizon, is used more frequently (§43, 46, 47 & 54).

So far the gigantic size of the angels has been described by measurement and breadth (i.e. East to West), but height is also used relatively frequently.[313] Some of the *ḥadīth* refer to great height in a general way; for example, Gabriel is said to fill 'the space between Heaven and Earth' in §41.[314] However, the most common way to express height is to say that the angel's feet are on the (Seventh) Earth and its head in the (Seventh) Heaven.[315] The concept of the angels' heads reaching heaven is found in the *Acts of John* where it is said of an angel that: '…his feet [.] were whiter than snow, so that the ground was lit up by his feet, and his head stretched up to the heaven.'[316]

The concept of angels as being of a great size is common in Judeo-Christian angelology. Numerous texts, particularly Pseudepigrapha, often describe angels in

[312] §53, 92 – 95, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 and 294.
[313] §41, 96, 180, 181, 184, 190, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[314] Cf. §190
[315] §96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[316] *ActsJ* 90; *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 180 – 181.

this way.[317] There are a number of texts that refer to angels being of a great size in general terms, such as the *Gospel of Philip*, in which it is said that: '...when [Jesus] appeared to the disciples in glory on the mountain, he was not small - he became great - but he made the disciples great, that they might see him in his greatness.'[318] Although only a general comment, this passage from the *Gospel of Philip* reveals, quite clearly, the meaning of the angel of great size: the size is a sign of the truth of the vision.

It is unlikely that direct sources could be traced for the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but the description of these massive angels clearly owes a large debt to the vocabulary and imagery of Judeo-Christian angelology. This is important as it shows that Islam did not only 'borrow' angelic imagery from Jewish and Christian traditions, but Islam developed and utilised this angelic imagery, with the angels *Isrāfīl* and *al-Dīk* the most notable examples.

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2.2.3 Finer Detailing: Clothing, Jewellery & Colours

The majority of the descriptions about angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are fairly general, usually emphasising the size of the angel. However, just as the size of the angel attests to the reality of the vision, certain iconographical details are used to highlight and refine the image of the angel. An angel is often only distinguishable from another angel by certain *props* or other characteristics. It is in the use of these

[317] For a short discussion of this see: De Conick, April D., 'The "Dialogue of the Savior" and the Mystical Sayings of Jesus' *VC* 50 (1996) pp. 178 – 199, pp. 190 – 193.
[318] *GPhil* 26a; *NTA*, vol. 1, p. 191. Cf. *DialSav* 42 & 67; *NTA*, vol. 1, pp. 4 – 11

different props that an iconographic vocabulary emerges.[319] The use of iconographic details is more important in visual media, as a picture, mosaic, or carving tend not to make use of written names; for example, in Byzantine art angels are often pictured holding a sceptre and robed in priestly garments.[320] Clothing is an important iconographical detail, as the way in which someone is clothed often reveals much about their status,[321] as well as distinguishing individuals from others, since clothing '…serves to preserve the boundaries among persons of different statuses.'[322] Likewise, vestments play an important part in the iconography of angels in Islamic art, although this is usually expressed in different ways to the literary tradition.[323] In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there is some evidence that Islamic tradition developed its own iconographic vocabulary, with a number of angels being associated with particular accessories, colours and clothes.

The most prominent item of clothing is a robe, with which angels are particularly associated in Jewish and Christian scriptures, as well as visual media.[324] In Jewish tradition, the robe is normally believed to be white, developing out of

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[319] Cf. Swartz, M. D., 'The Semiotics of the Priestly Vestments in Ancient Judaism' in Albert I Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifices in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 57 - 80. Garments were, also, used to distinguish gods from mortals in Semitic religion: see Oppenheim, A. Leo, 'Golden Garments of the Gods' *JNES* 8 (1949) pp. 172 – 193.

[320] For a comprehensive list of various iconographic details associated with angels, see Pallas, 'Himmelsmächte' *RZBK* vol. 3, coll. 34 – 43. Another interesting article by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy discusses the semiotics of dress in Byzantine art and particularly the way in which the Imperial costume of the angels was also used to stress the worldly power of the Emperor; see Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, 'Note sur la representation des archanges en costume impèrial dans l'iconographie byzantine' *CA* 46 (1998) pp. 121 – 128.

[321] For a discussion of the place of clothing in Judaism and Christianity, see Kim, Jung Hoon, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: Continuum, 2004). For an important work on the semiotics of clothing and dress (in general), see Rubinstein, Ruth P., *Dress Codes: Meaning and Messages in American Culture* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995).

[322] Rubin, Nissan & Kosman, Admiel, 'The Clothing of the Primordial Man: Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources' *HTR* 90 (1997) pp. 155 - 174, p. 163.

[323] Emel Esin includes a discussion of angelic dress in Islamic art and its East-Asian influences, see Esin, 'Angel Figure' p. 269*f.*

[324] For a discussion of angelic clothing in Byzantine art, see Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 42 – 50.

exegeses of Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7:9.[325] The imagery of a white robe is transferred into the Old and New Testamental Pseudepigraphical literature, such as the book of *Jannes and Jambres*.[326] Similar imagery can by found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, e.g. 'Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown…'[327] The white of the angels' gowns normally reflect two main ideas: the purity of the angels' faith and their dazzling brightness.[328] In Islam, white also carries connotations of purity, as Khalil ᶜAthamina comments: '…white garments symbolize the modesty incumbent upon all Muslims in their attitude toward the Creator, especially during prayer. It is for this reason Muslims of all social strata and walks of life have followed the practice of praying in white as a sign of their modesty and piety.'[329] Colour is used to convey certain characteristics of the angel as colours had important meanings in Islamic culture.

White is not the only colour used of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and there are some references to green (*akhḍar*).[330] Gabriel, for example, is associated with the colour

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[325] 'As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne; his clothing was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool…' *NRSV* p.843 Cf. 20:12; 'and he saw two angels in white…' *NRSV* p.111, Martha Himmelfarb discusses the use and symbolism of God's white gown and argues that there are two main ideas: (i) judgement and (ii) purity; she, also, alludes to the wearing of a plain white robe by the Jewish High Priest on the Day of Atonement; see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, pp. 16 – 18; see also Rowland, Christopher, 'A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff and Jewish Angelology' *JSNT* 24 (1985) pp. 99 – 110.

[326] Cf: *JanJam* 25a, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 437 and *ApEl* 5:5 – 6 'Then Gabriel and Uriel will become a pillar of light leading them into the holy land. It will be granted to them to east form the tree of life. They will wear white garments….and angels will watch over them.' *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 750. This text is referring to the righteous, rather than angels, but the intention of the white garments is to signify their righteousness and their place in heaven.

[327] §54; see also §122 (Angel of Death)

[328] '[Weiß] bezeichnet jede Art von Helligkeit, darunter auch die Helligkeit des Weiß, aber ebenso des Strahlen und Leuchten des Lichts und das Funkeln und Schillern reflektierender Gegenstände.' Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung: Untersuchungen zur Wortbedeutung und zur Wortbildung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1965) p. 244.

[329] ᶜAthamina, Khalil, 'The Black Banners and the Socio-Political Significance of Flags and Slogans in Medieval Islam' *Arabica* 36 (1989) p. 311.

[330] *Akhḍar* can, also, refer to blue (see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichungen*, p. 306), but, in these texts, 'green' is clearly intended.

with one *ḥadīth* stating that the 'soles of his feet are green'[331] and another that Gabriel wore a green headband.[332] The use of green, the Prophet's colour, gives these angelic traditions a more Islamic symbolism, distancing the imagery from Judaism and Christianity. Green is also an important colour because of its associations with paradise, as David Alexander comments: 'In the Qur'an green is associated with life itself and as one of the signs of God. Green evoked the idea of tranquillity and refuge.'[333] Although green is used to designate paradise in other religions of the Near East (particularly Zoroastrianism),[334] the association of green with paradise in an arid environment is quite obvious.[335] The symbolism of the colour does not appear to have played such an important part in Jewish and Christian angelic imagery. More generally, the colour green simply carries notions of creation and the physical order of the universe in Judaism and, by extension, the divine – in the sense that the world is God's creation.[336] However, green can have negative connotations, for example, in *3 Enoch* the souls of the 'intermediates' in Hell are green.[337]

Jewels also play an important part in the Islamic iconography of angels. In *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Gabriel's clothing is often described as being encrusted with jewels (normally rubies, pearls or chrysolite), which is a sign of his status in the angelic

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[331] §54, see also §50 & 52.
[332] §690.
[333] Alexander, David: 'The Black Flag of the ᶜAbbasids' *Gladius* 20 (2000) p. 224.
[334] For a discussion of the symbolism of colours in Near Eastern cultures, see Carbó, Antoni Gonzalo, 'El Viaje Espiritual al «Espacia Verde»: el «Jardín de la Visión» en el Sufismo' *Convivium* 20 (2007) pp. 65 - 90.
[335] §42, 44b, 45 & 54; Green robes are, also, said to be worn by those in paradise: e.g. Q 18:31 '…and they shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 292; see also Q 55:76 & 76:21; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 559 and 622; see also ᶜAthamina, 'Black Banners' pp. 325 – 326.
[336] 'The color green is symbolic of the beginning of the things, of the creation, of the physical order and also of the fundamental wisdom which underlies creation.' Bokser, Ben Zion, 'The Thread of Blue' *PAAJR* 31 (1963) p. 11
[337] 'Moreover, the faces of the intermediate were a greenish colour, on account of their deeds, for they are tainted until purified of their iniquity by fire.' *3En* 44:5; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 295.

world. The Cockerel, although not wearing a robe or gown, is also described as having body parts made out of precious metals and jewels.[338] Precious stones play an important part in Jewish and Christian iconography and they are usually associated with God or those that have dealings with the divine, such as priests.[339] For example, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, an account of the dedication of the Jewish Temple, the High Priest was said to be robed in '...all the glorious vestments, including the wearing of the "garment" with precious stones upon it in which he is vested…'[340] and that the '…house faces east, and the rear of it faces west. The whole foundation was decked with (precious) stones…'[341] The *Letter of Aristeas* describes the earthly temple, but the heavenly temple and those making the journey to heaven are also described in similar terms in other Pseudepigraphical works.[342] The importance of precious stones is their association with wealth, power and majesty. Certain angels, particularly Gabriel in Islamic tradition, are given status through the use of jewels and precious stones. Such imagery is natural and widespread in religious iconography of the divine in general.

There are two further motifs in *al-Ḥabā'ik* that are slightly unusual. The first is that some angels wear turbans and a second which describes one of the angels' clothing like a pair of *sarāwīl* (*trousers*). The turbaned angels are the angels that helped the Muslim community at Badr.[343] This imagery is not found in the Judeo-

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[338] §281, 285, 286 & 294.
[339] See Royalty, Robert M., *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) pp. 45 – 58. For the use of precious stones in a whole range of different religions, see Kunz, George Frederick, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (London: s.i., 1913) pp. 225 – 274.
[340] *Let Aris* 96, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 19; cf. Ex 28:4, 27 – 31.
[341] *Let Aris* 88, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 18; see also *Let Aris*, 52 - 82, *OTP* vol. 2 pp. 16 – 18.
[342] Cf. *1En* 14:11 & 24:2, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 20 & 26; *3En* 12, *OTP* Vol 1, p. 265 ; *2Bar* 5:7 *OTP* Vol 2, p. 623; *ApAb* 11:1 – 3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 694 and *Ps.-Phil.* 26:9 – 10 *OTP* vol. 2, p. 338.
[343] §626 – 628 & 630. cf. Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar (ed. Marsden Jones), *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (London: Oxford University Press,

Christian tradition to any great extent, so the use of turbans marks a distinctly Islamic image and it reflects the association of angels with contemporaneous dress.[344] The image of the angel being covered with a wing has obvious resonances with the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6:3;[345] but the motif appears to be very uncommon (only appearing three times) and is only used in reference to Gabriel and Isrāfīl.[346]

The last form of finer detailing that will be discussed here is the use of props and accessories, some of which have already been mentioned. Props and accessories are normally used to symbolise a specific angel or a particular function of an angel, a trend that is seen most clearly in the visual arts. Isrāfīl is the most notable example of this trend; Isrāfīl is associated with the Trumpet that announces the Last Day, and so he is often described as holding it.[347] Other angels, such as the Angel of Death, the Guardian of the Fire and the Angel of the Thunder, are also associated with objects relating to their cosmic function. The Angel of Death is said to hold a spear, with which 'he cuts the vein of life.' The Guardians of Hell and the angel Mālik are believed to have spears or rods with which to persecute those in Hell.[348] Lastly, the Angel of the Thunder (who is, also, responsible for the clouds) is said to have a whip

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1966) vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79, 113 and Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa*; *Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-akhīra, 1370 / 1951) vol. 1 pp. 291 – 292; Bewley, Aisha Abdurrahman (tr.), *Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas: The First Formulation of Islamic Law* (Granada: Madinah Press, 1992) §20.81.254, p. 171; for more on the significance of turbans, see Kister, M. J., '"The Crowns of this Community"…Some Notes on the Turban in Muslim Tradition' *JSAI* 24 (2000) pp. 217 – 245.

[344] This is also found in Western art, as Stephen Prickett comments early renaissance art: 'Biblical characters (once clothed) always wore contemporary dress and appeared in the local context.' Prickett, Stephen, 'The Bible in Literature and Art' in John Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 160 – 178, p. 165.

[345] Cf. Kaiser, Otto (tr. R. A. Wilson), *Isaiah 1 – 12* (London: SCM Press, 1972) p. 76 and Oswalt, John, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1 - 39* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986) p. 179.

[346] §93, 99 & 744.

[347] §85 – 88, 91, 92 & 99; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'Isrāfīl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 211.

[348] §234 & 234.

made of iron (or light) and a rope, with which he moves the clouds through the sky.[349]

Occasionally the relationship between the object and the angel is different, with the object not reflecting the function of the angel, but the status of the angel. Gabriel is said to have a belt strung with pearls (§50 & 54) and Isrāfīl is associated with the *Preserved Tablet* (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūẓ*), the Qur'ān and the Throne of God.[350] The closeness of Isrāfīl to God explains both his prestige and his function as it is Isrāfīl who delivers the messages of God to His angels.

The use of finer detailing allows the *ḥadīth* to highlight certain aspects of an angel. Clothing, jewellery and props allow the reader to understand both the angel's function and status. Such detailing is common to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity in almost all media. In visual media, finer details are often used to distinguish one angel from another.[351] This resulted in the development of a specific iconographic language, in which different angels are represented by different objects. In textual material, however, the ability to name angels verbally makes the use of specific iconographies less important; but a set language did appear to develop, in which objects came to signify certain characteristics, especially references to colour, costume and precious stones.

The basic and most common iconographical form of an angel in Islam is the same as that found in Judaism and Christian, that of an anthropomorphized angel. However,

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[349] §257, 258, 261 & 263.
[350] See §85 – 106.
[351] For example, in Byzantine art different kinds of holy people (martyrs, monks, warrior saints, bishops etc.) are dressed in different clothing to differentiate them; cf. Walter, Christopher, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 270 – 274, 285 – 290 and Maguire, Henry, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

the way in which the angel is anthropomorphised is different in Islamic tradition. In Judaism and Christianity, there are fewer references to specific body parts in the description of angels and their anthropomorphic form is achieved by stating the angels are 'like a man'. References to body parts are not unknown in Judaism and Christianity but they are much rarer, so their use distinguishes Islamic iconographic vocabulary from the other Abrahamic faiths. This is seen further in particular angelic motifs, such as the great size of the angels. These general motifs can be found elsewhere, but the way in which this motif is expressed in Islam is unique. The use of divine measurements can be found in Jewish works (e.g. the *Book of Elchasai*, the *Shi*^{c}*ur Qomah* traditions), but they are not frequently used when referring to or describing angels.

The influence of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels should not, however, be underestimated. In a number of specific examples, the Islamic traditions draw on Jewish (and Christian) motifs directly. The *Bearers of the Throne*, for example, appear to have been assimilated directly from Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. Angels robed in white, the trumpet that heralds the Last Day, the use of precious stones and so on, all relate to Judeo-Christian angelic imagery as well. This should not be surprising, because the use of props, accessories, clothing, and actions are part of a wider symbolic framework. Particular objects are used metonymically to tell the reader what the function of a particular angel is and other finer details are used to confirm the status and divine origin of an angel. When Islamic traditions about angels began to develop, it was only natural that they developed within the same symbolic framework; Islamic traditions grew in a similar milieu and so similar symbolism is often encountered.

2.3 Conclusions: The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

The two discussions above about angelic nomenclature and iconography suggest Islamic traditions about angels are both similar to and yet distinct from Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels. Why? And how can these be explained?

It would seem sensible to suggest a certain number of traditions drew on a common, natural vocabulary that is more universal in nature, rather than specific to the Judeo-Christian tradition. Precious stones, for example, will be associated naturally with wealth and power; things of a great size with the supernatural and the realm of the divine, and so on. These types of iconographic details can be seen throughout Semitic religion in general, as well as beyond.[352] They are commonsense and basic images of power and, by extension, the power of the divine. Other images, such as the anthropomorphic form of the angel, would appear to be more closely aligned with Jewish and Christian thought.

These basic symbols of the divine and the Judeo-Christian emphasis on anthropomorphic angels form the foundation from which the Islamic iconography of angels developed. However, Islamic beliefs about angels also developed independently, which can be seen particularly clearly in the way in which some angels are named. The theophoric name is clearly indebted to Judaism, but whilst an Arabic theophoric name may resemble a Jewish angelic name, its function and status often do not. The angel Raphael, for example, plays an important role in Jewish angelology, but is essentially absent in Islamic angelology; even the angels *Rufīl* and

[352] George Kunz looks at a wide range of different religions' uses of precious stones, ranging from Egyptian to Chinese; see Kunz, *Curious Lore*, pp. 225 – 274.

Riyāfīl, which could be etymologically associated with Raphael, have markedly different roles to their Jewish counterpart. The opposite occurs with Isrāfīl; whilst the Islamic angel may be etymologically related to an angel such as Seraphiel, the Islamic Isrāfīl is much more developed in Islamic tradition, so much so that Isrāfīl bears little resemblance to any angel in Jewish or Christian literature.

Not all of Islam's angels have their origins in Judaism or Christianity, especially angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt, the angel Isrāfīl and the Cockerel (*Dīk*). However, the influences of other religions traditions, such as Zoroastrianism, are markedly weaker and appear to affect only a few, specific examples.[353]

Islamic angelic nomenclature does present a unique approach to angelology: whilst both Islamic and Jewish traditions believe that there is an angel responsible for a whole range of natural phenomena, ranging from lightning to the sea, Judaism has a tendency to give these angels a personal name, usually, but not exclusively, a theophoric one. Islam, on the other hand, prefers to use the generic, non-theophoric formula: 'the Angel of X'. This, again, reveals the tension between the influence and independence of Islamic beliefs about angels. Islam often has the same angels as Judaism (and, to a lesser extent, Christianity), but names them in a completely different way.

The reason behind this tension could be rooted in the history of Islam itself. The references to angels in the Qur'ān clearly indicate some knowledge of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels, especially the direct references to Gabriel and Michael. From the foundation of the Qur'ān, the Islamic exegetical tradition proceeded to generate a number of distinct beliefs about angels. This is reflected by

[353] For a discussion of the influence of Zoroastrianism on on Islam, see Stepaniants Marietta, 'The Encounter of Zoroastrianism with Islam' *PEW* 52 (2002) pp. 159 – 172.

the fact that there are sixty-four *ḥadīth* in the work (c. 9%) that include direct Qur'ānic quotations in their *mitān*,[354] with many more than these more loosely based in the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition; eighty-eight *ḥadīth* (c. 11%) are attributed to one of the principal sources of Islamic exegesis, Ibn ᶜAbbas and so on. All this indicates that exegesis was, as in Judaism, an important springboard from which Islamic beliefs about angels developed. There is, however, a slight difference in the ways in which Jewish and Islamic exegesis developed their angelologies. Jewish angelology is typified by a tendency to turn objects, such as the wheels of God's chariot, into angels. This is not found in Islam; the *qalam* always remains as a 'pen' (albeit a divine pen), and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, always remains a tablet – there is no attempt to turn these into angels, the only example of this in *al-Ḥabā'ik* is *al-Sijill*.

The similarity between Jewish and Islamic angelology is seen more strongly in the traditional material rather than exegesis, particularly the Pseudepigrapha, the Talmud and the Midrashim. In these types of texts, the angels become responsible for various objects in the human world, maintaining them and protecting them, on behalf of God. This is also found in Islamic angelology and much of the traditional material that developed out of the exegetical movement turn to this sort of interpretation. Traditional material, both the various collections of *ḥadīth* in Islam and the Jewish *midrashīm*, often reflect a popular expression of beliefs about angels, which is corroborated by similar beliefs found in magic incantation texts and studies of Jewish and Muslim folklore. The nature of these types of texts does, however, make it extremely difficult to assess how Islamic, Jewish, and Christian beliefs about angels

[354] §1, 9, 25, 26, 44, 56, 74, 75, 128, 129, 141, 187, 198, 207, 208, 222, 225, 234, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249, 313 – 321, 324, 325, 333, 389, 391 – 393, 397, 399 – 401, 417, 422, 425 (*bis*), 426 (*bis*), 458 – 460, 537, 437, 549, 555 (*bis*), 617, 619, 678, 679, 743 & 744.

in the later mediaeval period interacted; but at a basic level, it must be assumed there was a fairly high level of cultural exchange in this area.

As a result of the nature of *ḥadīth*, it is hard (if not impossible) to gain a detailed understanding of how particular beliefs developed; however, beliefs about angels appear to have been influenced by a number of different factors and at different stages. The first stage is the pre-Qur'ānic and Qur'ānic periods in which Judaism and Christianity played an important part in shaping the celestial world of seventh century Arabia. This stage seems to have been followed by a period of largely internal exegesis of the Qur'ān, during which beliefs about angels were developed with a limited amount of influence from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen particularly clearly in the development of a distinctively Islamic system of angelic nomenclature, traditions about angels that are peculiar to Islam, angels derived from the Qur'ān, and so on. However, this does not mean to say that Jewish and Christian beliefs had no influence on Islamic angelology during this period; *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions often reflect Jewish and Christian angelology and popular beliefs must also not be underestimated. The third stage shows the return of stronger Jewish and Christian influences. It is difficult to tell whether this was a result of a greater understanding of Judaism and Christianity by the educated classes; a wish by Muslim scholars to find Jewish and Christian attitudes to certain angels or phenomena; a generally higher degree of interaction between the faiths; or, the percolation of popular folkloric beliefs into formal works. In this later period, it becomes increasingly more difficult to know which faith influenced the other; the Near East became a place where ideas, especially ones about subjects that interested

both those in the academic and popular strata of society, were freely and commonly exchanged.

The interaction between Islamic beliefs about angels and their Jewish and Christian counterparts is complex. Many commentators have simply argued that Islamic angelology has its origins in Judaism and Christianity. When looking at the Qur'ān, the influence of Judaism and Christianity is certainly unmistakable, but surely this is not surprising. However, the influence of Judaism and Christianity appears to diminish during the formative period of Islamic theology and Qur'ānic exegesis. Above all, Islamic angelology always remains distinctly *Islamic* and this distinctiveness cannot be attributed to Jewish and Christian influences. The two other Abrahamic faiths may have provided some basic core beliefs, imagery and conceptualisations, but the Muslim community developed them in their own unique way.

The Angelic World of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

3. The Angelic World of *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*[355]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is unusual when compared to other mediaeval *ḥadīth* collections concerned with visions of the heavenly world, such as al-Ghazālī's (alleged) work, *Al-Durra al-fakhīra*,[356] ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī's, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*,[357] other apocalyptic or eschatological works,[358] and the accounts of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) collected by scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq in his *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*.[359] These eschatological and *miᶜrāj* works usually act as a warning against certain modes of behaviour by describing the future rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, as Vuckovic comments: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Qur'ān and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muḥammad's community.'[360] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* uses

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[355] Parts of this chapter will be published in 2009: Burge, S. R., 'The Angels' Roles in Death and Judgement' in Amanda Philips, Richard Radcliffe & Refqa Abu-Remaileh (eds.), *New Voices, New Visions: The Work of Young Scholars in British Middle East Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

[356] Al-Ghazāli, *Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ᶜulūm al-ākhira*; Smith, Jane I. (tr.), *The Precious Pearl* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

[357] Al-Qāḍī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*; A'isha ᶜAbd al-Rahman at-Tarjumana (*sic*) (tr.), *Islamic Book of the Dead* (Norwich: Diwan Press, 1977).

[358] Anon., *Kitāb aḥwal al-qiyāma*; Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (Leipzig: Commissionsverlag von F. A. Brockhaus, 1872); al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith ibn Asad, *Kitāb al-tawahhum*; Roman, André (ed. & tr.), *Une Vision Humaine des Fins Dernières* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1978) and al-Ashᶜarī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-shajarat al-yaqīn*; Castillo Castillo, Concepción (ed. & tr.), *Kitāb Šaŷarat al-Yaqīn: Tratado de eschtología musulmana – Estudio, edición, traducción, notas y indices* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1987) [this work is also attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl al-Ashᶜarī].

[359] Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 181 – 187; cf. al-Ghayṭī, Najm al-Dīn, *al-Miᶜrāj al-kabīr*; Jeffrey, A. (tr), *A Reader on Islam* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962) pp. 621 – 639. Versions of the the *miᶜrāj* were important in Sufism, cf. al-Sulamī, Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mas'ala bayān laṭā'if al-miᶜrāj*; Colby, Frederick S. (ed. & tr.), *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muhammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006) and Morris, James Winston, 'The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ᶜArabī asnd the Miᶜrāj' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; it also appears in a number of different Islamate languages, e.g. Anon., *Miᶜrājnama*; de Courteille, Abel Pavet (ed. & tr.), *Mirâj-Nâmeh: Récit de l'Ascension de Mahomet au Ciel Composé A.H. 840 (1436/1437)* (repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975).

[360] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys,* p. 97; see also Lange, Christian, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 101 – 175.

similar supra-mundane material, but approaches it from a different angle.[361] The purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is to describe the function of the angels in the universe and their intermediation between God and humans. The aim is to present an angelic world, not of the potential future (as in the eschatological and *miʿrāj* works), but of the contemporary world, to the extent that narratives about both past and future events are used to illustrate what the angels are doing in the present. For example, Isrāfīl, the angel responsible for blowing the trumpet on the Last Day, is not described as actually blowing the trumpet, but is portrayed as kneeling, waiting for the command from God to do it.[362] This *angelic present* is used to explain how God interacts with the human world, how humans are judged, how they die, how revelation is given and how ritual actions should be performed. This is a very different way of presenting the heavenly world and its inhabitants.

This section will comprise two main sections: the first will look at the angels' roles in the life-cycle of a human, from birth to death and beyond; and the second will look at the angels' roles in ritual law. The principal aim of this section is to present the material contained in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection and to highlight its main trends.

[361] Other larger works occasionally include sections on the angels, which bear a resemblance to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, such as al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Al-Jāmiʿ shuʿab al-īmān* (Bombay: Al-Dār al-Salfīyyah, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 407 – 446. However, to my knowledge, *al-Ḥabā'ik* is the only ḥadīth collection devoted to angels.
[362] E.g. §85.

3.1 The Angels' Roles in Human Life

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* angels play a role in a human's life from conception in the womb until death. There are four main groups of angels that need to be considered: (i) the angels of the womb; (ii) the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān al-kātibān*); (iii) the Angel of Death and (iv) various post-mortem angels. These four groups of angels amount to 207 *ḥadīth* (c. 28%). This is a significant portion, especially when a large number of the remaining *ḥadīth* play similar roles.[363]

3.1.1 The Angels of the Womb

The interaction between angels and humans begins before birth and al-Suyūṭī includes nine *ḥadīth* (§436 – 444) about one particular ante-natal event. Soon after conception, God sends an angel to the mother's womb, which then forms the foetus and records what God has ordained for that child. The *ḥadīth* do not provide a strict consensus about when this happens precisely, but it is said to happen at some stage between forty and seventy-two days.[364] The majority of the *ḥadith* say that only one

[363] For example, there is an angel that records the names of those that say '*ṣalā allāh ᶜalayhi wa-sallam*' – which is a role similar to, but separate from, that of the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān*). See §445 – 447 & 449 – 457; for more on this, see Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'* vol. 1, pp. 137 - 138; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §9.22.69 – 71, p. 62; Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion I' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 5 – 21 and de la Puente, Christina, 'The Prayer Upon the Prophet Muhammad (Tasliya): A Manifestation of Islamic Religiosity' *ME* 5 (1999) pp. 121 – 129.

[364] 40 Days: §437 , 440 & 442; 42 Days: §439; 72 Days: §441. Forty days is also an important time period in Greek Medicine (cf. Hippocratic Treatises, *On the Nature of the Child*, §18 – 19; see Lonie, Iain M., (tr. & commentary), *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation", "On the Nature of the Child, "Diseases IV"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) pp. 9 – 11 & 190 – 194); forty days is also important in rabbinic law (probably a result of the influence of Greek medicine); for example, a woman who miscarries before forty days have passed does not have to perform the rites of ritual purity associated with miscarriages and birth, as it is not considered an embryo before forty days; see Bek. §21b, p. 140.

angel is sent to the womb,[365] but one *ḥadīth* (§436) states that: 'God, Most High, has made an angel responsible for the womb; [he said] that is, one responsible for the sperm, one responsible for the clot and one responsible for the embryo.' The *ḥadīth* discuss two important ideas: the first provides an account of traditional embryology and the second concerns the issue of predestination.

Five of the nine *ḥadīth* included describe the early stages in the growth of the embryo in basic terms.[366] These *ḥadīth* are similar to the Qur'ānic accounts, especially Q 23:12 – 14[367] and reflect a '…further development of the thought found already in some Koranic passages dealing with the stage of the development of the embryo.'[368] Here is a representative example from the *ḥadīth*: '...When forty-two nights have passed by the semen, God sends an angel to it, and it shapes it, and creates its ears, its eyes, its skin, its fat and its bones.'[369] The development of the embryo and the stages outlined in this example played an important part in the classical Islamic law of torts, especially in attempting to rule when compensation is

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[365] §437 – 443.

[366] §437, 439, 440, 441 & 443; cf. *Nid*. §31a, p. 214 & *Yom*. §95a, p. 420; for more on embryogenesis in Greek and Jewish thought Kottek, Samuel S., 'Embryology in Talmudic and Midrashic Literature' *JHB* 14 (1981) pp. 299 – 315; Needham, Joseph, *A History of Embryology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) pp. 13 – 65 and Jones, David Albert, *The Soul of the Embryo: Enquiry into the Status of the Human Embryo in the Christian Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2004) pp. 6 – 42.

[367] 'We created man of an extraction of clay, then We set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure, then We created of the drop a clot, the We created of the clot a tissue, then We created of the tissue bones, then We garmented the bones in flesh…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343; for other accounts of embryogenesis, cf. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīh al-gahib* [*Tafsīr al-kabīr*] (Cairo: s. n., 1889 - 1891) vol. 6, pp. 188 - 190 and Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 203 – 208. The accounts of the development of the embryo in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth has been discussed frequently, see O'Shaugnessy, T., *Creation and the Teaching of the Qur'ān* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1965) pp. 10 – 29; Bakker, D., *Man in the Qur'ān* (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland N.V., 1965) pp. 9 – 19; Haas, Samuel S., 'The "Creation of Man" in the Qur'ān' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 268 – 273; Arnaldez, R., 'Insān' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 1237 – 1239 and Ebrahim, Abul Fadl Mohsin, 'Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 229 – 232.

[368] Ringgren, Helmer, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism* (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1955) p. 119

[369] §439; Cf. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜUthmān al-Dhahabī (attr.), *Tibb al-Nabbī* §23; see Elgood, Cyril (tr.), *Tibb-ul-Nabbi or Medicine of the Prophet* (Bruges: Ex Officina "De Tempel", 1962) pp. 165 – 175. This work has been attributed incorrectly to al-Suyūṭī, and it is believed to have been compiled by al-Dhabahī; see Savage-Smith, Emilie, 'Attitudes to Dissection in Medieval Islam' *JHMAS* 50 (1995) pp. 67 – 110, p. 73, n. 14.

liable in cases of injury that subsequently induce a miscarriage.[370] However, whilst the scientific understanding behind these texts is interesting in and of itself, there are greater theological points being made; birth and ante-natal development are all driven by God. The creation of human life, as well as creation more generally, only occur as a result of God's will, as Dirk Bakker comments: 'Allah's power manifested in the creation of man is not restricted to divine initiative, but is active in each stage of development. There is no phase in the process of man's origin in which Allah is not concerned creatively.'[371]

God's will is equally important in the concept of predestination alluded to in these few *ḥadīth*.[372] The most important aspect of the Angel of the Womb is that in the womb, God preordains certain aspects of the foetus' life; take the two following *ḥadīth*:

> '…The [the angel] says: 'Lord, it is male or female?' And your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then he says: 'Lord, what will his sustenance be?' Your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then the angel leaves the page on his hand, and never ceases from the command nor shakes it off.'[373]

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[370] See Katz, Marion Holmes, 'The Problem of Abortion in Classical Sunni *fiqh*' in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.), *Islamic Ethics of Life: Abortion, War and Euthanasia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003) pp. 25 – 50; see especially pp. 30 – 34; for a modern Islamic perspective on these issues see, Bowen, Donna Lee, 'Abortion, Islam and the 1994 Cairo Population Conference' *IJMES* 29 (1997) pp. 161 – 184.

[371] Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an*, p. 18; the importance of birth and death is also reflected in Jewish literature, in which it is said that: 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR.* 73:4, p. 670, cf. *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.

[372] Edward Salisbury's early article on predestination and freewill in Islam contains a useful survey of these themes in pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, ḥadīth and *kalām*; see Salisbury, Edward E., 'Materials for the History of the Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will; compiled from original sources' *JAOS* 8 (1866) pp. 105 – 182; for ḥadīth, see pp. 122 – 147.

[373] §439.

> 'And [the angel] says: 'Lord, is it male or female? Lord will it be wretched or happy?' And God decrees what He wills. Then the one responsible says: 'What is its time?' And God decrees what He wills. Then he closes the book and it is not opened until the Day of Resurrection.'[374]

These two *ḥadīth* show that some aspects of a human's life are preordained: gender, sustenance (*rizq*), happiness or wretchedness,[375] and life-span (*ajal*). Montgomery Watt calls this type of predestination 'modified fatalism', because the elements that are predestined for the individual are limited in scope: 'Here not everything a man does is predetermined, but only the date of his death and the outcome or general effect of his activity.'[376] Some of these preordained elements of life, such as the *ajal* can be found in pre-Islamic religion (cf. *daḥr*),[377] but as Smith and Haddad note, '…the emphasis is not on an impersonal determinism but on divine prerogative; God ascertains the life-spans of persons and of communities, and in His hands lies the fate of all that He has brought into being.'[378] There is a strong focus on God and the juxtaposition of the statements about embryogenesis and this modified determinism seek to place God at the centre of human existence. Although Montgomery Watt doubts that the types of *ḥadīth* seen above were originally intended to be interpreted

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[374] §440.
[375] The meaning intended here is not necessarily referring to the individual's final destiny (i.e. Heaven or Hell), but rather to the type of life that the individual will have.
[376] Watt, W. M., 'Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam' *MW* 36 (1946) pp. 124 – 152, p. 131; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5; Ringgren, *Arabian Fatalism*, pp. 117 – 121 and Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Second Edition)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) pp. 25 – 31.
[377] William Thomson argues that Muslim tradition appropriated pre-Islamic ideas into its belief system, and he concludes: 'The characteristics of Time became in due season the characteristics of God as the Lord of Time and the Controller of History...' Thomson, William, 'The Concept of Human Destiny in Islam' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 281 – 299, p. 299; for more on pre-Islamic concepts of *dahr*, see Bravmann, M. M., *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) pp. 288 – 295 Goldziher, Ignaz (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006) vol. 1, pp. 209 – 238.
[378] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5.

so forcefully,[379] predestinationist *ḥadīth* such as these became important in the subsequent theological disputes over the issue,[380] with whole chapters on *qadar* appearing in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections[381] and whole works devoted to the subject.[382] Above all, the *modified determinism* of these *ḥadīth* highlight God's control of and power over creation, as well as the role of the angels in the process. The angels act as God's emissaries and act on his behalf, revealing the close relationship between God, man and angels, even from the very beginnings of life.

3.1.2 The Scribes

Having been born, every human is accompanied by (two) angels (*al-hāfiẓān*), usually called the 'Watchers' or the 'Scribes' in English. The function of these angels is given simply in §313: '…They record against you your livelihood (*rizq*), your deeds (*ᶜamal*) and your time (*ajal*).'[383] The Scribes are associated with four verses of the Qur'ān in particular: 6:61; 13:11; 50:17 – 18 and 82:10 – 12. The majority of the information about the Scribes in the mediaeval Islamic exegeses is found in the entry for Q 13:11,[384] although more detail can be found on specific issues in the *tafsīrs* of

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[379] 'It is hardly conceivable that the words "whether he is to be miserable or happy" were originally interpreted in the way in which a Muslim would normally interpret them, as referring to Hell and Paradise.' Watt, W. Montgomery., *Free Will and Predestination in Islam* (London: Luzac, 1948) p. 25

[380] Cf. van Ess, Josef, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie: Studien zum Entstehen prädestinatianischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 16 & 24 – 25.

[381] E.g. al-Bukhārī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl; Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karmī (ed.), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998) *Kitāb al-qadar,* §6594 – 6620, pp. 1261 - 1265; for a collection of different ḥadīth on the subject, see de Vlieger, A., *Kitāb al-qadr: Materiaux pour servir à l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination dans la théologie musulman* (Leiden : Brill, 1902).

[382] E.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb shifā' al-ᶜalīl fī masā'il al-qaḍā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥimah wa'l-ta'līl* (Riyadh : Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadītha, 1323 / 1905).

[383] Similar 'recording angels' can be found in Jewish and Christian texts: e.g. *2En*. 19:5, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 132 – 133; *ApZeph*. 3:1 – 9 & 7:1 – 8, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 510 – 511 & 513; *ApPaul* 7, *NTA* vol. 1, p. 718.

[384] Cf. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: s.n., 1388/1968) vol. 7, pp. 216 – 218; vol. 13, pp. 114 – 123; vol. 26, pp. 157 – 160 and vol. 30, p. 88 and

the other three passages. The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's collection (§312 – 406)[385] and the *tafsīrs* agree that the *ḥafiẓān* are angels and are responsible for writing down the actions that humans take. The Scribes are the angels most closely associated with humans and the *ḥadīth* show that angels are integrated into everyday life. Despite the fact that the deeds recorded by these Scribes will affect the human's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī presents the *ḥafiẓān* as being very much part of the present throughout his collection.

The *ḥadīth* (in both the exegeses and *al-Ḥabā'ik*) differ from the Qur'ānic presentation of the material in the descriptions of the technical and practical ways in which the Scribes behave. For example, a number of *ḥadīth* state there are two sets of angels, two for the day and two for the night.[386] The development of such technicalities can be seen particularly clearly in the exegeses of Q 50:17 – 18. The Qur'ānic verse states there are two angels 'sitting one on the right and one on the left.'[387] The *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the exegeses[388] add that: 'The one on his right writes down the good deeds and the one on his left writes down the sins…'[389] This moral distinction between left and right is not explicit in the original Qur'ānic verse; but the notion that the left is bad (and so the angel that writes down bad deeds is on the left) is a very traditional and ancient distinction that is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān.[390]

Al-Quṛtubī, Abī ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1357–1369/1938–1950) vol. 7, p. 6; vol. 9, pp. 291 – 295; vol. 17, pp. 8 – 13 and vol. 19, pp. 245 – 246.

[385] This is the longest chapter on a named angel in *al-Ḥabā'ik*.

[386] E.g. §314, 315, 318, 319, 331.

[387] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

[388] e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 17, p. 9.

[389] See §319.

[390] *yamīn* appears 16 times in the Qur'ān – see ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fuᶜād, *Al-Muᶜjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1996) p. 862. The opening of Sura 56 is a good example of the discourse of left and right; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 560 – 561. For more

The actions of the angelic scribes are further expanded by the *ḥadīth* to show God's mercy to his creations. In §335 the Scribes are said not to record any transgressions for six hours after a sin has been committed and 'If [the person] repents and seeks forgiveness from God, Most High, then He casts [the sin] away from him…'[391] This *ḥadīth* attests to God's mercy and also encourages repentance. This same emphasis on God's mercy is repeated in §336 with a slight difference in that: 'If a servant does a good act, he writes it down ten times…'[392] Here good actions are given extra weight, thereby making entrance into Paradise, technically at least, a little easier. Despite the fact that these two *ḥadīth* are different in some specific details, the general theme of the *ḥadīth* – that God is merciful and allows time for repentance – is common to a great many included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. To a certain extent these *ḥadīth* could be described as being contradictory,[393] but the differences in detail are not problematic; rather, the underlying aim of these *ḥadīth* is to encourage repentance after the committing of a sin, as well as encouragement to act righteously in the first place. The focus on the ethical value of righteous and unrighteous actions can be seen particularly clearly in another *ḥadīth* that states: '…When a servant tells a lie, the angel [of good deeds] is separated from him by a mile from the stench which comes from him.'[394] Here, an unrighteous action is manifested by a (physical) smell.[395] In this way, the *ḥafiẓān* are no longer simply

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on the left-right distinctions in Islam and religion generally, see Hertz, R., 'La prééminence de la main driote: étude sur la polarité religieuse' *RP* 68 (1909) pp. 553 - 558 and Chelhod, J., 'Contribution au problème de la prééminence de la droite, d'après le témoignage arabe' *Anthropos* 59 (1964) pp. 529 – 545.

[391] §335.

[392] §336.

[393] Some exegetes include a ḥadīth that combines these two positions; e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmi^{c}*, vol. 17, p. 10 [on Q 50:17].

[394] §349.

[395] For a discussion of the concept of smell in religious thought, see Evans, Suzanne, 'The Scent of Martyr' *Numen* 49 (2002) pp. 193 - 211.

angelic 'by-standers' or 'witnesses' dispassionately recording a human's deeds; the Scribes are being used to condition human behaviour, urging both the pursuit of righteous deeds in the first instance and repentance for those who commit unrighteous actions in the second. [396]

The *ḥadīth* in both al-Suyūṭī's collection and the exegetical literature seen above have expanded the Qur'ānic concept of the angelic Scribes in minor and logical ways. However, some *ḥadīth* seem to move away from the Qur'ānic descriptions of the Scribes a great deal; for example, §345 says that 'When God puts a servant to the test during an illness; he says to the companion on the left: 'Go away!' And He says to the companion on the right: 'Write down for my servant the good deeds that he does.' Not only is this further evidence of divine mercy, but it can also be viewed in terms of a legal response to a question of ethical and jurisprudential concern: is one culpable of acts committed whilst ill, including any resultant sins of omission? Are the actions of the insane counted against them? In Islamic criminal law for an individual to be culpable of a crime, the person must 'have had the power to commit or not to commit the act (*qudra*); he must have known (*ᶜilm*) that the act was an offence; and he must have acted with intent (*qaṣd*).'[397] The same applies to ritual law and to the judgement that God gives on the Last Day, with the result that during illness (and logically by extension, madness) unrighteous ritual (and criminal) actions, as well as sins of omission are not counted against an individual.

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[396] There are further ḥadīth that give different details but the same concepts: e.g '…when a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.' §373; p. 101.

[397] Peters, Rudolph, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 20; see also Dols, Michael W., *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p. 442*ff.* and Powers, Paul R., *Intent in Islamic Law: Motive and Meaning in Medieval Sunnī Fiqh* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The *ḥadīth* also include information which at first sight does not appear to be the primary intention of the Qur'ān. For example, §371 says: 'whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel [of good deeds] has turned away from him.'[398] This is not implied by any of the descriptions of the Scribes in the Qur'ān discussed above, to the extent that Q 13:11 says: 'he has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by God's command…'[399] and Q 50:18 says of a human '…not a word he utters but by him is an observer ready.'[400] According to these verses of the Qur'ān, the Scribes are ever-present with a human, but this particular *ḥadīth* states that they are absent when a human is naked: is this contradictory? Not necessarily so; the Qur'ān does also say: 'Successful indeed are the believers…. who guard their private parts.'[401] Q 23:5 clearly prohibits exposing the genitals and this *ḥadīth* uses the concept of the Scribes to emphasize this position: i.e. if one exposes oneself, any good actions performed cannot be recorded; and so, it is clearly in the interest of an individual not to let his or her genitals be revealed. Although the Scribes are not referred to in the various *tafsīr*s on Q 23:5,[402] al-Quṛtubī does include a brief discussion about angels and nakedness, including a *ḥadīth* stating that: 'If a servant enters a bath without an *izār*, then his angel will curse him.'[403] In these *ḥadīth* about nudity there is a slight difference in the way that the Scribes are employed: rather

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[398] §371; Yedida Stillman highlights the differences in attitude to nakedness between the pre-Islamic and Islamic societies: 'The new Islamic sensibilities which were in marked contrast to Jāhilī society's easygoing attitude to nudity and very much in line with the biblical notions of propriety (cf. Exodus 20:23) would not permit the exposure of a man's genitalia…' Stillman, Yedida Kalfon, *Arab Dress: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 11.
[399] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 240.
[400] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[401] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343.
[402] The *tafsīr*s on Q 23:1 – 5 are chiefly concerned with the question of nudity and marriage; see al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 18, p. 4 and Al-Quṛtubi, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948), vol. 12, pp. 102 – 111.
[403] Al-Quṛtubi, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 246.

than the *ḥadīth* being used to expand and explain the roles of the Scribes, the Scribes are used to enforce and interpret a specific legal injunction against nudity. Again, the exposure of the genitals could be projected into an eschatological punishment in the future, but these *ḥadīth* are firmly rooted in the present and the habitual actions of the Scribes.

The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* regarding the Scribes are used in different ways to describe similar concepts. The main ideas contained in the *ḥadīth* are (i) the specific details regarding their location and their functions; (ii) God's mercy towards the repentant; (iii) answers to specific questions of theological and legal concern; and (iv) the use of angels in matters of (ritual) law. The *ḥadīth* show that the Scribes were not simply recorders of human deeds, but are used to encourage certain modes of righteous behaviour. The stress on the intimacy of the angels with individuals is great, as is their place in the human world. The final result of these angels' work will send the individual to Paradise or the Fire, but al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the present and what these angels are doing in this world, at this very moment.

3.1.3 The Angel of Death

The portrayal of 'Death' in anthropomorphic or angelomorphic terms is common to a number of belief systems and Islam is no exception.[404] Despite the fact the death is an important theme of the Qur'ān,[405] there is only one reference to the *Angel of*

[404] See Brandon, 'Personifications of Death' and Lonetto, Richard, 'Personifications of Death' *ED* pp. 205 – 206.

[405] See O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Muhammad Abdul Haleem also comments: 'The after-life is not treated in the Qur'an in a separate chapter at the end of the book, or as

Death.[406] In Islamic tradition, however, the Angel of Death became very important and was recognized as one of the four Islamic archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*).[407] This is reflected in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, with the chapter on the Angel of Death being one of the longest, containing sixty-five *ḥadīth* (c. 9%).[408] The *ḥadīth* included give a wide range of information about the angel, which can be divided into three different categories: (i) physical descriptions of the Angel of Death; (ii) the function and processes of the Angel of Death and (iii) narratives about the Angel of Death meeting various prophets. Running throughout these *ḥadīth* is the sense that death is imminent and that death is part of human existence, with eight explicitly stating that '…the Angel of Death studies every person, without exception, twice a day.'[409] Death is an inescapable, inevitable and ever-present part of this world.

There are relatively few physical descriptions of the Angel of Death in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. The angel is said to have been visible in the times before the Prophet Moses, until, for various reasons, the angel became invisible and disease was 'invented' (§146 – 148); other *ḥadīth* describe the angel in human terms (e.g. §150, 168); one describes the angel as having 'two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head';[410] the angel is also said to hold a spear (§158, 159); and some describe the angel as being huge.[411] Three related *ḥadīth* (§120 – 122) also describe the angel as

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something on its own, for its own sake, but always in relations to life in this world.' Abdel Haleem, Muhammad, 'Life and Beyond in the Qur'an' in Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Christopher Lewis (eds.), *Beyond Death: Theological and Philosophical Reflections on Life After Death* (London: MacMillan, 1995) pp. 66 - 79, p. 66.

[406] Q 32:11; 'Say: "Death's angel, who has been charged with you, shall gather you, then to your Lord you shall be returned."' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 424.

[407] For a basic survey see Wensinck, A. J., 'ʿIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292 – 293.

[408] §107 – 171.

[409] §111; the number of times varies, cf. §109 – 113, 115 – 119. Other ḥadīth in this section make similar statements, but in less explicit terms.

[410] §123; p. 42; another ḥadīth states that the angel has multiple eyes in the back and front of his head, see §120.

[411] E.g. §126, 131 – 133 & 135.

having two forms (one for believers and one for non-believers) and one of these three (§122) gives more detail. For believers, the Angel of Death is described as looking like '…a young man, the most beautiful of face, the most fragrant and [wearing] a white gown;' and for non-believers: '…[he was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of his mouth...'[412] These descriptions of the Angel of Death lack much detail, which is quite surprising as graphic descriptions of the angel can be found in other works with similar themes.[413] The absence of extended descriptions of the Angel of Death reflects the collection's focus on the angel's *function*, rather than the *form* of the angel.

Occasionally the Angel of Death is caricatured, for example in §118 the Angel of Death states that: '…if the servant, to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to take his soul while he is laughing!'[414] Above all, this stresses the inescapable nature of death; even when someone is laughing, if the appointed time (*ajal*) comes, the person will die. In §112 the Angel of Death appears almost arrogant, saying to a grieving family: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you! I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there is none of you left!'"[415] These *ḥadīth* emphasise the nature of the angel's work and the lack of compassion reflects the impersonality of 'Death' and its inevitability. Above all, the Angel of Death is not a judge, only a functionary of God and cannot act independently.

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[412] §122.
[413] Cf. Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie,* p. 20*ff.* and al-Qāḍī, *Daqā'iq*, pp. 32 – 35.
[414] §118.
[415] §112; notice that these are the components of Watt's 'modified fatalism', and are written down by the Angel of the Womb; see above.

Many of the *ḥadīth* ask the practical question: just how does the Angel of Death collect everybody's souls? What, asks one *ḥadīth*, does the Angel of Death do '…when there is a war in the East and a famine in the West?'[416] The *ḥadīth* have three answers. The first is that the Angel of Death is huge, and that '…[The earth] was made like a bowl, and he takes out of it when he wants.'[417] The second answer is that God created helpers for the Angel of Death, who collect people's souls and then hand them over to the Angel of Death (§127). The third answer is that the Angel of Death 'calls it and the soul comes to him.'[418] Although each *ḥadīth* tends to suggest one way or another, these answers are sometimes combined (e.g. §125). On the actual process of death, the only descriptions in the Qur'ān are in Q 56:82, in which the soul is described as moving to the throat of the deceased and Q 6:93, which talks of the '*ghamarāt al-mawt*…' which Arberry translates as 'the agonies of death'.[419] However, the actual process of death is not described in great detail by the *ḥadīth* included in this particular collection and often the Angel of Death simply 'takes the soul' (*qabaḍa al-rūḥ*).[420] As noted above, there are also two *ḥadīth* that say that the angel has a spear and that 'he cuts the vein of life with it.'[421] Again, this lack of information is quite unexpected as many texts go into great detail about the actual physical process of death.[422]

There are a number of *ḥadīth* that describe the way in which the Angel of Death is informed who is to be killed and when. There are two main theories: firstly,

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[416] §123; cf. §126, 132, 133, 158 & 159.
[417] §123.
[418] §135.
[419] Aberry, *Koran***,** p. 132.
[420] E.g. §152.
[421] §158 – 159.
[422] Cf. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥāmmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol.4, pp. 421 – 426; Winter, T. J. (tr.), *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989) pp. 121 – 132.

that God instructs the Angel of Death who is to be killed at the moment before death;[423] or, the Angel of Death is informed about the deaths that are to occur during the whole year during the month of Shaʿbān.[424] Despite these two positions, both stress the idea that it is God, and God only, who decides when an individual's life is to come to an end, as Smith and Haddad write: 'It is clear in these eschatological materials that the angel of death himself, as God's instrument, has no responsibility for determining the moment of the individual's death.'[425] This emphasises that the Angel of Death is not acting independently, which also means that the Qur'ānic statement in Q39:42 that 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death'[426] remains valid. Obedience to God is a key characteristic of all angels, in all monotheist religions and disobedience is often perceived as the origin of evil.[427] As Awn comments: '[The angels] act only in accordance with God's will, and function as His instruments. For them to rebel is unimaginable, and in fact, impossible...'[428] This idea that the Angel of Death does not act independently is also found in Judaism, in which '…God is regarded as ultimately responsible for the individual's death, since Hebrew monotheism could not allow for the existence of an evil principle or a death-god that operated among men, contrary to the will of God.'[429]

The *ḥadīth* are, however, more explicit when it comes to a description of the differences between the Angel of Death's treatment of believers and non-believers;

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[423] E.g. '…the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.'§139.
[424] E.g. '…On the middle night of Shaʿbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death regarding the taking of every soul that he wants to be taken during that year.' §144.
[425] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 35.
[426] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 476.
[427] In Islam the obedience of angels presented a problem for understanding the failure of Iblīs to bow to Adam. If all angels obey God by their nature, why did Iblīs not bow down? These issues are discussed in Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, pp. 24 – 33.
[428] Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, p. 27.
[429] Brandon, 'Personification of Death' p. 325.

take this *ḥadīth*: 'When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: "Your Lord says to you: Peace!"[430] This seems to be a reference to Q 16:32 in which God says to the *winners* on the Day of Judgement: 'Peace be on you! Enter Paradise for that you were doing.'[431] A similar statement can be found in §134:

> '…angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy, and when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.'[432]

These *ḥadīth* suggest some form of pre-figured punishment or reward for the individual, exacted before the formal judgement of the Last Day. Souls of the believers are also said to be subsequently handed over to an angel called Ramyā'īl and the souls of the unbelievers to an angel called Dūma.[433]

Sixteen of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are part of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition. These *ḥadīth* are all comparatively long and form two narrative groups: (i) the Angel of Death and its role in the creation of humans and (ii) the Angel of Death's interaction with various prophets.[434] These mythic tales are important for two reasons: firstly, they show Islamic interaction with the wider Judeo-Christian mythic tradition;[435] and secondly, they reveal some important information about the role and function of the Angel of Death.

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[430] §165.
[431] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[432] §134; the Angel of Death is also seen to act compassionately to believers, and in one ḥadīth the angel says: 'Be of good cheer and feel consoled, for I am friend to every believer.' See §119.
[433] See §300 & 301; Duma is a Jewish angel (meaning 'silence'); in *Ḥag* 5a, the Angel of Death states: 'I, have charge over them till they have completed the generation [i.e. their life] and then I hand them over to Dumah' *Ḥag* 5a, p. 18; see also *San* 94a, *Shab.* 152b and *Ber*. 18b.
[434] Creation: §107 – 108; Prophets: Enoch (§149), Abraham (§120 – 123; 150), Moses (§146), Solomon (§ 137 – 138, 167 – 168), David (§151) and Muḥammad (169 – 170).
[435] For more on the interaction between ḥadīth and rabbinic literature, see Rosenblatt, Samuel, 'Rabbinic Legends in Hadith' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 237 – 252.

The first two *ḥadīth* in the section on the Angel of Death do not, as one may expect, give descriptions of how the Angel of Death takes the souls of humans or how the angel looks, but begin with a story about the creation of Adam. In this story, God commands various angels to collect some mud from the Earth, out of which Adam is created. Various angels fail in their mission and only the Angel of Death succeeds.[436] This story is important because it establishes a link between the birth and death of human life. The Angel of Death was involved in the creation of Adam and is likewise responsible for the 'termination' of Adam and his children; or as Haim Schwarzbaum notes '…at the very moment of his birth man already carries within himself the germs of death.'[437] This narrative was very popular in both Jewish and Muslim tradition and testifies to the high degree of interaction between Judaism and Islam in this particular mythic narrative.[438]

In Judaism and Christianity, the characterization of 'death' or the 'Angel of Death' in works such as the *Testament of Abraham* marks a further development in the personification of *Death*, in which prophets interact directly with an anthropomorphic or angelomorphic version of Death and attempt to challenge it.[439]

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[436] §107 – 108; Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a version of this ḥadīth, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *Qiṣas al-anbiyā'* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-malūk* (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜarif bi-Miṣr, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 89 - 90; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The History of Al-Ṭabarī: Volume 1 – From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) pp. 258 – 259 and al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36. For a fuller list of references to this narrative in Arabic literature see Jeffery, A., 'Ibn al-'Arabī's *Shajarat al-Kawn* (Continued)' *SI* 11 (1959) pp. 113 – 160, p. 113, n. 1; and for references in Jewish and Christian literature see Chipman, 'Mythic aspects' pp. 10 – 13.

[437] Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'The overcrowded earth' *Numen* 4 (1957) pp. 59 – 74, p. 65.

[438] See Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'Jewish and Moslem Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth' in Raphael Patai (ed.) *et. al.*, *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960) pp. 41 – 58 and Ullendorf, Edward, 'The "Death of Moses" in the Literature of the Falashas' *BSOAS* 24 (1961) pp. 419 – 443.

[439] *TestAbr., OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 871 – 902; for a commentary on the text see Allison, Dale, C., *The Testament of Abraham* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). See Allison, *Testament*, pp. 53 – 54 for

This challenge ultimately fails and the prophet succumbs to the authority of God and dies. This narrative theme is also prominent in Islamic tradition.

Ḥadīth §120 – 122 describe the Angel of Death appearing to Abraham in two different forms:[440] the first, for the believers in which the Angel of Death '…[was] made of light and radiance, of a kind that only God, Most High knows.'[441] The second form for the unbelievers was, as has been seen above, terrifying; even 'Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul was about to leave.'[442] Here, the narrative of Abraham's meeting with Death (or rather the *Angel of Death*) is used to describe a wider ethical dimension: ease in the death for the faithful and pain in death for the unfaithful – a common idea in earlier Judaism.[443]

One common theme in these stories is the attempt by various prophets and people to escape death: Enoch, Moses, Abraham and a friend of Solomon all attempt to evade the Angel of Death and prolong their appointed time (*ajal*). Enoch and Abraham both seek confirmation from God that they are supposed to die; Moses challenges the angel directly by slapping him and gouging out his eye and Solomon's friend asks Solomon to transport him to India, so that the Angel of Death does not know where he is.[444] All these attempts are futile, as all are taken by the Angel of Death at their appointed time (*ajal*). This is part of a wider theological position in

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editions of the text in its various extant languages (Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavic and Romanian).

[440] These two images are also found in the *Testament of Abraham* 17:12 – 13: 'Then Death put off all his beauty and loveliness and all his glory and his sun-like form that he had worn. And he put on a robe of tyranny, and he made his face gloomy, more fierce that all wild beasts and more unclean than all uncleanness.' Allison, *Testament*, p. 334; see also Ludlow, Jared W., *Abraham Meets Death: Humor in the Testament of Abraham* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) pp. 95 – 118.

[441] §121.

[442] §121.

[443] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665; Cf. §134 – 135 & 163 – 166.

[444] Enoch: §149; Abraham: §150; Moses §146; Solomon's friend: §167 – 168.

which the moment of death and the length of a human's appointed time are conceived as being immoveable and unchangeable. Montgomery Watt comments: 'Both [*ajal* and *rizq*] are thought as determined by God, but, once they have been determined, they seem to have a certain fixity and there is no question of God's altering them.'[445]

If the *ḥadīth* on wine-drinking is disregarded,[446] the last two *ḥadīth* of the section on the Angel of Death describe the events surrounding the death of Muḥammad. Some elements of these two *ḥadīth* can be found in the other prophets' meetings with the Angel of Death. When the Angel of Death takes Abraham's soul, the angel says: 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.'[447] Likewise, in the story of Muḥammad's death, the Angel of Death seeks permission to enter the Prophet's house, and the *ḥadīth* concludes: 'It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone before him, and will not greet anyone after it.'[448] Although different in detail, the two *ḥadīth* use similar expressions to describe the honour in which the prophets are held. This honour is made even more explicit in §167 in which the Angel of Death is made an actual servant of Solomon.[449] However, the main difference between the encounters of Muḥammad and the other prophets with the Angel of Death is that the death of Muḥammad is treated with a great deal more emotion,

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[445] Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' *SI* 50 (1979) pp. 5 – 19, p. 15.
[446] The section on the Angel of Death ends with a ḥadīth (§171) already included in the section on Michael (§84), which simply contains the *matn*: 'The one addicted to wine is an idolater.' The ḥadīth is included in the section on the Angel of Death, because the Angel of Death features in the *isnād*; see §84 & 171.
[447] §150.
[448] §168; cf. the death of Moses in Pseudo-Philo, in which the angels do not sing their heavenly hymn after his death: '...nor was there such a day from the one on which the LORD made man upon the earth, nor shall there be such forever, that the hymn of the angels should stop on account of men; because he loved him very much. And he buried him with his own hands on a high place and in the light of all the world.' *Ps.-Philo* 19:16, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 323
[449] §167; cf. *Ket***.** 77b, pp. 488 – 489.

where the pain and suffering of the Prophet are stressed.[450] Muḥammad, when asked by Gabriel how he feels, replies: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed, and I find myself scared.'[451] Muḥammad is also one of the only prophets (save David)[452] not to challenge the Angel of Death in an attempt to live a longer life. In §170, the Angel of Death says to Muḥammad:

> 'God has sent me to you, and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul, then I will take it; but if you do not want [me to], then I will leave it.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.'

In the *ḥadīth* there is juxtaposition between the honouring of Muḥammad as a prophet and his depiction as an ordinary human being, fearing death. In this way, Muḥammad becomes an example of human behaviour: accepting of God's will, yet simultaneously fearful of it. Even the Prophet, the exemplar of human submission to God, experiences pain and fear of death itself; as al-Ghazālī writes:

> 'Did you think that the office of Prophethood would ward off from him that which was destined? Did the Angel respect his family and relations for his sake? ...Absurd! Rather he followed that which he found inscribed upon the Tablet.'[453]

The importance of these narratives of the prophets is particularly evident in the fact that a quarter of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death are in this form. What is

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[450] Other pseudepigraphical, apocryphal and hagiographical works also treat death with great emotion: e.g. *The History of Joseph the Carpenter* §14*ff*; Cowper, B. Harris (tr.), *The Apocryphal Gospels* (London: David Nutt, 1897) pp. 99 – 127, pp. 111 *ff*.
[451] §170.
[452] §151; In Jewish and Muslim tradition, David is believed to have been very pious and devout, see Pomykala, Kenneth E., *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and Xeravits, Géza, 'The Figure of David in the Book of Ben Sira' *Henoch* 23 (2001) pp. 27 – 38, especially pp. 30 – 32.
[453] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol.4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58.

most interesting about the use of these mythic narratives is that many of them are not simply graphic descriptions of death and its processes. The *ḥadīth* make important statements about the subject within a rich narrative framework, allowing important concepts about death to be made more subtly.

As a whole, the section on the Angel of Death in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on four main areas: (i) the imminence of death; (ii) the fixed nature of the *ajal*; (iii) the treatment of humans by the Angel of Death based on belief; and (iv) the practical question of how the Angel of Death can take everyone's souls. This section is one of the longest sections in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and it contains much information in a variety of different formats: exegeses of the Qur'ān, simple statements, longer narratives, etc. However, much information has not been included. The *ḥadīth* do not give much detail about the physical appearance of the Angel of Death or about the physical process of death and the time spent in the grave.

3.1.4 The Post-Mortem Angels

After burial, there are a number of angels that interact with an individual after death and in the afterlife; namely, the *fattān al-qabr* (*Tempters of the Grave*, §302 – 311) and the guardians of Heaven and Hell, *Riḍwān* and *Mālik* (§229 – 242), along with their subordinates.

Soon after someone has been buried, they are visited by angels and their faith is tested; if they have been believers, they are rewarded and if they are not, they are

punished.[454] Although it should be noted, as F. E. Peters comments, that '…the events following an individual Muslim's death unfold in a somewhat confused fashion in the literature on the subject.'[455] In Islamic tradition the two angels that come to the deceased are normally named as Munkar and Nakīr. However, some other names are given in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: Ankar, Nākūr, Rūmān[456] and they are also referred to more generally in §308 as '…two angels from the Angels of Mercy, and one angel from the Angels of Torment.' These angels do not appear in the Qur'ān, but became an important part of traditional Islamic beliefs about the afterlife.[457] The angels are described as having a terrifying form, having blue or black skin (§302 & 305) and that:

> 'Their voices are like roaring thunder, and their glance is like a flash of lightning; they walk on their hair, and they dig with their fangs; the two of them have a rod of iron; if the people of Mina were to gather together, they would not be able to lift it up.'[458]

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[454] For a basic summary, see Halevi, Leor, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) pp. 197 – 233 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Adhāb al-ḳabr' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 186 – 187.

[455] Peters, F. E., *Islam: A Guide for Jews and Christians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) pp. 256 – 257.

[456] Cf. §309: 'Abū Nuᶜaym from Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.' And §310: 'Abū 'l-Ḥassan al-Qaṭṭān in *al-Ṭawālāt* from Ḍāmra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.' It should be noted that these other names appear to be very rare, and that both §309 & §310 are attributed to the same source, Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb.

[457] Cf. *Al-Fiqh al-akbar II* §23: 'The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body witht the spirit is a reality. The pressure and punishment in the tomb are a relity that will take place in the case of all infidels and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful' Wensinck, A. J., *The Muslim Creed: Its Origin and Historical Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) pp. 195 – 196. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also devotes much of his *Kitāb al-rūḥ* to a discussion of the trial of the grave, possibly in reaction to groups (such as the *Kharijites* and some *Mu'tazilites*) who denied the existence of Munkar and Nakīr; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (Ḥaydarābād: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmānīya, 1357 / 1939). Birgit Krawietz comments that: '[*Kitāb al-rūḥ*] was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.' Krawietz, Birgit, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works' *MSR* 10 (2006) pp. 19 – 64, p. 35.

[458] §307; cf. §303 & 305 where there are similar images.

This terrifying image has something in common with both the form that the Angel of Death takes for unbelievers (see above) and the forms of the anti-Christ, *al-Dajjāl*.[459] Despite their form, Munkar and Nakīr are not 'evil' angels, nor are they devils. Their function is to test the soul of the deceased by asking simple, basic questions of the individual's beliefs, e.g. §303: 'The two will sit with him and ask him what he used to worship, and who his prophet was.' These are fundamental questions, relating directly to the beliefs of the *shahāda*, rather than a judgement based on an individual's actions. The responses to the questions asked by the two angels receive either a punishment or reward; in §302 the reward and punishment is related directly to Heaven and Hell: '…the door to the Garden is opened for him, and it is roomy for him in his grave' and '…the door to the Fire is opened for him.'

The implication is that the period of questioning in the grave acts as a preliminary stage of judgement during which those who can never enter heaven are separated from those that can. Those that pass the test will subsequently be judged on the Day of Resurrection according to their actions, as collected by the Scribes. This would seem to highlight the primacy of belief and the punishment of disbelief; i.e. *kufr* automatically results in punishment in Hell. However, this is not at all clear and statements such as '…his torment does not end until God calls him from that bed of his...' in §302, suggest that the individual is not immediately consigned to Hell during this period, but it would seem extremely unlikely that he or she could gain admittance to Heaven.

The guardians of Heaven and Hell are also named in Islamic tradition as Mālik and Riḍwān, and, although their names are derived from the Qur'ān, they are

[459] See Saritopak, Z., 'The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Anti-Christ): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition' *MW* 93 (2003) pp. 291 - 307 and Halperin, D. J., 'The Ibn Sayyad Traditions and the Legend of al-Dajjāl' *JAOS* 96 (1976) pp. 213 – 225.

not fully developed until the *ḥadīth* literature.[460] They also both figure fairly prominently in the *miᶜrāj* literature.[461] Of the few *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* about post-mortem events, only §237 and §242 are explicitly about Riḍwān, and only §241 about the guardians of Heaven. The majority are descriptions of the individuals responsible for Hell: (i) Mālik, the angel in charge of Hell; (ii) the guardians who punish hell's inhabitants; and (iii) the *zabāniyya*, another group of angels who are also responsible for punishments. Like the Angel of Death and Munkar and Nakīr, they are described as having a terrifying form:

> [229] God, may he be praised and glorified, created Mālik, and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him, no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with his fingers; and by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

> [234] There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people].

These descriptions are designed to make individuals aware of the consequences of their actions in this world. Such descriptions are common in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and eschatological texts.[462]

The *ḥadīth* included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection concerning the post-mortem angels are actually very few, only amounting to twenty-four *ḥadīth* (3%).

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[460] Mālik: Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; Riḍwān: Q 3:15; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 47.
[461] Cf. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 134*ff*. Vockovic comments: '…Malik is a character that Muhammad meets occasionally, and he is the one, when asked who shows Muhammad hell.' Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 37.
[462] See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, pp. 68 – 105.

This is quite surprising as both the angels Mālik and the two tempters of the grave were extremely popular in Islamic tradition.[463] Being angels, al-Suyūṭī could not exclude them from this collection, but their actions in the post-mortem world, that of the eschatological future, appear to jar with the immediacy and everyday focus of the rest of the *ḥadīth* in the collection.

The role of the angels in the everyday lives of humans is an important theme in Islamic tradition and many of the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* deal with this issue. The *ḥadīth* show that angels are continually in contact with humans from the very beginnings of life. One *ḥadīth* shows this with particular clarity:

> [304] '…when God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create him, He said to an angel: 'Write down his blessings (*rizq*)! Write down his report (*athar*)! Write down his allotted time (*ajal*)! Write him down as damned or blessed!' Then that angel ascends and God sends an angel, and it sustains him until he reaches puberty, then that angel ascends. Then God assigns two angels to him, who write down his good deeds and his misdeeds. When he is in the presence of death, those two angels ascend, and the Angel of Death comes to him to take his soul. When he enters his grave, the spirit returns to his body, and the two Angels of the Grave come to him and test him. Then the two ascend. When the Hour comes, the Angel of Good Deeds and the Angel of Misdeeds come down to him and they untie the bound books on his neck. Then the two are with him and one drives him and the other bears witness.'

[463] E.g. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, pp. 426 – 430; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, pp. 135 – 147; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 41 – 49.

There has been a tendency in Islamic (as well as Biblical and Jewish) Studies to focus on the angels' roles in eschatology. Christopher Rowland has argued that Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature is not simply about the future, but is also concerned with the present: 'Such elements point to apocalyptic being not merely a movement which was concerned primarily with the future of the world but with the world above, its secrets and its glory.'[464] But it is not simply apocalyptic texts that are interested in angels and the divine world, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a case in point. The compilation is clearly not apocalyptic, far from it in fact; yet it is deeply interested in the angelic world. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not simply concerned with, as Rowland puts it, the secrets and glory of heaven, but with the interaction of the divine with the human; the relationship between the angels and people, at all times. This relationship is reciprocal: whilst the angels constantly supervise and note down human actions, a close link is also established between the human and the divine worlds and along with it a sense of protection. Whilst it is angels that are the celestial beings that interact with God, there is a constant stress in the *ḥadīth* that they are mere functionaries. All of the angels' actions originate from God.

[464] Rowland, C., 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature' *JSJ* 10 (1979) pp. 138 – 154, p. 138.

3.2 Angels and Ritual

So far, angels have been seen to watch over human activity on behalf of God, recording human actions in readiness for the Day of Judgment. The angels do, however, also relate to the contemporary world (that is, the world of the *now*) in a different way. Rather than perceiving angels as coming down to the earthly realm, humans can also look up to the angels in heaven to seek guidance in the ways and forms of ritual.

The idea that the earth is a replica of the divine is an important and common concept in the ancient world and the temple in Near Eastern religion marked a place of direct connection between the human and divine realms.[465] As Nicholas Wyatt comments: 'The point of the junction is communication between the two, allowing the benefits of cult to reach the god (they were seen as being fed by their servants, like great lords), and for their power to be transmitted downwards as a blessing…'[466] Associated with the precise *locus* of this divine place on earth (the *holy of holies* in the Jewish Temple) and its environs were a number of rites and rituals concerning how it should be engaged with by humans. Jewish ritual law (as well as much criminal and civil law) is associated with these regulations and came to have a profound effect on the daily lives of both the priestly and non-priestly classes. After the destruction of the two Jewish temples, but particularly after that of the Second

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[465] E.g. *Enûma Elish* VI:107 – 122; Heidel, Alexander (tr.), *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) p. 39.

[466] Wyatt, Nicholas, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) p. 161; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'The Significance of Ritual in the Religion of Israel' in H. Kraemer, P. A. H. de Boer and W. C. van Unnik (eds.), *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappil NV, 1941) pp. 51 – 60.

Temple, the *locus* of this divine-human interaction was lost, but the ritual laws and the means of approach to God remained.[467]

In the literature of the inter-testamental and post-biblical periods the concept of heaven as the template for human action on earth became important in the description and performance of certain rituals. Texts such as the *Testament of Levi* portray earthly ritual actions being performed in heaven by angels.[468] The role of the angels in these texts is to act as an exemplar for human behaviour; the way in which the angels worship God, should be how humans worship God. In these works the visionary ascends to heaven and *brings down* revelation to the rest of humanity concerning God and the rituals associated with His worship. There is also, however (as seen above with the Scribes), a movement in the opposite direction: angels are also used to deliver prayers of the faithful to God and to keep information about the ritual actions of individual humans. This movement is seen particularly clearly in the mediaeval *Exodus Rabbah*: 'When they have all finished [praying], the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the Synagogues, weaves them into garlands and places them upon the head of God…'[469]

Ritual also forms the basis of Islamic spiritual life, and there has been much literature written about the history and development of Islamic ritual.[470] However, the role of angels in ritual law and belief has yet to be tackled, which is somewhat surprising as the use of angels to encourage and discourage certain actions is neither obscure, nor solely the domain of popular, folkloric material. For example, Mālik ibn

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[467] See Stone, Michael E., 'Reactions to the Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion' *JSJ* 12 (1981) pp. 195 – 204.
[468] For a discussion of these themes, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*.
[469] *ExodR* 21:4, pp. 262 – 263.
[470] E.g. Katz, Marion Holmes, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

Anas includes a number of *ḥadīth* that use angels for these purposes in his *Muwaṭṭā'*.[471]

There are 224 *ḥadīth* (around 30%) included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, which relate to ritual issues. This is a significant proportion and therefore the subject needs to be addressed comprehensively. This section will look at the roles that angels play in ritual behaviour, looking at the topic from two directions: (i) humans looking *up* towards heaven for templates of ritual action,[472] and (ii) heavenly beings coming *down* to earth, covering both the effects of certain human actions on angels[473] and the angelic encouragement of correct behaviour.[474]

3.2.1 Heaven as a Template for the Performance of Ritual

One of the most important roles for angels is to show believers how they should behave, both in general terms and in specific ritual contexts. The importance of angels outside Islam is best seen in the Qumran community and their liturgical work, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.[475] At Qumran human worship replicates the angelic community and both humans and angels pray and worship simultaneously. Martha

[471] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa*; vol. 1, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142, 165 – 166 and vol. 2 p. 241; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta* §3.2.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85; 15.7.25; 54.3.6; 54.3.8; pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.
[472] 62 ḥadīth: §7, 21, 22, 24, 34, 39, 83, 100, 101, 102, 196, 212, 275, 282, 289 – 290, 458 – 470, 475 – 477, 486, 489; 518 – 528, 549, 566, 567, 575, 609, 625, 683 – 685, 687 – 690, 708 & 736.
[473] 69 ḥadīth: §58, 60 – 63, 84, 120 – 122, 145, 171, 229, 248 – 255, 302, 312, 319,349, 355 – 361, 364 – 368, 371,372, 386, 387,391, 503, 512,574, 582 – 597, 624, 650, 658, 691, 693 – 695, 698 & 715.
[474] 124 ḥadīth: §59 - 62, 65, 119 - 122, 212, 302, 312, 319, 329,330, 333 - 336, 341, 344 - 347, 351 - 354, 369, 370,373, 375, 376, 382, 387, 391, 430, 445 - 470, 474 - 477, 503, 568 - 573, 576, 578 - 580, 598, 599, 604, 609, 614, 615, 617, 618, 621 - 623, 628, 634, 644, 645, 653, 665, 666, 671, 673, 676, 682, 695, 696, 698 - 701, 708, 710 - 722, 738 - 730, 732.
[475] *4Q400 – 4Q407* and *Mas1k*; for a translation of these texts with a commentary, see Davila, James R., *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000) pp. 83 – 167.

Himmelfarb comments that: 'The recitation of the *Sabbath Songs* with their description of the liturgy in the heavenly temple was intended to create a feeling of participation in the service on high.'[476] As will be seen, this is also a key part in the understanding of the role of angels in Islamic ritual.[477]

Before looking at the role of angels in specific ritual actions, it is important to highlight the way in which angels are held to be exemplars of faith. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the angels are said to be continually praising and worshipping God. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that state: 'There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright until the Hour comes.'[478] Here Heaven is described as a world crammed full of angels, constantly praising God.[479] This is seen further in another *ḥadīth*:

> [22] 'God, Most High, divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.'

Of all the angels that are in existence the great majority praise and worship God, with a mere ten percent given specific tasks – the roles normally associated with angels.[480] In one of the *ḥadīth* it says explicitly that the main purpose of the angels is to worship:

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[476] Himmelfarb, *Ascents to Heaven*, p. 49; see also Gzella, H., 'Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen' *EphThL* 78 (2002) pp. 468 – 481.

[477] See also Roff, William R., 'Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam,* pp. 78 – 86.

[478] §7; cf. §8 – 12, 18, 21 and 22 - 25.

[479] In *1En* 60:1, there are said to be 'ten thousand times a million and ten million times ten million' angels; cf. 1En 71:8, 13; *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 50; *2En*. 18 – 19 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 130 – 134 ; *3En*. 17 – 40 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 269 – 292 *QuesEzra*. 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LamR* 3:23, §8, p. 201

[480] E.g. Andrea Pires defines angels in this way: '…the word "angel" applies to ranks of spiritual or heavenly beings which serve as intermediaries between the earthly and divine worlds…' Pires, Andrea (tr. Paul Ellis), 'Angels' *ER*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 343 - 349, p. 343.

> [549] 'I said to Kaᶜb: 'What is your opinion about the Word of God: 'glorifying Him by night and in the daytime and never failing'[481] - particularly regarding those that are occupied with [delivering] messages and those that are occupied with [seeing to people's] needs?' He said: God gave them worship, just as [he gave] you souls. Have you not eaten and drunk, and stood up and sat down, and come and gone, and talked while you breathed? In that way, He created worship for them.'

The worship and praise of God is a natural function of the angel. The actual words of the angels are also important and often reflect invocations used commonly in Muslim ritual, again something seen in Jewish and Christian contexts.[482] The most important of these is the saying of the *tasbīḥ*,[483] which is an integral part of Muslim devotional practices: 'Muslim prayer-manuals show that for the Muslim worshipper too, his act of praise is a sharing in the worship of "angels and men in a wonderful order".'[484] This perpetual worship and glorification of God are personified particularly strongly in the angel *al-Rūḥ*:

> 'The Spirit is an angel. It has seventy thousand faces, and every face has seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue has seventy thousand languages, which praise God in all of those languages; God creates an

[481] Q 21:20; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 324.
[482] For example, '3 Enoch represents the celebration of God's holiness through the recitation of the Qeduššah (the Sanctus) as the central act of heavenly worship. 3 Enoch 35-40 is devoted entirely to this subject.' Alexander, P., '3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch: Introduction' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 245.
[483] *Tasbīḥ* normally refers to the phrase: '*subḥān allāh*' (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-dhikr*; *B. 18 (Subhān allāh)* §6575 - 6580) but according to S. M. Zwemer in relation to the Muslim 'rosary', '[The *tasbīḥ*] generally consists in saying *subhān Allāh* thirty-three times, *al-hamdu-lillāhi* thirty-three times, and *Allāhu akbar* thirty-three times.' Zwemer, S. M., 'The Rosary in Islam' *MW* 21 (1931) pp. 329 – 343, p. 330 and Goldziher, I., 'Le roasaire dans l'Islam' *GS* vol. 2, 374 – 379. For more on its use during the ritual prayers see Padwick, Constance E., *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: SPCK, 1961) pp. 65 – 74.
[484] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 67.

> angel from every praise, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.'[485]

The image here shows the multitude of praises from one being towards one object and it is no surprise that such an image should be included by Ibn Ṭufayl in his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as the ultimate goal for all those who wish to worship God.[486] At a basic level, the angels are beings created to worship God and do so naturally. Indeed, many theologians saw obedience and worship of God as such an innate part of the angels' being that Iblīs' refusal to prostrate to Adam had to be reinterpreted.[487] As worship of God, as well as obedience and submission to God, are part of the angelic nature, the angels then become the epitome of the way in which Muslims should worship.

Thus far, the *ḥadīth* have just outlined two basic principles: firstly, that praise and worship of God should be constant and, secondly, that certain expressions and devotions are used by the angels. However, the angels also play important roles in more technical aspects of the worship of God, especially the ritual prayers and the rites of the *ḥajj*.

One of the most important themes in Islamic tradition is the idea that there is a heavenly counterpart to the *Kaᶜba*, often called the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* (the 'inhabited house'). W. McKane comments that in Islamic visions of heaven, 'There is a doctrine of heavenly prototypes and earthly copies; thus a heavenly *Ka'aba*, a heavenly *mu'addin* and an angel in the form of a cock who regulates the crowing and

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[485] §212; see also §213 – 216.
[486] Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (Beirut: Al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1963) p. 85.
[487] See al-Zamakhsharī, Abū 'l-Qāsim Jārr Allāh Maḥmūd ᶜUmar, *Al-Kashshāf ᶜan ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa-ᶜuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜa al-Kubrā, 1318 – 1319) vol. 3, p. 18 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar (ed. W. Fell), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leizig: Vogel, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 191 - 192 [both on Q 38:75] and the discussion of these themes by Ibrahim, 'Superiority of Angels'.

silence of all earthly cocks.'[488] This heavenly prototype is believed to be directly above the earthly *Kaᶜba*, or as one *ḥadīth* puts it: '…if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it.'[489] The Temple was the primary focus of the cult in ancient religion, generally, and particularly in Judaism because of the direct link between the one temple and God.[490] Likewise, in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the earthly Kaᶜba is a representation of a heavenly version.[491] The traditions often use the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* to describe the great number of angels that worship in it, for example:

> '…It is called *The Inhabited House* because seventy thousand angels pray in it every day; then they come down, when they have spent the night [there], they circumambulate the Kaᶜba, then they bless the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), then they leave and they do not have another turn until the coming of the Hour.'[492]

This does not, at first, appear to establish a model of any particular rite of the *ḥajj*; the *ḥajj* is not performed every day. However, this *ḥadīth* and others like it place the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, and by extension the earthly *Kaᶜba*, at the heart of angelic worship. The angels are not instituting any particular rite, but are stressing the holiness and sanctity of the location.[493] Of course, in Islam the *locus* of the 'temple' as the house

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[488] McKane, 'Manuscript on the Miᶜraj' p. 375; for more on the history of the Kaᶜba, see Rubin, Uri, 'The Kaᶜba: Aspects of its ritual function asnd position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times' *JSAI* 8 (1986) pp. 97 – 131.

[489] §21; see also §498 & 522. §685 states that there are fifteen 'houses', one for each of the seven heavens and earths, and one for God and that if one of the houses were to fall, '… then it would fall one of them on top of the other until the borders to the lowest earth.'

[490] See Wyatt, *Space and Time*, pp. 159 – 182.

[491] As James Davila has commented on the heavenly temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice envisions a macrocosmic Temple conceived on the model of the earthly Tabernacle and the Temple in Jerusalem. (Of course, the composers of the work would see it the other way around: the cosmic Temple is the archetype and model for the earthly sanctuaries.)' Davila, James R., 'The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrfice' *DSD* 9 (2002) pp. 1 – 19, p. 1.

[492] §489; cf. §21, 519 – 521.

[493] Gustave von Grunebaum comments: 'The cosmological sanctity of Muḥammad's birth-place is underpinned, as it were, by its soteriological sanctity as the cradle of Islam.' Von Grunebaum,

of God is a key component of the worship of God as the *qibla* is directed to the *Kaᶜba*: 'The central gesture of this body language is the facing of the direction of prayer, in Arabic, *tawliyat al-wujh*, the turning of one's face (to the house of God).'[494] As the angels focus their activities of worship on the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, the Muslim community looks in the same direction.[495]

The *Inhabited House* is also used explicitly as the template for the earthly *Kaᶜba* in §519 and §687:

> [519]'…The Angel took me up into the Seventh Heaven, until we reached a building. I said to the angel: 'What is that?' And he said: 'This building is His building. God has angels, seventy thousand, who enter it every day. They glorify God and praise Him, and they do not come back to it.'

> [687] 'When God sent Adam down from the Garden, he said: "Adam, I have built a house for me, opposite my house which is in heaven. You can worship me in it, and your children, just as my angels worship around my Throne." So the angels came down to him, and he dug until

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Gustave E., 'The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities' in Dunning S. Wilson (ed.), *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perpsectives* (London: Variorum Imprints, 1976) §5, p. 34. However, it should also be noted that Jerusalem still remained an important site in Islam, with many *faḍā'il* works written about it; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; tr. Reynolds, James, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1836).

[494] Neuwirth, A., 'Face of God – Face of Man: The Significance of the Direction of Prayer in Islam' in A. I. Baumgarten, J. Assmann and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) pp. 298 – 312, p. 302; see also Ashraf, Syed Ali, 'The Inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihād' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, pp. 111 – 130 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Ḳibla: Ritual and Legal Aspects' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

[495] There are a number of works about Mecca and its merits, see Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1861); Wüstenfeld's work includes an edition of Al-Azraqī, Abū Walīd Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, *Kitāb akhbār Makka*; Rudi Paret comments: 'Die Gebetsrichtung nach Mekka, die Qibla, symbolisiert seither die Eigengesetzlichkeit des Islam. Mekka mit seinen Heiligtümern ist das geistige Zentrum, der Richtpunkt der betenden Gemeinde.' Paret, Rudi, *Symbolik des Islam* (Stuttgary: Anton Hiersemann, 1958) pp. 16 – 17.

he reached the Seventh Earth, and the angels threw the rock down until it towered over the face of the earth.' [496]

These two *ḥadīth* both establish a direct link between the earthly and heavenly *Kaᶜbas*, but they are quite different in approach. The first (§519) is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre; during Muḥammad's ascension he sees God's 'house'. It is not described, but Muḥammad's failure to understand the building that he is shown is quite unusual. Had the building been a direct replica of the earthly *Kaᶜba* one would expect him to know, or at least recognise, what he has seen. Nonetheless, the building is clearly the *inhabited house*. Why does Muḥammad not recognise it? The answer probably lies in the fact that it is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre, in which the unknown is made known. The importance is not the fact that it is in the form of the earthly *Kaᶜba*, but that the building is revealed to be *God's* building. The focus is on the association of the *locus* with the divine, not on the physical form of the building. Likewise the location of the building is important in §687, in which the *Kaᶜba* is associated with Adam. In his recent monograph, Brandon Wheeler comments that: 'Adam's role in instituting the rituals of the pilgrimage, and in particular the boundaries of the sanctuary, establishes a link between Mecca and the lineage of the prophets. The observance of the pilgrimage rites and prohibitions of the sanctuary by the prophets reiterates the association of Mecca and Eden.'[497] Whilst the association with Eden (and 'heaven'

[496] See also §523 & 524; for this and other stories associated with the Kaᶜba, see Alexander, Grant, 'The Story of the Kaᶜba' *MW* 28 (1938) pp. 43 – 53; Zwemer, Samuel S. M., 'Al-Haramain: Mecca and Medina' *MW* 37 (1947) pp. 7 – 15; Wheeler, Brandon M., *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) pp. 82 – 87; Campo, Juan Eduardo, 'Authority, Ritual and Spatial Order in Islam' *JRS* 5 (1991) pp. 65 – 91; Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, 'The Religious Dialectics of the Hadjdj' in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) pp. 17 - 37 and Pavlovitch, Pavel, '*Qad kunna lā naᶜbudu 'llāha wa-lā naᶜrifuhu*. On the Problem of the Pre-Islamic Lord of the Kaᶜba' *JAIS* 2 (1998 – 1999) pp. 49 – 74.

[497] Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, p. 85; Marion Katz argues that the association of Adam with the Kaᶜba, gives the pilgrimage a role in the Islamic notion of salvation history, Katz, Marion, 'The Ḥajj and Islamic Studies of Ritual' *SI* 98/99 (2004) pp. 95 – 129, pp. 111 - 112. In Judaism myths associated

more generally) is important, it is the building's specific relationship with God and the fact that the *Kaᶜba / bayt al-maᶜmūr* is God's dwelling that is more important: the focus is on God, rather than Heaven. The *Kaᶜba* is not 'heaven on earth' but 'God's dwelling on earth'.

The *ḥadīth* do not only describe the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in general terms, but they also show the angels performing or supporting specific rituals associated with the *Kaᶜba*. The angels are said to have been the first to perform a circumambulation (*tawwāf*) of the *Kaᶜba*:

> 'Adam (peace be upon him) circumambulated the Holy House, and the angels said: 'Your piety obeys [God], Adam, we have circumambulated this House before you, for two thousand years.'[498]

Adam, as the first man and the first to come into contact with the *Kaᶜba*, is associated with its rituals. However, there is also a deeper sense that the *Kaᶜba* is a form of recompense for Adam's expulsion from paradise, as Adam is not left abandoned by God. Another *ḥadith* (§624) establishes a link between the practice of *ṯawwāf* in heaven and on earth:

> 'And [Adam] walked around it, just as he had walked around the Throne, and he performed the prayers by it, just as he had performed them by the Throne.'[499]

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with early prophets are also used to explain rituals, for a discussion of this theme see, Weitzman, Steven, 'Revising Myth and Ritual in Early Judaism' *DSD* 4 (1997) pp. 21 – 54.

[498] §609; see also §683, 684 & 688.

[499] Note that this ḥadīth uses 'throne': in this case the *Kaᶜba* is a representation of God's Throne, rather than the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*. However, in §684 it is said that 'God, may he be praised, placed a House under the Throne, on four pillars made of green jewels, and he covered them in rubies, and he called the House "The Remote Place" (*al-ḍirāḥ*). Then God said the angels: "Circumambulate around this House and pray to the Throne." The angels circumambulated the House, and they left the Throne…'

The angels are also said to wear the *izār* (§625), to protect the *jimār* (§461) and to circumambulate in the air above the earthly *Kaᶜba* during Ramaḍān (§736), bless those who say a prayer as they pass the Yemeni column of the *Kaᶜba* (§458 – 460) and surround the tomb of the prophet (§488). These *ḥadīth* validate the use of these specific ritual and devotional acts by the Muslim community.

Given the infrequency with which most Muslims have the opportunity to perform the *ḥajj*, the role of the angels in the performance of the ritual prayers is, perhaps, more important. One of the overarching themes in the *ḥadīth* is that the angels are present whenever a Muslim prays and that they support the community. The idea of God sending angels to help and support the Muslim community is an early one, found both in the Qur'ān and in *ḥadīth*.[500] For example, during the Battle of Badr God sent a contingent of angels to help the outnumbered Muslims:

> '…and God most surely helped you at Badr…."Is it not enough for you that your Lord should reinforce you with three thousand angels sent down upon you? Yea if you are patient and godfearing, and the foe come against you instantly, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand swooping angels."'[501]

The idea that angels support a community both in military,[502] but especially ritual and liturgical affairs, is not new and is an extremely important concept in the *Dead*

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[500] For early ḥadīth on angelic support in prayer, cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'*, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta*, 3.12.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85, pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.

[501] Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; for a discussion of the historiographical issues, see Booth, Newell S., 'The Historical and Non-Historical In Islam' *MW* 60 (1970) pp. 109 – 122, pp. 110 – 113.

[502] E.g. 4Q491 (*War Scroll*) l. 10: 'Each man who is not [clean in regard to his genitals] that [nig]ht [shall] no[t g]o out with them to battle. For the holy angels are with their battle lines to[gether].' See also Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* pp. 212 - 234 and Gleason, Randall G., 'Angels and the Eschatology in Heb 1 – 2' *NTS* 49 (2003) pp. 99 – 107.

Sea Scrolls.[503] In both the Judaism of the Qumran community and in Islam the angels' participation and support of the community are crucial to understanding the relationship between God and his creations.

In *al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that reflect these themes. Some *ḥadīth* state the ritual prayers are performed in heaven, e.g.: 'When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.'[504] There are also more specific *ḥadīth* that give the role of *angelic imām* and *angelic mu'adhdhin* to specific angels: §39 states that Gabirel is *imām*, whereas in §83 Michael is *imām* and Gabriel is the *mu'adhdhin* and in §102 Isrāfīl is the *mu'adhdhin*. These contradictions are not important, rather the fact that there is an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* in heaven shows that the earthly practices of the Muslims are a copy of those performed in heaven.[505] The idea that earthly practice is a mirror of the heavenly, is seen most clearly in §83:

> [83] 'The *mu'adhdhin* of the heavenly host is Gabriel, and Michael is their Imam, who leads them in the prayers in the inhabited house, and the angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited*

[503] For a discussion of the role of angels in Qumran liturgical works, see Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 235 – 254; Fletcher-Lewis, Crispin H. T., *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brill: Leiden, 2002); Chazon, Esther G., 'Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran' in Daniel K. Falk *et. al.* (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 95 – 105 and Chazon, Esther G., 'Human and Angelic Prayer in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Esther G. Chazon (ed.), *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19 – 23 January 2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 35 – 47. For similar ideas in the *Hekhalot* literature, see Elior, Rachel, 'From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions' *JSQ* 4 (1997) pp. 217 – 267.

[504] §100; see also §101 & 102 which contain the same idea.

[505] There are a number of ḥadīth that describe the angelic *adhān*, usually witnessed by Muḥammad during his *miᶜrāj*; these are often used in the arguments between different Muslim groups, especially Twelver and Sunnī *fiqh*, concerning the wording of the *adhān*; cf. Howard, I. K. A., 'The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam' *JSS* 26 (1981) pp. 219 – 228, especially pp. 226 – 227. For the role of an angel leading the heavenly worship of God in Judaism, see Orlov, Andrei A., 'Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in 2 Enoch and the Merkebah Tradition' *JSP* 14 (2004) pp. 3 – 29.

> *House*, and they perform the prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).'

Here a whole number of Muslim ritual practices can be seen: the *ṣalāt*, the direction of the *qibla* and the circumambulation of the *house*. Furthermore, the Muslim community actually benefits from these angelic actions. The *ḥadīth* associated with the celestial cockerel (*al-Dīk*; §280 – 294) also locate the origin of the earthly *adhān* in heaven:

> [§282] 'God has a cockerel; its feet are on the Seventh Earth and its head passes through the Seven Heavens, and it praises God at the times of prayer; there is no cockerel on Earth that does not reply to it.'

The words of the angels are also important, as they often form the template of Islamic prayers and devotions. This is seen clearly in §275:

> 'Dhū 'l-Qarnayn (peace be upon him) had a friend from amongst the angels, and it is said he was Riyāfīl. He used to come to him, and visit him, and he said to him: 'Tell me, how do you serve [God] in heaven?' He said: 'In heaven angels stand upright, and they never sit down; and among them [are those that are] prostrating, and they never raise their heads, and there [are those that are] kneeling down, and they never stand upright. However, there is one who raises his face, but he never looks astray. He says: 'Praise be [to God], the King, the All-Holy,[506] the Lord

[506] Cf. 'He is God; there is no god but He. He is the King, the All-holy, the All-peaceable…' Q 59:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 576. The words of the angels are the basic form of the *taṣbīh* and 'The last two nouns are a Qur'ānic couplet, and the *quddūs* is one of the Ninety-nine Names, but no one has traced the origin of this constantly recurring and haunting phrase.' Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66

> of the Angels and the Spirit, Lord, we have not worshiped you, as worship of you demands. '

In the *ḥadīth* concerned with ritual the angels are used to legitimise set forms of worship. The earthly and divine rituals are identical and performed simultaneously. This creates a sense of harmony and a deep relationship between heaven and earth in the performance of ritual. Esther Chazon has highlighted three different ways in which the angels and the community of Qumran interact: (i) humans invite angels to praise God, because of their inability to praise God as well as the angels; (ii) humans pray *like* angels, using their words and (iii) humans join the angels, and they become one choir praising God.[507] All three of these positions can be seen in the *ḥadīth*: (i) prayer and worship are innate characteristics of angels, but not of humans; (ii) specific rites and invocations of the Muslim community were established by the angels; (iii) the heavenly and earthly communities praise God simultaneously. This testifies to the different types of relationship that exist between humans and angels in the sphere of ritual. Much of this is concerned with the 'correctness' of ritual: the correct forms of worship are those performed in heaven.

3.2.2 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong?

Muslims' lives are constantly regulated by the principle of *sharīᶜa*, the divine law, which the *fuqāhā'* strive to interpret and understand. *Sharīᶜa* does not simply govern criminal, civil and ritual law, but it also addresses ethical and moral concerns more

[507] Chazon, 'Human and Angelic Prayer' pp. 46 – 47. Esther Chazon implies that these three positions are discrete, but it would seem feasible for a community to hold these positions simultaneously.

generally.[508] In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that attempt to discourage certain types of behaviour in a whole range of different situations and circumstances, ranging from people's bad habits during the ritual prayer to questions of purity. In this collection angels are used to warn believers of the consequences of certain practices in a number of ways: (i) stating that it offends the angel that writes down good deeds (with the implication that this may affect the individual's own record of good deeds); (ii) by stating that angels do not come into the presence of certain things; and (iii) stating that the angels curse individuals for certain actions.

Ritual purity is an important part of both Jewish and Islamic religious life. In Judaism the ritual purity laws of Leviticus (especially Lev. 11 – 16) were primarily directed at the priestly class, because the priests were required to be ritually clean before coming into contact with the divine in the Holy of Holies.[509] However, as Judaism developed, there was an increasing trend for the laity to adopt the same, or, at the very least, similar purity regulations; as Eyal Regev has concluded: 'Purity is necessary in order to achieve holiness. Thus, we conclude that those who voluntarily observed purity in order to eat, pray and read Scripture were seeking holiness in their everyday life, outside the realm of the Temple and the priestly system.'[510] Impurity, or uncleanness, is derived from a whole range of different things, but the principal sources of impurity are corpses and bodily discharges (including urine, faeces and

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[508] There have been a number of works on Islamic ethics (both philosophical and Qur'anic), e.g. Fakhry, Majid, *Ethical Theories in Islam (Second Edition)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Izutsu, Toshihko, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966) and Cook, Michael, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[509] See any commentary on Leviticus for a discussion of these issues, e.g. Porter, J. R., *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) and Noth, Martin, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965); see also Neusner, Jacob, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism: A Systematic Account* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) pp. 27 – 50.

[510] See Regev, Eyal, 'Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 176 – 202, p. 187.

menstrual blood).[511] After coming into contact with these polluting substances ritual cleansing (in Islam *wuḍū'*, *ghusl* or *tayammum*) is required before performing ritual actions.[512] Islamic notions of ritual impurity are believed to be related to either Rabbinic or Zoroastrian ideas;[513] however, what is important to note is that Islamic purity regulations are usually deemed to be less rigorous than those of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. For example, ritual impurity can be derived from both physical substances and through contact with an unclean person or place; but in Islam, impurity is derived solely from substances.[514] In Judaism and Zoroastrianism, ritual impurity is of major spiritual importance and the notions of purity and holiness became *sacralised*; but the concept of purity in Islam is much more basic, as Janina Safran suggests: 'The Islamic system of purity is focused on ritual worship and treats the defilement of the body, often by bodily acts and substances, as a regular circumstance of the human condition.'[515] It should also be stressed that the concept of purity in Islamic law is *ritual* and not *hygienic*.[516]

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[511] Neusner, *Purity*, pp. 53 – 82 and Harrington, Hannah K., *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

[512] For a discussion of these terms in relation to the Qur'ān, see Burton, John, 'The Qur'ān and the Islamic Practice of *Wuḍū" BSOAS* 51 (1988) pp. 21 – 58 and Maghen, Ze'ev, 'Close Encounters: Some Preliminary Observations on the Transmission of Impurity in Early Sunnī Jurisprudence' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 348 – 392.

[513] Cf. Wensinck, A. J., 'Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung' *Der Islam* 5 (1914) pp. 62 – 80; Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Islamisme et Parsisme' *GS* vol. 4, pp. 232 – 260 and Katz, *Body of Text*, pp. 3 – 13.

[514] 'Sunnī Islam has in fact constructed what may be the only religious purity code extant which *does not recognize – let alone emphasize – the category of ceremonially contagious or contaminating human beings*...' Maghen, 'Close Encounters' p. 350.

[515] Safran, Janina M., 'Rules of Purity and Confession Boundaries: Maliki Debates about the Pollution of the Christian' *HR* 42 (2002) pp. 197 – 212.

[516] The idea that ritual purity laws were based on hygiene regulations was popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this has largely been discredited; see Douglas *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (Repr. London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 36 – 50; Reinhart, 'Impurity / No Danger' *HR* 30 (1990) pp. 1 – 24, p. 6; Wheeler, Brandon, 'Touching the Penis in Islamic Law' *HR* 44 (2004) pp. 89 – 119; Reinhart, Kevin A., 'Ṭahāra' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, p. 99 and Maghen, Z. 'Ablution' *EI*^{3}; for an analysis of some modern approaches to Islamic purity, see Gauvain, Richard, 'Ritual Rewards: A Consideration of Three Recent Approaches to Sunni Purity Law' *ILS* 12 (2005) pp. 333 – 393.

What, then, do the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* add to the subject of ritual purity? The *ḥadīth* in the collection are mostly concerned with individuals in a state of ritual impurity and the effects of that pollution on human interaction with angels. Take the following *hadīth*: '…Angels do not stay in the presence of someone in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*), nor [are they in the presence of someone who has been] anointed with *khalūq* until both [types] have been washed.'[517] At first, this *ḥadīth* may not appear to be of great concern; however, the absence of angels does have profound effects on the person concerned. If angels are driven away from an individual, any righteous acts that the Scribe of good deeds would normally record cannot be included in the person's 'book'. This *ḥadīth* essentially denies those in a state of *junub* the ability to perform credited righteous actions. It is also made clear in other ḥadīth (e.g. §365) that this applies to only 'one of your angels which is with you'[518] (i.e. the angel of good deeds); consequently, bad actions are still recorded during this state of impurity.

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the absence of angels is attributed to a whole range of different things, including:

i. urine / bowls of stagnant urine (§588 & 589)

ii. excrement (§368 & 567)

iii. nakedness (§364 – 366; 371, 372 & 388)

iv. those who are *junub* (§368, 592 & 595)

v. those who have had sexual intercourse (§367 & 368)

vi. houses with dogs (§584, 586 & 595)

vii. houses with idols (§582 – 585 & 595)

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[517] §592.

[518] §365: '…One of your angels which is with you gets embarrassed, just as someone gets embarrassed in front of two virtuous neighbours, who are both with him night and day.'

viii. houses with tambourines (§590 & 591)

ix. men anointed with *khalūq* (§592)

x. the funerals of unbelievers (§593)

xi. the funerals of individuals remaining *junub* (§593)

xii. the funerals of those who have been anointed with saffron (§593)

xiii. animals with bells (§512, 585 – 587, 596 & 597)

xiv. those people who have severed ties from the community (§594).

There are a number of important points raised by these *ḥadīth*. Firstly, in his article on touching the penis in Islamic law, Brandon Wheeler emphasises the point that to many of the jurists simply touching the penis did not necessitate *wuḍū'*, nor was *wuḍū'* necessary, except before ritual actions.[519] The idea behind this is that ritual purity is only obligatory before ritual actions, such as the *ṣalāt*, are actually performed. Reinhart has also shown that *ṭahāra* (ritual purity) is a negative concept; someone who is in a state of *ṭahāra* is someone that does not have to perform an ablution. In theory, ablutions are not necessary to perform the *ṣalāt* if the individual is already in *ṭahāra*.[520]

The *ḥadīth* cast Islamic notions of ritual impurity in a different light, for not only is someone made impure by coming into contact with a polluting substance, but the substance can also affect the ritual purity of an entire dwelling.[521] This is at odds with the standard understanding of ritual impurity, as discussed by scholars such as

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[519] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 119.
[520] See Reinhart, 'Purity / No Danger' pp. 5 – 6.
[521] In both Judaism and Zoroastrianism pollution can occur around a pollutant and through intermediaries. For example, in both religions, to remain ritually clean a set distance must be kept from a menstruating woman; cf. *Shayāst lā-Shayāst*, *III:1 – 35* (especially v. 13), in West, E. W., *Pahlavi Tests: The Bundahisn-Bahman Yast and Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860) pp. 217 - 221. For a thorough discussion of these issues in Judaism, see Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities: Part 22 – The Mishnaic System of Uncleanness* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Katz and Reinhart. For example, the consequences of pollution by urine would not be met until a ritual action was performed; these *ḥadīth* say otherwise, since the individual (as well as any guests and family members) are gravely affected prior to the performance of any ritual action. Being in a state of *junub*, for example, does not only mean that failure to perform the *ghusl* before a ritual makes that action invalid, it also prevents the individual from obtaining merit for any righteous deeds performed from the moment of pollution.

Whilst the absence of angels is usually associated with impure bodily substances, such as urine, semen, menstrual blood etc., animals and other objects (e.g. idols and tambourines) and certain actions (such as being naked) are *quasi*-polluting, as they have consequences for the individuals concerned equal to the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Although in these cases, the removal of the offending item or the cessation of the action will allow the angels to return without the performance of any ritual cleansing; i.e. if an individual is naked, he is not ritually impure, but needs to be covered before the angels will return; but if an individual has had sexual intercourse, then ritual purification is required.

Some of these 'prohibitions' are quite easily understood: for example, the ritual impurity of dogs in Islam has often been seen to be a *shibboleth* to their favour in Zoroastrian culture;[522] the ownership of idols is clearly prohibited as *shirk,* and so on.[523] The ban against playing tambourines is more obscure, but the prohibition of

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[522] Cf. Miller, Geoffrey David, 'Attitudes to Dogs in Ancient Israel: A Reassessment' *JSOT* 32 (2008) pp. 487 – 500 and Moazami, Mahnaz, 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: *Vidēvdād* Chapter XIII' *IIJ* 49 (2006) pp. 127 – 149. However, there are Arabic works that praise the dog, e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Abī ᶜUthmān ᶜAmr ibn Baḥr, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939 – 1945) and Ibn al-Marzūbān, *Kitāb faḍl al-kilāb ᶜalā kathīr mimman labisa 'l-thiyāb*; Smith, G. R. & Abdel Haleem, M. A. S. (eds. & trs.), *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of those who wear clothes* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1978).

[523] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'* vol. 2, p. 241; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §54.3.6 – 8, p. 407.

dancing and tambourines was debated in Islamic jurisprudence.[524] Whilst saffron plays an important role in Islamic society and is not normally considered to be 'impure', Jamsheed Choksy notes that: '…[the use of saffron-dyed shrouds] was intended to prevent a Muslim's corpse from being confused with that of a non-Muslim (Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews in particular were required by Islamic governments to wear a yellow coloured cloth during medieval and premodern times to distinguish them from the Muslim socio-political majority)...'[525] The statement that angels do not accompany people travelling with animals with bells attached to them seems a little strange, especially as none of the *ḥadīth* provide much context. Take §512 as an example: 'God has angels, which descend every night to experience the weariness of a cavalry horse, except a riding animal which has a bell around its neck.' The 'prohibition', however, has quite a simple origin that had practical implications for the nascent Muslim community. Edward Lane includes a translation of §585 in his lexicon, with the comment: '…the reason is said to be, because it guides others to them; for Moḥammad liked not to let the enemy know of his approach until he came upon them suddenly.'[526]

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[524] Ibn Taymiyya is one scholar to prohibit men playing the tambourine: '*…rakhaṣa li-'l-nisā' an yuḍrabna bi-'l-daff fī al-'aᶜrās wa-'l-afrāh wa-ammā al-rijāl ᶜalā ᶜahdihi, fa-lam bakan ahad minhum bi-ḍarab bi-daff wa-lā yaṣfaqu bi-kaff' […it was permitted for women to beat a tambourine at weddings and parties, but as for men during [the Prophet's] time, they did not beat a tambourine or clap their hands]*. Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Halīm ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām, 'Mā taqūlu al-sāda al-aᶜlām' in *Majmūᶜ fatāwa Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyya* (Mecca & Riyadh: Maṭābiᶜ al-Riyāḍ, 1961 – 1967) vol. 11, pp. 558 - 586, p. 565. This is also found in his *Kitāb al-samā wa-'l-raqṣ*; see Michot, Jean R., *Musique et Danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le Livre de Samâ' et de la Danse (Kitâb al-Samâ' wa-'l-Raqṣ) compilé par le Shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijī* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1991) pp. 62 – 63. See also Shehadi, Fadlou, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp. 100 – 101; Cook, *Commanding Right*, pp. 90 – 91 and Lewisohn, Leonard, 'The Sacred Music of Islam: *Samᶜ* in the Persian Sufi Tradition' *Ethnomusicology Forum* 6 (2007) pp. 1 – 33.

[525] Choksy, Jamsheed K., 'Funerary Practices: Iran and Afghanistan' *EWIC*, pp. 119 - 122, p. 119; see also Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, pp. 85 – 100.

[526] Lane, *AELex*, p. 409.

Thus far, angels have been seen to react negatively to certain circumstances and objects, and will remain absent until the offending item has been removed. At first sight, this may appear to be simply a device to correct and regulate human behaviour; however, there is an important ethical aspect that needs to be considered. Brandon Wheeler discusses aspects of purity in Eden, concluding that: 'Urination, defecation, bleeding, and other natural bodily functions require *wuḍū'* because Adam's and Eve's bodies did not produce impure substances in the Garden of Eden.'[527] It was only after their expulsion from the Garden that impurity became a concern. By extension, the divine world, of which the Garden was a part, does not come into contact with impurities. This explains the behaviour of the angels in the human world, if angels are unable to come into contact with pollutants. Similar ideas can be found in Jewish texts, such as *Jubilees*, in which Adam and Eve are created outside of paradise; Martha Himmelfarb comments that: 'One reason that Jubilees delays Adam and Eve's entrance into the Garden is its discomfort with the idea of sexual relations in the Garden, which…it understands as a holy place, equivalent to the sanctuary.'[528] The behaviour of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* can be understood in this sense: angels cannot morally and physically come into the presence of certain actions and substances because of their innate nature.

The angels are not, however, just used to discourage certain behaviour by their absence, the angels are also said to be affected by individuals' actions in other ways. There are some *ḥadīth* that describe actions as hurting or embarrassing angels.

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[527] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 103; the idea that the Garden was ritually clean can be seen in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* in which it is stated that: 'It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise.' Rosenthal (tr.), *From the Creation to the Flood*, p. 279; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 110.

[528] Himmelfarb, Martha, 'Sexual Relations and Purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 6 (1999) pp. 11 – 36, p. 27.

The majority of these *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* are concerned with ritual prayer. Fiddling with stones, placing sandals on the ground, spitting and resting on the *qibla* are all addressed.[529] There is no consensus on how these misdemeanours affect the angels; for example, regarding fiddling with stones during the ritual prayer, §359 states that: 'Fiddling with stones in the mosque [causes] pain to an angel.' And §361: 'Do not fiddle with stones during the ritual prayers, for that [habit] is from the devil.' These two *ḥadīth* clearly indicate that those praying should concentrate on their actions, albeit expressed in different ways.

The *ḥadīth* discussed so far have looked at events and substances that cause a reaction from the angels. However, generally, the discouragement of certain actions is usually done in less explicit ways. The story of *Hārūt and Mārūt* is a good example of a narrative that is used to warn of the consequences of certain behaviour, particularly drinking alcohol. It is only after the angels have become drunk that they worship Zuhara's idols, fornicate with her and commit murder. Whilst the Qur'ān focuses on the two angels and their introduction of magic,[530] the stories of Hārūt and Mārūt are more concerned with human propensity to sin and the dangers of alcohol. Their story is used as an example of how not to behave, as Annemarie Schimmel writes: 'The traditional Sufi leaders recognised seven gates to hell: pride, cupidity, lust, anger, envy, avarice, and hatred, and the story of the two fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, as told in the Koran (Sura 2:96f.), could well illustrate the danger of followings one's own sexual desires.'[531] The two angels are not inherently 'evil' (as

[529] Stones: §359 & 361; Sandals: §356; Spitting: §355, 357, 358 & 360; Qibla: §574.
[530] Cf. Bauckham, 'Fall of the Angels'.
[531] Schimmel, Annemarie, '"I take off the dress of the body": Eros is Sufi Literature' in Sarah Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. 262 – 288, p. 265.

Jacques Waardenburg seems to suggest),[532] they simply fall foul to the problems and difficulties of human life.

The consequences of ritual impurity have often been viewed as less important in Islam than in other religions (especially Zoroastrianism and Judaism). This notion is based primarily on the fact that impurities, or more correctly, substances that cause pollution, do not cause a person to be immediately impure. The Islamic jurists also stress the fact that impurity is confined to the impure individual and that the pollution is not transferable. These *ḥadīth*, however, paint a rather different picture. Although impurity is still not transferred by contact with the polluted, anyone who comes into contact with the polluted individual *does* still suffer, albeit technically remaining clean.[533] Pollution and polluting substances such as urine and excrement, therefore, do have a significant effect on others. The effect is manifested in the alienation of the angel that records the good actions of an individual: essentially, when an individual comes into contact with polluting substances or individuals, any good action that is performed cannot be recorded. The deepest effect, however, is on the polluted individual. Anyone who does not cover himself or herself, leaves urine to stagnate, or does not perform the *ghusl* after intercourse cannot perform any good actions. Whilst the individual is not *legally* impure until he or she performs a ritual action that requires ablutions (such as the *ṣalāt*), the individual remains *eschatologically disadvantaged*, as the state of pollution has clear consequences in the life to come.

There is also a clear purpose to these *ḥadīth*; they attempt to dissuade individuals from remaining in a state of ritual purity, as it not only affects their own

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[532] 'Among the angels only Hārūt and Mārūt (S. 2:102), because of their action in Babel, are bad…'; Waardenburg, 'Changes of Belief' p. 280.

[533] i.e. if an individual enters a house in which there is a man in the state of *junub*, his angel would depart, but the individual remains clean when he has left the presence of the other person.

judgement, but the judgement of those that come into contact with them. The notion of *forbidding the wrong* is well known in Islam, but in these circumstances there is not necessarily any direct wrong. It is not illegal to be ritually unclean until the performance of the *ṣalāt* or other rites, but these *ḥadīth* imply that ritual impurity is morally or ethically *wrong*, or, at the very least, has negative consequences, encouraging the individual to avoid them.

If the angels are used to discourage certain types of negative behaviour, they are also used to encourage positive actions performed by a human. For example, the angel of good deeds writes down righteous deeds more often and the angel of misdeeds allows time for repentance.[534] There are a number of other specific actions that generate a positive response from the angels, either the individual's scribes or other angels. The angels bless: pious young men (§604); those who wear turbans on Friday (§621 & 628); those that seek knowledge (§622 – 623) ; those who say 'the Lord of the Two Worlds' after someone sneezes (§634 & 635); those who perform the fast in Ramaḍān (§665 & 718); those who remember God (§666); those who put on a sword for the *jihād* (§672); those who make their way to Mecca for the *ḥajj* on foot (§676); those who pray for the deceased (§712); those who attend the Friday prayers and hear the sermon (§719 – 722 & 728); and those who circumambulate the *Kaʿba* (§671). The role of the angels is also to encourage certain positive actions through praise, support or blessing.

[534] See §312, 319, 333 – 336, 341, 369, 382, 387, 391 & 445, as well as the discussion of this theme above; cf. §59 – 63, 503. §445 shows that it is not just the scribes that give preference to good actions, e.g. the angel that is responsible for noting who blesses Muḥammad: 'Gabriel came to me and said: 'Muḥammad, whoever blesses you from your community, God, Most High, writes a blessing for him, in it are ten good deeds, and it cancels out ten misdeeds,…'

On more specific issues there are a number of *ḥadīth* that encourage Muslims to recite the Qur'ān in its entirety or on set occasions.[535] The recitation of the Qur'ān was an important part of the ritual of the early Muslim community and there are numerous *ḥadīth* describing the merits of the Qur'ān (*faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*).[536] The reading and recitation of the Qur'ān is important as it is the word of God, and as Frederick Denny comments: 'Reciting the Qur'ān is akin to a sacramental act in that divine power and presence are brought near.'[537] This divine presence is made particularly manifest in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the presence of the angels, who are seen to aid the believers in their recitation or memorisation of the Qur'ān, e.g. §708: 'The house in which the Qur'ān is recited comes into the view of the people of heaven, just as the stars come into the view of the people of earth.'[538] This *ḥadīth* and others like it attempt to show a reward for reciting the Qur'ān, but whilst this just refers to the recitation of the Qur'ān in the home, §713 states that: 'If the servant finishes the Qur'ān, sixty thousand angels pray for him...' If there is intention to memorise the Qur'ān and an individual dies before being able to do so, §696 says that: '…an angel comes to him, and teaches it to him in his grave, and so he meets God, Most High, and he knows it by heart.' An angel is also responsible for 'correcting' any

[535] §692, 695, 696, 698 – 701, 708 & 713; there is also an angel that is responsible for correcting an individual who mispronounces something in the Qur'ān, §462 – 465.
[536] Cf. al-Nawawī, Abū Zakārīyya Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al*-Qur'ān; Furber, Musa (tr.), *Etiquette of the Qur'ān: Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al-Qur'ān* (Illinois: Starlatch, 2003) and al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Iḥyā ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol. 1, pp. 244 - 247; Abul Qaseem, Muhammad, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazālī's Theory* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1979). See also Juynboll, G. H. A., 'The Position of Qur'ān Recitation in Early Islam' *JSS* 19 (1974) pp. 240 – 251 and Afsarrudin, Asma, 'The Excellences of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organisation of Early Islamic Society' *JAOS* 122 (2002) pp. 1 – 24. Qur'ān recitation remains an important part of Muslim devotional piety and is encouraged by the religious community through events such as Qur'ānic recitation competitions; cf. Gade, Anna M., 'Motivating Qur'anic Practice in Indonesia by "Competing in Goodness"' *JRS* 18 (2004) pp. 24 – 42.
[537] Denny, Frederick M., 'Islamic Ritual: Perspectives and Theories' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam* pp. 63 – 77, p. 76; the story of Usayd ibn Ḥudayr and his experience of the *Sakīna* is an extreme example of this; see §297 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83 for a fuller account.
[538] §708; cf. §692 & 698.

misreading that a Qur'ānic reciter may make (§462 – 495), showing that the intention of reciting the Qur'ān is more important than necessarily achieving a perfect vocalisation of the text. There are also a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to specific verses and *suras* of the Qur'ān being particularly associated with angels, e.g. §699: 'The [Sura of the] Cow is the hump of the Qur'ān, and its climax. He sent down eighty angels with every verse.'[539] All these *ḥadīth* help to encourage Muslims to read and recite the Qur'ān, by highlighting the benefits of doing so and the angels act as the mediators of these blessings.

Just as Qur'ānic recitation and knowledge of the Qur'ān are an important part of Islamic spirituality, the performance of the ritual prayers plays a central role. The prayers act as a '…bridge between the human being and God. In their essential form, the canonical prayers in Islam are an affirmation, as indeed all faith is, of God's mercy and majesty.'[540] It has already been seen that the angels are used in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a template for the pattern and form of earthly ritual and that individuals need to be ritually clean before performing the prayers. The angels are also seen in this collection to bless and support Muslims in the *ṣalāt*. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, the majority of the *ḥadith* on this subject are positive, showing angelic support or praise for reciting the Qur'ān,[541] although §695 does say that: '…if he does not finish [the ritual prayers], the two [scribes] hit him on his face.' The main manifestation of this support is the presence of angels with Muslims as they pray:

> 'When a man stands up to perform the prayers in the desert of the Earth, he performs the prayers with two angels behind him. If he is called to

[539] See also §700 & 701, which say much the same about Q6 (Cattle).
[540] Ayoub, Mahmoud, 'Thanksgiving and Praise in the Qur'ān and in Muslim Piety' *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) pp. 1 – 10, p. 2.
[541] See §568 – 573, 576, 578 – 580, 598, 599, 614, 615, 617, 618, 716 & 717.

> prayer, and stands up to perform the prayers, angels like the mountains are behind him.'[542]

The angels are also said to continue praying for an individual who has performed the ritual prayers,[543] and to say 'Amen'.[544] One *ḥadīth* also states that the angels say 'O God forgive him! O God, have mercy upon him' for 'as long as [he] is in his place of prayer;[545] encouraging Muslims to spend more time at prayer. The *ḥadīth* also praise other supererogatory acts of devotion and piety, including: blessing the Prophet;[546] saying a prayer whilst passing the Yemeni corner of the Kaʿba (§458 – 460); saying 'The Most Merciful of those that are Merciful' (§466); and praying for the dead (§467 – 470). The idea behind all of these *ḥadīth* is not simply to encourage adherence to the prescribed regulations of ritual law (i.e. the performance of the ritual prayers), but to add to the religious and spiritual development of the individual. Above all, these actions play a key role in the daily remembrance of God (*dhikr*): 'As long as man is occupied with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, he is free from worldly concerns, and thus there is little chance for Satanic insinuation and temptation (*waswās*).'[547]

Angels, therefore, play an important role in the encouragement and support of the community to perform both obligatory and supererogatory prayers and worship. The angels pray and worship with humans on earth, which creates harmony between divine and human devotions. Angels encourage certain types of behaviour by stating

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[542] §568; see also §569 – 572; although the number of angels differs from four thousand (§571) to seventy thousand (§569), or just 'many' (§570).
[543] §576, 578 – 580, 598.
[544] §614, §615, 617 & 618.
[545] §716.
[546] §446, 447, 449 – 457; e.g. §447 '…Gabriel came to me and said: 'God said: "Whoever blesses you, I will bless him, I and my angels tenfold; whoever wishes you peace, I and my angels will wish him peace tenfold."' See also Robson, J., 'Blessings on the Prophet' *MW* 26 (1936) pp. 365 – 371.
[547] Nakamura, Kojiro, *Ghazali on Prayer* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973) p. 11.

that if humans behave in a certain way, the angels will pray for them. Other *ḥadīth* state that good actions are given more weight in the individual's *book*. All these indicate that certain actions give individuals a sense of *baraka*.

The notion of *commanding right and forbidding wrong* is an important and well-known concept in Islam, and the *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* go to some lengths to describe what behaviour should be encouraged and discouraged. The performance of ritual and the role of angels as the template or archetype for human ritual is an obvious example of *commanding right*. The visions of the heavenly world seek to authenticate the proper modes of ritual worship. The *ḥadīth* establish the sanctity of the *Kaʿba* as God's house, the necessity to constantly worship God and specific rituals associated with the pilgrimage.

If the *Kaʿba* is the *House of God*, then Muslims need to understand how they should approach it. When approaching God, it is necessary that the individual is in a state of *ṯahāra* and a number of different 'events' require an individual to cleanse himself or herself in preparation for encountering the divine. The rules that govern this approach to God are also applicable to the angels; the angels cannot come into contact with certain substances and states. The concept of *ṯahāra* has traditionally been seen as only important for the performance of the ritual prayers, but the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabāik* clearly show that individuals are affected negatively before this. Whether or not being in a state of ritual impurity is 'wrong' (technically it is not until *ṯahāra* is obligatory), the *ḥadīth* clearly imply that it could be equated with a 'wrong'. The *ḥadīth* do not 'forbid' these actions or states, but they do firmly discourage them.

Just as angels are used to discourage particular actions, they are also used to encourage others. All of the actions that the angels encourage are those that focus the individual on God: recitation of the Qur'ān, the performance of the *ṣalāt*, listening to the Friday sermon, saying particular invocations *etc.* The performance of these actions generates blessings and prayers from the angels, which have clear benefits for the individual in his or her individual eschatological future.

3.3 The Purpose and Function of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī ahkbār al-malā'ik*

The main focus of this chapter is the concept of time (or more specifically the notion of temporality) in the collection, in an attempt to understand the function of the work. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is quite different to other eschatological works of mediaeval Islam and the reason why needs to be addressed.

The first section of this chapter has looked at the roles of the angels in the lives of every human and the second at their roles in Islamic ritual. The underlying theme is that the collection is concerned with everyday life. The work could be called *eschatological* in the sense that it is concerned with the final judgement, but it is not *eschatological* in the normal understanding. In Biblical Studies, Christopher Rowland has argued that eschatology is not simply concerned with the future, but can reflect contemporary events.[548] However, even in Rowland's understanding of eschatology, the eschatology of the present still remains *eschatological*. Willem Bijlefeld, who applies the notion of eschatology in Biblical Studies to an Islamic context, comments that: 'Most scholars in this field reject this narrow interpretation of the term and see it as applicable to statements regarding the world to come and the last day(s) as well as to pronouncements regarding decisive turning points at a future date with the ongoing history of this world.'[549] Even with a modified understanding of eschatology, Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* still remains quite distinct and cannot really be considered to be *eschatological*, despite being concerned with the divine world.

[548] Rowland, 'Visions of God'.
[549] Biljefeld, 'Eschatology', p. 36.

What is important to consider is the fact that simply describing the divine world or divine creatures does not necessarily mean that a text is eschatological or apocalyptic.

This compilation is primarily focused on what angels are doing *now*, looking at what could be called the *angelic present*. This shifts the temporality of the compilation from an eschatological future to a contemporary reality. The work is not interested in the *angelic future*; there are no descriptions of the *eschaton* or the Final Day and even the post-mortem world of Munkar and Nakīr, heaven and hell *etc*. are limited to only a few *ḥadīth*. Similarly, the work is not concerned with the *angelic past*, and any references to the past, such as the creation of Adam, are cited because of their relevance to what angels do now.

What does this mean for the function of the work? Al-Suyūṭī seems to be aware of the importance of angels in human action and the work attempts to understand the angelic world and its relation to the human realm. The interaction between humans and angels occurs in a number of different ways, but is seen most clearly in the use of angels in ritual. The angels are both physically and contemporaneously *present* with the Muslim community as they perform ritual actions; the angels pray at the same time, the angels worship with individuals and so on. The collection also discusses how humans should behave given this continual contact with the angelic world. The angels react to certain types of human behaviour, both positively and negatively, and humans need to know about these, as they have important ramifications for an individual's future judgement.

It is misleading to suggest that *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is not at all concerned with the eschatological future, as much of the information provided in the

ḥadīth is related to an individual's *eschatological future*.[550] However, the compilation continually contextualises this *eschatological future* in terms of the interaction of humans and angels at this very moment in time. The *tours of hell* genre (including the *miʿrāj* literature) tend to use Heaven and Hell generally – warning Muslims of the consequences of right and wrong actions, and exhorting them to follow the *true path*. Vuckovic comments: 'These stories of reward and punishment play an integral role in the *miʿraj* narratives and in the ongoing dialogue regarding appropriate morality, behaviour and even political allegiance.'[551] *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the *miʿrāj* literature are both didactic, in that they attempt to teach and inform their readership, but they differ in their approaches. The *miʿrāj* literature tends to be parabolic; the descriptions of heaven and hell, although a future reality, are used to describe a *potential* future to which the reader must respond in order to avoid the punishments described. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not parabolic; rather it is *descriptive* of the current realities of *this world*, with the belief that certain actions will affect the individual's *personal eschatology*. Essentially, *al-Ḥabā'ik* informs its readers that the angels are ever present with humans in this life, at this very instant, and that human actions affect their relationship with the angels.

This chapter has focused on the interaction between humans and angels, but much of the information provided by the *ḥadīth* is encyclopaedic, explaining who the angels are, what they do, what they are called, what they look like and so on. This helps individuals to understand the angels and to identify with them, which is not the aim of the *miʿrāj* and eschatological works.

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[550] Cf. 'That in the Qur'ān, and in general in Islam, the emphasis lies on individual or personal eschatology is undeniable.' Bijlefeld, 'Eschatology' p. 36.
[551] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 120.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* draws together *ḥadīth* from a number of different areas of Islamic thought and practice (e.g. purity, folklore, science, law and visions of heaven and hell), seeking to understand the celestial world and the functions that the various angels perform. Beyond the specific details of the interactions between humans and angels, the *ḥadīth* make clear that the angels are intermediaries and that all of their actions are performed on behalf of God and not independently. This is essential, as the creation of individual, free angels would threaten Islamic monotheism. This focus on the *angelic present* is the main purpose and function of the work, distinguishing it from other *ḥadīth* collections about the divine world and attesting to the originality of al-Suyūṭī's approach to *ḥadīth* and their compilation.

Translation and Commentary

Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; Leiden University, Or. 474 (28) fol. 187v.

4.1 A Note on the Supporting Manuscript

University of Leiden, Or. 474(28) foḷ 187v – 245r (*Legatum Warnerarium*)[552]

The manuscript is a collection of forty-one texts, of which forty are attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and they are all dated to 987 AH / 1579 – 1580 CE. The manuscript has had a relatively stable history, being collected by Levinus Warner (1619 - 1665), an ambassador of the Dutch Republic at the Ottoman court and held by the University of Leiden since 1669.[553] This makes this manuscript of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* a suitable basis for an *Urtext*.[554] The Leiden MS and the modern edition edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl are largely similar, with occasional exclusions, additions and use of synonyms.[555]

The text is written in a clear *nakhsh* with a text box containing thirty-one lines per folio. The text is written in black ink, with titles and the opening of each *ḥadīth* (i.e. *akhraja*) usually written in coloured ink. Throughout the text *hamza* is never written over a *kursī* but is simply marked by the long vowel, or, very occasionally, not at all. *Alif maqṣūra* is also usually written as a final-*yā'*. Most of

[552] I have been unable to study the MS personally, and the summary of the MS made below is based on observations of a facsimile copy of the text and on the information provided by Jan Just Witkam in his *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden - Volume 1– Manuscripts Or. 1 - Or. 1000* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007) pp. 208 – 210. As a result, I am unable to provide details about the dimensions of the manuscript.

[553] See Witkam, *Inventory*, p. 110; Witkam, Jan Just, 'The Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden' *BJMES* 8 (1981) pp. 60 – 64.

[554] The MS held by the Mingana Collection in Birmingham [MS Ar. 651i] is much later, dating to 1666 – 1667 CE; The MS held in the British Library [*Or. 9026/1*] is earlier than the Leiden MS and dates to 973 AH / 1566 CE; however, I have been unable to attain a facsimile of the MS and as the text dates to roughly the same period as the Leiden MS, I have principally used the Leiden MS as my *Urtext*.

[555] This is referred to throughout as the 'DKI Edition'. A list of textual variants has been included in the Appendix.

the lines are justified, but occasionally the titles of some sections (but not all) are centrally justified with indentations. There are also occasionally added notes referring to the chapter headings in the margins, although these are fairly rare and were added later. There are no miniatures or ornamentations, apart from the occasional addition of text-stops.

Please also note the following:

(*Arabic text*)	Arabic terms are occasionally added to clarify the translation.
[ ]^{N}	Textual variants are shown in square brackets, with a footnote.
[ ]	Square brackets (without a footnote) indicate phrases that have been added to clarify the translation.
.....(?)	A dotted line with a question mark is used to mark places where the text appears to be corrupt.
[Nb]	The numbering system of the DKI Edition has been followed. Any *ḥadīth* inserted by the Leiden MS have been marked with a 'b'; i.e. §2b is inserted by the MS after *ḥadīth* §2 in the DKI Edition.

Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr

al-Suyūṭī al-Shāfiᶜī

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

(*The Arrangement of the Traditions*

About Angels)

4.2.1 Preface

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.[556]

'Praise belongs to God, who appointed the Angels to be messengers, having wings, two, three and four…'[557] Blessings and peace upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon the House, the Companions and the Successors. I have put together this small compilation of traditions about the righteous angels. I have included in it those traditions and narrations which mention them, and I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad. I have called it: *The Arrangement of the Traditions About Angels*.[558] By God, the Helper![559] Trust is in him!

4.2.2 The Necessity of Belief in Angels[560]

God, Most High, says: 'The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels'[561] Al-Bayhaqī[562] says in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*:[563] Belief in angels incorporates [the following] ideas: firstly, faith in their existence; secondly, [that] their being sent down [by God]

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[556] This introduction follows a standard format employed by al-Suyūṭī in his ḥadīth collections, consisting of: a relevant Qur'ānic quotation, laudations, a description of the work's contents, its title and a prayer or oath; cf. his *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī-'l-haya' al-sunnīya*; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 1.
[557] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.
[558] For a discussion of the title, see Section 1.3 above.
[559] cf. Q 12:18; Arberry *Koran*, p. 227.
[560] The section is given the full title: *dhukira wujūb al-īmān bi-'l-malā'ika* = What is mentioned [concerning] the necessity of belief in angels.
[561] Q 2:285; Arberry *Koran*, p. 43
[562] See the Appendix for notes on each of al-Suyūṭī's sources.
[563] The text that starts here and ends after the first ḥadīth in the collection is lifted directly from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*; see al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ al-shuᶜab al-īmān* (Bombay: Dār al-Salifiyya, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 405 - 406.

is their status [in the universe] and a proof that they are servants of God. He created them like humans and jinn, ordered and entrusted [with a task]. They have no authority, save that over which God gives them authority and it is right that they should die;[564] but God, Most High, has given them an end in distant time; indeed, he will not receive them until they reach it.[565] They are not described by anything that would, through describing them by it, lead to them being associated with God, Most High; and so they are not called *gods*, as the ancients called them.[566]

Thirdly: recognition that from amongst [them are messengers, which he sends to whichever human he wishes, and it is also allowed that he sends some of them to some;][567] from recognition of that, it follows that among them are the Bearers of the Throne, the Rangers, the Guardians of Paradise, the Guardians of Hell, the Recorders of Deeds, and the Cloud Drivers; indeed the Qur'an shows all of it or most of it.

[1] We related[568] from Ibn ᶜUmar [from ᶜUmar][569] from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), when he was asked about faith; he said: Believe in God, His angels, His Book and His messengers.[570]

[564] Lit: 'death is upon them rightly…'
[565] i.e. the *ajal* of the angels is, like that of humans, fixed and immovable.
[566] In the Qur'ān, the Meccans are told that their deities are not divine, but are merely angels; cf. Q 34:40 & 43:19; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 442 & 506. See also Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* and Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' pp. 733 – 758.
[567] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 12.
[568] Almost all of the ḥadīth begin with the Arabic *akhraja* to introduce each ḥadīth; this has not been translated, but its absence is noted. In this case the ḥadīth is preceeded by *wa-rawaynā*.
[569] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 14.
[570] cf. Q 2:285 & 4:136; this is the end of the quotation from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*.

4.2.3 The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers[571]

[2] [Muslim][572] from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels were created out of light, the Father of the Jinn[573] was created out of a mixture of fire and Adam was created out of what characterizes you.

[2b][574] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*[575] from ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light.

[3] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* from ᶜIkrima; he said: The angels were created from the light of the Glorious One.

[4] Abū ʻl-Shaykh[576] from Zayd ibn Rūmān; that he heard that the angels were created from the spirit of God.

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[571] In Islamic philosophy, angels were believed to be Intellects and were incorporeal; for a discussion of this see Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.
[572] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 16.
[573] *al-Jānn*; this can be used as the collective noun for *jinn*, or as a reference to Iblīs. See Lane, *AELex* pp. 462 & 2704; al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 34, pp. 370 – 371 and Zbinden, Ernst, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1953) pp. 3 – 8.
[574] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, ll. 18 – 19.
[575] Sezgin says that the *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* is ‘ein mystiches Buch, in dem er sich auf den *ṣaḥabī* ᶜAlī b. Salām beruft, dem die Schriften des Propheten Daniel in die Hände gefallen sin sollen.’ Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 201.
[576] Al-Suyūtī does not cite the book from which the *ḥadīth* is taken again, unless two books have been used (as will be seen later). This *ḥadīth* is from the *Kitab al-ᶜaẓama.*

4.2.4 The Great Abundance of the Angels

[God] Most High said: 'And none knows the hosts of the Lord but He.'[577]

[5] al-Bazzār, Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mandah in *Kitab al-radd ᶜalā al-jahamiyyah* from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light and He brought them to life out of it. Then He said: 'Let there be a thousand thousands of you.' A single angel is smaller than a fly[578] and there is nothing more numerous than the angels.

[6] al-Bayhaqī in *Al-Shuᶜab* from Masᶜūd; he said: There is no place in the heavens without a face of an angel or its two feet; then he recited: 'we are the rangers (*ṣāfūna*).'[579]

[7] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr; he said: There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright[580] until the Hour comes.

[8] Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr; he said: The Messenger of God[581] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Heaven groaned

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[577] Q 74:3; Arberry *Koran*, p. 617.
[578] Flies are used as the generic term for something incredibly small, e.g. Q 22:73; 'Surely those upon whom you call, apart from God, shall never create a fly…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 341.
[579] Q 37:165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[580] This and the following ḥadīth with the same phrase could be an allusion to Q 22:26 or 39:9; Arberry *Koran*, pp. 336 and 472.
[581] The Leiden MS reads 'al-nabī'; fol. 187v, l. 31.

– and it could do nothing but groan![582] There is no place in [heaven] to set four fingers except upon the place of an angel's forehead.[583]

[9] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is nowhere to place a foot in heaven, except upon an angel prostrating or standing upright – and so the Word [of the Most High]:[584] 'None of us is there, but has a known station; we are the rangers'.[585]

[10] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḍiyā' in *al-Mukhtāra*, and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with his friends, he said to them: 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'We have not heard anything.' He said: 'Indeed, I heard the creaking of the heavens, and it is not to blame for its creaking; there is no place in it [for a foot],[586] except upon an angel bowed down in worship or standing.'

[11] al-Ṭabarānī from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is no place for a foot in the Seven Heavens,[587] nor a hand outstretched, nor a palm of the hand, without an angel standing or an angel prostrating in [that place]; when it is the Day of Resurrection,

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[582] *aṭṭat / ta'iṭṭa* ['-Ṭ-Ṭ]. This is a relatively rare root meaning to groan or creak, often with particular reference to camels (be it the camel itself or a saddle *&c.*). This particular *ḥadīth* is usually cited as an example in the lexicons – see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 19, pp. 164 – 165 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 66.
[583] This same ḥadīth also appears in al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[584] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 1.
[585] Q 37:164 – 165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[586] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 4.
[587] The concept of 'Seven Heavens' is also important in Judaism and Christianity; see Collins, Adela Yarbo, 'The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses' in Collins and Fishbane, *Other Worldly Journeys*, pp. 59 - 93.

they will say [together]:[588] 'We worship you! We have only worshipped You in a manner worthy of You. We have not associated anything with You.'[589]

[12] al-Dīnawārī in *al-Mujālasa* from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: There is nothing more numerous in God's creation than the angels: [for] none of the sons of Adam are without two angels,[590] the driver who drives him, and the watcher, who watches him;[591] therefore, there are twice the number of the sons of Adam; then in addition to that, the heavens [and the earth][592] are crammed full, and beyond the heavens are yet still [more]: those around the Throne[593] are more numerous than those which are in the heavens.

[13] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Saᶜīd from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: In the Garden [there is] a river[594] and Gabriel does not enter it, get out and shake himself, without God creating an angel from every drop that falls from him.[595]

[14] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih; he said: God has a river in the air, covering the earths, all of them. Seven times [a day] God sends into that river an

[588] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 6.
[589] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[590] § 312 – 406 deal with the Srcibes in more detail.
[591] Cf. Q 50:21: *wa-jā'at kullu nafsin maᶜahā sā'iqun wa-shahīdun*; 'And every soul shall come, and with it a driver and a witness.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[592] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, ll. 9 – 10.
[593] These angels are presumably additional to the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* (Bearers of the Throne).
[594] In the pre-Islamic pantheon *Allah* was both the creator of the world and the rain-god; the Qur'ān emphasises the supremacy of *Allah* as the creator and the life-sustainer, as it is He and He alone that provides humans with water, and by extension life: '[Water] reveals aspects of the dependence of creation on him, his dealings with it, and its duty to serve him.' Johns, Anthony H., 'Water' *EQ* vol. 5, p. 462.
[595] Although containing a few ḥadīth that locate the origins of rain in heaven, al-Suyūṭī's *al-Hay'a* does not include this ḥadīth (nor any others included in this collection); see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 160 – 164.

angel from heaven, and it gets into it, immersing the whole of its body, then it washes in it; when it gets out, rain [falls] from it; rain is from light, and from every raindrop emanates[596] an angel, which praises God; all of creation praises God.[597]

[15] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzā^{c}ī; he said: Moses (peace be upon him) said: 'Lord, who is with you in heaven?' He said: 'My angels.' He said: 'How many are there, Lord?' He said: 'Twelve tribes.' He said: 'How many does each tribe add up to?' He said: 'The sum of the dust [of the earth].'

[16] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ka^{c}b; he said: Nothing trickles from an angel's eye unless there is an angel flying from the fear of God.[598]

[17] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-^{c}Alā' ibn Hārūn; he said: Every day, Gabriel is immersed in the al-Kawthar,[599] and then he shakes himself; and so every raindrop is created from an angel.

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[596] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-khalaqa min kulla qaṭra malakan*' ['He creates an angel from every raindrop *or* An angel is created (*fa-khuliqa*) from every raindrop]; fol. 188r, l. 14.

[597] See also §172 – 177 for ḥadīth on the Angel of the Rain. Rain was believed to come from angels, e.g. al-Shahrastānī, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn ^{c}Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Milāl wa-'l-nihāl* (Tūfīq, M. (ed)), (Cario: Matba^{c}at Hijāzī bi-'l-Qāhira, 1948), vol. 2, p. 111; for secondary material, see Lawrence, Bruce B., 'Shahrastānī on Indian Idol Worship' *SI* 38 (1973), pp. 61 – 73, p. 67 and for this belief in modern practice, see: Başgöz, Ilhan, 'Rain-Making Ceremonies and Seasonal Festivals' *JAOS* 87 (1967) pp. 304 – 306, p. 305. The Angel of the Rain is named as *Ridya* in the Babylonian Talmud; see *Ta'* 25b, p. 133 and *Yom.* 21a, p. 90. A similar ḥadīth to this appears in Al-Tha^{c}labī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23. However, the ḥadīth is attributed to Abū Hurrayah, and Gabriel immerses himself in a *baḥr min nūr* (a sea of light). Ibn Khaldūn also includes similar imagery when describing Jesus' return at the end of time, see Ibn Khaldūn, ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamamd al-Maghribī (ed. Muṣtafā Fahmī al-Kutbī), *al-Muqaddima min al-kitāb al-^{c}ibar* (Cairo: Maṭba^{c}at al-Taqaddam bi-Sharḥ Muḥammad ^{c}Alī, n.d.) p. 259; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History (Second Edition)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 2, p. 194.

[598] In the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth weeping is generally not discouraged; cf. Chittick, William C., 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' in Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (eds.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in The Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) pp. 132 – 144, pp. 132 – 134.

[599] A river in paradise, also shown to Muḥammad during the *Mi^{c}rāj*. See Alvorado, Salustio, 'Sobre al-Kawṯar y Otros Ríos del Paraíso en la Eschatología Islámica y Cristiana' *BAEO* 41 (2005) pp. 247

[18] Abū ʻl-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: There is no creation of God more numerous than the angels; there is nothing that grows without an angel being responsible for it.

[19] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from al-Ḥakam; he said: I heard that He sends down with the rain [such and such] [600] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblīs. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.

[20] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Seven Heavens are filled with angels; if you measured a hair,[601] you would not be able to compare it with something you had already measured;[602] amongst them one is standing still, one prostrated and one worshipping, terrified and shaking their wings in fear[603] of God. Not even the blink of an eye disobeys him. The distance between the back and the head of one of the Bearers of the Throne is a journey of a hundred years.

– 253; Horovitz, J [-Gardet, L.], ʻKawthwarʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 805 – 806; and El-Zein, Amira, ʻWater of Paradiseʼ *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 466 – 467; cf. *GenR* 78:1, p. 714 – 715 and *LamR* 3:2 §8, pp. 201 – 202.

[600] This has been inserted on the basis of an extremely similar ḥadīth which appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥayʼa al-sanīya*. The ḥadīth reads: ʻ*…wayanzilu maᶜa kadhā wa-kadhā min al-malāʼika yatukbūna ḥaythu yaqaᶜu dhālika ʻl-maṭar wa-man yarzuquhu wa-mā yakhruju minhu maᶜa kulla qaṭra*.ʼ §VI:27; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 26.

[601] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 13; Brinner, *Lives,* p .22.

[602] i.e. the angel's hair is immeasurable.

[603] The Leiden MS uses the slightly stronger ʻ*faraqan*ʼ (*terrified*); fol. 188r, l. 25.

[20b][604] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no place [the size] of the eye of a needle[605] without an angel being responsible for it, raising knowledge about it up to God and the angels of heaven; [the angels] are more numerous than the number of specks of dust and as small.

[21] Ibn al-Mundhir in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr; it was attributed to [Muḥammad]; he said: The angels are in ten parts: nine parts are Cherubim, who glorify God night and day, without rest; and one part is responsible for everything that is hidden. There is no place in the heavens without a worshipper or an angel bowing; and the sacred place is around the Throne, and the Inhabited House[606] is around the Kaᶜba; if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it. Every day seventy thousand angels pray in it;[607] then they do not come back to it.

[22] Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜAmr al-Bakālī; he said: God, [Most High],[608] divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.[609]

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[604] The Leiden MS inserts this ḥadīth; fol. 188r, ll. 26 – 28.
[605] A common metaphor in Islam; cf. Q 7:40; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 147 (although the phrase is *samm al-khiyāṭ*); much has been written about this Qur'ānic phrase: cf. Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Eye of the Needle' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 354 – 359 and Rippin, A. 'Qur'ān 7:40: «Until a Camel Pases through the Eye of the Needle»' *Arabica* 27 (1980) pp. 107 – 113.
[606] Q. 52:4; the *bayt al-ma'mur* is thought to be the seventh heaven and it is said to be located directly above the Kaᶜba. See Porter, 'Muhammad's Journey p. 77 and Morris, 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 636, n. 35 & *JAOS* 108 (1988) p. 69 n. 169; cf. also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 27.
[607] 70,000 is a traditional number in Islamic tradition for the size of an angelic army; cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[608] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 2
[609] There is a scribal error in the Leiden MS with a repition of 'and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest…'; fol. 188v, ll. 4 – 5.

[23] Ibn Abī Hātim through the intermediary of Khabīb[610] ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs from his father; he said: Humans and jinn are in ten parts, humans form one part and jinn nine parts; the jinn and the angels are in ten parts, the jinn are one part, the angels nine; the angels and the Spirit are ten parts, the angels are one part, the Spirit nine; the Spirit and the Cherubim are ten parts, the Spirit forms one part of it, the Cherubim are nine parts.[611]

[24] Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, al-Khaṭīb and Ibn ᶜAsākir thorough the intermediary of ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr from ᶜĀdī ibn Arṭā from one of his worthy friends - ᶜUbbād said: I have forgotten his name - from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: God has angels which tremble [in fear of Him].[612] There is no angel from amongst them that does not shed a tear from its eyes, except an angel found standing, praising God. Angels were prostrating when God created the heavens and the earth and they did not raise their heads,[613] and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; angels were bowing, and they did not raise their heads, and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; and those that were posted, they have not left their posts, and they will not leave them until the Day of Resurrection. Thus, when it is the Day of Resurrection, it will be made manifest to them by their Lord (may He be praised and glorified) and they will look at Him, and they will say, ‘Praise be to You, we have served You just as we should.’

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[610] Given in the Leiden MS as ‘Ibn Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān…’; fol. 188v, l. 6.
[611] If these numbers were read as ‘for every one human there are ten jinn’ the final number of Cherubim would be 10,000 (a myriad - which is a traditional number for counting angels, cf. Deut. 33:2 and Rev. 5:11) for every human; however, as read, the total number are 6,561 cherubim for every human.
[612] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 10.
[613] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

[25] Ibn Mandah in *al-Maᶜrifa* and Ibn ᶜAsākir from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ᶜĀlāʾ from Banū Sāᶜada from his father al-ᶜĀlāʾ ibn Saᶜd, from someone who submitted on the Day of Victory[614] that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said one day at a social gathering, 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'What have you heard, Messenger of God?' He said, 'I heard the sky groan, and it could do nothing but groan! There is no place for a foot in it without an angel standing or bowing down or prostrating in [that place]; then he recited: 'We are the rangers,[615] We are they that give glory.'[616]

[26] Ibn Jarīr from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas concerning His Word: 'And he taught Adam the names, all of them'[617] he said: The names of the angels.

4.2.5 The Four Archangels[618] who are in charge of the command of the World

[27] [Ibn Abī Shayba],[619] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Shuᶜab* from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: Four are in charge of the command of this world:

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[614] Namely, the conquest of Mecca – see *AELex* (1984) p. 2328; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad,* p. 533.
[615] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 18.
[616] Q 37:166; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[617] Q 2:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.
[618] Although there is no designation of 'archangel' in Islamic angelology as such, the Greek *αρχαγγελος* is translated into Arabic as *ra'īs malā'ika*; cf. 1Th. 4:16; *UBS* p. 703; and the Mount Sinai Codex 151 (dated to 867 C.E.), Staal, H. (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Codex 151 – I:Pauline Epistles* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1983) p. 173. This is also the standard translation in modern translations of the Bible into Arabic: see *Kitāb al-ᶜahd al-jadīd* (Cambridge: Jamᶜīyyat al-tawrā al-brīṭānīyya wa-'l-ajnabīyya, 1917) p. 233.
[619] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, ll. 20 – 21.

Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death and Isrāfīl.[620] As for Gabriel, he is responsible for the winds and the army;[621] Michael[622] is responsible for the rain and the plants;[623] the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls; and Isrāfīl, he is sent down to them with the command [of God].

[28] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: 'In the *Umm al-Kitāb*, everything will be in existence until the Day of Resurrection, and three of the angels are responsible for preserving [existence]: Gabriel is responsible for the Book, which he brings down to the Messengers, and Gabriel is also responsible for the acts of destruction when God has willed [Gabriel] to annihilate peoples; and he is responsible for victory in battle.[624] Michael is responsible for preservation [of life], rain and the plants of the earth. The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls. When this world comes [to an end], they [will compare] what they have preserved to the *Umm al-Kitāb* (?),[625] and they will find it to be the same. Ibn Abī Shayba narrated it.[626]

[29] Al-Bayhaqī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with Gabriel, who

[620] Gabriel is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (Q 2:97, 98 and 64:4), Michael once (Q 2:98); the Angel of Death once (Q 32:11) and Isrāfīl is not mentioned.
[621] Gabriel has a similar role in the Talmud; cf. *BB* 74b, p. 297 and *San.* 19b, p. 99 & 95b, p. 644.
[622] The Leiden MS reads 'Isrāfīl' in error; fol. 188v, l. 22.
[623] In Islamic tradition, Michael is frequently associated with nature and the sustenance of humans, cf. al-Qazwīni, *Ajā'ib*, p. 37.
[624] Cf. the Battle of Badr; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79 and 113.
[625] The Leiden MS reads: '….*al-dunyā jamᶜ bayn hufzihim wamā fī umm al-kitāb fa-yajidūnahu siwā"* fol. 188v, l. 23. However, both the Arabic of the Leiden MS and the DKI edition are unclear, and the ḥadīth appears to be corrupted.
[626] Ibn Abī Shayba is mentioned at the start of the ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 20.

was confiding in him;[627] suddenly, the highest heaven was split open and Gabriel began to become smaller and [an angel][628] drew close and came nearer to the earth, and there was an angel standing directly in front of the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: 'Muḥammad, your Lord greets you; and He gives you the choice between becoming an angelic prophet or a human prophet.'[629] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Then Gabriel beckoned to me with his hand that I should be humble,[630] and I knew that he was my guide, so I said: 'A human prophet.'

Then that angel ascended into heaven, and I said: 'Gabriel, I have wanted to ask you about this, but seeing your form[631] distracted me from my asking the question. Who is this, Gabriel?' He said: 'This is Isrāfīl. On the day of his creation, God created him with his feet lined up directly in front of him; he does not look up; between him and the Lord are Seventy Lights; and from these there is no light close to Him, save it being consumed by fire; between his hands is the *Preserved Tablet*;[632] when God allows anything in heaven or in earth, that tablet ascends, [descends][633] and it hits [Isrāfīl] on the forehead. Then [Isrāfīl] sees and if there is anything for me to do, he orders me to do it; and if there is anything for Michael to do, he orders him to do it; and if there is anything for the Angel of Death to do, he orders him to do it.'

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[627] In Islamic tradition Muḥammad is often alone when he encounters Gabriel, e.g. in the narrative of the first revelation, Muḥammad seeks seclusion on Mount Ḥirā' before meeting the angel; see al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §3, pp. 3 – 4.
[628] As Gabriel is already with Muḥammad, it must be the other angel (Isrāfīl) who is approaching.
[629] Lit.: 'servant prophet'.
[630] Lit.: 'you should be humble' – but this does not make sense.
[631] Lit.: 'state' or 'condition' – i.e. when Gabriel became small.
[632] This is generally considered to be above the Seventh Heaven. Daniel Madigan notes that, 'Taken literally, [these images of writing] are difficult to read as a whole. Alternatively, they can be read, and often are in the Islamic tradition, as complementary, symbolic representations of God's knowledge and will.' Madigan, Daniel A., 'Preserved Tablet' *EQ* vol. 4, p. 262.
[633] This is not included in the text, but the Tablet needs to come back down to Isrāfīl.

I said: ‘Gabriel, What are you responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the winds and the army.’ I said: ‘What is Michael responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the plants and the rain.’ I said: ‘What is the Angel of Death responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the taking of the souls.’ [Muḥammad said]: ‘And I do not think that [Isrāfīl] will descend [to earth] until the coming of the Hour. What you have seen [in the way of my behaviour] is nothing but fear of the coming of the Hour.’

[30] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The creations closest to God are Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl; the distance between them and God is a journey of fifty thousand years:[634] Gabriel is on his right and Michael on the other, with Isrāfīl between them.

[31] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: These four are angels:[635] Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death; [they were] the first of the creations of God, [and they will be] the last whom God will cause to die; [and] the first of those whom God will bring to life; they are the ones who organize a command,[636] and they are the ones who carry out an order.[637]

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[634] The Leiden MS reads ‘five thousand years’; fol. 189r, l. 12.
[635] *Amlāk*: the plural of paucity (*jumᶜ al-qilla*) for *malak*– i.e. referring to 3 – 10 angels. Elsewhere in the text no number is given, as it is here. For more on these plurals see Ratcliffe, Robert R., *The Broken Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic* (Amsterdam : J. Benjamins, 1998) p. 69*f.* and ᶜAbbās Abū ‘l-Suᶜūd, *Al-Fayṣal fī alwān al-jumūᶜ* (Cairo: Dar al-Maᶜārif bi-Miṣr, 1971) pp. 33 – 44.
[636] Cf. Q 79:5 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 30, pp. 30 - 31; the *mudabbirāt* are said to be angels.
[637] Cf. Q 51:4 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 26, pp. 187 – 188; the *muqassimāt* are said to be angels.

[32][638] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān; he said: Gabriel is the agent of God to His messengers, and Michael receives the Book which is sent up concerning the deeds of the people; and Isrāfīl is in the role of the gatekeeper.

[33] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid that a man said: ‘Messenger of God, which angel is the dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ Gabriel came to him, so he said: ‘Gabriel, which of the creations is dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ So Gabriel ascended, then descended and said: ‘Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death. As for Gabriel, he is responsible for war and the messengers; as for Michael, he is responsible every raindrop that falls, every leaf that grows and every leaf that falls; as for the Angel of Death, he is responsible for the taking of the soul of every servant on land and sea; and as for Isrāfīl, he is the intermediary of God between Him and between them.’

[34] al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḥākim from Abū ‘l-Malīḥ from his father, that he was performing the two ritual prostrations of the morning prayers with the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), and he was praying near him; and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) performed two lively prostrations, and I heard him say three times: ‘O God, the Lord of Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and Muḥammad, I take refuge in you from the Fire.’[639]

[638] This ḥadīth is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189r, l. 15.
[639] This is said as part of the prayers said during the circumambulation of the Kaᶜba during the hajj; see Kamal, Ahmad, ‘The Sacred Journey’ in A. de L. Rush (ed.), *Records of the Hajj – Vol. 1: Prayer, Invocations and Rites* (London: Archive Editions), p. 159; it is also reminiscent of Q 11:47; 23:97 and 23:98; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 216 and 350.

[35] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜĀʾisha that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted while his head was in her lap,[640] and she began to stroke his face and pray for him to be cured. When he came to, he said: 'No! Do not ask God! The highest companion is with Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl - peace be upon them.'

4.2.6 Gabriel (peace be upon him)[641]

[36] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn; he said: Gabriel's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God', Michael's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜubayd*)[642] of God', and Isrāfīl [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful'; Everything derives from *Īl*, that is the temple of God[643] – may He be praised and glorified.

[37] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: Gabriel [means] 'the Servant of God'; Michael [means] 'the Servant of God'; every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'

[38] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr; he said; Gabriel's name amongst the angels is 'Servant of His Lord' – may He be praised and glorified.

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[640] cf. al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* §2, p. 3.
[641] This and almost all of the chapters that follow, begin with the phrase '*mā jā'a fī*...' = 'what is said / found concerning…'. This has not been translated.
[642] *ᶜUbayd* is the diminutive of *ᶜabd* (see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1935); the use of the diminutive may be being used to lower the status of Michael, who is the dominant angel in Judaism (cf. Hag 12b & Ber 4b) and promote Gabriel. This trend can be seen in other Islaimc eschatological texts, see Bowman, 'Eschatological Fragment' pp. 203 – 204.
[643] From the Hebrew *'el* which is the standard word for 'God' not 'temple of God'; see *BDB*, p. 41. The *TA* does not contain any of these temple etymologies, and simply states that it is a name of God; see al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.

[39] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ’isha; he said; I heard that Gabriel is the Imām of the people of Heaven.

[40] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Indeed, I tell you that the best of the angels is Gabriel.

[41] Muslim from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel, in a green[644] robe; he filled the space between Heaven and Earth.

[42] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I saw Gabriel descending and he filled the space between East and West, wearing a silk gown[645] encrusted with pearls and rubies.[646]

[43] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha (God be pleased with her);[647] she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘I would

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[644] *khadrā’* can also indicate blue: ‘Das Wort bezeichnet die den ganzen dunklen Farbbereich umfassende Grundfarbe, sowohl ‘grün’ als auch ‘blau’.’ Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) p. 306. It would seem more likely to be green as in the Qur’ān green is closely associated with God and paradise – see Rippin, Andrew, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365. Ibn Khaldūn also includes a ḥadīth in which Khadījah says: ‘…green and white are the colours of goodness and the angels.’ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, p. 74; Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah,* vol. 1, p. 186.

[645] Silk was very expensive and in the Qur’ān it is associated with the paradise and redemption: ‘Clearly referring to the cultural context of the qur’ānic revelation, a recurrent image presents the redeemed as garbed in silk or other fine fabrics and wearing valuable jewels.’ Golnaldez, V., ‘Silk’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 11. Being described in this way, Gabriel is firmly rooted in the divine world. For more on silk and the development of the silk-trade in early Islamic history see: Lombard, Maurice, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman: VIIe – XIIe siècle* (Paris: Mouton Editeur, 1978) pp. 79 – 104.

[646] Rubies, pearls and coral are the only precious stones mentioned in the Qur’ān and they are only used in passages about paradise; see Troupeau, Géerad, ‘Metals and Minerals’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 383 – 384. Pearls are also associated with the First and Seventh Heavens – see MacDonald, John, ‘Paradise’ *IS* 5 (1966), p. 344.

[647] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 16.

like to see you in your image.' He said: 'You would like that?!' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Your appointed time is on such and such a night at Baqīᶜ al-Gharqad.'[648] So he met him at the appointed time, and he spread out one of his wings,[649] and it blotted out the horizon until he could not see anything in the sky.

[44] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd concerning His Word: 'Indeed he saw him another time.'[650] He said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel hanging in the air, on his feet were pearls, like raindrops on the grass.

[44b][651] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās from Waraqa al-Aṣārī; he said: I said: 'Muḥammad, how does the creature, [which comes to you],[652] come to you?' – meaning Gabriel; He said: 'He comes to me from the sky, his two wings are pearls and the soles of his feet are green.

[45] Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Do you see your Lord?' He said: 'Between me and Him there are seventy veils[653] of fire and light, if I were to see the lowest of them, I would be consumed by fire.'

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[648] The oldest cemetery in Medina in the South-East of the town; for more information, see Wensinck, A. J. [-Bazmee Anasri, A. S.], 'Baḳīᶜ al-Ghaṛḳad' *EI²* vol. 1, pp. 957 – 958.
[649] Gabriel is also believed to have six hundred wings; cf. al-Rabghūzī, Naṣīr al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Dīn; Boeschoten, H. E., O'Kane, J. & Vandamme, M., *Al-Rabghūzī: The Stories of the Prophets – Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' – An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) vol. 2, p. 596.
[650] Q 53:13; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550.
[651] The DKI edition includes two ḥadīth with the number 44; so as to maintain the DKI numbering, the second 44 has been labelled 44b; it is not an edition of the Leiden MS.
[652] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 12.
[653] Here, as in the Qur'ān, *hijāb* refers to a dividing curtain as opposed to a face veil; see Toorawa, Shawkat M., 'Clothing' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 346 – 347.

[46] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) when he ascended into Heaven, saw Gabriel in [his] true form,[654] his wings strung with chrysolites, pearls and rubies; he said: ‘It seemed to me that the space between his eyes filled the horizon, but I used to see him before that in a different form and more often I used to see him in the form of Diḥya al-Kalbī,[655] and sometimes I used to see him just as a man sees his friend through the bottom of a sieve.[656]

[47] Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) only saw Gabriel in his true form twice; as for the first time, he asked to see his soul, and he saw his soul, and it filled the horizon; as for the other, it was on the Night Journey ‘by the Lote-Tree.’[657]

[48] Abū ‘l-Shaykh the intermediary of[658] ᶜAṭā’ from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The space between Gabriel’s shoulders is a [journey of][659] five hundred years for a quick-flying bird.

[49] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Isḥāq al-Hāshimī[660] from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel has six

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[654] This is a common theme of the *miᶜrāj* literature: cf. al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 595 – 596.
[655] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of ‘such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.’ Lammens, ‘Diḥya’ p. 274; cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 595.
[656] *Ghirbāl* can also mean a tambourine (see *TA* vol. 30, pp. 87 – 89), but the haziness of looking through the bottom of a sieve is the main idea here.
[657] Q 53:14; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550; according to Al-Thaᶜlabī this is the abode of Gabriel, see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[658] A number of the ḥadīth include the phrase ‘*min ṭarīq*…’= ‘through the intermediary of…’; see Appendix E for more information on these intermediaries.
[659] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 23.

hundred wings [adorned] with pearls and he spread them out like peacocks' feathers.[661]

[50] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa, Ibn Jurayj[662] and Qatāda – the Tradition came from amongst them: Gabriel has two wings, and he has a belt strung with pearls;[663] his front teeth shine like a bald forehead; his head is platted tightly like small pearls, and the pearls are like snow; his feet are greenish.

[51] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih that he was asked about the creation of Gabriel; he reported that the space between his shoulders, from this one to that one, is [a journey][664] of seven hundred years for a bird.

[52] Ibn Sa^{c}d and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Dalā'il* from ^{c}Ammār ibn Abī ^{c}Ammār that Ḥamza ibn ^{c}Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: 'Messenger of God, show me Gabriel in his true form.' He said: 'You are not able to see him.' He said: 'Yes, but show him to me.' He said: 'Sit down!' So he sat down; [then] Gabriel [came down and][665] was on a piece of wood in the Ka^{c}ba. The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation)

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[660] The Leiden MS gives the fuller name; fol. 189v, l. 24.
[661] The *Yezīdīs* (a Kurdish sect) venerated a peacock angel (*malak ta^{c}ūs*); see Ebeid, R. Y., and Young, M. J. L., 'An Account of the History and Rituals of the Yazīdīs of Mosul' *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) pp. 481 – 522; see also Ahmed, Sami Said, *The Yazidis: Their Life and Beliefs* (Miami: Field Research Projects, 1975). For more general information on the Yezīdīs see Kreyenbroeck, Philip G., 'Religion and Religions in Kurdistan' in Philip G. Kreyenbroeck and Christine Allison (eds.), *Kurdish Culture and Identity* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996) pp. 85 – 110. However, the more likely influence is Byzantine / Christian, as peacocks were associated with heaven and paradise and appropriated into Islamic iconography, see al-Khamis, Ulrike, 'An early Islamic bronze ewer examined' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998) pp. 9 – 19, particularly p. 12.
[662] Given as Ibn Jarīr in the Leiden MS, but this appears to be an error; fol. 189v, l. 26.
[663] A belt is referred to once in the Talmud, *Men.* 29a, p. 188.
[664] *khafq al-ṭayr* = the beating of (the wings of) the bird.
[665] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 1.

said: ‘Raise your eyes and look!’ So he raised his eyes and looked and he saw his feet, like green chrysolite; and he fell down unconscious.

[53] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Shihāb that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) asked Gabriel to show himself to him in his true form. Gabriel said, ‘You will never be able to bear it.’ He said, ‘I would like you to do it.’ So the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) went to pray on a moonlit night and Gabriel came to him in his true form. And the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted as soon as he saw him, then he came round while Gabriel supported him, placing one of his hands upon his chest and the other between his shoulder blades, and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘I did not think that there could be a creation like that!’ Gabriel said: ‘Just imagine what it would have been like if you had seen Isrāfīl! He has twelve wings, of which one is in the East and one is the West; the Throne is on the nape of his neck, and sometimes, for the glory of God, he makes himself smaller until he has become like a small sparrow[666] so that only [God’s] glory can carry His Throne.[667]

[54] Ibn Mardawayh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown,[668] hemmed with pearls and precious stones, his head is like a mountain[669] and

[666] *Al-waṣᶜ* or *al-waṣaᶜ*; a small bird, like a sparrow (*ᶜuṣfūr*); see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 10, p. 276; Ibn Manẓūr also cites this ḥadīth.
[667] This ḥadīth is also in the short section on Gabriel in al-Qazwīnī’s *ᶜAjā’ib*, p. 37.
[668] This is a motif carried through into Islamic tradition from Judeo-Christian imagery: cf. Ezekiel 9:3; 10:2; Daniel 7:9; John 20:12 *&c*.

his hair like small pearls, and he is the colour of snow,[670] [he has a] bald forehead [which] is [like] the glistening of the front teeth, and he [wears] two belts made of strung pearls, and his two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God.[671]' Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.

[55] Ibn ᶜAsākir in a weak chain of authority[672] from ᶜĀ'isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God created Gabriel's skull as large as the oasis of al-Ghūṭa.[673]

[56] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) visited a man from among the *Ansār*; when he came near to his home, he heard him talking in the doorway. After he had sought permission [to enter], he entered, but he did not see anyone. The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'I heard someone other than you talking.' He said: 'Messenger of God, [I entered, worried by [the sound] of someone talking, which I sought sanctuary from][674] and he came to me. I have never seen a more noble man after you sitting there and there is no better narrator than him.' He said: 'That is

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[669] The Leiden MS reads '*ka-'l-ḥubk*' (cf. Q 51:7), but the meaning is unclear; the DKI reading is more suitable; fol. 190r, l. 12.
[670] Lit.: 'his colour is like snow...'
[671] Gabriel is frequently identified with the *ruḥ al-qadūs*; see Griffith, Sidney H., 'Holy Spirit' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 442 - 444 and Webb, Gisela, 'Gabirel' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 278 – 280.
[672] The ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ defines a weak ḥadīth simply as one which is neither sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) nor fair (*ḥasan*) i.e. any ḥadīth in which there are questions concerning the veracity of one of the authorities in the *isnād*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (tr. E. Dickinson), *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth – Kitāb maᶜrifat anwāᶜ ᶜilm al-ḥadīth* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2005) p. 25.
[673] An area of orchards and gardens in Damascus fed by the Baradā; thought to be one of the four earthly paradises; see Elisséeff, N. , 'Ghūṭa' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 1104 – 1106.
[674] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 20.

Gabriel. From amongst you there is a man; if one of them swears an oath by God, then [Gabriel] will fulfil it.'[675]

[57] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel (peace be upon him) said: 'If my Lord sends me to do something, and I then go to it; I find the being, but He has arrived there before me.'

[58] Al-Ṭabarānī from Maymūna bint Saᶜd; she said: I said: 'Messenger of God, can someone in a state of ritual impurity[676] go to sleep?' He said: I do not like him to go to sleep until he has performed the ritual ablutions, for I fear that if he dies, then Gabriel will not be with him.

[59] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The angel closest to God is Gabriel, then Michael. If God singled out a servant for a very good action that he did; He says so-and-so has done such-and-such a pious act, My blessings are upon him; then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' Then Michael asks: 'Which of the people of heaven can see him?' They say: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth. If God singled out a servant for a very bad action that he did; he says: 'My servant, so-and-so, has done such-and-such a disobedient act, my curse is upon him.' Then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?'

[675] In the DKI Edition, this is marked as a Qur'ānic quotation, but it is not.
[676] Particularly ritual impurity after sexual intercourse, after which ablutions are necessary; for more on ritual purity laws see Burton, 'Practice of *wuḍūᶜ*'.

And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very disobedient action that he did, and the curse of God is upon him.’ And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth.[677]

[60] al-Ṣābūnī in *al-Mi’atayn* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel is responsible for the human desires. If a believer prays, then [God][678] says: ‘Gabriel withhold from my servant what he wants,[679] for I love him and I love his voice.’ If a non-believer prays, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate him and I hate his voice.’

[61] al-Bayhaqī from Thābit, he said; we heard that God, Most High, made Gabriel (peace be upon him) responsible for the needs of the people. When a believer asks for something, He says: ‘Gabriel, withhold from my servant what he wants, for I love his prayer.’ If a non-believer asks for something, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate his prayer.’ Al-Bayhaqī said this is how it was given [to me] (*maḥfūẓ*).

[62] Ibn Abī Shayba through the intermediary of Thābit from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar;[680] he said: Gabriel is responsible for needs; if a believer asks his Lord for something, He says: ‘Hold back! Hold back out of love for his prayer, so that [his

[677] A similar ḥadīth to this appears in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā’* – see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 153 - 154; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 255.
[678] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 5.
[679] Lit.: ‘Hold back the need of my servant’ and ‘Fulfill the need of my servant’. In Islamic belief, having ones needs fulfilled can lead to faithlessness in God; cf. ‘Sometimes He gives while depriving you, and sometimes He deprives you in giving.’ Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Ḥikām*; Victor Danner (tr.), *Ibn ᶜAṭā’illāh’s Ṣūfī Aphorisms* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) §83, p. 36.
[680] Given as ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmayr in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 10.

prayer] may increase.' If an unbeliever asks for something, He says: 'Give it [to him]! Give it [to him] out of hatred for his prayer.'

[63] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī from Abū Dharr; he said; When God says: 'Gabriel, take away from the believing heart of my servant the sweetness which I used to find. He said: 'The faithful servant has become a confused disciple, whose soul used to be protected. I have sent him misfortune, the like of which had never been sent to him before.' When God saw him in that state, he said: 'Gabriel, go back to the heart of my servant. I did not take it away from him. Indeed, I have put him to the test, and I find him truthful, and I will help him increasingly from my heart.

[64] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAmr ibn Murra; he said: Gabriel is on the South Wind.

[65] Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I did not choose to see Gabriel (peace be upon him) perched on the curtains of the Kaᶜba, as he said: 'O the one who finds, O illustrious one; you never cease from blessing me; yet you bestow it upon me, without having seen Him.'

[66] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād; he said: God looked at Gabriel and Michael, and the two of them were crying; so God said: 'What has made you cry? You know that I have not committed an outrage.' The two said: 'Lord, we

do not feel safe from your devising.' And He said this, and they were affected by it: 'The only ones who feel safe from my devising are all the losers.'[681]

[67] Imām Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawni that he heard that Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) crying and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'Why should the mouth of God not make me cry? I did not dry my eyes when God created the Fire; for fear that I might disobey him, he threw me into it.'

[68][682] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī[683] informed us, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī informed me in Mecca; al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād told us; [Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī; Abū 'l-Faḍl narrated it from his father ᶜĀṣim from his father ᶜUmar from Qatāda ibn al- Nuᶜmān; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said:][684] 'God sent Gabriel (peace be upon him) down in the most beautiful form of what had come to me in form, and he said: 'God salutes you, Muḥammad, and He says to you: "I revealed to the world, in such a way that [the world] should be bitter, troubling, oppressive and that it should act harshly towards my close associates, so that they

[681] This is almost a direct quotation of Q 6:99 'None feels secure against God's devising but the people of the lost.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 155.
[682] In both the DKI edition and Leiden MS, there is no '*akhraja*' at the beginning of this ḥadīth; fol. 190v, l. 26.
[683] Al-Suyūṭī occasionally includes the whole *isnād*, if there is some concern over the *isnād* (see the end of this ḥadīth).
[684] The Leiden MS gives a slightly different version of the section of the *isnād*: Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀsim from ᶜAmr ibn Qatāda ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī form his father, Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said…'; fol. 190v, ll. 27 – 29.

want to meet me; and that [the world] should be [made comfortable, agreeable, and good for my enemies, so that they are loathe to meet me].[685] Indeed, I created it as a prison for my friends and a paradise for my enemies.' Al-Bayhaqī said: We only write it with this *isnād* and there are unknown[686] things in it(?).[687]

[69] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Wāthila ibn al-Asqaᶜ; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) came to a curly-haired,[688] cross-eyed, short-necked, feet-deformed, small-eared,[689] left-handed, emaciated Yemeni who walked with his legs apart, he said: 'Messenger of God, explain to me what God has given me.' When he told him, he said: 'I swear to God that I will not do any more religious duties.' He said: 'Why [do] that?' He said: 'Because he created me, and created me deformed.' Then he ran away. So Gabriel came to [Muhammad] and said: 'Muhammad, where is the one who rebuked [God]? He rebuked a beautiful Lord, so He has castigated him. [God] said: 'Say to him: Truly, [Messenger of God],[690] he should be happy that God will send him in the image of Gabriel on the Day of Resurrection.' So he said [this] to him; and he said: 'Yes, Messenger of God, I am rebuking God for not making my body sufficiently strong to do any of the duties that please God except what the deeds

[685] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 1.
[686] The validity of a ḥadīth that includes an unknown transmitter (*majhūl*) is disputed in Ḥadīth scholarship; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 85; however the Arabic text does not appear to be be referring to *isnād*.
[687] This appears to refer to the various *isnāds*, but one would normally expect *–hā* instead of *–hum*.
[688] Evil is traditionally portrayed by ugliness, for example the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) is described as a human with a number of deformities, so much so that '…even a Jewish man named Ibn Sayyād (d. 683) was believed to be the Antichrist and was nearly killed by Omar…' Saritoprak, 'Legend of al-Dajjāl' p. 292. However, this ḥadīth is more likely to simply be describing someone with the most afflictions possible, rather than portraying him as being evil.
[689] The Leiden MS reads '*aḍjam*', which according to Lane is '…having a nose that inclines towards one side of the face.' (i.e. a crooked nose), see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1770; fol. 191r, l. 3.
[690] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 7.

that I have done for him.' On this [*ḥadīth*] al-ᶜAlā ibn Kathir said: al-Bukhārī did not accept this *ḥadīth*.[691]

[70][692] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr concerning His Word: 'Save only to such a messenger as He is well-pleased with: then He despatches before him and behind him watchers.'[693] He said: He only sends down Gabriel for the Revelation, and with him are four angelic *ḥufaẓa*.

[71] al-Ṭabarānī in a chain of trusted authorities (*bi-'snād rijālihi thiqāt*)[694] from Umm Salama that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: In Heaven there are two angels; one of the two is responsible for misery and the other is responsible for tenderness; the appropriate ones responsible are Gabriel and Michael. And there are two Prophets, one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other is responsible for misery, the appropriate ones are responsible, [and he said that these are Abraham and Noah. I have two companions; one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other for misery.][695] The appropriate one is responsible and he mentioned Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[696]

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[691] *Munkar* is used both of rejected and unfamiliar ḥadīth; many ḥadīth scholars rejected ḥadīth attributed to transmitters designated *munkar*, e.g. Muslim, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī) vol. 1, pp. 55 - 56; however some ḥadīth scholars did accept these ḥadīth, see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 59, n. 1. See also, Juynboll, G. H. A., 'Muslim's Introduction to his *Saḥīḥ*, Translated and Annotated with an excursus on the chronology of the *fitna* and *bid'a*' *JSAI* 5 (1984) pp. 263 – 302, p. 269, n. 9.

[692] In the Leiden MS there is an empty space left between *akhraja* and Abū 'l-Shaykh, an author's name may be missing; fol. 191r, l. 9.

[693] Q 72:27; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 613.

[694] *Thiqāt* is the technical term for reliable authorities, as opposed to an unreliable authorities (*ḍuᶜafā'*); various ḥadīth scholars collected volumes listing reliable and unreliable authorities, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā' al-saghīr* (Aleppo: Dār al-Wāᶜī, 1976).

[695] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 14.

[696] For a discussion of Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar, cf. Al-Suyūṭī (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd), *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajarīyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969) pp. 44 – 48; Jarret, H. S. (tr.), *History of the Caliphs* (repr. Karachi: Krimsons, 1977) pp. 40 – 41.

[72] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: ʻGabriel, I think that I have good standing with you.ʼ He said: ʻOf course – by the One who sent you in Truth! I have not been sent to a prophet whom I have loved more than you.ʼ He said: ʻI would like you to tell me about my standing with you here.ʼ He said: ʻI am able to do that.ʼ He said: ʻBy the One who sent you in truth! I was drawn unprecendetly close to my Lord [regarding my standing], and I have never approached the like of him before. And He had decreed that I could approach Him. It was a journey of five hundred years. The closest creation of God (may he be praised and glorified) is Isrāfīl. And [Isrāfīl] decreed that [Muḥammad] could approach [Isrāfīl]; the distance [between Isrāfīl and God(?)][697] is a journey of seventy years; among them are seventy lights and the lowest light blinds the eyes, so how could I have come to know what is beyond that? But it appeared to me on the Tablet;[698] then he called us and then sent us away.

[73] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Rabbāḥ; he said: I narrated that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ʻYou only come to me looking like you are grieving.ʼ[699] He said: ʻI have not laughed since the Fire was created.ʼ[700]

[74] al-Firyābī[701] and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ʻFor the trumpet[702] shall be blown and

[697] The text is unclear here.
[698] i.e. Muḥammad approaches God, but can only go as far as Isrāfīl, the angel nearest to God. Muḥammad is told what exists beyond Isrāfīl by the Tablet.
[699] See Lane for a discussion of this idiomatic expression, *AELex*, p. 1673.
[700] This ḥadīth appears again with Michael and Isrāfīl being the angels who do not laugh; see §79 & 97.

whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills.'[703] They said: 'Messenger of God, who are these whom God, may he be praised and glorified, will exclude?' He said: 'Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death, Isrāfīl and the Bearers of the Throne. For when God grasps the souls of the created beings, he will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you, my Lord, and I extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death remain.' And he will say: 'Take the soul of Isrāfīl!' So he will take the soul of Isrāfīl. And God will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you and I bless my Lord and extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death remain.' And He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael!' So he will take the soul of Michael, and he will fall down like a great mountain. And He will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' He will say: 'Gabriel [and][704] the Angel of Death.' And He will say: 'Die, Angel of Death!' and he will die. Then He will say: 'Gabriel, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and everlasting face remains.' And Gabriel is about to die and pass away. He said: it was necessary for him to die, and he fell down prostrating, his wings flapping.

He said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said that he preferred his creation over the creation of Michael as a great mountain.

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[701] This could be either Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī (d. 301 / 913) or Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī (d. 212 / 827). Abū Bakr was a ḥadīth collector and Abū ᶜAlī was an exegete; as this is an exegetical ḥadīth it is difficult to ascertain which al-Firyābī is meant; See Sezgin, *GAS,* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 166.

[702] For more on the trumpet that heralds the resurrection see: Smith, Jane I., 'Eschatology' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 47 – 48.

[703] Q 39:68; Arberry. *Koran*, p. 479.

[704] This appears to be an error in the text and 'wa-' has been added following earlier examples above.

[75] Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from a *ḥadīth* attributed to Anas concerning His Word: 'For the trumpet shall be blown…'[705] (and the rest of the verse); he said: From these God, may He be praised and glorified, will exclude three: Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death. God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and compassionate face remains and your servant Gabriel, and Michael and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael.' Then God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal face remains and your servant Gabriel and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Gabriel.' Then He, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and generous face remains and your servant the Angel of Death.' When he is about to die, he will say: 'Die!' Then he will proclaim: 'I began the creation then I take it back.'

[76] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜAṭā' ibn al-Sā'ib; he said: The first among those who are held to account is Gabriel because he is the faith of God to His messengers.

[77] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa; he said: The one responsible for the Scales[706] on the Day of Resurrection is Gabriel (peace be upon him).

[705] Q 39:68; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.
[706] Cf. Q 42:17 & 55:7-9, Arberry; *Koran*, pp. 500 & 557.

4.2.7 Michael (Peace be upon him)

[78] Ibn al-Mundhir[707] from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel's name [means] Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God, Michael's name [means] Servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God.[708]

[79] Aḥmad and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Anas that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Why have I never seen Michael laughing?'[709] He said: 'Michael has not laughed since the Fire was created.'

[80] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in *Nawādir al-uṣūl* from Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ; he said: Gabriel and Michael came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) while he was cleaning his teeth and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) gave Gabriel the toothpick.[710] He said: Gabriel said, 'God is Great!' Al-Ḥakīm said: that is, [Muḥammad] gave [it] to Michael and then [Gabriel] said: 'God is Great!'

[81] al-Ḥākim from Abū Saᶜīd; he said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: My two ministers from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael and from the earthly world are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[711]

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[707] Given as Ibn ᶜAbd al-Mundhir in the Leiden MS, this seems to be an error; fol. 191v, l. 10.
[708] See §36 for a discussion of the use of *ᶜabd* and *ᶜubayd*.
[709] For the negative attitude to laughing in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth, see Chittick, 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' pp. 133 – 134.
[710] Teeth-cleaning is an important part of Islamic ritual purity, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* §244 – 245; p. 69; and Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, vol. 1, pp. 64 - 65 (Bewley, *Al-Muwaṭṭa'*, §2.32.115—117, p. 23). For more secondary sources on this see: Risplet-Chaim, Vardit, 'The siwāk: A Medieval Islamic Contribution to Dental Care' *JRAS* 2 (1992) pp. 13 – 20 and Janot, Francis, Vezie, Philippe & Bottero-Cornillac, Marie-Jeanne, 'Le siwāk (bâtonnet frotte-dents), instrument à usages religieux et médical' *AI* 32 (1998) pp. 101 – 123.
[711] Cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 569 – 572.

[82] al-Bazzār, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God supports me with four ministers: the two from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael, the two from earthly word are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

[83] al-Daylāmī[712] through the intermediary of al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī from ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna from Abū Umāma from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; ascribing it to the Prophet, [he said]: The muezzin of the heavenly host is Gabriel and Michael is their Imam,[713] who leads them in the prayers in the *Inhabited House*. The angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited House* and they perform the ritual prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).

[84] Ibn al-Najjār said in his *Ta'rīkh*: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb related to me an oral tradition in Isfahan from Abu Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah related to him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī[714] informed him; he said: I swear by God that Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī informed him; he said: Abū 'l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-

[712] There are a number of authors with the name al-Daylamī, but the reference to al-Sulamī indicates that this is Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī, as he made a commentary on al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī's *al-Sirr fī anfās al-ṣūfīya*; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol.1, pp. 647 – 648; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 207 and Arberry, A. J., 'The Works of Shams al-Dīn al-Dailamī' *BSOAS* 29 (1966) pp. 49 – 56.
[713] Cf. ḥadīth §39, which says that Gabriel is the Imām of heaven.
[714] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 25.

Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib informed him; he said: I swear by God that Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī told him; he said: I swear by God that al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī told him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā][715] [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar][716] told me; he said: I swear by God that Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me; he said: I swear that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib][717] told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [told me; he said: I swear by God that Gabriel][718] told me; he said: I swear by God that Michael told me; he said: I swear by God that Israfīl told me from the Preserved Tablet that God the Blest and the Most High said: The wine-drinker is like the idolater.

The *ḥafiẓ* Ibn Hajar said in his *Lisān al-mīzān*: This *matn* with this aforementioned *isnād* is [attributed] to ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā; Abu Nuᶜaym excludes him from his *isnād* in *al-Ḥilya*. Whoever does not know its status [see] al-Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī as well, but he only mentions Gabriel; Muḥammad said: 'The wine addict is like the idolater.'[719] Ibn Ḥibbān attributed the *matn* in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

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[715] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[716] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[717] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 32.
[718] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v , l. 32 – fol. 192r, l. 1.
[719] This ḥadīth is well-known, although the following *matn* is more common: *wa-man shariba al-khamr fi-'l-dunyā, fa-māta, wa-huwa yudumnuhā*; see Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 2, p. 144. The *matn* found here (and in §171) is found in Ibn Māja, Abu ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (ed. Muḥammad Fuᶜād ᶜAbd al-Baqī), *Sunan Ibn Māja* (Cairo: Bābī al-Ḥalabī, s.d.) vol. 2, p. 1120, §3375.

4.2.8 Isrāfīl (peace be upon him)

[85] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: God, Most High, created the Trumpet[720] out of white pearls with the purity of glass; then he said to the Throne: 'Take the trumpet and keep hold of it.' Then He said: 'Be!' And Isrāfīl came into being, and He ordered him to take the Trumpet, so he took it and it had a hole for the number of every created soul (*rūḥ*) and spirit (*nafs*) that is born; two souls do not go through one hole. In the middle of the Trumpet there is an aperture like the roundness of the Heaven and the Earth. And Isrāfīl placed his mouth over that aperture. Then the Lord said to him: 'I have made you responsible for the Trumpet, and yours is the blowing and the shouting.'[721] And Isrāfīl came before the Throne, placed his right foot under the Throne and his left foot; he has not looked away since God created him, so that he can wait for what He commands him [to do].

[86] al-Tirmidhī and declared it to be fair (*ḥasan*), al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'How can I be happy when the possessor of the trumpet has already put the mouthpiece to his mouth, tilted his head and inclined his ear? He will wait until he is commanded to blow it.' They said: 'What should we say?' He

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However, the *isnād* is different: Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shayba & Muḥammad ibn al-Sabbāḥ – Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Aṣbahānī - Suhayl – Abū Suhayl – Abū Hurayrah.

[720] This is the trumpet that announces the end of the world; it is mentioned ten times in the Qur'ān (Q 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13 and 78:18); a description of Isrāfīl can also be found in al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 596.

[721] Cf. Q 36:50 – 55; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 453.

said: ‘Say: “God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is he”[722] “In God have we put our trust.”’[723]

[87] al-Ḥākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Possessor of the Trumpet looks fixedly whilst he is responsible for it. Prepared, he looks towards the Throne, fearing that [if he were to look away], he would be ordered to let out a cry before he [could] return his gaze; his eyes are two milky stars.[724]

[88] Ibn Abi Ḥātim from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī;[725] he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The two Possessors of the Trumpet[726] do not stop holding onto the trumpet, waiting until they are ordered [to blow it].

[89] al-Daylāmī from Abū Umāma; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of God;[727] Michael’s name [means] servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God; and Isrāfīl’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful.

[90] al-Ṭabarānī, Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Hilya* and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; that a Jew said: ‘Messenger of God, tell me about the angel of God which is near

[722] Q 3:173; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 67.
[723] Q 7:89 and 10:85; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 154 and 207.
[724] Milk, like pearls, is used to represent holiness; see Rippin, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365.
[725] Given as ‘al-Khudhrī’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 18.
[726] This ḥadīth and others do not explain who the two angels of the trumpet are. Isrāfīl is normally the only angel associated with the Trumpet, but occasionally others are also associated with it – see §99.
[727] As before, see §36, 37 & 87 above.

him.' [He said: 'The angel which is near Him is][728] Isrāfīl, then Gabriel, then Michael, then the Angel of Death.'

[91] Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim [and Ibn Mardawayh][729] from Abu Saᶜīd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Isrāfīl is the Possessor of the Trumpet and Gabriel is on his right and Michael is on his left.[730]

[92] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī; he said: No created thing is closer to God than Isrāfīl, and between him and between God are seven veils. And he has a wing in the East, and a wing in the West; a wing on the Seventh Earth and a wing on his head. His head is placed between his two wings. When God gives him an order, the tablets (*alwāḥ*) are lowered down to Isrāfīl with God's command [written] on them, then Isrāfīl will look at them; Gabriel then calls out and [Isrāfīl] answers him. As none of the angels can hear his voice without being made unconscious, when they come round, they say: 'What [was that]?' [Isrāfīl] says: '[It was] your Lord.' They will say: 'The Truth, and He is the All-High, the All-Great.'[731] The Angel of the Trumpet (who is the one responsible for it)[732] [has] one of his feet on the Seventh Earth, whilst he kneels on his knees, staring fixedly at Isrāfīl. He has not looked up since God made him; he will look when he is given the signal and then he will blow the Trumpet.

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[728] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[729] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[730] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 29; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 47. In this section of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā'* Adam ascends to heaven on the horse al-Maymūn: Gabriel takes the reins, Michael is on the right and Isrāfīl is on the left. This is a different context but it does highlight the fact that these three angels are often mentioned together and that their positions vary. See also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 103; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 175.
[731] Q 34:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 440.
[732] Note that in this ḥadīth the Angel of the Trumpet is not Isrāfīl, as elsewhere.

[93] Ibn Abī Zamanīn in *al-Sunna* from Kaᶜb; he said: The closest of the angels to God is Isrāfīl; he has four wings: a wing in the East, a wing in the West, he is covered[733] by the third [wing] and the fourth is between him and the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). If God wants to reveal a command, the Preserved Tablet comes down until it slams into Isrāfīl's forehead; and he raises his head and looks; when the command is written, he calls out to Gabriel and he responds. And he says: 'You are commanded to do such and such an order.' Gabriel does not descend from one heaven to another without its people becoming terrified with fear of the Hour, until Gabriel says: 'the Truth is from the Truth!'[734] And he descends to the Prophet and gives the revelation to him.

[94] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth;[735] he said: I was with ᶜĀ'isha, while Kaᶜb was with her and she said: 'Kaᶜb, tell us about Isrāfīl.' And he said: 'He is the Angel of God. There is nothing in his presence. He has a wing in the East and he has a wing in the West, and a wing is on the nape of his neck and the Throne is on the nape of his neck.' ᶜĀ'isha said: 'I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say the same.' Kaᶜb said: 'The Tablet is on his forehead, so when God wants to give a command, he writes it on the Tablet.'

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[733] The *sarawīl* is an undergarment used to cover male and female genitalia; see Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 10 – 11, and for pictures of earlier and later *sarawīl* see Scarce, Jennifer, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 33 & 74 - 75. Although normally referring to 'trousers' specifically, *sarāwīl* can have a more general meaning, e.g. the *TA* describes a *sirwāl* as a *qamīṣ*, *darᶜ* or '*kulla mā lubisa*' Al-Zabīdī, *TA,* vol. 29, p. 196. The association of the *sarāwīl* with personal modesty implies that the wing is being used to cover the Isrāfīl's genitalia, in the same way that the seraphim in Is. 6:3 'cover their feet'. The same ḥadīth, with a slightly different *isnād* and *matn*, appears below (§99), but Isrāfīl's wing is said to be 'clothed' (*tasarbala* [Form II *srbl*]) as opposed to '*trouser-ed'* (*tasarwala* [Form II *srwl*]).

[734] cf. Q 8:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 172.

[735] The Leiden MS gives the name as 'Abd al-Ḥarth'; fol. 192r, l. 11.

[95] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith that Kaᶜb said to ᶜĀ’isha: ‘Did you hear the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [say anything about Isrāfīl?’ She said: ‘Yes, I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation)][736] saying, “He has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West; and the Tablet is between his eyes, so if God wants to write a revelation, He inscribes it between his eyes.”’

[96] Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: It is said that one of the Bearers of the Throne[737] [is Isrāfīl]; and that Isrāfīl has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck; his feet go down to the lowest part of the Seventh Heaven and his head passes through the highest part of the Seventh Heaven.

[97] Al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Muṭṭalib that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I said to Gabriel: ‘Gabriel, why have I not seen Isrāfīl laughing? None of the angels have come to me without me seeing them laughing.’ Gabriel said: ‘We have not seen that angel laughing since the Fire was created.’[738]

[736] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 12.
[737] The Bearers of the Throne are referred to in Q 40:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 481; see also Elias, Jamal, ‘Throne of God’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 276 – 278.
[738] This is almost identical to §79.

[98] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) heard a crash,[739] and he said: ‘Gabriel, is the hour coming?’ He said: ‘No, this is Isrāfīl coming to earth.’

[99] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith; he said: I was with ᶜĀ’isha while Kaᶜb al-Ḥabr[740] was at her house, and he mentioned Isrāfīl. ᶜĀ’isha said: ‘Tell me about Isrāfīl.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘Feel free to ask.’[741] She said: ‘By all means! So tell me.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘He has four wings; two wings are in the air, a wing, with which he is clothed,[742] and one wing is in the nape of his neck; the Pen is on his ear; when He sends down revelation, the Pen writes, then the angels wipe it off [the Tablet]. The Angel of the Trumpet is lower than him, and he genuflects on one of his knees and he raises the other; and he puts the Trumpet to his mouth, bending his back and his side towards Isrāfīl. When he has been ordered, he will look at Isrāfīl, and when [Isrāfīl’s] two wings are closed, [the Angel of the Trumpet] will blow into the Trumpet. ᶜĀ’isha said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [talking][743] in this way.

[100] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī; he said: When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.

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[739] This appears to be related the various ‘I heard the heavens groaning’ ḥadīth above (§10 & 25).
[740] i.e. Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār; *aḥbār* is the plural *ḥibr* / *ḥabr* and is used as a compliment; the word is derived from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, a title of an Jewish scholar below that of Rabbi; see Schmitz, M., ‘Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār, Abū Isḥāḳ b. Mātī’ b. Haysu’ / Haynū’’ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 316; for more on the Jewish *ḥāber*, see Spiro, Solomon J., ‘Who was the *Ḥaber*? A New Approach to an Ancient Institution’ *JSJ* 11 (1980) pp. 186 – 216.
[741] Lit: ‘The knowledge is yours’ – an Arabic idiom.
[742] cf. §93; see note above.
[743] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192v, l. 29.

[101] Also from him;[744] he said: None of God's creations have a better voice that Isrāfīl; when he begins to glorify God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and praising of the people of the Seven Heavens.

[102] [Abū 'l-Shaykh] through the intermediary of al-Layth; Khālid told me from Saᶜīd; he said: I was told that Isrāfīl is the muezzin of the people of heaven,[745] and he makes the call to prayer [twelve times during the day][746] and twelve times at night; and at every hour's proclamation, whoever is in the Seven Heavens and whoever is in the Seven Earths hears his proclamation, except jinn and humans. Then he, the greatest of the angels, goes to the front of them and performs the ritual prayer for them. [Saᶜīd] said it reached me that Michael leads the angels in the *Inhabited House*.

[103] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Abī Jabala in his *Isnād*; he said: The first of those to be called on the Day of Resurrection is Isrāfīl; God will say, 'Have you delivered my covenant?' And he will say, 'Yes, Lord, I delivered it to Gabriel.' And he will summon Gabriel, and it is said: 'Did Isrāfīl deliver my covenant to you?' He will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Isrāfīl. And he will say to Gabriel, 'What did you do with my covenant?' And he will say, 'Lord, I delivered it to the Messengers.' So he will summon the Messengers, and it will be said to them: 'Did Gabriel deliver my covenant to you?' And they will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Gabriel.

[104] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Sinān; he said: The created thing closest to God is the Tablet, and it is suspended from the Throne; and if God wants to reveal something,

[744] i.e. Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī.
[745] This is said to be Gabriel in §83.
[746] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 2.

He writes on the [Preserved] Tablet [and the Tablet moves][747], and the Tablet goes [down] until it hits Isrāfīl's forehead;[748] Isrāfīl covers his head with his wings so that he does not raise his eyes to the majesty of God and looks at [the Tablet]; if it is [a command] for the people of the heaven, then he hands it over [to Michael; if it is [a command] for the people of the earth, then he hands it over][749] to Gabriel. The first to be called to account on the Day of Resurrection is the [Tablet. It is called by Him. Its whole body trembles in fear, and it will be said to it: 'Did you send out [my commands]?' It will say: 'Yes.' It will be said: 'Who saw you?' And it will say, 'Isrāfīl.' Then Isrāfīl][750] will be called and his body will tremble with fear. And it will be said to him: 'Did the Tablet send [my commands to] you?' When he has said 'yes' the Tablet says: 'Praise be to God, who saved me[751] from evil reckoning.[752] Then like that.'

[105] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḍamra; he said: I heard that the first to bow down to Adam[753] (peace be upon him) was Isrāfīl; God rewarded him by putting the Qur'ān on his forehead.

[106] al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and al-Bazzār from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: A group of people came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) and they said: 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr claimed that

[747] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 10.
[748] The Leiden MS reads '*wajh*' for '*ra's*'; fol. 193r, l. 11.
[749] Omitted in the Leiden MS, but is an error; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[750] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[751] cf. Q 23:28; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 345.
[752] Q 13:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 242.
[753] The principal Qur'anic narratives of the prostration to Adam can be found at Q 2:29 – 34 & 38:71 – 75; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 5 &469. See also Jung, *Fallen Angels* for a discussion of the narrative's origins. Some texts say that Gabriel or Michael were the first to bow down – see Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration' p. 30, n. 96.

righteous actions are from God and unrighteous actions are from humans, but ᶜUmar has said that both righteous actions and unrighteous actions come from God, and a group follows this one and a group follows that one.'[754] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'The judgment between you both is [found] in the judgment of Isrāfīl between Gabriel and Michael: Michael said the words of Abū Bakr; and Gabriel the words of ᶜUmar; Gabriel said to Michael: "When the people of the heavens differ, [or] the people of the earth differ, we should seek a legal ruling from Isrāfīl." And so the two of them went to seek a legal ruling from him and he made a ruling between the two of them concerning the truth about predestination: "His kindness, His wickedness, His sweetness and His bitterness, all of them come from God." Then [Muḥammad] said: 'Abū Bakr, if God did not want disobedience then he would not have had created Iblīs.' Abū Bakr said: 'God and His Prophet have spoken the truth.'

4.2.9 The Angel of Death[755] (peace be upon him)

[107] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Abū Hurayrah; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create Adam,[756] He sent an angel from the Bearers of the Throne to fetch some dust from the earth.[757] When

[754] This is a famous ḥadīth; see van Ess *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie,* pp. 160 – 178.
[755] For basic information on the Angel of Death, see Wensinck, 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*[1] & *EI*[2]; cf. the short section on the angel in al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, pp. 37 – 38.
[756] This and the next ḥadīth have different *mitān* but are essentially the same story. Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a different version, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36.
[757] The Qur'ān includes many references to Adam being made of earth: e.g. Q 2:264; 3:59; 16:59; 18:37; 22:5; 30:20: 35:11; 40:67 &c. For an analysis of these narratives and their relation to Jewish and Christian literature see, Chipman, 'Mythic Aspects'.

[the angel] came down to take [it], the Earth said: 'I implore you, by the One who sent you, not to take anything from me today, part of which is to be for the Fire tomorrow.' So [the angel] left it, and when he ascended to his Lord; He said: 'What prevented you from fetching what I ordered you to fetch?' He said: 'The Earth sought Your [protection] and I was worried about bringing back something that had been protected [by You].' So He despatched another [angel] to [the Earth], and it said the same thing until He had sent all of them;[758] and so He sent out the Angel of Death and [the Earth] said the same to him; so [the Angel of Death] said: 'The One who sent me is more deserving of obedience than you.' So he took [mud] from the face of the whole Earth, from its goodness and its wickedness, and took it to his Lord, and He poured water of the Garden onto it and it became moulded mud[759] and he created Adam from it.

[108] Ibn Jarīr, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and Ibn ᶜAsākir through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik, Abū Sāliḥ, Ibn ᶜAbbās, Murra, Ibn Masᶜūd and some of the Companions;[760] they said: God sent Gabriel to the Earth to fetch some clay from it. The Earth said: 'God protect me from you from [mud] being taken away[761] from me!' So [Gabriel] returned without taking anything; and he said: 'O Lord, [the Earth] took your protection, so I respected [the protection that it sought].' So He sent Michael and it was as before; and so He sent the Angel of Death, and [the Earth] sought protection from him; but he said: 'I seek God's protection that I may

[758] i.e. all of the Bearers of the Throne.
[759] See Q 15:26, 27 & 33; Arberry translates this as 'mud moulded', *Koran*, pp. 254 – 255; Adam is also said to have been made from a clot (ᶜ*alaq*) in Q 96:2; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651. However, the ᶜ*alaq* is not prominent in these narratives of Angel of Death and the creation of Adam.
[760] i.e. this is not an *isnād* but a ḥadīth with multiple narrators.
[761] The Leiden MS reads *yunaqqiṣu* (fol. 193v, l. 2).

return, without not having carried out His command.' And he took [mud] from the face of the Earth.

[109] al-Daylamī from Zayd ibn Thābit; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: If you were to learn of the moment of [your] death (*ajal*),[762] and know how far it were away, then you would come to hate hope and its deception; there is no-one of any family without the Angel of Death coming to them twice every day; and whoever senses him, then indeed the moment of death has come. He takes his soul (*rūḥ*),[763] and if his family cries and mourns, he says: 'Do not cry and do not mourn! By God! I have not lessened your age, nor have I kept your livelihood from you, and there is no sin[764] for me [in doing this], and I will return to you again and again, until there are none of you left.'

[110] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: There is no tent,[765] nor any mud-brick house on the surface of the Earth, without the Angel of Death circumambulating it twice a day.

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[762] The concept of *dahr* [fate] was important in the pre-Islamic concept of death; Jacques Waardenburg notes that 'In the Qur'ān it is not *dahr* [fate] but God who decides the appointed time (*ajal*) of each individual and who causes the person to die…' Jacques Waardenburg, 'Death and the Dead' *EQ* vol. 1, p. 508. See also Goldziher, I., *Muslim Studies,* p. 230; Goldziher, I., 'Ajal' *EI²* Vol 1, p. 140; Watt, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' pp. 14 – 15; O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* and Smith & Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*; cf. also *MK* 28a, p. 183.

[763] *Nafs* and *rūḥ* are usually seen as being synonymous (e.g. Calverly, 'Doctrines of the Soul' p. 254 and Tritton, A. S., 'Man, *Nafs*, *Rūḥ*, *ᶜAql*' *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp. 491 - 495, p. 491). The ḥadīth in this collection, particularly in this section, uses the terms both as synonyms and as terms applying to different parts of soul (e.g. §124); see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 17 – 21.

[764] For a discussion of the different meanings of Arabic words for 'sin', see Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion III' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 194 – 209.

[765] *Bayt shaᶜr* = house of hair; this is a Bedouin tent.

[111] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* and ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zawā'id al-Zuhd* from ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī; he said: There is no inhabitant of a house, without the Angel of Death studying them twice a day.

[112] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in *Dhikr al-mawt* and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Ḥasan; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies every house three times, and if one of them senses him, then his life (*rizq*) has indeed come to an end, and his appointed time of death (*ajal*) has come; [the Angel of Death] takes his soul (*rūḥ*) and [when he has taken his soul],[766] his family draws near to him wailing and crying; and the Angel of Death takes hold of two posts of the doorframe and says: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you![767] I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your[768] food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there are none of you left!' Al-Ḥasan said: By God! If they were to see his place or hear his words, then they would forget their dead and cry for their own souls.

[113] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: The Angel of Death watches every house five times every day and he studies the face of the sons of Adam every day. He said: And from [this experience] is the terror which hits people, meaning[769] shaking and shuddering.[770]

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[766] Added by the Leiden MS (fol. 193v, l. 14).
[767] If read as *dhanab* (dependant) rather than *dhanb* (sin, misdeed) this would mean: 'Why should I care about your family?' [Lit: 'What are your dependents to me?].
[768] The Leiden MS reads *la-hā* for *li-kum* throughout; (see fol. 193v, l. 16).
[769] The Leiden MS reads: *wa-min-hā* instead of *yaᶜnī*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.
[770] The Leiden MS reads: *al-inqibāḍ* (depression, gloom) for *al-intifāḍ*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.

[114] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shakyh from ᶜIkrima; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies the Book of people’s lives.[771] Some say [ᶜIkrima] said three times, and some say he said five times.

[115][772] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no-one in any house,[773] without the Angel of Death being at his door seven times every day,[774] looking to see whether there is anyone in it, whom He has ordered to be taken [up to God].

[116] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜAṭā’ ibn Yisār; he said: There is no person in a house, without the Angel of Death studying them five times every day [to see] if he has been commanded to take anyone from among them.

[117] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Thābit al-Banānī; he said: Night and day, [all] twenty four hours, there is not a single hour that passes one who breathes,[775] without the Angel of the Death standing over [the soul]; if he has been ordered to take [a soul],[776] he takes it; otherwise he goes away.

[118] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta’rīkh* from a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet[777] given by Anas that the Angel of Death looks upon the faces of the servants of God seventy

[771] There are a number of different things to which ‘*al-kitāb’* can apply, here it is the book of an indiviudal’s deeds, as recorded by the scribes; see Berg, Herbert, ‘Ṭabārī’s Exegesis of the Qur’ānic Term *al-Kitāb*’ *JAAR* 63 (1995) pp. 761 – 724, p. 763.
[772] In the Leiden MS §115 comes after §116; fol. 193v, ll. 22 – 24.
[773] Lit: ‘There is not in any house anyone…’
[774] The Leiden MS omits *kulla yawm*; fol 193v, l. 25.
[775] *dhū rūḥ* = ‘one who has *rūḥ*.’
[776] Or: ‘If He [i.e. God] has ordered the taking of [a soul]…’
[777] *marfūᶜ* = ‘raised’. This is a ḥadīth that is attributable to the Prophet; see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Maᶜrifat*, p. 31.

times a day; if the servant [of God], to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to him to take his soul (*rūḥ*) while he is laughing!'

[119] Al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr*, Abū Nuᶜaym, Ibn Mandah, both of them in their works called *al-Maᶜrifa* through the intermediary of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad from his father, from al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj [from his father];[778] he said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) say, as he looked at the Angel of Death while he was [standing by] the head of one of the *anṣār*: 'Angel of Death, be kind to my friend, he is a believer.' The Angel of Death said: 'Be of good cheer! Be happy! I am kind to every believer, and know, Muḥammad, that I am going to take the soul of [every] son of Adam! If he gives out a great shout; then I come to the house, and his soul (*rūḥ*) is mine. And I say: "What is this cry? By God! We have not wronged him,[779] and we have not [taken his soul] before his appointed time (*ajal*), nor have we hastened his destiny (*qadar*). There is no sin for us in taking his soul." If they are pleased by what God has arranged [for them], then they are rewarded; if they are displeased, then they are sinning and transgressing. We will return to you, again and again, so be on your guard! There is no person who lives in a tent, or in a mud house, on the land, or on the plain, or on the mountain, without me studying them every day and night until I know the trivialities and the great things in

[778] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 193v, l. 32.
[779] Cf. Q 7:101; 'And We wronged them not, they have wronged themselves…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 223; in this case the third person plural verb appears to refer to the Angel of Death; the use of plural may indicate the Angel of Death's helpers (cf. §127), especially considering the Angel of Death has already used the first person singular in this ḥadīth.

their souls; by God! If I wanted to take a soul of a mosquito,[780] I could not do it until God had let it be – He is the One who orders its taking.'

Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad said: I heard that when [the Angel of Death] studies [people] during the appointed times for the ritual prayer, if [someone] is about to die,[781] and if he is one of those who remembers the ritual prayers, then the angel approaches him and drives Satan away from him, and the angel whispers the *talqīn*[782] to him at that great moment: 'There is no god, but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.'

[120] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt* from ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr; he said: While Abraham (peace be upon him) was in his house one day, suddenly a man of beautiful appearance came into his presence, and [Abraham] said: 'Servant of God, who admitted you into my house?' He said: 'Its Lord admitted me into it.' He said: 'Its Lord is the most right [to do] that. Who are you?' He said: 'The Angel of Death.' He said: 'Things have been described to me about you [that I cannot see in you][783].' [Abraham] said: 'Turn around.' And so he turned around, and there were eyes at the front and eyes at the back and every one of his hairs were like people standing on end. So Abraham begged God for protection against that and said: 'Return to your first form.' He said: 'Abraham, when God sends me to someone He wants to meet, He sends me in the form which you saw first.[784]

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[780] Cf. Q 2:26: 'God is not ashamed to strike a similitude even of a gnat, or aught above it.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[781] The Leiden MS reads: *fa-idhā naẓara* (see fol. 194r, l. 8); = 'if he sees Death with him…'
[782] 'It was *sunna* to whisper the *shahāda* in the ear of a dying man whose face is turned towards Mecca.' Tritton, A. S., 'Djanāza' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 441 – 442, p. 441.
[783] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 13.
[784] Al-Suyūṭī also includes other accounts of the death of Abraham in his *Faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, pp. 346 – 352.

[121] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from Kaᶜb; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) saw a man in his house, and he said: ʻWho are you?ʼ He said: ʻI am the Angel of Death.ʼ Abraham said: ʻIf you are right, then show me a sign so that I might know that you are the Angel of Death.ʼ The Angel of Death said: ʻI shall appear before you.ʼ And he appeared, then [Abraham] looked and he saw [the Angel of Death] in the form in which he takes the believers; he saw that he was made of light and dazzlement, which only God, Most High, could have told him about. Then [the Angel of Death] said: ʻI will appear before you.ʼ And he appeared before him, then [Abraham] looked and the Angel of Death showed him the form in which he takes unbelievers and adulterers; and Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul (*nafs*) was about to leave.

[122] [Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā] from Ibn Masᶜūd and Ibn ᶜAbbās; the two said: When God, Most High, took Abraham as a friend, the Angel of Death asked his Lord for permission to send [Arbraham] the good news [about it].[785] And so he came to Abraham and gave him the good news about it, and he said: ʻPraise be to God!ʼ Then he said: ʻAngel of Death, show me how you take the souls of the unbelievers.ʼ He said: ʻAbraham, you will not be able to bear it.ʼ He said: ʻOn the contrary!ʼ He said: ʻI will come before you.ʼ And [the Angel of Death] came before him, then [Abraham] looked [and there was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of him; there were no hairs on his body, except it being in the form of a man coming out of him, with flames of fire coming out of his ears. Abraham fainted. When he came round, the Angel of Death had changed back

[785] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 23.

into his previous form. Then he said: 'Angel of Death, if an unbeliever, in his grief and distress, saw only your form, then that would be enough for him! Show me how you take the believers.' [The Angel of Death] said: 'I will come before you.' And he came before him, then [Abraham] looked and he was a young man, whose face was very beautiful, the most pleasing of odour, [wearing] a white gown. [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, if a believer at the moment of death saw in the way of happiness and kindness only this face of yours, then that would suffice!'

[123] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Ashᶜath ibn Aslam; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) asked the Angel of Death, whose name is Azrā'īl,[786] and who has two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head;[787] [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, what do you do if there is a soul (*nafs*) in the East and a soul in the West, whilst a plague[788] strikes a [particular place on] earth and two armies meet – how do you deal with them?' He said: 'I call the spirits (*arwāḥ*), by the permission of God, and they are between these two fingers of mine.' He said: The earth is flattened for him, it was made like a basin,[789] and [the Angel of Death] takes out of it when He wants.

[124] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam that Jacob (peace be upon him) said: 'Angel of Death, is [it right that] from every person's soul (*nafs*) without exception, you take

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[786] Both spellings *ᶜAzrā'il* and *ᶜIzrā'īl* can be found; see al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 2035.
[787] *qifāhu* – more precisely the 'back of the neck'. See *AELex*, pp. 2991 – 2292.
[788] *wabā'* is used as a general major epidemic, as opposed to *ṭāᶜūn* which is used for the plague specifically; see Conrad, Lawrence I., '*Ṭāᶜūn* and *Wabā'*: Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam' *JESHO* 25 (1981) pp. 268 – 307, p. 271.
[789] *ṭast*: a large basin, which is used by al-Kindī for the preparation of musk and according to Lane is used for washing hands before a meal; see al-Kindī, Yaᶜqūb ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb fī kīmīyā' al-ᶜiṭr wa-'l-taṣᶜīdāt* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1948) p. 5 and Lane, E. W., *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (repr. London: Constable, 1973) pp. 142 – 143.

its spirit (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'How? While you are here with me, souls (*anfus*) are in the outermost parts of the Earth?' He said: 'God has flattened the Earth for me, and it is like a bowl placed in front of one of you, and He takes whoever is at its outermost parts [that He] wants.[790] That is how the world is for me.'

[125] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: The Earth was created for the Angel of Death like a bowl; [God] takes from it whenever He wishes, and He created helpers for [the Angel of Death], who receive the souls; then [the Angel of Death] takes [the souls] from [the helpers].

[126] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas that it was asked of the Angel of Death whether it is he alone who takes the souls (*arwāḥ*). He said he is the one who is responsible for the [fulfilment of the] command of the souls (*arwāḥ*)[791] but he has helpers for that; however, the Angel of Death is in charge and every stride of his [goes] from the East to the West.

[127] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word, Most High: 'Our messengers take him.'[792] He said: The helpers of the Angel of Death are from the angels.

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[790] The ḥadīth could either be referring to God or to the metaphorical person (i.e. one of you) with the bowl between his legs.
[791] Note that *arwāḥ* is used both of human 'souls' or 'spirit' and the (angelic) spirits that aid the Angel of Death.
[792] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

[128] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaᶜī concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[793] He said the angels take the souls (*anfus*), then the Angel of Death takes [the souls] from [the angels] afterwards.

[129] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Qatāda concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[794] He said: The Angel of Death has messengers, and he makes the messengers responsible for taking [the souls] then they hand them over to the Angel of Death.

[130] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Wahb in Munabbih; he said that the angels who are associated with the people[795] are the ones who receive them and they write their time [of death]; when they take the soul [to God], they hand them over to the Angel of Death, who is like the one who comes after[796] - meaning the tax collector,[797] who draws up to himself what is beneath him.

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[793] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[794] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[795] i.e. the Scribes; see §312 – 406.
[796] *al-ᶜĀqib* (in the sense of ‘follower’ or ‘successor’) is a significant title: in a ḥadīth Muḥammad says that it is one of his five names; see Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, §3532, p. 679; the epithet is also used in devotional literature, cf. al-Jazūlī, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (si.: s. n, s.d) p. 23 and Ebeid, R. Y. and Young, M. J. L., ‘A List of the Appellations of the Prophet Muḥammad’ *MW* 66 (1976) pp. 259 – 262, p. 260.
[797] The *ᶜashār* was the collector of the *ᶜushr* land tax, which was paid by Muslims; non-Muslims paid the *kharāj* land tax; see Løkkegaard, Frede, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (repr. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978) p. 78; for more details on these two land taxes see Yaḥyā ibn Adām, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Salafīyya wa-Maktabtumā, 1347 / 1928/9) pp. 24 – 31; and Duri, ᶜAbdal ᶜAziz, ‘Notes on Taxation in Early Islam’ *JESHO* 17 (1974) pp. 136 – 144. Although the use of this term for the Angel of Death is rare (cf. Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 4, pp. 224), it is reminiscent the Qur’ānic use of metaphors derived from commerce and daily life; see Rippin, A. J., ‘The Commerce of Eschatology’ in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur’an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 125 – 135.

[131] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Shahar ibn Ḥawshab; he said: The Angel of Death is sitting and the world is between his knees, and the Tablet is in his hands, on which is [written] the appointed times of death of the sons of Adam; with angels standing in front of him, he studies the Tablet, not raising his eyes. And when he comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God],[798] he says: 'Take this one!'

[132] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that it was asked about [a situation in which] two souls that came to die in the twinkling of an eye, one in the East and the other in the West; how is the Angel of Death in a position to deal with them both? [Ibn ᶜAbbās] said: The ability of the Angel of Death to [deal with] creatures in the East and the West, in darkness, in the air and in the seas is always like a man with a table in front of him, taking from it whatever he wishes.

[133] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: It was said: 'Messenger of God, the Angel of Death is alone; but [there are] two armies meeting between the East and the West, and in the area between that there are the fallen and the dead?' He said: 'God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death able [to cope]: He made [the Earth] like a bowl between one of your hands, and [the Angel of Death] can pass over anything in it.

[134] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is the one who takes all of the souls [to God]; indeed he has power over what is on the earth, just as one of

[798] Or: 'When it comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God]…'

you has power over his leisure; angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy; when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.

[135] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Abū ʻl-Muthannā al-Ḥimṣī; he said: The world, with its lowlands and its mountains, is between the thighs of the Angel of Death, and with him are angels of mercy and angels of suffering. When he takes the souls (*arwāḥ*), these hand over to these, and those over to those, meaning the angels of mercy and the angels of suffering. It is said [that] if there is a fierce battle and the sword is like lightning, then [he said], he summons them and the souls come to him.

[136] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Abū Qays al-Azdī; he said; It was said to the Angel of Death: 'How do you take the souls?' He said: 'I summon them, and they come to me.'

[137] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death came to Solomon, son of David,[799] while he had a friend with him and Solomon said to him: 'Why is it that you either come to a household and take them all together, or you go away from a household, leaving them alone, without taking anyone from them?' He said: 'I do not know what I take from them, rather I am under the Throne, and He sends down the deeds[800] on which are the names.

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[799] For the death of Solomon in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiya'* see Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* pp. 326 - 328; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 544 – 548; a similar story appears in *Shab.* 30a, p. 133.

[800] *ṣikāk* (plural of *ṣakk*) – derived from the Persian *chak* [see Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1892) p. 386] – are normally used in

[138] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Khaythama; he said: Solomon, son of David, said to the Angel of Death: 'When you want to take my soul (*rūḥ*), would you let me know about it?' He said: 'I do not know when it is your [time].[801] It is something written that comes down to me, which names who is going to die.'

[139] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Maᶜmar; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.

[140] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Ibn Jarīr; he said: It reached me that it is said to the Angel of Death: 'Take so-and-so at a certain time on a certain day!'

[141] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜIkrima concerning His Word, Most High: 'It is He who recalls you by night…'[802] He said: He receives souls during sleep; there is no night - by God! - without Him grasping souls – all of them; and He asks every soul about what its owner did during the day, then He calls the Angel of Death, and he says: 'Take this one! Take this one!'

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connection with legal documents and pensions; however Lane notes that the middle of Shaᶜbān was also called *laylat al-ṣakk*, and on this day God allots the *rizq* for every human being; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1709.

[801] *Mā anā uᶜlimu bi-dhālika min-ka* = I do not know about that concerning you.

[802] Q. 6:60; Arberry, Koran, p. 128.

[142] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from ᶜAṭāʼ ibn Yisār; he said: When it is the middle night of Shaᶜbān,[803] He hands over a page to the Angel of Death, and it is said: ʻTake from those on this page!ʼ If the servant is lying in bed, or couples marry, or someone builds a building,[804] [he does so] while his name has already been copied into the [book of the] dead.

[143] Ibn Jarīr from ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara; he said: [The names of] whoever is going to die on the Night of Power[805] until the following one[806] is copied to the Angel of Death; and [the Angel] will find the man who has married a woman, and the man who has planted the plant; but [only] when the name is amongst the dead.

[144] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: On the middle night of Shaᶜbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death [information] regarding the taking of every soul that He wants to be taken during that year.

[145] al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Najjār from ᶜĀʼisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to abstain[807] during the whole of Shaᶜbān

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[803] i.e. 15th Shaᶜbān. Some scholars have considered that this night may have been influenced by a pre-Islamic New Year festival; Wensinck also notes that ʻAccording to the ḥadīth, Muḥammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Shaᶜbān.ʼ Wensinck, ʻShaᶜbānʼ *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, p. 154. See also von Grunebaum, G. E., *Muhammadan Fesitvals* (London: Curzon Press, 1976) pp. 52 – 53.

[804] In a Prophetic ḥadīth about another unnamed prophet, people who have married, built a house and acquired new livestock are exempted from fighting in battle (see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 249; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 412); here these people are not exempted from death.

[805] Note that there is not any consensus on the date when this happens (cf. §142). The Night of Power is the evening of 27th Ramaḍān – see Plessner, M., ʻRamaḍānʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 417 – 418 and Marcotte, Roxanne D., ʻNight of Powerʼ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 537 – 539.

[806] Lit.: ʻ…until its likeness.ʼ

[807] Sheila McDonough comments that ʻDrawing close to God requires abstaining or fleeing from all that might inhibit the human response to the divine initiate.ʼ McDonough, Sheila, ʻAbstinenceʼ *EQ* vol. 1, p. 19. Cf. Q 66:1, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 593.

until Ramaḍān; but he only fasted for a whole month during Shaᶜbān.[808] She said: 'Messenger of God, is it because Shaᶜbān is the dearest month for you that you fast during it?' He said: 'Yes, ᶜĀ'isha, the taking [of souls] is written for the Angel of Death during it; I do not want my name to be deleted, so I fast.

[146] Aḥmad, al-Bazzār and al-Ḥākim and he declared the ḥadīth to be authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Abū Hurayrah from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: The Angel of Death used to come to people manifestly, but he came to Moses and he [Moses] slapped him and gouged out his eye, and [the Angel of Death] went to his Lord; and he said: 'Lord, your servant Moses has gouged out my eye. Unless you favour him, tear him open.' He said to him: 'Go to my servant [Moses] and say to him that he should place his hand on a skin of an ox, and then he will have a year for every hair that his hand has covered.' So he came to him and [Moses] said: 'What is after this?' He said: 'Death.' And he said: 'Let it be now.' And so [the Angel of Death] smelt [Moses], took his soul and God gave him back his eye. After that he came to people in stealth.[809]

[147] Abū Nuᶜaym from al-Aᶜmash; he said: The Angel of Death used to be visible to people, but he came to [one particular] man, saying: 'Finish your business, for I

[808] i.e. Shaᶜbān was the only month during which he performed superogatory fasting for its entirety.

[809] This ḥadīth is found in many Arabic sources; see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 247; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 409; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 237 – 240; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 434; Brinner, W. M. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume III – The Children of Israel*, pp. 87 – 88. This popularity of this tradition can be seen in its influence on the Falsahas of Ethiopia, see Ullendorf, Edward, 'Literature of the Falashas'. There are many examples in extra-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature of Prophets (particularly figures such as Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon) meeting the Angel of Death before they die. The *Testament of Abraham* is a good example of this genre (see Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death*). Narratives including highly anthropomorphised and comic depictions of the Angel of Death are still found in Arab folktales, cf. El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folktales of Egypt* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) pp. 117 – 122 and Hanauer, J. E., *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1935) pp. 32, 36 – 39.

want to take your soul.' And [the man] made a complaint; consequently, [God] then sent down disease and made death a secret.

[148] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd that the Angel of Death used to take souls without pain, but the people cursed him and worried about him, so he complained to his Lord. Consequently, God established diseases and they forgot about the Angel of Death. It is said someone dies like this or like that.[810]

[149] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās that an angel sought permission from his Lord to go down to Enoch;[811] and he came to him and greeted him, and Enoch said to him: 'Is there anything between you and the Angel of Death?' He said: 'He is one of my brother angels.' He said: 'Are you able to help me with something concerning him?' He said: '[If you want to] delay [death] any [amount of time],[812] or hasten it, then no, but I will ask him for you, and he will treat you kindly concerning death.' He said: 'Ride between my wings!' So Enoch rode and ascended into the highest heaven, and he met the Angel of Death, with Enoch between his wings; and the angel said to him: 'I have need of you.' He said: 'I already know about your need; you spoke to me about Enoch, [and what remains of his age,][813] but his name has been wiped out, and

[810] Lit: it was said that so-and-so died in that way and in that way.
[811] Al-Thaᶜlabī includes one continuous narrative of Enoch; this ḥadīth contains a number of similar elements, but some differences too; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 49 - 50; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 83 – 85; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 81 – 85 and al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 52.
[812] *Ammā an yu'khiru shay'an aw yuqdamuhu fa-lā* = (lit.) 'As for delaying anything or arriving at it, then no.'
[813] This is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 195v, l. 13,

none of his appointed term[814] remains, save half the blinking of an eye**,** and then Enoch died between the wings of the angel.

[150] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir that the Angel of Death said to Abraham (peace be upon him):[815] 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.' He said: 'I ask you in the truth of the One who sent you that you consult Him about me.' He said: 'Your friend[816] asked that I consult with you about him.' [God] said: 'Go to him and say to him: Your Lord says: the Friend wants to meet His friend.' So he came to him, and he said: 'I was in pain when you ordered him [to take my soul].' He said: 'Abraham, have you drunk wine?'[817] He said: 'No.' Then [the Angel of Death] asked him to breathe over him[818] [and] he took his soul (*nafs*) in that way.

[151] Aḥmad from Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: David[819] (peace be upon him) was extremely jealous,[820] and he had the habit that when he went out, the doors [of his harem] would be shut. No-one would go into his family until he returned. One day he went out and returned,

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[814] *Ajal* refers to both the appointed moment of death, and the total time allotted for life.
[815] For a different account of the death of Abraham, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 97 - 98; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 164 – 165.
[816] Abraham is designated the *khalīl allāh* and the portrayal of Abraham as the 'friend of God' is important in Judaism, Christianity and Islam; see Guthrie, A., 'The Importance of Abraham' *MW* 45 (1955) pp. 113 – 120; p. 118 and Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Qumran Scrolls and the Qur'an' *MW* 48 (1958) pp. 223 – 236, pp. 225 – 226.
[817] s*harāb* is used by jurists to indicate wine; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1528; cf. §171.
[818] *istankaha* (X) is relatively rare and refers to the action of breathing over someone's nose so that they can smell the individual's breath; see Hava, J. G., *Farā'id al-durīya* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1964) p. 799.
[819] For the death of David in the *Qiṣas al-Anibiya'*, which is relatively similar, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 292; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 489 – 490; al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 277 – 278; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 397.
[820] *ghayra* refers to sexual jealousy specifically; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2316. For analysis of a similar story in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* see Wagtendonk, 'The Stories of David' p. 349. This tradition is also told of Abraham; see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 395; Winter (tr.), *Remembrance of Death*, p. 44 – 45.

and there was a man standing in doorway of his house. [David] said to him: 'Who are you?' He said: 'I am the one who does not revere kings, and the one who is not prevented from passing through the veil.' David said: 'You, therefore, by God! - are the Angel of Death. [I] welcome the command of God!' And David hurried[821] to his place [before the Angel of Death] and his soul was taken.

[152] Ibn Mājah from Abū Umāma; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death responsible for the taking of the souls (*arwāḥ*) except those martyred at sea – He takes charge of the taking their souls Himself.[822]

[153] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of human souls, and he is the one who orders the taking of their souls; and [there is] an angel for the *Jinn*, an angel for the *Shayṭāns*, and an angel for the birds, wild animals, the predatory animals, the large fish and the ant; so there are four angels. Angels die in the first strike of the lightning. The Angel of Death is responsible for taking of their souls, then [the angel] dies. As for those who are martyred at sea, God is responsible for the taking of their souls; He does not give the responsibility for that to the Angel of Death, for their honour is with Him when they travel through the depths of the sea for His sake.

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[821] *zamala*: 'He was as though he limped, by reason of his briskness, or sprightliness…' Lane, *AELex*, p. 1252; see also Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 13, p. 328 and al-Zabidī, *TA*, vol. 29, p. 135.

[822] Although sea trade routes existed before and after the advent of Islam, the Arabs relied on land trade most heavily; however, sea-trade and naval forces did develop – see Hourani, George Fadlo, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) pp. 53 – 55.

[154] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī; he said: It reached me that the last to die is the Angel of Death; it is said to him: ‘Angel of Death, die!’ So with that he will let out a cry, (if the creatures of the heavens and the earth were to hear it, they would die of fright); then he will die.[823]

[155] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Ziyād al-Numayrī; he said: I have read in a certain book that death is harder for the Angel of Death than it is for the rest of the creations.

[156] al-ᶜUqaylī in *al-Ḍuᶜafā’*, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Daylamī from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The allotted time (*ajal*) for all livestock and insects of the earth is [devoted to] the worship of God. When their glorification of God is completed, God takes their souls and there is nothing for the Angel of Death [to do] in that.

[157] al-Khaṭīb in *Ruwāt Mālik* from Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī; he said: I was with Mālik ibn Anas, when a man asked him about fleas: ‘Does the Angel of Death take their souls (*arwāḥ*)?’ He bowed his head for a long while and then said: ‘Do they have a soul (*nafs*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Then the Angel of Death takes their souls (*arwāḥ*) [and] God receives their souls (*anfus*) in full when they die.’

[823] The Leiden MS may read *lam* for *thumma*, but the writing is not clear (fol. 196r, l. 1); *thumma* makes more sense here.

[158] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Muᶜādh ibn Jabal; he said: The Angel of Death has a spear,[824] which has the space from the East to the West in its reach, and when the appointed time of death of a servant of the world comes, he hits his head with that spear and he says: 'Now the army of death is called upon you.'

[159] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Ibn ᶜAbbās which is traceable to the Prophet (*marfūᶜ*); that the Angel of Death has a poisoned spear, which has one end in the East, and another end in the West, and he cuts the vein of life with it.[825]

[160] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: The Angel of Death sits on a ladder between Heaven and Earth and he has messengers[826] from amongst the angels. When the soul (*nafs*) is in the throat[827] the Angel of Death sees him from his ladder, and he looks intently at him, then another which dies sees him.

[161] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān; he said: ᶜIkrima was asked: 'Does a blind man see the Angel of Death when he comes to take his soul (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.'

[162] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: A servant does not get ill from any illness without the messenger of the Angel of Death being with him until there is

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[824] The Angel of Death is said to have a spear (*'idrā'*) in *CantR.* 4:7, although the exact meaning of *'idrā'* is disputed. Cf. Cohen (tr.), p. 117 and Bender, A. P., 'Belief, Rites and Customs of the Jews, Connected with Death, Burial and Mourning' *JQR* 6 (1894) pp. 317 – 347, p. 323.

[825] The way in which the Angel of Death kills humans is similar to the way in which humans kill animals in ritual slaughter (*dhabḥ*); see Bousquet, G.-H., 'Dhabīḥa' *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, pp. 213 – 214.

[826] The Leiden MS reads *rusul* for *rasūl*; fol. 196r, l. 13. A large number of angelic helpers would seem more appropriate; cf. § 125, 127 – 129 & 135.

[827] *Thughrat al-naḥr = fossa jugularis*; see Fonahn, A., *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology* (Kristiana: Jacob Dybwad, 1922) §3282, p. 152; cf. Q 50:16 '….and We are nearer to him than the jugular vein.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

another illness which the servant gets ill from; the Angel of Death comes to him, and says: Messenger after messenger has come to you, but you did not care about them, and now a messenger has come to you, who will cut your ties[828] with this world!'

[163] Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-ᶜArīf in his *Fawā'id*, and Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī in his *Fawā'id* from Anas ibn Mālik; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the Angel of Death comes to a friend of God, Most High, he greets him and his greeting is to say: 'Peace be upon you, friend of God. Rise and leave your house, which you have left in ruin,[829] [and go] to your house which you have built [with your good deeds].'[830] When it is not a friend of God, he says to him: 'Rise and leave your house, which you have made comfortable, and [go] into your house, which you have ruined [with your misdeeds].'[831]

[164] Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl wa-'l-īmān* concerning a question from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wants to take a soul of a believer, He reveals to the Angel of Death: 'Recite to him from me: "Peace!"' And when the Angel of Death comes to take his soul, he recites: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

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[828] Lit. 'footprint'.

[829] The text could read 'which I have left in ruin etc.' However, this ḥadīth appears to express the idea that a pious Muslim should be paying more attention to remembering God, than making their home comfortable; and that the good actions of an individual prepares their place in heaven.

[830] *ᶜamara* carries positive meanings (e.g. flourishing, full of camels etc.); see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2153 – 2154.

[831] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665: 'When a righteous man departs from the world he is welcomed by three companies of angels. One exclaims, 'Come into peace'; the other exclaims, *He who walketh in his uprightness*, while the third exclaims, '*He shall enter into peace; they shall rest on their beds*'. When a wicked man perishes form the world he is met by three groups of angels of destruction. One announces, '*There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked'*, the other tells him, '*He shall lie in sorrow'*, while the third tells him, '*Go down and be thou laid with the uncircumcised'*.' See also *Shab.* 152b, p. 779.

[165] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

[166][832] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Hākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzab concerning the Word, Most High: '[Their greeting], on the day that they shall meet Him, will be "Peace!"'[833] He said: On that day, they will meet the Angel of Death; whoever is a believer, [the Angel of the Death] will take their soul more peacefully for him.

[166b] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurayẓī he said: When the soul of the believing servant is spent, the Angel of Death comes to him and says to him: 'Peace be upon you, Friend of God! God says to you: Peace!' Then he recites this verse: '…whom the angels take while they are godly saying, 'Peace be on you!'[834]

Al-Silafī said in *al-Mashyakha al-Baghdādiyya*: I heard Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāᶜiẓ saying; [I heard Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan saying;][835] I heard my father saying: I saw in a book that God, Most High, makes the phrase 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' appear on the palm of the Angel of Death

[832] This follows the Leiden MS fol. 196r, l. 27*f.* In the DKI edition, the *isnād* of §166 used with the *matn* of 166b.
[833] Q. 33:44; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 432.
[834] Q. 16:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[835] This is included in the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 3.

in writing of light; then He commands [the Angel of Death] to stretch out his hand to the Knower[836] at the time his death, and that writing is shown to him; when the soul of the one who knows sees it, it flies towards Him[837] more quickly than a blink of an eye.

[167] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death was made responsible for Solomon (peace be upon him), and he was told: 'Go into his presence every day, and ask what he needs; then do not leave him until you have performed it.'[838] He used to enter upon him in the image of a man, and he would ask him how he was. Then he would say: 'Messenger of God, do you need anything?' If he said: 'Yes', then he did not leave him until he had done it; and if he said: 'No', then he left him until the following morning. One day he entered upon him while there was an old man with him. [Solomon] stood up, and greeted [him], then [the Angel of Death] said: 'Do you need anything, Messenger of God?' He said: 'No.' The [angel] glanced at [the old man] and the old man trembled; the Angel of Death left and the old man stood up and said to Solomon: 'I beg you, by the truth of God! to command the wind[839] to carry me and throw me down on the furthest lump of mud in the land of India!' So [Solomon] commanded it and it carried him [there]. The Angel of Death came into Solomon the next morning and asked him about the

[836] *Al-ᶜĀrif* is not a name of God, but is commonly used to refer to Sufi mystics; see Shah-Kazemi, Reza, 'The notion and significance of *maᶜrifa* in Sufism' *JIS* 13 (2002) pp. 155 – 181, p. 157.
[837] Or 'to the Angel of Death'.
[838] i.e. until he had fulfilled Solomon's needs.
[839] Solomon is believed to have had magic powers, including the command of the winds, which were given to him by God. See Johns, Anthony H., 'Air and Wind' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 51 – 55; Soucek, Priscilla, 'Solomon' *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 76 – 78 and Walker, J., [-P. Fenton], 'Sulaymān b. Dāwūd' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 822 – 824. This power is mentioned in the Qur'ān; cf. Q 21:81; 34:12 and 38:36; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 329, 438 & 467.

old man. [The Angel of Death] said: 'His book[840] came down to me yesterday, [saying] that I should take his soul tomorrow at the rising of dawn in the furthest lump of mud in the land of India; but when I came down, and thinking that he was there, I then found him with you. I was astonished and could not think of [anything] other than him;[841] I came down to him today at the break of dawn and found him on the highest lump of mud in the land of India, and he trembled, and I took his soul (*rūḥ*).'

[168] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death went into Solomon and began to look at one of his companions who continued to look at him. When he left, the man said: 'Who was that?' He said: 'That was the Angel of Death.' He said: 'I saw him looking at me as if he wanted me.' He said: 'What do you want [me to do]?' He said: 'I want to you to carry me on the wind until you put me down in India.' So [Solomon] called the wind and he carried him upon it, and he put him down in India. Then the Angel of Death came to Solomon, and [Solomon] said to him: 'You were looking at the man from my companions.' He said: 'I was astonished by him. I was ordered to take him in India and he was with you!'

[169] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death went to the Prophet during the illness which he contracted[842] and he sought permission to enter [his

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[840] This is the book that contains the details of the individual's *ajal*; see Berg, 'Ṭabārī's Exegesis' p. 763.
[841] Lit.: *mā lī hammun ghayrihi* 'I had no concerns other than him.'
[842] This ḥadīth and the following do not appear in the *Sīra* (see Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad* pp. 678 – 683) nor al-Ṭabarī's account of the Prophet's death (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 183 – 199; Poonawala, Ismail K. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Vol. IX – The Last Years of the Prophet* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990) pp. 162 – 183). The death of Muḥammad became important in Muslim spirituality as Muḥammad accepted death willingly; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*

presence] while his head was in ᶜAlī's lap.[843] He said: 'Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God and his blessings.' ᶜAlī said: 'Come back again [at another time]! We are too busy[844] to deal with you.' The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Do you know who this is, Abū 'l-Ḥasan? This is the Angel of Death. Bring him in, in good faith.' When [the Angel of Death] entered, he said: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Where is Gabriel?' He said: 'He is not near me, but he is coming.' The Angel of Death left until Gabriel came down to him. And Gabriel said to him while he was standing at the door: 'Why did he expel you, Angel of Death!' He said: 'Muḥammad asked for you.' When the two sat down, Gabriel said: 'Peace be upon you, Abū 'l-Qāsim![845] This is a farewell for you and for me.' It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone from a household before him, and will not greet [anyone][846] after it.

[170] al-Ṭabarānī from al-Ḥusayn that Gabriel came down to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) on the day of his death, and he said: 'How do you find yourself?' He said: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed and I find myself scared.' The Angel of Death sought permission to enter from the door. Gabriel said: 'Muhammad, this is the Angel of Death, who is seeking permission to enter your house. He has not sought permission from me [to come to] a human before you, and he will not seek permission from me [to come to] a human after you.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Give him

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vol. 4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58. Al-Rabghūzī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* includes similar material to these ḥadīth, see al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 671 – 679, especially pp. 673 – 678.

[843] Some ḥadīth say that this was ᶜĀ'isha; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 199; Poonwawala, *Last Years of the Prophet*, p. 183 al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 403; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 65.

[844] *mashāghīl* in the *mafāᶜīl* form is a broken plural of *mashghūl*; see Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) vol. 1, §305a, p. 229.

[845] Qāsim was one of Muḥammad's sons by Khadīja, and Abū 'l-Qāsim was his *kunya*; see Déclais, Jean-Louis, 'Names of the Prophet' *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 501 – 505, p. 501.

[846] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 29.

permission!' So [Gabriel] let him in. [The Angel of Death] approached until he stood before [Muḥammad] and said: 'God has sent me to you and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul (*nafs*), then I will take it; if you do not want [me to take it], then I will leave it.' He said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.' Gabriel said to [Muḥammad]: 'God indeed desires to meet you.' Then the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Carry out what you have been commanded [to do] by Him'

[171] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta'rīkh* said: Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsiṭī told me;[847] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh[848] ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me;[849] he said: I bear witness by

[847] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 6.
[848] 'Ibn ᶜAbd Allāh is missing from this person's name in the Leiden MS, however the rest of the name is present; fol. 197r, l. 7.
[849] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 9

God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me;[850] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Gabriel told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Michael told me;[851] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAzrā'īl told me; he said: he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that God, Most High, told me; he said: The one addicted to wine is like the slave of an idol.[852]

4.2.10 The Bearers of the Throne[853](peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord…'[854]

[179] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī in *Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmīya*,[855] Abū Yaᶜlā, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Mardawayh and al-

[850] The DKI edition includes Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī twice in the *isnād*; the Leiden MS does not include him at all; see fol 197r, l. 10.
[851] Michael is omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 14.
[852] This ḥadīth has already appeared above (§84) in the section on the Angel Michael; the *isnād* is different in each of the ḥadīth, but they have a *common link* in Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar. The 'angelic *isnād*' is also different, with the chain going through Isrāfīl in §84 and ᶜAzrā'īl in §171.
[853] In the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha the angels that carry God's Throne are given as Gabriel, Michael, Rafael / Rufael and Fanuel / Penuel (cf. *1 En.* 40:2, 9-10; 71:7- 13; *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 32 & 50 and *Sib. Or.* 2:215; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 350); in the Qur'ān and Islamic tradition, however, the Throne Angels are distinct from other named angels, which bears a closer resemblance to later Jewish exegesis in which aspects of God's Throne become angelic (e.g. the *opannīm* and the *galgallīm* are derived from the wheels of the Throne); see Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands* pp. 31 – 69 and Barton, 'Names of Angels and Demons' pp. 156 – 159.
[854] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[855] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 22.

Ḥākim who declared to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) [in *al-Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jaḥmiyyah*][856] from al-ᶜAbbās[857] ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib concerning His Word: '[eight] shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord' – Eight angels in the form of goats.[858]

[180] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd from Ibn ᶜAbbās: The Bearers of the Throne have horns, which have corners like the corners of spears. The space between one of their balls of their feet to their ankles is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the space between the tip of his nose to his collarbone is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the distance from the tip of his nose to the earlobe is five hundred years. [859]

[181] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd and Abū Yaᶜlā in a sound chain of authorities from Abū Hurayrah; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I was told about an angel whose two legs pass through the Seven Earths and that the Throne was on his shoulders, [this angel] says: 'I worship you, where you are and where you will be.'

[181b][860] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I

[856] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[857] Given as 'Ibn ᶜAbbās' in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[858] The origin of the belief that the bearers are in the form of goats is unclear, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[859] 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En. …In the Hekalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.' Alexander, '3 Enoch – Introduction', p. 263 n. 9c. See also the discussion about the size of the angels in Chapter 3.
[860] This ḥadīth is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 30 - 198r, l. 1.

was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne; the distance between his earlobe to the shoulder is a distance of seven hundred years.

[182] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā᾽ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Hear me, that I was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne: his two feet are on the lowest Earth and the Throne is on his horn; and [the space] between his earlobe and his shoulder is the distance it would take a bird to fly for seven hundred years. That angel says: ‘I worship you wherever[861] you are!’

[183] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Abū Qabīl that he heard ᶜAbd Allāh say: The Bearers of the Throne; the space that is between the inner corner of one of their eyes to the outer corner of his eye is the distance of five hundred years.

[184] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ḥassān ibn ᶜAṭiyya; he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight. Their feet are firmly fixed on the Seventh Earth, their heads pass through the Seventh Heaven, their horns are the same as their height and on top of [their horns] is the Throne.

[185] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Zādhān;[862] he said: The Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the limits [of the universe]. They are not able to look up because of the beams of light.[863]

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[861] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ayna*’ for ‘*ḥaythu*’; ‘*ḥaythu*’ seems more appropriate; fol. 198r, l. 4.
[862] Given as ‘Zādān’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 8.
[863] God is often described in these terms in Islam; cf. The Light Verse; Q 24:35; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 356 - 357.

[186] Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Hārūn ibn Ri’āb, he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight and they call back to each other in merciful voices; four of them saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your clemency after Your knowledge [of sins committed]!’; and [the other] four saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your forgiveness of sins, according to Your decree!’

[187] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Rabīᶜ concerning His Word: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’[864] [Eight][865] from the angels.

[188] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Zayd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Four carry him today, eight [will carry him] on the Day of Resurrection.[866]

[189] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the ones that carry him are four angels, and each angel has four faces and four wings, with two wings on its face, which [prevent it from][867] looking at the Throne, [for if it were to look] it would be struck unconscious, and two [other] wings, with which they fly. Their feet are on the ground

[864] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604; cf. Rev. 4:6, where there are four bearers of the Throne.
[865] Added by the Leiden MS, fol 198r, l. 13.
[866] Cf. Q 69:17: ‘…and the angels shall stand upon its borders, and upon that day eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604. There is some debate in the exegetical literature about what this meant exactly, e.g. al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948) vol. 12, pp. 266 – 267; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta’wīl al-Qur’ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 29, pp. 58 – 59; and al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥmmad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜAmīra al-Sharafiyya, c. 1906) vol. 8, p. 200.
[867] Omitted in the the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, ll. 15 – 16.

and the Throne is on their shoulders. Each one of them has a face of a bull, a face of a lion, a face of a human and a face of an eagle.[868] They do not say a word, except that they say: 'Holy! God Almighty, your glory fills the heaven and the earth!'[869]

[190] Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik; he said: The rock which is under the Earths[870] is the extent of creation and on its limits are four angels; each one of them has four faces: a face of a man, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle and a face of a bull; while they are standing on it, they encompass the heavens and the earth and their heads are under the Throne.

[191] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: today they are four, but when the Day of Resurrection comes, they will be supported by four others. An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need; an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need;[871] an angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need. Each angel has four faces: a face of a human, a face of an eagle, a face of a bull and a face of a lion; and when they carry

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[868] Cf. Ezk. 1:10 and Rev. 4:8; this Arabic text is very close to Ezekiel's first Throne Vision (Ezekiel 1:1 – 2:11). The four different faces represent creation as a whole rather than just humans; cf. Richard Bauckham on Rev. 4:9: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).' Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.

[869] This is almost a direct translation of the *trisagion* of the Seraphim in Is. 6:3.

[870] The Leiden MS reads '*arḍīn*'; fol. 198r, l. 22. For a discussion of the rock under the earth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 194 (on Q 2:29); see also Mahmoud, Muhammad, 'The Creation Story in *Sūrat al-Baqara*, wihh Special Refernce to Al-Ṭabarī's Material: An Analysis' *JAL* 26 (1995) pp. 201 – 214, pp. 202 – 203. The idea of the earth being diving into seven layers, with a rock and a sea below is also found in Judaism; see Gaster, T. H., 'Earth' *EJ* vol. 6, coll. 338 – 340 and Lane-Poole, Stanley, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Muhammadan) *ERE* vol. 4, p. 174.

[871] See Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 471 – 472.

the Throne, they fall down onto their kness because of the glory of God. They whisper: 'There is no power and no strength save in God.' And standing up on their feet they are the same height.

[192] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Makḥūl; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There are four angels amongst the Bearers of the Throne; an angel is in charge of the forms and he is the human;[872] an angel has the likeness of the master of the predatory animals, and he is the lion; an angel is in the likeness of livestock, he is the bull (and he has been angry since the day of [the worship of][873] the calf[874] until now);[875] and an angel has the likeness of the master of the birds, and he is an eagle.

[193] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from ᶜUrwa; he said: The Bearers of the Throne – one of their forms is in the likeness of a man; one of their forms is in the likeness of an eagle; one of their forms is in the likeness of a bull and one of their forms is in the likeness of a lion.

[872] This alludes to the human dominion over animals.
[873] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 30.
[874] Cf. '…he said, "and I seized a handful of dust from the messenger's track, and cast it into the thing [i.e. the calf]. So my soul prompted me."' Q 20:96; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 318. A tradition of Ibn Masᶜūd interprets the phrase *athar al-rasūl* as *athar faras al-rasūl*; David Halperin argues that this could be related to a Jewish tradition, in which the dust from the footstep of the ox-*ḥayyah* was added to the image of the calf (see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 176 – 187 and 478 – 479), and concerning the original Jewish tradition comments: 'The Israelites draw the living essence of the *merkevah* ox, through the dust of its footprint, into the molten calf that they have made.' Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 178.
[875] 'this hour of mine', i.e. the time of the Prophet.

[194] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Zayd; he said: There is no-one higher amongst the Bearers of the Throne, save Isrāfīl. He said: Michael is not one of the Bearers of the Throne.

[195] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) came up to his friends and said: ʻWhy are you meeting?ʼ And they said: ʻWe have come together to remember our Lord and we are contemplating his glory.ʼ He said: ʻYou will never [be able to] continue meditating on his glory, unless I tell you about something of the glory of your Lord.ʼ They said: ʻIndeed, Messenger of God!ʼ He said: ʻAn angel from amongst the Bearers of the Throne, it is said Isrāfīl, has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck, his feet pierce the lowest Seventh Earth and his head pierces the highest Seventh Heaven; the created world of your Lord is in his likeness.

[196] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the month of Ramaḍān begins, [God, Most High,][876] orders the Bearers of the Throne to refrain from saying the *tasbīḥ* and they ask [God's] forgiveness for the community of Muḥammad and the believers.

[197] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Mālik ibn Dīnār; he said: I heard that in a part of the heavens there is an angel which has eyes the number of little pebbles [on earth];[877] there is no eye among them that does not have a tongue and two lips

[876] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198v, l. 9.
[877] In Jewish tradition the Cherubim and the *Ḥayyōt* are said to have many eyes: cf. *2En* 21:1, *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 134 – 135; *ApAbr.* 18:3 – 7. *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698; *3En* 22, *OTP,* vol. 1, p. 278; these images are largely based on the desriptions of God's chariot in Ezk. 1 & 10. Having many eyes is a symbol

underneath it, which praise God, the Blessed and the Most High, in a language which is not understood by its neighbours. The Bearers of the Throne have horns between their shoulders. Their horns and their heads are a distance of five hundred years apart and the Throne is above that.

[198] al-Dīnawarī from Abū Mālik concerning His Word: 'His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth'[878] He said: The Rock which is under the Seventh Earth; on its four sides are four from amongst the angels; each of the angels has four faces: a face of a human, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle, and the face of a bull; they stand on its sides and they surround the Earth and the Heavens; their heads are under the Seat and the Seat is under the Throne.[879]

[199] al-Dīnawarī from Khālid ibn Maᶜdān; he said: The Throne has been heavy for the Bearers of the Throne from the very begining; when those who are praising [God] stand up, it becomes lighter for them.

[200] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* through the intermediary of Qutayba from Bakr ibn Maḍr from Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh from Ziyād ibn Abī Ḥayya; he said: I heard that regarding the Bearers of the Throne, there streams from [one of their] eyes the

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of omniscience and God bestowing this power on his creations. Cf. God transforming Enoch into a creature with 365,000 eyes in *3En.* 9; 25:2 & 26:6, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 263, 278 – 280; see also Ulmer, Rivka, *The Evil Eye in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature* (Jerusalem: Ktav, 1994) pp. 21 – 23.

[878] Q. 2:255; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 37.

[879] There is some debate in Islamic tradition about the differences between the Throne (*ᶜarsh*) and the Seat (*kursī*); the *kursī* is often interpreted as 'footstool' as it is a more general word for a 'support'. See Hurat, Cl. [-Sadan, J.], 'Kursī' *EI²* vol. 5, p. 509; Elias, 'Throne of God' and Vitestam, Gösta, '*ᶜArsh* and *kursī*. An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam' in Jakob H. Grønbæk *et al.* (eds.), *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1990) pp. 369 – 378, p. 374.

likeness of rivers of tears.[880] When one raises its head, it says: 'I worship You! We do not fear You as much as You deserve to be feared!' God, may He be praised and glorified, says: 'But those who swear falsely by My name are liars, they do not know [that they should be fearful].'

[201] Ibn Mardawayh from Umm Sa^{c}d; she said: I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say: The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel, its feet are on the limits of the earth, and its two wings are in the East and his neck is under the Throne.[881]

[202] ^{c}Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Mardawayh, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Ibn ^{c}Abbās; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the [distance] between one of their ankles to the bottom of their foot is the [time it would take to travel] five hundred years. He mentioned that the stride of the Angel of Death [reaches] from the East to the West.

[880] Cf. *GenR* 78:1, pp. 714 – 715 & *LamR* 3:2 §8, po. 201 – 202; the rivers of paradise are said to be fed by the perspiration of the *ḥayyōt*, caused by their bearing the Throne.

[881] Al-Suyūṭī devotes a chapter to the Cockerel (§280 – 294) as well as part of his collection *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*. (Tottoli, 'At Cock-Crow' pp. 142 – 143). The 'cosmic cockerel' has been mentioned in passing by a number of scholars, but the significance of the 'cosmic cockerel' has not been discussed. Asin Palacios comments: 'El gallo de la layenda musulmana es también de gigantesco tamaño, y se ofrece a los ojos de Mahoma llendano el cielo; sus alas agítanse igualmente al entonar sus cánticos religiosos excitando a los hombres a la prática de la oración, y reposan después…' Asin Palacios, M., *Escatologia Musulmana*, pp. 31 & 52; Kopf, 'Dīk'. The cockerel does, however, have a long history of being associated with the divine, especially the light or the sun – see Ehrenburg, Erica, 'The Rooster in Mesopotamia' in Erica Ehrenburg (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) pp. 53 – 62.

[203] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜIkrima; he said: All of the Bearers of the Throne are *ṣawr*. ᶜIkrima was asked: 'What is meant by *ṣawr*? He said: 'He bows his cheek a little.'[882]

[204] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: The angels who carry the Throne are not able to look at what is above them because of the beams of light.

[205] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: '[Concerning] the feet of the Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the lowest earth and their heads pierce the Throne; they are humble and do not raise their eyes; they have a more intense fear [than the people of the Seventh Heaven, and the people of the seventh heaven have a more intense fear than][883] the people of the heaven which is below, and that which is below [that] has a more intense sense of fear than that which is beneath it.

[206] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* from Abū Umāma; he said: The angels who carry the Throne talk in Persian.[884]

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[882] '*ṣawr*' is a general term for 'bowing' or 'inclination' and as such does not describe the inclination or bowing of a particular part of the body, see *AELex*, p. 1744.

[883] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 1.

[884] This is unusual as the Arabic language of the Qur'ān is seen as paramount in Qur'ānic self-perception (see Jenssen, Herbjørn, 'Arabic Language' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 127 – 135; especially, pp. 132 - 134), to the extent that non-Arabic loanwords in the Qur'ān were viewed as obscure Arabic words by Islamic scholars (see Kopf, L, 'Religious Influences on Islamic Philology' *SI* 5 (1956) pp. 33 – 59). Likewise angelic speech (a form of divine revelation) is normally associated with a faith's language of revelation, as a symbol of the faith's claim on true religion, (cf. The Pseudepigraphical work *Jubilees* 12:25 – 27). Steve Weitzmann has commented that: 'To understand Hebrew, according to *Jubilees*, is to belong to a divinely selected group with access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel. In *Jubilees* Hebrew is also said to connect those who use it to the heavenly community.' Weitzman, Steve, 'Why did the Qumran community write in Hebrew?' *JAOS* 119 (1999) pp. 35 – 45, p. 41. There are some other Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts that believe that angels speak in an esoteric language that humans cannot understand (e.g. *ApAbr.* 15:7; *2En.* 17:1, *2Cor.* 12:4). In this case, however, the angels are speaking in a language other than Arabic that was understood by a large number of Muslims. For more on the relationship between Persian and Arab literature and culture see Danner, Victor, 'Arabic Literature in Iran' *CHI*, vol. 4, pp. 566 – 594.

[207] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the Word of the Most High: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[885] He said: Their feet are on the limits [of the earth] and their heads are with the Throne. They are not able to raise their eyes because of the beams of light.

[208] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[886] He said: Eight ranks of angels – only God knows their number.

[209] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning the verse;[887] he said: It is said: Eight ranks, only God knows their number.[888]

[209b] [889] [ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the verse];[890] it is said: The heads of the eight angels are with the Throne in the Seventh Heaven and their feet are on the lowest Earth; they have horns like mountain goats and the distance between the roots of their horns to their tips is a journey of five hundred years.

[885] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[886] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[887] i.e. Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[888] This interpretation is relatively common, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 29, pp. 58 - 59.
[889] This is given as a separate ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 8.
[890] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, ll. 8 – 9. The verse being referred to is Q 69:17.

4.2.11 The Spirit (peace be upon him)

The Most High said: 'in it the angels and the Spirit descend'[891] and He said: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks'.[892]

[210] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* through the intermediary of Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is a creation from the greatest of the angels.[893]

[211] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Ḍaḥḥāk; he said: The Spirit is the veil[894] of God, [Most High];[895] he will stand in front of God on the Day of Resurrection, and he is the greatest of the angels; if he were to open his mouth, there would be enough room for all of the angels together. The creations look to him; but out of fear of him, they are not able to raise their eyes to what is above him.

[212] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* in a weak *isnād* from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he said: The Spirit is an

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[891] Q 97:4; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 652.
[892] Q 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627. In Judaism, particularly in the Hellenic period, the 'spirit of God' was considered in angelic terms; for a discussion of this in Philo and others see Levinson, John R., 'The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel according to Philo' *HTR* 88 (1995) pp. 189 – 207. In Islam, the Spirit was often identified with Gabriel, rather than being a separate angel; cf. al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, p. 37.
[893] The Leiden MS reads: *al-rūḥ <u>malak</u> min aᶜẓam al-malā'ika khalqan*; fol. 199r, ll. 14 – 15.
[894] The veil is related to the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple in Judaism (for a full discussion of the Veil of the Temple, see Légasse, S., 'Les voiles du Temple de Jérusalem: Essai de Parcours Historique' *RB* 87 (1980) pp. 560 – 589). Some Jewish, Christian and Samaritan texts describe the Veil of the Temple as an angel, for a full discussion of these descriptions see Fossum, 'Angel of the Lord'. For a discussion of the veil in Islam see Winter, Tim, 'The Chador of God on Earth: the Metaphysics of the Muslim Veil' *NB* 85 (1996) pp. 144 – 157.
[895] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 20.

angel. It has seventy thousand faces; every face has seventy thousand tongues; every tongue has seventy thousand languages,[896] which praise God in all of those languages; and from every act of praise God creates an angel, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.

[213] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of ᶜAṭā' from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is an individual angel;[897] he has ten thousand wings; two wings [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces and every face has a thousand tongues, and two eyes, and two lips, which praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[214] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Spirit is one of the angels; he has ten thousand wings, two wings of which [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces, and every face has a thousand tongues and two lips, which will praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[215] Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān; he said: The Spirit is the most exalted angel, and the nearest of them to the Lord, and he is the one responsible for revelation (*waḥy*).[898]

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[896] Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,* p. 85.
[897] Some commentators believed that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel; cf. §219, 222 – 228.
[898] *waḥy* is an intimate, non-verbal form of revelation (as opposed to *nuzul, inzāl* &c.); see Izutsu, Toshihiko, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964) pp. 158 – 162; Wensinck [-Rippin] 'Waḥy' *EI*^{2} vol. 11, pp. 53 – 56 and Nwyia, Paul, *Exégèse Coranqiue et Language Mystique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1970) pp. 56 – 57. Gabriel is usually associated with revelation that is communicated to prophets by *tanzīl* whereas the Spirit is associated with *waḥy* ("inspiration").

[216] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven and he is greater than the heavens, the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every act of praise. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.[899]

[217] Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī from ᶜĀ'isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to say during his kneelings (*rukūᶜ*) and prostrations (*sujūd*): 'Glory to the Holy One, the Lord of the Angels and the Spirit.'[900]

[218] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirit was created in the likeness of a human.[901]

[219] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits eat;[902] they have two hands, feet and heads, whereas the angels do not.

[220] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜIkrima; he said: The Spirit is the greatest creation from among the angels and no angel descends without the Sprit.

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[899] A literal reading of Q. 78:38 mentioned above.
[900] Cf. 'All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God, the King, the All-Holy…' Q 62:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 583.
[901] Cf. '...then we sent to her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault.' Q 19:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 303.
[902] Note the plural verb; this ḥadīth is referring to *al-Rūḥ* as a species or class of angel, rather than as an individual angel; as such the translation 'Spirits' seems to be preferable, although the Arabic does strictly say 'the Spirit'.

[221] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit was created from the creations of God in the image of a human; an angel does not come down[903] from heaven without one of the Spirits (*wāḥid min al-rūḥ*) with him.

[222] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Spirit is an army amongst the armies of God; they are not part of the angels; they have heads, two hands and feet. Then he recited: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks’[904] and he said: These are an army and these are an army.[905]

[223] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Abū Ṣāliḥ; he said: The Spirits are a creation similar to people, but they are not people; they have two hands and feet.

[224] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda; he said: The *Jinn*, the humans, the angels and the devils do not make one tenth of the Spirit.[906]

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[903] The Leiden MS reads: *mā nazala*; ‘an angel has not come down from heaven…’ fol. 199v, l. 7.
[904] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[905] The Jalālayn gloss ‘*yaqūmu al-rūḥ*’ with: ‘*Jibrīl aw jund allāh*’ / ‘Gabriel or an army of God.’ al-Jalālayn [al-Maḥalī, Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad & al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr], *Tafsīr* (s.i.: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c. 1920), p. 499; whereas al-Bayḍawī is even vaguer: ‘…the spirt is an angel responsible for the spirits (*arwāḥ*) or a group of them, or Gabiel or a creation mighter than the angels (*khalq ’aᶜẓam min al-malā’ika*).’ al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 383.
[906] Cf §21 – 23.

[225] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Shaᶜbī concerning His Word: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.’[907] He said: Both of them are ranks[908] of the Lord of the Two Worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the spirits and a rank of angels.

[226] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Salmān; he said: Humans and *jinn* are ten parts: humans make one part and the *jinn* make nine parts; the angels and the *jinn* are ten parts: *jinn* make one part and the angels make nine parts; the angels and the spirits are ten parts: the angels make one part and the Spirit makes nine parts; [the Spirit and][909] the cherubim are ten parts: the Spirit makes one part and the cherubim make nine parts.[910]

[227] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Abī Nujīḥ; he said: The Spirit is the *hafīẓ* of the angels.[911]

[228] Ibn al-Anbārī in *Kitāb al-aḍdād* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits are a creation amongst the angels, but the angels do not see them; just as you do not see the angels.

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[907] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[908] Read *simāṭā* for *ṣimāṭā* and likewise *ṣimāt* (*bis*), cf. Leiden MS fol. 199v, l. 17; = ranks of people, see *AELex*, p. 1427.
[909] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199v, l. 20.
[910] Cf. §23 above; al-Suyūṭī has taken the same ḥadīth from a different source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim), but the authority is the same (given as Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs).
[911] Note the ambiguity between the singular *al-Rūḥ* and the plural noun in apposition (*ḥafaẓa*). *Al-Rūḥ* is strictly singular – the correct plural is *arwāh* – but is considered as a plural is certain places.

4.2.12 Riḍwān, Mālik and the Keepers of the Fire (peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'And they shall call, 'O Malik, let thy Lord have done with us!' He will say, 'You will surely tarry.'[912] And the Most High said: 'And those who are in the Fire will say to the keepers of Gehenna'[913] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'and over which are harsh, terrible angels'[914] and the rest of the verse; and he said: 'over it are nineteen. We have appointed only angels to be masters of the Fire'[915] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'the guards of hell'. [916]

[229] al-Qutbī[917] in *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār* from Ṭāwus[918] that God, may He be praised and glorified, created Mālik[919] and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him; no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with one of his fingers; by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

[230] al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī in *Ṣifat al-nār* from Anas; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grand him salvation) saying: By the one who [holds] my soul in

[912] Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; *Mālik* has normally been interpreted as an actual name (although it could simply mean 'possessor'), a variant reading of *Māl*, would seem to support this, see al-Baydawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 243 and Bell, Richard (ed. C. E. Bosworth & M. E. J. Richardson), *A Commentary on the Qur'ān* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), vol. 2, p. 248.
[913] Q 40:49; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 486.
[914] Q 66:6; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 594.
[915] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 616 – 617.
[916] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[917] This is possibly Ibn Qutayba, who wrote a work called, *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 1, p. 120.
[918] The Leiden MS reads: *Tāwūs / Tā'ūs*, fol. 199v, l. 2.
[919] The Leiden MS reads: *malakan*; 'created an angel'; fol. 199v, l. 28.

his hand![920] The Angels of Hell were created a thousand years before Hell itself; every day they increase their power.

[231] ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zuwā'id al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī; he said: I heard that there are nineteen Keepers of the Fire.[921] The space between one of their shoulders is a journey of a hundred autumns; there is no mercy in their hearts; indeed, they were made for torture, one of these angels beats one of inhabitants of the Fire[922] vigorously**,** then he leaves him crushed [like dust] from his head to his feet.

[232] Ibn Jarīr from Kaᶜb; he said: The space between the shoulders of one of the Keepers is a journey of [five][923] hundred years; every of them has a pole with two prongs, and he prods [the inhabitant of Hell] vigorously with it; he harasses seven hundred thousand [people] with it.

[233] Ibn al-Mundhir from Mujāhid; he said: I was told that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) described the Guardians of Hell; he said: Their eyes are like lightning, and their mouths are like cockerels' spurs, their hair trails [on the floor],[924] they are as strong as humans and *jinn*[925] and one of them receives a

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[920] Cf. 'So Glory be to Him, in whose hand is the dominion and unto whom you shall be returned' and 'Blessed by He in whose hand is the Kingdom - He is powerful over everything, who created death and life...' Q36:83 & 67:1 – 2; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 455 & 596.

[921] The number nineteen has, as Bell comments '…given much rise to questioning and speculation.' Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 2, p. 453. Al-Bayḍawī says that the number could refer to angels '*malakan*' or a species of angels '*ṣanfan malā'ika*' that are responsible for punishing different types of sinners or that the nineteen are responsible for punishing the people in the Fire for an hour each, with five hours left aside for the ritual prayers, see Al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 396. Karl Ahrens associated with the number nineteen with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, citing Mandaean beliefs as a possible source, see Ahrens, Karl, *Muhammad als Religionsstifter* (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1935) pp. 30 – 31.

[922] Lit: 'the angel from amongst them beats the man from amongst the people of the Fire.'

[923] The Leiden MS reads, '*mā'ia*'; fol. 200r, l. 4.

[924] Cf. the descriptions of Munkar and Nakīr, §302 – 311.

[whole] community of people [and] he herds them; on his neck is a mountain, until he casts them into the Fire, and he throws the mountain on top of them [afterwards].

[234] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Abī Shayba, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* through the intermediary of al-Azraq ibn Qays from a man from the Banū Tammīm; he said: We were with Abū 'l-ᶜAwām, when he recited this verse: 'over it are nineteen.'[926] He said: 'What do you say: nineteen angels or nineteen thousand?' I said: 'There is no doubt:[927] nineteen angels.' And he said: 'How do you know that?' I said: 'For God, Most High, said: 'and their number we have appointed only as a trial for the unbelievers'[928] He said: 'You are right. There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one[929] of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people]. Between the shoulders of every angel is a distance of this much.' Al Quṛtubī said: 'The intention of His Word is nineteen of their heads, as for the number of the Keepers, no-one knows their number, except God, may He be praised and glorifed!'[930]

[235] Hannād ibn al-Sarī in *Kitāb al-zuhd* from Kaᶜb; he said: When men are ordered into the Fire, a hundred thousand angels await him.

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[925] The *thaqalayn* are humans and jinn; see Lane, *AELex,* p. 344.
[926] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 616.
[927] The Leiden MS reads, '*ba-lā*'; fol. 200r, l. 11.
[928] Q 74:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 617.
[929] The Leiden MS reads, '*malak*'; fol. 200r, l. 13.
[930] See al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 79. This ḥadīth is also mentioned in his *tafsīr* of this verse, see al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ* vol. 19, p. 78.

[235b][931] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from Mujāhid concerning His Word: 'the guards of hell'[932]: [They are] angels.

[236] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith;[933] he said: The myrmidons (*al-zabāniyya*):[934] their feet are on earth and their heads are in heaven.

[237][935] al-Wāḥidī in *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* through the intermediary of Isḥāq ibn Bashar from Juwaybir from al-Ḍaḥḥāk from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When some polytheists reproached the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) for being poor, they said: 'What ails this Messenger that he eats food and goes in the markets?'[936] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was saddened by that, so Gabriel came down to him[937] and said: 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!" And He says to you: "We have not sent any messengers before you who did not eat food whilst walking in the markets."' While Gabriel and the Prophet (God bless him

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[931] The Ledien MS includes this ḥadīth; fol. 200r, ll. 16 – 18.
[932] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[933] A different list of sources is given in the Leiden MS (fol. 200r, ll. 18 – 19): al-Firyābī, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith.
[934] *Al-zabānīya* (Arberry = 'the Keepers of Hell'; Q 96:18, *Koran*, p. 651); the word poses questions about its root (c.f. al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 411) and it is believed to be foreign, derived from either Syriac or Persian, see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 148 (Syriac) and Eilers, Wilhelm, 'Iranisches Lehngut im arabishen Lexikon: Über einige Berufsnamen und Titel' *IIJ* 5 (1962) pp. 203 – 232, p. 220 (Persian). Tor Andrae associates the word with the Syriac *shabbāyā*, 'bodyguards', see Andrae, Tor (tr. Jules Roche), *Les Origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adiren Maisonneuve, 1955), p. 159.
[935] The opening '*akhraja*' is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 200r, l. 20.
[936] Q. 25:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 362.
[937] Q 25:7 – 8 continues the Meccans' words with: 'Why has an angel not been sent down to him, to be a warner with him, or why is not a treasure (*kanz*) thrown to him, or why has he not a Garden to eat of?' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363. Although not focusing on the life of Muḥammad, Michael Bonner has written an article that looks at the importance of poverty in the theology of the Qur'ān, see Bonner, Michael, 'Poverty and Economics in the Qur'an' *JIH* 35 (2005) pp. 391 – 406.

and grant him salvation) were talking to each other, Gabriel suddenly made himself smaller[938] until he was like a bird.[939] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Why have you made yourself smaller until you are like a bird?' He said: 'Muḥammad, one of the gates of heaven has opened and it had not been opened before [I did] that.'[940] Suddenly Gabriel returned to his [normal] state, and he said: 'Muḥammad, I introduce you to this [angel], Riḍwān, the Guardian of the Garden.' Then Riḍwān drew closer until he greeted [him]. He said: 'Muḥammad, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!"' (And he had with him, a basket of light,[941] which glistened) 'And your Lord says to you: "These are the keys to the treasuries of the this world,[942] however, whatever [you take] will not decrease your reward which will be with you in in the next world, [for me] it is like the wing of a flea."'[943] Then the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) looked at Gabriel,[944] who was like the advisor to him,[945] and Gabriel hit him to the ground with his hand; and he said: 'Humble yourself before God!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Riḍwān, there is nothing that I need on earth.' Riḍwān said: 'You are right, God is with you.' They saw that this verse was sent down by Riḍwān: 'Blessed be He who, if He will, shall assign to

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[938] In Classical Arabic *dhāba [al-jism]* can have the meaning 'to become thin'; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 986.
[939] The Leiden MS reads '*hūda*' throughout; fol. 200r, ll. 25 – 26.
[940] Cf. §29 & 53 above; in these cases the angel Isrāfīl appears.
[941] *Safaṭ al-nūr*; a basket that is formed by weaving leaves together, which was, appropriately for Riḍwān, also used in burials in pre-Islamic times; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1372.
[942] Cf. 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR* 73:4, p. 670; see also *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.
[943] Cf Q 2:26; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[944] The Leiden MS omits '*ilā jibrīl*'; fol. 200r, l. 30.
[945] Angels frequently take on this role (the *angelus interpres*) in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature; Wansbrough comments: 'In Muslim, as in Rabbinic, tradition one of Gabriel's primary functions is that of pedagogue: as he had been guide and mentor to Joseph....and to Moses...so too for Muhammad he performed thie rites of initiation into prophethood, instructed him during his ascension to heaven and arranged from him the conent of revelation during meetings in Ramaḍān.' Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 63; see also Hannah, Darrell D., *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) p. 47.

thee better than that – gardens underneath which rivers flow, and he shall assign to thee palaces.'[946]

[238] al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: During my night journey I saw Moses, son of ᶜImrān with me, as a tall man with curly hair, as if he were a man form the tribe of Shanū'a;[947] and I saw Jesus, son of Mary, [who as of medium height],[948] and of moderate complexion, [ranging between] red and white; and his hair was lank; and I saw Mālik, the Guardian of Gehenna and al-Dajjāl in the verses [of the Qur'ān] that God showed.[949]

[239] Ibn Mardawayh from ᶜUmar; he said: When the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) travelled by night,[950] he saw Mālik, the Keeper of the Fire; when a person frowns, [Mālik] can see the anger in his face.

[240] Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī in *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* from Abū Salama; he said: I saw ᶜUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmt east of the Holy House, crying; and it was asked of him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'In this place, the Messenger of God (God bless

[946] Q. 25:10; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363.
[947] More commonly known as the ᶜAzd Shanū'a; see Strenziok, G., 'Azd' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 811 – 813, p. 812.
[948] This is included because it is found in the ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī's, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* §3229, p. 621 and in the context of Moses being described as tall, makes sense here.
[949] Al-Bukhārī includes Q 32:23; '…so be not in doubt concerning the encounter with him.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 425.
[950] The two events of the *isrā'* (Night Journey) and the *miᶜrāj* (Ascension) were sometimes combined, and sometimes separated; for a discussion of these themes, see Nünlist, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit*.

him and grant him salvation) told me that he saw Mālik[951] turn over a live coal like bunch [of fruit].'

[241] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When God wants a servant to be good, he sends an angel from the Keepers of the Garden to him; [the angel] wipes his back and bestows his soul (*nafs*) with purity.

[242] al-Khalīlī in his *Mashyakha* from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I will be the first [person] to knock on the Gate of the Garden, and the Keeper will stand up and say: 'Who are you?' And I will say: 'I am Muḥammad.' And he will say: 'I will go and open it for you. I have not got up for anyone before you, and I will not get up for anyone after you.'

4.2.13 Al-Sijill [952] (peace be upon him)

[243] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAlī concerning the Word of the Most High: 'as a scroll is rolled'[953] He said: Mālik.

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[951] The Leiden MS reads, '*malakan*'; fol. 200v., l. 9. Cf. §229 and fol. 199v, l. 28.
[952] This Chapter heading is not given in the DKI edition, but given in the Leiden MS; fol. 200v, l. 14.
[953] Q 21:104; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 331. Jeffrey comments that *sijill* is only used of the 'divine scroll', whereas *sifr* is used for earthly books; see Jeffrey, A., 'The Qur'ān as Scripture' *MW* 40 (1950) pp. 41 – 55, p. 47 n4. A similar phrase occurs in Is. 34:4, but here the Hebrew word *ṣēfer* (Ar. *sifr*) is used; (see *BHS*, p. 725). There is some debate about the derivation of *sijill*, but it is now generally accepted to have been derived ultimately from the Latin *sigullum*, and reached Arabic through Greek, Aramaic, Syriac or Armenian. For a full discussion of its etymology see Vacca, V., 'Sidjill' *EI*[1] vol. 4, p. 403; de Blois, F. C., 'Sidjill – In Ḳur'ānic and Early Arabic Usage' *EI*[2] vol. 9, p. 538; Ambros, Arne A., with Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), p. 129;

[244] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAṭiyya;[954] he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel's name.[955]

[245] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, when forgiveness ascends, he says: 'Write it in light!'

[246] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from al-Suddī; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel responsible for the pages; when a person dies, he hands over his book to *Al-Sijill* and he shuts it and keeps it until the Day of Resurrection.

[247] Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir from Abu Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, and Hārūt and Mārūt[956] were amongst his helpers, and every day he would glance three times, by which he would look at the *Umm al-Kitāb*, and he would have a look. [The book] is not his, but [one day] he caught sight of some information in it about the creation of Adam,[957] and what is in [the *Umm al-Kitāb*] concerning them; and he secretly told Hārūt and Mārūt about it, and when the Most High said: '"I am creating on earth a viceroy." They said, "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there."'[958]; the two of them said: 'That is disrespectful to the angels.'

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and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 163 - 164. Al-Suyūṭi believed it to be a foreign word, see al-Suyūṭī (ed. & tr. William Y. Bell), *al-Mutawakkilī* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) pp. 19 & 41.

[954] The Leiden MS omits '*ᶜan ᶜAṭiyya*''; fol. 200v, l. 16.

[955] Some exegetes believed that *al-Sijill* referred to an angel others that it refers to a scribe of Muḥammad, e.g. al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. 17, pp. 99 – 100. Al-Suyūṭi also states al-Sijill is an angel in his *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[956] The Leiden MS occasionally uses the form *Harūt* instead of *Hārūt* (e.g. fol. 200v, ll, 20, 22; 201r, l. 8 etc.) and these instances will not be noted further.

[957] Al-Sijill sees a reference to the creation of Adam in the *Umm al-Kitāb*, before God reveals to the angels his intentions, regarding his creation.

[958] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.

4.2.14 Hārūt and Mārūt[959] (peace be upon them)[960]

[248] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd in their *Musnads*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in *Kitab al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Ḥibbān in his *Saḥīḥ* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar that he heard the Messenger of the God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: Concerning Adam; when God brought him down to earth, the angels said: ‘What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while We proclaim Thy praise and call Thee holy?’ He said, ‘Assuredly I know that you know not.’[961] [The angels] said: ‘Our Lord, we are more obedient than the Children of Adam.’ God, Most High, said to the angels:[962] ‘Pick out two angels. We will send them down to Earth and see how the two [angels] will do. The angels said: ‘Our Lord, Hārūt and Mārūt!’[963] And so both of them were sent down to Earth, and al-Zuhara appeared to the two of them[964] as the most beautiful woman.[965] She came to the two of them and they asked her for her soul, and she

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[959] Al-Thaᶜlabī devotes a whole chapter to Hārūt and Mārūt, which provides a useful comparison for these stories; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91; al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 45 – 48; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, Vol .2, pp. 52 – 55; see also al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā’ib*, pp. 40 – 41.

[960] The Leiden MS adds: *ᶜalayhumā al-salām*’; fol. 200v, l. 23.

[961] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5. The DKI edition marks the Qur’ānic quotation from ‘*in Ādam lamma...*’ This is an error, the Qur’ānic quotation begins at ‘*ayy rabb...*’ Also note that this ḥadīth combines two separate narratives (that of the creation of Adam and the Hārūt and Mārūt narrative). The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most frequently placed during the lifetime of the Prophet Idrīs (e.g. §255). There is a certain disjunction between the image of Hārūt and Mārūt in the Qur’ān and Islamic tradition.

[962] The Leiden MS adds: *li-‘l-malā’ika* (fol. 200v, l. 28).

[963] For a discussion of the origin of the names Hārūt and Mārūt, see Section 2 above.

[964] The ḥadīth in this section present two versions of the same story, firstly that al-Zuhara was a woman who then became the star/planet Venus and secondly (e.g. §255) that al-Zuhara / Venus came down from heaven to seduce and test the two angels. The story is not, however, aetiological.

[965] Al-Zuhara is associated with Anahīd (= Amretatat) in §251, and Anahīd was associated with great beauty: cf. *Yast* V:78 ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him [Vistaru] in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant.’ For more on Amretatat see Herzfeld, Ernst, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) pp. 356 – 368. In Astrology, Venus is also associated with beauty, fornication, prostitutes and fermented drinks (among other things), cf. al-Qabīṣī, Abū al-Ṣaqr ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn ᶜUthmān ᶜAlī al-Mawṣilī (ed. & tr. Charles Burnett &al.), *Kitāb al-mudhal ilā ṣināᶜat aḥkam al-nujūm* (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute

said: 'No! By God! Not until you accept the worship of idols.'[966] The two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never associate anything with God.' So she went away from them. Then she returned with a baby boy,[967] whom she was carrying; and they asked her for her soul, and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you kill this baby boy.'[968] And the two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never kill him!' So she went away and then she returned with a glass of wine, which she was carrying. They asked her for her soul and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you have drunk this wine.' So they drank,[969] became drunk, fornicated with her,[970] and killed the boy. When the two woke up, the woman said: 'By God! You have not left anything! You both denied me it, but you did it when you were drunk!' As a result the two had to make a choice between the punishment of this world or the next and they chose the punishment of this world.

[249] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels looked down upon this world and they saw the children of Adam being disobedient. They said: 'Lord! How ignorant these [humans] are! How little knowledge they have of your Majesty!' God,

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& Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), pp. 74 – 75 and al-Birūnī, Abū 'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awā'il ṣināᶜat al-tanjim*; R. Ramsey Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology* (London: Luzac & Co., 1934) pp. 232, 240, 245 and 251.

[966] Lit: Not until you say this word about idolatry.

[967] *al-ṣabī*; a baby that has not yet been weaned; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1650.

[968] The Qur'ān takes a strong position against infanticide, suggesting that it was common in pre-Islamic Arabic; for a discussion of this theme, see Giladi, Avner, 'Some Observations on Infanticide in Medieval Islamic Society' *IJMES* 22 (1990) pp. 185 – 200, especially pp. 186 – 188.

[969] Cf. Q 5:91; 'Satan only desires to precipitate enmity and hatred between you in regard to wine and arrow-shuffling, and to bar you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 114. Although the Hārūt and Mārūt narratives could be appropriate in the passages forbidding the consumption of wine, the narratives are usually found in the *tafsīrs* of Q 2:102; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 456 – 459; vol. 2, pp. 356 – 375; and vol. 7, pp. 32 – 35.

[970] The association of sexual immorality was also connected with the pagan worship of Venus / Aphrodite; cf. Moore, Michael S., 'Jesus Christ: "Superstar" (*Revelation xxii 16b*), *NT* 24 (1982) pp. 82 – 91, p. 86.

may He be praised and glorified said: 'If you were in their skin, then you would disobey me.' They said: 'How can this be? We worship Your praiseworthiness and we glorify You.' He said:[971] 'Choose two angels from amongst you!' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt; then the two of them came down to earth and [the earth] roused in them human desires. A woman presented herself to them but they did not disobey until they fornicated with her. God said: 'Choose between the punishment of this world or the next!' And one of the two looked to his friend and said: 'Whatever you say, I will choose.' He said: 'I say that the punishment of this world will end, but the punishment of the next world will not end.' So, the two chose the punishment of this world.' The two are those two whom God mentions in His Book: 'and that which was sent upon Babylon's two angels…'[972] and the rest of the verse.[973]

[250] al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Ibn ᶜUmar that he used to say: 'Has the *red one*[974] appeared yet?' When he saw it, he said: 'It is not welcome.'[975] Then he said: 'Two angels from amongst the angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, asked God if they could go down to earth. So they went down to earth,[976] and judged the people. When they got to a point where they could say words,

[971] The Leiden MS reads *qālū* for *qāla* (fol. 201r, l. 8); this appears to be a scribal error.
[972] Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 12.
[973] None of the ḥadīth in this section actually refer Hārūt and Mārūt teaching people magic, as mentioned in Q 2:101, but are all concerned with the fall of Hārūt and Mārūt. The fall-narratives are often attached to this verse in the exegetical tradition without much elaboration. Incidentally, a number of Christian theologians attributed the teaching of Greek philosophy to fallen angels, see Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels' and Margoliouth, 'Hārūt and Mārūt'.
[974] *Al-Ḥamrā'* usually refers to the planet Mars, but in this ḥadīth (as well as §255) Venus is clearly intended.
[975] This would make more sense if *al-Ḥamrā'* were understood to be the planet Mars, as Mars (and Jupiter) were traditionally seen as brining bad luck in Near Eastern astrology. Cf. Reiner, E., *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995) p. 4 – 7, Jastrow, Morris, 'Signs and Names of the Planet Mars' *AJSLL* 27 (1910) pp. 64 – 83, Al-Qabīṣī, *K. al-mudhal,* pp. 68 – 69. The planet Venus is not normally seen as bringing bad luck, but is associated with immorality; this is probably what ᶜUmar is referring to.
[976] The Leiden MS adds '*fa-ahbaṭa harūt wa-mārūt illā 'l-arḍ*' (fol. 201r, l. l4).

they went up from [earth] to heaven. God[977] sent to them the most beautiful woman. She asked them a question about desire and she asked them a question about their souls; and they did not leave until she promised them a meeting. Then she came to them for the meeting and she said: "You two can teach me the word which allows you to ascend." And they taught her [the word].[978] She said it and ascended into heaven. She was transformed and made just as you have seen. At the very moment that the two said the word, they could not ascend, so [God] sent them [a message] that the two should choose between the punishment of the afterlife or the punishment of this world; and one of the two said to the other: "Indeed, we should choose the pain of his world."'

[251] Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh in his *Musnad*, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd in his *Tafsīr*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Jarīr, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Hākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Tālib; he said: This is *Al-Zuhara*: the Arabs call her *al-Zuhara* and the Persians call her *Anahīd*.[979] The two angels were passing verdicts on the people [of Earth]. She came to the two of them, and they saw[980] her. Al-Zuhara said to the two: 'Will the two of you not tell me by what means you go up to heaven and by what means you come down to earth?' (And the two said 'In the name of God, the Greatest.' [to go up to heaven and down to earth).[981] She said: 'I will not leave you[982] until you teach it to me.' One of the two said to his companion: 'Teach it to her!' The [other angel] said:

[977] The Leiden MS omits *Allāh* (fol. 201r, l. 16).
[978] The Leiden MS adds '*al-kalima*' (fol. 201r, l. 18).
[979] Also known in Persian as *Bīdukht*; see Moᶜīn, Muḥammad (ed.), *Lughatnāma* (Tehrān: Chāpkhāne-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1959 – 1975) Fasc. 87, p. 264 and Fasc. 174, p. 479.
[980] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādāhā*' (fol. 201r, l. 22); '…they wanted her…'.
[981] The phrase 'In the name of God, the Greatest' acts as a password for entering and leaving heaven.
[982] The Leiden MS reads '*bi-mawtaykumā*' (fol. 201r, l. 23).

‘How severe God’s punishment will be for us?!’ The [other angel] said: ‘We will hope in the great abundance of God[’s mercy]![983]’ So [one of the angels] taught it to her; she said it and she flew to heaven. An angel of heaven was terrified by her ascent; so he bowed his head and did not sit down afterwards; God transformed her and she became a star.

[252] Ibn Rāhwayh and Ibn Mardawayh in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God cursed al-Zuhara, for it was she who seduced the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt.

[253] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The people of the lowest heaven looked down on the Earth[984] and they saw them acting disobediently, so they said: ‘Lord, the people of Earth are acting disobediently.’ God, may He be praised and glorified, said: ‘You are with me, but they are hidden from me.’ And it was asked of them: ‘Choose three of you.’[985] So they chose three from them on the condition that they came down to earth and judged between the people of earth. Human desire would be aroused in them, but they were ordered that they could not drink wine, that they could not kill anyone, that they could not fornicate, and that they could not prostrate themselves before idols. And from them was one that wished to be released [from this task], and he asked and two were sent down to the earth.[986] The most beautiful woman came to the two of them and it was said she [was called] Anahīd, and the two together fell in love with her. Then the two came to her house, they met

[983] The Leiden MS reads: ‘*saᶜat raḥmat allāh*’ (fol. 201r, l. 24).
[984] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ᶜalā ahl al-arḍ’* (fol. 201r, ll. 28 – 29).
[985] The third angel is possibly *al-Sijill* (cf. §247), although this appears to be rare and most accounts of this story only refer to Hārūt and Mārūt being selected.
[986] The could possible be *al-Sijill*; cf. §247.

with her and they wanted her. She said [to them]:[987] 'Not until you drink my wine, kill my neighbour's son and bow down before my idols.' The two of them said: 'We will not bow down [to your idols].' Then the two drank the wine, killed [the boy], then they bowed down [before the idols]. The angels in the sky looked down at them, and she said to them: 'Tell me the word which, if you both say it, the two of you can fly away.' And they told her,[988] and she flew away then she was turned into live coal, and this is *al-Zuhara*. As for the two, Solomon, son of David, sent for them, and they had to make a choice between the punishment of this world and the [pains of the][989] next. They chose the punishment of this world and they are suspended between heaven and earth.

[254] Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ḥākim, and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When the people after Adam fell into the situation that they fell into and began to be disobedient and to not believe in God, the angels in Heaven said: 'The Lord of This World, who created them; you only created them to worship you and to obey you, but they now fall into the situation that they have fallen in to, committing unbelief, commiting suicide, eating unlawful food, fornicating, stealing and drinking wine; they have begun to curse each other, and they do not circumcise themselves.' [Some sources] say that they were in hiding (?)[990] and they did not circumcise themselves. And it was said to them: 'Choose from amongst you the two best angels and I will give the two of them of them a task; and I will prohibit the two of them [from doing certain

[987] The Leiden MS omits '*la-humā*' (fol. 201v, l. 3).
[988] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-akhbarahā*' – 'it was told to her' (fol. 201v, l. 5).
[989] The Leiden MS reads '*wa-ᶜadhāb al-akhira*' (fol. 201v, l. 6).
[990] The text is a little confused here.

things].' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. So the two of them were sent down to Earth and the desires of the sons of Adam were aroused in them. [God] ordered the two that they should serve Him and not associate anything with Him. He banned them from killing prohibited individuals, from eating prohibited foods and from fornicating, stealing and drinking wine. The two remained on the Earth for a time ruling the people with justice. This was during the time of Enoch.[991] And at that time there was a woman, who was the most beautiful woman, just as the beauty of Venus is amongst the rest of the stars. The two of them came to her, spoke softly to her,[992] and wanted her on her own; but she refused unless the two took her orders and her faith. So the two asked her about her faith and she brought out to them an idol and said: 'This is what I worship.' And the two said: 'There is no need for us to worship this.' So they went and stayed away[993] for a while. Then the two came to her and they wanted[994] her on her own [and she said as she had said before, so they went away. Then they came to her [again] and they wanted her on her own**,]**[995] and when she saw that they refused to worship the idol, she said to the two of them: 'Choose one of the three faults:[996] worshiping this idol, killing this person, or drinking wine.' And the two said: 'None of these are right, but the least contemptible of the three is the drinking of the wine.' So they drank the wine. [The wine][997] was taken from them

[991] The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most often placed during the time of Enoch (*Idrīs*); cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91.
[992] Cf. Q 33:32; 'If you are godfearing, be not abject (*takhḍaᶜna*) in your speech, so that he in whose heart is sickness may be lustful, but speak honourable words.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 430; the verb also has a strong connotation of love, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 757.
[993] The Leiden MS reads '*ghabarā*' for '*ghābā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17), *ghābā* is more suitable here.
[994] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[995] The Leiden MS is missing a portion of the text from '*fa-faᶜalat mithl dhālik….fa-arādāhā ᶜalā nafsihā*' (fol. 201v, l. 18). This appears to be a scribal error.
[996] Note the woman's avoidance of words such as *dhanb* etc.; *khilāl* is a general word, which does not necessarily carry any religious overtones, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 780.
[997] *Khamr* can be both masculine and feminine (see Lane, *AELex*, pp. 808 – 809).

both and they fornicated with the woman. The two then feared that the person[998] would reveal what they had done, so they killed him. When the drunkenness lifted from them and they realised what sin they had done, they wanted to go up to heaven; but they could not, as it had been made inaccessible to them.[999] And the cover that was between the two of them and between the people of heaven was lifted up,[1000] and the angels looked down at what had come to pass. They wondered with great wonder and they came to understand that whoever is hidden [from God], is the one with less fear. After that they began to ask for forgiveness for whoever was on the earth.

It was said to the two of them: 'Choose[1001] between the punishment of this world and the punishment of the next.' The two said: 'As for the punishment of this world, it will come to an end and it will pass. As for the pain of the next world, it will not come to an end.' So they chose the punishment of this world. The two stayed in Babylon and they were punished.

[255] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Mujāhid; he said: I was camping with ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar during a journey, when, one night, he said to his servant: 'Look the *red one* has risen. There is no welcome in it, nor any greeting; God does not give life to it; it is the friend[1002] of the two angels.

The angels said: 'Lord, how can you ignore the disobedience of the sons of Adam, while they are shedding blood unlawfully, violating your prohibitions and

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[998] i.e. a witness; in §255 the angels kill a man (most likely al-Zuhara's husband) so that their crime is not revealed; in other versions (e.g. §248) the two kill a child.
[999] For the idiomatic expression, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 674. This is reminiscent of Q 34:53: 'And a barrier is set between them and that they desire…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 443.
[1000] Cf. Q. 50:22; 'Thou wast heedless of this; therefore We have now removed (*fa-kashafnā*) from thee they covering (*ghiṭā'*), and so thy sight today is piercing.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[1001] The Leiden MS uses a 2 m. pl. imperative (*ikhtārū*) for the DKI dual (*ikhtārā*), fol. 201v, l. 24; the dual is preferable.
[1002] Or 'master'; which could be appropriate in this context.

spreading corruption in the land?' He said: 'Indeed, I have put them to test; perhaps if I tested you in the same way as I have tested them, you would do as they have done.' They said: 'No!' He said: 'Choose two from the best of you.' So they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. He said to the two of them, 'I [am going to permit] your going down to earth. I am going to make you swear that you will not associate [anything with Me], that you will not fornicate and that you will not act treacherously. So they came down to earth and lust overwhelmed them both. Al-Zuhara came down to them, in the form of a most beautiful woman, and paraded herself in front of them, and they wanted[1003] her on her own. She said: 'Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without them being the same [religion as me].' The two said: 'What is your faith?' She said: 'Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*).' The two said: 'This is idolatry.[1004] We cannot associate ourselves with it.' So she left them for a period of time. Then she came up to them, and they wanted her by herself. She said: 'What you wish is only [the right of] a husband of mine. I would not like it if [someone] were to catch sight of me doing this; [as] this [would cause me] to be dishonoured.[1005] If you two profess my faith to me and you promise that you will take me up to heaven, then I will do it.' So they professed her faith to her, and they came to her [whilst she was in the form that] they saw; then the two took her up to

[1003] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 202r, l. 2) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[1004] Zoroastrianism held an unusual place in Islamic theory: 'Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists [Zoroastrians] along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture.' Morony, M., 'Madjūs' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 1110 – 1118, p. 1110. See also Bürgel, J. Christoph, 'Zoroastrians as Viewed in Medieval Islamic Sources' in Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 202 – 212.
[1005] Much has been written on the death penalty for adultery in Islam *fiqh*; e.g. Burton, John, 'The Origin of the Islamic Penalty for Adultery' *TGUOS* 26 (1978) pp. 16 – 27 and Burton, John, 'Law and exegesis: The Penalty for Adultery in Islam' in G. R. Hawting & Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 269 – 284.

heaven, and when they got to heaven, she grabbed them and cut off their wings, and the two fell [down to Earth] frightened, remorseful, and crying.

On earth is a prophet, who spent hit time in personal devotion from one Friday to the next, and on Friday his prayers would be answered. The two said: 'If we come to somebody, we will ask him to teach us [how to] repent. And they came to him, he said: 'May God have mercy upon you both!' How can inhabitants from the earth teach an angel?!' And they said: 'Indeed, we have been put to the test.' He said: 'Come to me on Friday.' So they came to him and he said: 'I have nothing to say to you. Come to me on the following Friday!' So they came to him, and he said: 'Choose! Indeed, you must choose if you want to be released from the earth and [receive] the punishment of the afterlife; or if you want the punishment of this life, the judgement of God will be upon you both on the Day of Resurrection.' One of the two said: 'This world will only last a short time.' And the other one said: 'Woe unto you! I have obeyed you from the beginning, so I will obey you now.' So the two chose the pain of this world.

This story can be enhanced by many other chains of transmission (*turuq*);[1006] the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar[1007] collected them into a single section and he said in his book *Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī-'l-dhabb ᶜan musnad Aḥmad*, that anyone who had concerns about [the story], could attest with certainty to the veracity of this story, because of the many different chains of transmission and the strength of their sources.[1008] He

[1006] The Leiden MS highlights this is red (fol. 202r, l. 12).
[1007] Al-Suyūṭī's father studied with Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Suyūṭī believed that he may have attended 'the *majlis* (gathering, here probably a kind of seminar is meant) held by an old man whose name he had not been able to remember, but he had thought that it must have been the famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī.' Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 26. Al-Suyūṭī was evidently well acquainted with his work and considered him one of his teachers.
[1008] Ibn Ḥajar uses word play, referring to 'entrances' and 'exits': the 'entrances' are clearly the chains of transmission, but the 'exits' are more vague, perhaps referring to the sources (i.e. texts and compilations) in which the ḥadīth are found.

said that he had studied a portion of these, which Aḥmad had compiled, and he mentioned over ten different chains of transmission; and [Ibn Ḥajar said:] I collected the different chains of transmission from exegeses and I reckoned them to amount to some twenty-odd chains.

4.2.15 The Sakīna[1009] (peace be upon it)[1010]

[295] al-Ṭabaranī in *al-Awsaṭ* from ᶜAlī (may God be pleased with him); he said: When the pious are mentioned, be quick to mention ᶜUmar. We, the Companions of the Prophet, did not think it unlikely that the *Sakīna* articulated itself on the tongue of ᶜUmar (may God be pleased with him). Ibn al-Athīr said in *al-Nihāya*: The *Sakīna* is an angel.

[296] al-Ṭabarānī from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr that he came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: 'Messenger of God, yesterday I recited *Surat al-Kahf*[1011] and something came and covered my mouth.' The Prophet (God

[1009] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, 'Notion de la Sakina'. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with Ark of the Covenant, see Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

[1010] Note the masculine, rather than feminine, suffix; this is because the *Sakīna* is an angel, which is masculine.

[1011] Q. 18; Arberry (1998) 288 – 301. *Surat al-kahf* is recited for protection against the anti-Christ (al-Dajjāl); Massigon also states that the entire *sūra* is recited every Friday at the congregational prayers ; see Massingon, Louis, 'Les "Septs Dormants", Apocalypse de l'Islam' *AB* 68 (1949) pp. 245 – 260; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 18, p. 65.

bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'That is the *Sakīna*. It came to hear the Qur'ān.'[1012]

[297] al-Ṭabarānī from Abū Salama; he said: When Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr al-Anṣārī was praying – he said[1013] – when it was night; [he said]: Suddenly [something] like a cloud covered me, and in it were things like lights, and [my] wife was sleeping beside me and she was pregnant; the horse was tethered in the courtyard and I feared that the horse[1014] would bolt away; [my] wife was terrified and she delivered her child; so I concluded my prayers.' So [the Prophet][1015] said: 'Recite, Usayd! That was an angel that listens to the Qur'ān.'

[1012] The *sakīna* is associated with the recitation of the Qur'ān; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, §5011, p. 996; see also Firestone, Reuven, 'Shekina' *EQ* vol. 4, pp. 589 – 591, p. 591.
[1013] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 204r, l. 15.
[1014] The Leiden MS reads *faras* and the DKI *ḥisān*; fol. 204r, l. 16.
[1015] This ḥadīth is quite famous, but here the *matn* is omits some information; in the fuller narrative, Usayd tells the Prophet about his experience, asks what it was and what he should have done; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

Conclusions

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis has been to widen the study of angels in Islam beyond that of Qur'ānic studies and Islamic eschatology. The study of angels in Islam has tended to be restricted to these two areas. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a corpus of *ḥadīth* that focus Islamic angelology in Islamic tradition more generally. The translation and commentary have shown that the relationship between humans and angels is a very close one, far closer than one may have expected.

The *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* do however reveal a complex mix of ideas. Every human has two (or more) recording angels; this establishes a direct relationship between angels and humans; yet despite their closeness to humanity, the angels always retain their unique angelic character. This is seen particularly clearly in the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Ritual impurity acts as a *shibboleth* between humans and angels: after the expulsion of Adam from the Garden, humans defecate, copulate, menstruate, and so on, and live in a world of impurity. Angels, as creatures of the divine world, remain ritually pure and cannot come into contact with impurity. This relationship, as I have argued in Section 3, has important consequences in Islamic ritual law. Being unclean is not technically sinful, but impurities do still have an effect on angels, and individuals can become *eschatologically disadvantaged* by their inability to perform credited actions. This intricate relationship with the angels is not, however, entirely negative for humans, as the angels pray for the Muslim community, bless and pray for pious devotional behaviour, give more weight

to good actions and so on. The angels, therefore, also enable humans to be *eschatologically advantaged* by certain actions.

Despite the fact that the relationship between humans and angels has a bearing on an individual's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is quite different from the standard Islamic eschatological material (as well as Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature). Traditionally, descriptions of heaven and hell are used as a warning, focused on the *potentiality* of punishment and reward. Hell is the *potential* future for those that do not return to the *straight path*, heaven is the reward for those that do. Sins and crimes in this kind of literature tend to be quite general, or when they are specific, refer to major sins such as murder, *kufr* and so on. Crudely, these works argue: Do not [*commit murder*], because those who [commit *murder*] will be sent to the Fire; and those that do not [*commit murder*] will be admitted into the Garden. In contrast, *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does not refer to major sins, but discusses the relationship between humans and angels at a much more basic, everyday level; and raises the question of the effects that certain human actions have on angels. The collection says that angels are present in this world and that the reader should be aware of their existence as human actions have an effect on their behaviour, and consequently, on the reader's *eschatological future*. This is a very different argument.

Section 2 raised the question of the origins and development of Islamic angelology through an analysis of angelic nomenclature and iconography. Past scholarship has usually portrayed Islamic angelology as being entirely derived from Jewish and Christian beliefs. However, the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* show that this relationship is much more complex. The naming of angels in Islam, except for a few isolated borrowings, shows a particularly Islamic approach, especially the use of the

formula: *The Angel of X*. Whilst there are a number of angels derived from divine hypostases in Judaism, some of the angels, such as *al-Sijill* are purely Islamic, derived form the text of the Qur'ān. Likewise, the iconography of angels in Islam has both commonalities with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also some unique elements. This would seem to suggest that Islam, whilst aware of the role and iconography of angels in Judaism and Christianity, adapted these ideas for its own use, and consequently an Islamic angelology evolved. The inclusion of a number of less well known angels in Islam, such as Ṣadluqan and Miṭaṭrūsh (Sandalphon and Metatron) suggest a much later borrowing, after Islamic angelology had developed and established itself.

The work appears to have been aimed at either a literate public or students, both of whom would have found al-Suyūṭī's approach of spiritual and educational benefit. The world in which *al-Ḥabā'ik* was written was in a state of political and social decline, with the Mamluks falling to the rising power of the Ottomans only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death. However, the *ᶜulamā'* and the higher education establishments in Cairo were able to flourish in this period, a result of their independence through the *waqf* system. There also seems to have been a deeper engagement with society at large in this period, with whole genres emerging to reflect the needs of the contemporary society.

Many of these trends in late-Mamluk scholarship can be seen in a-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, both in the main body of the *ḥadīth* compilation, as well as in the theological *khātima* that follows it. The two sections act to convey the importance of angels in Islam, belief in their existence, and their place in the universe. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* acts as a compendium of information about angels,

suitable for both the growing literate public and the significant amount of students that passed through the Cairene higher education establishments.

Al-Suyūṭī is famed for his ability to compile collections of *ḥadīth* in original subject areas, and *al-Ḥabā'ik* is no exception. Al-Suyūṭī's wide knowledge of *ḥadīth* is shown throughout, with the work drawing a wide range of authors and texts. Likewise, the *khātima* shows a strong familiarity with many *mutakallimūn*. There has been some analysis of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources in the past, and the analysis of the sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that the *ḥadīth* are principally drawn from the formative period of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Islam, namely the third and fourth centuries *hijrī*; whereas the sources for the *khātima* are much later. This shows that al-Suyūṭī wished to engage with more contemporary sources in the theological postscript and accepted reputable collections of *ḥadīth* in the main body of the text. The analysis of the sources also suggests that al-Suyūṭī used the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī as *Urtexte* for his new compilation. Although, the great number of other works incorporated in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that it was not simply an act of plagiarism. Above all, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the impressive skill that al-Suyūṭī demonstrates in the arrangement and compilation of material. Al-Suyūṭī takes material from diverse sources and reshapes them into an accessible and readable resource.

It is hoped that this thesis has widened the study of Islamic angelology beyond the accounts of Muhammad's *miʿrāj*, the Qur'an and the eschatological literature. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the wonders of the angelic world, as well as its intimacy with *this* world. At the heart of this relationship is that fact that the angels are God's emissaries, and that everything

that the angels do is done on behalf of God. The angels act as intermediaries between humans and God and this intermediation works in both directions: the angels keep watch over human actions on God's behalf, but the angels also bring blessings to humans, and pray for humanity, especially pious Muslims. It has not been possible to explore all of the questions that the angelology of the *ḥadīth* raise, but it is hoped that this thesis has brought the possibility of further research into this interesting and exciting area of Islamic belief and spirituality.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ARABIC TEXT

Extracts from al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; (ed.) Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya, 1408 / 1988).

الحبائك في أخبار الملائك

للإمام جلال الدين عبد الرحمن السيوطي

٨٤٩ هـ - ٩١١ هـ

تحقيق
خادم السنة المطهرة
أبو هاجر محمد السعيد بن بسيوني زغلول

بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد للّه جاعل الملائكة رسلاً أولي أجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد والآل والصحب والأتباع. فهذه تأليف لطيف جمعته في أخبار الملائكة الأبرار. استوعبت فيه ما وردت به الأحاديث والآثار، وختمته بفوائد يبتهج بها أولو الأبصار. وسميته (الحبائك، في أخبار الملائك) واللّه المستعان. وعليه التكلان.

ذكر وجوب الإيمان بالملائكة

قال اللّه تعالى: ﴿**آمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربه والمؤمنون كل آمن باللّه وملائكته**﴾ قال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان: والإيمان بالملائكة ينتظم في معانٍ:

(**أحدها**) التصديق بوجودهم.

و (**الثاني**) إنزالهم منازلهم وإثبات أنهم عباد اللّه وخلقه كالإنس والجن مأمورون مكلفون لا يقدرون إلّا على ما أقدرهم اللّه عليه والموت عليهم جائز ولكن اللّه تعالى جعل لهم أمداً بعيداً فلا يتوفاهم حتى يبلغوه ولا يوصفون بشيء يؤدي وصفهم به إلى إشراكهم باللّه تعالى، ولا يدعون آلهة كما دعتهم الأوائل.

و (**الثالث**) الاعتراف بأن منهم رسلاً يرسلهم إلى من يشاء من

البشر وقد يجوز أن يرسل بعضهم إلى بعض، ويتبع ذلك الاعتراف منهم حملة العرش ومنهم الصافون ومنهم خزنة الجنة ومنهم خزنة ومنهم كتبة الأعمال ومنهم الذين يسوقون السحاب فقد ورد بذلك كله أو بأكثره:

١ - وروينا عن ابن عمر عن النبي ﷺ حين سئل الإيمان فقال «ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله».

مبدأ خلق الملائكة والدلالة على أنهم أجسام خلافاً للفلاسفة

٢ - (أخرج) مسلم عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ وخلقت الملائكة من نور وخُلِق الجانّ من مارج من نار وخلق آدم مما وصف لكم».

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١ - الترغيب، والترهيب ٢/١٦٥ وعزاه المنذري لأحمد بإسناد صحيح عمرو بن عبسة ورواته محتج بهم في الصحيح والطبراني وغيره ورواه البيهقي عن أبي أمامة عن رجل من أهل الشام عن أبيه.

وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢/٢٣٦ - ١٠/٩٤.

الجامع الكبير ١/١٠٨٤ و١٢١٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث عمر بن الخطاب رواه لمسلم، وأبو داود، والترمذي، والنسائي، وابن ماجة وأحمد.

٢ - مسلم كتاب الزهد ب ١٠ رقم ٦٠ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

وانظر مسند أحمد ٦/١٥٣ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٤. / الدار المنثور ٦/١٤٣.

البيهقي ٩/٣. / تفسير القرطبي ١٠/٢٤.

تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٣٨٨ و ١٦٣٥ و ٧/٤٦٧.

٣ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ في كتاب العظمة عن عكرمة قال خلقت الملائكة من نور العزة.

٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زيد بن رومان أنه بلغه أن الملائكة خلقت من روح الله.

كثرة الملائكة جداً

قال تعالى ﴿وما يعلم جنود ربك إلاّ هو﴾.

٥ - (وأخرج) البزار وأبو الشيخ وابن منده في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن ابن عمرو قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور وينفخ في ذلك ثم يقول ليكن منكم ألف ألفان فإن من الملائكة لخلقاً أصغر من الذباب وليس شيء أكثر من الملائكة.

٦ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في الشعب عن ابن مسعود قال ما في السموات شيء منها موضع إلاّ وعليه جبهة ملك أو قدماه ثم قرأ وإنا لنحن الصافون.

٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير قال ما في السماء موضع إلاّ عليه ملك إما ساجد وإما قائم حتى تقوم الساعة.

٨ - (وأخرج) أحمد والترمذي وابن ماجه والحاكم عن أبي ذر قال

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٨ - الترمذي الزهد ب ٩ رواه الترمذي بلفظة وزاد عليه [والله لو تعلمون ما أعلم لضحكتم قليلاً ولبكيتم كثيراً وما تلذذتم بالنساء على الفرش ولخرجتم إلى الصعدات تجأرون إلى الله لوددت أني كنت شجرة تعضد] قال أبو عيسى: وفي الباب عن أبي هريرة وعائشة وابن عباس وأنس. قال هذا حديث حسن غريب، ويروى من غير هذا الوجه أن أبا ذر قال: لوددت أني شجرة تعضد.

وانظر ابن ماجة الزهد باب ١٩ حديث رقم ١٤٩٠ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر =

قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ما منها موضع أربع أصابع إلّا وعليه ملك واضع جبهته) .

٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (ما في السماء موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم فذلك قوله: ﴿وما منا إلّا له مقام معلوم وإنا لنحن الصافون﴾ .

١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم والطبراني والضياء في المختارة وأبو الشيخ عن حكيم بن حزام قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ مع أصحابه فقال

= مع اختلاف في ألفاظ الحديث. وله زيادة طويلة.

وانظر مسند أحمد ١٧٣/٥ . / الحاكم ٥١٠/٢، ٥٧٩/٤ .

وانظر البيهقي ٥٢/٧ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر مع اختلاف في الألفاظ وله زيادة طويلة.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢١٧/١٠ . ـ الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥ .

٩ ـ تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٦/٨ وذكره ابن كثير عن عائشة بلفظ [ما في السماء الدنيا موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم، وذلك قول الملائكة: وذكر الآية وقد ذكره أيضاً بلفظ نحواً من هذا اللفظ وبإسناد غير إسناد حديثنا وعن العلاء بن سعد [وقد شهد فتح مكة] وقال هذا إسناد غريب جداً.

وانظر تفسير القرطبي ٣١٧/١٥.

الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥، ٢٩٣ وعزاه لمحمد بن نصر في كتاب الصلاة وابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ . وابن مردوية عن عائشة رضي اللّه عنها.

اللآلىء المصنوعة ١٢٣/٢ .

١٠ـ كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٦٥ و ٢٩٨٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه لحسن بن سفيان، وأبو نعيم.

وانظر الجامع الكبير ٣٧٦/٢ و ٥٨٦ . / تفسير ابن كثير ٦٦٤/٤ / ٣٢٩.

هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا ما نسمع من شيء قال إني لأسمع أطيط السماء وما تلام أن تئط ما فيها موضع قدم إلّا عليها ملك ساجد أو قائم.

١١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما في السموات السبع موضع قدم ولا شبر ولا كف إلّا وفيه ملك قائم أو ملك ساجد فإذا كان يوم القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك ما عبدناك حق عبادتك إلّا انا لم نشرك بك شيئاً.

١٢ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن أسلم قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ليس من بني آدم أحد إلّا ومعه ملكان سائق يسوقه وشاهد يشهد عليه فهذا ضعف بني آدم ثم بعد ذلك السموات والأرض مكبوسات ومن فوق السموات بعد، الذين حول العرش أكثر مما في السموات.

١٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سعيد عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال (إن في الجنة لنهراً ما يدخله جبريل من دخلة فيخرج فينتفض إلّا خلق اللّه من كل قطرة تقطر منه ملكاً).

١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه: إن للّه نهراً في الهواء سعة الأرضين كلها سبع مرات ينزل على ذلك النهر ملك من السماء فيملؤه ويسد ما بين أطرافه ثم يغتسل منه فإذا خرج قطر منه قطرات من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة منها ملك يسبح اللّه بجميع تسبيح الخلائق كلهم.

= الدر المنثور ٢٩٣/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن حكيم بن حزام رضي اللّه عنه.

مشكل الآثار ٤٣/٢ .

١١ - تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٥/٨ وذكره بلفظه إلّا أنه زاد فيه [أو ملك راكع].

١٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال قال موسى عليه السلام يا رب من معك في السماء قال ملائكتي قال وكم هم يا رب قال إثنا عشر سبطاً قال وكم عدد كل سبط قال عدد التراب.

١٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن كعب قال لا تقطر عين ملك منهم إلّا كانت ملكاً يطير من خشية اللّه.

١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن العلاء بن هارون قال: لجبريل في كل يوم اغتماسة في الكوثر ثم ينتفض فكل قطرة يخلق منها ملك.

١٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق مجاهد عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ما من شيء ينبت إلّا ملك موكل به.

١٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الحكم قال بلغني أنه ينزل مع المطر من الملائكة أكثر من ولد آدم وولد إبليس يحصون كل قطرة وأين تقع من يرزق من ذلك النبات.

٢٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن السموات السبع شوة من الملائكة لو قيست شعرة ما انقاست، منهم الراكد والراكع لساجد ترعد فرائصهم وتضطرب أجنحتهم خوفاً من اللّه ولم يعصوه فة عين وإن حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى مخه مسيرة مائة م.

٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر في تفسيره عن عبد اللّه بن عمرو يرفعه

١٨ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٥ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظ «ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من ئكة يخلقهم مثل الذباب» ثم يقول تبارك وتعالى «كونوا ألف ألفين» رواه البزار، اله رجال الصحيح والحديث عن عبد اللّه بن عمر، وصدق عليه ابن عباس ي اللّه عنهما.

قال «الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء الكروبيون الذين يسبحون الليل والنهار لا يفترون وجزء قد وكلوا بخزانة كل شيء وما من السماء موضع إلّا فيه ساجد أو ملك راكع وإن الحرم بحيال العرش وإن البيت المعمور لبحيال الكعبة لو سقط لسقط عليها يصلي فيه كل يوم سبعون ألف ملك ثم لا يعودون إليه».

٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن عمرو البكاليّ قال إن اللّه تعالى جزأ الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء منهم الكروبيون وهم الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم أيضاً الذين يسبحون بالليل والنهار لا يفترون قال ومن بقي من الملائكة لأمر اللّه ورسالات اللّه.

٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم من طريق حبيب بن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان أبي الأعيس عن أبيه قال: الإنس والجن عشرة أجزاء فالإنس من ذلك جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء، والجن والملائكة عشرة أجزاء فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة والملائكة والروح عشرة أجزاء فالملائكة جزء والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح من ذلك جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان والخطيب وابن عساكر من طريق عبّاد بن منصور عن عدي بن أرطاة عن رجل من

٢٤ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٤٥ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لأبي الشيخ في العظمة والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، والخطيب، وابن عساكر عن رجل من الصحابة.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٧. / تاريخ بغداد ١٢/٣٠٧.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/١٢٦، ١٠/٢١٧. / الحاوى للفتاوى ٢/٣٥٠.

كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٣٦ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي وأبو الشيخ في العظمة، والبيهقي في الشعب، والخطيب، وابن عساكر - عن رجل من الصحابة.

سحبة سماه ـ قال عباد فنسيت اسمه ـ عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال «إن ملائكة ترعد فرائصهم من مخافته ما منهم ملك تقطر من عينيه دمعة وقعت ملكاً قائماً يسبح، وملائكة سجوداً منذ خلق اللّه السموات أرض لم يرفعوا رؤسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وملائكة ركوعاً لم فعوا رؤوسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وصفوفاً لم ينصرفوا عن افهم ولا ينصرفون عنها إلى يوم القيامة فإذا كان يوم القيامة تجلى لهم م عز وجل فنظروا إليه وقالوا سبحانك ما عبدناك كما ينبغي لك.

٢٥-(وأخرج) ابن منده في المعرفة وابن عساكر عن عبد الرحمن بن لاء من بني ساعدة عن أبيه العلاء بن سعد وكان ممن بايع يوم الفتح النبي ﷺ قال يوماً لجلسائه هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا وما تسمع سول اللّه قال أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ليس منها موضع قدم إلّا به ملك قائم أو راكع أو ساجد ثم قرأ ﴿وإنا لنحن المسبحون﴾.

٢٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن الربيع بن أنس في قوله ﴿وعلم آدم سماء كلها قال أسماء الملائكة﴾.

رؤوس الملائكة الأربعة الذين يدبرون أمر الدنيا

٢٧ ـ (أخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة هقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط قال يدبر أمر الدنيا أربعة جبريل ائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل فأما جبريل فموكل بالرياح والجنود وأما ئيل فموكل بالقطر والنبات وأما ملك الموت فموكل بقبض الأرواح إسرافيل فهو ينزل بالأمر عليهم.

٢٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن سابط قال في أم الكتاب كل هو كائن إلى يوم القيامة ووكل ثلاثة من الملائكة أن يحفظوه فوكل

٢٧ ـ سبق برقم ١٠.

جبريل بالكتاب أن ينزل به إلى الرسل ووكل جبريل أيضاً بالهلكات إذا أراد اللّه أن يهلك قوماً ووكله بالنصر عند القتال ووكل ميكائيل بالحفظ والقطر ونبات الأرض ووكل ملك الموت بقبض الأنفس فإذا ذهبت الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل أم الكتاب فيجدونه سواء. رواه ابن أبي شيبة.

٢٩ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي والطبراني وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ ومعه جبريل يناجيه إذ انشق أفق السماء فأقبل جبريل يتضاءل ويدخل بعضه في بعض ويدنو من الأرض فإذا ملك قد مثل بين يدي رسول اللّه ﷺ فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام ويخيرك بين أن تكون نبياً ملكاً أو نبياً عبداً قال رسول اللّه ﷺ فأشار جبريل إليّ بيده أن تواضع فعرفت أنه لي ناصح فقلت نبياً عبداً فعرج ذلك الملك إلى السماء فقلت يا جبريل قد كنت أردت أن أسألك عن هذا فرأيت من حالك ما شغلني عن المسئلة فمن هذا يا جبريل قال هذا إسرافيل خلقه اللّه يوم خلقه بين يديه صافاً قدميه لا يرفع طرفه بينه وبين الرب سبعون نوراً ما منها نور يدنو منه إلّا احترق، بين يديه اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أذن اللّه بشيء في السماء أو في الأرض ارتفع ذلك اللوح فضرب جبهته فينظر فيه فإن كان من عملي أمرني به وإن كان من عمل ميكائيل أمره به وإن كان من عمل ملك الموت أمره به قلت يا جبريل على أي شيء أنت قال على الرياح والجنود قلت على أي شيء ميكائيل قال على النبات والقطر قلت على أي شيء ملك الموت قال على قبض الأنفس وما ظننت أنه هبط إلّا بقيام الساعة وما ذاك الذي رأيت مني إلّا خوفاً من قيام الساعة.

٣٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال

٣٠ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/ ١٠.

ل رسول اللّه ﷺ إن أقرب الخلق من اللّه جبرئيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل
نهم من اللّه لمسيرة خمسين ألف سنة جبرائيل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن
خرى وإسرافيل بينهما.

٣١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال هؤلاء الأربعة أملاك
ريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت أول من خلقهم اللّه من الخلق
خر من يميتهم وأول من يحييهم هم المدبرات أمراً والمقسمات أمراً.

٣٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن خالد بن أبي عمران قال: جبريل
ن اللّه إلى رسله وميكائيل يتلقى الكتب التي ترفع من أعمال الناس
سرافيل بمنزلة الحاجب.

٣٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عكرمة بن خالد أن رجلاً قال
رسول اللّه أيُ الملائكة أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فجاءه جبريل فقال
جبريل أي الخلق أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فعرج جبريل ثم هبط
ل: جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فأما جبريل فصاحب
رب وصاحب المرسلين وأما ميكائيل فصاحب كل قطرة تسقط وكل
ة تنبت وكل ورقة تسقط وأما ملك الموت فهو موكل بقبض روح كل
- في بر أو بحر وأما إسرافيل فأمين اللّه بينه وبينهم.

٣٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني والحاكم عن أبي المليح عن أبيه أنه
ى مع النبي ﷺ ركعتي الفجر فصلى قريباً منه فصلى النبي ﷺ ركعتين
يفتين فسمعته يقول «اللهم رب جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل ومحمد
ذ بك من النار» ثلاث مرات.

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٣٤ - مجمع الزوائد ٢/٢١٩، ١٠/١٠٤ و ١١٠.
وذكره الهيثمي بنحوه، وقال رواه النسائي بنحوه من غير تقييد بركعتي الفجر -
ا أبو يعلى عن شيخه سفيان بن وكيع وهو ضعيف.

٣٥ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن عائشة أن النبي ﷺ أغمي عليه
ورأسه في حجرها فجعلت تمسح وجهه وتدعو له بالشفاء فلما أفاق قال
لا بل إسألي اللّه الرفيق الأعلى مع جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل عليهم
السلام.

ما جاء في جبريل عليه السلام

٣٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن علي بن حسين قال
إسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه وإسرافيل عبد الرحمن
وكل شيء رجع إلى إيل فهو معبد للّه عز وجل.

٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن عباس قال: جبريل عبد اللّه
وميكائيل عبيد اللّه وكل اسم فيه «إيل» فهو معبد للّه.

٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن عمير
قال إسم جبريل في الملائكة خادم ربه عز وجل.

٣٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن موسى بن أبي عائشة قال بلغني أن
جبريل إمام أهل السماء.

٤٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ
ألا أخبركم بأفضل الملائكة جبريل.

٤١ - (وأخرج) مسلم عن ابن مسعود قال رأى رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٤٠ - مجمع الزوائد ٣/١٤٠، ٨/١٩٨ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه ولو زيادة في
الحديث وعزاه للطبراني وفيه نافع بن هرمز وهو متروك،
وانظر الدار المنثور ١/٩٢.
كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٣٤٣ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه للطبراني عن ابن عباس
رضي اللّه عنه، وله زيادة.

جبريل في حلة خضراء قد ملأ ما بين السماء والأرض.

٤٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ قال رأيت جبريل منهبطاً قد ملأ ما بين الخافقين عليه ثياب سندس معلق بها اللؤلوء والياقوت.

٤٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ لجبريل وددت لو رأيتك في صورتك قال وتحب ذلك قال نعم قال موعدك كذا وكذا من الليل بقيع الغرقد فلقيه موعده فنشر جناحاً من أجنحته فسد أفق السماء حتى ما يرى من السماء شيء.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود في قوله ﴿ولقد رآه نزلة أخرى﴾ قال رأى رسول الله ﷺ جبريل معلقاً رجليه عليها الدرّ كأنه قطر المطر على البقل.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس عن ورقة الأنصاري قال قلت يا محمد كيف يأتيك الذي يأتيك يعني جبريل قال يأتيني من السماء جناحاه لؤلؤ وباطن قدميه أخضر.

٤٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول

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٤٢ - كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٧ و١٥١٦٨ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها وعزاه لأبي الشيخ.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٢.

٤٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٥/١٣٧ وأشار الزبيدي إلى الحديث.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٣ وذكر حديثاً يشابه حديثنا وفيه أن رجلاً من اليهود سأل رسول الله ﷺ فقال يا رسول الله هل احتجب الله بشيء عن خلقه غير سموات. قال: نعم وبينه وبين الملائكة... وذكر نحواً منه.
وانظر اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٩.

الله ﷺ لجبريل هل ترى ربك قال إن بيني وبينه لسبعين حجاباً من نار ونور لو رأيت أدناها لاحترقت.

٤٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن شريح بن عبد الله أن النبي ﷺ لما صعد إلى السماء رأى جبريل في خلقته منظوم أجنحته بالزبرجد واللؤلؤ والياقوت قال فخيل لي أن ما بين عينيه قد سد الأفق وكنت أراه قبل ذلك على صور مختلفة وأكثر ما كنت أراه على صورة دحية الكلبي وكنت أحياناً أراه كما يرى الرجل صاحبه من وراء الغربال.

٤٧ - (وأخرج) أحمد وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود أن رسول الله ﷺ لم ير جبريل في صورته إلاّ مرتين أما واحدة فإنه سأله أن يريه نفسه فأراه نفسه فسد الأفق وأما الأخرى فليلة الإسراء عند السدرة.

٤٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ما بين منكبي جبريل مسيرة خمسمائة عام للطائر السريع الطيران.

٤٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق إسحاق عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال جبريل له ستمائة جناح من لؤلؤ قد نشرها مثل ريش الطواويس.

٥٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل حديث بعضهم في بعض: لجبريل جناحان وعليه وشاح من در منظوم وهو براق الثنايا أجلى الجبين ورأسه حبك حبك مثل المرجان وهو اللؤلؤ كأنه الثلج وقدماه إلى الخضرة.

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٤٨ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأبي الشيخ عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٥١ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه أنه سئل عن خلق جبريل فذكر أن ما بين منكبيه من ذي إلى ذي خفق الطير سبعمائة عام.

٥٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن سعد والبيهقي في الدلائل عن عمار بن أبي عمار أن حمزة بن عبد المطلب قال يا رسول اللّه أرني جبريل في صورته قال إنك لا تستطيع أن تراه قال بلى فأرنيه قال فاقعد فقعد جبريل على خشبة كانت في الكعبة فقال النبي ﷺ إرفع طرفك فانظر فرفع طرفه فرأى قدميه مثل الزبرجد الأخضر فخر مغشياً عليه.

٥٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ سأل جبريل أن يتراءى له في صورته فقال جبريل إنك لن تطيق ذلك قال إني أحب أن تفعل فخرج رسول اللّه ﷺ إلى المصلى في ليلة مقمرة فأتاه جبريل في صورته فغشي على رسول اللّه ﷺ حين رآه ثم فاق وجبريل مسنده وواضع إحدى يديه على صدره والأخرى بين كتفيه فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما كنت أرى أن شيئاً من الخلق هكذا فقال جبريل كيف لو رأيت إسرافيل إن له لاثني عشر جناحاً منها جناح في المشرق وجناح في المغرب وإن العرش على كاهله وإنه ليتضاءل الأحيان لعظمة اللّه حتى يصير مثل الوصع حتى ما يحمل عرشه إلّا عظمته.

٥٤ ـ (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال إن

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٥٢ ـ ابن سعد البيهقي في الدلائل.

٥٣ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب.

وانظر الزهد لإبن المبارك ص ٧٤ وذكره بنحوه.

٥٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.

جبريل ليأتيني كما يأتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض مكفوفة باللؤلؤ والياقوت رأسه كالجبل وشعره كالمرجان ولونه كالثلج أجلى الجبين براق الثنايا عليه وشاحان من درّ منظوم وجناحاه أخضران ورجلاه مغموستان في الخضرة وصورته التي صور عليها تملأ ما بين الأفقين وقد قال ﷺ أشتهي أن أراك في صورتك يا روح اللّه فتحول له فسد ما بين الأفقين.

٥٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر بسند ضعيف عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ خلق اللّه جمجمة جبريل على قدر الغوطة.

٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال عاد رسول اللّه ﷺ رجلاً من الأنصار فلما دنا من منزله سمعه يتكلم في الداخل فلما استأذن عليه دخل عليه فلم ير أحداً فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ سمعتك تكلم غيرك قال يا رسول اللّه لقد دخل عليّ داخل ما رأيت رجلاً قط بعدك أكرم مجلساً ولا أحسن حديثاً منه قال ذاك جبريل ﴿**وإن منكم لرجالاً لو أن أحدهم يقسم على اللّه لأبره**﴾.

٥٧ ـ (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن عكرمة قال قال جبريل عليه السلام إن ربي عز وجل ليبعثني إلى الشيء لأمضيه فأجد الكون قد سبقني إليه.

٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ميمونة بنت سعد قالت قلت يا رسول اللّه هل يرقد الجنب قال ما أحب أن يرقد حتى يتوضأ فإني أخاف أن يتوفى فلا يحضره جبريل.

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٥٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لابن عساكر عن عائشة قال الذهبي في الميزان: هذا حديث منكر.

٥٨ ـ الحاوي للفتاوى ٢٩٤/٢ وذكر السيوطي استشهاداً بالحديث على نزول جبريل عليه السلام إلى الأرض بعد وفاة الرسول ﷺ.

٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن أدنى الملائكة من اللّه
ريل ثم ميكائيل فإذا ذكر اللّه عبداً بأحسن عمله قال فلان بن فلان
ل كذا وكذا من طاعتي صلواتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ما
دث ربنا فيقول فلان بن فلان ذكر بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات
ه عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل من يراه من أهل السماء فيقولون ماذا أحدث
نا فيقول ذكر فلان ابن فلان بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات اللّه
يه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء حتى يقع إلى الأرض وإذا ذكر عبداً
سوأ عمله قال عبدي فلان ابن فلان عمل كذا وكذا من معصيتي
نتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ماذا أحدث ربنا فيقول ذكر فلان
، فلان بأسوأ عمله فعليه لعنة اللّه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء
ى يقع إلى الأرض.

٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) الصابوني في المائتين والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن
بر بن عبد اللّه عن النبي ﷺ قال إن جبريل موكل بحاجات العباد
ا دعا المؤمن قال اللّه يا جبريل أحبس حاجة عبدي فإني أحبه وأحب
ته وإذا دعا الكافر قال اللّه يا جبزيل أقض حاجة عبدي فإني أبغضه
غض صوته.

٦١ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي عن ثابت قال بلغنا أن اللّه تعالى وكّل
يل عليه السلام بحوائج الناس فإذا دعا المؤمن قال يا جبريل إحبس
جته فإني أحب دعاءه وإذا دعا الكافر قال يا جبريل اقض حاجته فإني
ض دعاءه قال البيهقي هذا هو المحفوظ.

٦٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة من طريق ثابت عن عبد اللّه بن
ر قال إن جبريل موكل بالحوائج فإذا سأل المؤمن ربه قال احبس

٦٠ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي والصابوني في المائتين عن
رضي اللّه عنه.

احبس حباً لدعائه أن يزداد وإذا سأل الكافر قال أعطه أعطه بغضاً لدعائه.

٦٣ ـ (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي عن أبي ذر قال إن اللّه يقول يا جبريل إنسخ من قلب عبدي المؤمن الحلاوة التي كان يجدها لي قال فيصير العبد المؤمن والهاً طالباً للذي كان يعهد من نفسه نزلت به مصيبة لم ينزل به مثلها قط فإذا نظر اللّه إليه على تلك الحال قال يا جبريل رد إلى قلب عبدي ما نسخت منه فقد ابتليته فوجدته صادقاً وسأمده من قبلي بزيادة.

٦٤ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عمرو بن مرة قال: جبريل على ريح الجنوب.

٦٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر في تاريخه عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما شئت أن أرى جبريل عليه السلام متعلقاً بأستار الكعبة وهو يقول يا واجد يا ماجد لا تزل عني نعمة أنعمت بها علي إلّا رأيته.

٦٦ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن أبي رواد قال نظر اللّه إلى جبريل وميكائيل وهما بكيان فقال اللّه ما يبكيكما وقد علمتما أني لا أجور فقالا يا رب إنا لا نأمن مكرك قال هكذا فافعلا فإنه لا يأمن من مكري إلّا كل خاسر.

٦٧ ـ (وأخرج) الإمام أحمد في الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني أنه بلغه أن جبريل أتى النبي ﷺ وهو يبكي فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ ما يبكيك قال وما لي لا أبكي فواللّه ما جفت لي عين منذ خلق اللّه النار مخافة أن أعصيه فيقذفني فيها.

٦٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٥٠٦٣ و٦٤٣٣ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن علي رضي اللّه عنه إلّا أنه قال (يا واحد يا أحد) ولم يقل (يا واجد يا ماجد).

٦٨ - وقال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان أنبأنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن يوسف الأصبهاني أنبأنا أبو بكر أحمد بن سعيد بن فرضخ الأخميمي بمكة حدثنا الوليد بن حماد حدثنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن الفضل بن عاصم ابن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الأنصاري حدثني أبي الفضل عن أبيه عاصم عن أبيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أنزل اللّه جبريل عليه السلام في أحسن ما كان يأتيني في صورة فقال إن اللّه يقرئك السلام يا محمد ويقول لك إني قد أوحيت إلى الدنيا أن تمرري وتكدري وضيقي وتشددي على أوليائي كي يحبوا لقائي وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لأعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي فإني قد خلقتها سجناً لأوليائي وجنة لأعدائي، قال البيهقي لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا الإسناد وفيهم مجاهيل.

٦٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن واثلة بن الأسقع قال أتى النبي ﷺ جل من أهل اليمن أكشف أحول أوقص أحنف أصمع أعسر أرسح سج فقال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني بما فرض اللّه عليَّ فلما أخبره قال إني اشهد اللّه أن لا أزيد على فريضته قال ولم ذاك قال لأنه خلقني فشوه لقي ثم أدبر فأتاه جبريل فقال يا محمد اين العاتب إنه عاتب رباً كريماً عتبه قال قل له ألا يرضى أن يبعثه اللّه في صورة جبريل يوم القيامة ال له، فقال بلى يا رسول اللّه فإني أعاهد اللّه أن لا يقوى جسدي ى شيء من مرضاة اللّه إلّا عملته، فيه العلاء بن كثير قال البخاري كر الحديث.

٧٠ - (وأخرج) وأبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير في قوله إلّا من

٦٨ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤٥٢١ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه الاّ [وتسهلي وتوسعي ليعي لإعدائي] وعزاه للبيهقي عن قتادة بن النعمان وقال، لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا ناد، وفيه مجاهيل. وانظر كنز العمال ٦١١٠ نحوه.

ارتضى من رسول فإنه يسلك من بين يديه ومن خلفه رصداً قال ما نزل جبريل بشيء من الوحي إلا ومعه أربعة حفظة من الملائكة.

٧١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني بسند رجاله ثقات عن أم سلمة أن النبي ﷺ قال إن في السماء ملكين أحدهما يأمر بالشدة والآخر يأمر باللين وكل مصيب جبريل وميكائل، ونبيان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر يأمر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر إبراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر أبا بكر وعمر.

(وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود قال جاء جبريل إلى النبي ﷺ فقال يا جبريل إني لأحسب أن لي عندك منزلة قال أجل والذي بعثك بالحق ما بعثت إلى نبي قط أحب إليَّ منك قال فإني أحب أن تعلمني منزلتي هناك قال إن قدرت على ذلك قال والذي بعثك بالحق لقد دنوت فيها من ربي دنواً ما دنوت مثله قط وإن كان قدر دنوي منه مسيرة خمسمائة سنة وإن أقرب الخلق من اللّه عز وجل إسرافيل وإن قدر دنوه منه مسيرة سبعين سنة فيهن سبعون نوراً إن أدناها ليغشى بالأبصار فكيف لي بالعلم فيما وراء ذلك ولكن يعرض لي بلوح ثم يدعونا فيبعثنا.

٧٣ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن رباح قال حدثت أن النبي ﷺ قال لجبريل لم تأتني إلّا وأنت صارٌّ بين عينيك قال إني لم أضحك منذ خلقت النار.

٧١ - مجمع الزوائد ٥١/٩ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه وعزاه للطبراني ورجاله ثقات. وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٤/١ نحوه.

٧٣ - الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لإحمد في الزهد عن رباح رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٢٧.

٧٤ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول
له ﷺ ﴿ونفخ في الصور فصعق من في السماوات ومن في الأرض إلّا ما
اء اللّه﴾ قالوا يا رسول اللّه من هؤلاء الذين استثنى اللّه عز وجل قال
بريل وميكائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل وحملة العرش فإذا قبض اللّه
واح الخلائق قال لملك الموت من بقي فيقول سبحانك ربي وتعاليت ذا
علال والإكرام بقي جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ
س إسرافيل فيأخذ نفس إسرافيل فيقول اللّه لملك الموت من بقي
قول سبحانك تباركت ربي وتعاليت ذا الجلال والإكرام بقي جبريل
يكائيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ نفس ميكائيل فيأخذ نفس ميكائيل
نع كالطود العظيم فيقول يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول جبريل: ملك
ت فيقول مت يا ملك الموت فيموت فيقول يا جبريل من بقي فيقول
ي وجهك الدائم الباقي وجبريل الميت الفاني قال لا بد من موته فيقع
جداً يخفق بجناحيه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن فضل خلقه على خلق
كائيل كالطود العظيم.

٧٥ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أنس رفعه في
ه ﴿ونفخ في الصور﴾ الآية قال فكان ممن استثنى اللّه عز وجل ثلاثة
ريل وميكائيل وملك الموت فيقول اللّه وهو أعلم يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل وميكائيل وملك
ت فيقول توف نفس ميكائيل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي وعبدك جبريل وملك الموت فيقول توف
س جبريل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول بقي
هك الباقي الكريم وعبدك ملك الموت وهو ميت فيقول مت ثم
ي أنا بدأت الخلق ثم أعيده.

٧٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عطاء بن السائب قال أول من

يحاسب جبريل لأنه كان أمين اللّه إلى رسله.

٧٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة قال صاحب الموازين يوم القيامة جبريل عليه السلام.

ما جاء في ميكائيل عليه السلام

٧٨ - (أخرج) ابن المنذر عن عكرمة قال جبريل اسمه عبد اللّه وميكائيل اسمه عبيد اللّه.

٧٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد وأبو الشيخ عن أنس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال لجبريل مالي لم أر ميكائيل ضاحكاً قط قال ما ضحك ميكائيل منذ خلقت النار.

٨٠ - (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي في نوادر الأصول عن زيد بن رفيع قال دخل على رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل وميكائيل وهو يستاك فناول رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل السواك فقال جبريل كبّر قال الحكيم أي ناول ميكائيل فإنه أكبر.

٨١ - (وأخرج) الحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ وزيراي من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل ومن أهل الأرض أبو بكر وعمر.

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٧٩ - مسند أحمد ٣/٢٢٤ ورواه بلفظه.
وانظر الشريعة للآجري ص ٣٩٥. / الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٦٩.

٨١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي للحاكم عن أبي سعيد رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٦٧٩ و ٣٦١٤٨. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٢٨٦ و ٤٧٤.

٨٢ - (وأخرج) البزار والطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن اللّه أيدني بأربعة وزراء اثنين من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل واثنين من أهل الأرض أبي بكر وعمر.

٨٣ - (وأخرج) الديلمي من طريق السرى بن عبد اللّه السلمي عن عبد الحميد بن كنانة عن أبي أمامة عن علي ابن أبي طالب رفعه: مؤذن أهل السماوات جبريل وإمامهم ميكائيل يؤم بهم عند البيت المعمور فتجتمع ملائكة السماوات فيطوفون بالبيت المعمور وتصلي وتستغفر فيجعل اللّه ثوابهم واستغفارهم وتسبيحهم لأمة محمد ﷺ.

٨٤ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو عبد اللّه الأديب مشافهة بأصبهان عن أبي طاهر ابن أبي نصر التاجر أن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن إسحاق بن منده أخبره قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو عبد اللّه الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين الدينوري قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو القاسم عبد اللّه بن إبراهيم الجرجاني قال أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو الحسن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن القاسم بن الحسن بن

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٨٢ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٤٧٣ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه للخطيب، وابن عساكر وقالا تفرد بروايته محمد بن (نجيب) عن وهيب عن عطا.

وانظر جمع الجوامع ٤٧٢٣. / كنز العمال ٣٢٦٥٨، ٢٦١١٩.

تاريخ بغداد ٣/٢٩٨. / مجمع الزوائد ٩/٥١. / الدر المنثور ١/٩٤.

الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢٩٢. / حلية الأولياء ٨/١٩٠.

٨٤ - الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠ وذكر الحديث بسنده الطويل، وقال السيوطي: قال أبو نعيم: صحيح ثابت.

وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩. / كنز العمال رقم ٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨. / حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤. / لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦.

زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أحمد بن عبد اللّه الشعبي البغدادي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني الحسن بن علي العسكري قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي الحسين بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني محمد رسول اللّه ﷺ وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني إسرافيل عن اللوح المحفوظ أنه يقول اللّه تبارك وتعالى شارب الخمر كعابد وثن، قال الحافظ ابن حجر في لسان الميزان هذا المتن بالسند المذكور إلى علي بن موسى أخرجه أبو نعيم في الحلية بسند له فيه من لا يعرف حاله إلى الحسن العسكري أيضاً لكن لم يذكر فيه إلاّ جبريل قال يا محمد إن مدمن الخبر كعابد وثن. والمتن أورده ابن حبان في صحيحه من حديث ابن عباس.

ما جاء في إسرافيل عليه السلام

٨٥ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال خلق اللّه تعالى الصور لؤلؤة بيضاء في صفاء الزجاج ثم قال للعرش خذ الصور فتعلق به ثم قال كن فكان إسرافيل فأمره أن يأخذ الصور فأخذه وبه ثقب بعدد كل روح مخلوقة ونفس منفوسة لا تخرج روحان من ثقب واحدة وفي وسط الصور كوة كاستدارة السماء والأرض وإسرافيل واضع فمه على تلك الكوة ثم قال له الرب قد وكلتك بالصور فأنت للنفخة وللصيحة فدخل إسرافيل في مقدم العرش فأدخل رجله اليمنى تحت العرش وقدم اليسرى

ولم يطرف منذ خلقه اللّه لينتظر ما يؤمر به.

٨٦ - (وأخرج) الترمذي وحسنه والحاكم والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ كيف أنعم وصاحب الصور قد التقم القرن وحنى جبهته وأصغى سمعه ينتظر متى يؤمر به فينفخ قالوا فما نقول يا رسول اللّه قال قولوا حسبنا اللّه ونعم الوكيل على اللّه توكلنا.

٨٧ - (وأخرج) الحاكم وصححه وأبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن طرف صاحب الصور مذ وكل به مستعد ينظر حول العرش مخافة أن يؤمر بالصيحة قبل أن يرتد إليه طرفه كأن عينيه كوكبان دريان.

٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما زال صاحبا الصور ممسكين بالصور ينتظران متى يؤمران.

٨٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٨٦ - حلية الأولياء ٥/١٠٥، ٧/١٣٠ وذكره أبو نعيم بلفظ [كيف أنعم وصاحب القرن قد التقم القرن، وأصغى بسمعه متى يؤمر فينفخ فيه] وقال غريب من حديث الثوري عن عمرو ولم نكتبه إلّا من حديث الفريابي. ورواه ابن عيينة عن عمار الدهني عن عطية / تاريخ بغداد ٣/٣٦٣. وانظر الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩.

٨٧ - الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩ ورواه الحاكم بلفظه غير «حول» فعنده (نحو) وقال هذا حديث صحيح الإسناد ولم يخرجاه..

وانظر الدرر المنثور ٣/٢٢. / جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٦٤٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٨٩٠٥.

٨٩ - الدر المنثور ١/٩١ وعزاه السيوطي لإبن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة =

اسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه واسم إسرافيل عبد الرحمن.

٩٠(وأخرج) الطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة أن رجلاً من اليهود قال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني عن ملك اللّه الذي يليه قال إن الملك الذي يليه إسرافيل ثم جبريل ثم ميكائيل ثم ملك الموت عليهم السلام.

٩١ - (وأخرج) أحمد والحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إسرافيل صاحب الصور وجبريل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن يساره.

٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي بكر الهذلي قال ليس شيء من الخلق أقرب إلى اللّه من إسرافيل وبينه وبين اللّه سبعة حجب وله جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وجناح في الأرض السابعة وجناح عند رأسه. وهو واضع رأسه بين جناحيه فإذا أمر اللّه بالأمر تدلت الألواح على إسرافيل بما فيها من أمر اللّه فينظر فيها إسرافيل ثم ينادي جبريل فيجيبه فلا يسمع صوته أحد من الملائكة إلّا صعق فإذا أفاقوا قالوا ماذا قال ربكم قالوا الحق وهو العلي الكبير وإن ملك الصور الذي وكل به إن إحدى قدميه لفي الأرض السابعة وهو جاث على ركبتيه شاخص بصره إلى إسرافيل ما طرف منذ خلقه اللّه ينظر متى يشير إليه فينفخ في الصور.

٩٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي زمنين في السنّة عن كعب قال إن أقرب

= عن علي بن حسين وزاد عليه [وكل شيء راجع إلى «إيل» فهو معبد للّه عز وجل].

٩١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي لسعيد بن منصور وأحمد وابن أبي داود في المصاحف وأبي الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم وصححه، وابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري.

الملائكة إلى اللّه إسرافيل وله أربعة أجنحة جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وقد تسرول بالثالث والرابع بينه وبين اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي أمراً جاء اللوح المحفوظ حتى يصفق جبهة إسرافيل فيرفع رأسه فينظر فإذا الأمر مكتوب فينادي جبريل فيلبيه فيقول أمرت بكذا أمرت بكذا فلا يهبط جبريل من سماء إلى سماء إلّا فزع أهلها خافة الساعة حتى يقول جبريل الحق من عند الحق فيهبط على النبي فيوحي إليه.

٩٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب فقالت يا كعب حدثنا عن إسرافيل قال هو ملك اللّه ليس لدنه شيء جناح له بالمشرق وجناح له بالمغرب وجناح على كاهله والعرش على كاهله فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت النبي ﷺ قال كعب واللوح على جبهته فإذا أراد اللّه أمراً أثبته في اللوح.

٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث أن كعباً قال لعائشة هل سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول في إسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول: له أربعة أجنحة منها جناحان أحدهما بالمشرق والآخر بالمغرب واللوح بين عينيه فإذا أراد اللّه أن يكتب الوحي يقرين جبهته.

٩٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه من الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا.

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٩٦ - حلية الأولياء ٦/٦٦ وذكره أبو نعيم، وقال تفرد به إسماعيل بن عياش الأحوص عن شهر بن حوشب عن ابن عباس، ورواه عبد الجليل بن عطية عن شهر عن عبد اللّه بن سلام. - الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٧.

٩٧ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن المطلب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال قلت لجبريل يا جبريل مالي لا أرى إسرافيل يضحك ولم يأتني أحد من الملائكة إلّا رأيته يضحك قال جبريل ما رأينا ذلك الملك ضاحكاً منذ خلقت النار.

٩٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال سمع النبي ﷺ هدّة فقال يا جبريل أقامت الساعة قال لا هذا إسرافيل هبط إلى الأرض.

٩٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب الحبر فذكر إسرافيل فقالت عائشة أخبرني عن إسرافيل فقال كعب عندكم العلم قالت أجل فأخبرني قال: له أربعة أجنحة جناحان في الهواء وجناح قد تسربل به وجناح على كاهله والقلم على أذنه فإذا نزل الوحي كتب القلم ثم درست الملائكة وملك الصور أسفل منه جاث على إحدى ركبتيه وقد نصب الأخرى فالتقم الصور محني ظهره وطرفه إلى إسرافيل وقد أمر إذا رأى إسرافيل قد ضم جناحيه أن ينفخ في الصور فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ.

١٠٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال إذا سبح إسرافيل قطع على كل ملك في السماء صلاته استماعاً له.

١٠١ - (وأخرج) عنه أيضاً قال ليس أحد من خلق اللّه أحسن صوتاً من إسرافيل فإذا أخذ في التسبيح قطع على أهل سبع سماوات صلاتهم وتسبيحهم.

١٠٢ (وأخرج) من طريق الليث حدثني خالد عن سعيد قال بلغنا أن إسرافيل مؤذن أهل السماء فيؤذن لاثنتي عشرة ساعة من النهار ولاثنتي عشرة ساعة من الليل لكل ساعة تأذين يسمع تأذينه من في السماوات

لسبع ومن في الأرضين السبع إلاّ الجن والإنس ثم يتقدم منهم عظيم لملائكة فيصلي بهم، قال وبلغنا أن ميكائيل يؤم الملائكة في البيت لمعمور.

١٠٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن أبي جبلة بسنده ال أول من يدعى يوم القيامة إسرافيل فيقول اللّه هل بلغت عهدي يقول نعم يا رب قد بلغته جبريل فيدعى جبريل فيقال هل بلغك سرافيل عهدي فيقول نعم فيخلى عن إسرافيل فيقول لجبريل ما صنعت في عهدي فيقول يارب بلغت الرسل فيدعى الرسل فيقال لهم ل بلغكم جبريل عهدي فيقولون نعم فيخلى عن جبريل.

١٠٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سنان قال أقرب الخلق من للّه اللوح وهو معلق بالعرش فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي بشيء كتب في لوح فيجيء اللوح حتى يقرع جبهة إسرافيل وإسرافيل قد غطى رأسه جناحه لا يرفع بصره إعظاماً للّه فينظر فيه فإن كان إلى أهل السماء دفعه لى ميكائيل وإن كان إلى أهل الأرض دفعه إلى جبريل فأول ما يحاسب وم القيامة اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم يقال من يشهد لك فيقول إسرافيل فيدعى إسرافيل ترعد فرائصه فيقال ، هل بلغك اللوح فإذا قال نعم قال اللوح الحمد للّه الذي نجاني من سوء الحساب ثم كذلك.

١٠٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ضمرة قال بلغني ن أول من سجد لآدم عليه السلام إسرافيل فأثابه اللّه أن كتب القرآن ، جبهته.

١٠٦ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط والبيهقي في الأسماء الصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو قال جاء فِئام[1] من الناس إلى رسول

) بكسر الفاء أي جماعة.

اللّه ﷺ فقالوا يا رسول اللّه زعم أبو بكر أن الحسنات من اللّه والسيئات من العباد وقال عمر الحسنات والسيئات من اللّه فتابع هذا قوم وهذا قوم فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ لأقضين بينكما بقضاء إسرافيل بين جبريل وميكائيل إن ميكائيل قال بقول أبي بكر وقال جبريل بقول عمر فقال جبريل لميكائيل إنا متى يختلف أهل السماء يختلف أهل الأرض فلنتحاكم إلى إسرافيل فتحاكما إليه فقضى بينهما بحقيقة القدر خيره وشره وحلوه ومره كله من اللّه ثم قال يا أبا بكر إن اللّه لو أراد أن لا يعصى لم يخلق إبليس فقال أبو بكر صدق اللّه ورسوله.

ما جاء في ملك الموت عليه السلام

١٠٧ - (أخرج) سعيد بن منصور وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن أبي هريرة قال لما أراد اللّه عز وجل ان يخلق آدم بعث ملكاً من حملة العرش يأتي بتراب من الأرض فلما هوى ليأخذ قالت الأرض أسألك بالذي أرسلك أن لا تأخذ مني اليوم شيئاً يكون للنار منه نصيب غداً فتركها فلما رفع إلى ربه قال ما منعك أن تأتي بما أمرتك قال سألتني بك فعظمت أن أرد شيئاً سألني بك فأرسل لها آخر فقال مثل ذلك حتى أرسلهم كلهم فأرسل ملك الموت فقالت له مثل ذلك فقال إن الذي أرسلني أحق بالطاعة منك فأخذ من وجه الأرض كلها من طيبها وخبيثها فجاء به إلى ربه فصب عليه من ماء الجنة فصار حماً مسنوناً فخلق منه آدم.

١٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات وابن عساكر من طريق السدي عن أبي مالك وعن أبي صالح عن ابن عباس وعن مرة عن ابن مسعود وناس من الصحابة قالوا بعث اللّه جبريل إلى الأرض ليأتيه بطين منها فقالت الأرض أعوذ باللّه منك أن تنقص مني

فرجع ولم يأخذ شيئاً وقال يا رب إنها عاذت بك فأعذتها فبعث ميكائيل كذلك فبعث ملك الموت فعاذت منه فقال وأنا أعوذ بالله أن أرجع ولم أنفذ أمره فأخذ من وجه الأرض.

١٠٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت قال قال رسول الله ﷺ لو رأيتم الأجل ومسيره لأبغضتم الأمل وغروره وما من أهل بيت إلّا وملك الموت يتعاهدهم في كل يوم مرتين فمن وجده قد انقضى أجله قبض روحه فإذا بكى أهله وجزعوا قال لم تبكون ولم تجزعون فوالله ما نقصت لكم عمراً ولا حبست لكم رزقاً ما لي ذنب وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي منكم أحداً.

١١٠ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال ما على ظهر الأرض من بيت شعر ولا مدر إلّا وملك الموت يطوف به كل يوم مرتين.

١١١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف وعبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن عبد الأعلى التميمي قال ما من أهل دار إلّا وملك الموت يتصفحهم في اليوم مرتين.

١١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت وأبو الشيخ عن الحسن قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يتصفح في كل بيت ثلاث مرات فمن وجده منهم قد استوفى رزقه وانقضى أجله قبض روحه وأقبل أهله برنة وبكاء فيأخذ ملك الموت بعضادتي الباب فيقول ما لي إليكم من ذنب وإني لمأمور والله ما أكلت لكم رزقاً ولا أفنيت لكم عمراً ولا انتقصت لكم أجلاً وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي

١٠٩ - عن كنز العمال رقم ٤٢١٣٣ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت رضي الله عنه.

منكم أحداً قال الحسن فوالله لو يرون مقامه ويسمعون كلامه لذهلوا عن ميتهم ولبكوا على أنفسهم.

١١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن زيد بن أسلم قال يتصفح ملك الموت المنازل كل يوم خمس مرات ويطلع في وجه ابن آدم كل يوم اطلاعه قال فمنها الذعرة التي تصيب الناس يعني القشعريرة والانتفاض.

١١٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عكرمة قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يطلع في كتاب حياة الناس؛ قائل يقول ثلاثاً وقائل يقول خمساً.

١١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن كعب قال ما من بيت فيه أحد إلّا وملك الموت على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات ينظر هل فيه أحد أمر به يتوفاه.

١١٦ - (وأخرج) سعيد بن منصور وأحمد في الزهد عن عطاء بن يسار قال ما من أهل بيت إلّا يتصفحهم ملك الموت في كل يوم خمس مرات هل منهم أحد أمر بقبضه.

١١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن ثابت البناني قال الليل والنهار أربع وعشرون ساعة ليس فيها ساعة تأتي على ذي روح إلّا وملك الموت قائم عليها فإن أمر بقبضها قبضها وإلّا ذهب.

١١٨ - (وأخرج) ابن النجار في تاريخه عن أنس مرفوعاً إن ملك الموت لينظر في وجوه العباد كل يوم سبعين نظرة فإذا ضحك العبد الذي بعث إليه يقول يا عجباً بعثت إليه لأقبض روحه وهو يضحك.

١١٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الكبير وأبو نعيم وابن منده كلاهما في المعرفة من طريق جعفر بن محمد عن أبيه عن الحارث بن الخزرج قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول - ونظر إلى ملك الموت عند رأس رجل من الأنصار - فقال يا ملك الموت ارفق بصاحبي فإنه مؤمن فقال ملك الموت طب نفساً وقر عيناً فإني بكل مؤمن رفيق واعلم يا محمد أني لأقبض روح ابن آدم فإذا صرخ صارخ قمت في الدار ومعي روحه فقلت ما هذا الصارخ والله ما ظلمناه ولا سبقنا أجله ولا استعجلنا قدره وما لنا في قبضه من ذنب فإن ترضوا بما صنع الله تؤجروا وإن تسخطوا تأثموا وتوزروا وإن لنا عندكم عودة ثم عودة بعد عودة فالحذر الحذر وما من أهل بيت شعر ولا مدر بر ولا فاجر سهل ولا جبل إلّا أنا اصفحهم في كل يوم وليلة حتى لأنا أعرف بصغيرهم وكبيرهم منهم بأنفسهم والله لو أردت أن أقبض روح بعوضة ما قدرت على ذلك حتى يكون الله هو يأذن بقبضها. قال جعفر بن محمد **بلغني إنما يتصفحهم عند** مواقيت الصلاة فإذا حضر عند الموت فإن كان **ممن يحافظ على الصلوات** دنا منه الملك وطرد عنه الشيطان ويلقنه الملك **لا إله إلّا الله محمد رسول** الله في ذلك الحال العظيم.

١٢٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب ذكر الموت عن عبيد بن عمير قال بينما إبراهيم عليه السلام يوماً في داره إذ دخل عليه رجل حسن الشارة فقال يا عبد الله من أدخلك داري قال أدخلنيها ربها

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١١٩ - الطبراني في الكبير ٤/٢٦١ ورواه الطبراني بزيادة في الألفاظ والحديث عنده عن الحارث بن الخزرج عن أبيه.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٦/٣٦٣. / مجمع الزوائد ٢/٣٢٦.

الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٨٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٤٢٨١٠. / الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣.

قال ربها أحق بها فمن أنت قال ملك الموت قال لقد نعت لي منك أشياء ما أراها فيك قال أدبر فأدبر فإذا عيون مقبلة وعيون مدبرة وإذا كل شعرة منه كأنها إنسان قائم فتعوذ إبراهيم من ذلك وقال عد إلى الصورة الأولى قال يا إبراهيم إن الله إذا بعثني إلى من يحب لقاءه بعثني في الصورة التي رأيت أولاً.

١٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن كعب قال إن إبراهيم عليه السلام رأى في بيته رجلاً فقال من أنت قال أنا ملك الموت قال إبراهيم إن كنت صادقاً فأرني منك آية أعرف أنك ملك الموت قال ملك الموت أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها المؤمنين فرأى من النور والبهاء شيئاً لا يعلمه إلّا الله تعالى ثم قال أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها الكفار والفجار فرعب إبراهيم رعباً حتى أرعدت فرائصه وألصق بطنه بالأرض وكادت نفسه تخرج.

١٢٢ - (وأخرج) عن ابن مسعود وابن عباس قالا لما اتخذ الله تعالى إبراهيم خليلاً سأل ملك الموت ربه أن يأذن له فيبشره بذلك فأذن له فجاء إبراهيم فبشره بذلك فقال الحمد لله ثم قال يا ملك الموت أرني كيف تقبض أنفاس الكفار قال يا إبراهيم لا تطيق ذلك قال بلى قال فأعرض، فأعرض ثم نظر فإذا برجل أسود ينال رأسه السماء يخرج من فيه لهب النار ليس من شعرة في جسده إلّا في صورة رجل يخرج من فيه ومناخره لهب النار فغشي على إبراهيم ثم أفاق وقد تحول ملك الموت في الصورة الأولى فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم يلق الكافر من البلاء والحزن إلّا صورتك لكفاه فأرني كيف تقبض أنفاس المؤمنين قال أعرض فأعرض ثم التفت فإذا هو برجل شاب أحسن الناس وجهاً وأطيبهم ريحاً في ثياب بيضاء فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم ير المؤمن عند موته من قرة العين

والكرامة إلّا صورتك هذه لكان يكفيه.

١٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن أشعث بن أسلم قال سأل إبراهيم عليه السلام ملك الموت واسمه عزرائيل وله عينان في وجهه وعينان في قفاه فقال يا ملك الموت ما تصنع إذا كانت نفس بالمشرق ونفس بالمغرب ووقع الوباء بأرض والتقى الزحفان كيف تصنع قال أدعو الأرواح بإذن الله فتكون بين أصبعي هاتين قال ودحيت له الأرض فتركت مثل الطست يتناول منها حيث يشاء.

١٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم أن يعقوب عليه السلام قال يا ملك الموت ما من نفس منفوسة إلّا وأنت تقبض روحها قال نعم قال فكيف وأنت عندي ها هنا والأنفس في أطراف الأرض قال إن الله يخر لي الدنيا فهي كالطست يوضع قدام أحدكم فيتناول أنا من أطرافها شاء، كذلك الدنيا عندي.

١٢٥ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن الحسن قال جعلت الأرض لملك الموت مثل الطست يتناول من حيث شاء وجعل له أعوان يتوفون الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم.

١٢٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس أنه سئل عن ملك الموت هل هو وحده الذي يقبض الأرواح قال هو الذي يلي أمر الأرواح وله أعوان على ذلك غير أن ملك الموت هو الرئيس وكل خطوة منه من المشرق إلى المغرب.

١٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن ابن عباس في قوله تعالى ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾

قال أعوان ملك الموت من الملائكة.

١٢٨ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن إبراهيم النخعي في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال الملائكة تقبض الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم ملك الموت بعد.

١٢٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال إن ملك الموت له رسل فيلي قبضها الرسل ثم يدفعوها إلى ملك الموت.

١٣٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن وهب بن منبه قال إن الملائكة الذين يقرنون بالناس هم الذين يتوفونهم ويكتبون لهم آجالهم فإذا توفوا النفس دفعوها إلى ملك الموت وهو كالعاقب يعني العشار الذي يؤدي إليه من تحته.

١٣١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن شهر بن حوشب قال: ملك الموت جالس والدنيا بين ركبتيه واللوح الذي في آجال بني آدم في يديه وبين يديه ملائكة قيام وهو يعرض اللوح لا يطرف فإذا أتى على أجل عبد قال اقبضوا هذا.

١٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أنه سئل عن نفسين اتفق موتهما في طرفة عين واحد في المشرق وآخر بالمغرب كيف قدر ملك الموت عليهما قال ما قدرة ملك الموت على أهل المشارق والمغارب والظلمات والهواء والبحور إلّا كرجل بين يديه مائدة يتناول من أيها شاء.

١٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال قيل يا رسول الله ملك الموت واحد والزحفان يلتقيان بين المشرق والمغرب وما بين ذلك من السقط والهلاك فقال إن الله عز وجل قوى ملك الموت

حتى جعلها كالطست بين يدي أحدكم فهل يفوته منها شيء.

١٣٤ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال ملك الموت الذي يتوفى الأنفس كلها وقد سلط على ما في الأرض كما سلط أحدكم على ما في راحته ومعه ملائكة من ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب فإذا توفى نفساً طيبة دفعها إلى ملائكة الرحمة وإذا توفى نفساً خبيثة دفعها إلى ملائكة العذاب.

١٣٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي المثنى الحمصي قال إن الدنيا سهلها وجبلها بين فخذي ملك الموت ومعه ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب فيقبض الأرواح فيعطي هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب قيل فإذا كانت ملحمة وكان السيف مثل البرق قال يدعوها فتأتيه الأنفس.

١٣٦ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن أبي قيس الأزدي قال قيل لملك الموت كيف تقبض الأرواح قال أدعوها فتجيئني.

١٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال أتى ملك الموت سليمان بن داود وكان له صديقاً فقال له سليمان ما لك تأتي أهل البيت فتقبضهم جميعاً وتدع أهل البيت إلى جنبهم لا تقبض منهم أحداً قال لا أعلم بما أقبض منها إنما أكون تحت العرش فتلقى إلى صكاك فيها أسماء.

١٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن خيثمة قال قال سليمان بن داود لملك الموت إذا أردت أن تقبض روحي فأعلمني بذلك قال ما أنا أعلم بذلك منك إنما هي كتب تلقى إليّ فيها تسمية من يموت.

١٣٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد وابن أبي الدنيا عن معمر قال بلغنا أن ملك الموت لا يعلم متى يحضر أجل الإنسان حتى يؤمر بقبضها.

١٤٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن جرير قال بلغنا أنه يقال لملك الموت اقبض فلاناً في وقت كذا في يوم كذا.

١٤١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وهو الذي يتوفاكم بالليل﴾ قال يتوفى الأنفس عند منامها ما من ليلة إلاّ والله يقبض الأرواح كلها فيسأل كل نفس عما عمل صاحبها من النهار ثم يدعو ملك الموت فيقول إقبض هذا إقبض هذا.

١٤٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن عطاء بن يسار قال إذا كانت ليلة النصف من شعبان دفع إلى ملك الموت صحيفة فيقال إقبض من في هذه الصحيفة فإن العبد ليفرش الفراش وينكح الأزواج ويبني البنيان وإن اسمه قد نسخ في الموتى.

١٤٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن عمر مولى غفرة قال ينسخ لملك الموت من يموت ليلة القدر إلى مثلها فتجد الرجل ينكح النساء ويغرس الغرس واسمه في الأموات.

١٤٤ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعيد أن النبي ﷺ قال في ليلة النصف من شعبان يوحي الله إلى ملك الموت بقبض كل نفس يريد قبضها في تلك السنة.

١٤٥ - (وأخرج) الخطيب وابن النجار عن عائشة قالت كان رسول الله ﷺ يصوم شعبان كله حتى يصله برمضان ولم يكن يصوم شهراً تاماً إلاّ شعبان فقلت يا رسول الله إن شعبان لمن أحب الشهور

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١٤٤ - كنز العمال رقم ٣٥١٧٦ وعزاه السيوطي للدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعد مرسلاً. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢٨٢/١٠.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٢٦/٦

ليك أن تصومه قال نعم يا عائشة إنه يكتب فيه لملك الموت من يقبض تحب أن لا ينسخ اسمي إلاّ وأنا صائم.

١٤٦ - (وأخرج) أحمد والبزار والحاكم وصححه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال إن ملك الموت كان يأتي الناس عياناً فأتى موسى فلطمه ففقأ عينه فأتى ربه فقال يا رب عبدك موسى فقأ عيني ولولا كرامته عليك لشققت عليه قال له إذهب إلى عبدي فقل له فليضع يده على جلد ثور فله بكل شعرة وارت يده سنة فأتاه فقال ما بعد هذا قال الموت قال فالآن فشمه شمة فقبض روحه ورد الله عليه عينه فكان بعد يأتي الناس في خفية.

١٤٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم عن الأعمش قال كان ملك الموت يظهر للناس فيأتي الرجل فيقول إقض حاجتك فإني أريد أن أقبض روحك فشكا فأنزل الداء وجعل الموت خفية.

١٤٨ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي الشعثاء جابر بن زيد أن ملك الموت كان يقبض الأرواح بغير وجع فسبه الناس ولعنوه فشكى إلى ربه فوضع اللّه الأوجاع ونسي ملك الموت يقال مات فلان بكذا وكذا.

١٤٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس أن ملكاً استأذن ربه أن يهبط إلى إدريس فأتاه فسلم عليه فقال له إدريس هل بينك وبين

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١٤٦ - الحاكم ٢/٥٧٨ ورواه الحاكم بنحوه، وقال هذا حديث صحيح على شرط مسلم ولم يخرجاه.
/ جمع الجوامع رقم ٧١٠٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٨٣. / الأتحافات السنية ص ١٧٨.

ملك الموت شيء قال ذاك أخي من الملائكة قال هل تستطيع أن تنفعني عنده بشيء قال أما أن يؤخر شيئاً أو يقدمه فلا، ولكن سأكلمه لك فيرفق بك عند الموت قال إركب بين جناحي فركب إدريس فصعد إلى السماء العليا فلقي ملك الموت وإدريس بين جناحيه فقال له الملك إن لي إليك حاجة قال قد علمت حاجتك تكلمني في إدريس وقد محى اسمه ولم يبق من أجله إلاّ نصف طرفة عين فمات إدريس بين جناحي الملك.

١٥٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن محمد بن المنكدر أن ملك الموت قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام إن ربك أمرني أن أقبض نفسك بأيسر ما قبضت نفس مؤمن قال فإني أسألك بحق الذي أرسلك أن تراجعه فيَّ فقال إن خليلك سأل أن أراجعك فيه فقال ائته وقل له إن ربك يقول إن الخليل يحب لقاء خليله فأتاه فقال امض لما أمرت به قال يا إبراهيم هل شربت شراباً قال لا فاستنكهه قبض نفسه على ذلك.

١٥١ - (وأخرج) أحمد عن أبي هريرة أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال كان داود عليه السلام فيه غيرة شديدة فكان إذا خرج أغلقت الأبواب فلم يدخل على أهله أحد حتى يرجع فخرج ذات يوم ورجع فإذا في الدار رجل قائم فقال له من أنت قال أنا الذي لا أهاب الملوك ولا يمنع مني الحجاب قال داود أنت إذاً واللّه ملك الموت مرحباً بأمر اللّه فزمل داود مكانه فقبضت نفسه.

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١٥١ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/٢٠٦ ذكره الهيثمي وله زيادة طويلة، وعزاه لأحمد وفيه المطلب بن عبد اللّه بن حنطب وثقه أبو زرعة وغيره، وبقية رجاله رجال الصحيح.
وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٢٧. / تفسير ابن كثير ٦/١٩.

١٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن ماجه عن أبي أمامة سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن الله عز وجل وكّل ملك الموت بقبض الأرواح إلاّ شهداء البحر فإنه يتولى قبض أرواحهم.

١٥٣ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال: وكل ملك الموت بقبض أرواح الآدميين فهو الذي يلي قبض أرواحهم وملك في الجن وملك في الشياطين وملك في الطير والوحش والسباع والحيتان والنمل فهم أربعة أملاك والملائكة يموتون في الصعقة الأولى وإن ملك الموت يلي قبض أرواحهم ثم يموت فأما الشهداء في البحر فإن الله يلي قبض أرواحهم لا يوكل ذلك إلى ملك الموت لكرامتهم عليه حيث ركبوا لجج البحر في سبيله.

١٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال بلغني أن آخر من يموت ملك الموت يقال له يا ملك الموت مت فيصرخ عند ذلك صرخة لو سمعها أهل السماوات والأرض لماتوا فزعاً ثم يموت.

١٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن زياد النميري قال قرأت في بعض الكتب أن الموت أشد على ملك الموت منه على جميع الخلق.

١٥٦ - (وأخرج) العقيلي في الضعفاء وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والديلمي عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ آجال البهائم وخشاش

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١٥٢ - ابن ماجه رقم ٢٧٧٨ ورواه بزيادته عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣. / إرواء الغليل ٥/١٧.

١٥٦ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤, ٥ وعزاه السيوطي للعقيلي في الضعفاء وقال: لا أصل له وأورده ابن الجوزي في الموضوعات، وفي اللالىء المصنوعة: «موضوع والمتهم به الوليد (بن موسى الدمشقي) قال العقيلي أحاديثه بواطل».

الأرض كلها في التسبيح فإذا انقضى تسبيحها قبض الله أرواحها وليس إلى ملك الموت من ذلك شيء.

١٥٧ - (وأخرج) الخطيب في رواة مالك عن سليمان بن معمر الكلابي قال حضرت مالك بن أنس وسأله رجل عن البراغيث أملك الموت يقبض أرواحها فأطرق طويلاً ثم قال: ألها نفس قال نعم قال فإن ملك الموت يقبض أرواحها الله يتوفى الأنفس حين موتها.

١٥٨ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن معاذ ابن جبل قال إن لملك الموت حربة تبلغ ما بين المشرق والمغرب فإذا انقضى أجل عبد من الدنيا ضرب رأسه بتلك الحربة وقال الآن يزار بك عسكر الموت.

١٥٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن بن عباس مرفوعاً إن لملك الموت حربة مسمومة طرف لها بالمشرق وطرف لها بالمغرب يقطع بها عرق الحياة.

١٦٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال: ملك الموت جالس على معراج بين السماء والأرض وله رسول من الملائكة فإذا كانت النفس في ثغرة النحر رأى ملك الموت على معراجه شخص بصره إليه فنظره آخر ما يموت.

١٦١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم بن أبان قال سئل عكرمة أيبصر الأعمى ملك الموت إذا جاء يقبض روحه قال نعم.

وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٩٢١. / الدر المنثور ٢/٢١، ٤/١٨٤.
اللآلىء المصنوعة ٢/٢٢٥. / الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢١.

الفوائد المجموعة ص ٢٧١. / لسان الميزان ٦/٨٠٧.

١٦٢ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن مجاهد قال ما من مرض يمرضه العبد إلاّ رسول ملك الموت عنده حتى إذا كان آخر مرض يمرضه العبد أتاه ملك الموت فقال أتاك رسول بعد رسول فلم تعبأ به وقد أتاك رسول يقطع أثرك من الدنيا.

١٦٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الحسين ابن العريف في فوائده وأبو الربيع المسعودي في فوائده عن أنس بن مالك قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إذا جاء ملك الموت إلى ولي الله تعالى سلم عليه وسلامه عليه أن يقول السلام عليك يا ولي الله قم فاخرج من دارك التي خربتها إلى دارك التي عمرتها وإذا لم يكن ولياً لله قال له قم فاخرج من دارك التي عمرتها إلى دارك التي خربتها.

١٦٤ - (وأخرج) أبو القاسم ابن منده في كتاب الأهوال والإيمان بالسؤال عن ابن مسعود قال إذا أراد الله عز وجل قبض روح المؤمن أوحى إلى ملك الموت اقرئه مني السلام فإذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روحه قال ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٥ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في تفسيره عن ابن مسعود قال إذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روح المؤمن قال: ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن أبي الدنيا وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال إذا استنفقت نفس العبد المؤمن جاءه ملك الموت فقال له السلام عليك يا ولي الله، والله يقرأ عليك السلام ثم نزع بهذه الآية: ﴿الذين تتوفاهم الملائكة طيبين يقولون سلام عليكم﴾ وقال السلفي في المشيخة البغدادية سمعت أبا سعيد الحسن بن علي الواعظ يقول سمعت أبي

يقول رأيت في بعض الكتب أن الله تعالى يظهر على كف ملك الموت بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بخط من النور ثم يأمره أن يبسط كفه للعارف في وقت وفاته ويريه تلك الكتابة فإذا رأتها روح العارف طارت إليه في أسرع من طرف العين.

١٦٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن داود بن أبي هند قال بلغني أن ملك الموت كان وكّل بسليمان عليه السلام فقيل له ادخل عليه كل يوم دخلة فسله عن حاجته ثم لا تبرح حتى تقضيها فكان يدخل عليه في صورة رجل فيسأله كيف هو ثم يقول يا رسول الله ألك حاجة فإن قال نعم لم يبرح حتى يقضيها وإن قال لا انصرف عنه إلى الغد فدخل عليه يوماً وعنده شيخ فقام فسلم ثم قال ألك حاجة يا رسول الله قال لا ولحظ الشيخ لحظة فارتعد الشيخ وانصرف ملك الموت فقام الشيخ فقال لسليمان أسألك بحق الله إلاّ ما أمرت الريح فتحملني فتلقيني بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فأمرها فحملته ودخل ملك الموت على سليمان من الغد فسأله عن الشيخ فقال هبط إليّ كتابه أمس أن اقبض روحه غداً مع طلوع الفجر بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فهبطت وما أحسبه إلاّ ثم فوجدته عندك فجعلت أتعجب وأنظر إليه ما لي هم غيره فهبطت عليه اليوم مع طلوع الفجر فوجدته بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند ينتفض فقبضت روحه.

١٦٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال دخل ملك الموت إلى سليمان فجعل ينظر إلى رجل من جلسائه يديم النظر إليه فلما خرج قال الرجل من هذا قال هذا ملك الموت قال رأيته ينظر إليّ كأنه يريدني قال فما تريد قال أريد أن تحملني على الريح حتى تلقيني بالهند فدعا الريح فحمله عليها فألقته في الهند ثم أتى ملك الموت سليمان فقال إنك كنت تديم النظر إلى رجل من جلسائي قال كنت أعجب منه أمرت أن

قبضه بالهند وهو عندك.

١٦٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال جاء ملك الموت إلى نبي ﷺ في مرضه الذي قبض فيه فاستأذن ورأسه في حجر علي فقال لسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته فقال علي إرجع فإنا مشاغيل عنك قال النبي ﷺ أتدري من هذا يا أبا الحسن. هذا ملك الموت، أدخل اشداً فلما دخل قال إن ربك يقرئك السلام قال أين جبريل قال ليس و قريب مني، الآن يأتي، فخرج ملك الموت حتى نزل عليه جبريل قال له جبريل وهو قائم بالباب ما أخرجك يا ملك الموت قال التمسك حمد فلما أن جلسا قال جبريل سلام عليك يا أبا القاسم هذا وداع مني منك فبلغني أنه لم يسلم ملك الموت على أهل بيت قبل ولا يسلم على حد بعده.

١٧٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن الحسين أن جبريل هبط على لنبي ﷺ يوم موته فقال كيف تجدك قال أجدني يا جبريل مغموماً أجدني مكروباً فاستأذن ملك الموت على الباب فقال جبريل يا محمد هذا ملك الموت يستأذن عليك ما استأذن عليَّ آدمي قبلك ولا يستأذن عليَّ آدمي بعدك قال ائذن له فأذن له فأقبل حتى وقف بين يديه فقال إن لله أرسلني إليك وأمرني أن أطيعك إن أمرتني أن أقبض نفسك قبضتها إن كرهت تركتها قال وتفعل يا ملك الموت قال نعم بذلك أمرت فقال ه جبريل إن الله قد اشتاق إلى لقائك فقال رسول الله ﷺ امض لما مرت به.

١٧٠ - الطبراني في الكبير ٣/١٣٩ ورواه بنحوه.
وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ١٠/٢٩٥ و ٢٩٦. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٤٧.
/ كنز العمال رقم ١٨٨٢. / بدائع المنن رقم ١٨٢٠. / مجمع الزوائد ٣٥/٤.

١٧١ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أخبرنا يوسف بن المبارك بن الحامل الخفاف قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد أخبرني محمد بن عبد الباقي الأنصاري قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثنا القاضي أبو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن عبد الله بن المليح السجزي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن محمد الهروي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عبد السلام بن صالح وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن موسى الرضى وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني رسول الله ﷺ قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني جبريل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عزرائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله إن الله تعالى قال مدمن خمر كعابد وثن.

ما جاء في ملك القطر عليه السلام

١٧٢ - (أخرج) البغوي في معجم الصحابة والطبراني عن أنس

١٧١ - حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤ وذكره الأصبهاني، وقال هذا حديث صحيح ثابت رواته العترة الطيبة ولم نكتبه على هذا الشرط بالشهادة بالله ولله إلاّ عن هذا الشيخ.
وانظر لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨.
وانظر الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠. وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩.

حاتم والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس قال السماء الدنيا موج مكفوف والثانية مرمرة بيضاء والثالثة حديد والرابعة نحاس والخامسة فضة والسادسة ذهب والسابعة ياقوتة حمراء وما فوق ذلك صحارى من نور ولا يعلم ما فوق ذلك إلاّ اللّه تعالى وملك موكل بالحجب يقال له ميطا طروش.

ما جاء في حملة العرش عليهم السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية ﴾.

١٧٩ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وعثمان بن سعيد الدارمي وأبو يعلى وابن المنذر وابن خزيمة وابن مردويه والحاكم وصححه في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن العباس بن عبد المطلب في قوله ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية قال ثمانية أملاك على صورة الأوعال.

١٨٠ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد عن ابن عباس في قوله حملة العرش قرون لها كعوب ككعوب القنا ما بين أخمص أحدهم إلى كعبه مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين أرنبته إلى ترقوته مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين ترقوته إلى موضع القرط خمس مائة عام.

١٨١ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وأبو يعلى بسند صحيح عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك قد مرقت رجلاه الأرض السابعة والعرش على منكبيه وهو يقول سبحانك أين كنت وأين تكون.

١٨٢ - (وأخرج) أبو داود وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن جابر أن النبي ﷺ قال أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك من

حملة العرش رجلاه في الأرض السفلى وعلى قرنه العرش وبين شحمة أذنه وعاتقه خفقان الطير سبع مائة عام يقول ذلك الملك سبحانك حيث كنت.

١٨٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق أبي قبيل أنه سمع عبد اللّه يقول: حملة العرش ما بين موق أحدهم إلى مؤخر عينيه مسيرة خمس مائة عام.

١٨٤ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن حسان بن عطية قال حملة العرش ثمانية أقدامهم مثبتة في الأرض السابعة رؤوسهم قد جاوزت السماء السابعة وقرونهم مثل طولهم عليها العرش.

١٨٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زاذان قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في التخوم لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

١٨٦ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن هارون بن رئاب قال: حملة العرش ثمانية يتجاوبون بصوت رخيم تقول أربعة منهم: سبحانك وبحمدك على حلمك بعد علمك وأربعة، يقولون: سبحانك وبحمدك على عفوك بعد قدرتك.

١٨٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الربيع في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ من الملائكة.

١٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن زيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ يحمله اليوم أربعة ويوم القيامة ثمانية.

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١٨٨ - تفسير الطبري ٢٩/٣٧ وذكره بلفظه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٦/٢٦١. / تفسير القرطبي ١٨/٢٦٦.

١٨٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين يحملونه أربعة أملاك لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وأربعة أجنحة جناحان على وجهه يمنعانه من أن ينظر إلى العرش فيصعق وجناحان يطير بهما أقدامهم من الثرى والعرش على أكتافهم لكل واحد منهم وجه ثور ووجه أسد ووجه إنسان ووجه نسر ليس لهم كلام إلاّ أن يقولوا قدوس، اللّه القوي ملأت عظمته السماوات والأرض.

١٩٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق السدي عن ابن مالك قال الصخرة التي تحت الأرض منتهى الخلق على أرجائها أربعة أملاك لكل واحد منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه ثور وهم قيام عليها قد أحاطوا الأرض والسماوات والسماوات تحت العرش.

١٩١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش اليوم أربعة فإذا كان يوم القيامة أيدوا بأربعة أخرى ملك منهم في صورة إنسان يشفع لبني آدم في أرزاقهم وملك في صورة نسر يشفع للطير في أرزاقها وملك في صورة ثور يشفع للبهائم في أرزاقها وملك في صورة أسد يشفع للسباع في أرزاقها ولكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه نسر ووجه ثور ووجه أسد فلما حملوا العرش وقروا على ركبهم من عظمة اللّه فلقنوا لا حول ولا قوة إلاّ باللّه فاستووا قياماً على أرجلهم.

١٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن مكحول قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن في حملة العرش أربعة أملاك ملك على صورة الصور وهو ابن

١٩٢ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لأبو الشيخ عن مكحول رضي اللّه عنه.

آدم وملك على صورة سيد السباع وهو الأسد وملك على صورة الأنعام وهو الثور فما زال غضبان منذ يوم عبد العجل إلى ساعتي هذه وملك على صورة سيد الطير وهو النسر.

١٩٣ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد الدارمي والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن عروة قال حملة العرش منهم من صورته على صورة إنسان ومنهم من صورته على صورة النسر ومنهم من صورته على صورة الثور ومنهم من صورته على صورة الأسد.

١٩٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن زيد قال لم يسم من حملة العرش إلاّ إسرافيل قال وميكائيل ليس من حملة العرش.

١٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ خرج على أصحابه فقال ما جمعكم فقالوا اجتمعنا نذكر ربنا ونتفكر في عظمته فقال لن تدركوا التفكير في عظمته ألا أخبركم ببعض عظمة ربكم قالوا بلى يا رسول اللّه قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه في الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا في مثله من خليقة ربكم.

١٩٦ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إذا

١٩٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٣٢٠/١، ١٦٢/١ وذكره الزبيدي وعزاه للأصبهاني في ترتيبه وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن طريق حوشب عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٣٤٧/٥. / كشف الخفاء ٣٧١/١.

١٩٦ - جمع الجوامع ١٧٦٧ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي اللّه عنه.
وانظر كنز العمال ٢٣٧١٦.

دخل شهر رمضان أمر الله تعالى حملة العرش أن يكفوا عن التسبيح ويستغفروا لأمة محمد والمؤمنين».

١٩٧ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن مالك بن دينار قال: بلغني أن في بعض السموات ملكاً له من العيون مثل عدد الحصا ما منها عين إلّا وتحتها لسان وشفتان يحمدون الله تبارك وتعالى بلغة لا تفقهها صاحبتها وإن حملة العرش لهم قرون بين أظلافهم ورؤوسهم مقدار خمسمائة سنة والعرش فوق ذلك.

١٩٨ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن أبي مالك في قوله ﴿وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض﴾ قال إن الصخرة التي تحت الأرض السابعة، على أرجائها أربعة من الملائكة لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه نسر ووجه ثور وهم قيام على أقدامهم قد أحاطوا بالأرض والسماوات ورؤوسهم تحت الكرسي والكرسي

١٩٩ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن خالد بن قال: إن العرش ثقيل على حملة العرش من أول النهار فإذا قام الليل خف عليهم.

٢٠٠ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان من طريق قتيبة عن بكر بن مضر عن صخر بن عبد الله عن زياد بن أبي حبة قال: بلغني أن من حملة العرش لمن يسيل من عينيه أمثال البكاء فإذا رفع رأسه قال: سبحانك ما نخشى حق خشيتك يا الله عز وجل لكن الذين يحلفون باسمي كاذبين لا يعلمون.

٢٠١ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن أم سعد قالت سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤة على صورة ديك رجلاه في تخوم

٢٠١ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي الله عنها.

الأرض وجناحاه في المشرق وعنقه تحت العرش».

٢٠٢ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن مردويه والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن ابن عباس قال حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى أسفل قدمه مسيرة خمسمائة عام وذكر أن خطوة ملك الموت ما بين المشرق إلى المغرب.

٢٠٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عكرمة قال: حملة العرش كلهم صور قيل لعكرمة وما صور فأمال خده قليلاً.

٢٠٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: لا تستطيع الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش أن ينظروا إلى ما فوقهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٥ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في الأرض السفلى ورؤوسهم قد خرقت العرش وهم خشوع لا يرفعون طرفهم وهم أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء السابعة وأهل السماء السابعة أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء التي تليها والتي تليها أشد خوفاً من التي تليها.

٢٠٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن أبي أمامة قال: إن الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش يتكلمون بالفارسية.

٢٠٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن المنذر عن ميسرة في قوله تعالى: ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال أرجلهم في التخوم ورؤوسهم عند العرش لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال: ثمانية صفوف من الملائكة لا يعلم عدتهم إلّا الله.

٢٠٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الضحاك في الآية قال: يقال ثمانية صفوف لا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله ويقال: ثمانية أملاك رؤوسهم عند العرش في السماء السابعة وأقدامهم في الأرض السفلى ولهم قرون كقرون الوعلة ما بين أصل قرن أحدهم إلى منتهاه مسيرة خمسمائة عام.

ما جاء في الروح عليه السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿تنزل الملائكة والروح فيها﴾. وقال: ﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً﴾.

٢١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات من طريق ابن [illegible] عن ابن عباس قال: الروح من أعظم الملائكة خلقاً.

٢١١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الضحاك قال: الروح حاجب الله: يقوم بين يدي الله يوم القيامة، وهو أعظم [illegible] لوسع جميع الملائكة، فالخلق إليه ينظرون فمن [illegible] إلى من فوقه.

٢١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات بسند ضعيف [illegible] أبي طالب قال: الروح ملك له سبعون ألف وجه لكل [illegible] ألف لسان لكل لسان سبعون ألف لغة يسبح الله بتلك [illegible] خلق الله من كل تسبيحة ملكاً يطير مع الملائكة إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس قال: الروح ملك واحد له [illegible] ألف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب، له [illegible] في كل وجه ألف لسان وعينان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال: الروح ملك من الملائكة له عشرة آلاف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب له ألف وجه لكل وجه ألف لسان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مقاتل بن حيان قال: الروح أشرف الملائكة وأقربهم من الرب وهو صاحب الوحي.

٢١٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن مسعود قال: الروح في السماء الرابعة وهو أعظم من السماوات والجبال والملائكة يسبح كل يوم اثني عشر ألف تسبيحة يخلق الله تعالى من كل تسبيحة ملكاً من الملائكة يجيء يوم القيامة صفاً وحده

٢١٧ - (وأخرج) مسلم وأبو داود والنسائي عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ كان يقول في ركوعه وسجوده «سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح».

٢١٨ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق على صورة بني آدم.

٢١٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال: الروح يأكلون ولهم أيدي وأرجل ورؤوس وليسوا بملائكة.

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٢١٧ - أبو داود، كتاب استفتاح الصلاة تفريع أبواب الركوع والسجود ب ١٥١ حديث رقم ٨٧١ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
وانظر النسائي كتاب الافتتاح ب٩٨، ١٦١. / البيهقي ٢/٨٧ و١٠٩، ١٣١/٥.
/ إحياء علوم الدين ١/٣٢٨. / تفسير القرطبي ١/٢٧٧. / الإتحافات السنية ٣/٧٥، ٥/٦٤ و٩٦ و١٧١.

٢٢٠ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن
أعظم خلقاً من الملائكة ولا ينزل ملك إلّا

٢٢١ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد و
ابن عباس قال: الروح خلق من خلق الله
من السماء ملك إلّا ومعه واحد من الروح

٢٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
مجاهد عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال
بملائكة لهم رؤوس وأيدي وأرجل، ثم
صفاً﴾ قال: هؤلاء جند وهؤلاء جند.

٢٢٣ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق و
الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن
يشبهون الناس وليسوا بالناس لهم أيدي

٢٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
قال: ما يبلغ الجن والإنس والملائكة

٢٢٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً
القيامة صماط من الروح وصماط من

٢٢٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن
أجزاء فالإنس جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء
فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة، والملائكة

٢٢٢ - الدر المنثور ٦/٣٠٩ وعزاه السيوطي في العظمة وابن أبي حاتم وابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن أبي نجيح قال: الروح حفظة على الملائكة.

٢٢٨ - (وأخرج) ابن الأنباري في كتاب الأضداد عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق من الملائكة لا تراهم الملائكة كما لا ترون أنتم الملائكة.

ما جاء في رضوان ومالك وخزنة النار عليهم السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿ونادوا يا مالك ليقض علينا ربك قال إنكم ماكثون﴾ وقال تعالى ﴿وقال الذين في النار لخزنة جهنم﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿عليها ملائكة غلاظ شداد﴾. الآية وقال ﴿عليها تسعة عشر وما جعلنا أصحاب النار إلّا ملائكة وما جعلنا عدتهم إلّا فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿سندع الزبانية﴾.

٢٢٩ - (وأخرج) القتبي[1] في عيون الأخبار عن طاوس أن الله عز وجل خلق مالكاً وخلق له أصابع على عدد أهل النار، فما من أهل النار يعذب إلّا ومالك يعذبه بأصبع من أصابعه فوالله لو وضع مالك اصبعاً من أصابعه على السماء لأذابها.

٢٣٠ - (وأخرج) الضياء المقدسي في صفة النار عن أنس سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: والذي نفسي بيده لقد خلقت ملائكة جهنم قبل أن تخلق جهنم بألف عام فهم كل يوم يزدادون قوة إلى قوتهم.

٢٣١ - (وأخرج) عبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني قال: بلغنا أن خزنة النار تسعة عشر ما بين منكبي أحدهم مسيرة

(١) ويقال: القتبي وهو عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، اللغوي والأديب المشهور، قليل الرواية، صدوق.

مائة خريف، ليس في قلوبهم رحمة إنما خلقوا للعذاب يضرب الملك منهم الرجل من أهل النار الضربة فيتركه طحيناً من لدن قرنه إلى قدمه.

٢٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن كعب قال: ما بين منكبي الخازن من خزنتها مسيرة خمسمائة سنة، مع كل واحد منهم عمود وشعبتان يدفع به الدفع يصدع به في النار سبعمائة ألف.

٢٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن مجاهد قال: حدثت أن النبي ﷺ وصف خُزان جهنم فقال «كأن أعينهم البرق وكأن أفواههم الصياصي يجرون أشعارهم، لهم مثل قوة الثقلين يقبل أحدهم بالأمة من الناس يسوقهم. على رقبته جبل حتى يرمى بهم في النار فيرمي بالجبل عليهم.

٢٣٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد وابن أبي شيبة وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر والبيهقي في البعث من طريق الأزرق بن قيس عن رجل من بني تميم قال كنا عند أبي العوام فقرأ هذه الآية ﴿وعليها تسعة عشر﴾ فقال ما تقولون أتسعة عشر ملكاً أو تسعة عشر ألفاً؟ قلت: لا بل تسعة عشر ملكاً، فقال ومن أين علمت ذلك؟ قلت لأن الله قال يقول ﴿وما جعلنا عدتهم إلاّ فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ قال صدقت كم تسعة عشر ملكاً وبيد كل واحد منهم مرزبة من حديد لها شعبتان فضرب بها الضربة يهوي بها سبعين ألفاً بين منكبي كل ملك منهم مسيرة كذا وكذا، قال القرطبي المراد بقوله عليها تسعة عشر رؤساؤهم، وإنما جُعلت المنزلة فلا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله عز وجل.

٢٣٥ - (وأخرج) هناد بن السري في كتاب الزهد عن كعب قال: يؤمر بالرجل إلى النار فيبتدره مائة ألف ملك.

٢٣٦ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال: الزبانية أرجلهم في

الأرض ورؤوسهم في السماء.

٢٣٧ - (وأخرج) الواحدي في أسباب النزول وابن عساكر في تاريخه من طريق إسحق بن بشر عن جويبر عن الضحاك عن ابن عباس قال: لما عيّر المشركون رسول الله ﷺ بالفاقة قالوا «ما لهذا الرسول يأكل الطعام ويمشي في الأسواق» حزن رسول الله ﷺ لذلك فنزل عليه جبريل فقال: السلام عليك يا رسول الله رب العزة يقرئك السلام ويقول لك وما أرسلنا قبلك من المرسلين إلاّ أنهم ليأكلون الطعام ويمشون في الأسواق فبينما جبريل والنبي ﷺ يتحدثان إذ ذاب جبريل حتى صار مثل الهوذة فقال رسول الله ﷺ «مالك ذبت حتى صرت مثل الهوذة» قال: يا محمد فتح باب من أبواب السماء لم يكن فتح قبل ذلك إذ عاد جبريل إلى حاله فقال: يا محمد أبشر هذا رضوان خازن الجنة فأقبل رضوان حتى سلم ثم قال يا محمد رب العزة يقرئك السلام ومعه سفط من نور يتلألأ ويقول لك ربك هذه مفاتيح خزائن الدنيا مع مالا ينتقص لك مما عندي في الآخرة مثل جناح بعوضة، فنظر النبي ﷺ إلى جبريل كالمستشير له، فضرب جبريل بيديه إلى الأرض فقال تواضع لله فقال يا رضوان لا حاجة لي في الدنيا، فقال رضوان: أصبت أصاب الله بك. ويرون أن هذه الآية أنزلها رضوان ﴿تبارك الذي إن شاء جعل لك خيراً من ذاك جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ويجعل لك قصوراً﴾.

٢٣٨ - (وأخرج) البخاري ومسلم عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «رأيت ليلة أسري بي موسى بن عمران رجلاً طويلاً جعداً كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى بن مريم مربوع الخلق إلى الحمرة

٢٣٨ - مسند أحمد ١/ ٢٤٥ ورواه بلفظه عن ابن عباس ولم يذكر فيه [ورأيت مالكاً خازن جهنم والرجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى].
وانظر مشكاة المصابيح ٥ رقم ٥٧١٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٢٧١.

والبياض سبط الرأس ورأيت مالكا خازن جهنم والدجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى.

٢٣٩ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن عمر قال: لما أسري برسول الله ﷺ رأى مالكا خازن النار فإذا رجل عابس يعرف الغضب في وجهه.

٢٤٠ - (وأخرج) أبو بكر الواسطي في فضائل بيت المقدس عن أبي سلمة قال رأى عبادة بن الصامت على شرقي بيت المقدس يبكي فقيل له: ما يبكيك؟ فقال من ها هنا حدثني رسول الله ﷺ أنه رأى مالكا يقلب جمراً كالقطف.

٢٤١ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إذا أراد الله بعبد خيراً بعث إليه ملكاً من خزان الجنة فمسح ظهره فسخى نفسه بالزكاة».

٢٤٢ - (وأخرج) الخليلي في مشيخته عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «أنا أول من يقرع باب الجنة فيقوم الخازن فيقول من أنت؟ فأقول أنا محمد فيقول أقوم فأفتح لك ولم أقم لأحد قبلك ولا أقوم لأحد بعدك».

٢٤٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن علي في قوله تعالى ﴿كطي السجل﴾ قال مالك.

٢٤٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عطية قال السجل اسم ملك.

٢٤٥ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عمر قال: السجل ملك فإذا صعد بالاستغفار قال اكتبوها نوراً.

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٢٤١ - جمع الجوامع رقم ١١١٢ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي الله عنه.

وانظر تنزيه الشريعة ١٤١/٢. / كشف الخفاء ٣٠٩/٢. / تذكرة الموضوعات ص ٦٣.

٢٤٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن السدي قال: السجل ملك موكل بالصحف فإذا مات الإنسان دفع كتابه إلى السجل فطواه ورفعه إلى يوم القيامة.

٢٤٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وابن عساكر عن أبي جعفر الباقر قال: السجل ملك، وكان هاروت وماروت من أعوانه، وكان له كل يوم ثلاث لمحات ينظرهن في أم الكتاب فنظر نظرة لم تكن له فأبصر فيها خلق آدم وما فيه من الأمور، فأسر ذلك إلى هاروت وماروت فلما قال تعالى ﴿إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة قالوا أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها﴾ قالا ذلك استطالة على الملائكة.

ما جاء في هاروت وماروت

٢٤٨ - (أخرج) أحمد بن حنبل وعبد بن حميد في مسنديهما وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن حبان في صحيحه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن عبد الله بن عمر أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول ﴿إن آدم لما أهبطه الله إلى الأرض قالت الملائكة أي رب أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها ويسفك الدماء ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال إني أعلم ما لا تعلمون﴾ قالوا ربنا نحن أطوع لك من بني آدم، قال الله تعالى: هلموا ملكين من الملائكة حتى نهبطهما إلى الأرض فننظر كيف يعملان فقالوا: ربنا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض فتمثلت لهما الزهرة امرأة من أحسن البشر فجاءتهما فسألاها نفسها فقالت: لا والله حتى تكلما بهذه الكلمة من الإشراك، قالا لا والله لانشرك بالله أبداً فذهبت عنهما ثم رجعت بصبي تحمله، فسألاها نفسها فقالت لا والله حتى تقتلا هذا الصبي، قالا والله لا نقتله أبداً، فذهبت ثم رجعت بقدح من خمر تحمله فسألاها نفسها، فقالت لا والله حتى تشربا هذا الخمر فشربا فسكرا فوقعا عليها وقتلا الصبي، فلما أفاقا قالت المرأة والله

ما تركتما شيئاً أبيتماه عليّ إلّا قد فعلتماه حين سكرتما، فخيرا عند ذلك بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا».

٢٤٩ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «أشرفت الملائكة على الدنيا فرأت بني آدم يعصون فقالت يا رب ما أجهل هؤلاء ما أقل معرفة هؤلاء بعظمتك! فقال اللّه عز وجل لو كنتم في مسلاخهم لعصيتموني قالوا كيف يكون هذا ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال فاختاروا منكم ملكين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت، ثم أهبطا إلى الأرض وركبت فيهما شهوات بني آدم ومثلت لهما امرأة فما عصما حتى واقعا المعصية فقال اللّه اختارا عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فنظر أحدهما إلى صاحبه قال ما تقول فاختر قال أقول إن عذاب الدنيا ينقطع وإن عذاب الآخرة لا ينقطع، فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما اللذان ذكر اللّه في كتابه ﴿وما أنزل على الملكين﴾ الآية.

٢٥٠ - (وأخرج) الحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن ابن عمر أنه كان يقول: أطلعت الحمراء بعد؟ فإذا رآها قال، لا مرحباً ثم قال إن ملكين من الملائكة هاروت وماروت سألا اللّه أن يهبطا إلى الأرض، فكانا يقضيان بين الناس فإذا أمسيا تكلما بكلمات فعرجا بها إلى السماء، فقيض اللّه لهما امرأة من أحسن الناس وألقيت عليهما الشهوة وألقيت في أنفسهما فلم يزالا حتى وعدتهما ميعاداً فأتتهما للميعاد فقالت علماني الكلمة التي تعرجان بها فعلماها فتكلمت بها فعرجت إلى السماء

٢٤٩ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٥٠٩ وذكره السيوطي عن ابن عمر رضي اللّه عنهما. وفيه [قرأت بني آدم يعصون] وكلمة [مسالحهم] غير كلمة [مسلاخهم].
شعب الإيمان ١/١١٣ ورواه بلفظه ثم قال البيهقي في تعليقه: ورويناه موقوفاً من وجه آخر عن مجاهد عن ابن عمر، وهو الأصح فإن ابن عمر أنه أخذه عن كعب.

فمسخت فجعلت كما ترون، فلما أمسيا تكلما بالكلمة فلم يعرجا فبعث إليهما إن شئتما فعذاب الآخرة وإن شئتما فعذاب الدنيا فقال أحدهما لصاحبه بل نختار عذاب الدنيا.

٢٥١ - (وأخرج) إسحاق بن راهويه في مسنده وعبد بن حميد في تفسيره وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال إن هذه الزهرة تسميها العرب الزهرة والعجم أناهيد، وكان الملكان يحكمان بين الناس فأتتهما فرأياها فقالت لهما الزهرة: ألا تخبراني بما تصعدان به إلى السماء وبما تهبطان به إلى الأرض فقالا باسم اللّه الأعظم، قالت ما أنا بمواتيكا حتى تعلمانيه فقال أحدهما لصاحبه علمها إياه فقال كيف بنا بشدة عذاب اللّه؟ قال الآخر انا نرجو سعة اللّه فعلمها إياه فتكلمت به فطارت إلى السماء، ففزع ملك في السماء لصعودها فطأطأ رأسه فلم يجلس بعد ومسخها اللّه فكانت كوكباً.

٢٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن راهويه وابن مردويه في تفسيره عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ لعن اللّه الزهرة فإنها هي التي فتنت الملكين هاروت وماروت.

٢٥٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس قال: إن أهل سماء الدنيا أشرفوا على الأرض فرأوهم يعملون بالمعاصي فقالوا يا رب أهل الأرض يعملون بالمعاصي فقال اللّه عز وجل: أنتم معي وهم غيب عني، فقيل لهم اختاروا منكم ثلاثة فاختاروا منهم ثلاثة على أن يهبطوا إلى الأرض فيحكموا ما بين أهل الأرض وجعل فيهم شهوة الآدميين

٢٥٢ - تذكرة الموضوعات ص ١١٠ وأشار الفتني إلى الحديث وعزاه لأبي نعيم عن علي وقال: الصحيح وقفة على كعب كذا قال البيهقي.

فأمروا أن لا يشربوا خمراً ولا يقتلوا نفساً ولا يزنوا ولا يسجدوا لوثن، فاستقال منهم واحد فأقيل وأهبط اثنان إلى الأرض، فأتتهما امرأة من أحسن الناس يقال لها أناهيد، فهوياها جميعاً ثم أتيا منزلها فاجتمعا عندها فأراداها، فقالت لهما: لا حتى تشربا خمري وتقتلا ابن جاري وتسجدا لوثني فقالا: لا نسجد ثم شربا من الخمر ثم قتلا ثم سجدا فأشرف أهل السماء عليهما، وقالت لهما أخبراني بالكلمة التي إذا قلتماها طرتما فأخبراها فطارت فمسخت جمرة وهي هذه الزهرة، وأما هما فأرسل إليهما سليمان بن داود فخيرهما بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما مناطان بين السماء والأرض.

٢٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عباس قال: لما وقع الناس من بعد آدم فيما وقعوا فيه من المعاصي والكفر باللّه قالت الملائكة في السماء: رب هذا العالم الذي إنما خلقتهم لعبادتك وطاعتك قد وقعوا فيما وقعوا فيه وركب الكفر وقتل النفس وأكل مال الحرام والزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فجعلوا يدعون عليهم ولا يعذرونهم، فقيل إنهم في غيب فلم يعذروهم فقيل لهم: اختاروا منكم من أفضلكم ملكين آمرهما وأنهاهما فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض وجعل لهما شهوات بني آدم وأمرهما أن يعبداه ولا يشركا به شيئاً ونهاهما عن قتل النفس الحرام وأكل مال الحرام وعن الزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فلبثا في الأرض زماناً يحكمان بين الناس بالحق، وذلك في زمان إدريس وفي ذلك الزمان امرأة حسنها في النساء كحسن الزهرة في سائر الكواكب وأنها أتيا عليها فخضعا لها في القول وأراداها على نفسها فأبت إلّا أن يكونا على أمرها ودينها فسألاها عن دينها فأخرجت لهما صنماً فقالت هذا أعبده فقالا لا حاجة لنا في عبادة هذا فذهبا فغابا ما شاء اللّه، ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها

ففعلت مثل ذلك فذهبا ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها، فلما رأت أنهما أبيا أن يعبدا الصنم فقالت لهما اختارا إحدى الخلال الثلاث إما أن تعبدا هذا الصنم وإما أن تقتلا هذا النفس وإما أن تشربا الخمر فقالا: هذا لا ينبغي وأهون الثلاثة شرب الخمر، فشربا الخمر فأخذت منهما فواقعا المرأة فخشيا أن يخبر الإنسان عنهما فقتلاه، فلما ذهب عنهما السكر وعلما ما وقعا فيه من الخطيئة أرادا أن يصعدا إلى السماء فلم يستطيعا وحيل بينهما وبين ذلك، وكشف الغطاء فيما بينهما وبين أهل السماء، فنظرت الملائكة إلى ما وقعا فيه، فعجبوا كل العجب وعرفوا أنه من كان في غيب فهو أقل خشية، فجعلوا بعد ذلك يستغفرون لمن في الأرض، فقيل لهما اختارا عذاب الدنيا أو عذاب الآخرة فقالا: أما عذاب الدنيا فإنه ينقطع ويذهب، وأما عذاب الآخرة فلا انقطاع له فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فجعلا ببابل فهما يعذبان.

٢٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن مجاهد قال: كنت نازلاً على عبد اللّه بن عمر في سفر فلما كان ذات ليلة قال لغلامه: أنظر طلعت الحمراء لا مرحباً بها ولا أهلاً ولا حياها اللّه هي صاحبة الملكين قالت الملائكة رب كيف تدع عصاة بني آدم وهم يسفكون الدم الحرام وينتهكون محارمك ويفسدون في الأرض، قال إني قد ابتليتهم فلعل إن ابتليتكم مثل الذي ابتليتهم به فعلتم كالذي يفعلون قالوا لا، قال فاختاروا من خياركم اثنين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فقال لهما إني مهبطكما إلى الأرض وعاهد إليكما أن لا تشركا ولا تزنيا ولا تخونا فأهبطا إلى الأرض وألقي عليهما الشبق وأهبطت لهما الزهرة في أحسن صورة امرأة، فتعرضت لهما فأراداها على نفسها فقالت إني على دين لا يصلح لأحد أن يأتيني إلّا من كان على مثله، قالا وما دينك قالت المجوسية قالا الشرك هذا شيء لا نقربه فمكثت عنهما ما شاء اللّه ثم تعرضت لهما

فأراداها على نفسها فقالت ما شئتما غير أن لي زوجاً أكره أن يطلع عليَّ هذا مني فافتضح فإن أقررتما لي بديني وشرطتما أن تصعدا بي إلى السماء فعلت، فأقرا لها بدينها وأتياها فيما يريان ثم صعدا بها إلى السماء فلما انتهيا إلى السماء اختطفت منهما وقطعت أجنحتهما فوقعا خائفين نادمين يبكيان، وفي الأرض نبي يدعو بين الجمعتين فإذا كان يوم الجمعة أجيب، فقالا لو أتينا فلاناً فسألناه يطلب لنا التوبة فأتياه فقال: رحمكما الله كيف يطلب أهل الأرض لأهل السماء؟ قالا إنا قد ابتلينا، قال: ائتياني في يوم الجمعة، فأتياه فقال ما أجبت فيكما بشيء ائتياني في الجمعة الثانية، فأتياه فقال اختارا فقد خيرتما فإن أحببتما معافاة الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة، وإن أحببتما فعذاب الدنيا وأنتما يوم القيامة على حكم الله قال أحدهما الدنيا لم يمض منها إلاّ القليل وقال الآخر ويحك إني قد أطعتك في الأول فأطعني الآن فاختارا عذاب الدنيا؛ لهذه القصة طرق أخرى كثيرة جمعها الحافظ ابن حجر في جزء مفرد، وقال في كتابه القول المسدد في الذب عن مسند أحمد، إن الواقف عليه يكاد يقطع بوقوع هذه القصة لكثرة الطرق الواردة فيها وقوة مخارج أكثرها وقد وقفت على الجزء الذي جمعه فوجدته أورد فيه بضعة عشر طريقاً، وقد جمعت أنا طرقها في التفسير فبلغت نيفاً وعشرين طريقاً.

ذكر قصة ملك آخر عليه السلام

٢٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن عبد الله بن عيسى قال: كان فيمن كان قبلكم رجل عبد الله أربعين سنة في البر، قال: يا رب قد اشتقت أن أعبدك في البحر، فأتى إلى قوم فاستحملهم فحملوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم ما شاء الله أن تجري ثم قامت، فإذا شجرة في ناحية الماء فقال: ضعوني على هذه الشجرة فوضعوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم فأراد ملك أن يعرج إلى السماء فتكلم بكلامه الذي كان

يعرج به فلم يقدر على ذلك فعلم أن ذلك لخطيئة كانت منه، فأتى صاحب الشجرة فسأله أن يشفع له إلى ربه، فصلى ودعا للملك، وطلب الملك إلى ربه أن يكون هو يقبض نفسه ليكون أهون عليه من ملك الموت، فأتاه حين حضر أجله فقال: إني طلبت إلى ربي أن يشفعني فيك كما شفعك فيَّ، وأن أكون أنا أقبض نفسك فمن حيث شئت قبضتها، فسجد سجدة فخرجت من عينه دمعة فمات.

ما جاء في الرعد والبرق عليهما السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ويسبح الرعد بحمده والملائكة من خيفته﴾.

٢٥٧ ـ (أخرج) أحمد والترمذي وصححه والنسائي وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وابن مردويه وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس قال: أقبلت يهود إلى رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: أخبرنا ما هذا الرعد؟ قال «ملك من ملائكة الله موكل بالسحاب، بيده مخراق من نار يزجر به السحاب، يسوقه حيث أمره الله» قالوا: فما هذا الصوت الذي نسمع؟ قال «صوته» قالوا صدقت.

٢٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب المطر وابن جرير وابن المنذر والبيهقي في سننه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال: الرعد ملك والبرق ضربة السحاب بمخراق من حديد.

٢٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال: الرعد ملك يسوق السحاب بالتسبيح كما يسوق الحادي الإبل بحدائه.

٢٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) البخاري في الأدب وابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن

٢٥٧ ـ الدر المنثور ٤/٥٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث طويل وعزاه للترمذي وصححه، وأحمد والنسائي وابن مردويه وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبي الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٢٨٧ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ من طريق سالم بن أبي الجعد عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن مما خلق اللّه ديكاً براثنه على الأرض السابعة وعرفه منطو تحت العرش قد أحاط جناحه بالأفقين فإذا بقي ثلث الليل الآخر ضرب بجناحيه ثم قال سبحوا الملك القدوس سبحان ربنا الملك القدوس لا إله لنا غيره، فيسمعها من بين الخافقين إلّا الثقلين» فيرون أن الديكة إنما تضرب بأجنحتها وتصرخ إذا سمعت ذلك.

٢٨٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي صادق قال الديكة تجاوب الملائكة بالتسبيح هل رأيتم طيراً يصيح بالليل.

٢٨٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن أبي عمرة قال حين يقول الملك: سبحوا القدوس فحينئذ تحرك الطير أجنحتها.

٢٩٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الحميد بن يوسف قال صاح ديك عند سليمان عليه السلام فقال سليمان هل تدرون ما يقول هذا؟ قالوا لا: قال فإنه يقول: إذكروا اللّه يا غافلين.

٢٩١ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن صفوان بن عسال قال: إن للّه ديكاً تحت العرش جناحه في الهواء وبراثنه في الأرض فإذا كان في الأسحار وأذان الصلوات خفق بجناحه وصفق بالتسبيح فتسبح الديكة تجيبه بالتسبيح.

٢٩٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان وضعفه عن

٢٨٧ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٣٢.

٢٩٢ ـ جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٦١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، وضعفه عن جابر رضي اللّه عنه، وعنده لفظ (هاج) غير لفظ (صاح) وفي الباب أربعة أحاديث بلفظ (إن للّه ديكاً كلها ضعيفة).

جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن للّه ديكاً رجلاه في التخوم وعنقه تحت العرش منطوية فإذا كان هنة من الليل صاح سبوح قدوس فصاحت الديكة».

٢٩٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي عن العرش بن عميرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن للّه تعالى ديكاً براثنه في الأرض السفلى وعنقه تحت العرش يصرخ عند مواقيت الصلاة ويصرخ له ديك السماوات سماء سماء ثم يصرخ بصراخ ديك السماوات ديكة الأرض سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح.

٢٩٤ ـ (وأخرج) الديلمي في مسند الفردوس عن أم سعد، امرأة من المهاجرات، قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤ على صورة ديك رجلاه في التخوم السفلى وعنقه مثنية تحت العرش وجناحاه بالمشرق والمغرب فإذا سبح اللّه ذلك الملك لم يبق شيء إلّا سبح اللّه عز وجل».

ما جاء في السكينة عليه السلام

٢٩٥ ـ (أخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط عن علي رضي اللّه عنه قال «إذا ذكر الصالحون فحي هلا بعمر، ما كنا أصحاب محمد نبعد أن السكينة تنطق على لسان عمر رضي اللّه عنه. قال ابن الأثير في النهاية السكينة هنا ملك.

٢٩٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أسيد بن حضير أنه أتى النبي ﷺ

٢٩٣ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٢٨٠ أنظر حديث ٢٨٤.

٢٩٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٦ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي اللّه عنها.

فقال يا رسول الله إني كنت أقرأ البارحة سورة الكهف فجاء شيء حتى غطى فمي فقال النبي ﷺ تلك السكينة جاءت حتى تسمع القرآن.

٢٩٧ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أبي سلمة قال بينا أسيد بن حضير الأنصاري يصلي بالليل فإذا غشيني مثل السحابة فيها مثل المصابيح والمرأة نائمة إلى جنبي وهي حامل، والفرس مربوط في الدار فخشيت أن تنفر الحصان فتفزع المرأة فتلقي ولدها فانصرفت من صلاتي فقال اقرأ يا أسيد فإن ذلك ملك استمع القرآن.

ما جاء في ملك الجبال عليه السلام

٢٩٨ - (أخرج) أحمد والبخاري ومسلم عن عائشة أنها قالت قلت للنبي ﷺ أتى عليك يوم أشد من يوم أحد؟ قال «لقد لقيت من قومك وكان أشد ما لقيت منهم يوم العقبة إذ عرضت نفسي على ابن عبد يا ليل ابن عبد كلال فلم يجبني إلى ما أردت فانطلقت وأنا مهموم على وجهي فلم أستفق إلا وأنا بقرن الثعالب فرفعت رأسي فإذا أنا بسحابة قد أظلتني فنظرت فإذا فيها جبريل فناداني فقال إن الله قد سمع قول قومك لك وما ردوا عليك وقد بعث إليك ملك الجبال لتأمره بما شئت فيهم فناداني ملك الجبال فسلم عليّ ثم قال يا محمد إن شئت أطبق عليهم الأخشبين، قال النبي ﷺ بل أرجو أن يخرج الله من أصلابهم

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٢٩٨ - فتح الباري ٧/١٦٦ وأشار إلى الحديث ولم يذكره.
- مشكاة المصابيح رقم ٥٨٤٨ وذكره بلفظه وقال متفق عليه.
وانظر إحياء علوم الدين ٤/١٣٩. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/٨٨.
تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٢٥٩. / رياض الصالحين ص ٢٨٥.
كنز العمال رقم ٣١٩٨٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأحمد، والبخاري، ومسلم عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

من يعبد الله وحده لا يشرك به شيئاً».

٢٩٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة قال قال رسو
الله ﷺ «جاءني جبريل فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام وهذا ملك
الجبال قد أرسله معك وأمره أن لا يفعل شيئاً إلا بأمرك فقال له ملك
الجبال إن شئت دمدمت عليهم الجبال وإن شئت رميتهم بالحصباء وإ
شئت خسفت بهم الأرض قال يا ملك الجبال فإني أأني بهم لعلهم أ
يخرج منهم ذرية يقولون لا إله إلا الله، فقال ملك الجبال أنت ك
سماك ربك رؤوف رحيم».

ما جاء في رميائيل خازن أرواح المؤمنين عليه السلام

٣٠٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت عن وهب بن منب
قال: إن أرواح المؤمنين إذا قبضت ترفع إلى ملك يقال له رميائيل وه
خازن أرواح المؤمنين.

ما جاء في دومة خازن أرواح الكفار عليه السلام

٣٠١ - (أخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت من طريق أبان بر
تغلب عن رجل من أهل الكتاب قال: الملك الذي على أرواح الكفا
يقال له دومة.

ما جاء في فتان القبر عليهم السلام

٣٠٢ - (أخرج) الترمذي وحسنه وابن أبي الدنيا والآجري في

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٣٠٢ - موارد الظمآن رقم ٧٨٠ ورواه بنحو من لفظه.
وانظر شرح السنة ٥/٤١٦ قال البغوي حديث حسن.
مشكاة المصابيح رقم ١٣٠. / جمع الجوامع ٢٣١٨. / كنز العما
٤٢٥٠٠.

Appendix B

Chapter Details for Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

A Table Cross-referencing the MS [Or. 474/28] and the Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya Edition

Chapter	Hadith Nos.	DKI	Leiden MS	
			Begins	Ends
Preface	1	pp. 9 – 10	fol. 187v, l. 1	fol. 187v, l. 15
Substance	2 - 4	pp. 10 - 11	fol. 187v, l. 15	fol. 187v, l. 21
Great Number	5 - 26	pp. 11 - 16	fol. 187v, l. 21	fol. 188v, l. 19
Archangels	27 – 35	pp. 16 - 19	fol. 188v, l. 19	fol. 189r, l. 26
Gabriel	36 – 77	pp. 19 - 29	fol. 189r, l. 26	fol. 191v, l. 10
Michael	78 – 84	pp. 29 – 31	fol. 191v, l. 10	fol. 192r, l. 5
Israfil	85 – 106	pp. 31 – 37	fol. 192r, l. 5	fol. 193r, l. 22
Angel of Death	107 - 171	pp. 37 - 53	fol. 193r, l. 22	fol. 197r, l. 14
Throne Bearers	179 – 209	pp. 56 - 62	fol. 197v, l. 20	fol. 199r, l. 11
The Spirit	210 – 228	pp. 62 – 65	fol. 199r, l. 11	fol. 199v, l. 22
Ridwan etc.	229 – 242	pp. 65 – 68	fol. 199v, l. 23	fol. 200v, l. 9
Al-Sijill	243 – 247	pp. 68 – 69	fol. 200v, l. 9	fol. 200v, l. 23
Hārūt & Mārūt	248 – 256	pp. 69 – 74	fol. 200v, l. 23	fol. 202r, l. 16
Sakīna	295 - 297	pp. 83 - 84	fol. 204r, l. 9	fol. 204r, l. 17

Appendix C

Textual Variants: Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

MS Variants [Leiden MS Or.474/28]

Chapter	No.	Fol.	Line	MS Reading	DKI Reading
Preface	-	187v	1	Marginalia: السابعة والعشرون في الملايكة من وجوه	
	-	187v	1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه تقتي	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
	-	187v	2	اما بعد حمد الله	الحمد الله
	-	187v	3	فهذا تاليف	فهذه تاليف
	-	187v	4	استوعبدت فيها	استوعبدت فيه
	-	187v	7	الملائكة ينتظم معابن (؟)	الملائكة ينتظم في معان
	-	187v	10	ولا يدعون الهتهم لهة	ولا يدعون آلهة
	-	187v	12	Omitted	الاعتراف بان منهم رسلا يرسل الى من يشاء من البشر وقد يجوز ان يرسل بعضهم الى الارض ويتبع ذلك
	1	187v	16	عن ابن عمر عن النبي	عن ابن عمر عن عمرعن النبي
Substance	2	187v	17-18	اخرج عن عائشة	اخرج مسلم عن عائشة
	2	187v	18-19	Ḥadīth inserted	
Great Abundance	6	187v	25	ما في السماء سماء منها موضع	ما في السماوات شيء منها موضع
	8	187v	29	ثُئط	
	9	187v	31	النبي	رسول الله
		188r	1	قائم فذلك قوله تعالى	قاءم ذلك قوله
	10	188r	2	بينما	بينا
		188r	4	موضع قدم الا عليه ملك	موضع قدم الا عليها ملك
	11	188r	6	لقيامة قالوا سبحانك	القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك
		188r	7	عبادتك انا لم	عبادتك الا انا لم
	12	188r	9-10	ذلك اسماوات مكبوسات	ذلك السماوات والارض مكبوسات
	14	188r	14	فاذا خرج قطرت منه	فاذا خرج قطر منه
		188r	14	من نور فخلق من كل قطرة	من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة

Great Abundance	15	188r	16	رب من معك	يا رب ن معك
	20	188r	25	اجنحتهم فرقاً من الله	اجنحتهم خوفاً من الله
		188r	26	Ḥadīth inserted	
	21	188r	31	موضع اهاب الا فيه ملك ساجد	موضع الا فيه ساجد
	22	188v	2	قال ان الله	قال ان الله تعالى
		188v	2	فتسعة	تسعة
		188v	4-5	من بقي من الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم ايضاً الذين يسحون الليل والنهار ولا يفترون ومن بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله	من بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله
	23	188v	6	ابن خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاغيش	خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاعيس
	24	188v	10	فرائصهم ما منهم ملك	فرائص من مخافعه ما منهم ملك
	25	188v	18	وانا لنحن الصافون وانا لنحن المسبحون	انا لنحن المسبحون
Four Archangels	27	188v	20-21	ابن ابي شببة وابن ابي حاتم والبيهقي في الشعب وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن ابن سابط	ابن اي حاتم وابو الشيخ في العظمة ولبيهقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط
		188v	22	اما السرافيل فموكل القطر	اما ميكائيل فموكل القطر
	28	188v	23	الدنيا جمع بين حفظهم وما في ام الكتاب	الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل ام الكتاب
		188v	20	[Mentioned at the beginning of the ḥadīth]	...رواه ابن ابي شيبة
	29	188v	28	بينما	بينا
	30	189r	12	خمسة الاف سنة	خمسين الف سنة
	32	189r	15	Omitted	
	35	189r	25	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الاعلى / الا على	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الأعلى
Gabriel	36	189r	28	معبّد	
	43	189v	6	Omitted	رضي الله عنها
	44b	189v	12	يا محمد كيف ياتك يعني جبريل	يا محمد كيف ياتك الذي ياتك يعني جبريل
	48	189v	23	Omitted	مسيرة
	49	189v	24	اسحاق الهاشمي	اسحاق

Gabriel	50	189v	26	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جرير وقتادة دخل	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل
		189v	27	حُبك حُبك	
	52	190r	1	فقعد فنزل جبريل على خشبة	فقعد جبريل على خشبة
	53	190r	7	ما كنتُ	
	54	190r	12	راسه كالحبك	راسه كالجبل
	56	190r	20	لقد دخلت الداخل اغتماماً بكلام الناس مما بي من الحمى فدخل علي داخل	فدخل علي داخل
		190r	21	رجلاً بعدك قط اكرم	رجلاً قط بعدك اكرم
	60	190v	5	دعى المؤمن قال يا جبريل	دعى المؤمن قال الله يا جبريل
	62	190v	10	عبد الله ابن عمير	عبد الله ابن عمر
	68	190v	26	The ḥadīth runs on from the last with *qāla* (no *akhraja*) as per the DKI edition	
		190v	27-29	محمد بن عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم عن عمرو بن قتادة بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله	ابو محمد عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم بن بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله
		191r	1	Omitted	وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لاعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي
	69	191r	3	احنف اضجم اعسر	احنف اصمع اعسر
		191r	6	قل الا	قل له الا
		191r	7	فقال له قل بلا يا رسول الله	فقال له قل بلا
	70	191r	9	Large gap between *akhraja* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh – name missing (?)	
	71	191r	14	Omitted	وذكر ابراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان احمدهما يا عر باللين والاخر بالشدة وكل مصيب
	72	191r	19	مسيرة سبعين عاماً	مسيرة سبعين سنة

Gabriel	74	191r	30	فيقول جبريل وملك الموت	فيقول جبريل :ملك الموت
	75	191v	5	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك وعبدك جبريل	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل
Michael	78	191v	10	ابن عبد المنذر	ابن المنذر
	84	191v	25	Omitted	ابو عبد الله الحسين الدينوري
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو علي بن موسى
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو موسى بن جعفر
		191v	32	Omitted	ابن علي بن علي طالب
		191v	32	وقال اشهد بالله لقد حدثنا جبريل وقال...	Omitted
Isrāfīl	85	192r	6	Ornamentation	
		192r	6 – 7	الصور من لؤلؤة	الصور لؤلؤة
		192r	7	ضفاء الزجاجة	ضفاء الزجاج
		192r	9	من ثقب واحد	من ثقب واحدة
		192r	9	كوة كاستدار	كوة كاستدارة
	87	192r	17	مستعد ينظر نحو العرش	مستعد ينظر حول العرش
	88	192r	18	ابي سعيد الخذري	ابي سعيد الخدري
	90	192r	22	عن ملك الله الذي يليه اسرافيل تم	عن ملك الله الذي يليه قال ان الملك الذي يليه اسرافيل ثم
	91	192r	23	احمد والحاكم وابن مردويه عن ابن سعيد	احمد والحاكم عن ابن سعيد
	93	192v	5	بكذا فلا تهبط	بكذا فلا يهبط
	94	192v	6	Omitted (but a space left)	اخرج
		192r	8	ليس دونه سيء	ليس لدونه شيء
	95	192r	11	عن عبد الحرث ان كعبا	عن عبد الرحمنبن الحارثان كعبا
		192r	12		يقول في اسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول
	97	192r	20	قال رسول الله صلعم	قال النبي صلعم
	99	192v	29	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعميقول	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعم
	100	193r	1	In black	اخرج

Isrāfīl	102	193r	2	Omitted	لاثنى عشرة ساعة من النهار و[لاثنى]
	103	193r	6	نعم رب	نعم يا رب
	104	193r	10	بشيء كتب في اللوح المحفوظ فنحى اللوح حتى	بشئء كتب في اللوح حتى
		193r	10-11	اسرافيل قد غطى وجهه بجناحه	اسرافيل قد غطى راسه بجناحه
		193r	11	فان كان الى السماء	فان كان الى اهل السماء
		193r	12	Omitted	الى ميكائيل وان كان الى اهل الارض دفعه
		193r	12	Omitted	اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم فيقال من يشهد لك فيقول اسرافيل فيدعى اسرافيل
		193r	12	فيقال له قد بلغك	فيقال له هل بلغك
	106	193r	15	البزار والطبراني والبيهقي فى السماء والصفات عن ابن عمرو	الطبراني في الاوسط والبيهقي في الاسماء والصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو
		193r	16	الى النبي	الى الرسول الله
		193r	16	اهل الارض فليحاكم الى اسرافيل	اهل لارض فلنتحاكم الى اسرافيل
Angel of Death	107	193r	27	فارسل اخر	فارسل لها اخر
		193r	29	Marked (ink stain?) after: كلها من طيبها	
	108	193v	2	بلله منك عن ينقص مني	بلله منك عن تنقص مني
	112	193v	14	اجله قبض روحه فاذا قبض روحه اقبل	اجله قبض روحه اقبل
		193v	16	والله ما اكلت لها رزقا	والله ما اكلت لكم رزقا
		193v	16	...لها عمرا	... لكم عمرا
		193v	16	...لها اجلا	... لكم اجلا
	113	193v	20	تسيب الناس ومنها	تسيب الناس يعني...
		193v	20	الاقباض	الاتتفاض
	115	193v	22	Placed after 116	
	116	193v	24	Placed before 115	

Angel of Death	115	193v	25	على بابه سبع مرات	على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات
		193v	25	ينظر فه	ينظر حال فه
	119	193v	32	الحارث بن الخزرج عت ابيه قال	الحارث بن الخزرج قال
		193v	32	ونظر ملك الموت [Corrected in margin]	ونظر الى ملك الموت
		194r	6	الى انا تصفحهم	الى انا اصفحهم
		194r	6	حتي لا انا اعرف	حتي لانا اعرف
		194r	8	بلغني عنه انما	بلغني انما
		194r	8	الصلى فاذا نظر عند...	الصلى فاذا حضر عند...
	120	194r	12	السارة	الشارة
		194r	13	لي منك قال ادبر	لي منك اشياء ما ارلها فيك قال ادبر
		194r	15	ornamentation: dot in a circle	
	122	194r	22	فيبسره	فيبشره
		194r	23	فبشره فقال	فبشره بذلك فقال
	123	194r	32	سلم	اسلم
		194v	1	وعين في قفاه	وعينان في قفاه
		194v	2	باذن الله فيكون	باذن الله فتكون
	124	194v	5	ههننا	ها هنا
		194v	6	ان الله سخر [؟] لي	ان الله يخر لي
		194v	6	ما اي اطرافها	ما ايا اطرافها
	126	194v	9	من حيث شاء وجعلت له	من حيث وجعل له
	129	194v	16	ابن جرير في قوله تعالى...	وابن جرير وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله...
	131	194v	21	قال ملك جالس...	قال ملك الموت جالس...
	133	194v	29 - 30	...عز وجل حوى\قوى[؟] لملك الموت الدنيا حتى جعلها كالطست	...عز وجل قوى ملك الموت حتى جعلها كالطست
	134	194v	32	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم والعذاب	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب
	135	195r	2	ابن ابي حاتم	ابن ابي الدنيا

Angel of Death	135	195r	3*ff*	بين فخذي ملك الموت فاذا توفى نفسا طيبا دفعها الى ملائكة الرحمة فاذا توفى نفسا خبيثة دفعها الى ملائكة العذاب.	LEI MS: §135 is confused with §134; §135b [LEI] is the same as §135 [DKI]
	135b	195r	N/A	Omitted	فيقبض الرواح فيعطى هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرهمة وملائكة العذاب
	136	195r	11	تحت العرش فيلفى	تحت العرش فتلقى
	136	195r	11	صكا	صكاك
	138	195r	12-13	ما انا باعلم ذلك	ما انا اعلم بذلك
	139	195r	14	حتى يؤمر بقبضه	حتى يؤمر بقبضها
	142	195r	20	Ornamental nūn at end of line	
	144	195r	23	راشد بن سعد	راشد بن سعيد
	146	195v	1	لسقفت	لشققت
	146	195v	2 – 3	ورد الله عليه حينه	ورد الله عليه عينه
	149	195v	12 – 3	...اليك حاخة قا ل علمت حاجتك	...اليك حاخة قا ل قد علمت حاجتك
	149	195v	13	...في ادريس وقد بقى من عمره محى اسمه	...في ادريس وقد محى اسمه
	150	195v	16	فقال ان خليلك سالك ان...	فقال ان خليلك سال ان...
	150	195v	18	شربت شرابا قط قال لا	شربت شرابا قال لا
	154	196r	1	فزعاً لم يمت	فزعا ثم يموت
	157	196r	6	ابن انس وقد ساله	ابن انس وساله
	158	196r	10	عسكر الموات	عسكر الموت
	160	196r	13	وله رسل من الملائكة	وله رسول من الملائكة
		196r	13	النفس في تعرة (؟)	النفس في ثغرة
	163	196r	19	الربيع المسودي عن	الربيع المسودي في فوائده عن
	166	196r	27f	hadith inserted	
		196r	32-1	قال السلام	قال له السلام
		196v	1	يا ولي الله الله	يا ولي الله والله
		196v	3	...الواعظ يقول سمعت محمد بن الحسن يقول سمعت ابي	...الواعظ يقول سمعت ابي

Angel of Death	166	196v	4	على كف الموت	على كف ملك الموت
				من النور امر ان...	من النور ثم امره ان...
	167	196v	8	يا رسول االه لك حاجة	يا رسول الله الك حاجة
		196v	14	فجعلت العجب وانظر اليه	فجعلت اتعجب وانظر اليه
	168	196v	20	كنت اعجب عنه اريد ان اقبضه	كنت اعجب عنه امرت اقبضه
	169	196v	25	هو قريب الآن ياتيك	هو قريب الان ياتي
		196v	29	ولا يسلم بعده	ولا يسلم على احد بعده
		196v	32	على ادمي بعدك قالوا	على ادمي بعدك قال
	171	197r	4	ابن النجار في تاريخه انبانل (؟)	ابن النجار في تاريخه اخبرنا
		197r	6	Omitted	القاضي ابو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي
		197r	7	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن المايح السجزي	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن عبد الله بن المايح السجزي
		197r	9	Omitted	جعفر بن محمد
		197r	10	Omitted	ابن محمد بن علي
		197r	13	Omitted	ميكائيل
		197r	14	مدن الخمر كالعباد وثن	مدمن الخمر كالعباد وثن
Bearers of the Throne	179	197v	22	الدارمي في كتاب الرعد الجهمية	الدارمي
		197v	23	الحاكم	الحاكم في كتاب الرعد الجهمية
		197v	23	ابن عباس	العباس
	181	197v	29	منكبه	منكبيه
	181b	197v	30	Extra hadith inserted	
	182	198r	4	اين	حيث
	185	198r	8	زادان	زاذان
	186	198r	11	يقول اربعة منهم	تقول اربعة منهم
	187	198r	13	ثمانية ن الملائكة	ن الملائكة
The Spirit	210	199r	14-15	الروح ملك من	الروح من
	212	199r	20	الله تعالى	الله
		199r	21	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
		199r	22	ملائك	ملائكة

The Spirit	213	199r	23	فيهما	منهما
	216	199r	29	السموات	السماوات
	217	199r	30	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
	221	199v	7	ما نزل	ما ينزل
	225	199v	17	سماطا	صماطا
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
	226	199v	20	تسعة والكروبيون	تسعة والروح والكروبيون
		199v	18-20	و	ف
Riḍwān, Mālik and the Guardians of the Fire	229	199v	27	طاووس	طاوس
		199v	28	ملكاً	مالكاً
		199v	29	اصابعاً	اصابع
	232	220r	4	مائة	خمسمائة
	234	220r	11	بلا	لا بل
		220r	12	وبيد كل ملك منهم	وبيد كل واحد منهم
	235	220r	16-18	Extra hadith inserted	
	236	220r	18-19	Different *isnād* used	
	237	220r	20	Omitted	اخرج
		220r	25	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	26	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	27	ابشر يا محمد	يا محمد ابشر
		220r	30	Omitted	الى جبريل
	240	220v	9	صلعم رأى	صلعم انه رأى
		220v	9	ملكاً	مالكاً
Al-Sijill	243	220v	10	New title added: ما جاء في السجل عليه السلام	
	244	220v	16	Omitted	عن عطية
	247	220v	20	هروت	هاروت
		220v	22	هروت	هاروت
Hārūt & Mārūt	248	220v	23	عليهما السلام	Omitted
		220v	28	قال الله تعالى لالمالئكة هلموا	قال الله تعالى هلموا
	249	201r	8	قالوا فاختاروا	قال فاختاروا
		201r	8	هروت	هاروت
	250	201r	14	فاهبط هروت وماروت الى الارض	Omitted

		201r	16	فقيض لهما	فقيض الله لهما
Hārūt & Mārūt	250	201r	18	فعلّماها الكلمة	فعلّماها
	251	201r	19	اسحق	اسحاق
		201r	22	فاراداها	فراياها
		201r	23	بمواتيتكما	بمواتيتك
		201r	24	كيف لنا	كيف بنا
		201r	24	Scribal correction added to text: سعد > سعة	
		201r	24	سعة رحمة الله	سعة الله
	252	201r	27	هروت	هاروت
	253	201r	28-29	على اهل الارض	على الارض
		201r	31	فيحكموا بين	فيحكموا ما بين
		201v	3	فقالت لا	فقالت اهما لا
		201v	5	فاخبرها	فاخبراها
		201v	6	وعذاب الاخرة	والاخرة
	254	201v	12	هروت	هاروت
		201v	17	فغبرا	فغابا
		201v	17	فارادها	فاراداها
		201v	18	Omitted	ففعلت....على نفسها
		201v	24	اختاروا	اختارا
	255	201v	29	فعل	فلعل
		201v	30	هروت	هاروت
		202r	2	ارادها	اراداها
		202r	12	اطلعتك	اطعتك
		202r	12	In red: لهذه القصة طرف	
		202r	15	اكثرها انتهى وقد	اكثرها انتهى وقد
		202r	15	على جزئه	على الجزء
		202r	16	والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم	Omitted
Sakīna	295	204r	10	عن علي رضي الله عنه اذا ذكر	عن علي رضي الله عنه قال اذا ذكر
	297	204r	15	الانصاري يصلي قال اذ بالليل فاذا غشيني	الانصاري يصلي بالليل فاذا غشيني
		204r	16	فخشيت ان تنفر الفرس	فخشيت ان تنفر الحصان
		204r	17	ولدها فانصرفت	ولدها فانصرف
Tempters	302	204v	8-9	اتاه ملكان اسودان ازرقان	اتاه ملكان ازرقان
		204v	12	فيقول هو عبد الله	فيقول ما كان تقول هو عبد الله

Appendix D

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the Ḥadīth Section

The following is a table giving the full names of the sources used by al-Suyūṭī in those ḥadīth from *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* translated in this thesis. The table includes:

(i) the name, as used by al-Suyūṭī (and other classical Arabic texts)
(ii) the full name of the author
(iii) the author's date of death
(iv) a reference to either Sezgin's *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums* or, where appropriate, Brockelmann's *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur.*

? indicates an uncertain attribution
X indincates an author that I have been unable to trace

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827	I:99	
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963	I:113	
Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-ᶜArīf	X			
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	X			
Abū 'l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū 'l-Shaykh	369 / 979	I:200-1	
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932	I:659-60	

Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888	I:149	
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038		I:362
Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919	I:171-2	
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855	I:502-9	
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905	I:162	
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870	I:115f	
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895	I:600-1	
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193	I:648	II:207
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922	I:521-2	I:154
Ḍiyā', al-	Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245		I:112; SI:690
Firyābī, al-	Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī or ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[1]	301 / 913 212 / 827	I:40 I:166	
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933	I:221-2	
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857	I:111	
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894		SI:247
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938	I: 178-9	
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849	I:108-9	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008	I:46	
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939		I:119
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176		I:331
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797	I:95	

[1] Without further information, such as titles of works, it is impossible to tell who is being cited, as both were scholars of *tafsīr* and ḥadīth; Heinen suggests ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf; Heien, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 274.

Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930	I:495-9	
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011	I:350	
Ibn Hanbal	*See Ahmad*			

Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965	I:189-91	
Ibn Jarīr	See al-Ṭabarī			
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924	I:601	
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886	I:147-8	
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005	I:214-5	
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019	I:225	
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889		I:120
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845	I:300-1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853	I:109-10	
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714	I:30	
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī[2]	446 / 1054	-	-
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071		I:329
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945	I:443	
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875	I:136-43	
Nasā’ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā’ī	303 / 915	I:167f	
Qutbī, al-	*See Ibn Qutayba*			
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983		I:362
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842	I:104	

[2] From the information provided by Ibn Khallikān, this appears to be the correct attribution, as al-Khalīlī is said to be a ḥadīth scholar and biographer; however I have been unable to trace the author any further, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aᶜyān wa-anbāᶜ abnā’ al-zamān*; (tr. MacGukin de Slane), *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary* (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842 – 1871) Vol. 1, p. 53 n. 3 and Vol. 4, p. 27.

Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181		I:365
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ʻl-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971	I:195-7	
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923	I:323-8	
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938		SI:184
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930	I:653-9	
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934	I:177	
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075		I:411-2

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827
Firyābī, al-	ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[3]	212 / 827
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886
Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905
Nasā'ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā'ī	303 / 915

[3] Following Heinen (see above).

Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924
Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ‘l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971
Abū ‘l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū ‘l-Shaykh	369 / 979
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī	446 / 1054

Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176
Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193
Ḍiyā’, al-	Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449

Works Cited by Al-Suyūṭī

Name	Short Title	Full Title in *GAS* / *GAL*	Ḥadīth No.	GAS	GAL
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad al-kabīr*	248	I:113 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	251	I:113 §2	
Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī	*Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*	?	240		
Abū Nuᶜaym	*Al-Ḥilya*	*Kitāb ḥilyat al-anbiyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*	57, 82, 90, 96, 117, 125, 131, 158, 162		I:362 §1
	Al-Maᶜrifa	Not listed	119		
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	*Fawā'id*	Not listed	163		
Abū 'l-Shaykh	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* or *Kitāb ᶜaẓamat Allāh wa-makhlūqātihi*	2, 27, 30, 123, 125, 129, 130, 251	I:201 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	128, 166b		
al-Bayhaqī	*Al-Asmā'*	Not listed	106, 108, 181b, 182, 193, 202, 210, 212, 223, 246, 249, 254		
	Al-Baᶜth	Not listed	75, 86, 234		
	Al-Dalā'il	*Kitāb al-dalā'il al-nubūwwa*	52		I:363 §3
	Shu'ab al-īmān	*Al-Jāmiᶜ al-muṣannaf fī shuᶜab al-īmān*	Preface, 6, 24, 27, 60,68,97,166,166b, 186, 200		I:363 §5
al-Dārimī	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	179	I:601 §2	
al-Dinawarī	*Al-Mujālisa*	*Kitāb al-mujālasa*	12, 136, 144, 197		I:154 §1

al-Ḍiyā’	*Al-Mukhtāra*	*Al-Mukhtāra*	10		I:690 §10
	Ṣifāt al-nār	Not listed[4]	230		
al-Ḥākim	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	Not listed	179		
	Al-Mustadrak	*Al-Mustadrak ᶜalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*	250, 251	I:221 §1	
Hannād al-Sārī	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	235	I:111 §1	
Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā	*Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*	Not listed	248, 251		
	Dhikr al-mawt	Not listed[5]	112, 120		
Ibn Abī Shayba	*Al-Muṣannaf*	*Al-Muṣannaf* (*al-Musnad*)	111, 206	I:108 §3	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	*Al-Sunna*	? *Risāla fī ᶜaqīdat ahl al-sunna*	93	I:46 §1	
Ibn al-Anbārī	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	228		I:119 §1
Ibn al-ᶜArīf	*Fawā’id*	Not listed	163		
Ibn ᶜAsākir	*Ta’rīkh*	*Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*	65, 237		I:331 §1
Ibn Ḥajar	*Lisān al-mīzān*	*Lisān al-mīzān*	84		II:68 §4
Ibn Ḥanbal	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	248	I:504 §1	
	Al-Zuhd	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	35, 67, 73, 110, 111, 116, 125, 139	I:506 §3	
Ibn Ḥibbān	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad*	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī ‘l-dhabb ᶜan Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*	255	I:505	
	Ṣaḥīḥ	*Al-Musnad al-ṣahīh ᶜala al-taqāsim wa-‘l-anwā’*	84, 248	I:190 §1	
Ibn Mandah	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	5	I:215 §3	
	Al-Maᶜrifa	*Maᶜrifat al-ṣaḥāba*	25, 119	I:215 §1	

[4] However a work with the title *Ṣifat al-janna* is listed (*GAL* SI:690 §12), and the *Ṣifat al-nār* is likely to be part of this text, or a companion work.

[5] The work is no longer extant, but it has been reconstructed by Leah Kinberg; see Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā (reconstructed Leah Kinberg), *Kitāb al-mawt wa-kitāb al-qubūr* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1983).

Ibn Mardawayh	*Tafsīr*	No longer fully extant	252	I:225 §5	
Ibn al-Mundhir	*Tafsīr*	*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*	21	I:496 §1	
Ibn al-Najjār	*Ta'rīkh*	*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*[6]	84, 118, 171	I:350 §1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	251	I:110	
al-Khalilī	*Mashaykha*	*Al-Mashaykha*[7]	242		
al-Khaṭīb	*Rūwāt Māik*	Not listed	157		
al-Marwazī	*Al-Janā'iz*	Possibly part of his *al-Kāfī fī 'l-fiqh*	148, 165	I:443	
al-Qutbī / Ibn Qutayba (?)	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	229		I:121 §1
al-Sābūnī	*Al-Mi'atayn*	*Kitāb al-mi'atayn*	60		I:363
Al-Silafī	*Al-Mashaykha al-Baghdādiyya*	*Muᶜjam shuyūkh Baghdād*	166b		I:365 §2
al-Ṭabarānī	*Al-Awsaṭ*	*Al-Muᶜjam al-awsaṭ*	99, 106, 295	I:196 §2	
	Al-Kabīr	*Al-Muᶜjam al-kabīr*	119	I:196 §1	
al-Tirmidhī	*Nawādir al-usūl*	*Nawādir al-uṣūl fī maᶜrifat akhbār al-rasūl*	80	I:655 §9	
al-ᶜUqaylī	*Al-Ḍuᶜafā'*	*Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā'* (*wa-'l-matrūkīn*)	156	I:177 §1	
Al-Wāḥidī	*Asbāb al-nuzūl*	*Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl*	237		I:411 §1

[6] There is also a *Ta'rīkh Kūfā* by the same author (*GAS* I:350 §2) but it is most likely to be his more famous *Ta'rīkh Baghdād.*
[7] See the note on al-Khalīlī above.

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the *Khātima*

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268		SI:550
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā’	458 / 1065	I:513	SI:686
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286		SI:126
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013	I:608	
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149		I:369
Al-Safawī al-Urmawī	*See* Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī			
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392		SII:108
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327		II:105
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262		
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366		
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209		SI:359
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111		SI:744
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933		
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012	I:607	
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī ʻl-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243		SI:610
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ʻl-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū ʻl-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053		SI:671

Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025		
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018	I:223	
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999	I:668	
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240		SI:790
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142		
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278		SI:680
Quṛtubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Quṛtubī	656 / 1258		I:384
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226		I:393
Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa'd al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389		I:295
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323		SII:15
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350		SII:126
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403		SII:110
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370		SII:105
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā'	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309		
Tayyibī, al-	X			

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018
Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū 'l-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā'	458 / 1065
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'l-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243
Qurṭubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī	656 / 1258
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262

Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’ Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Thanā’ Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370
Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa’d al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449
Tayyibī, al-	X	

Appendix E

The Authorities of the *Ḥadīth*

Index of Authorities

The authorities cited by al-Suyūṭī are only given with a short name in most instances. The table below gives the full names as given in Volume 8 of A. J. Wensinck's, *Concordance de la Tradition Muslumane*.

X : marks an authority I have been unable to trace
* : marks a name which could refer to a number of different people
? : marks a possible, although not definite, authority

Cited Name	Full Name	*CTM*	§
al-Aᶜamash	Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aᶜmash	142	147
al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hishām Abū ‘l-Faḍl	141	179
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī	X		111
ᶜAbd Allāh	*		183
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda ibn al-Ḥaṣīb al-Aslamī	145	224
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth	? ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth ibn Nawfal	146	94, 99, 236
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr	*see Ibn ᶜAmr*		21
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	157	62, 248
Abū ‘l-ᶜAwām	X		234
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād	X		66
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr	X		38
Abū ‘l-Muthnā al-Ḥimṣī	Muslim ibn al-Muhtannā Abū ‘-Muthannā	254	135
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān[1]	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas	173	23
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam	X		12
Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	Abū Ṭālib ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	128	84, 171
Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī	X		92
Abū Dharr	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	78	8, 63
Abū Hurayrah	Abū Hurayrah	278	87, 90, 107, 146, 151, 181
Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Jawnī Abū ᶜImrān	179	67, 231
Abū Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir	X		247
Abū Mālik	Abū Mālik al-Ghifārī	237	108, 190, 198
Abū Qays al-Azdī	X		136
Abū Saᶜīd	*	99	13, 81, 91
Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī	a.k.a. Saᶜd ibn Mālik Sinān	99	86, 88
Abū Salama	*	107	240, 297

[1] Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas from his father.

Abū Ṣāliḥ	*	122	223
Abū Sinān	ᶜĪsā ibn Sinān Abū Sinān	216	104
Abū Umāma	? Abū Umāma ibn Taᶜlaba al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī	17	89, 152, 206
ᶜĀ'isha	ᶜĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr	135	2, 9, 35, 42, 43, 55, 95, 145, 217
al-ᶜAlā' ibn Ḥārūn	X		17
ᶜAlī [ibn Abī Ṭālib]	ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū 'l-Ḥasan	197	65, 83, 196, 212, 241, 243, 251, 252, 295
ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn	ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Zayn al-ᶜAbdidīn	197	36
ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	200	52
ᶜAmr al-Bakālī	X		22
ᶜAmr ibn Murra	ᶜAmr ibn Murra	212	64
Anas	*see Anas ibn Mālik*		45, 74, 75, 79, 118, 156, 230, 242
Anas ibn Mālik	Anas ibn Mālik	19	163
Ashᶜath ibn Aslam	X		123
ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	192	76
ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	192	116, 142
ᶜAtiyya	*	192	244
al-Awzāᶜī	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜAmr al-Awzāᶜī Abū ᶜAmr	175	15, 100, 101
al-Barā' ibn ᶜAzāb	Al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzib ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜUmāra al-Awsī	27	166
al-Ḍaḥḥāk	*	127	209, 211
Ḍamra	*	127	105
Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	76	167
Ḥudhayfa	?Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān al-ᶜAbsī	57	50, 77
al-Ḥakam	*	64	19, 124
al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān	X		161
Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	65	10
Hārūn ibn Ri'āb	X		186
al-Ḥasan	al-Ḥasan ibn Abi Ḥasan al-Baṣrī Abū Saᶜīd	60	112

Ḥasan ibn ᶜAtiyya	X		184
al-Ḥusayn	Ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	61	170
Ibn Abī Jabala	X		103
Ibn Abī Nujīḥ	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Abī Nujīḥ Yasār al-Thaqafī	169	227
Ibn ᶜAbbās	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAbbās Abū ᶜAbbās	151	18, 29, 37, 40, 48, 49, 54, 56, 82, 97, 98, 108, 122, 127, 132, 134, 149, 153, 159, 169, 180, 195, 202, 208, 210, 213, 221, 222, 237, 238, 253, 254
Ibn ᶜAmr	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ al-Qurashī	163	2b, 5, 106
Ibn Jarīr	X		140
Ibn Jurayj	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn Jurayj	180	50
Ibn Masᶜūd	ᶜAbd Allāh Ibn Masᶜūd Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	166	6, 41, 44, 47, 72, 108, 122, 164, 165, 216
Ibn Sābiṭ	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sābiṭ Abū Sābiṭ	173	27, 28
Ibn Shihāb	Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī Abū Bakr	248	53
Ibn ᶜUmar	*see ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar*		1, 245, 249, 250
Ibn Zayd	X		188, 194
Ibrahīm al-Nakhaᶜī	Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd ibn Qays al-Nakhaᶜī	3	128
ᶜIkrima	ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	3, 57, 78, 114, 141, 203, 220
ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid	?ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	33
Jābir	? *see Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh*		181b, 182
Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh	Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	40	11, 30, 60
Kaᶜb	Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār ibn Māṭiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	232	16, 20b, 93, 95, 115, 121, 232, 235
Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān	X		32
Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	71	199
Khaythama	Khaythama ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sabra	75	137, 138, 168
al-Khazraj (father of al-Ḥārith ibn	X		119

al-Khazraj)			
Maᶜmar	*	261	139
Makḥūl	Makḥūl al-Dimashqī	263	192
Mālik ibn Dīnār	Mālik ibn Dīnār	238	197
Maymūna bint Saᶜd	Maymūna bint Saᶜd	269	58
Maysara	*	268	205, 207, 209b
Muᶜādh ibn Jabal	Muᶜādh ibn Jabal al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	257	158
Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir	Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir Abū Bakr	249	150
Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	248	154, 166b
Mujāhid	? Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makhzūmī	239	110, 125, 162, 218, 219, 228, 233, 235b, 255
Muqātil ibn Ḥayyan	X		215
Murra	Murra	251	108
Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	267	39
Qatāda	*	224	50, 129
Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān	Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Ẓafarī Abū ᶜUmar	225	68
Rabāḥ	*	80	73
al-Rabīᶜ	*	81	187
al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas	X		26, 126
Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd	X		144
Saᶜīd	*	102	102
Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr	Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	102	7, 70
Salmān	*	106	226
al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd	X		148
Shahar ibn Ḥawshab	Shahar ibn Ḥawshab al-Ashᶜarī	120	131
al-Shaᶜbī	ᶜĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Shaᶜbī Abū ᶜAmr	133	225
Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh	X		46
Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī	X		157

al-Suddī	Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Karīma al-Suddī	13	246
Ṭāwus	Ṭāwus ibn Kaysan al-Yamānī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	128	229
Thābit	*	37	61
Thābit al-Banānī	Thābit ibn Aslam al-Banānī Abū Muḥammad	37	117
ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr	ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr ibn Qatāda Abū ᶜĀsim	183	120
ᶜUmar	ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ	201	239
ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara	X		143
Umm Saᶜd	Umm Saᶜd	96	201
Umm Salama	Umm Salama al-Anṣārī	108	71
ᶜUrwa	*	190	193
Usayd ibn Ḥudayr	Usayd ibn Ḥudayr ibn Simāk al-Awsī al-Anṣārī Abū Yaḥyā	14	296
Wahb ibn Munnabih	Wahb ibn Munnabih al-Dhimārī	291	14, 20, 31, 51, 59, 85, 130, 189, 191, 214
Waraqa al-Anṣārī	X		44b
Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ	Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ ibn Kaᶜb al-Laythī	289	69
Zādhān (or Zādān)	X		185
Zayd al-Aslam	Zayd al-Aslam Abū Usāma	89	113
Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ	X		80
Zayd ibn Rūmān	X		4
Zayd ibn Thābit	Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī Abū Saᶜīd	89	109
Ziyād al-Numayrī	X		155
Ziyād ibn Abī Hayya	? Ziyād ibn Jubayr ibn Ḥayya al-Thaqafī	88	200
Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad	X		133, 160
Unknown	N/A		24
Unknown (father of Abū ‘l-Malīḥ)	X		34
Unknown (some companions)	N/A		108

Appendix F

Summary of the *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

Summary of *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

172 – 177 The Angel of the Rain

172 al-Baghawī and al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

173 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

174 Ibn Jarīr
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

175 Abū ᶜAwāna and al-Ḍiyā'
An angel drives the clouds and he has a rope.

176 al-Ṭayālisī, Aḥmad and Muslim
A man hears a voice in the clouds and then follows the clouds to Yemen; he then meets the Angel of the Rain.

177 al-Dīnawarī
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

178 The Angel of the Veil

178 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh

The heaven of this world has invisible waves; the Second Heaven is made of white marble; the Third Heaven is made of iron, the Fourth Heaven is made of copper; the Fifth Heaven is made of silver; the Sixth Heaven is made of gold; and the Seventh Heaven is made of rubies; above that is a desert of light and no one knows what is above it except God, Most High. The angel responsible for the veil is called Mīṭāṭrūsh.

256 Another Angel

256 Ibn Abī Shayba
A pious man wishes to worship God in the sea and he is taken there by a group of people. The man asks to be left by a tree in a river. An angel wanted the pious man to go to heaven, so God commands the Angel of Death to take his soul.

257 – 267 Thunder and Lightning

257 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Diyā'

An angel is responsible for the clouds; the angel has a whip to drive the clouds; thunder is the sound of his voice.

258 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel and lightning is the sound of the clouds being driven with a whip.

259 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

260 al-Bukhārī and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel.

261 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Mardawayh
Thunder is an angel; his voice is thunder and lightning is his whip.

262 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

263 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel is responsible for moving the clouds; lightning is the raising of the angel's whip and thunder is the sound of the whip being cracked.

264 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Lightning is an angel coming into view.

265 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is the sound of the Angel of the Cold clapping and lightning is when he looks at the people on Earth.

266 Ibn Mardawayh
There is an angel responsible for moving the clouds; he is called Rūfīl.

267 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Lightning is an angel; the angel has four faces: a face of a human, an eagle, a lion and a bull; lightning is when the angel flicks its tail.

268 – 273 Ismāᶜīl

268 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl who is in charge of 70,000 angels.

269 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
During the *miᶜrāj* Muḥammad sees Ismāᶜīl, who is responsible for the Second Heaven; he is in charge of 70,000 angels; each angel has an army of 100,000 angels.

270 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl.

271 al-ᶜAdani
Before the Prophet's death, Gabriel comes to him three times; on the third day Gabriel shows Muḥammad the angel Ismāᶜīl, who is the Angel of Death.

272 al-Shāfiᶜī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 100,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 100,000 angels.

273 al-Bayhaqī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 70,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 70,000 angels.

274 Ṣadluqan

274 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Ṣadluqān is an angel; his toe is a ninth of the size of the seas.

275 – 276 Riyāfīl

275 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Riyāfīl was the angel that accompanied Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn; he tells Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn how the angels worship God in heaven.

276 Ibn Abī Ḥatim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn asks Riyāfīl about the Water of Life.

277 – 278 Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn

277 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

278 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

279 Dhū ‘l-Nurayn

279 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Dhū ‘l-Nurayn was an angel.

280 – 294 The Cockerel

280 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven in the form of Cockerel; when the Cockerel praises God in heaven, the earthly cockerels reply.

281 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel is underneath the Throne; its claws are made of pearls, and its spurs are made of green chrysolite; it causes the cockerels to crow at dawn.

282 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

283 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Ḥākim
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

284 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth, its head is under the Throne and its wings are in the air.

285 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel in the lowest heaven; its chest is made of gold, its stomach is made of silver, and its legs are made of sapphires, its claws are made of emeralds, and its claws are under the lowest earth. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its neck is under the Throne and its crest is made of light, protecting the space between the Throne and the Seat; it flutters his wings every night, three times.

286 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel; its two wings are ornamented with chrysolite, pearls and sapphires. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its feet are on the lowest earth and its head is under the throne. It causes the cockerels to crow at dawn. On the Day of Resurrection it will be told to stop beating its wings.

287 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

288 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Cockerels reply to the angels and praise God.

289 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
When the angel says ‘Praise the Holy One’, the cockerels on earth flap their wings.

290 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A cockerel crowed in the presence of Solomon and he told people that it was praising God.

291 al-Ṭabarānī
God has a Cockerel under the Throne; its wings are in the air and its claws are on the earth; when it is dawn, and it is the time of the call to prayer, it flaps its wings and the cockerels praise God.

292 Ibn ᶜAddī and al-Bayhaqī
The Cockerel’s feet are on the extremities of the Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

293 Ibn ᶜAddī
God has a Cockerel; its claws are on the lowest earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out when it is the time for the ritual prayers; the cockerel calls out to the heavens: ‘Exalt! Exalt!’ Then the Cockerel of the heavens and the cockerels of the earth call out.

294 al-Daylamī
The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel; its feet are on the boundaries of the lowest [earth] and its neck is under the throne; its wings are in the East and the West; when that angel worships God, there does not remain anything except the praise of God.

298 – 299 The Angel of the Mountains

298 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl ibn ᶜAbd Kalāl was approached by Muḥammad to enter into a treaty, but he refused. At Qarn al-Thaᶜālib Muḥammad looked to heaven and saw Gabriel. Gabriel tells him that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains asks Muḥammad if he would like him to cause the mountains to fall up Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl and his people. Muḥammad says no, but asks that their children may become Muslims.

299 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Gabriel informs Muḥammad that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains tells Muḥammad that he can do anything he wants. Muḥammad says that he does not want anything, other than for people to profess *tawḥīd*. The Angel tells Muḥammad that he is very merciful.

300 Ramyā'il

300 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the believers are handed over to Ramyā'īl.

301 Dūma

301 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the unbelievers are handed over to Dūma.

302 – 311 The Tempters of the Grave

302 al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, al-Ājurrī and al-Bayhaqī
An account of the events in the grave.

303 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

304 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of human interaction with angels, including references to: The Angel of the Womb, the angel that accompanies an individual until puberty, The Noble Watching Scribes and the Angels of the Grave (unnamed).

305 al-Bayhaqī
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

306 al-Ṭabarānī
The names of the two angels who come to the grave are Munkar and Nakīr.

307 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

308 Juwaybir
An account of what happens at the moment of death and the questions asked by the angels in the grave.

309 Abū Nuᶜaym
There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.

310 Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān
There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.

311 Ibn al-Najjār
The angels of the daytime are kinder than the angels of the night.

312 – 406 The Noble Watching Scribes

312 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right, the angel of bad deeds is on the left. If the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet. There are two angels responsible for the man at night and another two responsible for him during the day; a fifth angel is with the man continuously.

313 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 6:60.

314 Ibn Abī Zamanīn
There are four scribes: two for the night and two for the day; they come together at the dawn prayers.

315 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Ḥibbān
Angels follow people at night and day and they come together at the dawn prayers.

316 Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

316b[1] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

317 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

318 [Ibn Jarīr][2] and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels alternate between day and night.

319 [Ibn Jarīr] and Ibn al-Mundhir[3]
An exegesis of Q 13:11 & 50:17; if the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; the angel on the right, writes things down without the approval of the angel on the left, but the angel on the left has to seek approval from the angel on the right. if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet.

320 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the Scribes are ordered by God to do what they do.

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[1] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, ll. 12 – 14.
[2] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, l. 14.
[3] The Leiden MS combines §318 & 319 (fol. 205v, l. 15); the DKI edition also omits *akhraja*, so this ḥadīth appears to be a continuation of §318.

321 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 50:17; there are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right; the angel of bad deeds is on the left.

322 al-Daylamī
The two angels sit on the teeth, and the person's tongue is their pen and his spit their ink.

323 Abū Nuᶜaym
The name of the Scribe of Misdeeds is Qaᶜīd.

324 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the scribe writes down everything that a person talks about; but on Thursday, the scribe notes down both what the individual says and does.

325 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Ḥākim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel only writes down deeds and sins, it does not write down mundane things.

326 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angel of good deeds only writes down actions that reward and strengthen his companion.

327 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The scribe of good deeds is on the right and the scribe of bad deeds is on the left. When an individual does a good deed, the angel writes it down ten times; when an individual does a bad action, the angel of good deeds tells the angel of bad deeds to hold off writing it against the individual until Thursday, in case the person repents.

328 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Once a man was riding a donkey and it stumbled and the man said: 'I have stumbled'; the angel of bad deeds said that it was a bad action and the angel of good deeds thought that it was a good action; the angel of bad deeds was called away, but the angel of good deeds remained and wrote it down.

329 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

330 al-Khaṭṭīb
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

331 Ibn Jarīr
There are two scribes at night and two during the day.

332 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The human's tongue is the angel's pen and his spit his ink.

333 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel on the right writes down good deeds and the one on the left, bad deeds.

334 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for three hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

335 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

336 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
Good actions are written down ten times, but bad actions are only recorded once; if an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six or seven hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

337 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a person dies, the angels remain with the individual in the grave, in case the person seeks forgiveness.

338 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and al-Ḥākim
The first to know of an individual's death are the scribes, as they descend every day with the individual's *rizq*; when it is not given, they know that the person will die.

339 Ibn Mardawayh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn*.

340 al-Ṭabarānī
At the end of the day, the angel looks at the devil's book; if the angel finds any good actions recorded in the devil's book, the angel wipes it out and records it as a good action ten times. When individuals go to sleep they should say 33 *takbīrs*, 34 *taḥmīds* and 33 *tasbīḥs*.

341 Aḥmad
A man said 'Praise be to God' many times and the angel noted it down and magnified them.

342 ᶜAbd Allāh and al-Dīnawarī
The angels take their records up to heaven after the evening prayers.

343 Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn* and the angel of good deeds leaves his records in *ᶜIlliyun*.

344 al-Daylamī
God told the scribes not to record anything while an individual is angry.

345 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds departs from an individual when he is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

346 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunya and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

347 Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

348 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning how the angels write down their records.

349 al-Tirmidhī
When a servant tells a lie, the angel is separated from him by a mile form the stench which comes from him.

350 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

351 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

352 al-Ḥākim
When a person is ill, God reveals to the Scribes: ʻI have bound my servant in some of my chains. If I take him, I will forgive him; if I keep him alive, during the time of his illness I will stop his sin being recorded.ʼ

353 al-Ṭabarānī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

354 Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dāraquṭnī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

355 Aḥmad and al-Bukhārī
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him, for that is the direction of God; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

356 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Individuals should keep their sandals on their feet or place them in front of them; there is an angel on their right and there is their brother's angel on their left.

357 Ibn Abī Shayba
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

358 Ibn Abī Shayba
The Prophet saw spit on the *qibla*, and he reproached the people and told them not to spit in front of them, or to their right.

359 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones causes pain to an angel.

360 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A man is told to spit on his left, not on his right.

361 Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones during prayer is a habit from the Devil.

362 Ibn Mājah and al-Ṭabarānī
A man says a prayer and the scribes seek confirmation from God whether it is a good or bad action.

363 al-Bazzār
The Scribes record all actions.

364 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity and if there are any children present when an adult reveals him or herself, the child could be taken by a devil.

365 al-Bayhaqī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity.

366 al-Bayhaqī
Angels remain with individuals constantly, except when two people have sexual intercourse.

367 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels stay away from two things: human excrement and sexual intercourse.

368 al-Bazzār
Angels get embarrassed by nudity; angels stay away from three things: human excrement, those in *janāba* and those that need a major ritual ablution (*ghusl*).

369 Ibn Mardawayh
A man is praised for performing *tayammum*; angels stay away from an individual in two cases: when he is on the toilet and when he is with his wife; a person should conceal himself behind a wall or a camel.

370 al-Dīnawarī
If a man finishes the Qur'ān, the angel kisses him between the eyes.

371 Ibn Abī Shayba
Whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel has turned away from him.

372 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels never look when you reveal yourself.

373 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.

374 al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

375 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

376 al-Ḥākim
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

377 Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

378 al-Dāraquṭnī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

379 Ibn al-Jawzī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

380 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

381 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

382 Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a servant repents, God makes the Scribes forget his sin.

383 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Sammūya and al-Ṭabarānī
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

384 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

385 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should clean their teeth, as they are the seats of the Scribes; there is nothing more harmful to them than a remnant of food.

386 al-Shīrāzī
Whoever takes a bath uncovered, the two angels curse him.

387 al-Dīnawarī
When an individual thinks about doing a good action, it is written down once; when the individual does it, it is written down ten times; when a servant thinks of doing a bad action, it is not written down, but is written down once, when he does it. The angels know about an individual's intentions by smell.

388 al-Dīnawarī
Every person has five angels: one on the left, one on the right, on in front and one behind and one above him.

389 al-Dīnawarī
An exegesis of Q 50:18; the angels are between a person's two canines.

389b Aḥmad
A person does not speak good things, without the angels saying much of it.

390 al-Daylamī
Believers should refrain from kneeling down after sunset as it is painful for the two angels.

391 Ibn Jarīr
There is an angel on the right, which is responsible for good deeds and which has authority over the angel on the left. If a person does a good action, it is recorded ten times; when a person does a bad action, the angel asks the one of the right if it can write the action down; the angels on the right says, 'No' as the person may seek forgiveness. The angel on the left asks the angel on the right three times, after which the angel on the right tells the angel on the left to write it down.

An exegesis of Q 50:18 & 13:11; there is an angel on a person's forehead; when he bows down, the angel raises him; when the person is proud, the angel beats him. There are two angels on a person's lips and they only record when a person says: 'God bless him and grant him salvation.' There is an angel standing on your mouth which prevents snakes from entering; and

two angels on your eyes. There are ten angels and two sets for the day and the night, making twenty angels in total.

392 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, al-Firyābī, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; when a person dies, the angels leave an individual.

393 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual from *jinn*.

394 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

395 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

396 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

397 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; every individual has two angels during the day and two angels during the night; they guard the individual.

398 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

399 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Abū Ibn Kaᶜb.

400 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

401 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

402 Abū Dā’ūd, Ibn Abū ‘l-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

403 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā
Three hundred and sixty angels are responsible for a believer, which protect him; these include: an angel for sight, seven angels who drive away events which have not been ordained. If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

404 Ibn Jarīr and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

405 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels show people the rewards of the pious and the punishments of the impious, so that they may learn.

406 ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad
A believer and an unbeliever go fishing. The believer says a prayer to God before casting his net, and the unbeliever prays to his gods, before casting his. The unbeliever catches many fish, but the believer does not. Eventually the believer catches a fish, but when he picks it up, it wriggles out of his hand and returns to the sea. The believer's angel complains to God, but God shows the angel the places set for the believer and the unbeliever in heaven, and the angel sees that the believer receives a great reward.

407 – 408 The Angels Responsible for the Leaves of the Trees

407 al-Bayhaqī
Angels write down and record details about leaves as they fall off trees.

408 al-Bayhaqī
An angel helps a Muslim to find his way when he is lost on his way to Mecca.

409 – 410 Sharahīl and Harahīl

409 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Sharahīl is the angel responsible for the night; Harahīl is the angel responsible for the day.

410 al-Ṭabarānī
Unnamed angels are responsible for the coming of the day and the night.

411 – 412 Irtiyā'il

411 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

412 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

413 – 414 The Angel responsible for Cemeteries

413 Ibn Baṭṭa
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

414 al-Daylamī
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

415 – 422 The Angel which bears the Fish and the Rock

415 al-Bazzār, Ibn ᶜAddī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

416 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

417 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

418 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Four angels surround the rock at the bottom of the Earth.

419 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

420 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are four angels responsible for each of the corners of the rock

421 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The distance between each of the earths is 500 years and under the Seventh Earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

422 Ibn Jarīr
Q 68:1; under the earth is a fish; under the fish is a sea; under the sea is an angel; the angel is on a rock; and the rock is on the wind.

423 – 429 The Guardians of the Winds

423 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Ḥākim
The wind is kept in the Second Earth and was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

424 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

425 Abū ʻl-Shaykh, al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

426 al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

427 Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

428 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

429 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

430 – 434 The Angel of the Sun

430 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The noblest angel is the Angel of the Sun and he is the most influential over the Angel of Death.

431 Ibn Abī Shayba
The sun is driven by 360 angels.

432 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh
Seven angels are responsible for the sun.

433 Ibn al-Mundhir
The sun does not rise until 70,000 angels have called out to it.

434 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Two angels are responsible for the sun.

435 The Angel of the Shade

435 Ibn Jarīr
Abraham was protected by the Angel of the Shade when he was thrown into the Fire of Nimrod.

436 – 443 The Angel of the Womb

436 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
One angel is responsible for the sperm, another for the clot and another for the embryo; God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male or female, and the individual's *rizq* and *ajal*.

437 Aḥmad
After 40 days and angel comes to womb and writes down whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male of female, short or tall; and the individual's *rizq*, health and *ajal*.

438 al-Bazzār, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Dāraquṭnī
God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched and male or female.

439 Muslim
After 42 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *rizq*.

440 al-Ṭabarānī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

441 al-Bāwardī
After 72 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

442 ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be wretched or happy.

443 Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of embryogenesis.

444 The Angel of the Foetus

444 Abū 'l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the foetus; when the mother lies down, the angel raises the foetus' head so that it does not drown in blood.

445 – 447 The Angel responsible for the Blessing of the Prophet

445 al-Ṭabarānī
If a Muslim blesses the Prophet, God blesses him with a blessing that is worth ten good deeds and which cancels out ten bad deeds.

446 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Baghawī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless the individual tenfold.

447 al-Ṭabarānī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless him tenfold; whenever anyone wishes the Prophet peace, the angels wish the individual peace tenfold.

448 The Angels which Creates Jewellery for the People in the Garden

448 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
God has an angel that makes jewellery for the inhabitants of paradise.

449 – 457 The Angel of the Prophet's Prayer

449 al-ᶜUqaylī, al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

450 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

451 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

452 al-Khaṭṭīb
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

453 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

454 al-Daylamī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

455 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

456 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him and extra blessings are granted for those that do so on Friday and Friday nights.

457 Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī

God has angels that tell the Prophet of the peace of the community.

458 – 460 The Angel of the Yemeni Corner

458 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

459 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

460 al-Jindī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

461 The Angel responsible for the Stoning Pillars of Minā

461 al-Azraqī
An angel is responsible for the *jimār*.

462 – 465 The Angel responsible for the Qur'ān

462 Al-Ḥākim
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

463 Abū Saᶜīd al-Salmān
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

464 al-Daylamī
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

465 al-Khaṭīb
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

466 The Angel Responsible for saying 'The Most Merciful…'

466 al-Ḥākim
An angel blesses and grants the requests of those that say: 'The Most Merciful of those that Merciful' three times.

467 – 470 The Angel responsible for the prayer of those hidden

467 Ibn Saᶜd
Two angels are responsible for dealing with prayers for the deceased.

468 Ibn Abī Shayba, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Mājah
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

469 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

470 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

471 The Angel responsible for Crying

471 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A human does not cry until an angel rubs the individual's liver with his wing.

472 The Angels responsible for Faith, Life and other things

472 al-Dinawārī
After the scattering of the people of Babel, a number of angels disperse to different areas of the world.

473 The Angel responsible for Livelihoods

473 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
Angels are responsible for giving sustenance to humans.

474 The Angel responsible for Ritual Prayer

474 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī
God has an angel that calls out to humans at the times of the ritual prayers.

475 – 477 The Angel responsible for funerary rites

475 al-Rāfiᶜī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

476 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels walk with funerary processions.

477 al-Bayhaqī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

478 – 484 The Angel that delights Ḥasan and Ḥusayn

478 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

479 Ibn Manda
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

480 Ibn Mandah, Abū Nuᶜaym and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

481 Aḥmad
If an angel comes down to earth, it has never been down to earth before.

482 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

483 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

484 al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

485 The Angel responsible for the plants

485 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Angels are responsible for plants; the distance between the ankles and shoulders of the Bearers of the Throne is a distance of 500 years.

486 – 487 The Angel responsible for the Sea

486 Aḥmad and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the sea; when it puts its foot into the sea, the sea rises and when it lifts it out, the sea falls; this is the ebb and flow of the sea.

487 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An angel is responsible for the sea; if it did not hold it back, it would flood the earth.

488 – 489 The Angel responsible for the Noble Tomb

488 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Angels visit the Tomb of the Prophet.

489 Al-Azraqī
70,000 angels pray in the *Bayt al-maᶜmūr*, then they circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

490 – 491 The Cherubim

490 Ibn ᶜAsākir
On the cherubim; the distance between their collar bone and their earlobes is a distance of 500 years.

491 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The Spirit is under the wings of the Cherubim, who carry the Throne.

492 The Spirits

492 al-Bayhaqī
The spirits are in the Seventh Heaven; on the Night of Power they descend to Earth and pray for all those who are praying in the mosque.

493 – 545 On the Characteristics of the Angels

493 al-Ṭabarānī
An unnamed angel can devour the world in one bite.

494 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The distance between an unnamed angel's shoulder and ear is a distance of 100 years.

495 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of light and snow.

496 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

497 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

498 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel with 360 heads.

499 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel, which has a vast number of eyes and tongues which praise God. The Bearers of the Throne have horns, and the distance between the horns and their heads is 500 years.

500 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are 70,000 angels standing in ranks.

501 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerns eight angels which praise God.

502 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The Prophet saw an angel that was the same size as the Kaᶜba.

503 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels watch and comment on the behaviour of humans.

504 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the angel at the gate of Heaven.

505 Abū Ya’lā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

506 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

507 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel says ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

508 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nuᶜaym
Concerning the judgement of humans.

509 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and al-Ḥākim
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

510 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

511 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Throne is made of rubies; angels have 70,000 wings

512 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels accompany cavalry detachments, except groups in which the horses are adorned with bells.

513 Ibn Lāl
Concerning the creation of the angels.

514 al-Daylamī
God has made angels responsible for the *ḥaram*.

515 al-Daylamī
Angels talk about what humans say.

516 al-Daylamī
Angels cry out every night: ‘Sons of the forty seeds, the time for harvest is approaching.’

517 al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

518 al-ᶜUqaylī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn Mardawayh
Gabriel enters a river of paradise and from the drops of rain, angels are created. The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

519 al-Ṭabarāni and Ibn Mardawayh
Concerning the *miᶜrāj*; Muhammad is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in the Seventh Heaven; he is told that 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

520 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

521 al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

522 al-Jindī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

523 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Jindī
Adam is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and told to build the Kaᶜba in the same form.

524 Ibn Jarīr
The Kaᶜba is built in the place where Adam descended to earth and it is in the same form as the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

525 al-ᶜAzraqī
When Adam feared Satan, he sought help from God and God sent angels to protect him in the Kaᶜba and made it a sacred site.

526 Hannād al-Sārī
There are two angels in heaven who comment on hypocrisy and greed.

527 Ibn Mājah
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

528 al-Ṭabarānī
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

529 Ibn Jarīr, Abū Yaᶜlā, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Badr, Gabriel came down with 1000 angels on the Prophet's right hand side, and Michael and Isrāfīl came down with 1000 angels each on the Prophet's left hand side.

530 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels have not died, except at the Battle of Badr.

531 al-Ṭabarānī
A detachment of angels came down to Earth at the Battle of Badr, wearing white turbans; at the Battle of Ḥunayn they wore red turbans; the angels have not been hit on any day other than the Battle of Badr.

532 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels killed at Badr by hitting people on their necks.

533 al-Ṭabarānī
The detachment of angels wore black turbans at the Battle of Badr and red turbans at the Battle of Ḥunayn.

534 Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans at the Battle of Badr.

535 Ibn Abī Shayba and Ibn Jarīr
The angels were the first rank at the Battle of Badr.

536 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

537 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Q 3:125; The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

538 Aḥmad and Muslim
A Muslim became harassed by a polytheist and then he heard the cracking of a whip behind him, and the sound of horse and the polytheist was struck by the whip and went green. The Prophet told him it was from the auxiliaries in the Third Heaven.

539 Abū Nuᶜaym al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Ḥunayn someone saw a man in white.

540 al-Wāḥidī and al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad asks Gabriel about the angels at the Battle of Badr.

541 Abū Nuᶜaym
A vision concerning Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

542 al-Ḥākim
The Prophet has a dream about a black sheep; Abū Bakr interprets the vision

543 Ibn Saᶜd
The Prophet has a vision in which he sees Ḥanẓala ibn Abī ᶜĀmīr being washed by angels.

544 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Prophet sees a vision of an angel standing on earth, with one foot on the ground and the other on top of the sky.

545 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The space between an angel’s earlobe and collarbone is a distance of 7000 years.

546 – 681 General Traditions About Angels

546 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels are created and do not have hearts.

547 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Q 21:20; angels were created to glorify God.

548 al-Bukhārī
Angels were created to be God’s servants.

549 Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
Q 21:20; angels were created to serve and worship God.

550 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A prayer of the angels.

551 al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating.

552 Aḥmad
Devils are warded off with the words ‘What God wills’.

553 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of the angels.

554 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels worship God in heaven during the night.

555 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God does not talk to the angels.

556 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The decrees of God pass through the heavens.

557 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Waḥy sounds like ringing to the angels and when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

558 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
The decrees of God pass through the heavens and *waḥy* sounds like ringing to the angels; when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

559 Abū Nuᶜaym
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

560 al-Khaṭṭīb and al-Daylamī
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

561 Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
ᶜUmar wished to punish a hypocrite, who performed the ritual prayers sitting down.

562 Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Ḥakīm and al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating; an angelic prayer.

563 Abū ‘l-Shaykh.
Angelic prayers.

564 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angelic prayers.

565 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A description of each of the Seven Heavens and the forms of the angels.

566 al-Shāfiᶜī
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

567 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

568 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

569 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

570 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

571 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

572 Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜĀmir
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

573 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

574 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels dislike those who rested on the *qibla* after two prostrations during the dawn prayers.

575 al-Daylamī
God made the acceptance of *tawḥīd* incumbent on humans and angels.

576 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for humans for as long as they are prostrating.

577 Abū ᶜUbayd
ᶜUmar recited *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and said that it was the prayer that the angels said during the night.

578 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

579 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray during the night.

580 al-Daylamī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

581 al-Rāfiᶜī
A description of an unnamed angel with 1000 heads, each head with a 1000 faces (*etc*.)

582 Mālik, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

583 Mālik, Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

584 Ibn Mājah
A house with idols and dogs is not entered by angels.

585 al-Baghawī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym.
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells.

586 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells or a dog.

587 Aḥmad
Angels do not accompany riding beasts with bells or go into houses with bells.

588 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

589 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

590 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

591 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

592 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* or anointed with *khāluq* in it.

593 Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not attend the funerals of unbelievers, or those anointed with saffron or who are ritually impure.

594 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel does not come near a group that has severed the bonds of kinship.

595 Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* in it, or if there is a dog or idols in it.

596 al-Nasā'ī
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

597 Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

598 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for individuals for as long as their tables are set.

599 al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Bayhaqī
Angels do not go near someone who has eaten garlic, onion or leek.

600 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are hurt by whatever hurts humans.

601 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
A person is told to wash the head of someone who has died with water and to sprinkle his bed with water.

602 Ibn Mandah
A man says a prayer before going to bed.

603 al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
An angelic prayer.

604 Aḥmad
The angels are proud of pious men.

605 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

606 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels come to Damascus on Friday nights and pray for the sick.

607 al-Bayhaqī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

608 al-Daylamī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

609 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

610 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a specific prayer of supplication is used, 70,000 angels pray for the believer to be forgiven.

611 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Kharā’iṭī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

612 Ibn Ṣaṣarī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

613 Ibn Mājah
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

614 al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

615 al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

616 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

617 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

618 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

619 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The first rank is like a rank of angels

620 Muslim
The ranks of angels are crammed tight, one after the other.

621 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels bless those who wear turbans on Fridays.

622 al-Ṭayālisī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

623 al-Bayhaqī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

624 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels do not see any human entertainment except for betting and fighting.

625 al-Daylamī
The angels wear the *izār* when they are in the presence of God.

626 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angels were wearing turbans at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn.

627 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels wear turbans.

628 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels wear turbans.

629 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of horses.

630 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans and rode black and white horses at the Battle of Badr.

631 al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

632 Mālik and al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

634 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn al-Sunnī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

635 al-Bayhaqī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

636 al-Bukhārī
The angels come down to Earth in the clouds.

637 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels give people wisdom.

638 al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī
Angels give people wisdom.

639 Abū ‘l-Fatḥ al-Azdī
God listened to the prayers of Moses.

640 al-Kharā’iṭī
On the right hand side of the Throne is someone who calls out to the Seven Heavens.

641 Abū Nuᶜaym
If God loves a servant, He casts His love into the hearts of His angels; if God hates a servant, He casts His hate into the hearts of the angels.

642 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels bless the child of a slave-girl.

643 al-Ṭabarānī
When a daughter is born to a man, the angels bless the family and cover her in their wings.

644 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, Abū Yaᶜlā', Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim
When someone goes to bed, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his last action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his last action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the night. The same happens when the individual wakes in the morning.

645 Abū 'l-Shaykh
When someone wakes up in the morning, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his first action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his first action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the day.

646 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

647 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

648 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

649 al-Bayhaqī
A man should not engage in trade or military leadership until he is able to do so.

650 al-Bayhaqī
When God hates a servant, God sends an angel to the individual to surround him with luxury.

651 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bayhaqī
God puts believers to the test.

652 Ibn ᶜAddī
The angels rejoice in believers who dye their hair green (i.e. with henna)

653 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
A devil comes to a man in human form and befriends him. An angel also comes to him in human form and befriends him. The devil recognises that the angel is an angel, but the man does not. The angel then kills the devil. The man and the angel then receive hospitality and the angel steals a silver bowl. The man says that he can not be a friend of someone who commits murder and steals. The angel then explains to the man that the other 'human' was a devil who wanted to kill him.

654 al-Bayhaqī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

655 al-Bayhaqī
The angels do not have names in heaven.

656 al-Ṭabarānī
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

657 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

658 al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Angels are ashamed of nudity.

659 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels bear witness to God in heaven.

660 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels led Solomon to making the correct legal judgments.

661 Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah
There is no servant that prays for the Prophet, without the angels praying for him.

662 al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

663 Aḥmad
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

664 Ibn Mājah
The Prophet tells someone about the Gates of Heaven.

665 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels are proud of the Muslims during Ramaḍān.

666 Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Muḥammad berates a group for sitting down whilst praising God and tells them that Gabriel boasts about the Muslims in heaven.

667 al-Bazzār, Ibn Jarīr and al-Bayhaqī
On the Day of Resurrection, God will boast to his angels about his creations.

668 al-Daylamī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

669 Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

670 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God boats about humans to the angels.

671 Ibn ᶜAddī, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans and those that circumambulate the Kaᶜba to the angels.

672 al-Khaṭṭīb
God boasts about humans and those that fight in His path to the angels; the angels pray for a human as he fights in God's path.

673 Aḥmad
When a servant sleeps whilst prostrating, God boasts about him to the angels.

674 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Gabriel comes down to Earth with a troop of angels who pray for all those who are praying and remembering God. When it is ᶜĪd, God boasts about them to the angels.

675 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Riḍwān opens the Gates of Heaven and Mālik shuts the gates of Hell. Gabriel comes down to earth with a troop of angels and places a green flag on top of the Kaᶜba. Gabirel has 600 wings.

676 al-Bayahqī
The angels bless those who are performing the pilgrimage and embrace those who make the journey on foot.

677 Aḥmad
Angels curse people who make a sign to their brother with an iron object.

678 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels were created on Wednesday, the jinn were created on Thursday and Adam was created on Friday.

679 Ibn Jarīr
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

680 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

681 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When the Earth was created, it was spread out from the Kaᶜba and the angels were the first to circumambulate it.

682 – 744 On the Circumambulation of the Holy House

682 al-Jindī
God sent an angel to circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

683 al-Jindī
Adam is told by the angels that they had been circumambulating the Kaᶜba for 2000 years.

684 al-Azraqī
Concerning the creation of Adam, the protestation of the angels and the building of the Kaᶜba and the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

685 al-Azraqī
There are fifteen houses of God, one in each of the seven heavens and earths and God's house. They are all directly above each other.

686 al-Azraqī
Angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

687 al-Azraqī
Adam is told to worship God in the Kaᶜba, just as the angels worship God in the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

688 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

689 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

690 al-Azraqī
Muḥammad sees Gabriel wearing a green headband, which is covered by dust. Gabriel tells him that he has been prostrating at the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and the beating of the angels' wings beat dust into the air.

691 Ibn Mājah
Angels curse those who sell faulty goods.

692 Abū Nuᶜaym
Angels are with those who finish reciting the Qur'ān.

693 Ibn al-Sunnī
The angels curse those who pray in a name other than their own.

694 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels curse those who give religious rulings, whilst knowing that a different ruling is the correct one.

695 al-Dāraquṭnī
No place of prayer is without an angel: one on the left and one of the right of the person praying.

696 Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn ibn Bashrān and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel teaches the Qur’ān to whoever had intended to learnt it by heart, but who died before being able to do so.

697 Abū Yaᶜlā
Concerning ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAffān.

698 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
Angels are with anyone who recites the Qur’ān in the Kaᶜba

699 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
Eighty angels were sent down with the *Sura of the Cow*.

700 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Mardawayh
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

701 al-Ḥakīm [al-Tirmidhī] and al-Bayhaqī
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

702 Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī
God’s commands pass through the heavens and the jinn hear, but do not pay heed them

703 al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
God’s commands pass through the heavens.

704 Muslim
Two angels receive the soul of the deceased.

705 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A vision of an angel.

706 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels do not listen to humans, except with the permission of God.

707 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
The houses of believers light up for the angels.

708 al-Bayhaqī
Houses in which the Qur’ān is being recited look like stars to the angels.

709 Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī
God came to Muḥammad in the most beautiful form.

710 al-Ṭabarānī
There is no house in a city without an angel standing over the lintel with its sword unsheathed to prevent the Anti-Christ entering the house.

711 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
When a woman makes the midday-bed of her husband, angels help her.

712 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
When someone is in the presence of the deceased, the angels say 'Amen' to whatever prayers are said.

713 al-Daylamī
If someone finishes the Qur'ān, 60,000 angels pray for him.

714 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Cockerels crow when they see angels; donkeys bray when they see a devil.

715 al-Bazzār
Angels curse a Muslim who unsheathes his sword against another Muslim.

716 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for people performing the ritual prayers for the length of time that they remain praying.

717 al-Khaṭṭīb
Angels are present at the ritual prayers.

718 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for someone who is fasting who comes into the presence of food.

719 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

720 Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

721 Aḥmad, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

722 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

723 al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, al-Bāwardī and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels call out to Muslims on the Day of *Fiṭr*.

724 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels rejoice at the passing of winter.

725 al-Shīrāzī
The angels prayed for Adam.

726 al-Dāraquṭnī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Gabriel and the angels prayed for Adam (on the day of the prostration to Adam) and Gabriel then understood the significance of Adam's role as God's *khalīf*.

727 al-Daylamī
Concerning the events of the Day of Resurrection.

728 Ibn Mājah
Angels pray for those who attend the Friday prayers.

729 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

730 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

731 Ibn ᶜAsākir
God has knowledge of the hidden.

732 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer; the Prophet told him that it was an angel.

733 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer.

734 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God's blessings on his creations pass through the heavens.

735 Ibn ᶜAsākir and Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī
A Muslim sees Gabriel, Michael and other angels praying in the Kaᶜba.

736 al-Bayhaqī
During Ramaḍān, the angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

737 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī
The angels greet people on the Night of Power.

738 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn al-Mundhir
During the night, the angels pass over all the believers and pray for them.

739 Ibn al-Mundhir
Angels beat their wings in peace on the Night of Power.

740 Aḥmad
On the Night of Power and other days the angels on the earth are more numerous than the pebbles.

741 al-Daylamī
The angels perform the ritual prayers.

742 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not like a spirit of copper.

743 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 35:1; the angels have two, three or four wings.

744 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels have two to twelve wings and they are feathered. Gabriel has six wings.

Appendix G

Images of Angels in Islamic Art

Angels in Islamic Art

Six images from Islamic Art have been included below, simply to give an idea of the standard forms of angelic iconography.

Miᶜrājnāma [BNF Turc 190 fol unknown]
This is one of only a few images that show the huge size of the angel Gabriel. This image is taken from an account of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) and he is seated on Burāq.

Source: Colby, Frederick S., *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muḥammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006).

Album [TSMK Hazine 2154] fol. 61v
A picture of the angel, *al-Dīk*, one of the few purely zoomorphic angels; here the image is simply that of a cockerel. In the ḥadīth, *al-Dīk* is given more angelic attributes. One of these attributes is the cockerel's great size, which can be seen to some degree in this image, as it is a twice the size of Muḥammad. The cockerel is also associated with precious stones, which cannot be seen in this image.

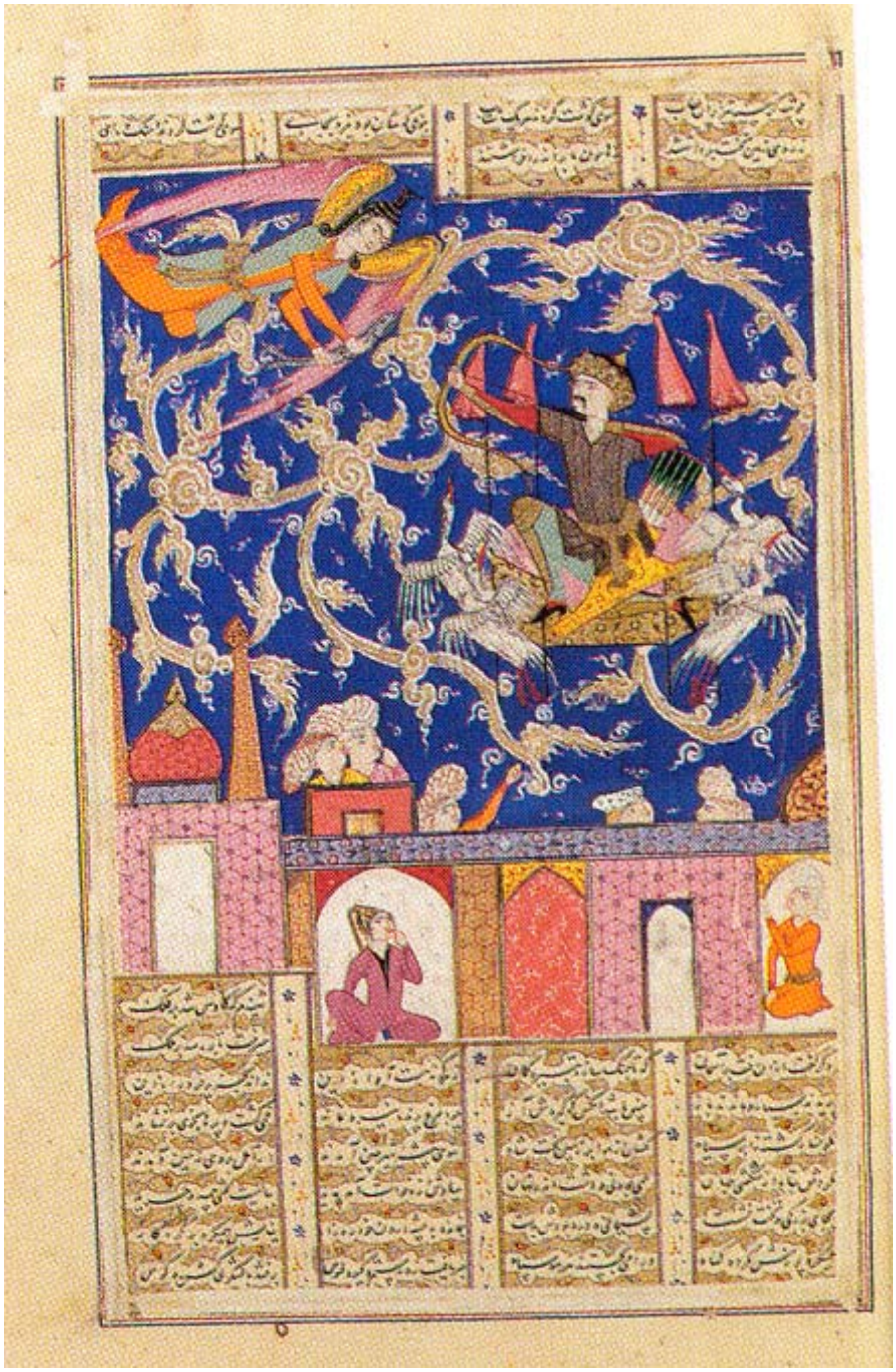
Source: Ettinghausen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen (ed. Myriam Rosen-Alayon), *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267; fig. (i), p. 247.

Al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib al-makhluqāt* [British Library Or. 47011 fol 38r]

There are a number of illustrated manuscripts of al-Qazwīnī's *Kitāb ᶜajā'ib al-makhluqāt*, which have a similar form for the angels. It is often difficult to distinguish between different angels and often the only means to tell the angels apart is by their place in the Arabic text.[1]

Source: Jones, Dalu *et. al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Islam: Haywood Gallery 8th April – 4th July 1976* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), p. 347

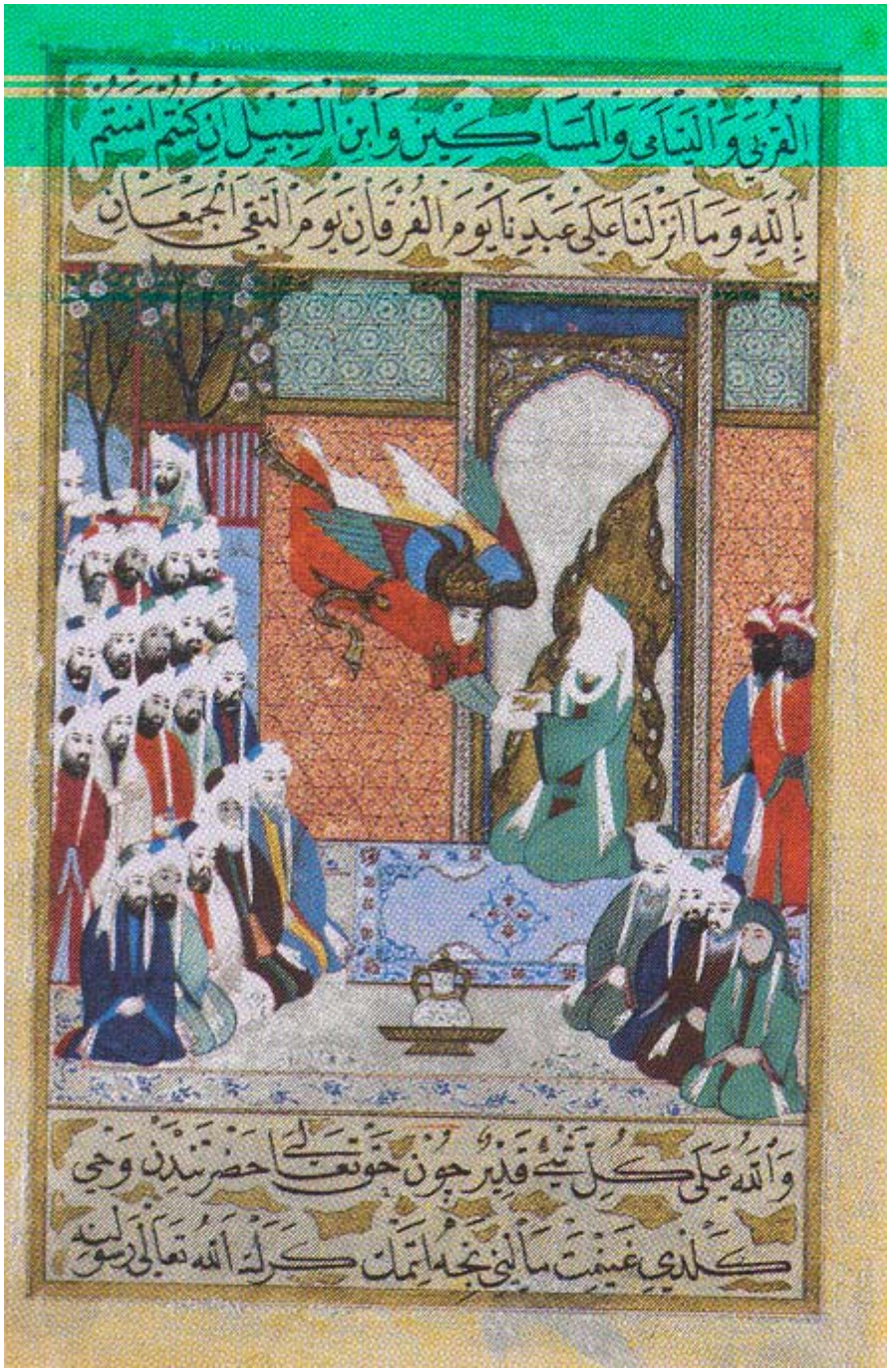
[1] For a discussion of these images, see Baidee, Julie A. D., *An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī* (PhD. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1978).



Shāhnāma [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Persan 490 fol 62r]

Persian images of angels tend to have more slender wings, as in this miniature. The angels are often depicted with their hair worn up, ornamented with pearls. Although Gabriel's hair is said to look 'like white pearls' (e.g. §50), there are no ḥadīth that actually suggest that the angels' hair were adorned with them. This is likely to be a reflection of contemporary dress.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, Marthe, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam: Paris, musée du Louvre 23 avril – 23 juillet, 2001* (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Naionaux, 2001) p. 206.



Siyar-i Nabi [Louvre MAO 149] loose leaf

This image depicts Gabriel revealing Sura 8. Angels are often exactly the same size as the humans in the miniature, as can be seen here (as well as some of the images included in this small selection). This image also shows the angel with four wings, this is quite rare as angels are usually given two wings in Islamic art.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux*, p. 284.

Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* [EUL Arabic MS 20 fol 22r]

Angels are very rarely depicted in a completely anthropomorphic form, this is one of only a few examples (another good example is from a *Siyār-i Nabī* [TSMK Hazine 1222 fol. 155r]).[2] The image follows the description of *al-Rūḥ* (identified with Gabriel) coming to Mary as a *basharan sawīyan*; cf. Q 19:17.

Source: Rice, David Talbot, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976) p. 85.

[2] See: Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press), p. 246 and Ipşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam*, p. 142.

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[1] Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs from his father.

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Intermediaries

Some of the ḥadīth include transmission through a limited *isnād*, frequently with the words '*min ṭarīq*...'; these individuals are listed below:

83	ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna
95	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥarīth
34	Abū 'l-Malīḥ
183	Abū Qabīl
24	ᶜĀdī ibn Arṭā
48, 213	ᶜAṭā'
234	al-Azraq ibn Qays
200	Bakr ibn Maḍr
237	al-Ḍaḥḥāk
119	al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj
210	Ibn Abī Talḥā
49	Isḥāq al-Hāshimī
237	Isḥāq ibn Bashar
119	Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
237	Juwaybir
23	Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-Aᶜīs
102	Khālid
102	al-Layth
119	Muḥammad (father of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad)
18, 221, 222	Mujāhid
200	Qutayba
200	Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh
83	al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī
108, 190	Al-Suddī
62	Thābit
24	ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr
234	Unknown (man from Banū Tammīm)

Authorities Mentioned in Full Isnāds (§68, 84 & 171)

(The authorities have been left in the same order as they appear in the *isnād*.)

68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yusūf al-Iṣfahānī
68 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī
68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmā al-Anṣārī
68 Abū ‘l-Faḍl
68 ᶜĀsim (father of Abū ‘l-Faḍl)
68 al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād

84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb
84 Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir
84 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah
84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī
84 Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāal-Jurjānī
84 Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
84 Aḥmad ibnᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī
84 Al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad
84 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
84 Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
84 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

171 Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf
171 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī
171 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭṭīb
171 Al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā’ Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsitī
171 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī
171 ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī
171 ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ
171 ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī
171 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
171 Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
171 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
171 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

Bibliography

8.1 Abbreviations

8.1.1 Journals, Encyclopaedia and Monographs

AAS	African and Asian Studies
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AELex	Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*
AI	Annales Islamologiques
AJCP	Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Lanugages and Literatures
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
BAEO	Boletín de la Asociacíon Española de Orientalistas
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BHS	Hebrew Bible; *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
CHAL	Cambridge History of Arabic Literature
CHI	Cambirdge History of Iran
CTM	Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane*
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EA	Etudes Asiatiques
EAL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature
ED	Encyclopedia of Death
EdAM	Enciclopedia dell'arte Medievale
EHR	The Economic Historical Review
EI^1	Encyclopaedia of Islam (First Edition)
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)
EI^3	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Third Edition)
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EphThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EQ	Encyclopedia of the Qur'an
ER^2	Encyclopedia of Religion (Second Edition)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
EWIC	Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures
FGA	Freer Gallery of Art
GAS	Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GS	Goldziher (ed. DeSomogyi), *Gesammelte Schriften*
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IA	Islamic Art
IC	Islamic Culture
ICMR	Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJMES	International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IrS	Iranian Studies
IS	Islamic Studies
Isl.	Der Islam
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAIS	Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies
JAL	Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHB	Journal for the History of Biology
JHMAS	Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies
JJRL	Journal of the John Rylands Library
JMMA	Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JQS	Journal of Qur'anic Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Ritual Studies
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
LA	Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-ᶜarab*
ME	Medieval Encounters
MS	Manuscript
MSR	Mamlūk Studies Review
MW	Muslim World
NB	New Blackfriars
NRSV	Bible (New Revised Standard Version)
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OTr	Oral Tradition
OTP	Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*

PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PEW	Philosophy East and West
PP	Past and Present
PT	Poetics Today
QA	Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ [used for al-Thaʾlabī, al-Kisāʾī & al-Rabghūzī]
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chrsitentum
RB	Revue Biblique
RC	Religion Compass
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RP	Revue Philosophique
RZBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
SI	Studia Islamica
TA	Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
TPAPA	Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association
UBS	Greek New Testament; United Bible Society (4th Edition)
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdI	Die Welt des Islams
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

8.1.2 Abbreviations (Ancient Texts)

1 En.	First Enoch (Ethiopic)
1Th.	First Letter to the Thessalonians
2En	Second Enoch (Slavonic)
2Cor	Second Letter to the Corinthians
3Bar	Third Baruch
3En	Third Enoch (Hebrew)
ActsJ	Acts of John
ApAb	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApEl	Apocalypse of Elijah
ApIs	Apocalypse of Isaiah
ApPaul	Apocalypse of Paul
ApZeph	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
BB	Baba Bathra
CantR	Song of Songs (Qohelet) Rabbah
DeutR	Deuteronomy Rabbah
DialSav	Dialogue of the Saviour
Ezk.	Ezekiel
GenR	Genesis Rabbah
GPhil	Gospel of Philip
Ḥag	Ḥagigah
JanJam	Jannes and Jambres
JosAsen	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub.	Book of Jubilees

Ket.	Ketuboth
LadJac	Ladder of Jacob
LAE(V)	Life of Adam and Eve (*Vita*)
LamR	Lamentations Rabbah
Men.	Menahot
MK	Mo'ed Katan
NumR	Numbers Rabbah
Q.	Qur'ān
QuesEzra	Questions of Ezra
San.	Sanḥedrin
Shab.	Shabbat
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Ta'	Ta'anith
Tob.	Tobit
Yom	Yoma

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ANGELS IN ISLAM

A Commentary with Selected Translations of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*)

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2009

A loose-leaf from a MS of al-Qazwīnī's, *ʿAjā'ib fī makhlūqāt* (British Library)
Source: Du Ry, Carel J., *Art of Islam* (New York: Abrams, 1971), p. 188

0.1 Abstract

This thesis presents a commentary with selected translations of Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*). The work is a collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* about angels, followed by a postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological questions regarding their status in Islam.

The first section of this thesis looks at the state of the study of angels in Islam, which has tended to focus on specific issues or narratives. However, there has been little study of the angels in Islamic tradition outside studies of angels in the Qur'an and eschatological literature. This thesis hopes to present some of this more general material about angels.

The following two sections of the thesis present an analysis of the whole work. The first of these two sections looks at the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, focusing on angelic nomenclature and angelic iconography. The second attempts to understand the message of al-Suyūṭī's collection and the work's purpose, through a consideration of the roles of angels in everyday life and ritual. The translation and annotated commentary that follow focus on angels mentioned in the Qur'ān itself: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.

The aim of the thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth*, beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

0.2 Declaration

I declare that I, Stephen Russell Burge, have written this thesis and that the work is my own. The thesis has been submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

S. R. Burge

0.3 Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have helped me enormously during my doctoral studies and whom I wish to thank.

I am very grateful for the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), who have provided me with a Doctoral Studentship throughout my studies, which covered my fees, maintenance and a grant for a research trip. I would not have been able to complete this work without their generous financial support.

Firstly, I would like to thank Prof. Julia Bray, now of the Université de Paris VIII, for introducing me to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. She also encouraged me greatly in my undergraduate studies at the University of St. Andrews.

A number of colleagues and staff in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies have provided me with helpful comments on my work, but I would like to mention especially Dr. Ayman Shihadeh, Jokha Al-Ḥarthī and Samy Ayoub for their comments on my Arabic; Songul Mecit for helping me with my German; Margaret Graves for introducing me to Islamic Art and especially Saeko Yazaki and Alex Mallett who have both been a joy to work with and to know.

Special thanks go to my parents who have been extremely encouraging and supportive throughout my studies. My interest in Arabic and Islam began when we lived in Khartoum in the mid 1980s, but I doubt that they ever anticipated one of their children would be writing a thesis as a result.

I would like, especially, to thank my supervisor, Prof. Carole Hillenbrand OBE, for all her encouragement since we first met in 2003. I hope that she has been as fascinated as I have been by Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the weird and wonderful world of Islamic angelology. She has not only supervised my work, but encouraged me to publish and to develop as an academic, a researcher, a tutor and an individual; for that I am eternally grateful.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife, Laurelin. Our family has doubled since I began my studies and she has been happy to look after two young children on her own, whilst I worked long hours. She has also been willing to listen to me talking about angels in Islam for more than most could stand and has commented on all of my ideas and random thoughts. I could not have completed this thesis without her constant and steadfast support. I also thank, although they do not yet understand, my two children, Christian and Peter, who show me constantly that play is just as important as work.

0.4 Transliteration System

Arabic

The transliteration used in this thesis is a modified version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

Consonants	’, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ᶜ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y
Vowels	ā, a, ī, i, ū, u,
Diphthongs	ay, aw
Feminine Endings	-a / at (in *iḍaāfa*)
Nisba adjectives	iyy
Definite article	al- / ‘l- [‘sun’ letters have not been assimilated]
Enclitics:	bi-‘l-

Case endings are only marked when necessary.

Common English names (such as Michael, Gabriel and Adam) have not been transliterated.

ان الملائكة تبسط أجنحتها لطالب العلم

السيوطي
الحبائك في اخبار الملائك

for

Laurelin, Christian and Peter

with love

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Introduction: Angels in Islam

1. Angels in Islam: Classical Islam and Previous Scholarship

In an article published in *The Muslim World* in 1937, the American missionary Samuel M. Zwemer commented: 'The angelology of Islam is very extensive and has been treated only partially by western scholars, although it holds such an important place in the belief of popular Islam…'[1] There still remains a large gap in the scholarly literature on the role of angels in Islam, with only two early monographs available on the subject.[2] Admittedly, there are a number of studies in areas that include the angels, but none devoted exclusively to them. This is quite surprising as angels are a fundamental part of Islamic belief, as Sachiko Murata notes: 'The Islamic concepts of creation, revelation, prophecy, the events that occur in the world, worship, the spiritual life, death, resurrection, and the central position of man in the cosmos cannot be understood without reference to angels.'[3] In fact, belief in angels is necessary in Islam and their rejection constitutes *kufr*.[4] This strong stance on angels can be seen quite clearly in the Qur'ān, for example: 'Whoever is an enemy to God and His angels and His messengers, Gabriel, and Michael – surely God is an enemy

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[1] Zwemer, Samuel M., 'The Worship of Adam by Angels (With Reference to Hebrews 1.6)'*MW* 27 (1937) pp. 115 – 127, p. 115.

[2] Eickmann, Walther, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* (New York & Leipzig: Verlag Paul Eger, 1908); Eichler, Paul Arno, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran* (Leipzig: Klein, 1928). These are both focused on the Qur'ān rather than than *ḥadīth*; there is also a short, but fairly basic, article on Jewish, Christian and Islamic angelology: Bishop, Eric F. F., 'Angelology in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' *ATR* 46 (1964) pp. 142 – 154.

[3] Murata, Sachiko, 'The Angels' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) pp. 324 – 344, p. 324.

[4] Belief in angels features in many of the credal statements: cf. Al-Ashᶜarī §1 & 24; al-Ṭahāwī §20 & 24; *al-Fiqh al-akbār* II §1; Al-Qayrawānī §28 and al-Nasafī §23; Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Creeds* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) pp. 41, 43, 52 – 54, 62, 72 & 83. In the contemporary world, disbelief in angels is still regarded as leading to *kufr*; for example, it was cited (fairly or unfairly) in the case of Naṣr Abū Zayd; see Najjar, Fauzi M., 'Islamic Fundamentalism and the Intellectuals: The Case of Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd' *BJMES* 27 (2000) pp. 177 – 200, p. 194.

to the unbelievers.'[5] Angels, then, are an integral part of the Islamic worldview and deserve attention.

Despite the lack of a single monograph exploring angels in Islamic thought, it would be inaccurate to suggest that there has been no scholarship on the subject. The roles of the angels in specific mythic events (such as the prostration of the angels to Adam) and their role in the eschatological works (including the *miʿrāj*) have been discussed, albeit not always in much depth. Angels encompass a range of different areas of study: Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* studies, accounts of the *miʿrāj* and Islamic eschatology, notions of popular religion and discussions in systematic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy. Although not the focus of one work, Islamic angels have often been featured in all of these areas of Islamic Studies.

1.1 The Study of Angels in Previous Scholarship

There has been no study on the development of Islamic angelology, but there have been a number of works on the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels. These have focused on two main areas: (i) the Jewish or Christian provenance of particular angels or narratives involving angels and (ii) the development of Islamic angelology and its relation to pre-Islamic religion, both usually relating to the study of the Qur'ān.

[5] Q 2:97; Arberry, A. J., *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 12; cf. Q 2:161, 177, 285 and 4:136; see also Abdel Haleem, M. A. S., 'Qur'an and Hadith' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 19 – 32, p. 27 and Boubakeur, Hamza, *Traité moderne de théologie islamqiue* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1985) pp. 63 - 71.

That the Qur'ān is the principal source for Muslim beliefs about angels is undeniable, but a number of scholars have attempted to analyse and find the origins of specific Qur'ānic narratives. Sometimes the association of angels in Islam, such as Gabriel, with their Jewish or Christian antecedents are quite obvious and were also acknowledged in mediaeval Islamic sources.[6] Western studies of the foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān, particularly Arthur Jeffery's study of 1938,[7] attempted to use these examples of non-Arabic vocabulary to locate the origins of Islam in a particular milieu.[8] Similar source-critical methods were also used in the study of various Qur'ānic pericopes, originally as part of a broader polemic against Islam.[9] More recently, the methodology has been used to understand the shared heritage of Jewish, Christian and Muslim stories, motifs and traditions more broadly.[10] Steven

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[6] Cf. al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍā', *Tāj al-ᶜarūs min jawāhīr al-qāmūs*. (Kuwait: Maṭbaᶜat Ḥukuma al-Kuwayt, 1965 – 2001) vol. 28, pp. 45 – 4; see also Reichmuth, Stefan, 'Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (D. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts. Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century' *WdI* 39 (1999) pp. 64 – 102.

[7] Jeffery, Arthur, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938).

[8] cf. Nöldeke, Theodor with Schwally, Friedrich, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962) pp. 6 – 20; Torrey, C. C., *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933) and Bell, Richard, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1926); prior to these, there were a number of more polemic studies, obvious examples include Geiger, Abraham, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*. (Repr. Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1902); Tisdal, William St. Clair, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân* (London: SPCK, 1905) and Speyer, Heinrich, *Die Biblische Erzählungen im Qoran* (Repr. Hildescheim: Georg Olms, 1988).

[9] These polemic works often attributed 'sources' to the Qur'ān without much analysis. They often made connections between the Qur'ān and Jewish or Christian works simply on account of a similar theme. The establishment of parallels in source criticism was also popular in Old Testament Studies, where links were made between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. For a discussion of the problems of establishing parallels between two different texts, see Sandmel, Samuel, 'Parallelomania' *JBL* 81 (1962) pp. 1 – 13.

[10] E.g. Newby, Gordon D., 'The Drowned Son: Midrash and Midrash Making in the Qur'an and *Tafsīr*' in William M. Brinner & Steven D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 19 – 32; Waldman, Marilyn Robinson, 'New Approaches to "Biblical" Materials in the Qur'ān' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 1, pp. 47 – 64; Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 'Early Muslim Traditionists and their Familiarity with Jewish Sources' *Tafsīr*' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 59; Halperin, David J., *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988) pp. 467 – 476 and Wagtendonk, Kees, 'The Stories of David in al-Thaᶜlabī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā"* in Robert Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: Actes du 8eme Congrès de l'Union*

Wasserstrom's work on the relationship between Islamic tradition and Jewish Pseudepigrapha is the best example of this type of approach in recent times.[11] These studies do not aim, as with the early polemicists, to establish a genetic link between the Qur'ān (as well as *ḥadīth*) and earlier Jewish works, but to explore the intricate relationships between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the early period of Islam.[12]

The secondary literature on narratives involving angels has tended to focus on the Qur'ān and its exegetical literature (including both *tafsīr* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Taking the narrative of the angelic prostration to Adam as an example, it can be seen that some scholars look at the Qur'ānic accounts specifically, [13] whilst others look at the narrative more broadly, but always with the Qur'ānic episode in mind.[14] The earliest articles and studies on this Qur'ānic pericope attempt to find a 'source' for the story.[15] William St. Clair Tisdall comments that the story: '…is doubtless

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Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Aix-en-Provence, 1976 (Aix-en-Provence : Edisud, 1978) pp. 343 – 352.

[11] Wasserstorm, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and Wassertrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'' in Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern (eds.), *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interactions: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 237 - 253.

[12] For example, Brannon Wheeler concludes in his study of Moses in *tafsīr* that early scholars actively used Jewish and Christian material: 'The Muslim exegetical use of the Torah, Gospel, and other non-Quranic sources does not appear to be a confused or haphazard "borrowing" of Jewish and Christian ideas.' Wheeler, Brannon M., *Moses in the Qur'an and Islamic Exegesis* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002) p. 123.

[13] Cf. Seligsohn, M., 'Adam' *EI*[1] vol. 1, p. 127; Zwemer, 'The Worship of Adam by Angels'; Pederson, J. 'Adam' *EI*[2] vol. 1, pp. 176 – 178; MacDonald, D. B., 'Malāʾika' 189; Husayn, Muhammad Kamil, 'Story of Adam' *MW* 54 (1964) pp. 4 – 13; Jung, Leo, 'Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature' *JQR* 15 (1925) pp. 467 – 502; 16 (1926) pp. 45 -88; 171 – 205; 287 – 336; Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Creation and Judgement in the Koran and in Mystico-Poetical Interpretation' from Schimmel & Falatūri (eds.), *We Believe in One God* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979) pp. 148 – 180; Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration (*sujūd*). 1. Arabs and Prostration at the beginning of Islam and in the Qur'an' *SI* 88 (1998) 5 – 34 and Mir, Mustansir, 'Adam in the Qur'an and Islamic Literature' *IC* 62 (1998) pp. 1 – 11.

[14] Cf. Vadet, J.-C., 'La création et l'investiture de l'homme dans le sunnisme ou la légende d'Adam chez al-Kisā'ī'*SI* 42 (1975), pp. 5 – 38, pp. 27-28; Kister, M.J., 'Ādam: A study of some legends in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 113 – 174; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Adam and the Angels: An Examination of Mythic Elements in Islamic Sources' *Arabica* 93 (2001) pp. 5 – 25; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam's creation' *Arabica* 49 (2002) pp. 429 – 455 and Wassertrom, 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha'.

[15] Cf. Seligsohn, 'Adam' p. 127 and Pederson, 'Adam' p. 177.

borrowed from a misapprehension of Heb. i. 6…'[16] More recent studies, however, have tended to treat the material interpretively. For example, M. J. Kister attempts to place the traditional *qiṣaṣ* literature about the prophets in the context of the Qur'ān, arguing that: 'The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ḥawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate.'[17] Likewise, Annemarie Schimmel is less interested in the sources of the narrative, but explores Muslim responses to the story in theology and mysticism.[18] In Sufism, it is Iblīs that becomes an important subject; as Iblīs refused to bow down to something other than God, he comes to be seen, by some, as a kind of proto-Sufi and strict monotheist.[19] Other commentaries have included a contextualisation of the narrative in its Arabian context,[20] thematic analyses and comparative approaches.[21] However there is a tendency in all of these studies to discuss events and characters other than the angels; authors are interested in what the prostration says about Adam and humans more generally (or in the case of Sufism, Iblīs). There has, however, been relatively little work pursued on the role of angels in Islamic tradition more widely.[22]

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[16] Tisdall, *Sources*, p. 196; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen*, pp. 54 – 58 and Katsh, Abraham, *Judaism in Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1954) pp. 32 – 33.
[17] Kister, 'Ādam', p. 115.
[18] Schimmel, 'Creation and Judgement' pp. 159 – 160.
[19] The most notable example is al-Ḥallāj, Abū 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr, *Tawāsīn*; Massignon, Louis (tr. H. Mason), *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr – Vol. 3. The Teaching of Al-Hallāj* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 282 – 326, especially pp. 306 – 316. See also Awn, Peter, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi Psychology* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) for a full discussion of this theme.
[20] Tottoli, 'Attitudes to Prostration'.
[21] E.g. Mir, 'Adam in the Qur'ān' and Chipman, 'Mythic aspects'.
[22] Islamic eschatology will be dealt with below.

The second focus of the secondary literature on the origins and development of angelology in Islam focuses on its relationship with pre-Islamic paganism.[23] The most notable studies have been by Joseph Chelhod, Jacques Waardenburg and Alford T. Welch.[24] These studies relate the development of Qur'ānic angelology to the decline of pre-Islamic paganism, with particular focus on the various verses of the Qur'ān that accuse the Meccans of angel and jinn worship.[25] There are a number of problems with this type of research. The idea that Arabian religion progressed from animism to monotheism, through various other stages (including polydaemonism, polytheism and panentheism) is based on the concept of religious evolutionism.[26] Religious evolutionism has been largely rejected by anthropologists of religion because of the results of anthropological research, as well as its strong imperialist overtones. Both Waardenburg and Welch approach Qur'ānic angelology on evolutionist lines, but their arguments frequently encounter problems. Welch, for example, bases his thesis on the chronological ordering of the verses of the Qur'ān and the historiographical and practical problems associated with this are well known.[27]

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[23] The Egyptologist Wallis Budge also suggests that Islamic angelology may be related to Egyptian polytheism; see Budge, Wallis E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians* (repr. New York: Dover, 1969) vol. 1, p. 6.

[24] Chelhod, Joseph, *Les Structures du Sacré chez les Arabes* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965); Waardenburg, J., 'Changes of Belief in Spiritual Beings, Prophethood and the Rise of Islam' in Hans G. Kippenburg (ed.), *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984) pp. 259 - 290 and Welch, Alford T., 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings: The Emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of *tawḥīd*' *JAAR* 47 (1979) pp. 733 – 758; see also Hawting, G. R., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[25] Cf. Q 34:40; 37:149 – 152; 43:19; 45:43 and 53:21.

[26] Evolutionist views consider societies to be '…in a process of evolution during which they became more complex and more rational and less simple and "primitive"; but some seemed to have got stuck at lower steps of the escalator.' Gellner, David N., 'Anthropological Approaches' in Peter Connolly and Ninian Smart (eds.), *Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999) pp. 10 – 41, p. 10.

[27] Cf. 'It should be obvious from my summary of Nöldeke and Schwally's work that, plausible as their scheme may seem, it is based on very little hard-and-fast evidence. In fact, many of the surahs are

For those who argue from an evolutionist perspective, the Qur'ān uses angels in a larger polemic against polytheism, in which other deities become labelled 'angels' to prove that they have no power or authority. Their use in evolutionist arguments often leads to strange conclusions. For example, Welch states that: 'The angels become little more than symbols and extensions of divine power…'[28] Why is this surprising? This is exactly what angels are and what they are supposed to be. Welch believes that the Battle of Badr (or the changing of the *qibla*) marked a moment in which the angels moved from being conceived as humans to taking invisible forms.[29] Again, this is a misunderstanding of the angelology and the result of an attempt to place Qur'ānic angelology in a developmental scheme. A brief survey of Judeo-Christian literature shows that angels are often conceived in different ways, with both human and divine forms.[30] There is no reason to suggest that the use of two different iconographies marks a development in the angelology of the Qur'ān. Welch and Waardenburg fundamentally misunderstand angelology and attempt to force Qur'ānic angelology into a developmental scheme that does not necessarily exist.[31]

G. R. Hawting provides a different account of the use of angels in anti-polytheist polemic in his *Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*. Hawting's general thesis in this work is that the Qur'ān is not directed towards Meccan

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extremely hard to date accurately.' Robinson, Neal, *Discovering the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach to a Veiled Text* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1996) p. 80; for more on Western dating of the verses see pp. 76 – 96.

[28] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 750.

[29] Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 748.

[30] See Section 2.2 for a discussion of these themes.

[31] Other accounts of the origins and development of Arabian monotheism do not force angelology into a developmental framework; Watt's 'High God Theory' is the most notable; see, Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Belief in a "High God" in pre-Islamic Arabia' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 35 – 40, p. 40; see also Watt, W. Montgomery, 'The Qur'an and belief in a "High God"' *Isl.* 56 (1979) pp. 205 – 211 and Fahd, Toufic, *Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968).

polytheists, but rather, towards other monotheists. The direct reference to the *Banāt Allāh* (*Allāt*, *al-ᶜUzza* and *Manāt*) obviously presents problems for this argument: if the Qur'ān is aimed at monotheists, who are these deities? In the final chapter of the book,[32] Hawting argues that the *Banāt Allāh* are actually angels and that the Qur'ān is referring to angel-worship. Hawting argues that, like the *Banāt Allāh*, angels in Judaism are often female and associated with astral bodies.[33] However, there are a number of problems with his argumentation. Firstly, angels are rarely gendered in Judaism and even when they are given gender, they are usually conceived as being male. Secondly, the names of the *Banāt Allāh* are clearly native Arabic names, and are not in the standard form of Jewish and Christian angelic nomenclature.[34] Thirdly, Hawting does not take into account any angel-cults that existed in the Near East prior to the expansion of Islam.[35] Lastly, there is archaeological evidence that these goddesses did exist in other religions in the surrounding areas.[36] Hawting forces Qur'ānic angelology to fit into a larger construct, the same mistake committed by Welch and Waardenburg. These examples are important to consider (albeit very briefly), as they show the ways in which angels have been treated in Islamic Studies. Angelology in Islam is often an afterthought and has not tended to be considered on

[32] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 130 – 149.
[33] Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 146 – 147.
[34] See section 2.1 for a longer discussion of angelic nomenclature.
[35] Angelolatry was evidently a problem for the Early Church with the Council of Laodicea (343 – 381) explicitly banning the practice; see Canon §35: 'Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry.' Percival, Henry R., (tr.), 'Synod of Laodicea' in Henry R. Percival (ed. & tr.), *The Seven Ecumencial Councils of the Undivided Church* (Repr. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 123 – 160, p. 151.
[36] Cf. Healey, John F., *The Religion of the Nabateans: A Conspectus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) pp. 80 – 119 and Ryckmans, Jacques, 'Le Panthéon de l'Arabie du Sud Pré-Islamique' *RHR* 206 (1989) pp. 151 – 170, pp. 155 – 156.

its own terms. Furthermore, angelology is frequently forced to fit within larger theses, leading scholars to come to false or contrived conclusions.

Beyond Qur'ānic Studies angels are most frequently discussed in the eschatological and *miᶜrāj* literature in which they play a key role. As with the study of angels in the Qur'ān and its exegesis the focus is not generally on the angels themselves. There is no need to outline the vast body of scholarship on Islamic eschatology,[37] but it should be noted that there are three main areas of study within the field: (i) the events of the *eschaton*;[38] (ii) death and personal eschatology;[39] and (iii) the ascent literature, including Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*.[40]

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[37] For a good overview, see Chittick, William C., 'Eschatology' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, pp. 378 – 409; Hermansen, Marcia, 'Eschatology' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 308 –324 and Danner, Victor, 'The Last Days in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' in Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Fragments of Infinity: Essays in Religion and Philosophy - A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Huston Smith* (Bridport: Prism, 1991) pp. 63 – 86; as well as various articles in encyclopaedias, e.g. Gardet, L., 'Ḳiyāma' *EI²*, vol. 5, pp. 235 – 238; Leemhuis, F., 'Apocalypse' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 111 – 114; and Lewinstein, Keith, 'Gog and Magog' *EQ*, vol. 2, pp. 331 – 333.

[38] Cf. Makino, Shinya, *Creation and Termination: a semantic study of the Structure of the Qur'anic World View* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1970); Galloway, D., 'The Resurrection and Judgment in Qur'an' *MW* 12 (1922) pp. 348 – 372; Kinberg, L., 'Interaction between this world and the after world in Islamic tradition' *Oriens* 29 (1986) pp. 285 – 308 and Bashear, Suliman, 'Muslim Apocalypses and the hour: a case-study tradition re-interpretation' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 75 – 99.

[39] O'Shaugnessy, Thomas, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); Smith, Jane I., and Haddad, Y. Y., *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Casanova, Paul, *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde: Étude Critique sur l'Islam Primitif* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911); Gardet, Louis, *Dieu et la Destinée de l'Homme* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1967) pp. 237 – 257; Smith, Jane I., 'Reflection on aspects of immortality in Islam' *HTR* 70 (1977) pp. 85 – 98 and *eadem*, 'The understanding of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in contemporary Muslim considerations on the nature of sleep and death' *MW* 69 (1979) pp. 151 – 161

[40] Cf. Vuckovic, Brooke Olson, *Heavenly Journey, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Miᶜrāj in the Formation of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2005); Nünlist, Tobias, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit im Islam: Eine Studie unter besondere Berücksichtigung von Ibn Sīnā's Miᶜrāj-nāmeh* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002); Asin Palacios, M., *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Seguida de la Historia y Crítica de una Polémica* (Madrid: Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1943) also available in translation: Sutherland, H. (tr.), *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London: John Murray, 1926); El-Azma, N., "Some notes on the impact of the story of the *Mi'raj* on Sufi literature", *Muslim World* 63 (1973) pp. 93 – 104; Morris, James Winston 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī and the Miᶜrāj – Part I' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; van Ess, Josef, 'Vision and Ascension: *Sūrat al-Najm* and Its Relationship with Muḥammad's *miᶜrāj*' *JQS* 1(1999) pp. 47 – 62 and Halperin, David J., 'Hekhalot and Miᶜrāj: Observations on the Heavenly Journey in Judaism and Islam' in John J. Collins & Michael A. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) pp. 269 – 288.

In addition to the work done on Islamic eschatology, Biblical and Jewish Studies have much to offer in regard to the theoretical approaches to angelology and and beliefs about angels more broadly. These studies could be incorporated into Islamic studies with beneficial results and the discussions in Sections 2 & 3 below make much use of this material.[41] A large number of works on angels are available, ranging from studies of Biblical[42] and sectarian angelologies,[43] apocalypticism and eschatological literature.[44]

To a lesser extent, angels have featured in theological and philosophical discussions in Islam. These usually focus on particular issues that were discussed in the mediaeval period, such as the status of angels in relation to humans;[45] or on the

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[41] Willem Bijlefeld has adapted some of these ideas; see, Biljefeld, Willem A., 'Eschatology: Some Muslim and Christian Data' *ICMR* 15 (2004) pp. 35 – 54.

[42] Olyan, Saul M., *A Thousand Thousands Served Him* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993); Tavard, Georges, with Caquot, André & Michl, Johann, *Die Engel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968) and Mach, Michael: *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992).

[43] Davidson, Maxwell J., *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1 – 36, 72 - 108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Sullivan, Kevin P., *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Schäfer, Peter, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975); Tuschling, R. M. M., *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study of their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Rowland, Christopher, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982) and Elior, Rachel, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature' *JSQ* 1 (1993) pp. 3 – 53.

[44] Gruenwald, Ithamar, *Apocalyptic and Merkevah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Himmelfarb, Marthta, *Tours of hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Himmelfarb, Martha, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Collins, John J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); there also a number of collections of articles, which are very useful, particularly, Collins & Fishbane (eds.), *Other Worldly Journeys*; Collins, John J. (ed.), *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* in *Semeia* 14 (1979) and Bauckham, Richard, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). From a philosophy of religion perspecitive, see Culianu, Ioan P., *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascenion of the Soul and Its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

[45] Jadaane, Fehmi, 'La place des Anges dans la théologie musulmane' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 23 – 62; Lupti, Ibrahim, 'The Questions of the Superiority of Angels and Prophets between Az-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī' *Arabica* 28 (1981) pp. 65 – 75; Stern, S. M., *Studies in Early Ismā^{c}īlism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983) and Webb, Gisela, 'Hierarchy, Angels, and the Human Condition in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī' *MW* 81 (1991) pp. 245 – 253.

use of angels by philosophers and theologians in a wider cosmology.[46] However, Islamic philosophy is not of great concern to the angelology of the *ḥadīth* and will not be considered as part of this thesis.

In general, the study of angels in Islam has been quite restrictive, with scholars only looking at angels as and when necessary. Angels have rarely been the primary focus of research and any discussion of them tends to be incidental to other wider issues. The study of angels has also been largely compartmentalised into specific areas: eschatology, Qur'ānic studies, exegesis, the *miᶜrāj* literature, theology, philosophy and so on. Surprisingly, there has been virtually no study of angels in non-eschatological material. There does not appear to be any real reason for this and it simply seems to be an area that has yet to provoke much interest. One of the aims of this thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth* beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

The aim of this thesis is to present material about angels directly, rather than considering their position within a larger schematic framework. The two approaches to angels in Islamic Studies mentioned above have focused on the Qur'ān or its exegesis rather than Islamic tradition in general.[47] This thesis hopes to move scholarship away from Qur'ānic Studies, focusing instead on the role of angels in the *ḥadīth* literature more generally, using Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a basis from which to begin an exploration of Islamic beliefs about

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[46] Cf. Netton, Ian R., *Allah Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy* (Richmond: Curzon, 1994) and Sweetman, J. Windrow, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947) Part I, vol. 2, pp. 75 – 79 and Burge, Stephen R., 'The Provenance of Suhrawardian Angelology' *ArOr* 76 (2008) pp. 435 – 457.

[47] To see a discussion of these two themes, see Burge, S. R., *Qur'ānic Angelology*. MSc. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2004.

angels. Section 2 below will look at the origins and development of Islamic angelology, but without the constraints that have been placed upon it by scholars in the past.

In past scholarship the study of *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* collections by non-Muslims has tended to focus on the *isnād* and the authenticity of prophetic *ḥadīth*,[48] but more recently scholars have turned their focus to the development of the four *madhāhib* and the role of *ḥadīth* scholarship in this process.[49] However, the actual way in which *ḥadīth* collections have been put together has not really been addressed.[50] Andrew Newman's *The Formative Period of Twelver Shīʿism* is one of the only monographs to discuss and explore the meanings behind the structure and selection of *ḥadīth* in a collection.[51] An analysis of the way in which *ḥadīth* are presented in a collection, and which sources the author has used will often reflect a compiler's intentions for a work. This thesis will attempt to understand the underlying message behind *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the ideas that al-Suyūṭī wished to convey when he compiled it, through an analysis of the *ḥadīth*, their themes and the sources of the work.

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[48] E.g. Goldziher, Ignaz, (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006); Schacht, Joseph, *On the Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950); Horovitz, Josef, 'The Antiquity and Origin of the Isnād' in Harald Motzki (ed.), *Hadith: Origins and Development* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2004), pp. 151 – 158 and Robson, James, 'The *isnād* in Muslim tradition' *TGUOS* 15 (1953) pp. 15 – 26.

[49] Motzki, Harald, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991); Melchert, Christopher, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Dickinson, Eerik, *The Development of Early Sunnite Hadith Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and Dutton, Yasin, *The Origins of Islamic Law* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Brown, Jonathan, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[50] There has, however, been structural analysis of narrative *ḥadīth* considered independently; e.g. Speight, R. Marston, 'Narrative Structures in the Ḥadīth' *JNES* 59 (2000) pp. 265 – 271.

[51] Newman, Andrew, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). Newman argues that the three main early Shi'ī *ḥadīth* collections (of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣaffār and al-Barqī) differed in content and arrangement, suggesting differing or competing statements about theological truth in Twelver Shi'ism; see pp. 193 – 201. A similar structuralist approach has been made by Hilary Kilpatrick in her study of the composition of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*; see Kilpatrick, Hilary, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the author's craft in Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî's Kitâb al-aghânî* (London, 2003).

1.2 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The great Egyptian polymath Abū 'l-Faḍl ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Khudayrī (849/1445 – 911/1505)[52] was one of the leading scholars of his day, famous for both his wide knowledge and his contempt for contemporary scholars. His work is important, not simply because of his historical context, writing at the end of the classical period; but because his *œuvre* was vast, covering many different subjects: from linguistics and philology, to history, medicine, cosmology and zoology.[53] Al-Suyūṭī was well respected in his own lifetime (although to a lesser degree in Egypt and Cairo),[54] with evidence of his influence stretching from East Africa to India.[55] Al-Suyūṭī continues to hold an

[52] For a biography of al-Suyūṭī (including his own autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-niᶜmat Allāh*), see Sartain, E. M., *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Saleh, Marlis J., 'Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present' *MSR* 5 (2001) pp. 73 – 89.

[53] The number of works of al-Suyūṭī (including short tracts and *fatwās*) is not agreed, with estimates ranging from 550 – 980; see Jackson, Roy, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006) pp. 137 – 141; Geoffroy, E., 'Al-Suyūṭī' *EI²* vol. 9, pp. 913 – 916 and Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Zur Charakteristik Gelâl ud-dîn us-Sujûṭî's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit' *GS* vol. 1, pp. 52 – 73 (available in translation, see Hunwick, J. O (ed.) and Barry, Michael (tr.), 'Ignaz Goldziher on Al-Suyūṭī' *MW* 68 (1978) pp. 79 – 99).

[54] Marlis Saleh comments: 'It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance.' Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 78 and Irwin, R., 'Al-Suyūṭī (849 – 911 / 1445 – 1505)' *EAL* vol. 2, p. 746. For a contemporary and negative assessment of his work see, al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ* (Beirut: Dār al-Maktaba bi-'l-ḥayāt, 1966) vol. 4, pp. 65 – 71.

[55] For example, al-Suyūṭī is known to have had frequent dealings with scholars in East Africa; cf. Sartain, E. M., 'Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 193 – 198; John Voll also comments that almost all *isnāds* during the eighteenth century in the area around the Mediterranean were attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (from whom al-Suyūṭī received his *ijāza*) and Zakarīya al-Anṣārī; see Voll, John O., 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact on the Islamic World' *AAS* 15 (1980) pp. 264 – 273, p. 265.

important place in both Muslim and non-Muslim studies in Islam, particularly his work on philology and exegesis.[56]

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a collection that is devoted entirely to *ḥadīth* about angels and complements other collections of his with similar themes. The compilation includes around 750 *ḥadīth* and is followed by a relatively long postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological issues associated with angels, particularly the status of the angels in relation to humans, a popular theme in *tafsīr* and *kalām*.[57] It appears to have been a relatively popular work, with twenty-one known manuscript copies still extant.[58]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides one of the most comprehensive catalogues of Islamic traditions about angels in Arabic literature. Whilst there are a number of works that feature a great many angels, particularly in the *miᶜrāj* literature and the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, none presents angelic traditions in such a logical and systematic way. For this reason, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a very useful starting point from which to look at Muslim beliefs about angels. The work is not, by any means, a *corpus* of *ḥadīth* about angels, but it does provide a significant and fairly representative sample.

The *ḥadīth* are organised into short to medium length chapters, each looking at a particular angel. The chapters begin logically, with *ḥadīth* about the necessity of

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[56] Cf. Musa, Sulaiman, 'The Influence of *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* on Some Notable Nigerian *Mufassirun* in the Twentieth-Century Nigeria' *JMMA* 20 (2000) pp. 323 - 328. Works of al-Suyūṭī are commonly cited in both Muslim and non-Muslim scholarly works on almost any subject. For an assessment of his reception in modern Islamic thought, see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' pp. 80 – 82.

[57] Cf. Ibrahim, 'The questions of the superiority of angels' and Jadaane, 'La place des anges'.

[58] See Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Berlin: Emil Feber, 1898 – 1902 and (Supplement) Leiden: Brill, 1937 – 1942), vol. 2, p. 147, §51 and Khazinda, Aḥmad & Shaybānī, Muḥammad, *Dalīl makhtutāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amakin wujūdihā* (Kuwait: Maktabat ibn Taymīyya, 1403 / 1983) p. 144; in addition to the MSS detailed by these two catalogues, there are two other MSS held in (i) the Mingana Collection, Birmingham, MS 651 and (ii) The British Library, *Or. 9026/1* fol. 1r – 76v.

belief in angels, their great number and the most important angels (Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death) appearing first (§1 – 171). Beyond the four archangels there is not any obvious pattern to the arrangement of the *ḥadīth*. The last three chapters (§493 – 744) are general and do not appear to be arranged with much intent.

As is al-Suyūṭī's usual style, *isnāds* do not precede each *ḥadīth* (except in a few cases), but the traditions are taken from a written source with the name of the authority given.[59] Al-Suyūṭī typically gives an author's name, without citing the work, except in cases where he uses more than a single text of one author.[60] This method of compilation can be seen in most of al-Suyūṭī's collections, as Leon Nemoy comments, concerning al-Suyūṭī's *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*: 'Like most Arabic works on matters of antiquity, the treatise is predominately composed of extracts from older writers, many of whom, in their turn, depended more or less upon still older authorities, without being too anxious to indicate the source of their information.'[61]

This thesis presents a translation and commentary of a selection of the *ḥadīth* included in the work, with two introductory chapters introducing the origin and development of angels in Islam, and a study of the purposes and function of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. The whole collection has not been translated because of the word-limit restrictions of the thesis. The *ḥadīth* that have been translated are of those angels mentioned in the Qur'ān, as it was felt that these

[59] For the use of books in the Mamlūk period, see Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 24 – 30.
[60] Details of the the authors and their works can be found in the Appendix.
[61] Nemoy, Leon, 'The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*)' *Isis* 30 (1939) pp. 17 – 37, pp. 17 – 18; because of his compositional style some of al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries accused him of plagiarism; see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 79.

would be the most relevant to translate, namely: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Riḍwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.[62] A précis of the remaining *ḥadīth* has been included in the appendices. The fairly substantial *khātima* has also not been included for the same reasons, but the majority of the theological discussion in the postscript is largely lifted from other authors and it serves mainly as a recapitulation of beliefs about the status of the angels and their relationship to humans.

The work's name follows the pattern of many of al-Suyūṭī's works, using a rhyme, pun or metrical title.[63] The title *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is difficult to translate precisely. Firstly, the most common form of the plural of *malak* is *malā'ika* and the plural *malā'ik* is, although acceptable in classical Arabic, relatively rare. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is also another rare word. The basic meaning of the verb *ḥabaka* means 'to plait or braid (hair)', but it is also used in connection with the courses of the planetary bodies, so there is an obvious pun linking *ḥabā'ik* to the celestial *beings*, rather than the celestial *bodies*. The word still poses a problem, especially in the context of *akhbār* – how can *ḥadīth* have a 'course' or a 'trail'? This difficulty may account for a common translation of the work as *The Book of Angels*, but this is not that suitable as it avoids a translation of *ḥabā'ik*.[64] The best translation, although not entirely acceptable, appears to be *The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*. Just as hair is braided and arranged, and the heavenly bodies are ordered in the

[62] The section on the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān al-kātibān*) could not be included because of its length.
[63] E.g. *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunnīya*; *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdi*; *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbar al-jānn* etc.
[64] Although Brockelmann's entry for *al-Ḥabā'ik* suggests that the word is not always found in the manuscripts; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 147, §51.

heavens, al-Suyūṭī arranges the *ḥadīth* about angels in this collection. The translation has been based on a modern edition, edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl[65] and supported by manuscript evidence; namely, the copy held in the Warner Collection at the University of Leiden.[66]

The commentary that accompanies the partial translation of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is divided into two parts. The following two sections look at the work as a whole, including a discussion of *ḥadīth* that have not been translated. The first looks at the origins and development of angelology in Islamic tradition, using al-Suyūṭī's collection as a basis from which to approach the subject in a general way. It looks particularly at the nomenclature of angels in Islam and the textual iconography of angels. The second section looks at the purpose and function of the work as a whole, attempting to understand what al-Suyūṭī attempted to convey through this collection, particularly through the angels' interactions with humans. Much more could be written about the work, but these two areas have been highlighted as two of the most important themes.

The commentary that accompanies the translation is aimed at explaining difficult terms and vocabulary, referring readers to important concepts, making notes on the text itself and so on. The comments are often designed only to direct the reader to other literature on the subject, rather than giving detailed analyses. The principal aim of the commentary is to provide the reader with a context in which to place the *ḥadīth*. Where possible, references to other Islamic works have been given. There is also frequent reference to other Jewish and Christian texts: these are not intended to imply a source for the *ḥadīth*, but merely to reflect the commonalities

[65] Al-Suyūṭi, Jalāl al-Dīn, (ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl), *Al-Ḥabāik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1408/1988).
[66] A note on the manuscript can be found below.

between Jewish, Christian and Islamic beliefs about angels, placing Islamic traditions about angels in a wider Near Eastern milieu.

1.3 Contextualizing Al-Suyūṭī in the Late Mamluk Milieu

To understand al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-*malā'ik more fully, it is important to place al-Suyūṭī and his works in their wider historical and social context. The work which is the focus of this thesis emerged during the waning of the Circassian (*Burjī*) Mamluk sultanate,[67] and only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death, the Ottomans had gained control of the majority of the Near East and North Africa, save Iran. Mamluk society, especially the relationships between the different classes and faith-communities, has received much attention in the past[68] and is important to consider, when placing al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in its religious and social context.

Whilst the Mamluks faced increasing political, social and economic problems during the fifteenth century,[69] the scholarly élite remained relatively strong and

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[67] See Holt, P. M., 'Mamlūks' *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, pp. 321 – 331, especially pp. 323 – 325; Ayalon, David, 'The Circassians in the Mamlük Period' *JAOS* 69 (1949) pp. 135 – 147; Garcin, Jean-Claude, 'The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks' in C. F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt – vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640 – 1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 290 – 317; Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) pp. 32 – 43 and Staffa, Susan Jane, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo. A.D. 642 – 1850* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 101 – 226.

[68] Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Some Glimpses of the Religious Life of Egypt During the Late Mamlūk Period' *IS* 4 (1965) pp. 353 – 392; Little, Donald P., 'Religion under the Mamluks' *MW* 73 (1983) pp. 165 – 181; Winter, Michael, 'Popular Religion in Egypt Since the Mamluks' *The Arabist* 9 – 10 (1994) pp. 103 – 118 and Frenkel, Yehoshua, 'Popular Culture (Islam, Early and Middle Periods)' *RC* 2 (2008) pp. 195 – 225.

[69] See Little, Donald P., 'Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 69 – 96; Shoshan, Boaz, 'Exchange-Rate Policies in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *JESHO* 29 (1986) pp. 28 – 51; *idem*, 'Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *EHR* 36 (1983) pp. 47 – 67; *idem*, 'Grain Riots and the Moral Economy' *JIH* 10 (1980) pp. 459 - 478

productive, with Cairo being the centre of academic achievement in the Near East.[70] Most importantly, academia in late Mamluk Egypt became increasingly independent and secure through the establishment of endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*); as Carl Petry comments: 'The scholarly establishment owed its relative freedom of action to the autonomy of the endowed academic position, unlike either the bureaucracy or the judiciary – both of which were tied to the state.'[71] There were a great number of colleges and institutions of higher education, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī grew up in a highly literate and educated environment.[72] As Islamic education was primarily based on the personal relationship between teacher and pupil, most scholars came from Cairene families with a long history in the scholarly world;[73] but some, like al-Suyūṭī's father, were able to succeed, having come into Cairo from the provinces.[74]

Whilst scholarship was relatively fruitful in this period, academics and judges were involved in a number of important controversies that have some bearing on the cultural and religious milieu of the fifteenth century.[75] The place of Christians, particularly Coptic Christians, in Mamluk society was the cause of a number of

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[70] Jonathan Berkey comments: '… the immense number of manuscripts that survive from, say, the fifteenth century, testify to the important role of the book in a highly literate academic world that …. [was] vibrant throughout the Middle Ages.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* p. 24; see also Petry, Carl F., 'Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered: Mamluk Patronage in Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 323 – 348.

[71] Petry, Carl, 'Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century' *JESHO* 23 (1980) pp. 119 – 141, p. 140.

[72] For more on Islamic higher education, see Makdisi, George, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

[73] See Petry, 'Geographic Origins of Academicians' p. 119; Jonathan Berkey comments: 'The person connection – the education model relying not simply on close study of a text, but on intensive, personal interaction with a shaykh – has always been central to Islamic education, not simply in Mamluk Egypt.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 21.

[74] Petry, Carl F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) p. 50; see also Waardenburg, Jacques, 'Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies' in Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979) pp. 340 – 346, pp. 361 – 362.

[75] Maribel Fierro has used scholarly literature written against innovations (*bida'*) to attempt to understand Muslim society in medieval Spain; likewise, through the output of the Egyptian scholars, it is possible to gain an understanding of contemporary practices, as well as the preoccupations and concerns of the scholarly élite; see Fierro, Maribel, 'The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bida*^{c})' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 204 – 246, especially pp. 238 – 240.

disputes, both in Cairo and Damascus,[76] often involving accusations of blasphemy against the prophet.[77] There were particular moments when the tensions between Coptic Christians and local Muslims became particularly strong, but, generally, the relationship between each of the groups was one of mutual distrust. Earlier in the Mamluk period, the secretaries of the court (who were mainly Copts) were legislated against, largely due to resentment from the Muslim majority and subsequently secretaries could only be Muslims.[78] This prompted a large number of Copts to convert to Islam, as the court was their main employer. However, their conversions were not usually whole-hearted, with many still celebrating Christian festivals, being only Muslim in name.[79] These converts to Islam, especially the second and third generations, would undoubtedly have brought some Christian material with them into popular Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.

Not only were there Christian converts to Islam, but there was frequent adoption and celebration of Coptic festivals by the Muslim population in Mamluk Egypt. The most famous of these is the Nile festival held in January (*ʿĪd al-Ghiṭās*).[80]

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[76] For more on these disputes, see Perlmann, M., 'Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire' *BSOAS* 10 (1939 – 1942) pp. 843 – 861; Little, 'Communal Strife'; *idem*., 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 625 – 755 / 1293 – 1354)' *BSOAS* 39 (1976) pp. 552 – 569 and *idem*., 'Religion Under the Mamluks'. For the place of Jews in Mamluk society, see Cohen, Mark R., 'Jews in the Mamlūk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (A Geniza Study)' *BSOAS* 47 (1984) pp. 425 – 448.

[77] Cf. Wiederhold, Lutz, 'Blasphemy Against the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (*Sabb al-rasūl*, *sabb al-ṣaḥābah*): The Introduction of the Topic into Shāfiʿī Legal Literature and its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 39 – 70.

[78] Little comments: 'In Egypt, for example, the Copts from time to time during the Mamluk period incurred the wrath of the populace and consequently the government in Egypt, either by displays of conspicuous consumption in violation of Muslim sumptuary laws, by playing too prominent a role in the financial bureaux, or by acts of blasphemy or terrorism. Because such acts disrupted the political and social stability that the Mamluks were so keen to maintain, they attracted the interest of Muslim historians, both Egyptian and Syrian.' Little, 'Communal Strife' p. 70; see also Little, 'Coptic Conversion' and O'Sullivan, Shaun, 'Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt' *MSR* 10:2 (2006) pp. 65 – 79.

[79] Little, 'Religion under the Mamluks' p. 179.

[80] See Huda, Lutfi, 'Coptic Festivals of the Nile: Aberrations of the Past?' in Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 254 – 282.

At the same time, there was also a growth in the observance of other Muslim festivals,[81] which reformers, such as Ibn Taymiyya in the previous century had strived to 'correct', seeing them as innovations (*bida'*) that need to be purged from Islam.[82] The celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mawlid al-nabī*) and the practice of tomb visitation (*ziyāra*) are the most prominent of these innovative practices and there has been much secondary literature written on both of these topics.[83] What is most interesting is the fact that the scholarly and legal classes did not present a united front against these 'innovative' festivals,[84] and some, such as al-Suyūṭī, actually argued that some of these practices were acceptable.[85]

Mamluk Cairo was not, then, an environment in which there was a distinct divide between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, but one where the divisions were much more blurred. Not all the scholars and judges believed that particular festivals were innovations (*bida'*), as Michael Winter has commented: 'The dividing line between popular and normative Islam is sometimes unclear. As in every religion,

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[81] For a comprehensive list of different popular practices and brief analyses of them, see Frenkel, 'Popular Culture', especially pp. 198 – 204. There are articles available on specific practices such as *taḥnīk*, e.g. Gilᶜadi, Avner, 'Some notes on *Taḥnīk* in Medieval Islam' *JNES* 47 (1988) pp. 175 – 179.

[82] Cf. Memon, Muhammad Umar, *Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of his Kitāb iqtiḍā' as-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), especially pp. 2 – 7.

[83] The most extensive study is of the *Mawlid* is Kaplan, N. J., *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and the Development in the Muslim West until the 10th / 16th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); see also Kaptein, Nico, 'Materials for the History of the Prophet's Birthday Celebration in Mecca' *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 193 – 203 and Katz, Marion Holmes, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunnī Islam* (London: Routledge, 2007). On tomb visitation see Meri, Josef W., *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Taylor, Christopher S., 'Saints, *Ziyāra*, *Qiṣṣa*, and the Social Construction of Moral Imagination in Late Medieval Egypt) *SI* 88 (1998) pp. 103 – 120.

[84] Shaun Marmon comments: 'In opposition to Ibn Taymiyya, the vast majority of the mamluk ulama valorized the petitioning of the holy dead and the visiting of their tombs. The ulama also set forth a careful etiquette for these activities, an etiquette which, judginig (*sic*) by the learned complaints, ordinary people, especially women, often ignored.' Marmon, Shaun E., 'The Quality of Mercy in Mamluk Society' *SI* 87 (1998) pp. 125 – 139, p. 129.

[85] See al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Al-Ḥusn al-maqṣid fī ᶜamal al-mawlid*; translated in Kaplan, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, pp. 48 – 67.

there are within Islam tensions between orthodox and unorthodox, or popular religion.'[86]

Despite this blurring between 'popular' and 'orthodox' religion, there *was* a strong divide between the academic élite and the masses. Many scholars went at great lengths to attack uneducated purveyors of religious teaching: especially the preachers (*wāᶜiẓ*, pl. *waᶜᶜāẓ*) and the story-tellers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣāṣ*).[87] Al-Suyūṭī was one of many to write treatises attacking such people.[88] Éric Geoffroy comments of this period: 'Les *ᶜulamā'*, ajoute Suyūṭī, ont toujours eu la role ingrate de lutter contre l'ignorance des *quṣṣāṣ* et de leur auditoire de bas étage.'[89] Many of these anti-*quṣṣāṣ* works highlight the fact that the utilization of *ḥadīth* required training in the religious sciences, and that without it (i.e. without an appropriate *ijāza*), an individual was not allowed to engage in their study or propagation. There was a strong sense that the religious scholars had a monopoly on religious knowledge, which they were keen to maintain.

Scant evidence means that it is difficult to assess whether the scholarly community was simply attempting to protect its own interests, or whether it was generally concerned about the religious path along which popular preachers could lead their followers. Scholars in this period certainly include a number of more 'popular' materials in their works, especially their *ḥadīth* collections. Is this an

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[86] Winter, 'Popular Religion' p. 115; for a more extensive discussion of these ideas, see Shoshan, Boaz, 'High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam' *SI* 73 (1991) pp. 67 – 107.
[87] Pellat, Ch., 'Ḳāṣṣ' EI2 vol. 4, pp. 733 – 734; Radtke, B., and Jansen, J. J. G., 'Wā'iẓ' *EI²* vol. 11, pp. 56 – 57; Berkey, Jonathan P., *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), *idem.*, 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 – 65; *idem*., 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo' *MSR* 4 (2000) pp. 53 – 74 and Shoshan, Boaz, 'On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 349 – 365.
88 See al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhir al-khawāss min akādhib al-quṣṣās* (Riyadh: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1972).
[89] Geoffroy, Éric, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie Sous les Derniers Mamelouks et les Premiers Ottomans: Orientations Spirituelles et Enjeux Culturels* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995) p. 49.

attempt to appeal to the masses, or is it indicative of the absorption of popular material into normative religion? Is the influence from 'popular religion' to 'normative' Islam, or are fifteenth century academics writing works for their target audience and deliberately including popular elements to appeal to them? Jacques Waardenburg has argued that popular elements of religion can become absorbed into 'normative' religion;[90] but there is also likely to be a conscious effort by scholars of the day to appeal to the masses and weaken the influence of the preachers and story-tellers.

There is some evidence to suggest that scholars in Mamluk Egypt responded to the needs of the ordinary Cairene public; for example, after a series of plagues in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[91] the genre of 'books of consolation' emerged in response to an emotional need of ordinary people.[92] There are also a wide number of other *ḥadīth* collections written by noted academics that would appear to have a more 'popular' audience. Al-Suyūṭī wrote many of these more popular works: encompassing short collections of *ḥadīth*, such as his compilation on the merits of ᶜAlī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī*; [93] religious rulings favouring popular expressions of religion, such as his *al-Ḥusn* seen above; and works of a devotional

[90] Waardenburg, 'Official and Popular Religion' pp. 363 – 371.
[91] See Dols, Michael W., 'The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347 – 1894' *JESHO* 22 (1979) pp. 162 – 189.
[92] See various articles by Avner Gilᶜadi; 'Islamic Consolation Treatises for Bereaved Parents: Some Bibliographical Notes' *SI* 81 (1995) pp. 197 – 202; '*Ṣabr* (Steadfastness) of Bereaved Parents: A Motif in Medieval Muslim Consolation Treatises and Some Parallels in Jewish Writings' *JQR* 80 (1989) pp. 35 – 48 and ' "The Child was small…Not so the Grief for Him": Sources, Structure and Content of al-Sakhawi's Consolation Treatise for Bereaved Parents' *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 367 – 386. Al-Suyūṭī wrote in this genre, e.g *Bushrā al-ka'īb bi-liqā' al-ḥabīb* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1988) and *al-Taᶜallul wa'l-itfā' li-nār al-tutfā'* (al-Zarqā': Maktabat al-Manar, 1987).
[93] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā'il ᶜAlī* (Beirut: Mu'ssasat Nādir, 1990); the brevity of the work implies that it was for popular consumption, cf. al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Matn al-arbaᶜīn*; Abdassamad Clarke (tr.), *The Complete Forty Hadith* (London: Ta-Ha, 1998).

nature, like his *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla*.[94] This suggests that Mamluk academics were engaging with the non-academic community, composing and compiling scholarly works for a wider audience.

The leading scholars of the fifteenth century, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī were all involved in the compilation of what are normally referred to as 'encyclopaedic' works (i.e. non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections),[95] and the subject of this thesis, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik*, falls into this category. Evidence shows that the Cairene libraries were extensive,[96] and these non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections tend to draw on and develop a wide range of earlier works.[97] Scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī, were very adept at drawing *ḥadīth* from a number of different texts into new compilations on new subjects. A. J. Arberry comments: 'It must have been a very elaborate card-index of traditions and traditionists that al-Sakhāwī kept, with such excellent cross-references that he was obviously able at very short notice to compile a new treatise on the subject to satisfy one or other of the eccentric demands made of him by his friends and pupils.'[98] As will be seen below, al-Suyūṭī also makes use of a comprehensive range of sources in his *ḥadīth* collections.

These encyclopaedic works were common in this period and cover a wide range of topics. They tend to avoid technical, scholarly subjects, instead pursuing a

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[94] Al-Suyūṭī, *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-ʻl-layla* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī Ḥalabī, 1946); this is a collection of prayers and devotions.
[95] For al-Sakhāwī, see Petry, C. F., 'al-Sakhāwī' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 881 – 882.
[96] See Eche, Youssef, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes: Publiques et Semi-Publiques en Mésopotamie, En Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1967) pp. 249 – 264; and Arberry, A. J., *Sakhawiana: A Study Based on the Chester Beatty Ms. Arab. 773* (London: Emery Walker Ltd., 1951).
[97] Jonathan Berkey comments: 'Intellectual activity in the civilizations on both sides of the Mediterranean… consisted largely of replicated, and commenting upon, the literary productions of previous generations.' Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 25
[98] Arberry, *Sakhawiana*, p. 32.

more general approach to a subject, and they frequently serve as summaries of more complex material. The lack of more 'scholarly' material would seem to suggest that they are aimed at a literate, but uneducated audience, i.e. the Egyptian middle classes.[99] Similarly, their themes also seem to address more popular devotional and theological ideas. It is always difficult to suggest a definitive reason behind the compilation of these works, but they do seem to be both aimed at the general public and to act as educational tools for the spiritual life of ordinary people. As it has been argued above, it is also difficult to say whether this was driven by an attempt by the *ᶜulamā'* to correct or reform the beliefs of the general public on pure theological grounds, or whether there was a political motivation, notably the curbing of the growing power of popular preachers and story-tellers: it is likely to be a mixture. Late mediaeval authors also seem keen to involve themselves in self-promotion: writing popular pamphlets and short encyclopaedic works would, undoubtedly, have played a key role in this.[100] Whilst the scholarly élite were a well defined and relatively insular section of Cairene society, the scholars do appear to be actively engaged with those outside its circle, particularly in the spiritual education of the middle classes.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* should, therefore, be seen as emerging in this complex social and religious environment. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī was an important scholar in his day, producing a number of important works in the fields of

[99] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does include a 'postscript' (*khātima*) concerning angels in Islamic theology (*kalām*), and the function and purpose of this will be discussed below.

[100] Not achieving wide acknowledgement in Cairo itself, al-Suyūṭī became extremely well known outside Egypt; Nehemia Levtzion comments: 'Al-Suyūṭī's eminence was not universally acknowledged by the *ulamā'* of Cairo, with some of those he was in conflict. He must have been gratified by his reputation in Takrūr.' Levtzion, Nehemia, 'Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr (West Africa)' in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (Jerusalem: Cana & Leiden: Brill, 1986) pp. 183 – 207, p. 200.

Qur'ānic commentary,[101] philology,[102] history[103] and philosophy.[104] Secondly, as part of the scholarly élite, he was concerned with protecting the scholarly monopoly on religious teaching and wrote works that explicitly argue for this, such as his, *Taḥdhir al-khawāṣṣ min akādhib al-quṣṣāṣ*. But, al-Suyūṭī was also engaged in compiling *ḥadīth* collections, with an educative motivation, encouraging the people of Cairo to return to proper 'Islamic' beliefs. Al-Suyūṭī was not, by any means, similar to figures such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥazm, yet there are similarities: all of these authors (including al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries, like al-Sakhāwī) were attempting to promote a renewed Islam. Al-Suyūṭī took his 'reformist' credentials to their limit, portraying himself as the *mujaddid* of the fifteenth century.[105]

The main difference is that the earlier reformist figures of Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya were more forceful in their attacks on 'popular' religion and innovations (*bida'*),[106] whilst the authors in the fifteenth century are, in most cases, more muted in their objections and are seen to engage with popular religion, rather than to attack it openly and directly. Their aims may have been largely similar (i.e. the 'reform' of Islam), but al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Taymiyya went

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[101] E.g. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi-'l-ma'thūr* (Beirut: Dār al-maᶜrifa, s. d.); *Kitāb al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.); *Asrār tartīb al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Iᶜtiṣām, 1396 / 1976); *Lubāb al-taqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl* (Tunis: Dār al-Tunisiyya, 1981); as well as exegeses of specific verses, such as his *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā* (Cairo: Dār al-'Itiṣād, s.d.).

[102] *al-Mutawakkilī*; Bell, William Y. (ed & tr.), *The Mutawakkili of as-Suyuti* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) and *al-Iqtirāḥ fī ᶜilm uṣūl al-nahw* (Istanbul: Jāmiᶜat Istanbul, 1975).

[103] His most famous work is his *Tārīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajariyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969).

[104] Most of his works on philosophy were concerned with logic, e.g. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām ᶜan fann al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, s.d.).

[105] Landau-Tasseron, Ella, 'The "Cyclical Reform": A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition' *SI* (1989) pp. 79 – 117, especially pp. 87 – 88; Jansen, J. J. G., 'Tadjdīd' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, pp. 61 – 62 and Van Donzel, E., 'Mudjaddid' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 290.

[106] Ibn Taymiyya frequently found himself in prison for his beliefs; cf Laoust, H., 'Ibn Taymiyya, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 951 – 955; Little, Donald P., 'Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 93 – 111 and Little, Donald P., 'The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya' *IJMES* 4 (1973) pp. 311 – 327.

about it in very different ways. Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyya typically attacks specific non-Islamic practices, whereas al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries seem more interested in encouraging the religious education of the wider public.

Why does al-Suyūṭī approach 'popular' religion in this way? Firstly, the fact that al-Suyūṭī was a *ṣūfī* may be crucial to understanding his interaction with popular religion.[107] This aspect of al-Suyūṭī's life is one that has received very little attention, but a number of his works, such as his exegetical *Ayāt al-kursī maᶜānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā*, do have distinct *ṣūfī* characteristics. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī was a Shāfiᶜī, rather than a Ḥanbalī, which may account for his less vitriolic attacks on popular religion. His more popular works definitely seek to encourage religious belief and 'proper' practice, rather than criticising specific actions. Al-Suyūṭi, as well as many of his contemporaries, appears to have been more willing to accept and interact with popular religion.

1.4 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Methodology and Sources

There has been relatively little study of al-Suyūṭī and his approach to *ḥadīth*, despite his popularity. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of his output makes it difficult to suggest any firm conclusions about his methods of *ḥadīth* compilation. However, it is feasible to analyse al-Suyūṭī's methods in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and

[107] Al-Suyūṭī was a member of the *Shādhilī* order; cf. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa-tuḥfat al-abrār*; Elmer H. Douglas (tr.), *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and Lory comments that it was successful because its '…strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour.' Lory, P., '*Shādhiliyya*' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 172 – 174, p. 173. For an analysis of al-Suyūṭī as a *sūfī*, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 33 – 37 and Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Égypte*, p. 49.

through a heuristic approach come to some conclusions about al-Suyūṭī's methodology. It is also hoped that it will be possible to come to some understanding of the intended audience of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, placing it within the more general religious and social context of Mamluk Egypt seen above.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is divided into two sections: (i) the collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* and (ii) a fairly substantial postscript (*khātima*) on theological issues regarding angels. The sources of these two sections need to be treated separately, as they draw on different scholarly disciplines. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* and the postscript also needs to be explored. Lastly, the actual content of *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* will also indicate what issues al-Suyūṭī was engaging with, which, in turn, will aid understanding of al-Suyūṭī's target audience.

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik looks at the angelic world, but it is not the only compilation to focus on the mysteries of the supernatural. There are, for example, works on *jinn*, Islamic cosmology, the *Mahdī* and the events in the grave.[108] His *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* seems to complement these other works, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to know whether al-Suyūṭī intended these works to be read in conjunction with each other. What these works do show is that al-Suyūṭī was clearly interested in exploring the divine world and that he devoted a number of *ḥadīth* compilations to the topic.

With a large number of works in a similar area, it might be expected that al-Suyūṭī used material he had included in other works. However, there is remarkably

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[108] *viz*. Heinen, Anton M., *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of as-Suyūṭī's al-Hay'a as-sanīya fī l-hay'a as-sunnīya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); the MS of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* held in the British Library is bound with his *Al-ᶜarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* and al-Suyūṭī's abridgment of a compilation by Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shiblī, entitled, *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbār al-jānn*; see Vassie, R. (ed.), *A Classified Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts Acquired Since 1912: Volume 2 - Qur'ānic Sciences and Ḥadīth* (London: The British Library, 1995) §416 - 418, p. 63.

little cross-over between some of these collections. For example, both his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and his *Al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya* contain *ḥadīth* stating that angels accompany raindrops as they fall from heaven and record where they land and which humans benefited from them. However, there is not a single *ḥadīth* that is repeated *verbatim* in both collections. Take, for example, the two *ḥadīth* below, which are very similar, taken from the same source (Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*), yet are quite different:

> 'There is no year more abounding in rain than another year; but God directs it wherever He wishes. And with the rain He sends down such and such of the angels in order to note down where that rain falls, whom it provides with sustenance, and what results from every drop.'[109]

> 'He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblis. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.'[110]

Each of the *ḥadīth* includes the same basic *matn* ('…He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels… [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant…'), but the *ḥadīth* included in each of the works is slightly different and are suited to their respective works. The *ḥadīth* in *al-Hay'a* focuses on the physical phenomenon of rain, and the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, which is in the chapter entitled 'The Great Abundance of Angels', emphasises the quantity of angels, using raindrops as a comparison.

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[109] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hay'a* VII:27; see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 163.
[110] Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik* §19.

Although this is just one example, it is a very revealing one. It shows that al-Suyūṭī employed *ḥadīth* very carefully, using the most appropriate version of a *ḥadīth* for a particular work. This would also seem to suggest that al-Suyūṭī was conscious of which *ḥadīth* had been included in his other collections and may indicate that these two works were compiled at the same time, or at the very least, relatively closely together. Al-Suyūṭī often gave different sections of larger works individual titles,[111] so it is possible that *Al-Ḥabā'ik* may be linked to other works or be part of a larger one. Above all, it shows that there can be great subtlety in al-Suyūṭī's method of *ḥadīth* compilation.

It is a great help that al-Suyūṭī provides details of the authors and works from which he has taken his *ḥadīth*, making it possible to gain some insight into the way in which he worked and engaged with primary sources. In *al-Ḥabā'ik* al-Suyūṭī draws on eighty-three different authors for his *ḥadīth*,[112] which gives an average of one author for every nine *ḥadīth*, and he mentions thirty-two theologians in the *khātima*.[113] This shows how knowledgeable al-Suyūṭī was in these fields, and the wide variety of sources that he utilized.

As a writer of the ninth / fifteenth century, it might have been expected that al-Suyūṭī would have drawn on collections of *ḥadīth* compiled in later periods, but the table below shows that the majority of the authors that al-Suyūṭī cites, died in the third and fourth centuries A.H. This is important to note, as it shows that al-Suyūṭī turned to works written in the 'golden' period of Islamic literature and *ḥadīth* science, shunning later *ḥadīth* compilations. A similar use of sources can be seen in al-

[111] Saleh,'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 85.
[112] This does not include the authors and *ḥadīth* found in the *khātima*; this is because it is difficult to ascertain whether al-Suyūṭī or another author is making the citation.
[113] This is the number of authors mentioned, rather than the number of works explicitly cited.

Suyūṭī's *Al-Hay'a*. Al-Suyūṭī's sources are, however, quite different in the *khātima*. Here al-Suyūṭī makes much more use of later sources, predominantly from the seventh and eighth centuries A.H, with no sources at all coming from the first to third centuries. This change in the types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* reflects the different genres, audiences and milieu of each of the sections.

Author Date of Death [Century (A.H.)]	*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Ḥadīth*)		*Al-Ḥabā'ik* (*Khātima*)		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
Second	2	2.4	0	0	0	0
Third	25	30.2	0	0	18	43.9
Fourth	29	34.9	2	6.2	13	31.7
Fifth	11	13.3	7	21.9	5	12.2
Sixth	6	7.2	3	9.4	2	4.9
Seventh	3	3.6	9	28.1	0	0
Eighth	0	0	8	25.0	0	0
Ninth	2	2.4	2	6.3	0	0
Unknown	4	4.8	1	3.1	3	7.3

Fig (i) Table of al-Suyūṭī's Sources in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

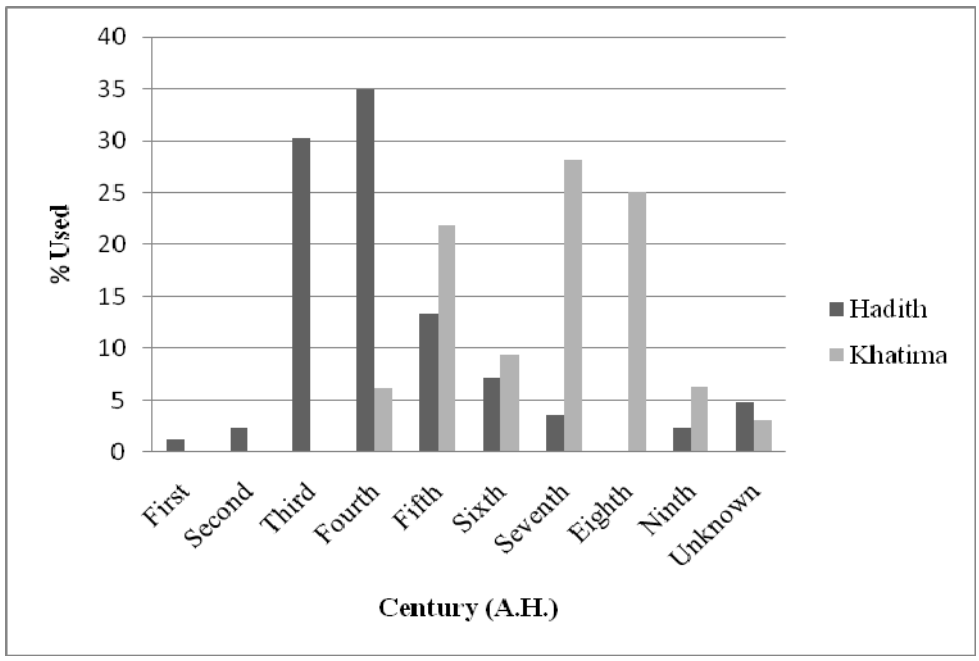

Fig. (ii) Graph of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik*

The most important period in *ḥadīth* collection was in the third to fourth centuries A.H, when the collections of authentic *ḥadīth* were compiled and the *ḥadīth* sciences were developed.[114] The majority of *ḥadith* compilations after this period were commentaries on established works,[115] or *muṣannaf* works, which took *ḥadīth* from various collections on a specific theme, as al-Suyūṭī does in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. As a result of this intense period of studying *ḥadīth*, Islamic scholarship produced a vast corpus of (authentic) *ḥadīth* from which figures like al-Suyūṭī could draw. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a representation or reorganisation of *ḥadīth*, from earlier, respected and reputable scholars on a 'new', more focused, subject area. Al-Suyūṭī is not including 'new' *ḥadīth*, but arranging old *ḥadīth* in a new way. In the *khātima*, however, al-Suyūṭī places his discussion of the angels in Islamic theology in the wider context of past theological debate. Theology, unlike the *ḥadīth*, is not static. Al-Suyūṭī was not attempting to reflect the theological opinions of a specific period, but engages instead with various theological opinions about the angels. It is also a possibility that the authors cited in the *khātima* reflect those studied in the *madrasas*.

Whilst al-Suyūṭī cites a great many authors in *al-Ḥabā'ik*,[116] there is a tendency to focus on a few authors in particular. For example, in the *ḥadīth* section the authors Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī are key sources, with Abū 'l-Shaykh being

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[114] See Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (repr. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) pp. 119 – 147.

[115] Al-Suyūṭī made many such commentaries on earlier works: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Muwaṭṭā' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Akhīra, 1370/1951); *idem*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī bi-sharḥ al-ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa-ḥāshiyyat al-imām al-Sindī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Miṣriyya, 1348/1930); *idem*, *al-Dibāj ᶜalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn Hajjāj* (al-Khubar: Dār ibn ᶜAffān, 1996). For more on commentaries, see Cf. Tokatly, Vardit, 'The *A'lām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī: A Commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or a polemical treatise?' *SI* 92 (2001) pp. 53 – 91, pp. 53 – 55.

[116] 123 in total: 83 in the *ḥadīth* and 32 in the *khātima*, with two featuring in both sections (al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm).

the source of 185 *ḥadīth* (24.6%) and al-Bayhaqī 103 *ḥadīth* (13.7%).[117] A similar trend can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, although a direct comparison cannot be made, as the text integrates both *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-dīn* material. A comparison can, however, be made with *al-Hay'a*:

Name in Text	*Al-Ḥabā'ik*		*Al-Hay'a*	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Abū 'l-Shaykh	185	24.6	191	73.2
Bayhaqī, al-	103	13.7	4	1.5
Ṭabarānī, al-	87	11.6	14	5.4
Ibn Abī Hātim	72	9.6	68	26.1
Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī]	62	8.3	18	6.9
Ibn al-Mundhir	55	7.3	16	6.1
Aḥmad	49	6.5	6	2.3
Ibn Abī Shayba	41	5.5	3	1.1
Ibn ᶜAsākir	40	5.3	6	2.3
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	37	4.9	10	3.8
Ibn Mardawayh	30	4.0	12	4.6
Ḥākim, al-	29	3.9	9	2.3
Abū Nuᶜaym	28	3.7	2	0.8
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	27	3.6	4	1.5
Muslim	27	3.6	1	0.4
Daylamī, al-	25	3.3	1	0.4
Tirmidhī, al-	22	2.9	3	1.1
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	21	2.8	4	1.5
Bukhārī, al-	19	2.5	8	3.1
Ibn Mājah	17	2.3	1	0.4
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	16	2.1	3	1.1
Abū Dā'ūd	14	1.9	1	0.4
Dinawārī, al-	13	1.7	0	0
Nasā'ī, al-	12	1.6	1	0.4
Bazzār, al-	11	1.5	3	1.1

Fig. (iii) Authors cited as a source in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (more than 10 times) and in *al-Hay'a*

[117] However, it should be noted that the two authors are not responsible for 38.3% of the *ḥadīth*, as some *ḥadīth* cite both authors as sources.

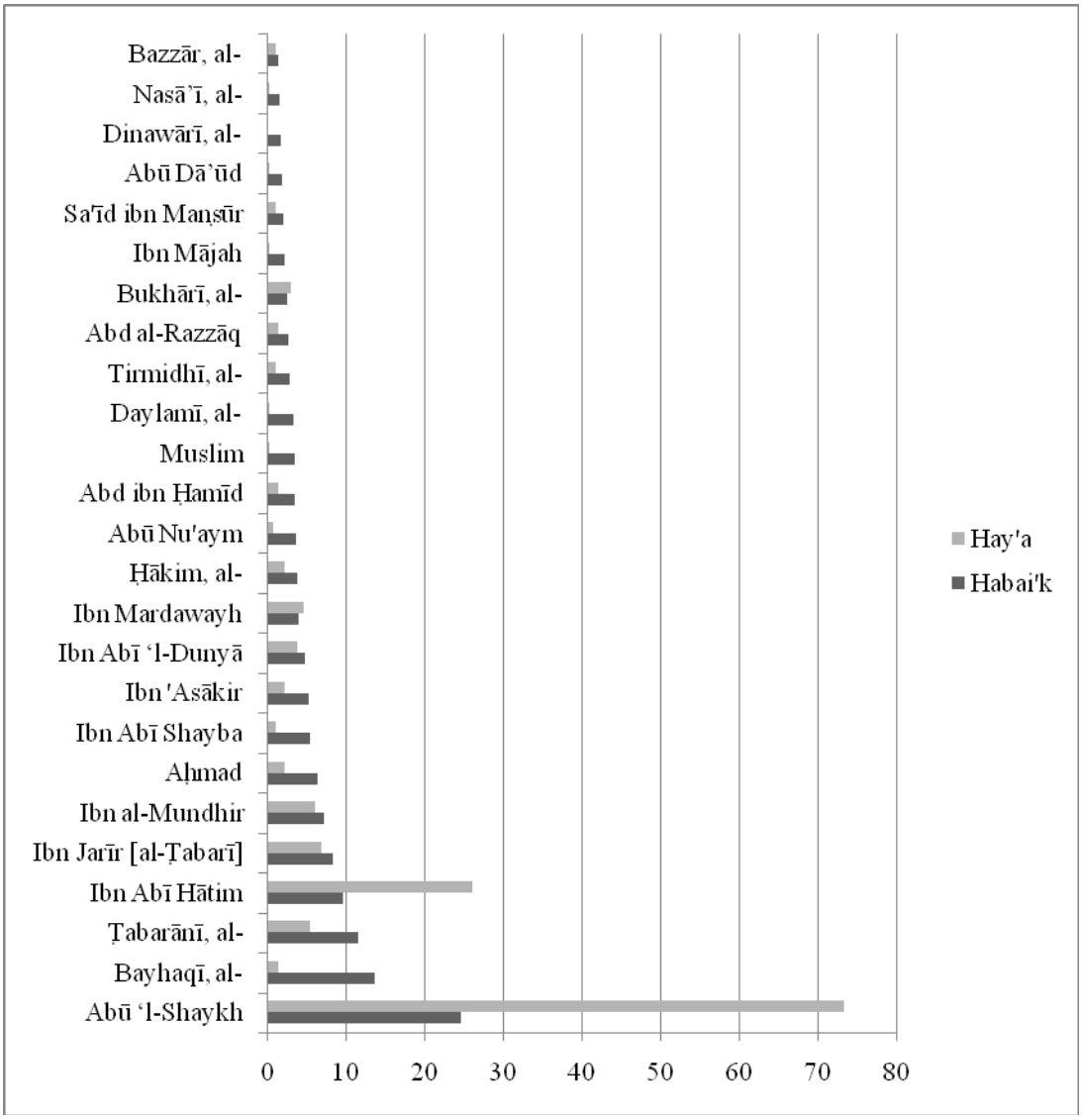

Fig (iv) Chart of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

The data reveal some interesting trends. Firstly, Abū 'l-Shaykh is the most cited author in both *al-Hay'a* and *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but especially so in *al-Hay'a*, where Abū 'l-Shaykh dominates the work. K. E. Nolin's study of al-Suyūṭī's sources for his *Itqān* shows that he adapted and enlarged al-Zarkashī's *Burhān*; the data above seem to reveal a similar relationship between his *al-Hay'a* and Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*. The same relationship is not so evident in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, although the work does also feature prominently. There are also a great number of common

authors, with only four out of forty-one authors appearing in *al-Hay'a* that do not appear in *al-Habā'ik*.[118] Despite this, the frequency of the authors being used in each of the works shows only a weak correlation. This evidence suggests that al-Suyūṭī had a core set of works which he consulted for his *ḥadīth* collections, but the frequency of their use depends on the *ḥadīth* that they contain, and their usefulness to a particular work. It also suggests that al-Suyūṭī, as Nolin has shown, uses one or two particular works as a basis from which to compile a larger collection: in the case of *al-Hay'a*, it appears to be based exclusively on Abū 'l-Shaykh, whereas *al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī.[119]

The *khātima* shows a slightly different relationship between al-Suyūṭī and his sources, which is more difficult to analyse empirically. As it has been seen above, the *khātima* draws on a wide range of sources, collecting and presenting various mediaeval materials on angels in *kalām*. Al-Suyūṭī makes extensive citations throughout the *khātima* with little personal comment, from both brief statements of doctrine, such as al-Kalabādhī's *Kitāb al-taᶜarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, in which al-Kalabādhī's thoughts are not reproduced in full,[120] to the citations of entire chapters, such as the thirty-third chapter of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn*: *Fī an al-malā'ika afḍal aw al-anbiyā*'.[121]

Such extensive quotation suggests that the *khātima* was written to act as a primer, presenting the views of past scholars on the issue of the precedence of angels and prophets. A number of such works were composed in this period, and it was

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[118] Ibn al-Ḥārith, Ibn Abī Zamīl, al-Quṛtubī and Abū ᶜUbayd.
[119] A future area of research would be an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in a much larger sample.
[120] Cf Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 240 and Arberry, A. J. (tr.), *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 53.
[121] Cf. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 207 – 226; al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irāt al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1353 / 1934) pp. 368 – 384.

common to include such a large amount of cited material: 'By the later medieval period, scholars in institutions of higher learning established in several cities and towns of the Mamluk empire had generated myriad texts, treatises, commentaries, handbooks, and primers for curricular use.'[122] Furthermore, the relative lack of analysis or ideas on al-Suyūṭī's part would seem to suggest that it was not necessarily aimed at the scholarly community. It is true that extensive quotation is common in later theological works; yet, there is a tendency to engage with the material and challenge it significantly at some juncture in the work. Al-Suyūṭī does include some personal comment towards the end of the *khātima*, but it is much more limited than in other *kalām* works of the period. Despite the high consideration of his own abilities, al-Suyūṭī never really considered himself to be a *mutakallim*.[123] Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ Sharaf provides an extremely useful portrayal of al-Suyūṭī's relationship with *kalām*, He states:

> 'There is no doubt that al-Suyūṭī's position on the discipline of *kalām* was one of suspicion and mistrust of its influence on the doctrines of Islam and its capability to mislead and cause deviant [views]. But it will be seen that al-Suyūṭī distinguishes between the disciplines of *kalām* that are founded on pure senseless debate, which can be seen in the *mutakallimūn* of the innovators and between *kalām* that is based on the Book, the *Sunna* and defence of Islamic doctrines and the refutation of the innovators and those that have deviated [from Islam].'[124]

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[122] Petry, 'Scholastic Stasis' p. 324; see also Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, pp. 24 – 25.
[123] In his autobiography, al-Suyūṭī highlights eighteen of his works as being particularly important, none of these are in the field of *kalām*; see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 2, p. 105 and Saleh, 'al-Suyūṭī' pp. 86 – 87.
[124] Sharaf, Muḥammad Jalāl Abū 'l-Futūḥ, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: manḥajuhu wa-ārā'uhu al-kalāmiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Naḥda al-ᶜArabiyya, 1981) p. 73 [tr. Burge].

For al-Suyūṭī *kalām* did have its benefits for the study of Islam, but he distanced himself from speculative theology. *Kalām* was acceptable, as long as it sought to support the Qur'ān, the *Sunna* and the creeds.[125] In the *khātima* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, al-Suyūṭī engages with elements of *kalām* that support the *sunna*, but not necessarily *kalām* as a discipline in its entirety. The *khātima* presents a summary of *kalām* arguments that support orthodox beliefs, rather than advancing new ideas into the field.

However, the *khātima* is not the only section that deals with philosophical and theological issues. The presence of an early chapter in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the title: 'The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers' [126] suggests an engagement with Islamic peripatetic philosophy in the *ḥadīth* section as well. Although only three *ḥadīth* (0.4%) are included in this chapter, it clearly shows that it was an issue of concern. The opposition of Islam to Greek philosophy in some quarters is well known,[127] and al-Suyūṭī wrote a number of works against the use of Greek logic himself.[128] The issue at stake in *al-Ḥabā'ik* concerns the physical substance of angels: in Islamic philosophy some held that angels were intellects and were incorporeal.[129] The most famous philosopher to deny angels bodies was Ibn Sīna, who in his *al-Shifā'*

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[125] Cf. Sharaf, *al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 113 – 116.
[126] *Mabda' khalq al-malā'ik wa-'l-dalāla ᶜalā anhum ajsām khalāfan li-'l-falāsifa*'; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik*, pp. 10 – 11, §2 – 4.
[127] See Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Die Stellung der alten Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften' *GS* vol. 5, pp. 357 – 400 and Watt, W. M., *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985) pp. 133 – 148.
[128] See Ali, Mufti, 'A Statistical Portrait of the Resistance to Logic by Sunni Muslim Scholars Based on the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (849-909/1448-1505)' *ILS* 15 (2008) pp. 250 – 267 and Ali, Mufti, *Muslim Opposition to Logic and Theology in the Light of the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)*, PhD. Thesis, University of Leiden, 2008.
[129] See Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.

explicitly refers to angels as incorporeal intellects.[130] Al-Suyūṭī's chapter stresses that the angels are corporeal and that they are made of fire or light, the tradition understanding of angelic substance.[131]

There is little to suggest that al-Suyūṭī is responding to a specific text that propounds the belief in the incorporeality of angels, and he simply appears to be reiterating the case against Islamic peripatetic philosophy. However, interest in *Muᶜtazilī* theology was revived from the thirteenth century onwards,[132] Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 / 1274)[133] being a notable example. This synthesis became the basis of the Isfahan School, which came to dominate Twelver philosophy a century after al-Suyūṭī's death.[134] In the intervening period, a number of scholars advanced such theological thinking, including Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī[135] (d. 726 / 1325) and Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 906 / 1501).[136] Likewise, the angels were held to be incorporeal in Jewish *kabbalah*,[137] but it would seem unlikely that al-Suyūṭī is engaging with medieval Jewish philosophy in *al-Ḥabā'ik* specifically. There is no doubt that speculative theology was being pursued in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime.

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[130] Ibn Sīna refers to '*al-malā'ika al-rūḥāniyya al-mujarrada allatī tasmiyya ᶜaqūlan*' ['…spiritual angels denuded [of matter] that are called "intellects"…' Michael E. Marmura (ed. & tr.), *Avicenna: The Metaphysics of The Healing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005) p. 358.

[131] Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī combines Islamic peripateticism and traditional notions of angels in Islam in his illuminationist philosophy; see Burge, 'Suhrawardian Angeology' for a discussion of these ideas.

[132] See Cooper, John, 'From al-Ṭūsī to the School of Iṣfahān' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996) pp. 585 – 596.

[133] Daiber, H., and Ragep, F. J., 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Abū Djaᶜfar Muḥammad' *EI²* vol. 10 pp. 746 – 752.

[134] For more on the Isfahan School, see Dabashi, Hamad, 'Mīr Dāmād and the founding of the "School of Iṣfahān"' in Nasr and Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 597 – 634.

[135] Jafri, S. H. M., 'al-Ḥillī, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn' *EI²* vol. 3, p. 390; see also Schmidtke, Sabine, *The Theology of al-ᶜAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726 / 1325)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991).

[136] See Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī' *EI²* vol. 12, p. 380; Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Gumhūr al-Aḥsâ'is synthesis of *kalām*, philosophy and Shi'ism' in Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age*, pp. 147 – 156 and Schmidtke, Sabine, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik in zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15/ Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838-1434-35 – nach 906/1501)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[137] See Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava, 'Philosophy and Kabbalah: 1200 – 1600' in Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 218 – 257, p. 227.

However, as al-Suyūṭī does not refer to any specific texts or authors, it is difficult to ascertain whether he is engaging with these *mutakallimūn*. If al-Suyūṭī was not responding to any specific text, it is conceivable that he became aware of a resurgence in the belief in the incorporeality of angels in general terms and so responded to that; but this can only be conjecture. However, its presence and placement at the beginning of the collection do show that al-Suyūṭī believed it was an important issue to discuss.

This survey of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources has shown a number of important aspects of al-Suyūṭī's methodological approach, although much more work needs to be done to understand it more fully. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī appears to have used an *Urtext* for his compilations, around which he adds, removes and expands material. In some cases, this *Urtext* is extremely prominent, in others, such his *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, it is less so. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī applied different types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and *kalām* sections. The *ḥadīth* are sources from an early period, the third to fourth centuries *ḥijrī*, whereas the *kalām* material is derived principally from material from the seventh century onwards. This appears to reflect the need for the *ḥadīth* to be taken from the formative period of *ḥadīth* collection, and the *kalām* material to reflect more contemporary discussions. Lastly, the *khātima* makes use of extended citation, and appears to have the reproduction of key ideas and expositions of the theological problem being discussed as its main aim.

1.5 The Purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and its Audience

The purpose of al-Suyūṭī's *ḥadīth* compilations and their audience can, at times, be a little difficult to ascertain. The discussions above have shown that the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* utilise different types of sources and approaches, and that the historical milieu of fifteenth-century Cairo was complex and dynamic. There are many different audiences to which *al-Ḥabā'ik* could be aimed: the masses, the literate public, students or academics. The juxtaposition of the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* does little to help resolve the issue.

Éric Geoffroy has commented that: '…[al-Suyūṭī] prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to the public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes.'[138] If his works were intended for the general public, some of them certainly required a degree of learning: the *khātima* that follows *al-Ḥabā'ik*, for instance, contains detailed theological discussions. Yet, at the same time, there is a tension in his collections between the use of this overtly scholarly material and his frequent reliance on weak and non-Prophetic *ḥadīth*,[139] as well as elements of folklore.[140]

As it has been seen above, there is textual evidence that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in promoting scholarly *ḥadīth* studies during his lifetime and that he

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[138] Geoffroy, 'al-Suyūṭī' p. 914.

[139] cf. Bauer, Thomas, 'Islamische Totenbücher. Entwicklug einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs' from S. Leder (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002) pp. 421 – 436, p. 424.

[140] There has been much secondary literature written on popular Islamic literature: e.g. Abdel-Malek, Kamal, 'Popular Religious Narratives' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 330 – 346; Reynolds, Dwight F., 'Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 245 – 269; Knappert, Jan, *Islamic Legends: Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) and Brinner, William M., 'Popular Literature in Medieval Jewish Arabic' in Norman Golb (ed.), *Judeo-Arabic Studies: Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997) pp. 59 – 71.

attacked those who used *ḥadīth* without having had any proper training in the field.[141] However, Marlis Saleh suggests the best explanation; she comments that: 'Al-Suyūṭī came to feel that he had been born into an age of widespread ignorance and scholarly decline, and that as the most knowledgeable person of his time he had a special mission to assemble and transmit the Islamic cultural patrimony before it disappeared entirely due to the carelessness of his contemporaries.'[142] It would seem that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in two different activities at the same time: firstly, promoting particular ideas about different subjects (in these case, angels) to the wider Muslim public; and, secondly, addressing more academic and theological issues, preserving them for future generations of scholars and students. It is, perhaps, for this reason that in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the theological arguments are kept within the confines of the *khātima*; those who did not understand *kalām*, or were not interested in it, could simply ignore it.

The *ḥadīth* found in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* are often part of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* genre. As has been seen above, al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries like al-Sakhāwī were involved in attempts to combat the growth of the preachers and the story-tellers. These popular preachers, in the opinion of the *ᶜulamā'*, were using *ḥadīth* inappropriately. The *quṣṣāṣ* narrated stories in the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition, which itself had a strong association with 'popular religion': 'The classification of Kisai's [*Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*] as popular religious literature may be suggested by its tendency to simplify Biblical-Quranic legends for the education and enjoyment of the

[141] See Berkey, Jonathan P., 'Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East' *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 –65, pp. 61 - 65 and Berkey, 'Storytelling, Preaching, and Power'.
[142] Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 76.

masses…'[143] The use of *qiṣaṣ* material in *al-Ḥabā'ik* may be an indication of its target audience: such material is being used in attempt to wean the general public of the *quṣṣaṣ* onto the works of the orthodox, acceptable and scholarly *ᶜulamā'*.

Naturally, much of this *qiṣaṣ* material is also found in the *tafsīr* works, but al-Suyūṭī does appear to have utilized this material much more frequently than scholars of earlier generations. This trend can been in both his general encyclopaedic *ḥadīth* collections and his more formal exegeses, such as his *al-Durr al-manthūr*. Such a blurring between formal and popular works was common in late Mamluk literature, which '…transcends boundaries: the boundaries between the everyday and literary communication; between popular and high literatures; between poetry and prose; between the private and public; between theory and praxis.'[144] Whether or not such a blurring was a direct response to the growth of the *wuᶜᶜaẓ* and the *quṣṣāṣ* is difficult to ascertain, but there certainly seems to be an engagement with 'popular' material in this period, which al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* also exhibits.

This more 'popular' material is juxtaposed with the *khātima* – a section that clearly requires a high degree of intellectual ability. Al-Suyūṭī refers to the *khātima* in his introduction to the work as the whole, and states: 'I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad.'[145] Al-Suyūṭī clearly intended it to be read, but by whom? The material in the *khātima* and its recapitulation of the work of earlier *mutakallimūn* seems to suggest that the postscript was aimed towards students, acting as a primer or summary of *kalām* arguments about angels. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* is difficult to comprehend, because, except for the presence of the angels, the two sections appear to have little in

[143] Shoshan, 'High Culture', p. 85.
[144] Bauer, 'Mamluk Literature', p. 130.
[145] Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 9.

common in their approach, sources and contents. There is, however, one quite general theme that can take both the *ḥadīth* and the *kalām* materials into account. Over the whole text there is a sense that work is attempting to outline all beliefs about angels in Islam, both those raised in the *ḥadīth* and in Islamic theology, making the work almost a 'text book' on belief in angels.

All of this would seem to suggest that *al-Ḥabā'ik* was aimed at a literate audience, but not necessarily those at the highest level of academia. It is not really an 'academic' work in that sense. It has already been seen that al-Suyūṭī wrote many works that could be considered as being fully *academic*, engaging in logic, law, exegesis and the *uṣūl al-dīn*, among many other subject areas. This material is quite different in nature and form to *al-Ḥabā'ik*. Furthermore, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's works shows that he also wrote much material that could be considered as being more popularist. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* sits somewhere in between these two audiences: neither fully academic, nor aimed entirely at the masses, but whether it was aimed at the literate general public or students specifically is difficult to ascertain. It would seem likely that both groups would have benefited from the work.

Appreciating al-Suyūṭī's target audiences produces some interesting insights on al-Suyūṭī as an author. He appears to have been engaged with a wide range of different groups of society: academics, students and the general public. His arrogant nature may not have enamoured him to the Cairene *intelligentsia*, but he does appear to have achieved a degree of fame and reputation, a fact not missed by Reynold Nicholson. After discussing his various disputes with contemporary scholars, Nicholson comments: 'Be this as it may, he saw what the public wanted. His

compendious and readable handbooks were famed throughout the Moslem world…'[146] Al-Suyūṭī knew what sort of books and *ḥadīth* collections were wanted, and he obligingly responded, writing works for a wide range of different social groups in Mamluk Cairo.

Others, such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, appear to have acted similarly;[147] this would seem to imply that scholars of the late Mamluk period were more deeply involved in the world outside academia than previous generations of scholars. This period is often accused of being a period of stagnation and intellectual malaise;[148] but, authors such as al-Suyūṭī show an awareness and interaction with the whole range of audiences in Mamluk Cairo. The Mamluk era was a period of great intellectual activity, not stagnation, seen especially in the interaction of scholars with the wider community – an academic model that, perhaps, has much to resonate with the contemporary world.

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[146] Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p. 455.
[147] Cf. Rosenthal, F., 'Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 776 – 778 and Petry, 'al-Sakhāwī'.
[148] Gardet commented: 'Elle semble avoir marqué l'entrée de la pensée religieuse musulmane en une longue période de stagnation…on peut situer au cours de ce IXe siècle de l'hégire le début effectif de l'ankylose qui se prolongera plus de quatre siècles.' Gardet, Louis, 'De quelle manière s'est ankylosée la pensée religieuse de l'Islam' in R. Brunschwig and G. E. von Grunebaum (eds.), *Classicisme et Déclin Culturel dans l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Paris: Editions Besson, 1957), pp. 93 – 105, p. 95. Such a position is now being questioned, see Bauer, Thomas, 'Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches' *MSR* 9:2 (2005) pp. 105 – 132.

The Origins of Islamic Beliefs About Angels

2. The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

Although angels appear in the Qur'ān, with Gabriel and Michael explicitly named, the traditions included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* show a great increase in the number of angels. The question naturally arises about how these traditions entered Islam and from where they originated. Understanding the provenance of these *ḥadīth* will provide a basis for comprehending the wider interactions between Islam and other religious traditions of the Near East, and allows a particular motif or concept to be placed in context: in what ways is an Islamic motif similar or different to its use in Judaism or Christianity?

The aim of this section is not to analyse the *ḥadīth* in source-critical terms, as this would not actually achieve very reliable results for a number of reasons: firstly, the majority of *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions passed into Islam through oral transmission,[149] often through a number of different sectarian and language groups. [150] This makes literary comparison or any source-critical approach difficult and of questionable value. Secondly, *ḥadīth* present material in a different way to Jewish and Christian texts. There is no real counterpart to the *ḥadīth collection* in Jewish or Christian literature; *ḥadīth* collections reproduce isolated fragments of information, usually

[149] See Nagel, T., 'Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 180 – 181 and Vajda, G., 'Isrā'īliyyāt' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 211 – 212; for a discussion of the term *Isrā'īliyyāt*, see Tottoli, Roberto, 'Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature' *Arabica* 46 (1999) pp. 193 – 210.

[150] Steven Wasserstrom comments: 'Rarely if ever will it be certain that an ancient Jewish pseudepigraph was taken over into Muslim narrative without such Christian intermediation.' Wasserstrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch' in John C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1994) pp. 87 – 114, p. 99.

with little in the way of contextualisation.[151] At most, a *ḥadīth* collection will offer a short narrative unit, such as the *Death of Moses* or the story of *Hārūt and Mārūt*.[152] Furthermore, even if a Judeo-Christian story or motif is found in a Muslim text, it is often adapted and changed to suit its new religious environment. In his discussion of al-Thaᶜlabī's version of the death of David, Kees Wagtendonk comments: 'As is the case with Wahb b. Munabbih's David stories, parts of these stories are derived from or influenced by Jewish or Christian sources. But this does not necessarily determine their intentions. We have to judge them by their new context.'[153] When approaching the *ḥadīth* in this collection in an attempt to understand the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, a number of parallels will be made between the *ḥadīth* and Jewish, Christian and other texts. However, the purpose is not to attribute sources to particular beliefs or motifs in the *ḥadīth*, but to highlight commonalities and differences between Islam and other religious traditions in general terms.[154] It is also important to place any commonalities in the context of their differences, so that a general and full picture about the interaction between Islam with other faiths can be seen.

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[151] Rabbinic texts are often collections of the sayings of the sages, but they are almost always placed within a wider legal or exegetical context (*halakha* and *haggadah*); see Maccoby, Hyam, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 1 – 48. Some Christian texts, such as the *Coptic Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also collections of the sayings of Jesus, but this form is relatively rare in Christian texts.

[152] Eg. §146 & 248 – 255; cf. El Calamawy, Sahair, 'Narrative Elements in the *Ḥadīth* Literature' *CHAL* vol. 1, pp. 308 – 316.

[153] Wagtendonk, 'Stories of David' p. 344; see also Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Psuedepigrapha and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*'.

[154] After a period in Biblical Studies where many studies were untaken drawing parallels between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern literature, Sandmel highlighted the problems that can be encountered when undertaking such work; see Sandmel, 'Parallelomania'.

At a basic level, Islamic beliefs about angels have largely been attributed to Jewish and Christian ones,[155] but there has not been much subsequent study of Islamic angelology as a whole. In order to understand the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels, a wide range of traditions need to be analysed so that a general picture of the situation can be taken. A study of a specific tradition may indicate an influence from one particular source or tradition, but that source may play a very minor role in the influences on Islamic angelology as whole. The study that follows looks at the *ḥadīth* presented by al-Suyūṭī in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in an attempt to assess the influences on Islamic angelology, through (i) the analysis of angelic nomenclature and (ii) a comparison of the depiction and iconography of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. What will be seen is that the influences on Islamic angelic traditions are more varied than may have been expected.

2.1 Angelic Nomenclature

The way in which objects and people are named often reveals much about both the object (or the person) and the one that did the naming. The modern discipline of semiotics is based on this principle and to a certain extent played a part in classical Arabic linguistic theory. Many mediaeval Arabic linguists attempted to find the etymological origins of the names of places and animals etc., so they could understand the word more clearly.[156] Likewise, a study of the way that angels are

[155] For example, Gaudefroy-Demombynes comments: 'From Judaism and Christianity, Islam learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms…' Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M., 'Demons and Spirits (Muslim)' in *ERE* vol. 4, pp. 615 – 619, p. 615.

[156] See Stetkevych, Jaroslav, 'Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry' *JNES* 45 (1986) pp. 89 – 124.

named reveals two key aspects: firstly, the physical origin of the angelic name; and secondly, the way in which the angel was perceived by a particular group.

What is evident from the angels found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is that there is a relatively large quantity of angels that are singled out and 'named' (albeit not always with individual personal names), and that the way in which this is done varies greatly. This, in itself, suggests that angels were incorporated into Islam in different ways and that the origins and development of Islamic beliefs about angels are more complex than some scholars have believed in the past. There are four main ways in which Islamic angels are named: (i) use of the suffix '-īl'; (ii) function names using the formula 'the Angel of X'; (iii) function names formed without *malak*, which are often derivations from concepts or (physical) objects and (iv) other miscellaneous names of varied or complex origin.

The main sources for Jewish and Christian angelic names are the Talmud, Midrash and other rabbinic texts, Old and New Testament Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as other magical incantation texts and later Jewish and Christian mystical treatises.[157] In Judaism the most common form of an angelic name is one composed with the suffix '*-ēl'*, a suffix that is maintained in both Jewish and Christian angelic names in other non-Semitic languages. These types of angelic names have meanings associated with God [*'ēl*]; for example, *Mikā'ēl,* means 'one like God' and *Gabrī'ēl* means 'power of God'. In the Bible named angels only appear in the post-exilic book of Daniel and were developed in the inter-testamental

[157] For a comprehensive survey of angelic names see Michl, J., 'Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen) *RAC* vol. 5, coll. 200 – 239; Petersen, Erik, 'Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara.' *RMP* 75 (1926) pp. 393 – 421 and Davidson, Gustav, *Dictionary of Angels* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1967). Julia Creswell's recent popular *The Watkins's Dictionary of Angels* (London: Watkins, 2006) contains many angelic names and some details about them, but has little information regarding sources.

period, perhaps influenced by Zoroastrianism, [158] and culminated in Pseudepigraphical texts. [159] In his commentary on *1Enoch* George Nickelsburg highlights a number of reasons why named angels became popular in the inter-Testamental period, concluding that: 'In general, however, it has the effect of reifying the heavenly world. If it does not give personalities to these beings, it does give definition and an increasing sense of reality to these beings – whether they be good or evil – concretizing their functions on their names…'[160]

Another important way that angelic names were given in Judaism arose out of exegeses of passages in the Hebrew Bible.[161] In these instances, heavenly objects found in scripture become angelic, often forming a group of angels, rather than individuals. As a result, these groups usually take the form of the standard Hebrew plural (*-īm*) of the hypostasised object. For example, the wheels of God's chariot become the group of angels called the *opannīm* ['the wheels'].[162] These two forms of angelic nomenclature are the most common, but angelic names not taking either of these forms can be found. These angels are usually conceptual, i.e. anthropomorphic (or rather angelomorphic) representations of abstract ideas such as 'Death',

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[158] See Winston, David, 'The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence' *HR* 5 (1966) pp. 183 - 216, pp. 189 - 192. Some early commentators argued that Jewish angelology developed during the period of exile in Persia; e.g. Kohut, A, 'Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?' *ZDMG* 21 (1867) pp. 552-91 and Kohut, A., *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhänigkeit vom Parsismus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866). However, this influence is no longer seen to have been as strong as nineteenth century scholars, such as Kohut, suggested; cf. Barr, James, 'The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity' *JAAR* 53 (1985) pp. 201 – 236.

[159] E.g. *1 Enoch* contains a great number of angelic names formed in this way.

[160] Nickelsburg, George E., *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) p. 45.

[161] Cf. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands.* Olyan, however, does have a tendency to overstate the role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelology, as C. R. A. Morray-Jones comments: 'Beliefs about angels were not simply generated, within a religious and social vacuum, by anomalies in the text of Scripture.' Morray-Jones, C. R. A., 'Review of Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 154 – 159, p. 159.

[162] See Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, pp. 34 – 41 and Halperin, David J., 'The Exegetical Character of Ezek. X 9 - 17' *VT* 26 (1976) pp. 129 - 141.

'Wisdom' and so on;[163] or are ultimately derived from other non-Semitic languages, such as Greek.

This section will look at the different types of angelic names included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, attempting to locate their origin and the significance of their nomenclature.

2.1.1 Theophoric Names

A number of angelic names included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* derive from Hebrew (or North-West Semitic equivalents), with some changes in vocalisation. Angelic names in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac are most often compounds formed with the termination *–'ēl*, meaning 'X of God'. The most common theophoric name in Islam is, of course, Gabriel / *Jibrīl*. The Qur'ānic *muṣḥaf* reads *Jibrīl* for the angel Gabirel, but there are a number of variations extant, including: *jabra'īl, jabrīl, jabrāll, jabrīn*.[164] These variations suggest that the name is of foreign origin and it was thought to be either Hebrew or Syriac in traditional lexicography.[165]

Despite the retention of the ending *–īl* (the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *'ēl*), the angelic name often loses its original meaning when transferred to Arabic and, even when it could be retained, the original Hebrew sense is usually

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[163] Cf. Brandon, S. G. F., 'The Personification of Death in some Ancient Religions' *JJRL* 43 (1960 – 1961) pp. 317 – 335 and Ringgren, Helmar, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostasation of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1947).

[164] See Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary* pp. 100 – 101 & 275 - 276. Variants of the Gabirel can be found in the Codices of Ubai ibn Kaᶜb, ᶜAlī, Ibn ᶜAbbās, ᶜAlqama, ᶜIkrima and al-Aᶜmash on Q 2:97 – 98; see Jeffery, A., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, Brill, 1937) pp. 119, 189, 195, 242, 269 & 315; see also al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaᶜat al-Mashad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.) vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Jawālīqī, Abū Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir), *Al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜjamī ᶜalā ᶜurūf al-muᶜjam* (Tehran; s.n., 1966) pp. 113 – 115 & 327.

[165] See al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46; Jeffrey suggests Syriac as the vocalisation (*Gabri'ēl*) is closer to the Arabic; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 100; cf. Payne-Smith, Robert, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) vol. 1, p. 648.

ignored. For example, §89 states that: 'Gabriel's name [means] servant of God; Michael's name [means] servant of God; and Isrāfīl's name [means] servant of the Merciful.'[166] The *ḥadīth* gives the three names meanings that are not strictly correct in the Hebrew sense; but the new names are revealing. Whereas the Hebrew names enhance the power and might of God, the Arabic names highlight the angels' subservience to God.[167] These translations do, however, still retain the correct translation of *'ēl* / *'īl* as 'God'.[168]

The *–īl* ending is also given an 'incorrect' definition in two of the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: §37 states that 'every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'[169] Again, this translation (or definition) shows some ingenuity, as *'ēl* is the Hebrew word for God and *īl* is not in Arabic, it had to be translated or interpreted in a different way. To say that *īl* means the 'temple of God' circumvents this problem. It also avoids the introduction of another, non-Islamic, name for God. However, in the Arabic lexicographical tradition *īl* is usually given the simple explanation 'a name of God, Most High.'[170]

Al-Ḥabā'ik includes eleven angelic names ending in *–īl*: *Jibrīl* (Gabriel), *Mīkā'īl* (Michael), *Isrāfīl*, *Ismāᶜīl*, *Riyāfīl*, *Ramyā'īl*, *Sharahīl*, *Harahīl*, *Artiyā'īl*, *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* and *Rufīl*. The origin of the angels *Jibrīl / Jibrā'īl* (Hebrew: *Gabri'ēl*) and *Mīkā'īl* (*Mīkā'ēl*) are both well-known and have been frequently

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[166] §89; cf. §36 – 38 & §78; these translations are also found in Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.
[167] Rabbinic texts do, however, still stress that angels are 'lower' than humans, because of their inability to do other than that which God has commanded them to do; cf. Schechter, S., 'Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology' *JQR* 7 (1895) pp. 195 – 215.
[168] Some Arabic texts do not attempt to give a precise meaning for the name, for example in one text about the *miᶜrāj*, Michael says to Muḥammad, 'I am called Mikā'īl simply because I am appointed over the rain and the plants.' McKane, W., 'A Manuscript on the Miᶜrāj in the Bodleian' *JSS* 2 (1947), pp. 366 – 379, p. 370.
[169] §37; §36 also has a similar statement.
[170] Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, p. 45 ; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 436 - 438.

discussed.[171] The use and adaptation of Judeo-Christian theophoric names would, at first sight, produce a strong case for a Judeo-Christian influence on this type of Islamic nomenclature. However, there are a number of idiosyncrasies in the Arabic names that make this relationship more complex.

A number of the names included in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have strong etymological links with Jewish angels,[172] but other names are philologically further removed. For example, Artiyā'īl, an angel responsible for removing grief from humans, bears some philological similarity to the angel Uriel (Hebrew: *'uri'ēl*).[173] An etymological relationship between the two is potentially possible as the Arabic name only includes the addition of the infix '*-ti-*' and some minor vowel modifications. The initial *alif* is left without any diacritical marks and is usually vocalised with a *fatḥa*; however, a *kasra* (i.e. Irtiyā'īl) would, perhaps, make more sense – linking it to VIII R-W-Ā, (to quench one's thirst), which is what this angel does in an abstract way. However, it must be stressed that this is only conjecture, as there is no other textual evidence available to gain a fuller understanding of the name's origin.

Another example relates to the two angels Rūfīl (also given as Rufā'īl)[174] and Riyāfīl, which both appear to derive from the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* (Aramaic *Rapa'ēl*) with a fairly straightforward etymology.[175] There are, however, a few problems with the origins of the name Rūfīl. Firstly, did the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* generate two different

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[171] See Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 100 – 101 and 275 – 276; Pedersen, J., 'Djibrā'il' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 362 – 364 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Mīkāl' *EI*^{2} Vol 7, pp. 24 – 25.

[172] *Viz*: Jibrīl ≡ Gabri'ēl; Mikā'īl ≡ Mīka'ēl; Ismā^{c}īl ≡ Sama^{c}ēl; Isrāfīl ≡ Sarapi'ēl; Ramyā'īl ≡ Rami'ēl; Sharahīl ≡ Sarahi'ēl.

[173] In the Pseudepigraphical text the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Uriel is involved in the burials of Adam and Abel, although it should be noted that the text does not directly associate Uriel with comforting the grieving: cf. *LAE(V)* 48:3, *OTP*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[174] A similar ḥadīth appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Hayā' al-sāniya*, VIII:11 where the name is given as *Rufā'īl*; see Heinen, *Islamic* Cosmology, p. 31 [Ar.]; Heinen suggests that this is Raphiel, see p. 232.

[175] See Barton, George A., 'The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.' *JBL* 31 (1912) pp. 156 – 167, p. 158; 1En 10:4; 13:1.

angels, *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*? With only very limited source material available it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions; although it does seem likely, etymologically at least, that *Rupa'ēl* is related to both *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*. Another problem arises with this angel; Raphael is a prominent angel in both Judaism and Christianity,[176] but in Islam Rūfīl and Riyāfīl are not. Furthermore, whilst Riyāfīl performs a role similar to Raphael,[177] Rūfīl is the Angel of the Clouds, a role not played by either the Jewish or Christian Raphael. In this case, a strong etymological link can be established between Rūfīl / Riyāfīl and Raphael, but the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the angel are not assimilated with the name.

Similar problems are encountered with the pair of angels Harāhīl and Sharāhīl (§409 – 410), the angels responsible for the sun and the moon. In Judeo-Christian tradition the Angel of the Sun is often associated with Uriel,[178] but in 1 Enoch 8:3[179] there is reference to the two demons Shamshiel and Sarahiel.[180] In Enoch, however, Sarahiel is not an angel, as such, but the fallen angel or demon that taught humans the courses of the moon (i.e. astrology).[181] The Arabic Sharāhīl is clearly derived from Sarahiel, with the only change being *sīn* to *shīn* (a common and easily acceptable alteration).[182] Whilst this accounts for the angel of the moon, the angel of

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[176] For a survey of the role of Raphael see Barker, Margaret 'The Archangel Raphael in the Book of Tobit' in Mark Bredin (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Tobit* (London: T&T Clark, 2006) pp. 118 – 128.
[177] §275 – 276; Riyāfīl is the angel that accompanies Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, in much the same that Raphael is Tobit's guide; cf. Tob. 5:16, *NRSV* p. 6.
[178] Cf. *NumR* II:10, p. 39; 1 En. 75:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 54
[179] 1 En 8:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 16.
[180] The two demons are also linked to a Mandaic incantation bowl, see Bhayro, Siam 'Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6 – 11' *JSP* 15 (2006) pp. 163 – 177; pp. 172 – 173.
[181] See Kuhn, Harold B., 'The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses' *JBL* 67 (1948) pp. 217 – 232, p. 226. These two demons bear some resemblance to the story of Hārūt and Mārūt, [Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13] in which the angels are said to have taught humans magic; cf. Bauckham, Richard, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria' *VC* 39 (1985) pp. 313 - 330.
[182] For the relationship between *š*, *ś* and *s* in the Semitic language group, see Moscati, Sabatino *et. al.*, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Lanaguages* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964) §8; pp. 33 – 37.

the sun (Harāhīl) is not included in the pairing of demons found in 1 Enoch 8:3, which uses the name *Shamshiel*. The reason why the Enochic *Shamshiel* was not appropriated into Islam along with *Sarahi'ēl* is unclear, especially as the name means 'Sun of God' and could easily be converted into **shamsā'īl* or **shamsīl* in Arabic. It is deeply unsatisfactory for a pairing of angels to be adopted incompletely, but with no other sources extant that can attest to the origins of *Harāhīl*, the reasons behind it must remain unknown.

The Angel of Death is occasionally given the theophoric name *ᶜAzrā'īl* or *ᶜIzrā'īl* (both of these vocalisations are found).[183] This name came to prominence after the coming of Islam in both Islamic and Jewish literature and folklore,[184] and from its form appears to have been assimilated into Arabic from Judaism. Attempts have been made in the past to identify the *ᶜAzrā'īl* / *ᶜIzrā'īl* with a Jewish (or Christian) angel and the most likely candidate is that it is a corruption of *ᶜAṣri'el*, which was suggested by the eminent Islamic scholar, A. J. Wensinck.[185] The only change to the name is the consonant shift from *samekh* to *zayin*, one that was relatively common in the move from Biblical to Rabbinic Hebrew.[186] However, there are also attestations of the name *ᶜAzra'ēl* extant in five Aramaic incantation texts;[187] but, because of the nature of these incantation texts, there is no evidence to

[183] Cf. al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane *AELex*, p. 2035.
[184] See Wensinck, A. J. 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292-293; El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) vol. 2, p.2:36 and Nov, Doy, 'Angel of Death' *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 952 – 956, col. 955.
[185] Wensinck, A. J., 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*^{1} vol. 2, pp. 570 – 571 (however, this derivation is not found in *EI*^{2}); see also Bowman, John, 'A British Museum Arabic Eschatological Fragment' *MW* 38 (1948) pp. 198 – 217, pp. 206 – 207.
[186] Cf. Péréz Fernández, Miguel (tr. John Elwolde), *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) p. 13.
[187] Isbell, Charles D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula: Scholars Press. 1975) §12:14 & 41:7, pp. 44 & 98 and Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) §1:13; 2:16; 7:3, pp. 40 – 41, pp. 46 – 47 & 68 – 69. The name also appears in a much later amulet on parchment; see Casanowitz,

link the name to the angel's (Islamic) function as the angel of death, as the name simply appears in lists amongst many others. Generally, these Aramaic incantation texts found in Mesopotamia and the Levant are thought to date to around the seventh century CE,[188] however, there is some archaeological evidence to suggest an earlier date.[189] These incantation texts are important because they reflect an angelology that was a popular and integral part of folk-religion in the Near East on the eve of, and during, the expansion of Islam. Such a popular aspect of religious belief must have had some impact on the formation of Islamic folk-religion and early traditions about angels, and by extension the names of the angels themselves.

A survey of the theophoric names reveals some interesting perspectives on Islamic angelology. Firstly, the use of theophoric names is limited, with only a few instances in the entire collection. Some of these names are important Judeo-Christian angels, such as Gabriel and Michael; others are much more obscure, such as Sharahīl and Irtiyā'īl. This creates a confusing picture of the way in which angelic names were used by the Muslim community. The use of Gabriel and Michael in the Qur'ān clearly point to usage in the earliest nascent community, but is this the case for other theophoric names for angels? Some names such as Isrāfīl are very common and can be found easily in *tafsīrs* and other *ḥadīth* collections, others are much rarer. It would seem plausible to suggest that the more popular angels and angelic names probably entered Islamic tradition early on in the development of its angelology, whilst the rarer names were adopted at a later stage. The retention of the *–īl* ending would seem

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I. M., 'Two Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum' *JAOS* 37 (1917) pp. 43 – 56, p. 55.

[188] See Isbell, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, pp. 3 – 12 and Yamuchi, Edwin M., 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls' *JAOS* 85 (1965) pp. 511 – 523, p. 511.

[189] Concerning Naveh & Shaked §2 & 3, they comment: 'It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of the Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.' Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets*, p. 46.

to indicate closer connections with Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac angelic nomenclature, possibly made known through magic incantation texts, popular in mediaeval period or through other Jewish or Christian texts. The way in which the names were appropriated into Islamic tradition remains, at best, speculative; particularly in cases where no other attestations of the name exist. However, Jewish folk-religion, as reflected in magical incantation texts must present an important influence on the use of some of these theophoric names in Islam. However, it is necessary to contextualise the relatively limited use of theophoric names for angels in Islam against the large volume of names formed by the formula *the Angel of X*. This would seem to suggest that Islamic nomenclature favours that construction, which, in turn, makes angelic neologisms formed with *–īl* endings less likely.

2.1.2 Function Names

The way in which angels are named in Islam is predominately by their function: i.e. The Angel of *X*. This is important as it means the angel is nameless, which is in direct conflict with the main trend in Judeo-Christian angelology of giving angels an actual name.[190] In Jewish angelology the power and authority of God is seen in the theophoric element of the name. When the theophoric element becomes meaningless (as it does when it has been translated into Arabic), the angel achieves some degree of independence as a named being and the preference for descriptive function-formulae may reveal an attempt in Islamic thought to move the focus from the angel to God directly. In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are thirty-two angels (or pairs of

[190] Although the name usually reflects the function of the angel; e.g. Baraqiel = 'Lightning of God' and is the angel responsible for lightning.

angels) whose names are formed in this way, reflecting a wide range of angelic functions. There are four main groups to consider: (a) angels of abstract concepts; (b) cosmological angels; (c) angels of specific things and places; (d) other angels. The idea that there are angels responsible for different things is common to both Judaism and Zoroastrianism.[191]

Function is an important concept in Islamic angelology and it should be noted that in the *ḥadīth* it can be seen that no angel has multiple functions; situations in which multiple functions could occur are given two angels. For example, the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of souls and nothing else (§107 – 171); there are two Scribes that do two different jobs (§312 – 406). In some other cases there are multiple angels performing the same roles, but in each of these cases the group of angels only performs one task. The angels' functions are important, as Fehmi Jadaane comments: 'La plupart du temps les Anges sont définis par leur fonction et non par leur essence; ce sont précisément des êtres fonctionnels.'[192] The idea that angels can only perform one task is, generally speaking, a rule throughout the *ḥadīth* in the collection, the only exceptions being two of the four archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*), Gabriel and Michael.[193] The belief that angels can only carry out one function is also found in Rabbinic thought.[194]

There are a number of angels of abstract concepts included in the work: the angels of death, faith, life, livelihood, weeping, righteousness and unrighteousness, health, suffering, wealth, nobility, *murū'a*, loathing, ignorance, war (the Angel of the

[191] Joshua Trachtenberg comments: '…the personality of the angels was more clearly delineated through an effort to describe them, to name the more important ones, and to accord them peculiar spheres of influence, so that we have "princes" of fire, of hail, of rain, of night, of the sea, of healing and so on…' Trachtenberg, Joshua, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1982) pp. 71 – 72.
[192] Jadaane, 'La place des Anges' p. 43.
[193] See §27 – 35; the other two are Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death.
[194] Cf. *GenR* 50:1, p. 434.

Sword) and courage. The Angel of Death is the only angel in this group that plays a prominent role in Islamic angelology and the last ten angels only appear in one *ḥadīth* (§472). The personification of abstract ideas is common to many late antique religions including Zoroastrianism,[195] Christianity and Judaism,[196] and is particularly common in representations of these ideas in the art of the late-antique and early mediaeval period.[197] Angels representing abstractions also bear some similarity to some pre-Islamic pagan deities such as *Manāt* (Fate).[198] This group of angels is relatively straightforward to consider, although it is important to draw attention to the fact that these angels of abstraction include the specifically Arabian concept of *murū'a*. However, it should be noted that the rarity of this angel seems to suggest it was not commonly personified either in the Islamic period or before. At the very least, this reference to the Angel of *murū'a* attests to the relative ease with which abstract concepts could be turned into angels in Islamic thought.

Cosmological angels form the largest group of angels with this particular style of nomenclature. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* includes references to angels of rain, mountains, the leaves of trees, thunder, clouds, lightning, the sun, shadow, plants and the sea.[199] The angels have similar roles in Jewish tradition, particularly in Pseudepigraphical

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[195] The Zoroastrian *Amәša Spәntas* are personifications of abstract ideas; see Geiger, Bernhard, *Die Amәša Spәntas – Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Vienna: Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1916) and Clark, Peter, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction to an Ancient Faith* (Brighton : Sussex Academic Press, 1998) pp. 27 – 58.

[196] Wisdom is the most common example, which is personified in the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Proverbs); see Camp, Claudia V., *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Sheffield: Almond, 1985).

[197] Cf. Downey, Glanville, 'Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics' *TPAPA* 69 (1938) pp. 349 – 363.

[198] See Fahd, *Panthéon,* pp. 123 – 126. In early twentieth century scholarship, it was thought that many beliefs in angels and spirits were rooted in early animistic beliefs; cf. Langton, Edward, *Good and Evil Spirits: A Study of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine, Its Origin and Development* (London: SPCK, 1942) and Zwemer, Samuel S., 'Animism in Islam' *MW* 7 (1917) pp. 245 – 255.

[199] §172 – 177 (rain and clouds); §298 – 299 (mountains); §407 – 408 (leaves); §257 – 268 (thunder and lightning); §409 – 410; 430 – 434 (sun); §435 (shadow); §485 (plants) and §486 – 487 (sea / tide).

texts, such as *Jubilees* and *Enoch*.[200] However, as Harold Kuhn comments: 'These references indicate that the writers in question thought of angels as controlling intermediaries between God and the inanimate world; and further that they considered them to be rather indistinct personifications of powers, rather than as clear-cut personalities.'[201] These angels are not individuals, like gods or demigods, but are merely designated as the beings that control an aspect of meteorology or cosmology.[202] This depersonalisation is made clearer in Islam where the angels are stripped of a personal name, reversing the reification process of the Jewish theophoric names highlighted by Nickelsberg above. As a result, these meteorological angels reflect God's influence and power over the created world, which is a particularly strong and well-known theme of the Qur'ān.

Five angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* using this descriptive formula are connected with specific objects and places: the veil (§178), cemeteries (§413 – 414), the Yemeni Column (§458 – 460), the three *jimār* at Minā (§461) and the Prophet's Tomb (§448 – 449). These are all sites and objects with particular religious significance in Islam and it is only natural that angels were made responsible for maintaining them and noting whomever performed the rituals associated with them. For example, the Angel responsible for the Yemeni Column says to whoever passes it: 'Amen! Amen!'[203]

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[200] E.g. Angels of fire (Gabriel), hail (Baradiel), wind (Ruhi'el), lightning (Baraqiel), whirlwind (Zaᶜamiel), thunder (Raᶜami'el), Ziqi'el (comets), Ziᶜi'el (tremors), Zaᶜapi'el (hurricanes), Raᶜaši'el (earthquakes), snow (Šalgi'el), rain (Maṯari'el), day (Šimši'el); night (Laili'el), sun (Galgalli'el), moon ('Opanni'el), stars (Kokabi'el) and constellations (Rahaṯi'el) can be found in 3 En. 14:3 - 4, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 266 – 7.

[201] Kuhn, 'Angelology' p. 226.

[202] There are a number of meteorological gods in Semitic and pre-Islamic Arabian religion, but these divinities have individual power over the phenomenon, whereas the meteorological angels in Jewish and Muslim thought have none. Cf. Green, A. R. W., *The Storm God in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbaums, 2003) and Brown, David Allan, *The Deities Worshipped in Central and North-West Arabia at the Advent of Islam, their temples and rituals*. (PhD. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1968.) pp. 529 – 549.

[203] §458 – 460.

Likewise, the seventy thousand angels that visit the Prophet's tomb each day demonstrate its sanctity.[204] The Angel of the Veil is the angel responsible for the veil which surrounds God in the Seventh Heaven. Whilst there may be similar angels in Jewish and Christian traditions,[205] it is difficult to establish the extent to which these ideas influenced Islamic angelology.

There are also a number of angels that cannot be easily placed into any of the groups discussed thus far. Some of these refer to specific incidents in the history of angelic interaction with humans, such as *The Angel of the Prophet of the River* (§256) and *The Angel of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn* (§478 – 484). There are also a number of angels responsible for certain ritual actions, namely: The Angel of the Qur'ān (§462 – 465), which corrects in an individual's 'book' any misreading of the Qur'ān that he or she makes when reciting the Qur'ān; the Angel of the Blessing of the Prophet, who records any occasion when someone says: 'God have mercy upon him and grant him salvation'; the Angel who is responsible for whoever says: 'The Most Merciful of those that are merciful' (§466); the Angel of Private Prayer (§467 – 470); the Angel of Ritual Prayer (§474); the Angels of Funerary Rites (§475 – 477), and the Angel of the Prophet's Prayer (§449 - 457), who tells Muḥammad about who has blessed him. These angels seem to work in addition to the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafiẓān*) and they provide an extra encouragement and motivation for Muslims to perform certain ritual practices.[206]

Other angels have more obscure functions. The Angels of the Womb and the Embryo (§436 – 444) are the two angels involved in instilling God's predetermined

[204] §488 – 489.
[205] In Samaritanism, the heavenly temple is surrounded by an angel that is later associated with the Angel of the Lord; see Fossum, Jarl, 'The Angel of the Lord in Samaritanism' *JSS* 46 (2001) pp. 51 - 75.
[206] This will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.

course for the individual and in protecting the embryo throughout gestation. Another example is found in *ḥadīth* that describe the formation of the world. The world stands on a succession of different layers, at the bottom of which is a fish, which is itself supported by an angel. In other conceptions a rock is at the very bottom, but in this case the rock has an angel associated with it.[207] There is another angel that '…creates pieces of jewellery for the people in the Garden from the Day of the Creation until the Resurrection Hour.'[208] Another *ḥadīth* also states that crying is the result of an angel rubbing an individual's liver with its wing.[209] These angels are difficult to classify: they are often very rare and the *ḥadīth* themselves tend to be very short, and accordingly hard to place in a wider context.

What these function formulae show is that Islam often associated events, physical things, meteorological phenomena, abstract ideas and ritual behaviour with angels. The construction of the name allows this to be done relatively easily and, whilst there are sometimes parallels with Jewish and Christian angelology, the link is weak and unlikely to be the result of significant influence. For example, the Jewish angel *Sandalfon* is said to make crowns of flowers from the prayers of the faithful,[210] which bears some resemblance to the Islamic angel who creates jewellery for those in paradise; but there is unlikely to be any 'genetic' link between the two angels and, at the very most, one can only note the similarity between the two ideas.

The use of angels, particularly in the case of these functional angels, creates a bridge between this world and God's world, between the heavenly and the earthly. The nomenclature gives religious authority to certain ritual actions, particular places,

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[207] §415 – 422.
[208] §448
[209] §471
[210] See Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' *EJ* vol. 14, coll. 827 – 828.

and, in the case of the Angel of the Womb, also restates theological ideas, such as predestination. In these *ḥadīth*, the angelic world penetrates almost all forms of human experience and the use of the function name formula goes further and associates individual angels with a large number of specific actions, places and phenomena.

2.1.3 Function Names without *Malak*

There are a few angels named in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* which have names linked to their function, which are not expressed by the angelic formula. These angels include: the *Bearers of the Throne*, *The Spirit*, *The Cockerel*, *The Sakīna*, *The Tempters of the Grave*, *The Scribes*, *The Scroll, The Cherubim* and *The Guardians of the Wind*. These angels are all closely associated with the Qur'ānic text itself, and were developed in Islamic traditions and exegesis.[211]

The Bearers of the Throne (§179 – 206) are mentioned in Q 40:7 & 69:17[212] in a relatively general way, and the material presented in the exegetical literature is much more developed.[213] Q 69:17 states that there are eight bearers of the Throne, but some *ḥadīth* state there are only four (e.g. §189, 190, 192, 193, 197), whilst some take a middle position, arguing that there are four bearers of the Throne, who are replaced by another four on the Day of Resurrection (§188, 191). On the whole, there

[211] Exegesis played a similar important role in Judaism, as Olyan argues: 'The interpretation of texts of the Hebrew Bible by ancient and medieval exegetes is certainly responsible for the vast majority of angelic brigade designations, and many angelic personal names.' Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, p. 118.

[212] See Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 481 & 604; the Qur'an also refers to angels surrounding the Throne of God in Q 39:75; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.

[213] For a discussion of the imagery of the Throne and the Throne Bearers see O'Shaughnessy, T., 'God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an' *Numen* 20 (1973) 202 – 221, particularly 206 – 207; for a discussion of various traditions about the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* and Jewish material, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 467 – 476.

is no attempt to name the Bearers of the Throne with personal names, although the angel Isrāfīl is occasionally believed to be one of the Bearers (§ 194 & 195). This trend highlights the importance of the angels' function, as the majority of the angels in this group remain unnamed.

The Spirit is an angel that has aroused much debate in both Qur'ānic and Islamic studies,[214] as the Qur'an varies in the ways in which it both uses and conceives the Spirit. In the exegetical material the Spirit is most often associated with Gabriel, but it is also often conceived as being an angelic being in its own right.[215] This confused picture can be seen in the chapter on the Spirit in Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§210 – 228). Some of the *ḥadīth* state that the Spirit is a single angelic being[216] and others that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel.[217] The interpretation of *al-Rūḥ* as a group of angels rather than a single angel appears to be a development in later exegesis[218] and the fact that the term *arwāḥ* (spirits, plural of *rūḥ*)[219] is also found in Islamic tradition makes this usage of *al-Rūḥ* quite unusual. To a certain extent it is difficult to determine the original place and role of the *Spirit* in the Qur'ān and early tradition, so understanding its origins is problematic; but Jewish and

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[214] See O'Shaugnessy, T., *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953); MacDonald, D. B., 'The development of the idea of Spirit in Islam' *AO* 9 (1931) 307 – 351; Calverley, E. E., 'Doctrines of the soul (*Nafs* and *Rūḥ*) in Islam' *MW* 33 (1943) pp. 254 – 265 and Sells, Michael A., 'Sound, Spirit and Gender in Sūrat al-Qadr' *JAOS* 111 (1991) pp. 239 – 259.

[215] Al-Ṭabarī refers to three main interpretations of *al-rūḥ al-qudus*: (i) Gabriel; (ii) the *Injīl* (Gospel) or (iii) God. Al-Ṭabarī argues that it refers to Gabriel; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 403 – 406 [Q 2:87]. The idea that the *Spirit (of God)* is an angel began to become popular in Hellenic Judaism, see Levinson, John R., *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[216] E.g. §216: 'The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven, and he is greater than the heavens and the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every saying of 'I praise you'. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.'

[217] E.g. §225: '…concerning His Word: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.' [Q 78:38] He said: Both of them are ranks of the Lord of the two worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the Spirit and a rank of angels.'

[218] See O'Shaughnessy, *Meaning of Spirit*, pp. 16 – 24.

[219] *Arwāḥ* is normally used to refer to a human's spirit, but it is used of a species of angelic being in some traditions; see Wensinck, A. J., *CTM* vol. 2, pp. 317 – 318.

Christian influences are plainly evident. Strong Christian, and particularly, Jewish influences can also be seen in the *karrabiyūn* (Cherubim) and the *Sakīna* (§295 – 297). The *Sakīna* fulfils much the same role as the *Shekina* in post-Biblical Jewish thought.[220]

The Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) appears only in Islamic tradition and there are fifteen *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§280 – 294) devoted to the cockerel.[221] The nomenclature in this case is simple; the *dīk* is an enormous angel in the form of a cockerel, which gives the times of prayer to the angels and the human world (via earthly cockerels), a motif also found in 3 Baruch.[222] Likewise the angel *al-Sijill* (§243 – 247, 'the scroll'), is an angel that is in the form of a scroll. The Tempters of the Grave (*fattān al-qabr*), the Scribes (*al-ḥāfiẓān*), and The Guardian of the Wind (*khaznat al-rīḥ*) are angels that have obvious functions and their names reflect this.

Angels with names not formed by with the suffix *–īl*, or by the angelic formula *the angel of X* are, on the whole, some of the more important angels in Islamic tradition. In most cases the angelic names are derived from the Qur'ān itself and its exegesis. Saul M. Olyan has highlighted the important role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelic nomenclature,[223] and this trend is replicated in the Islamic exegetic tradition. Although some of these angels may have equivalents in

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[220] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, Ignaz, 'La notion de la Sakina chez les Mohamétans' *GS* vol. 2, pp. 296 – 308. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with the Ark of the Covenant. See Patai, Raphael, 'The Shekina' *JR* 44 (1964) pp. 275 – 288 and Rubin, Uri, 'Traditions in transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography' *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp. 196 – 214.

[221] See Tottoli, Robert, 'At Cock-Crow: Some Muslim Traditions About the Rooster' *Der Islam* 76 (1999) pp. 139 – 147; and for the cosmic cockerel see, pp. 142 - 143. This article is a survey of another ḥadīth collection of Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*.

[222] Cf. 'This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do, thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing.' *3Bar*. 6:16; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 671.

[223] Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Serve Him*.

the Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g. the *Spirit* and the *Sakīna*), their development as angels in Islam is most likely to be entirely internal, with a less prominent influence from Judaism and Christianity.

2.1.4 Other Miscellaneous Angelic Names

The majority of the angelic names that have been encountered thus far have been named by their function, with only eleven having personal, theophoric names. There are other names that are not formed in a logical manner, which have either been borrowed from other cultures, or originate within Islam itself. The angels with no formal nomenclature include: Riḍwān, Mālik, Hārūt, Mārūt, Ṣadluqan, Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, Dhū 'l-Nurayn, Dūma, Mīṭaṭrūsh, Qā'id, Munkar, Nakīr (with the variants Ankar and Nākūr) and Rūmān. Some of these are important in Islamic angelology, especially Riḍwān, Mālik, and the two pairs of angels Hārūt & Mārūt and Munkar & Nakīr; whilst others only appear in a limited number of *ḥadīth*, namely: Ṣadluqan (§274), Qā'id (§323), Dhū 'l-Qarnayn as an angel (§277 & 278) and Dhū 'l-Nurayn (§279). This section will briefly look at their etymological history and attempt to understand the way in which the names entered Islamic tradition.

The most interesting etymological history is that of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (§248 – 255). Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels that wished to experience human life, after complaining that humans were sinning and boasting that they did not; the two angels are then tricked by al-Zuhara (Venus) into drinking and they subsequently commit murder and fornication. The story is alluded to in the

Qur'ān,[224] but the story is greatly expanded by the exegetes and in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature.[225] The two names are quite different to other angelic names found in both the Qur'ān[226] and other traditional material and various attempts have been made to suggest an origin. A. J. Wensinck suggested a possible Syriac origin, but it is now generally thought that the names originate from the Zoroastrian *Aməsha Spəntas* Haurvatāt and Amretetāt, through an intermediary language, possibly Middle Persian, Sogdian or Armenian.[227] Direct influence from the Persian tradition can be seen in two *ḥadīth* (§251 & 253), in which there are direct references to *Anāhīd*, a Zoroastrian *yazata* that was associated with both fertility, love and the planet Venus.[228] Another *ḥadīth* contains the following exchange: '[Al-Zuhara] said: "Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without being the same." The two said: "What is your faith?" She said: "Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*)."'[229] All of this suggests a strong Zoroastrian influence on the names of the two angels; however the actual story of Hārūt and Mārūt has other characteristics in common

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[224] 'And they follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels, Harut and Marut, they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve.' Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13.

[225] E.g. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; William M. Brinner (tr.), *ᶜArā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' or "Lives of the Prophets"* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 86 – 91; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 454 - 459; see also Margoliouth, 'Harut and Marut' *MW* 18 (1918) pp. 73 - 79.

[226] There are a few personal names that follow this pattern found in the Qur'ān: *viz. Jālūt* (Saul), *Yājūj* (Gog), *Mājūj* (Magog), *Ṭālūt* (Saul), *Dā'ūd* / *Dāwūd* (David). Some of the names have origins in Hebrew or Aramaic (*Jālūt*, *Dā'ūd*), but the derivation of the others remains unclear. For a longer discussion of these names, see Carter, Michael, 'Foreign Vocabulary' in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) pp. 120 – 139, pp. 134 – 137.

[227] See Wensinck, A. J., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EI*[1] vol. 2, pp. 272 – 273; Vajda, G., 'Hārūt wa-Mārūt' *EI*[2] vol. 3, pp. 236 – 237 and Brinner, Willam M., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 404 – 405. For a fuller analysis of the etymology of the names see de Menasce, P-J., 'Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmanne: á propos de Hārūt et Mārūt' *EA* 1 (1947) pp. 10 – 18; Uhl, Patrice, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le Sorcellerie de Babel – à Propos des Vers Arabes de la Chanson V (MS. *C*) –' *Arabica* 38 (1991) pp. 19 - 39, pp. 19 – 20; Henning, W. B., *Sogdica* (London: s.n., 1940) pp. 16 & 19 and Jeffrey, Arthur, *Foreign* Vocabulary, pp. 282 – 283 and Shabazi, Shapur A., 'Hārut and Mārut' *EIr.* vol. 12, pp. 20 - 22. Al-Jawālīqī states that the names are foreign, *al-Muᶜarrab*, pp. 317 & 349.

[228] For more on Anāhīd, see Choksy, Jamsheed K, 'Ancient Religions' *IrS* 31 (1998) pp. 661 – 679, p. 663 and Boyce, M., Chaumont M. L. & Bier, C., 'Anāhīd' *EIr.* vol. 1, pp. 1003 – 1011.

[229] §255.

with Jewish and Christian stories about the fall of the angels, particularly the two angels Shamhazai and Azael.[230]

The *fattān al-qabr* (Tempters of the Grave) play an important part in Islamic beliefs about life after death. Most commonly, there are two tempters of the grave, traditionally given the names Munkar and Nakīr. There are two variants included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Ankar (§309) and Nākūr (§309, 310); although these variants appear to be very rare. A third angel, Rūmān, is occasionally associated with the two angels (§309 & 310) and one ḥadīth states that Nakīr and Nākūr are two different angels (§310). The names do not appear until relatively late in Islamic tradition, and in the early creeds, there are no angels associated with the punishment in the grave, as Wensinck argues: '… there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding the subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the angel", the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.'[231] The origin of the names is not at all clear, although some have suggested that both the names are related to the base root *NKR*, but Wensinck felt this was unlikely.[232] Two other angels, Riḍwān and Mālik, the guardians of Heaven and Hell (§229 – 247), have similar etymological histories and roles in Islamic angelology. The name Riḍwān may simply be a personified abstraction of *riḍwān*[233] and Mālik, a reference to his dominion over Hell.

The remaining five angels included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* are only referred to once and have a wide range of influences. Dhū 'l-Qarnayn is

[230] See Jung, 'Fallen Angels' *JQR* 16 (1926) pp. 287 – 295. Georges Dumézil argues that the Hārūt and Mārūt story has a close parallel with a story found in the Mahabharata, but this seems less likely; see Dumézil, G., *Naissance d'Archanges (Jupiter Mars Quirinus III)* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945) pp. 158 – 170.
[231] Wensinck, A. J., 'Munkar wa-Nakīr' *EI*^{2} vol. 7, p. 577; for more on the angels, see also Gardet, *Destinée de l'Homme*, pp. 247 - 253.
[232] Wensinck, 'Munkar wa-Nakīr', p. 577.
[233] See Raven, W., 'Riḍwān' *EI*^{2} vol. 8, p. 519. The name is usually associated with Q 3:15.

generally associated with Alexander the Great and much has been written about this tradition.[234] However, there is very little evidence in Islamic tradition to suggest the belief that Dhū 'l-Qarnayn was an angel (as given in §277)[235] was in any way a mainstream belief, as Minoo Southgate concludes: 'In spite of his higher roles as a sage, a protector of mankind, a fighter for religion, and a prophet, the Alexander of Persian romances remains essentially human.'[236]

Dhū 'l-Nūrayn is normally used in reference to the caliph ᶜUthmān, who had two beautiful wives who were the Prophet's daughters,[237] but the reference in §279 to Dhū 'l-Nurayn being an angel is clearly not a reference to ᶜUthmān. *Al-Nūrayn* is sometimes used, particularly by Shiᶜīs, to refer to Muḥammad and ᶜAlī,[238] but, again, this does not appear to be intended, particularly in the phrase *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn*. *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* is sometimes used in relation to the *nūr ᶜalā nūr* of the Light Verse (Q. 24:35), although there is almost nothing to suggest that *Dhū 'l-Nūrayn* was commonly believed to be the name of an angel.[239]

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[234] See Southgate, Minoo S., 'Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era' *JAOS* 97 (1977) 278 – 284 and Stoneman, Richard, 'Alexander the Great in the Arabic Tradition' in Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmermann and Wyste Keulen, *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 3 – 22.

[235] 'Dhu 'l-Qarnayn was one of the angels, whom God sent down to earth…'; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[236] Southgate, 'Portrait of Alexander' p. 284.

[237] Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) p. 33.

[238] Tritton, A. S., 'Popular Shi'ism' *BSOAS* 13 (1951) pp. 829 – 839, p. 829.

[239] The only possible example is found in Ibn al-ᶜArabī's *Kitāb ᶜanqa' mughrib*, and Gerald Elmore suggests that the reference is to Ibn al-ᶜArabī himself (Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-ᶜArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) p. 590 n.10). The particular reference in question reads: 'On his precious Right was the "Faithful One" (*al-Ṣiddīq* [*sci.* Abū Bakr]); on his most-holy Left was the "Discriminator" (*al-Fārūq* [*sci.* ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]); and before him knelt the Seal [*sci.* Jesus], recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthā*) as ᶜAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] (May God bless him and keep him!) was translating the seal's [words] into his own language, while "He of the Two Lights" (*dhū l-nūrayn*), wrapped in the mantle of his modesty (*riḍā' ḥayā'ihi*), for his part [also] faced the Prophet Muḥammad.' Elmore (tr.), *Islamic Sainthood*, p. 590.

Dūma is the 'Angel who is responsible for souls of the unbelievers…'[240] The same angel appears in the Babylonian Talmud with the same function,[241] confirming the authority of the *ḥadīth* being 'a Man of the Book.' The Angel of the Veil is also given the name *Mīṭaṭrūsh*, which is a close transliteration of the Hebrew *Mīṭaṭron* (Metatron).[242]

A Jewish origin seems possible for another angel, *Ṣadluqan* (§274), although the etymology is rather more complex. Making the analysis more complicated is the fact that the *ḥadīth* about the angel *Ṣadluqan* is relatively short: 'God has an angel and it is said that He has *Ṣadluqan*; the seas of the world are one ninth the size of his big toe.' This angel appears to be very rare in Arabic tradition and the fact that the Leiden MS (fol. 203r, ll. 4 – 5) vocalises the name would seem to imply that Muslim readers were unfamiliar with the name. The name could be derived from the Jewish angel *Ṣandalp̲ōn*,[243] the 'partner' of the important Jewish angel *Mīṭaṭron*. Both *Ṣandalp̲ōn* and *Ṣadluqan* are said to be gigantic and *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is said to have his feet on the earth and his head under the Throne of God.[244] *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is also associated more directly with feet, which is appropriate within the context of this *ḥadīth*: 'Sandalfon was also thought of as the "shoe" of the *Shekhina*, that is to say the angel on which the feet of the *Shekinah* rested.'[245] However, the etymological history of the name is not clear, and there are no other attestations of the name in any other Semitic language through which its development can be traced. The loss of the

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[240] §301
[241] cf. 'But these and those [the wicked and the intermediate] are delivered to Dumah.' *Shab.* 152b, p. 779. Cf. *Ḥag* 5a and *San.* 94a.
[242] For more on the name see, Scholem, G., 'Metatron' *EJ* vol. 11, coll. 1443 – 1446 and Black, Matthew, 'The Origin of the Name Metatron' *VT* 1 (1951) pp. 217 – 219.
[243] See Scholem, 'Sandalfon'; Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels,* p. 257 and Schäfer, Peter, *Der verborgene und offenbare Gott* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991) pp. 99 – 101.
[244] cf. Ḥag 13b, p. 78
[245] Scholem, G., 'Sandalfon' col. 828.

nūn can be explained by the assimilation of the *nūn* to the following *dāl*; probably through another Northern Semitic language, possibly Syriac as both Aramaic and South Semitic favour nasalization.[246] The change from *pē* to *qāf* is less clear. Some similar Aramaic words show a change from *pē* to *kaf*: e.g. *ṣandalpōnīn* (gems) has the variant form *ṣandalkōnīm*,[247] but such a form is unattested for *ṣandalp̲ōn*, and a number of factors still remain unexplained. Islamic exegetes did also associate the *malā'ika muqarrabūn* with the *karrūbiyyūn* (i.e. q-r-b and k-r-b), but this appears to be an isolated example.[248] However, whether or not *Ṣadluqan* is actually *Ṣandalp̲ōn* is not that important. The fact that *Ṣandalp̲ōn*, an important angel in later Judaism, was not appropriated into Islam (save this one, rare example), shows that the influence of Jewish angelology on Muslim beliefs about angels was limited.

The survey of angelic names provides an interesting background to Islamic beliefs about angels. The picture is more complicated than may, at first sight, be expected. When angels are given personal names, there is a strong Judeo-Christian influence present. However, Jewish, Christian and, in the case of Hārūt and Mārūt, Zoroastrian influences are relatively limited. In Islam there is a strong preference to use the formula 'Angel of *X*', which is a uniquely Islamic form of nomenclature. In the past there has been a tendency for scholars to stress the Judeo-Christian influences on Islamic angelology, presumably because of the importance of angels such as Gabriel and Michael. Whilst these angels are important, and are clearly taken from Judaism

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[246] Cf. Southern, Mark and Vaughn, Andrew G., 'Where have all the nasals gone? *n*C > CC in North Semitic' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 264 – 282.
[247] Jastrow, Marcus, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Balbi and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) vol. 2, p. 1005.
[248] See Wansbrough, John, *Quranic Studies: Studies and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Repr. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004) p. 30 - 31.

and/or Christianity, it is important to contextualise these influences with the relatively limited amount of named angels in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition is often restricted to the etymology of the name and frequently the conception of the angels and their roles are markedly different after their assimilation into (popular) Islamic belief.

2.2 The Iconography of the Angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

Just as the way in which angelic nomenclature can reveal something about how angels are conceived in Islam, iconography too can act as a similar tool for looking at the development of, and influences on Islamic angelology. Angels are very rarely the focus of a particular work and this is where the originality and usefulness of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* lies, as it provides a relatively large number of descriptions of different angels in one place.

A number of studies in Jewish and Biblical studies have attempted to understand the meaning of angelic elements in different texts through the use of particular motifs that indicate (or, at the very least, *could* indicate) angelic status.[249] Sometimes it is only through specific descriptions and allusions that a particular character in a narrative can be understood to be angelic,[250] or to have angelic

[249] E.g. Piñero, A., 'Angels and Demons in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*' *JSJ* 14 (1993) pp. 191 – 214; Brooke, G. J., 'Men and Women as Angels in *Joseph and Aseneth*' *JSP* 14 (2005) pp. 159 – 177 and Ruffatto, Kristine J., 'Raguel as Interpreter of Moses' Throne Vision: The Transcendent Identity of Raguel in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian' *JSP* 17 (2008) pp. 121 – 139.

[250] Ithamar Gruenwald highlights six key elements found in Throne Visions, two of which are the presence of angels around God's throne and the singing of hymns by angels; see Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31. Gruenwald, also, gives the *Apocalypse of Isaiah* 6:10 – 12 as an example of the importance of angels in attesting to the veracity of a vision: 'Isaiah goes into some detail when he describes the glory of that angel....Obviously, this remark is directed to distinguish between this vision

qualities.[251] As such, a vocabulary or iconography of angels evolved in which certain features are designated as being related to angels. It is these features and their use in Islamic angelology that will be discussed in this section.

Angels are normally included in texts for specific purposes. For example, in apocalyptic texts angels are used most often to confirm the veracity of a prophetic vision.[252] The visions of the throne (*merkebah visions*) in the Bible (*viz*. Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1 and 10; Daniel 7) typify this use of angels: the angels are present, but there is a clear focus on God. The angels are there to express divine power and authority, as well as the need for God to be worshipped. As George Nickelsburg comments, '[The transcendence of God] is understood in the descriptions of the heavenly throne room, in the accounts of Enoch's call and ascent, and in the references to the eschatological theophany.'[253] Angels become very useful signifiers of the fact that the seer is witnessing a vision of the divine world. Although both angelologies and iconographies can differ from one text to another,[254] a number of supernatural, non-human characteristics were used in Jewish and Christian texts to distinguish angels from humans. It is this angelic iconography, developed further in the inter-testamental period, which alerts both the visionary and the reader that they are

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- which entailed a heavenly ascent - and the one in *Isaiah* vi, which the writer apparently believed to entail no such experience.' Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 58.

[251] In some texts, humans are given angelic attributes or are described as being like angels to illustrate their righteousness, in these cases the individuals are not angels, but iconographic details associated with angels are used to describe them. This is seen particularly strongly in the Qumran community; cf. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 316 – 319.

[252] Whilst discussing the opening of the Throne-Vision in the *Testament of Levi*, Paulo Augusto de Souza Nougeira comments that the vision of heaven '…shows too that the seer has special access to hidden secrets and the knowledge of these secrets is crucial, and should have immediate consequences for the everyday lives of his readers.' See de Souza Nougeira, Paulo Augusto, 'Celestial Worship and the Ecstatic-Visionary Experience' *JSNT* 25 (2002) pp. 165 – 184, p. 166.

[253] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40.

[254] Cf. Kuhn, 'Angelology', pp. 217 – 232; Kasher, Rimmon, 'Angelology and the Supernatural Worlds in the Aramaic Targums to the Prophets' *JSJ* 27 (1996) pp. 168 - 191 and Shinan, A., 'The Angelology of the Palestinian Targums on the Pentateuch' *Sefarad* 43 (1983) pp. 181 – 198.

encountering the divine.[255] Angels are not simply used to confirm the reality of a vision, but they are also used to confirm the righteousness of the visionary. For example, in the *Testament of Levi*, the visionary is robed in priestly garments by angels, which '…is meant to reinforce the divine favour of the priesthood for his descendents, to legitimate Levi in his priestly duties.'[256] Angels are not important in and of themselves, but they are used in Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts to convey certain ideas or beliefs.

Islamic texts behave in similar ways. The *mi^{c}rāj* literature draws on similar imagery and the Prophet's tours of heaven have their origin in Pseudepigraphical texts, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[257] Angels are used in these tours of Heaven and Hell (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) to portray the power and might of God and the consequences of human action, in the hope that the reader would return to righteousness or even convert, as Vuckovic argues: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Quran and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muhammad's community.'[258]

It should be noted, however, that symbols and emblems typically used to describe angels in Islamic literary works are not necessarily found in other forms of religious expression, such as art. For example, both Byzantine and Islamic art have

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[255] Cf. Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31.
[256] Segal, Alan F., 'Heavenly Ascent in Hellenic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment' in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase and Joseph Vogt (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergand der römischen Welt* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) pp. 1333 – 1394, p. 1361; see also and Charlesworth, James H., 'The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel' in George W. E. Nickelsburg & John J. Collins (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) pp. 135 – 151.
[257] See Cook, David, 'Moral Apocalyptic in Islam' *SI* 86 (1997) 37 – 69, pp. 37 – 38.
[258] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 97; cf. Alan Segal on *1En*: 'Though the workings of the physical universe are described, the most important message of Enoch is that the unrighteous will be punished and that the suffering of the righteous has meaning.' Segal, 'Heavenly Ascent' p. 1360. See also Porter, J. R., 'Muhammad's Journey to Heaven' *Numen* 21 (1974) pp. 64 – 80, p. 75 and Martha Himmelfarb's two key studies, *Tours of Hell* and *Ascent to Heaven*.

specific motifs to describe angels that are not found in their respective textual traditions. For this reason, the symbols that make up the 'angelic language' are not necessarily universal throughout different media. In Islamic art angels are often seen to wear crowns or coronets,[259] an image that is not found in any of the *ḥadīth* in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*.[260] When Islamic Art developed in the East, much of the imagery and iconography of angels was influenced by East-Asian symbolism.[261] This is important to acknowledge, because it stresses the flexibility of the depiction of angels. Although set motifs did emerge, the supernatural origin of the angels allows for freedom to refer to different (symbolic) attributes.[262] Whilst these differences are observed most profoundly across the different media of one particular religion, the same can also be seen within a textual tradition; even in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are a number of examples where different *ḥadīth* provide contradictory information about a particular angel. To give a basic example, Munkar and Nakīr are

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[259] Cf. al-Bel'ami MS [Freer Gallery of Art 57.16] foll. 182a & 184a; see Soucek, Priscilla P., 'The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions' in Soucek, Priscilla P. (ed.), *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (London : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988) pp. 193 – 217, and the Saray-Album (Topkapı Museum) MS Hazine 1221, fol. 223b; Hazine 2152, fol. 60b; Hazine 2154, foll. 61b, 121a; see Ipşiroğlu, M. Ş, *Das Bild im Islam* (Vienna: Schroll, 1971) pl. 23, 38, 39 and 104; and BNPer. 174, foll. 69r, 113r, 121v; Barrucand, Marianne, 'The Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* (Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia' *IA* 4 (1990 – 1991) pp. 113 – 142. For brief analysis of angels in Islamic art, see Milstein, R., 'Angels in Islamic Art and Architecture' *EI*^{3}.

[260] Some of the ḥadīth, albeit very few, do refer to angels wearing turbans (§626 – 628 & (yellow turbans) 630), and these are also found in Islamic Art (cf. FGA 57.16 fol. 138a, 170b; see Soucek, 'Life of the Prophet'). However, whether the angels' wearing of turbans is related to Islamic tradition or other external infuences is difficult to ascertain.

[261] Cf. Esin, Emel, 'An Angel Figure in the Miscellany Album H. 2152 of Topkapı' in Oktay Aslanapa (ed.) *Beitrag̈e zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens: in Memoriam Ernst Diez* (Istanbul: Istanbul Uṅiversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesiu, 1963) pp. 264 – 282. Esin also includes other information on other motifs used for angels in Islamic and their influence from East-Asian culture.

[262] For example, in the miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, a number of the angels are depicted carrying different objects, representing the objects or seasons over which the angels have influence; see Barrucand, 'Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq*'. Also, in one version of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* (Tokapı, Hazine 2154, fol. 61b), a miniature depicting Muḥammad's encounter with the Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) includes an angelic choir, a motif that is not found in any available text of the *Mi^{c}rāj-nama* remaining extant; see Ettingahusen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267, pp. 246 – 248.

said to be blue in §302, but black in §305.[263] The colour motifs are used to convey the terrifying form that the two angels take, the actual colour (be it blue or black) is not important.

In Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are actually very few *ḥadīth* in the collection that give full descriptions of what angels look like, with most of the information only given in passing. This creates a slight methodological problem in that different *ḥadīth* may have different conceptions of a particular angel (or even angels in general), so care must be taken when attempting to reconstruct the image and form of particular angels. However, this section attempts to focus on some general trends in the depiction of angels, ignoring the fact that other individual *ḥadīth* could be cited to the contrary.

2.2.1 The Physical Form of Angels

In Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, angels are often represented in anthropomorphic forms. In the Old Testament, God's angels are usually seen in the role of a messenger and there is actually no philological or textual distinction between divine and human messengers.[264] It is only in the prophetic literature that angels begin to adopt more supernatural features: wings, animal characteristics *etc*., culminating in the literature of the inter-testamental period and beyond, in which

[263] Blue and black are often 'negative' colours in folklore; cf. Ugochukwu, Françoise 'The Devil's Colors: A Comparative Study of French and Nigerian Folktales' *OTr* 21 (2006) pp. 250 – 268, p. 260.
[264] 'Divine messengers are usually depicted as indistinguishable from human beings…' Meier, S. A., 'Angel I' p. 48.

angels began to be described in both human and heavenly forms.[265] The following extract from the early Pseudepigraphical text *Joseph and Aseneth* combines anthropomorphic and supernatural elements:

> 'And Aseneth raised her head and saw, and behold, (there was) a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that this face was like lightning, and his eyes like sunshine, and the hairs of his head like a flame of burning torch, and hands and feet like iron shining forth from a fire, and sparks shot from his hands and feet.'[266]

In this example, the angel is described with divine imagery, such as having a face 'like lightning' and 'eyes like sunshine', alongside the comment that the angel was a 'man in every respect similar to Joseph'. The anthropomorphic form of the angel is the most common form in both Jewish and Christian religious writings,[267] and it is an obvious form for the angel to take, as for both Christians and Jews, God created humans in his own image.[268] In early Jewish and Christian art angels were depicted without wings until the fifth century, as Glenn Peers comments: 'In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded, and, in this way, artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels'.[269] Even in the later development

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[265] See also VanderKam, James C., 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 7 (2000) pp. 378 – 393 and Quispel, Gilles 'Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis' *VC* 34 (1980) pp. 1 – 13.

[266] JosAsen 15:9, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 225.

[267] See Meier, 'Angel I' pp. 45 – 50 and van Henten, J. W., 'Angel II' *DDD* vol. 1, pp. 50 – 53. The two forms (celestial and anthropomorphic) are also found in Gnositc and Hermetic texts, see Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G., 'Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Meṭaṭron and Christ' *HTR* 76 (1983) pp. 269 – 288.

[268] See Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, p. 83.

[269] Peers, Glen, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p. 23. See, also, Bussagli, M., 'Angelo' *EdAM* vol. 1, pp. 629 – 638 and Pallas, D. I.,

of Jewish angelology, the angels continued to retain two different forms: human and supernatural.[270]

Angels in Islam are no different and in the Qur'ān angels are described in both explicitly human and supernatural forms.[271] Throughout al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are numerous references to angels being in human form, or, at the very least, having a number of human characteristics. These anthropomorphic images are balanced with images rooted in the supernatural and the heavenly: wings, zoomorphic forms, wearing or bearing heavenly articles, being of a great size, and so on. These make the anthropomorphisms less human; the angel still remains 'like a human', but the imagery plants the angel firmly in the divine world.

In the collection there are a number of general references to angels being in human form.[272] The anthropomorphic form is normally associated with great beauty (cf. Q 12:31) and this is echoed in *al-Ḥabā'ik*[273] with one *ḥadīth* even likening the angel Gabriel to Diḥyā al-Kalbī.[274] The angels are given a number of different body parts, particularly important ones, such as the head, feet, legs, hands, and face.[275] There are a number of references to facial features, including the mouth, nose, forehead, teeth, hair, ears and eyes.[276] Added to this are some references, but more

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'Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel' *RZBK*, vol. 3, coll. 13 – 119, coll. 43 – 56. For depictions of angels with wings in Jewish art, see Landsberger, Franz, 'The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art' *HUCA* 20 (1947) pp. 227 – 254.

[270] Cf. Stoumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 274*f.*

[271] Cf. Q 19:16 – 19 & 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 303 & 444.

[272] §46, 54, 56, 120 - 124, 151, 160, 167, 175, 218, 220 & 223.

[273] §46, 120 & 122 (Gabriel and the Angel of Death).

[274] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of 'such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.' Lammens, H. [-Pellat, Ch.], 'Diḥya' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, p. 274.

[275] *head*: §50, 54, 55, 92, 96, 104, ,122, 184, 190, 195, 197, 219, 222, 243, 234, 494, 498, 499 & 684; *feet*: §29, 44a, 44b, 50, 52, 54, 96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 202, 205, 219, 222, 223, 274, 415, 485 & 486; *legs*: §180, 544 & 625; *hands*: §29, 166, 219, 222, 229, 234, 257, 269, 306, 487, 653 & 684; and *face*: §122, 189, 212 & 214.

[276] *mouth*: §211, 233, 303, 305, 306, 493, 498 & 500; *nose*: §180; *forehead*: §54, 94, 104 & 105; *teeth*: §50; *hair*: §54, 120, 122, 233, 305 & 306; *ears*: §99, 122, 181, 270, 490 & 545 and *eyes*: §87, 95, 120, 123, 146, 183, 197, 199, 233, 303, 305, 306 & 499.

limited, to other areas of the body; including: the neck, shoulders, collarbone and heart.[277] There are 129 *ḥadīth* with direct references to angels being in human form or having human body parts, which is roughly 17% of the collection. This is a relatively high percentage, and it shows the important place that anthropomorphic imagery had in Islamic traditions. It contrasts strongly with the relatively few references to angels having wings, with only 30 *ḥadīth* (around 4%) explicitly referring to them.[278]

The notion that angels have wings is a common one, but there are few references to angels having wings in either the Qur'ān or the *ḥadīth*.[279] In this collection, some of the *ḥadīth* do not give much more information other than the fact that the angels have wings,[280] with one simply stating that the angel's wings are feathered.[281] Other references to the angels' wings are used by the *ḥadīth* to express the great size of the angels by stating they stretch from the East to the West, for example: '…[Isrāfīl] has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West…'[282] As will be seen below, the wings are given further detailing, including: being strung with precious stones (§45 & 49), being green (§54), being like peacock's feathers (§49), and two references to a wing serving to cover the angel's modesty (§93 & 744). However, with only six

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[277] *Neck*: §53, 94, 96, 99, 195 & 233; *shoulders*: §48, 51, 181, 231, 494 & 499; *collarbone*: §490 & 499 and *heart*: 549.
[278] §20, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 92 – 95, 99, 104, 149, 189, 213, 214, 284 – 287, 294, 416, 499, 511, 622, 623, 743 & 744.
[279] See Burge, S. R., 'Angels in *Sūrat al-Malā'ika*: Exegeses of Q 35:1' *JQS* 10 (2009) pp. 50 – 70. This is, also, reflected in Jewish and Christian literature, where there are only a few references to angels having wings: cf. *2En* 12:2 & 72:9, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 122 - 123 & 210 - 211; *3En* 9, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 263; *ApAbr* 18:6, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 698; *QuesEzra* 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LadJac* 2:15, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 408.
[280] Eg. §20, 94, 99,149, 416, 622, 623, 690 & 744.
[281] §744; some modern commentators have argued against conceiving angels as being like birds, e.g. 'We need not suppose that angelic "wings" have muscles and feathers, like the wings of birds.' Ali, Y. H., *The Holy Qur'an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1938, p. 1152, n. 3871.
[282] §94; see also §43, 92 – 95, 213, 214 & 499.

ḥadīth mentioning such specific details, this finer detailing is relatively rare. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to the number of wings that each angel has, but the numbers vary, including: two (§50, 54 & 743), three (§94 & 743), four (§93, 189 & 743), six (§744), twelve (§53), and seventy thousand (§511). Although the Qur'ān gives the number of angels' wings as 'two, three and four' (*mathnā*, *wa-thulāth*, *wa-rubāᶜ*),[283] in Islamic tradition many more wings were added.[284] These *ḥadīth* highlight an important aspect: the actual physical details about the wings are not necessarily generally agreed. This is because such detailing is there to express a theological idea, rather than giving a concrete description of what angels look like; for example, take the following *ḥadīth*:

> [54] '… [Gabriel's] two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: "I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God." Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.'

In this *ḥadīth*, the finer detailing is not aimed at giving the reader a full description of what an angel looks like, but the references to *green feet* highlight the divine origin of the angel and the size of the angel focuses the reader on the marvels of God's creation.[285]

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[283] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.

[284] E.g. During the *miᶜrāj*, Muhammad sees Gabriel with six hundred wings; see, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §4856, p. 593; al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jamiᶜ*, vol. 14, pp. 319 – 320 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*; Fleischer, H. O. (ed.), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1846 – 1848) vol. 2, p. 148. The increase in wings is justified through the exegesis of the phrase '*yazīdū fī'l-khalqi mā yashā'u*' in Q 35:1; cf. al-Ṭabārī's exegesis of this phrase: '…He increases what He wills for his creation, whatever He wills for it; and he decreases as He wills, what ever He wills for a creation; His is the creation, and the power, His is the ability and the authority.' Al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 22, p. 114.

[285] See below for a discussion of the significance and symbolism of the colour green in Arabic.

Beyond the angelomorphic imagery and the basic idea that angels have wings, there are a few references to angels having the forms of animals. One of the most interesting examples is that of the *Bearers of the Throne* (*ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh*), who are associated with two forms; the first is that of the four-faced angel, which is derived from the Jewish *ḥayyōt* ('living creatures') that bear the Throne or Chariot of God; the second is that the four *Bearers of the Throne* are in the form of a mountain goat (*wāᶜil*). In Judaism, the *ḥayyōt* take the forms of a bull, a lion, a human, and an eagle.[286] The use of animal-angels in the imagery of God's Throne may have its antecedents in pagan deities,[287] but, in Judaism and Christianity, the four *ḥayyōt* came to represent the whole of creation, as Richard Bauckham comments: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).'[288] There are six *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* that describe the *Bearers of the Throne* in these zoological forms,[289] although, amongst these there is no consensus, as four state that each angel has four faces and the other two that there are four different angels with one single form.[290] One of the *ḥadīth* alludes to the idea that the four angelic forms refer to creation as a whole:

> '…An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need, and an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need, and an

[286] Ezk. 1:5 – 14; Rev. 4:6 – 8; Apoc. Abr. 18:3 – 7, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698.
[287] Cf. Eggler, Jürg, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2 – 14* (Fribourg: University Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) pp. 42 – 54.
[288] Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.
[289] §189 – 193 & 198; the Angel of the Thunder is, also, described like this, see §267.
[290] Single form: §192 & 193; (four faces): §189 – 191; 198.

> angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need, and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need…'[291]

As noted above, six of the *ḥadīth* in the collection refer to the Bearers of the Throne having horns like mountain goats or looking like mountain goats.[292] David Halperin suggests that similar *ḥadīth* may be referring to a passage in the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Ḥag* 13a), which refers to the horns of the *ḥayyōt*, but can draw no further conclusions.[293] This imagery remains unclear, but horns did have religious significance in Semitic religion, particularly as representations of divinity,[294] and such iconography is also found in a Greek temple to Apollo on the island of Delos.[295] In relation to the divine throne, there are some images of Semitic gods seated on zoomorphic thrones and some evidence of thrones being supported by horns,[296] but it is difficult to ascertain whether the Islamic image of the *Bearers of the Throne* like goats is related to these wider Semitic and pagan ideas.

Beyond these cases of zoomorphic images of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are also two other *ḥadīth* that include a reference to Isrāfīl making himself smaller

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[291] §191.
[292] *goats*: §179; *horns*: §180, 181, 184, 197 & 209
[293] Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[294] Cook, Stanley A., *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930) p. 29; see also Obhink, H. Th., 'The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism' *JBL* 56 (1937) pp. 43 – 49; see, also, Coudert, Allison, 'Horns' *ER*^{2} vol. 6, pp. 4130 – 4131 and Litvinski, B. A. (tr. Sylvia Juan), 'Sheep and Goats' *ER*^{2} vol. 12, pp. 8309 – 8312.
[295] The altar is called the *keratinos bumos*; see Brureau, Philippe, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1970) pp. 22 – 29. The altar was destroyed, but is referred to by the poet Callimachus; see Callimachus, *Εις Απολλωνα*, l. 61; William, F., *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) pp. 59 - 60. The altar of the Jerusalem temple, also, had stone 'horns', see Milgrom, Jacob & Lerner, Blalik Myron, 'Altar', *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 760 - 771.
[296] See Cornelius, Izak, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba^{c}al: Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Periods (c. 1500 – 1000 BCE)* (Fribourg: University Press & Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) pp. 245 – 253 and Metzger, Martin, *Königsthron und Gottesthron: Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und in Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Berkcer; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) p. 253.

'…until he has become like a small sparrow (*was^{c})*…'[297] and the Angel of the Thunder having a tail (§267). These are only minor references and it is difficult to draw further conclusions from them. There is also the angelic cockerel (*al-dīk*);[298] however, this angel should be treated differently, as the imagery is purely of a cockerel, rather than that of an angel with certain features of a cockerel.

On the whole, the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have human, rather than animal, characteristics. The *ḥadīth* frequently draw on Judeo-Christian imagery and the *Bearers of the Throne* are a prominent example of such an influence. The trend, however, is quite a general one. Images do not appear to be derived from Jewish or Christian images, rather general ideas about angelic iconography are adapted by Islam from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen most clearly in the use of the anthropomorphic angel: the image is clearly indebted to a Judeo-Christian iconography, but is adapted, used and developed in Islamic traditions independently.

2.2.2 Angels of Great Size

Whilst many Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts that feature angels usually include very little in the way of descriptions, one of the most common motifs is that the angels are of great size and very rarely are they said to be small. This general scheme is found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, with only one *ḥadīth* (§5) stating that a 'single angel is smaller than a fly.'[299]

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[297] §53.
[298] §280 – 294.
[299] One other ḥadīth state that the angel Isrāfīl can be both huge and incredibly small (the size of a small sparrow), see §53.

There are a number of ways in which their vast size is described, with four of the most common being: (i) describing measurements in terms of travelling long distances; (ii) stating that the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West; (iii) descriptions of the angel filling the horizon; and (iv) describing the angel stretching from the earth to the heavens. There are a number of Jewish and Christian texts that portray angels in similarly large scale terms, which becomes an important theme in the fifth / sixth century *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch* (*3 Enoch*): 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En…In the Hekhalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.'[300] The following extract from *3 Enoch* is a typical example, the prophet Enoch says: 'I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth. He made me to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world.'[301]

A common method that the *ḥadīth* use to describe the angels' huge size is to give the length between two points in terms of the distance equivalent to many years' travel. This often takes the form: 'the distance from *X* to *Y* is a journey of *N* hundred years.' This phrasing appears some twenty times through the compilation.[302] Both the two points of reference for the distance and the distance itself vary from *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth*, as can be seen in the table below.

[300] Alexander, P.,'3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 293 n. 9c.
[301] 3En 9:2 – 3, p. 263.
[302] 20,51,180 (three times), 181, 183, 197, 202, 209, 231 (bis), 485, 490, 494, 499 (four times) & 545.

§	Angel	From	To	Distance (in years)
20	Bearers of the Throne	Head	Throne	100
51	Gabriel	Shoulder	Shoulder	700
180	Bearers of the Throne	Balls of Feet	Ankles	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Collarbone	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Earlobe	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Earlobe	Shoulder	700
183	Bearers of the Throne	Inner part of eye	Outer part of eye	500
197	Bearers of the Throne	Horns	Head	500
202	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Bottom of the foot	500
209	Bearers of the Throne	Bottom of Horn	Top of Horn	500
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	100
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	500
485	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Shoulder	500
490	Cherubim	Earlobe	Collarbone	500
494	Unnamed Angel	Shoulder	Head	100
499	Bearers of the Throne	Horn	Horn	500
500	Unnamed Angel	Wing	Wing	300
500	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Shoulder	400
545	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Collarbone	7000

Fig(i): Distances between body parts in Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

The table shows that a distance of five hundred years is the most common and that there is no general trend in the body parts used for the measurements. Generally, the measurements given are usually short distances making the angels appear even larger. Some of the *ḥadīth* also use further phrases to clarify the distance, such as §71, in which it is said that the distance is 'a journey of seven hundred years for a bird.'[303] The phrase is used most often in connection with the *Bearers of the Throne* and, by extension, of God's Throne and, ultimately, God. Such imagery is typified in the Jewish *Shiᶜūr Qomah* texts, which give similar measurements, not of an angel, but of God,[304] although there is some debate about

[303] See, also, §181 (bird); §231 (100 autumns); §490 (quick-flying bird going downwards); §494 (angel flying) and §545 (quick-flying bird).

[304] The scales are enormous; for example R. Ishmael b. Elosha is said to have remarked that '…the entire measurement (of the Creator) is 2,000,000,000,000,000,000 (i. e. 2 x 10^{18}) parasangs in height, and 10,000,000,000 parasangs in width.' *Sefer Hashiᶜūr*, ll. 5 - 6; Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shiᶜūr*

what the exact intention is of the text giving these measurements.[305] Just as in the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, a wide number of different measurements are made; for example one of the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts, *Siddur Rabbah*,[306] includes the following measurements:

l.	p.	From	To	Distance (in parasangs)
4	38	Right eye	Left Eye	33,000
5	38	Let Arm	Right Arm	770,000
57	44	Souls of Feet	N/A	30,000
58	44	Foot	Ankle	120,000,000
58	44	Ankle	Knee	450,000,000
63	44	Knees	Thigh	600,002,000
65	45	Thigh	Shoulder	600,000,080
67	45	Shoulder	Neck	190,000,000
67	45	Neck	N/A	180,000,000
68	45	Head (circumference)	N/A	500,000,333
75	46	Forehead	N/A	180,000,000
76	46	Pupil	N/A	11,200
78	46	White of the eye	N/A	22,000
90	48	Lips	N/A	21,000
92	48	Left Shoulder	Right Shoulder	120,000,000
93	48	Right Arm	N/A	150,000,000
96	48	Hand	N/A	70,000,000
97	48	Right Arm	Left Arm	770,000,000
98	49	Fingers	N/A	300,000,000
103	49	Right Foot	N/A	10,000,000

Fig.(ii): Table of Distances between Body Parts in Siddur Rabbah

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Qomah:Texts and Recensions (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) p. 29. The date of these texts is unclear [cf. Stemberger, Günter (tr. Markus Bockmuehl), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Repr. Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1997), pp. 348 – 349], the tradition appears to have its origins in the period after the *Babylonian Talmud* (5th Century), but, significantly, before the time of the philosopher Saadia Gaon (d. 942); see Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*, pp. 1 - 2 and Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shi^{c}ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (London: University Press of America, 1983) pp. 51*ff.*

[305] Some commentators believe the *Shi^{c}ūr Qomah* texts may, actually, be an unusual attempt to de-anthropomorphise God. Gedaliahu Stroumsa argues that the texts appear to be referring to an archangelic divine hypostasis, rather than the actual essence of God (see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 277*f.*); Joseph Dan argues that the measurements are so exceptionally incomprehensible, they become meaningless; see Dan, Joseph, 'Concept of Knowledge in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*' in Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (eds.) *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, (Alabama: University of Alabama Press 1979) pp. 67-73.

[306] Cohen, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* (1985), pp. 38 – 53.

A basic comparison between the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and *Siddur Rabbah* shows the practice of giving measurements between specific body parts of cosmic proportions is common to both texts; but there is a notable difference in that *Siddur Rabbah*, as well as the *Shiᶜūr Qomah* in general, do not tend to give the measurements in years, but by physical units of distance (usually *parasangs*).[307] The usage of measuring the distance between two specific body parts is less common in other Jewish and Christian texts[308] and in these cases the distances are given in actual physical measurements, rather than 'years'.[309] However, anthropomorphic representation of the divine on a cosmic scale is a belief generally held in the Ancient world.[310]

Another way that the *ḥadīth* describe the great size of the angels is by stating that the angels (or the angels' wings) stretch from the East to the West, which is fairly common throughout the work, appearing explicitly fifteen times.[311] This

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[307] In *Siddur Rabbah* 'years' are not used, but in another text, *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr*, there is one distance given in 'years' amongst many measurements taken in *parasangs*: 'The distance that a man can walk in a (single) day is ten parasangs, which is to say that, in a year consisting of 365 parasangs, (he can) walk 3,656 parasangs (!). In ten years, the sum totals 36,400 parasangs, and (therefore,) in one hundred years, it reaches, 365,000 parasangs, and in five hundred years, it reaches 1,825,000 parasangs - this is the span of the Creator, may He be blessed".' *Siddur Rabbah* ll: 9 – 12; Cohen, *Shiᶜur Qomah* (1985) pp. 28 - 29.

[308] The distance 'shoulder to shoulder' does, however, appear in the *Book of Elchasai*: an angel is said to be 96 miles high (24 schoinoi) and the distance from shoulder to shoulder to be 6 schoinoi (14 miles): *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 687; this fragment is taken from Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, IX:13.2; Marcovich, Miroslav (ed.), *Hipplytus: Refutatio Ominum Haeresium* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) p. 357.

[309] Although *year*-measurements can be found, usually in relation the size of the earth. In addition to the use in *Sefer ha-Shiᶜūr* (see above), it can, also, be found in *DeutR 2:10,* p. 29 and *CantR* 6:9 §2 – 3, p. 266. See, also, Gandz, Solomon, 'The Distribution of Land and Sea on the Earth's Surface According to Hebrew Sources' *PAAJR* 22 (1953) pp. 23 – 53; especially p. 33. This use can be found in al-Masᶜūdī, Abī al-Ḥassan ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī (ed. ᶜAbd al-Amīr ᶜAlī Muhanna), *Murūj al-dhahāb wa-maᶜādin al-jawāhir* (Beirut: Mu'sassa al-Aᶜlamī li-'l-Maṭbuᶜāt, 1321 / 2000) §I:16; vol. 1, p. 172

[310] Cf. Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 269; see also Jackson, Howard M., 'The Origins and Development of *Shiᶜur Qomah* Revelation in Jewish Mysticism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 373 – 415. Jackson looks at representations of the divine in other, non-Jewish, religious traditions.

[311] §42, 53, 92 – 95, 158 – 159, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 & 294.

description is only applied to named angels and is only used in reference to Gabriel, Isrāfīl, the Spirit, the Angel of Death and the Cockerel. The phrase normally comes in the form: *the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West*. This phrase occurs eleven out of the fifteen times, but is only used of the Cockerel and the angel Isrāfīl.[312] Gabriel is said to have 'filled the space between East and West' (§42); the Angel of Death is said to have a spear that reaches from the East to the West (§158 & 159) and the stride of the Angel of Death is said to stretch from the East to the West (§202). Although this phrase is only used of Gabriel twice (§42 & 53), another related description, stating that Gabriel filled the horizon, is used more frequently (§43, 46, 47 & 54).

So far the gigantic size of the angels has been described by measurement and breadth (i.e. East to West), but height is also used relatively frequently.[313] Some of the *ḥadīth* refer to great height in a general way; for example, Gabriel is said to fill 'the space between Heaven and Earth' in §41.[314] However, the most common way to express height is to say that the angel's feet are on the (Seventh) Earth and its head in the (Seventh) Heaven.[315] The concept of the angels' heads reaching heaven is found in the *Acts of John* where it is said of an angel that: '…his feet [.] were whiter than snow, so that the ground was lit up by his feet, and his head stretched up to the heaven.'[316]

The concept of angels as being of a great size is common in Judeo-Christian angelology. Numerous texts, particularly Pseudepigrapha, often describe angels in

[312] §53, 92 – 95, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 and 294.
[313] §41, 96, 180, 181, 184, 190, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[314] Cf. §190
[315] §96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.
[316] *ActsJ* 90; *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 180 – 181.

this way.[317] There are a number of texts that refer to angels being of a great size in general terms, such as the *Gospel of Philip*, in which it is said that: '...when [Jesus] appeared to the disciples in glory on the mountain, he was not small - he became great - but he made the disciples great, that they might see him in his greatness.'[318] Although only a general comment, this passage from the *Gospel of Philip* reveals, quite clearly, the meaning of the angel of great size: the size is a sign of the truth of the vision.

It is unlikely that direct sources could be traced for the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but the description of these massive angels clearly owes a large debt to the vocabulary and imagery of Judeo-Christian angelology. This is important as it shows that Islam did not only 'borrow' angelic imagery from Jewish and Christian traditions, but Islam developed and utilised this angelic imagery, with the angels *Isrāfīl* and *al-Dīk* the most notable examples.

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2.2.3 Finer Detailing: Clothing, Jewellery & Colours

The majority of the descriptions about angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are fairly general, usually emphasising the size of the angel. However, just as the size of the angel attests to the reality of the vision, certain iconographical details are used to highlight and refine the image of the angel. An angel is often only distinguishable from another angel by certain *props* or other characteristics. It is in the use of these

[317] For a short discussion of this see: De Conick, April D., 'The "Dialogue of the Savior" and the Mystical Sayings of Jesus' *VC* 50 (1996) pp. 178 – 199, pp. 190 – 193.
[318] *GPhil* 26a; *NTA*, vol. 1, p. 191. Cf. *DialSav* 42 & 67; *NTA*, vol. 1, pp. 4 – 11

different props that an iconographic vocabulary emerges.[319] The use of iconographic details is more important in visual media, as a picture, mosaic, or carving tend not to make use of written names; for example, in Byzantine art angels are often pictured holding a sceptre and robed in priestly garments.[320] Clothing is an important iconographical detail, as the way in which someone is clothed often reveals much about their status,[321] as well as distinguishing individuals from others, since clothing '…serves to preserve the boundaries among persons of different statuses.'[322] Likewise, vestments play an important part in the iconography of angels in Islamic art, although this is usually expressed in different ways to the literary tradition.[323] In al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there is some evidence that Islamic tradition developed its own iconographic vocabulary, with a number of angels being associated with particular accessories, colours and clothes.

The most prominent item of clothing is a robe, with which angels are particularly associated in Jewish and Christian scriptures, as well as visual media.[324] In Jewish tradition, the robe is normally believed to be white, developing out of

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[319] Cf. Swartz, M. D., 'The Semiotics of the Priestly Vestments in Ancient Judaism' in Albert I Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifices in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 57 - 80. Garments were, also, used to distinguish gods from mortals in Semitic religion: see Oppenheim, A. Leo, 'Golden Garments of the Gods' *JNES* 8 (1949) pp. 172 – 193.

[320] For a comprehensive list of various iconographic details associated with angels, see Pallas, 'Himmelsmächte' *RZBK* vol. 3, coll. 34 – 43. Another interesting article by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy discusses the semiotics of dress in Byzantine art and particularly the way in which the Imperial costume of the angels was also used to stress the worldly power of the Emperor; see Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, 'Note sur la representation des archanges en costume impèrial dans l'iconographie byzantine' *CA* 46 (1998) pp. 121 – 128.

[321] For a discussion of the place of clothing in Judaism and Christianity, see Kim, Jung Hoon, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: Continuum, 2004). For an important work on the semiotics of clothing and dress (in general), see Rubinstein, Ruth P., *Dress Codes: Meaning and Messages in American Culture* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995).

[322] Rubin, Nissan & Kosman, Admiel, 'The Clothing of the Primordial Man: Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources' *HTR* 90 (1997) pp. 155 - 174, p. 163.

[323] Emel Esin includes a discussion of angelic dress in Islamic art and its East-Asian influences, see Esin, 'Angel Figure' p. 269*f.*

[324] For a discussion of angelic clothing in Byzantine art, see Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 42 – 50.

exegeses of Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7:9.[325] The imagery of a white robe is transferred into the Old and New Testamental Pseudepigraphical literature, such as the book of *Jannes and Jambres*.[326] Similar imagery can by found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, e.g. 'Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown…'[327] The white of the angels' gowns normally reflect two main ideas: the purity of the angels' faith and their dazzling brightness.[328] In Islam, white also carries connotations of purity, as Khalil ᶜAthamina comments: '…white garments symbolize the modesty incumbent upon all Muslims in their attitude toward the Creator, especially during prayer. It is for this reason Muslims of all social strata and walks of life have followed the practice of praying in white as a sign of their modesty and piety.'[329] Colour is used to convey certain characteristics of the angel as colours had important meanings in Islamic culture.

White is not the only colour used of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and there are some references to green (*akhḍar*).[330] Gabriel, for example, is associated with the colour

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[325] 'As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne; his clothing was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool…' *NRSV* p.843 Cf. 20:12; 'and he saw two angels in white…' *NRSV* p.111, Martha Himmelfarb discusses the use and symbolism of God's white gown and argues that there are two main ideas: (i) judgement and (ii) purity; she, also, alludes to the wearing of a plain white robe by the Jewish High Priest on the Day of Atonement; see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, pp. 16 – 18; see also Rowland, Christopher, 'A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff and Jewish Angelology' *JSNT* 24 (1985) pp. 99 – 110.

[326] Cf: *JanJam* 25a, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 437 and *ApEl* 5:5 – 6 'Then Gabriel and Uriel will become a pillar of light leading them into the holy land. It will be granted to them to east form the tree of life. They will wear white garments….and angels will watch over them.' *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 750. This text is referring to the righteous, rather than angels, but the intention of the white garments is to signify their righteousness and their place in heaven.

[327] §54; see also §122 (Angel of Death)

[328] '[Weiß] bezeichnet jede Art von Helligkeit, darunter auch die Helligkeit des Weiß, aber ebenso des Strahlen und Leuchten des Lichts und das Funkeln und Schillern reflektierender Gegenstände.' Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung: Untersuchungen zur Wortbedeutung und zur Wortbildung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1965) p. 244.

[329] ᶜAthamina, Khalil, 'The Black Banners and the Socio-Political Significance of Flags and Slogans in Medieval Islam' *Arabica* 36 (1989) p. 311.

[330] *Akhḍar* can, also, refer to blue (see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichungen*, p. 306), but, in these texts, 'green' is clearly intended.

with one *ḥadīth* stating that the 'soles of his feet are green'[331] and another that Gabriel wore a green headband.[332] The use of green, the Prophet's colour, gives these angelic traditions a more Islamic symbolism, distancing the imagery from Judaism and Christianity. Green is also an important colour because of its associations with paradise, as David Alexander comments: 'In the Qur'an green is associated with life itself and as one of the signs of God. Green evoked the idea of tranquillity and refuge.'[333] Although green is used to designate paradise in other religions of the Near East (particularly Zoroastrianism),[334] the association of green with paradise in an arid environment is quite obvious.[335] The symbolism of the colour does not appear to have played such an important part in Jewish and Christian angelic imagery. More generally, the colour green simply carries notions of creation and the physical order of the universe in Judaism and, by extension, the divine – in the sense that the world is God's creation.[336] However, green can have negative connotations, for example, in *3 Enoch* the souls of the 'intermediates' in Hell are green.[337]

Jewels also play an important part in the Islamic iconography of angels. In *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Gabriel's clothing is often described as being encrusted with jewels (normally rubies, pearls or chrysolite), which is a sign of his status in the angelic

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[331] §54, see also §50 & 52.
[332] §690.
[333] Alexander, David: 'The Black Flag of the ᶜAbbasids' *Gladius* 20 (2000) p. 224.
[334] For a discussion of the symbolism of colours in Near Eastern cultures, see Carbó, Antoni Gonzalo, 'El Viaje Espiritual al «Espacia Verde»: el «Jardín de la Visión» en el Sufismo' *Convivium* 20 (2007) pp. 65 - 90.
[335] §42, 44b, 45 & 54; Green robes are, also, said to be worn by those in paradise: e.g. Q 18:31 '…and they shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 292; see also Q 55:76 & 76:21; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 559 and 622; see also ᶜAthamina, 'Black Banners' pp. 325 – 326.
[336] 'The color green is symbolic of the beginning of the things, of the creation, of the physical order and also of the fundamental wisdom which underlies creation.' Bokser, Ben Zion, 'The Thread of Blue' *PAAJR* 31 (1963) p. 11
[337] 'Moreover, the faces of the intermediate were a greenish colour, on account of their deeds, for they are tainted until purified of their iniquity by fire.' *3En* 44:5; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 295.

world. The Cockerel, although not wearing a robe or gown, is also described as having body parts made out of precious metals and jewels.[338] Precious stones play an important part in Jewish and Christian iconography and they are usually associated with God or those that have dealings with the divine, such as priests.[339] For example, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, an account of the dedication of the Jewish Temple, the High Priest was said to be robed in '...all the glorious vestments, including the wearing of the "garment" with precious stones upon it in which he is vested…'[340] and that the '…house faces east, and the rear of it faces west. The whole foundation was decked with (precious) stones…'[341] The *Letter of Aristeas* describes the earthly temple, but the heavenly temple and those making the journey to heaven are also described in similar terms in other Pseudepigraphical works.[342] The importance of precious stones is their association with wealth, power and majesty. Certain angels, particularly Gabriel in Islamic tradition, are given status through the use of jewels and precious stones. Such imagery is natural and widespread in religious iconography of the divine in general.

There are two further motifs in *al-Ḥabā'ik* that are slightly unusual. The first is that some angels wear turbans and a second which describes one of the angels' clothing like a pair of *sarāwīl* (*trousers*). The turbaned angels are the angels that helped the Muslim community at Badr.[343] This imagery is not found in the Judeo-

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[338] §281, 285, 286 & 294.
[339] See Royalty, Robert M., *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) pp. 45 – 58. For the use of precious stones in a whole range of different religions, see Kunz, George Frederick, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (London: s.i., 1913) pp. 225 – 274.
[340] *Let Aris* 96, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 19; cf. Ex 28:4, 27 – 31.
[341] *Let Aris* 88, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 18; see also *Let Aris*, 52 - 82, *OTP* vol. 2 pp. 16 – 18.
[342] Cf. *1En* 14:11 & 24:2, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 20 & 26; *3En* 12, *OTP* Vol 1, p. 265 ; *2Bar* 5:7 *OTP* Vol 2, p. 623; *ApAb* 11:1 – 3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 694 and *Ps.-Phil.* 26:9 – 10 *OTP* vol. 2, p. 338.
[343] §626 – 628 & 630. cf. Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar (ed. Marsden Jones), *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (London: Oxford University Press,

Christian tradition to any great extent, so the use of turbans marks a distinctly Islamic image and it reflects the association of angels with contemporaneous dress.[344] The image of the angel being covered with a wing has obvious resonances with the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6:3;[345] but the motif appears to be very uncommon (only appearing three times) and is only used in reference to Gabriel and Isrāfīl.[346]

The last form of finer detailing that will be discussed here is the use of props and accessories, some of which have already been mentioned. Props and accessories are normally used to symbolise a specific angel or a particular function of an angel, a trend that is seen most clearly in the visual arts. Isrāfīl is the most notable example of this trend; Isrāfīl is associated with the Trumpet that announces the Last Day, and so he is often described as holding it.[347] Other angels, such as the Angel of Death, the Guardian of the Fire and the Angel of the Thunder, are also associated with objects relating to their cosmic function. The Angel of Death is said to hold a spear, with which 'he cuts the vein of life.' The Guardians of Hell and the angel Mālik are believed to have spears or rods with which to persecute those in Hell.[348] Lastly, the Angel of the Thunder (who is, also, responsible for the clouds) is said to have a whip

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1966) vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79, 113 and Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa*; *Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-akhīra, 1370 / 1951) vol. 1 pp. 291 – 292; Bewley, Aisha Abdurrahman (tr.), *Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas: The First Formulation of Islamic Law* (Granada: Madinah Press, 1992) §20.81.254, p. 171; for more on the significance of turbans, see Kister, M. J., '"The Crowns of this Community"…Some Notes on the Turban in Muslim Tradition' *JSAI* 24 (2000) pp. 217 – 245.

[344] This is also found in Western art, as Stephen Prickett comments early renaissance art: 'Biblical characters (once clothed) always wore contemporary dress and appeared in the local context.' Prickett, Stephen, 'The Bible in Literature and Art' in John Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 160 – 178, p. 165.

[345] Cf. Kaiser, Otto (tr. R. A. Wilson), *Isaiah 1 – 12* (London: SCM Press, 1972) p. 76 and Oswalt, John, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1 - 39* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986) p. 179.

[346] §93, 99 & 744.

[347] §85 – 88, 91, 92 & 99; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'Isrāfīl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 211.

[348] §234 & 234.

made of iron (or light) and a rope, with which he moves the clouds through the sky.[349]

Occasionally the relationship between the object and the angel is different, with the object not reflecting the function of the angel, but the status of the angel. Gabriel is said to have a belt strung with pearls (§50 & 54) and Isrāfīl is associated with the *Preserved Tablet* (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūẓ*), the Qur'ān and the Throne of God.[350] The closeness of Isrāfīl to God explains both his prestige and his function as it is Isrāfīl who delivers the messages of God to His angels.

The use of finer detailing allows the *ḥadīth* to highlight certain aspects of an angel. Clothing, jewellery and props allow the reader to understand both the angel's function and status. Such detailing is common to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity in almost all media. In visual media, finer details are often used to distinguish one angel from another.[351] This resulted in the development of a specific iconographic language, in which different angels are represented by different objects. In textual material, however, the ability to name angels verbally makes the use of specific iconographies less important; but a set language did appear to develop, in which objects came to signify certain characteristics, especially references to colour, costume and precious stones.

The basic and most common iconographical form of an angel in Islam is the same as that found in Judaism and Christian, that of an anthropomorphized angel. However,

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[349] §257, 258, 261 & 263.
[350] See §85 – 106.
[351] For example, in Byzantine art different kinds of holy people (martyrs, monks, warrior saints, bishops etc.) are dressed in different clothing to differentiate them; cf. Walter, Christopher, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 270 – 274, 285 – 290 and Maguire, Henry, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

the way in which the angel is anthropomorphised is different in Islamic tradition. In Judaism and Christianity, there are fewer references to specific body parts in the description of angels and their anthropomorphic form is achieved by stating the angels are 'like a man'. References to body parts are not unknown in Judaism and Christianity but they are much rarer, so their use distinguishes Islamic iconographic vocabulary from the other Abrahamic faiths. This is seen further in particular angelic motifs, such as the great size of the angels. These general motifs can be found elsewhere, but the way in which this motif is expressed in Islam is unique. The use of divine measurements can be found in Jewish works (e.g. the *Book of Elchasai*, the *Shi*^{c}*ur Qomah* traditions), but they are not frequently used when referring to or describing angels.

The influence of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels should not, however, be underestimated. In a number of specific examples, the Islamic traditions draw on Jewish (and Christian) motifs directly. The *Bearers of the Throne*, for example, appear to have been assimilated directly from Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. Angels robed in white, the trumpet that heralds the Last Day, the use of precious stones and so on, all relate to Judeo-Christian angelic imagery as well. This should not be surprising, because the use of props, accessories, clothing, and actions are part of a wider symbolic framework. Particular objects are used metonymically to tell the reader what the function of a particular angel is and other finer details are used to confirm the status and divine origin of an angel. When Islamic traditions about angels began to develop, it was only natural that they developed within the same symbolic framework; Islamic traditions grew in a similar milieu and so similar symbolism is often encountered.

2.3 Conclusions: The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

The two discussions above about angelic nomenclature and iconography suggest Islamic traditions about angels are both similar to and yet distinct from Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels. Why? And how can these be explained?

It would seem sensible to suggest a certain number of traditions drew on a common, natural vocabulary that is more universal in nature, rather than specific to the Judeo-Christian tradition. Precious stones, for example, will be associated naturally with wealth and power; things of a great size with the supernatural and the realm of the divine, and so on. These types of iconographic details can be seen throughout Semitic religion in general, as well as beyond.[352] They are commonsense and basic images of power and, by extension, the power of the divine. Other images, such as the anthropomorphic form of the angel, would appear to be more closely aligned with Jewish and Christian thought.

These basic symbols of the divine and the Judeo-Christian emphasis on anthropomorphic angels form the foundation from which the Islamic iconography of angels developed. However, Islamic beliefs about angels also developed independently, which can be seen particularly clearly in the way in which some angels are named. The theophoric name is clearly indebted to Judaism, but whilst an Arabic theophoric name may resemble a Jewish angelic name, its function and status often do not. The angel Raphael, for example, plays an important role in Jewish angelology, but is essentially absent in Islamic angelology; even the angels *Rufīl* and

[352] George Kunz looks at a wide range of different religions' uses of precious stones, ranging from Egyptian to Chinese; see Kunz, *Curious Lore*, pp. 225 – 274.

Riyāfīl, which could be etymologically associated with Raphael, have markedly different roles to their Jewish counterpart. The opposite occurs with Isrāfīl; whilst the Islamic angel may be etymologically related to an angel such as Seraphiel, the Islamic Isrāfīl is much more developed in Islamic tradition, so much so that Isrāfīl bears little resemblance to any angel in Jewish or Christian literature.

Not all of Islam's angels have their origins in Judaism or Christianity, especially angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt, the angel Isrāfīl and the Cockerel (*Dīk*). However, the influences of other religions traditions, such as Zoroastrianism, are markedly weaker and appear to affect only a few, specific examples.[353]

Islamic angelic nomenclature does present a unique approach to angelology: whilst both Islamic and Jewish traditions believe that there is an angel responsible for a whole range of natural phenomena, ranging from lightning to the sea, Judaism has a tendency to give these angels a personal name, usually, but not exclusively, a theophoric one. Islam, on the other hand, prefers to use the generic, non-theophoric formula: 'the Angel of X'. This, again, reveals the tension between the influence and independence of Islamic beliefs about angels. Islam often has the same angels as Judaism (and, to a lesser extent, Christianity), but names them in a completely different way.

The reason behind this tension could be rooted in the history of Islam itself. The references to angels in the Qur'ān clearly indicate some knowledge of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels, especially the direct references to Gabriel and Michael. From the foundation of the Qur'ān, the Islamic exegetical tradition proceeded to generate a number of distinct beliefs about angels. This is reflected by

[353] For a discussion of the influence of Zoroastrianism on on Islam, see Stepaniants Marietta, 'The Encounter of Zoroastrianism with Islam' *PEW* 52 (2002) pp. 159 – 172.

the fact that there are sixty-four *ḥadīth* in the work (c. 9%) that include direct Qur'ānic quotations in their *mitān*,[354] with many more than these more loosely based in the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition; eighty-eight *ḥadīth* (c. 11%) are attributed to one of the principal sources of Islamic exegesis, Ibn ᶜAbbas and so on. All this indicates that exegesis was, as in Judaism, an important springboard from which Islamic beliefs about angels developed. There is, however, a slight difference in the ways in which Jewish and Islamic exegesis developed their angelologies. Jewish angelology is typified by a tendency to turn objects, such as the wheels of God's chariot, into angels. This is not found in Islam; the *qalam* always remains as a 'pen' (albeit a divine pen), and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, always remains a tablet – there is no attempt to turn these into angels, the only example of this in *al-Ḥabā'ik* is *al-Sijill*.

The similarity between Jewish and Islamic angelology is seen more strongly in the traditional material rather than exegesis, particularly the Pseudepigrapha, the Talmud and the Midrashim. In these types of texts, the angels become responsible for various objects in the human world, maintaining them and protecting them, on behalf of God. This is also found in Islamic angelology and much of the traditional material that developed out of the exegetical movement turn to this sort of interpretation. Traditional material, both the various collections of *ḥadīth* in Islam and the Jewish *midrashīm*, often reflect a popular expression of beliefs about angels, which is corroborated by similar beliefs found in magic incantation texts and studies of Jewish and Muslim folklore. The nature of these types of texts does, however, make it extremely difficult to assess how Islamic, Jewish, and Christian beliefs about angels

[354] §1, 9, 25, 26, 44, 56, 74, 75, 128, 129, 141, 187, 198, 207, 208, 222, 225, 234, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249, 313 – 321, 324, 325, 333, 389, 391 – 393, 397, 399 – 401, 417, 422, 425 (*bis*), 426 (*bis*), 458 – 460, 537, 437, 549, 555 (*bis*), 617, 619, 678, 679, 743 & 744.

in the later mediaeval period interacted; but at a basic level, it must be assumed there was a fairly high level of cultural exchange in this area.

As a result of the nature of *ḥadīth*, it is hard (if not impossible) to gain a detailed understanding of how particular beliefs developed; however, beliefs about angels appear to have been influenced by a number of different factors and at different stages. The first stage is the pre-Qur'ānic and Qur'ānic periods in which Judaism and Christianity played an important part in shaping the celestial world of seventh century Arabia. This stage seems to have been followed by a period of largely internal exegesis of the Qur'ān, during which beliefs about angels were developed with a limited amount of influence from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen particularly clearly in the development of a distinctively Islamic system of angelic nomenclature, traditions about angels that are peculiar to Islam, angels derived from the Qur'ān, and so on. However, this does not mean to say that Jewish and Christian beliefs had no influence on Islamic angelology during this period; *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions often reflect Jewish and Christian angelology and popular beliefs must also not be underestimated. The third stage shows the return of stronger Jewish and Christian influences. It is difficult to tell whether this was a result of a greater understanding of Judaism and Christianity by the educated classes; a wish by Muslim scholars to find Jewish and Christian attitudes to certain angels or phenomena; a generally higher degree of interaction between the faiths; or, the percolation of popular folkloric beliefs into formal works. In this later period, it becomes increasingly more difficult to know which faith influenced the other; the Near East became a place where ideas, especially ones about subjects that interested

both those in the academic and popular strata of society, were freely and commonly exchanged.

The interaction between Islamic beliefs about angels and their Jewish and Christian counterparts is complex. Many commentators have simply argued that Islamic angelology has its origins in Judaism and Christianity. When looking at the Qur'ān, the influence of Judaism and Christianity is certainly unmistakable, but surely this is not surprising. However, the influence of Judaism and Christianity appears to diminish during the formative period of Islamic theology and Qur'ānic exegesis. Above all, Islamic angelology always remains distinctly *Islamic* and this distinctiveness cannot be attributed to Jewish and Christian influences. The two other Abrahamic faiths may have provided some basic core beliefs, imagery and conceptualisations, but the Muslim community developed them in their own unique way.

The Angelic World of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

3. The Angelic World of *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*[355]

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is unusual when compared to other mediaeval *ḥadīth* collections concerned with visions of the heavenly world, such as al-Ghazālī's (alleged) work, *Al-Durra al-fakhīra*,[356] ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī's, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*,[357] other apocalyptic or eschatological works,[358] and the accounts of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) collected by scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq in his *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*.[359] These eschatological and *miᶜrāj* works usually act as a warning against certain modes of behaviour by describing the future rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, as Vuckovic comments: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Qur'ān and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muḥammad's community.'[360] Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* uses

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[355] Parts of this chapter will be published in 2009: Burge, S. R., 'The Angels' Roles in Death and Judgement' in Amanda Philips, Richard Radcliffe & Refqa Abu-Remaileh (eds.), *New Voices, New Visions: The Work of Young Scholars in British Middle East Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

[356] Al-Ghazāli, *Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ᶜulūm al-ākhira*; Smith, Jane I. (tr.), *The Precious Pearl* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

[357] Al-Qāḍī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*; A'isha ᶜAbd al-Rahman at-Tarjumana (*sic*) (tr.), *Islamic Book of the Dead* (Norwich: Diwan Press, 1977).

[358] Anon., *Kitāb aḥwal al-qiyāma*; Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (Leipzig: Commissionsverlag von F. A. Brockhaus, 1872); al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith ibn Asad, *Kitāb al-tawahhum*; Roman, André (ed. & tr.), *Une Vision Humaine des Fins Dernières* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1978) and al-Ashᶜarī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-shajarat al-yaqīn*; Castillo Castillo, Concepción (ed. & tr.), *Kitāb Šaŷarat al-Yaqīn: Tratado de eschtología musulmana – Estudio, edición, traducción, notas y indices* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1987) [this work is also attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl al-Ashᶜarī].

[359] Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 181 – 187; cf. al-Ghayṭī, Najm al-Dīn, *al-Miᶜrāj al-kabīr*; Jeffrey, A. (tr), *A Reader on Islam* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962) pp. 621 – 639. Versions of the the *miᶜrāj* were important in Sufism, cf. al-Sulamī, Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mas'ala bayān laṭā'if al-miᶜrāj*; Colby, Frederick S. (ed. & tr.), *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muhammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006) and Morris, James Winston, 'The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ᶜArabī asnd the Miᶜrāj' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; it also appears in a number of different Islamate languages, e.g. Anon., *Miᶜrājnama*; de Courteille, Abel Pavet (ed. & tr.), *Mirâj-Nâmeh: Récit de l'Ascension de Mahomet au Ciel Composé A.H. 840 (1436/1437)* (repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975).

[360] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys,* p. 97; see also Lange, Christian, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 101 – 175.

similar supra-mundane material, but approaches it from a different angle.[361] The purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is to describe the function of the angels in the universe and their intermediation between God and humans. The aim is to present an angelic world, not of the potential future (as in the eschatological and *miʿrāj* works), but of the contemporary world, to the extent that narratives about both past and future events are used to illustrate what the angels are doing in the present. For example, Isrāfīl, the angel responsible for blowing the trumpet on the Last Day, is not described as actually blowing the trumpet, but is portrayed as kneeling, waiting for the command from God to do it.[362] This *angelic present* is used to explain how God interacts with the human world, how humans are judged, how they die, how revelation is given and how ritual actions should be performed. This is a very different way of presenting the heavenly world and its inhabitants.

This section will comprise two main sections: the first will look at the angels' roles in the life-cycle of a human, from birth to death and beyond; and the second will look at the angels' roles in ritual law. The principal aim of this section is to present the material contained in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection and to highlight its main trends.

[361] Other larger works occasionally include sections on the angels, which bear a resemblance to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, such as al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Al-Jāmiʿ shuʿab al-īmān* (Bombay: Al-Dār al-Salfīyyah, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 407 – 446. However, to my knowledge, *al-Ḥabā'ik* is the only ḥadīth collection devoted to angels.
[362] E.g. §85.

3.1 The Angels' Roles in Human Life

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* angels play a role in a human's life from conception in the womb until death. There are four main groups of angels that need to be considered: (i) the angels of the womb; (ii) the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān al-kātibān*); (iii) the Angel of Death and (iv) various post-mortem angels. These four groups of angels amount to 207 *ḥadīth* (c. 28%). This is a significant portion, especially when a large number of the remaining *ḥadīth* play similar roles.[363]

3.1.1 The Angels of the Womb

The interaction between angels and humans begins before birth and al-Suyūṭī includes nine *ḥadīth* (§436 – 444) about one particular ante-natal event. Soon after conception, God sends an angel to the mother's womb, which then forms the foetus and records what God has ordained for that child. The *ḥadīth* do not provide a strict consensus about when this happens precisely, but it is said to happen at some stage between forty and seventy-two days.[364] The majority of the *ḥadith* say that only one

[363] For example, there is an angel that records the names of those that say '*ṣalā allāh ᶜalayhi wa-sallam*' – which is a role similar to, but separate from, that of the scribes (*al-hāfiẓān*). See §445 – 447 & 449 – 457; for more on this, see Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'* vol. 1, pp. 137 - 138; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §9.22.69 – 71, p. 62; Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion I' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 5 – 21 and de la Puente, Christina, 'The Prayer Upon the Prophet Muhammad (Tasliya): A Manifestation of Islamic Religiosity' *ME* 5 (1999) pp. 121 – 129.

[364] 40 Days: §437 , 440 & 442; 42 Days: §439; 72 Days: §441. Forty days is also an important time period in Greek Medicine (cf. Hippocratic Treatises, *On the Nature of the Child*, §18 – 19; see Lonie, Iain M., (tr. & commentary), *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation", "On the Nature of the Child, "Diseases IV"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) pp. 9 – 11 & 190 – 194); forty days is also important in rabbinic law (probably a result of the influence of Greek medicine); for example, a woman who miscarries before forty days have passed does not have to perform the rites of ritual purity associated with miscarriages and birth, as it is not considered an embryo before forty days; see Bek. §21b, p. 140.

angel is sent to the womb,[365] but one *ḥadīth* (§436) states that: 'God, Most High, has made an angel responsible for the womb; [he said] that is, one responsible for the sperm, one responsible for the clot and one responsible for the embryo.' The *ḥadīth* discuss two important ideas: the first provides an account of traditional embryology and the second concerns the issue of predestination.

Five of the nine *ḥadīth* included describe the early stages in the growth of the embryo in basic terms.[366] These *ḥadīth* are similar to the Qur'ānic accounts, especially Q 23:12 – 14[367] and reflect a '…further development of the thought found already in some Koranic passages dealing with the stage of the development of the embryo.'[368] Here is a representative example from the *ḥadīth*: '...When forty-two nights have passed by the semen, God sends an angel to it, and it shapes it, and creates its ears, its eyes, its skin, its fat and its bones.'[369] The development of the embryo and the stages outlined in this example played an important part in the classical Islamic law of torts, especially in attempting to rule when compensation is

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[365] §437 – 443.

[366] §437, 439, 440, 441 & 443; cf. *Nid*. §31a, p. 214 & *Yom*. §95a, p. 420; for more on embryogenesis in Greek and Jewish thought Kottek, Samuel S., 'Embryology in Talmudic and Midrashic Literature' *JHB* 14 (1981) pp. 299 – 315; Needham, Joseph, *A History of Embryology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) pp. 13 – 65 and Jones, David Albert, *The Soul of the Embryo: Enquiry into the Status of the Human Embryo in the Christian Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2004) pp. 6 – 42.

[367] 'We created man of an extraction of clay, then We set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure, then We created of the drop a clot, the We created of the clot a tissue, then We created of the tissue bones, then We garmented the bones in flesh…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343; for other accounts of embryogenesis, cf. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīh al-gahib* [*Tafsīr al-kabīr*] (Cairo: s. n., 1889 - 1891) vol. 6, pp. 188 - 190 and Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 203 – 208. The accounts of the development of the embryo in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth has been discussed frequently, see O'Shaugnessy, T., *Creation and the Teaching of the Qur'ān* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1965) pp. 10 – 29; Bakker, D., *Man in the Qur'ān* (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland N.V., 1965) pp. 9 – 19; Haas, Samuel S., 'The "Creation of Man" in the Qur'ān' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 268 – 273; Arnaldez, R., 'Insān' *EI*^{2} vol. 3, pp. 1237 – 1239 and Ebrahim, Abul Fadl Mohsin, 'Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 229 – 232.

[368] Ringgren, Helmer, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism* (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1955) p. 119

[369] §439; Cf. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜUthmān al-Dhahabī (attr.), *Tibb al-Nabbī* §23; see Elgood, Cyril (tr.), *Tibb-ul-Nabbi or Medicine of the Prophet* (Bruges: Ex Officina "De Tempel", 1962) pp. 165 – 175. This work has been attributed incorrectly to al-Suyūṭī, and it is believed to have been compiled by al-Dhabahī; see Savage-Smith, Emilie, 'Attitudes to Dissection in Medieval Islam' *JHMAS* 50 (1995) pp. 67 – 110, p. 73, n. 14.

liable in cases of injury that subsequently induce a miscarriage.[370] However, whilst the scientific understanding behind these texts is interesting in and of itself, there are greater theological points being made; birth and ante-natal development are all driven by God. The creation of human life, as well as creation more generally, only occur as a result of God's will, as Dirk Bakker comments: 'Allah's power manifested in the creation of man is not restricted to divine initiative, but is active in each stage of development. There is no phase in the process of man's origin in which Allah is not concerned creatively.'[371]

God's will is equally important in the concept of predestination alluded to in these few *ḥadīth*.[372] The most important aspect of the Angel of the Womb is that in the womb, God preordains certain aspects of the foetus' life; take the two following *ḥadīth*:

> '…The [the angel] says: 'Lord, it is male or female?' And your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then he says: 'Lord, what will his sustenance be?' Your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then the angel leaves the page on his hand, and never ceases from the command nor shakes it off.'[373]

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[370] See Katz, Marion Holmes, 'The Problem of Abortion in Classical Sunni *fiqh*' in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.), *Islamic Ethics of Life: Abortion, War and Euthanasia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003) pp. 25 – 50; see especially pp. 30 – 34; for a modern Islamic perspective on these issues see, Bowen, Donna Lee, 'Abortion, Islam and the 1994 Cairo Population Conference' *IJMES* 29 (1997) pp. 161 – 184.

[371] Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an*, p. 18; the importance of birth and death is also reflected in Jewish literature, in which it is said that: 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR.* 73:4, p. 670, cf. *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.

[372] Edward Salisbury's early article on predestination and freewill in Islam contains a useful survey of these themes in pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, ḥadīth and *kalām*; see Salisbury, Edward E., 'Materials for the History of the Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will; compiled from original sources' *JAOS* 8 (1866) pp. 105 – 182; for ḥadīth, see pp. 122 – 147.

[373] §439.

> 'And [the angel] says: 'Lord, is it male or female? Lord will it be wretched or happy?' And God decrees what He wills. Then the one responsible says: 'What is its time?' And God decrees what He wills. Then he closes the book and it is not opened until the Day of Resurrection.'[374]

These two *ḥadīth* show that some aspects of a human's life are preordained: gender, sustenance (*rizq*), happiness or wretchedness,[375] and life-span (*ajal*). Montgomery Watt calls this type of predestination 'modified fatalism', because the elements that are predestined for the individual are limited in scope: 'Here not everything a man does is predetermined, but only the date of his death and the outcome or general effect of his activity.'[376] Some of these preordained elements of life, such as the *ajal* can be found in pre-Islamic religion (cf. *daḥr*),[377] but as Smith and Haddad note, '…the emphasis is not on an impersonal determinism but on divine prerogative; God ascertains the life-spans of persons and of communities, and in His hands lies the fate of all that He has brought into being.'[378] There is a strong focus on God and the juxtaposition of the statements about embryogenesis and this modified determinism seek to place God at the centre of human existence. Although Montgomery Watt doubts that the types of *ḥadīth* seen above were originally intended to be interpreted

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[374] §440.
[375] The meaning intended here is not necessarily referring to the individual's final destiny (i.e. Heaven or Hell), but rather to the type of life that the individual will have.
[376] Watt, W. M., 'Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam' *MW* 36 (1946) pp. 124 – 152, p. 131; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5; Ringgren, *Arabian Fatalism*, pp. 117 – 121 and Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Second Edition)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) pp. 25 – 31.
[377] William Thomson argues that Muslim tradition appropriated pre-Islamic ideas into its belief system, and he concludes: 'The characteristics of Time became in due season the characteristics of God as the Lord of Time and the Controller of History...' Thomson, William, 'The Concept of Human Destiny in Islam' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 281 – 299, p. 299; for more on pre-Islamic concepts of *dahr*, see Bravmann, M. M., *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) pp. 288 – 295 Goldziher, Ignaz (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006) vol. 1, pp. 209 – 238.
[378] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5.

so forcefully,[379] predestinationist *ḥadīth* such as these became important in the subsequent theological disputes over the issue,[380] with whole chapters on *qadar* appearing in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections[381] and whole works devoted to the subject.[382] Above all, the *modified determinism* of these *ḥadīth* highlight God's control of and power over creation, as well as the role of the angels in the process. The angels act as God's emissaries and act on his behalf, revealing the close relationship between God, man and angels, even from the very beginnings of life.

3.1.2 The Scribes

Having been born, every human is accompanied by (two) angels (*al-hāfiẓān*), usually called the 'Watchers' or the 'Scribes' in English. The function of these angels is given simply in §313: '…They record against you your livelihood (*rizq*), your deeds (*ᶜamal*) and your time (*ajal*).'[383] The Scribes are associated with four verses of the Qur'ān in particular: 6:61; 13:11; 50:17 – 18 and 82:10 – 12. The majority of the information about the Scribes in the mediaeval Islamic exegeses is found in the entry for Q 13:11,[384] although more detail can be found on specific issues in the *tafsīrs* of

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[379] 'It is hardly conceivable that the words "whether he is to be miserable or happy" were originally interpreted in the way in which a Muslim would normally interpret them, as referring to Hell and Paradise.' Watt, W. Montgomery., *Free Will and Predestination in Islam* (London: Luzac, 1948) p. 25

[380] Cf. van Ess, Josef, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie: Studien zum Entstehen prädestinatianischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 16 & 24 – 25.

[381] E.g. al-Bukhārī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl; Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karmī (ed.), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998) *Kitāb al-qadar,* §6594 – 6620, pp. 1261 - 1265; for a collection of different ḥadīth on the subject, see de Vlieger, A., *Kitāb al-qadr: Materiaux pour servir à l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination dans la théologie musulman* (Leiden : Brill, 1902).

[382] E.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb shifā' al-ᶜalīl fī masā'il al-qaḍā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥimah wa'l-ta'līl* (Riyadh : Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadītha, 1323 / 1905).

[383] Similar 'recording angels' can be found in Jewish and Christian texts: e.g. *2En*. 19:5, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 132 – 133; *ApZeph*. 3:1 – 9 & 7:1 – 8, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 510 – 511 & 513; *ApPaul* 7, *NTA* vol. 1, p. 718.

[384] Cf. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: s.n., 1388/1968) vol. 7, pp. 216 – 218; vol. 13, pp. 114 – 123; vol. 26, pp. 157 – 160 and vol. 30, p. 88 and

the other three passages. The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's collection (§312 – 406)[385] and the *tafsīrs* agree that the *ḥafiẓān* are angels and are responsible for writing down the actions that humans take. The Scribes are the angels most closely associated with humans and the *ḥadīth* show that angels are integrated into everyday life. Despite the fact that the deeds recorded by these Scribes will affect the human's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī presents the *ḥafiẓān* as being very much part of the present throughout his collection.

The *ḥadīth* (in both the exegeses and *al-Ḥabā'ik*) differ from the Qur'ānic presentation of the material in the descriptions of the technical and practical ways in which the Scribes behave. For example, a number of *ḥadīth* state there are two sets of angels, two for the day and two for the night.[386] The development of such technicalities can be seen particularly clearly in the exegeses of Q 50:17 – 18. The Qur'ānic verse states there are two angels 'sitting one on the right and one on the left.'[387] The *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the exegeses[388] add that: 'The one on his right writes down the good deeds and the one on his left writes down the sins…'[389] This moral distinction between left and right is not explicit in the original Qur'ānic verse; but the notion that the left is bad (and so the angel that writes down bad deeds is on the left) is a very traditional and ancient distinction that is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān.[390]

Al-Quṛtubī, Abī ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1357–1369/1938–1950) vol. 7, p. 6; vol. 9, pp. 291 – 295; vol. 17, pp. 8 – 13 and vol. 19, pp. 245 – 246.

[385] This is the longest chapter on a named angel in *al-Ḥabā'ik*.

[386] E.g. §314, 315, 318, 319, 331.

[387] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

[388] e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 17, p. 9.

[389] See §319.

[390] *yamīn* appears 16 times in the Qur'ān – see ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fuᶜād, *Al-Muᶜjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1996) p. 862. The opening of Sura 56 is a good example of the discourse of left and right; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 560 – 561. For more

The actions of the angelic scribes are further expanded by the *ḥadīth* to show God's mercy to his creations. In §335 the Scribes are said not to record any transgressions for six hours after a sin has been committed and 'If [the person] repents and seeks forgiveness from God, Most High, then He casts [the sin] away from him…'[391] This *ḥadīth* attests to God's mercy and also encourages repentance. This same emphasis on God's mercy is repeated in §336 with a slight difference in that: 'If a servant does a good act, he writes it down ten times…'[392] Here good actions are given extra weight, thereby making entrance into Paradise, technically at least, a little easier. Despite the fact that these two *ḥadīth* are different in some specific details, the general theme of the *ḥadīth* – that God is merciful and allows time for repentance – is common to a great many included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. To a certain extent these *ḥadīth* could be described as being contradictory,[393] but the differences in detail are not problematic; rather, the underlying aim of these *ḥadīth* is to encourage repentance after the committing of a sin, as well as encouragement to act righteously in the first place. The focus on the ethical value of righteous and unrighteous actions can be seen particularly clearly in another *ḥadīth* that states: '…When a servant tells a lie, the angel [of good deeds] is separated from him by a mile from the stench which comes from him.'[394] Here, an unrighteous action is manifested by a (physical) smell.[395] In this way, the *ḥafiẓān* are no longer simply

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on the left-right distinctions in Islam and religion generally, see Hertz, R., 'La prééminence de la main driote: étude sur la polarité religieuse' *RP* 68 (1909) pp. 553 - 558 and Chelhod, J., 'Contribution au problème de la prééminence de la droite, d'après le témoignage arabe' *Anthropos* 59 (1964) pp. 529 – 545.

[391] §335.

[392] §336.

[393] Some exegetes include a ḥadīth that combines these two positions; e.g. al-Quṛtubī, *al-Jāmi^{c}*, vol. 17, p. 10 [on Q 50:17].

[394] §349.

[395] For a discussion of the concept of smell in religious thought, see Evans, Suzanne, 'The Scent of Martyr' *Numen* 49 (2002) pp. 193 - 211.

angelic 'by-standers' or 'witnesses' dispassionately recording a human's deeds; the Scribes are being used to condition human behaviour, urging both the pursuit of righteous deeds in the first instance and repentance for those who commit unrighteous actions in the second. [396]

The *ḥadīth* in both al-Suyūṭī's collection and the exegetical literature seen above have expanded the Qur'ānic concept of the angelic Scribes in minor and logical ways. However, some *ḥadīth* seem to move away from the Qur'ānic descriptions of the Scribes a great deal; for example, §345 says that 'When God puts a servant to the test during an illness; he says to the companion on the left: 'Go away!' And He says to the companion on the right: 'Write down for my servant the good deeds that he does.' Not only is this further evidence of divine mercy, but it can also be viewed in terms of a legal response to a question of ethical and jurisprudential concern: is one culpable of acts committed whilst ill, including any resultant sins of omission? Are the actions of the insane counted against them? In Islamic criminal law for an individual to be culpable of a crime, the person must 'have had the power to commit or not to commit the act (*qudra*); he must have known (*ᶜilm*) that the act was an offence; and he must have acted with intent (*qaṣd*).'[397] The same applies to ritual law and to the judgement that God gives on the Last Day, with the result that during illness (and logically by extension, madness) unrighteous ritual (and criminal) actions, as well as sins of omission are not counted against an individual.

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[396] There are further ḥadīth that give different details but the same concepts: e.g '…when a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.' §373; p. 101.

[397] Peters, Rudolph, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 20; see also Dols, Michael W., *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p. 442*ff.* and Powers, Paul R., *Intent in Islamic Law: Motive and Meaning in Medieval Sunnī Fiqh* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The *ḥadīth* also include information which at first sight does not appear to be the primary intention of the Qur'ān. For example, §371 says: 'whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel [of good deeds] has turned away from him.'[398] This is not implied by any of the descriptions of the Scribes in the Qur'ān discussed above, to the extent that Q 13:11 says: 'he has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by God's command…'[399] and Q 50:18 says of a human '…not a word he utters but by him is an observer ready.'[400] According to these verses of the Qur'ān, the Scribes are ever-present with a human, but this particular *ḥadīth* states that they are absent when a human is naked: is this contradictory? Not necessarily so; the Qur'ān does also say: 'Successful indeed are the believers…. who guard their private parts.'[401] Q 23:5 clearly prohibits exposing the genitals and this *ḥadīth* uses the concept of the Scribes to emphasize this position: i.e. if one exposes oneself, any good actions performed cannot be recorded; and so, it is clearly in the interest of an individual not to let his or her genitals be revealed. Although the Scribes are not referred to in the various *tafsīr*s on Q 23:5,[402] al-Quṛtubī does include a brief discussion about angels and nakedness, including a *ḥadīth* stating that: 'If a servant enters a bath without an *izār*, then his angel will curse him.'[403] In these *ḥadīth* about nudity there is a slight difference in the way that the Scribes are employed: rather

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[398] §371; Yedida Stillman highlights the differences in attitude to nakedness between the pre-Islamic and Islamic societies: 'The new Islamic sensibilities which were in marked contrast to Jāhilī society's easygoing attitude to nudity and very much in line with the biblical notions of propriety (cf. Exodus 20:23) would not permit the exposure of a man's genitalia…' Stillman, Yedida Kalfon, *Arab Dress: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 11.
[399] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 240.
[400] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[401] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343.
[402] The *tafsīr*s on Q 23:1 – 5 are chiefly concerned with the question of nudity and marriage; see al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 18, p. 4 and Al-Quṛtubi, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948), vol. 12, pp. 102 – 111.
[403] Al-Quṛtubi, *al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 246.

than the *ḥadīth* being used to expand and explain the roles of the Scribes, the Scribes are used to enforce and interpret a specific legal injunction against nudity. Again, the exposure of the genitals could be projected into an eschatological punishment in the future, but these *ḥadīth* are firmly rooted in the present and the habitual actions of the Scribes.

The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* regarding the Scribes are used in different ways to describe similar concepts. The main ideas contained in the *ḥadīth* are (i) the specific details regarding their location and their functions; (ii) God's mercy towards the repentant; (iii) answers to specific questions of theological and legal concern; and (iv) the use of angels in matters of (ritual) law. The *ḥadīth* show that the Scribes were not simply recorders of human deeds, but are used to encourage certain modes of righteous behaviour. The stress on the intimacy of the angels with individuals is great, as is their place in the human world. The final result of these angels' work will send the individual to Paradise or the Fire, but al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the present and what these angels are doing in this world, at this very moment.

3.1.3 The Angel of Death

The portrayal of 'Death' in anthropomorphic or angelomorphic terms is common to a number of belief systems and Islam is no exception.[404] Despite the fact the death is an important theme of the Qur'ān,[405] there is only one reference to the *Angel of*

[404] See Brandon, 'Personifications of Death' and Lonetto, Richard, 'Personifications of Death' *ED* pp. 205 – 206.

[405] See O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Muhammad Abdul Haleem also comments: 'The after-life is not treated in the Qur'an in a separate chapter at the end of the book, or as

Death.[406] In Islamic tradition, however, the Angel of Death became very important and was recognized as one of the four Islamic archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*).[407] This is reflected in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, with the chapter on the Angel of Death being one of the longest, containing sixty-five *ḥadīth* (c. 9%).[408] The *ḥadīth* included give a wide range of information about the angel, which can be divided into three different categories: (i) physical descriptions of the Angel of Death; (ii) the function and processes of the Angel of Death and (iii) narratives about the Angel of Death meeting various prophets. Running throughout these *ḥadīth* is the sense that death is imminent and that death is part of human existence, with eight explicitly stating that '…the Angel of Death studies every person, without exception, twice a day.'[409] Death is an inescapable, inevitable and ever-present part of this world.

There are relatively few physical descriptions of the Angel of Death in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. The angel is said to have been visible in the times before the Prophet Moses, until, for various reasons, the angel became invisible and disease was 'invented' (§146 – 148); other *ḥadīth* describe the angel in human terms (e.g. §150, 168); one describes the angel as having 'two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head';[410] the angel is also said to hold a spear (§158, 159); and some describe the angel as being huge.[411] Three related *ḥadīth* (§120 – 122) also describe the angel as

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something on its own, for its own sake, but always in relations to life in this world.' Abdel Haleem, Muhammad, 'Life and Beyond in the Qur'an' in Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Christopher Lewis (eds.), *Beyond Death: Theological and Philosophical Reflections on Life After Death* (London: MacMillan, 1995) pp. 66 - 79, p. 66.

[406] Q 32:11; 'Say: "Death's angel, who has been charged with you, shall gather you, then to your Lord you shall be returned."' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 424.

[407] For a basic survey see Wensinck, A. J., 'ʿIzrā'īl' *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 292 – 293.

[408] §107 – 171.

[409] §111; the number of times varies, cf. §109 – 113, 115 – 119. Other ḥadīth in this section make similar statements, but in less explicit terms.

[410] §123; p. 42; another ḥadīth states that the angel has multiple eyes in the back and front of his head, see §120.

[411] E.g. §126, 131 – 133 & 135.

having two forms (one for believers and one for non-believers) and one of these three (§122) gives more detail. For believers, the Angel of Death is described as looking like '…a young man, the most beautiful of face, the most fragrant and [wearing] a white gown;' and for non-believers: '…[he was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of his mouth...'[412] These descriptions of the Angel of Death lack much detail, which is quite surprising as graphic descriptions of the angel can be found in other works with similar themes.[413] The absence of extended descriptions of the Angel of Death reflects the collection's focus on the angel's *function*, rather than the *form* of the angel.

Occasionally the Angel of Death is caricatured, for example in §118 the Angel of Death states that: '…if the servant, to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to take his soul while he is laughing!'[414] Above all, this stresses the inescapable nature of death; even when someone is laughing, if the appointed time (*ajal*) comes, the person will die. In §112 the Angel of Death appears almost arrogant, saying to a grieving family: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you! I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there is none of you left!'"[415] These *ḥadīth* emphasise the nature of the angel's work and the lack of compassion reflects the impersonality of 'Death' and its inevitability. Above all, the Angel of Death is not a judge, only a functionary of God and cannot act independently.

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[412] §122.
[413] Cf. Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie,* p. 20*ff.* and al-Qāḍī, *Daqā'iq*, pp. 32 – 35.
[414] §118.
[415] §112; notice that these are the components of Watt's 'modified fatalism', and are written down by the Angel of the Womb; see above.

Many of the *ḥadīth* ask the practical question: just how does the Angel of Death collect everybody's souls? What, asks one *ḥadīth*, does the Angel of Death do '…when there is a war in the East and a famine in the West?'[416] The *ḥadīth* have three answers. The first is that the Angel of Death is huge, and that '…[The earth] was made like a bowl, and he takes out of it when he wants.'[417] The second answer is that God created helpers for the Angel of Death, who collect people's souls and then hand them over to the Angel of Death (§127). The third answer is that the Angel of Death 'calls it and the soul comes to him.'[418] Although each *ḥadīth* tends to suggest one way or another, these answers are sometimes combined (e.g. §125). On the actual process of death, the only descriptions in the Qur'ān are in Q 56:82, in which the soul is described as moving to the throat of the deceased and Q 6:93, which talks of the '*ghamarāt al-mawt*…' which Arberry translates as 'the agonies of death'.[419] However, the actual process of death is not described in great detail by the *ḥadīth* included in this particular collection and often the Angel of Death simply 'takes the soul' (*qabaḍa al-rūḥ*).[420] As noted above, there are also two *ḥadīth* that say that the angel has a spear and that 'he cuts the vein of life with it.'[421] Again, this lack of information is quite unexpected as many texts go into great detail about the actual physical process of death.[422]

There are a number of *ḥadīth* that describe the way in which the Angel of Death is informed who is to be killed and when. There are two main theories: firstly,

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[416] §123; cf. §126, 132, 133, 158 & 159.
[417] §123.
[418] §135.
[419] Aberry, *Koran***,** p. 132.
[420] E.g. §152.
[421] §158 – 159.
[422] Cf. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥāmmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol.4, pp. 421 – 426; Winter, T. J. (tr.), *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989) pp. 121 – 132.

that God instructs the Angel of Death who is to be killed at the moment before death;[423] or, the Angel of Death is informed about the deaths that are to occur during the whole year during the month of Shaʿbān.[424] Despite these two positions, both stress the idea that it is God, and God only, who decides when an individual's life is to come to an end, as Smith and Haddad write: 'It is clear in these eschatological materials that the angel of death himself, as God's instrument, has no responsibility for determining the moment of the individual's death.'[425] This emphasises that the Angel of Death is not acting independently, which also means that the Qur'ānic statement in Q39:42 that 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death'[426] remains valid. Obedience to God is a key characteristic of all angels, in all monotheist religions and disobedience is often perceived as the origin of evil.[427] As Awn comments: '[The angels] act only in accordance with God's will, and function as His instruments. For them to rebel is unimaginable, and in fact, impossible...'[428] This idea that the Angel of Death does not act independently is also found in Judaism, in which '…God is regarded as ultimately responsible for the individual's death, since Hebrew monotheism could not allow for the existence of an evil principle or a death-god that operated among men, contrary to the will of God.'[429]

The *ḥadīth* are, however, more explicit when it comes to a description of the differences between the Angel of Death's treatment of believers and non-believers;

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[423] E.g. '…the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.'§139.
[424] E.g. '…On the middle night of Shaʿbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death regarding the taking of every soul that he wants to be taken during that year.' §144.
[425] Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 35.
[426] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 476.
[427] In Islam the obedience of angels presented a problem for understanding the failure of Iblīs to bow to Adam. If all angels obey God by their nature, why did Iblīs not bow down? These issues are discussed in Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, pp. 24 – 33.
[428] Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, p. 27.
[429] Brandon, 'Personification of Death' p. 325.

take this *ḥadīth*: 'When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: "Your Lord says to you: Peace!"[430] This seems to be a reference to Q 16:32 in which God says to the *winners* on the Day of Judgement: 'Peace be on you! Enter Paradise for that you were doing.'[431] A similar statement can be found in §134:

> '…angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy, and when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.'[432]

These *ḥadīth* suggest some form of pre-figured punishment or reward for the individual, exacted before the formal judgement of the Last Day. Souls of the believers are also said to be subsequently handed over to an angel called Ramyā'īl and the souls of the unbelievers to an angel called Dūma.[433]

Sixteen of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* are part of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition. These *ḥadīth* are all comparatively long and form two narrative groups: (i) the Angel of Death and its role in the creation of humans and (ii) the Angel of Death's interaction with various prophets.[434] These mythic tales are important for two reasons: firstly, they show Islamic interaction with the wider Judeo-Christian mythic tradition;[435] and secondly, they reveal some important information about the role and function of the Angel of Death.

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[430] §165.
[431] Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[432] §134; the Angel of Death is also seen to act compassionately to believers, and in one ḥadīth the angel says: 'Be of good cheer and feel consoled, for I am friend to every believer.' See §119.
[433] See §300 & 301; Duma is a Jewish angel (meaning 'silence'); in *Ḥag* 5a, the Angel of Death states: 'I, have charge over them till they have completed the generation [i.e. their life] and then I hand them over to Dumah' *Ḥag* 5a, p. 18; see also *San* 94a, *Shab.* 152b and *Ber*. 18b.
[434] Creation: §107 – 108; Prophets: Enoch (§149), Abraham (§120 – 123; 150), Moses (§146), Solomon (§ 137 – 138, 167 – 168), David (§151) and Muḥammad (169 – 170).
[435] For more on the interaction between ḥadīth and rabbinic literature, see Rosenblatt, Samuel, 'Rabbinic Legends in Hadith' *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 237 – 252.

The first two *ḥadīth* in the section on the Angel of Death do not, as one may expect, give descriptions of how the Angel of Death takes the souls of humans or how the angel looks, but begin with a story about the creation of Adam. In this story, God commands various angels to collect some mud from the Earth, out of which Adam is created. Various angels fail in their mission and only the Angel of Death succeeds.[436] This story is important because it establishes a link between the birth and death of human life. The Angel of Death was involved in the creation of Adam and is likewise responsible for the 'termination' of Adam and his children; or as Haim Schwarzbaum notes '…at the very moment of his birth man already carries within himself the germs of death.'[437] This narrative was very popular in both Jewish and Muslim tradition and testifies to the high degree of interaction between Judaism and Islam in this particular mythic narrative.[438]

In Judaism and Christianity, the characterization of 'death' or the 'Angel of Death' in works such as the *Testament of Abraham* marks a further development in the personification of *Death*, in which prophets interact directly with an anthropomorphic or angelomorphic version of Death and attempt to challenge it.[439]

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[436] §107 – 108; Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a version of this ḥadīth, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *Qiṣas al-anbiyā'* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-malūk* (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜarif bi-Miṣr, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 89 - 90; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The History of Al-Ṭabarī: Volume 1 – From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) pp. 258 – 259 and al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36. For a fuller list of references to this narrative in Arabic literature see Jeffery, A., 'Ibn al-'Arabī's *Shajarat al-Kawn* (Continued)' *SI* 11 (1959) pp. 113 – 160, p. 113, n. 1; and for references in Jewish and Christian literature see Chipman, 'Mythic aspects' pp. 10 – 13.

[437] Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'The overcrowded earth' *Numen* 4 (1957) pp. 59 – 74, p. 65.

[438] See Schwarzbaum, Haim, 'Jewish and Moslem Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth' in Raphael Patai (ed.) *et. al.*, *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960) pp. 41 – 58 and Ullendorf, Edward, 'The "Death of Moses" in the Literature of the Falashas' *BSOAS* 24 (1961) pp. 419 – 443.

[439] *TestAbr., OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 871 – 902; for a commentary on the text see Allison, Dale, C., *The Testament of Abraham* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). See Allison, *Testament*, pp. 53 – 54 for

This challenge ultimately fails and the prophet succumbs to the authority of God and dies. This narrative theme is also prominent in Islamic tradition.

Ḥadīth §120 – 122 describe the Angel of Death appearing to Abraham in two different forms:[440] the first, for the believers in which the Angel of Death '…[was] made of light and radiance, of a kind that only God, Most High knows.'[441] The second form for the unbelievers was, as has been seen above, terrifying; even 'Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul was about to leave.'[442] Here, the narrative of Abraham's meeting with Death (or rather the *Angel of Death*) is used to describe a wider ethical dimension: ease in the death for the faithful and pain in death for the unfaithful – a common idea in earlier Judaism.[443]

One common theme in these stories is the attempt by various prophets and people to escape death: Enoch, Moses, Abraham and a friend of Solomon all attempt to evade the Angel of Death and prolong their appointed time (*ajal*). Enoch and Abraham both seek confirmation from God that they are supposed to die; Moses challenges the angel directly by slapping him and gouging out his eye and Solomon's friend asks Solomon to transport him to India, so that the Angel of Death does not know where he is.[444] All these attempts are futile, as all are taken by the Angel of Death at their appointed time (*ajal*). This is part of a wider theological position in

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editions of the text in its various extant languages (Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavic and Romanian).

[440] These two images are also found in the *Testament of Abraham* 17:12 – 13: 'Then Death put off all his beauty and loveliness and all his glory and his sun-like form that he had worn. And he put on a robe of tyranny, and he made his face gloomy, more fierce that all wild beasts and more unclean than all uncleanness.' Allison, *Testament*, p. 334; see also Ludlow, Jared W., *Abraham Meets Death: Humor in the Testament of Abraham* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) pp. 95 – 118.

[441] §121.

[442] §121.

[443] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665; Cf. §134 – 135 & 163 – 166.

[444] Enoch: §149; Abraham: §150; Moses §146; Solomon's friend: §167 – 168.

which the moment of death and the length of a human's appointed time are conceived as being immoveable and unchangeable. Montgomery Watt comments: 'Both [*ajal* and *rizq*] are thought as determined by God, but, once they have been determined, they seem to have a certain fixity and there is no question of God's altering them.'[445]

If the *ḥadīth* on wine-drinking is disregarded,[446] the last two *ḥadīth* of the section on the Angel of Death describe the events surrounding the death of Muḥammad. Some elements of these two *ḥadīth* can be found in the other prophets' meetings with the Angel of Death. When the Angel of Death takes Abraham's soul, the angel says: 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.'[447] Likewise, in the story of Muḥammad's death, the Angel of Death seeks permission to enter the Prophet's house, and the *ḥadīth* concludes: 'It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone before him, and will not greet anyone after it.'[448] Although different in detail, the two *ḥadīth* use similar expressions to describe the honour in which the prophets are held. This honour is made even more explicit in §167 in which the Angel of Death is made an actual servant of Solomon.[449] However, the main difference between the encounters of Muḥammad and the other prophets with the Angel of Death is that the death of Muḥammad is treated with a great deal more emotion,

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[445] Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' *SI* 50 (1979) pp. 5 – 19, p. 15.
[446] The section on the Angel of Death ends with a ḥadīth (§171) already included in the section on Michael (§84), which simply contains the *matn*: 'The one addicted to wine is an idolater.' The ḥadīth is included in the section on the Angel of Death, because the Angel of Death features in the *isnād*; see §84 & 171.
[447] §150.
[448] §168; cf. the death of Moses in Pseudo-Philo, in which the angels do not sing their heavenly hymn after his death: '...nor was there such a day from the one on which the LORD made man upon the earth, nor shall there be such forever, that the hymn of the angels should stop on account of men; because he loved him very much. And he buried him with his own hands on a high place and in the light of all the world.' *Ps.-Philo* 19:16, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 323
[449] §167; cf. *Ket***.** 77b, pp. 488 – 489.

where the pain and suffering of the Prophet are stressed.[450] Muḥammad, when asked by Gabriel how he feels, replies: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed, and I find myself scared.'[451] Muḥammad is also one of the only prophets (save David)[452] not to challenge the Angel of Death in an attempt to live a longer life. In §170, the Angel of Death says to Muḥammad:

> 'God has sent me to you, and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul, then I will take it; but if you do not want [me to], then I will leave it.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.'

In the *ḥadīth* there is juxtaposition between the honouring of Muḥammad as a prophet and his depiction as an ordinary human being, fearing death. In this way, Muḥammad becomes an example of human behaviour: accepting of God's will, yet simultaneously fearful of it. Even the Prophet, the exemplar of human submission to God, experiences pain and fear of death itself; as al-Ghazālī writes:

> 'Did you think that the office of Prophethood would ward off from him that which was destined? Did the Angel respect his family and relations for his sake? ...Absurd! Rather he followed that which he found inscribed upon the Tablet.'[453]

The importance of these narratives of the prophets is particularly evident in the fact that a quarter of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death are in this form. What is

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[450] Other pseudepigraphical, apocryphal and hagiographical works also treat death with great emotion: e.g. *The History of Joseph the Carpenter* §14*ff*; Cowper, B. Harris (tr.), *The Apocryphal Gospels* (London: David Nutt, 1897) pp. 99 – 127, pp. 111 *ff*.
[451] §170.
[452] §151; In Jewish and Muslim tradition, David is believed to have been very pious and devout, see Pomykala, Kenneth E., *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and Xeravits, Géza, 'The Figure of David in the Book of Ben Sira' *Henoch* 23 (2001) pp. 27 – 38, especially pp. 30 – 32.
[453] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol.4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58.

most interesting about the use of these mythic narratives is that many of them are not simply graphic descriptions of death and its processes. The *ḥadīth* make important statements about the subject within a rich narrative framework, allowing important concepts about death to be made more subtly.

As a whole, the section on the Angel of Death in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on four main areas: (i) the imminence of death; (ii) the fixed nature of the *ajal*; (iii) the treatment of humans by the Angel of Death based on belief; and (iv) the practical question of how the Angel of Death can take everyone's souls. This section is one of the longest sections in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and it contains much information in a variety of different formats: exegeses of the Qur'ān, simple statements, longer narratives, etc. However, much information has not been included. The *ḥadīth* do not give much detail about the physical appearance of the Angel of Death or about the physical process of death and the time spent in the grave.

3.1.4 The Post-Mortem Angels

After burial, there are a number of angels that interact with an individual after death and in the afterlife; namely, the *fattān al-qabr* (*Tempters of the Grave*, §302 – 311) and the guardians of Heaven and Hell, *Riḍwān* and *Mālik* (§229 – 242), along with their subordinates.

Soon after someone has been buried, they are visited by angels and their faith is tested; if they have been believers, they are rewarded and if they are not, they are

punished.[454] Although it should be noted, as F. E. Peters comments, that '…the events following an individual Muslim's death unfold in a somewhat confused fashion in the literature on the subject.'[455] In Islamic tradition the two angels that come to the deceased are normally named as Munkar and Nakīr. However, some other names are given in *al-Ḥabā'ik*: Ankar, Nākūr, Rūmān[456] and they are also referred to more generally in §308 as '…two angels from the Angels of Mercy, and one angel from the Angels of Torment.' These angels do not appear in the Qur'ān, but became an important part of traditional Islamic beliefs about the afterlife.[457] The angels are described as having a terrifying form, having blue or black skin (§302 & 305) and that:

> 'Their voices are like roaring thunder, and their glance is like a flash of lightning; they walk on their hair, and they dig with their fangs; the two of them have a rod of iron; if the people of Mina were to gather together, they would not be able to lift it up.'[458]

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[454] For a basic summary, see Halevi, Leor, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) pp. 197 – 233 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Adhāb al-ḳabr' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 186 – 187.

[455] Peters, F. E., *Islam: A Guide for Jews and Christians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) pp. 256 – 257.

[456] Cf. §309: 'Abū Nuᶜaym from Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.' And §310: 'Abū 'l-Ḥassan al-Qaṭṭān in *al-Ṭawālāt* from Ḍāmra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.' It should be noted that these other names appear to be very rare, and that both §309 & §310 are attributed to the same source, Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb.

[457] Cf. *Al-Fiqh al-akbar II* §23: 'The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body witht the spirit is a reality. The pressure and punishment in the tomb are a relity that will take place in the case of all infidels and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful' Wensinck, A. J., *The Muslim Creed: Its Origin and Historical Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) pp. 195 – 196. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also devotes much of his *Kitāb al-rūḥ* to a discussion of the trial of the grave, possibly in reaction to groups (such as the *Kharijites* and some *Mu'tazilites*) who denied the existence of Munkar and Nakīr; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (Ḥaydarābād: Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmānīya, 1357 / 1939). Birgit Krawietz comments that: '[*Kitāb al-rūḥ*] was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.' Krawietz, Birgit, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works' *MSR* 10 (2006) pp. 19 – 64, p. 35.

[458] §307; cf. §303 & 305 where there are similar images.

This terrifying image has something in common with both the form that the Angel of Death takes for unbelievers (see above) and the forms of the anti-Christ, *al-Dajjāl*.[459] Despite their form, Munkar and Nakīr are not 'evil' angels, nor are they devils. Their function is to test the soul of the deceased by asking simple, basic questions of the individual's beliefs, e.g. §303: 'The two will sit with him and ask him what he used to worship, and who his prophet was.' These are fundamental questions, relating directly to the beliefs of the *shahāda*, rather than a judgement based on an individual's actions. The responses to the questions asked by the two angels receive either a punishment or reward; in §302 the reward and punishment is related directly to Heaven and Hell: '…the door to the Garden is opened for him, and it is roomy for him in his grave' and '…the door to the Fire is opened for him.'

The implication is that the period of questioning in the grave acts as a preliminary stage of judgement during which those who can never enter heaven are separated from those that can. Those that pass the test will subsequently be judged on the Day of Resurrection according to their actions, as collected by the Scribes. This would seem to highlight the primacy of belief and the punishment of disbelief; i.e. *kufr* automatically results in punishment in Hell. However, this is not at all clear and statements such as '…his torment does not end until God calls him from that bed of his...' in §302, suggest that the individual is not immediately consigned to Hell during this period, but it would seem extremely unlikely that he or she could gain admittance to Heaven.

The guardians of Heaven and Hell are also named in Islamic tradition as Mālik and Riḍwān, and, although their names are derived from the Qur'ān, they are

[459] See Saritopak, Z., 'The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Anti-Christ): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition' *MW* 93 (2003) pp. 291 - 307 and Halperin, D. J., 'The Ibn Sayyad Traditions and the Legend of al-Dajjāl' *JAOS* 96 (1976) pp. 213 – 225.

not fully developed until the *ḥadīth* literature.[460] They also both figure fairly prominently in the *miᶜrāj* literature.[461] Of the few *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* about post-mortem events, only §237 and §242 are explicitly about Riḍwān, and only §241 about the guardians of Heaven. The majority are descriptions of the individuals responsible for Hell: (i) Mālik, the angel in charge of Hell; (ii) the guardians who punish hell's inhabitants; and (iii) the *zabāniyya*, another group of angels who are also responsible for punishments. Like the Angel of Death and Munkar and Nakīr, they are described as having a terrifying form:

> [229] God, may he be praised and glorified, created Mālik, and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him, no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with his fingers; and by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

> [234] There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people].

These descriptions are designed to make individuals aware of the consequences of their actions in this world. Such descriptions are common in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and eschatological texts.[462]

The *ḥadīth* included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection concerning the post-mortem angels are actually very few, only amounting to twenty-four *ḥadīth* (3%).

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[460] Mālik: Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; Riḍwān: Q 3:15; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 47.
[461] Cf. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 134*ff*. Vockovic comments: '…Malik is a character that Muhammad meets occasionally, and he is the one, when asked who shows Muhammad hell.' Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 37.
[462] See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, pp. 68 – 105.

This is quite surprising as both the angels Mālik and the two tempters of the grave were extremely popular in Islamic tradition.[463] Being angels, al-Suyūṭī could not exclude them from this collection, but their actions in the post-mortem world, that of the eschatological future, appear to jar with the immediacy and everyday focus of the rest of the *ḥadīth* in the collection.

The role of the angels in the everyday lives of humans is an important theme in Islamic tradition and many of the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* deal with this issue. The *ḥadīth* show that angels are continually in contact with humans from the very beginnings of life. One *ḥadīth* shows this with particular clarity:

> [304] '…when God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create him, He said to an angel: 'Write down his blessings (*rizq*)! Write down his report (*athar*)! Write down his allotted time (*ajal*)! Write him down as damned or blessed!' Then that angel ascends and God sends an angel, and it sustains him until he reaches puberty, then that angel ascends. Then God assigns two angels to him, who write down his good deeds and his misdeeds. When he is in the presence of death, those two angels ascend, and the Angel of Death comes to him to take his soul. When he enters his grave, the spirit returns to his body, and the two Angels of the Grave come to him and test him. Then the two ascend. When the Hour comes, the Angel of Good Deeds and the Angel of Misdeeds come down to him and they untie the bound books on his neck. Then the two are with him and one drives him and the other bears witness.'

[463] E.g. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, pp. 426 – 430; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, pp. 135 – 147; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 41 – 49.

There has been a tendency in Islamic (as well as Biblical and Jewish) Studies to focus on the angels' roles in eschatology. Christopher Rowland has argued that Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature is not simply about the future, but is also concerned with the present: 'Such elements point to apocalyptic being not merely a movement which was concerned primarily with the future of the world but with the world above, its secrets and its glory.'[464] But it is not simply apocalyptic texts that are interested in angels and the divine world, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a case in point. The compilation is clearly not apocalyptic, far from it in fact; yet it is deeply interested in the angelic world. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not simply concerned with, as Rowland puts it, the secrets and glory of heaven, but with the interaction of the divine with the human; the relationship between the angels and people, at all times. This relationship is reciprocal: whilst the angels constantly supervise and note down human actions, a close link is also established between the human and the divine worlds and along with it a sense of protection. Whilst it is angels that are the celestial beings that interact with God, there is a constant stress in the *ḥadīth* that they are mere functionaries. All of the angels' actions originate from God.

[464] Rowland, C., 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature' *JSJ* 10 (1979) pp. 138 – 154, p. 138.

3.2 Angels and Ritual

So far, angels have been seen to watch over human activity on behalf of God, recording human actions in readiness for the Day of Judgment. The angels do, however, also relate to the contemporary world (that is, the world of the *now*) in a different way. Rather than perceiving angels as coming down to the earthly realm, humans can also look up to the angels in heaven to seek guidance in the ways and forms of ritual.

The idea that the earth is a replica of the divine is an important and common concept in the ancient world and the temple in Near Eastern religion marked a place of direct connection between the human and divine realms.[465] As Nicholas Wyatt comments: 'The point of the junction is communication between the two, allowing the benefits of cult to reach the god (they were seen as being fed by their servants, like great lords), and for their power to be transmitted downwards as a blessing…'[466] Associated with the precise *locus* of this divine place on earth (the *holy of holies* in the Jewish Temple) and its environs were a number of rites and rituals concerning how it should be engaged with by humans. Jewish ritual law (as well as much criminal and civil law) is associated with these regulations and came to have a profound effect on the daily lives of both the priestly and non-priestly classes. After the destruction of the two Jewish temples, but particularly after that of the Second

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[465] E.g. *Enûma Elish* VI:107 – 122; Heidel, Alexander (tr.), *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) p. 39.

[466] Wyatt, Nicholas, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) p. 161; see also Wensinck, A. J., 'The Significance of Ritual in the Religion of Israel' in H. Kraemer, P. A. H. de Boer and W. C. van Unnik (eds.), *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappil NV, 1941) pp. 51 – 60.

Temple, the *locus* of this divine-human interaction was lost, but the ritual laws and the means of approach to God remained.[467]

In the literature of the inter-testamental and post-biblical periods the concept of heaven as the template for human action on earth became important in the description and performance of certain rituals. Texts such as the *Testament of Levi* portray earthly ritual actions being performed in heaven by angels.[468] The role of the angels in these texts is to act as an exemplar for human behaviour; the way in which the angels worship God, should be how humans worship God. In these works the visionary ascends to heaven and *brings down* revelation to the rest of humanity concerning God and the rituals associated with His worship. There is also, however (as seen above with the Scribes), a movement in the opposite direction: angels are also used to deliver prayers of the faithful to God and to keep information about the ritual actions of individual humans. This movement is seen particularly clearly in the mediaeval *Exodus Rabbah*: 'When they have all finished [praying], the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the Synagogues, weaves them into garlands and places them upon the head of God…'[469]

Ritual also forms the basis of Islamic spiritual life, and there has been much literature written about the history and development of Islamic ritual.[470] However, the role of angels in ritual law and belief has yet to be tackled, which is somewhat surprising as the use of angels to encourage and discourage certain actions is neither obscure, nor solely the domain of popular, folkloric material. For example, Mālik ibn

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[467] See Stone, Michael E., 'Reactions to the Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion' *JSJ* 12 (1981) pp. 195 – 204.
[468] For a discussion of these themes, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*.
[469] *ExodR* 21:4, pp. 262 – 263.
[470] E.g. Katz, Marion Holmes, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

Anas includes a number of *ḥadīth* that use angels for these purposes in his *Muwaṭṭā'*.[471]

There are 224 *ḥadīth* (around 30%) included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, which relate to ritual issues. This is a significant proportion and therefore the subject needs to be addressed comprehensively. This section will look at the roles that angels play in ritual behaviour, looking at the topic from two directions: (i) humans looking *up* towards heaven for templates of ritual action,[472] and (ii) heavenly beings coming *down* to earth, covering both the effects of certain human actions on angels[473] and the angelic encouragement of correct behaviour.[474]

3.2.1 Heaven as a Template for the Performance of Ritual

One of the most important roles for angels is to show believers how they should behave, both in general terms and in specific ritual contexts. The importance of angels outside Islam is best seen in the Qumran community and their liturgical work, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.[475] At Qumran human worship replicates the angelic community and both humans and angels pray and worship simultaneously. Martha

[471] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa*; vol. 1, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142, 165 – 166 and vol. 2 p. 241; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta* §3.2.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85; 15.7.25; 54.3.6; 54.3.8; pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.
[472] 62 ḥadīth: §7, 21, 22, 24, 34, 39, 83, 100, 101, 102, 196, 212, 275, 282, 289 – 290, 458 – 470, 475 – 477, 486, 489; 518 – 528, 549, 566, 567, 575, 609, 625, 683 – 685, 687 – 690, 708 & 736.
[473] 69 ḥadīth: §58, 60 – 63, 84, 120 – 122, 145, 171, 229, 248 – 255, 302, 312, 319,349, 355 – 361, 364 – 368, 371,372, 386, 387,391, 503, 512,574, 582 – 597, 624, 650, 658, 691, 693 – 695, 698 & 715.
[474] 124 ḥadīth: §59 - 62, 65, 119 - 122, 212, 302, 312, 319, 329,330, 333 - 336, 341, 344 - 347, 351 - 354, 369, 370,373, 375, 376, 382, 387, 391, 430, 445 - 470, 474 - 477, 503, 568 - 573, 576, 578 - 580, 598, 599, 604, 609, 614, 615, 617, 618, 621 - 623, 628, 634, 644, 645, 653, 665, 666, 671, 673, 676, 682, 695, 696, 698 - 701, 708, 710 - 722, 738 - 730, 732.
[475] *4Q400 – 4Q407* and *Mas1k*; for a translation of these texts with a commentary, see Davila, James R., *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000) pp. 83 – 167.

Himmelfarb comments that: 'The recitation of the *Sabbath Songs* with their description of the liturgy in the heavenly temple was intended to create a feeling of participation in the service on high.'[476] As will be seen, this is also a key part in the understanding of the role of angels in Islamic ritual.[477]

Before looking at the role of angels in specific ritual actions, it is important to highlight the way in which angels are held to be exemplars of faith. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the angels are said to be continually praising and worshipping God. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that state: 'There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright until the Hour comes.'[478] Here Heaven is described as a world crammed full of angels, constantly praising God.[479] This is seen further in another *ḥadīth*:

> [22] 'God, Most High, divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.'

Of all the angels that are in existence the great majority praise and worship God, with a mere ten percent given specific tasks – the roles normally associated with angels.[480] In one of the *ḥadīth* it says explicitly that the main purpose of the angels is to worship:

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[476] Himmelfarb, *Ascents to Heaven*, p. 49; see also Gzella, H., 'Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen' *EphThL* 78 (2002) pp. 468 – 481.

[477] See also Roff, William R., 'Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam,* pp. 78 – 86.

[478] §7; cf. §8 – 12, 18, 21 and 22 - 25.

[479] In *1En* 60:1, there are said to be 'ten thousand times a million and ten million times ten million' angels; cf. 1En 71:8, 13; *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 50; *2En*. 18 – 19 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 130 – 134 ; *3En*. 17 – 40 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 269 – 292 *QuesEzra*. 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LamR* 3:23, §8, p. 201

[480] E.g. Andrea Pires defines angels in this way: '…the word "angel" applies to ranks of spiritual or heavenly beings which serve as intermediaries between the earthly and divine worlds…' Pires, Andrea (tr. Paul Ellis), 'Angels' *ER*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 343 - 349, p. 343.

> [549] 'I said to Kaᶜb: 'What is your opinion about the Word of God: 'glorifying Him by night and in the daytime and never failing'[481] - particularly regarding those that are occupied with [delivering] messages and those that are occupied with [seeing to people's] needs?' He said: God gave them worship, just as [he gave] you souls. Have you not eaten and drunk, and stood up and sat down, and come and gone, and talked while you breathed? In that way, He created worship for them.'

The worship and praise of God is a natural function of the angel. The actual words of the angels are also important and often reflect invocations used commonly in Muslim ritual, again something seen in Jewish and Christian contexts.[482] The most important of these is the saying of the *tasbīḥ*,[483] which is an integral part of Muslim devotional practices: 'Muslim prayer-manuals show that for the Muslim worshipper too, his act of praise is a sharing in the worship of "angels and men in a wonderful order".'[484] This perpetual worship and glorification of God are personified particularly strongly in the angel *al-Rūḥ*:

> 'The Spirit is an angel. It has seventy thousand faces, and every face has seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue has seventy thousand languages, which praise God in all of those languages; God creates an

[481] Q 21:20; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 324.
[482] For example, '3 Enoch represents the celebration of God's holiness through the recitation of the Qeduššah (the Sanctus) as the central act of heavenly worship. 3 Enoch 35-40 is devoted entirely to this subject.' Alexander, P., '3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch: Introduction' *OTP* vol. 1, p. 245.
[483] *Tasbīḥ* normally refers to the phrase: '*subḥān allāh*' (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-dhikr*; *B. 18 (Subhān allāh)* §6575 - 6580) but according to S. M. Zwemer in relation to the Muslim 'rosary', '[The *tasbīḥ*] generally consists in saying *subhān Allāh* thirty-three times, *al-hamdu-lillāhi* thirty-three times, and *Allāhu akbar* thirty-three times.' Zwemer, S. M., 'The Rosary in Islam' *MW* 21 (1931) pp. 329 – 343, p. 330 and Goldziher, I., 'Le roasaire dans l'Islam' *GS* vol. 2, 374 – 379. For more on its use during the ritual prayers see Padwick, Constance E., *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: SPCK, 1961) pp. 65 – 74.
[484] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 67.

> angel from every praise, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.'[485]

The image here shows the multitude of praises from one being towards one object and it is no surprise that such an image should be included by Ibn Ṭufayl in his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as the ultimate goal for all those who wish to worship God.[486] At a basic level, the angels are beings created to worship God and do so naturally. Indeed, many theologians saw obedience and worship of God as such an innate part of the angels' being that Iblīs' refusal to prostrate to Adam had to be reinterpreted.[487] As worship of God, as well as obedience and submission to God, are part of the angelic nature, the angels then become the epitome of the way in which Muslims should worship.

Thus far, the *ḥadīth* have just outlined two basic principles: firstly, that praise and worship of God should be constant and, secondly, that certain expressions and devotions are used by the angels. However, the angels also play important roles in more technical aspects of the worship of God, especially the ritual prayers and the rites of the *ḥajj*.

One of the most important themes in Islamic tradition is the idea that there is a heavenly counterpart to the *Kaᶜba*, often called the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* (the 'inhabited house'). W. McKane comments that in Islamic visions of heaven, 'There is a doctrine of heavenly prototypes and earthly copies; thus a heavenly *Ka'aba*, a heavenly *mu'addin* and an angel in the form of a cock who regulates the crowing and

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[485] §212; see also §213 – 216.
[486] Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (Beirut: Al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1963) p. 85.
[487] See al-Zamakhsharī, Abū 'l-Qāsim Jārr Allāh Maḥmūd ᶜUmar, *Al-Kashshāf ᶜan ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa-ᶜuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜa al-Kubrā, 1318 – 1319) vol. 3, p. 18 and al-Bayḍawī, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar (ed. W. Fell), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leizig: Vogel, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 191 - 192 [both on Q 38:75] and the discussion of these themes by Ibrahim, 'Superiority of Angels'.

silence of all earthly cocks.'[488] This heavenly prototype is believed to be directly above the earthly *Kaᶜba*, or as one *ḥadīth* puts it: '…if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it.'[489] The Temple was the primary focus of the cult in ancient religion, generally, and particularly in Judaism because of the direct link between the one temple and God.[490] Likewise, in *al-Ḥabā'ik* the earthly Kaᶜba is a representation of a heavenly version.[491] The traditions often use the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* to describe the great number of angels that worship in it, for example:

> '…It is called *The Inhabited House* because seventy thousand angels pray in it every day; then they come down, when they have spent the night [there], they circumambulate the Kaᶜba, then they bless the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), then they leave and they do not have another turn until the coming of the Hour.'[492]

This does not, at first, appear to establish a model of any particular rite of the *ḥajj*; the *ḥajj* is not performed every day. However, this *ḥadīth* and others like it place the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, and by extension the earthly *Kaᶜba*, at the heart of angelic worship. The angels are not instituting any particular rite, but are stressing the holiness and sanctity of the location.[493] Of course, in Islam the *locus* of the 'temple' as the house

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[488] McKane, 'Manuscript on the Miᶜraj' p. 375; for more on the history of the Kaᶜba, see Rubin, Uri, 'The Kaᶜba: Aspects of its ritual function asnd position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times' *JSAI* 8 (1986) pp. 97 – 131.

[489] §21; see also §498 & 522. §685 states that there are fifteen 'houses', one for each of the seven heavens and earths, and one for God and that if one of the houses were to fall, '… then it would fall one of them on top of the other until the borders to the lowest earth.'

[490] See Wyatt, *Space and Time*, pp. 159 – 182.

[491] As James Davila has commented on the heavenly temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice envisions a macrocosmic Temple conceived on the model of the earthly Tabernacle and the Temple in Jerusalem. (Of course, the composers of the work would see it the other way around: the cosmic Temple is the archetype and model for the earthly sanctuaries.)' Davila, James R., 'The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrfice' *DSD* 9 (2002) pp. 1 – 19, p. 1.

[492] §489; cf. §21, 519 – 521.

[493] Gustave von Grunebaum comments: 'The cosmological sanctity of Muḥammad's birth-place is underpinned, as it were, by its soteriological sanctity as the cradle of Islam.' Von Grunebaum,

of God is a key component of the worship of God as the *qibla* is directed to the *Kaᶜba*: 'The central gesture of this body language is the facing of the direction of prayer, in Arabic, *tawliyat al-wujh*, the turning of one's face (to the house of God).'[494] As the angels focus their activities of worship on the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*, the Muslim community looks in the same direction.[495]

The *Inhabited House* is also used explicitly as the template for the earthly *Kaᶜba* in §519 and §687:

> [519]'…The Angel took me up into the Seventh Heaven, until we reached a building. I said to the angel: 'What is that?' And he said: 'This building is His building. God has angels, seventy thousand, who enter it every day. They glorify God and praise Him, and they do not come back to it.'

> [687] 'When God sent Adam down from the Garden, he said: "Adam, I have built a house for me, opposite my house which is in heaven. You can worship me in it, and your children, just as my angels worship around my Throne." So the angels came down to him, and he dug until

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Gustave E., 'The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities' in Dunning S. Wilson (ed.), *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perpsectives* (London: Variorum Imprints, 1976) §5, p. 34. However, it should also be noted that Jerusalem still remained an important site in Islam, with many *faḍā'il* works written about it; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb itḥāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; tr. Reynolds, James, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1836).

[494] Neuwirth, A., 'Face of God – Face of Man: The Significance of the Direction of Prayer in Islam' in A. I. Baumgarten, J. Assmann and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) pp. 298 – 312, p. 302; see also Ashraf, Syed Ali, 'The Inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihād' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, pp. 111 – 130 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Ḳibla: Ritual and Legal Aspects' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

[495] There are a number of works about Mecca and its merits, see Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1861); Wüstenfeld's work includes an edition of Al-Azraqī, Abū Walīd Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, *Kitāb akhbār Makka*; Rudi Paret comments: 'Die Gebetsrichtung nach Mekka, die Qibla, symbolisiert seither die Eigengesetzlichkeit des Islam. Mekka mit seinen Heiligtümern ist das geistige Zentrum, der Richtpunkt der betenden Gemeinde.' Paret, Rudi, *Symbolik des Islam* (Stuttgary: Anton Hiersemann, 1958) pp. 16 – 17.

he reached the Seventh Earth, and the angels threw the rock down until it towered over the face of the earth.' [496]

These two *ḥadīth* both establish a direct link between the earthly and heavenly *Kaᶜbas*, but they are quite different in approach. The first (§519) is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre; during Muḥammad's ascension he sees God's 'house'. It is not described, but Muḥammad's failure to understand the building that he is shown is quite unusual. Had the building been a direct replica of the earthly *Kaᶜba* one would expect him to know, or at least recognise, what he has seen. Nonetheless, the building is clearly the *inhabited house*. Why does Muḥammad not recognise it? The answer probably lies in the fact that it is part of the *miᶜrāj* genre, in which the unknown is made known. The importance is not the fact that it is in the form of the earthly *Kaᶜba*, but that the building is revealed to be *God's* building. The focus is on the association of the *locus* with the divine, not on the physical form of the building. Likewise the location of the building is important in §687, in which the *Kaᶜba* is associated with Adam. In his recent monograph, Brandon Wheeler comments that: 'Adam's role in instituting the rituals of the pilgrimage, and in particular the boundaries of the sanctuary, establishes a link between Mecca and the lineage of the prophets. The observance of the pilgrimage rites and prohibitions of the sanctuary by the prophets reiterates the association of Mecca and Eden.'[497] Whilst the association with Eden (and 'heaven'

[496] See also §523 & 524; for this and other stories associated with the Kaᶜba, see Alexander, Grant, 'The Story of the Kaᶜba' *MW* 28 (1938) pp. 43 – 53; Zwemer, Samuel S. M., 'Al-Haramain: Mecca and Medina' *MW* 37 (1947) pp. 7 – 15; Wheeler, Brandon M., *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) pp. 82 – 87; Campo, Juan Eduardo, 'Authority, Ritual and Spatial Order in Islam' *JRS* 5 (1991) pp. 65 – 91; Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, 'The Religious Dialectics of the Hadjdj' in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) pp. 17 - 37 and Pavlovitch, Pavel, '*Qad kunna lā naᶜbudu 'llāha wa-lā naᶜrifuhu*. On the Problem of the Pre-Islamic Lord of the Kaᶜba' *JAIS* 2 (1998 – 1999) pp. 49 – 74.

[497] Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, p. 85; Marion Katz argues that the association of Adam with the Kaᶜba, gives the pilgrimage a role in the Islamic notion of salvation history, Katz, Marion, 'The Ḥajj and Islamic Studies of Ritual' *SI* 98/99 (2004) pp. 95 – 129, pp. 111 - 112. In Judaism myths associated

more generally) is important, it is the building's specific relationship with God and the fact that the *Kaᶜba / bayt al-maᶜmūr* is God's dwelling that is more important: the focus is on God, rather than Heaven. The *Kaᶜba* is not 'heaven on earth' but 'God's dwelling on earth'.

The *ḥadīth* do not only describe the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in general terms, but they also show the angels performing or supporting specific rituals associated with the *Kaᶜba*. The angels are said to have been the first to perform a circumambulation (*tawwāf*) of the *Kaᶜba*:

> 'Adam (peace be upon him) circumambulated the Holy House, and the angels said: 'Your piety obeys [God], Adam, we have circumambulated this House before you, for two thousand years.'[498]

Adam, as the first man and the first to come into contact with the *Kaᶜba*, is associated with its rituals. However, there is also a deeper sense that the *Kaᶜba* is a form of recompense for Adam's expulsion from paradise, as Adam is not left abandoned by God. Another *ḥadith* (§624) establishes a link between the practice of *ṯawwāf* in heaven and on earth:

> 'And [Adam] walked around it, just as he had walked around the Throne, and he performed the prayers by it, just as he had performed them by the Throne.'[499]

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with early prophets are also used to explain rituals, for a discussion of this theme see, Weitzman, Steven, 'Revising Myth and Ritual in Early Judaism' *DSD* 4 (1997) pp. 21 – 54.

[498] §609; see also §683, 684 & 688.

[499] Note that this ḥadīth uses 'throne': in this case the *Kaᶜba* is a representation of God's Throne, rather than the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*. However, in §684 it is said that 'God, may he be praised, placed a House under the Throne, on four pillars made of green jewels, and he covered them in rubies, and he called the House "The Remote Place" (*al-ḍirāḥ*). Then God said the angels: "Circumambulate around this House and pray to the Throne." The angels circumambulated the House, and they left the Throne…'

The angels are also said to wear the *izār* (§625), to protect the *jimār* (§461) and to circumambulate in the air above the earthly *Kaᶜba* during Ramaḍān (§736), bless those who say a prayer as they pass the Yemeni column of the *Kaᶜba* (§458 – 460) and surround the tomb of the prophet (§488). These *ḥadīth* validate the use of these specific ritual and devotional acts by the Muslim community.

Given the infrequency with which most Muslims have the opportunity to perform the *ḥajj*, the role of the angels in the performance of the ritual prayers is, perhaps, more important. One of the overarching themes in the *ḥadīth* is that the angels are present whenever a Muslim prays and that they support the community. The idea of God sending angels to help and support the Muslim community is an early one, found both in the Qur'ān and in *ḥadīth*.[500] For example, during the Battle of Badr God sent a contingent of angels to help the outnumbered Muslims:

> '…and God most surely helped you at Badr…."Is it not enough for you that your Lord should reinforce you with three thousand angels sent down upon you? Yea if you are patient and godfearing, and the foe come against you instantly, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand swooping angels."'[501]

The idea that angels support a community both in military,[502] but especially ritual and liturgical affairs, is not new and is an extremely important concept in the *Dead*

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[500] For early ḥadīth on angelic support in prayer, cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'*, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta*, 3.12.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85, pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.

[501] Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; for a discussion of the historiographical issues, see Booth, Newell S., 'The Historical and Non-Historical In Islam' *MW* 60 (1970) pp. 109 – 122, pp. 110 – 113.

[502] E.g. 4Q491 (*War Scroll*) l. 10: 'Each man who is not [clean in regard to his genitals] that [nig]ht [shall] no[t g]o out with them to battle. For the holy angels are with their battle lines to[gether].' See also Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* pp. 212 - 234 and Gleason, Randall G., 'Angels and the Eschatology in Heb 1 – 2' *NTS* 49 (2003) pp. 99 – 107.

Sea Scrolls.[503] In both the Judaism of the Qumran community and in Islam the angels' participation and support of the community are crucial to understanding the relationship between God and his creations.

In *al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that reflect these themes. Some *ḥadīth* state the ritual prayers are performed in heaven, e.g.: 'When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.'[504] There are also more specific *ḥadīth* that give the role of *angelic imām* and *angelic mu'adhdhin* to specific angels: §39 states that Gabirel is *imām*, whereas in §83 Michael is *imām* and Gabriel is the *mu'adhdhin* and in §102 Isrāfīl is the *mu'adhdhin*. These contradictions are not important, rather the fact that there is an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* in heaven shows that the earthly practices of the Muslims are a copy of those performed in heaven.[505] The idea that earthly practice is a mirror of the heavenly, is seen most clearly in §83:

> [83] 'The *mu'adhdhin* of the heavenly host is Gabriel, and Michael is their Imam, who leads them in the prayers in the inhabited house, and the angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited*

[503] For a discussion of the role of angels in Qumran liturgical works, see Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 235 – 254; Fletcher-Lewis, Crispin H. T., *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brill: Leiden, 2002); Chazon, Esther G., 'Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran' in Daniel K. Falk *et. al.* (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 95 – 105 and Chazon, Esther G., 'Human and Angelic Prayer in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Esther G. Chazon (ed.), *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19 – 23 January 2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 35 – 47. For similar ideas in the *Hekhalot* literature, see Elior, Rachel, 'From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions' *JSQ* 4 (1997) pp. 217 – 267.

[504] §100; see also §101 & 102 which contain the same idea.

[505] There are a number of ḥadīth that describe the angelic *adhān*, usually witnessed by Muḥammad during his *miᶜrāj*; these are often used in the arguments between different Muslim groups, especially Twelver and Sunnī *fiqh*, concerning the wording of the *adhān*; cf. Howard, I. K. A., 'The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam' *JSS* 26 (1981) pp. 219 – 228, especially pp. 226 – 227. For the role of an angel leading the heavenly worship of God in Judaism, see Orlov, Andrei A., 'Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in 2 Enoch and the Merkebah Tradition' *JSP* 14 (2004) pp. 3 – 29.

> *House*, and they perform the prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).'

Here a whole number of Muslim ritual practices can be seen: the *ṣalāt*, the direction of the *qibla* and the circumambulation of the *house*. Furthermore, the Muslim community actually benefits from these angelic actions. The *ḥadīth* associated with the celestial cockerel (*al-Dīk*; §280 – 294) also locate the origin of the earthly *adhān* in heaven:

> [§282] 'God has a cockerel; its feet are on the Seventh Earth and its head passes through the Seven Heavens, and it praises God at the times of prayer; there is no cockerel on Earth that does not reply to it.'

The words of the angels are also important, as they often form the template of Islamic prayers and devotions. This is seen clearly in §275:

> 'Dhū 'l-Qarnayn (peace be upon him) had a friend from amongst the angels, and it is said he was Riyāfīl. He used to come to him, and visit him, and he said to him: 'Tell me, how do you serve [God] in heaven?' He said: 'In heaven angels stand upright, and they never sit down; and among them [are those that are] prostrating, and they never raise their heads, and there [are those that are] kneeling down, and they never stand upright. However, there is one who raises his face, but he never looks astray. He says: 'Praise be [to God], the King, the All-Holy,[506] the Lord

[506] Cf. 'He is God; there is no god but He. He is the King, the All-holy, the All-peaceable…' Q 59:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 576. The words of the angels are the basic form of the *taṣbīh* and 'The last two nouns are a Qur'ānic couplet, and the *quddūs* is one of the Ninety-nine Names, but no one has traced the origin of this constantly recurring and haunting phrase.' Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66

> of the Angels and the Spirit, Lord, we have not worshiped you, as worship of you demands. '

In the *ḥadīth* concerned with ritual the angels are used to legitimise set forms of worship. The earthly and divine rituals are identical and performed simultaneously. This creates a sense of harmony and a deep relationship between heaven and earth in the performance of ritual. Esther Chazon has highlighted three different ways in which the angels and the community of Qumran interact: (i) humans invite angels to praise God, because of their inability to praise God as well as the angels; (ii) humans pray *like* angels, using their words and (iii) humans join the angels, and they become one choir praising God.[507] All three of these positions can be seen in the *ḥadīth*: (i) prayer and worship are innate characteristics of angels, but not of humans; (ii) specific rites and invocations of the Muslim community were established by the angels; (iii) the heavenly and earthly communities praise God simultaneously. This testifies to the different types of relationship that exist between humans and angels in the sphere of ritual. Much of this is concerned with the 'correctness' of ritual: the correct forms of worship are those performed in heaven.

3.2.2 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong?

Muslims' lives are constantly regulated by the principle of *sharīᶜa*, the divine law, which the *fuqāhā'* strive to interpret and understand. *Sharīᶜa* does not simply govern criminal, civil and ritual law, but it also addresses ethical and moral concerns more

[507] Chazon, 'Human and Angelic Prayer' pp. 46 – 47. Esther Chazon implies that these three positions are discrete, but it would seem feasible for a community to hold these positions simultaneously.

generally.[508] In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that attempt to discourage certain types of behaviour in a whole range of different situations and circumstances, ranging from people's bad habits during the ritual prayer to questions of purity. In this collection angels are used to warn believers of the consequences of certain practices in a number of ways: (i) stating that it offends the angel that writes down good deeds (with the implication that this may affect the individual's own record of good deeds); (ii) by stating that angels do not come into the presence of certain things; and (iii) stating that the angels curse individuals for certain actions.

Ritual purity is an important part of both Jewish and Islamic religious life. In Judaism the ritual purity laws of Leviticus (especially Lev. 11 – 16) were primarily directed at the priestly class, because the priests were required to be ritually clean before coming into contact with the divine in the Holy of Holies.[509] However, as Judaism developed, there was an increasing trend for the laity to adopt the same, or, at the very least, similar purity regulations; as Eyal Regev has concluded: 'Purity is necessary in order to achieve holiness. Thus, we conclude that those who voluntarily observed purity in order to eat, pray and read Scripture were seeking holiness in their everyday life, outside the realm of the Temple and the priestly system.'[510] Impurity, or uncleanness, is derived from a whole range of different things, but the principal sources of impurity are corpses and bodily discharges (including urine, faeces and

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[508] There have been a number of works on Islamic ethics (both philosophical and Qur'anic), e.g. Fakhry, Majid, *Ethical Theories in Islam (Second Edition)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Izutsu, Toshihko, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966) and Cook, Michael, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[509] See any commentary on Leviticus for a discussion of these issues, e.g. Porter, J. R., *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) and Noth, Martin, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965); see also Neusner, Jacob, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism: A Systematic Account* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) pp. 27 – 50.

[510] See Regev, Eyal, 'Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 176 – 202, p. 187.

menstrual blood).[511] After coming into contact with these polluting substances ritual cleansing (in Islam *wuḍū'*, *ghusl* or *tayammum*) is required before performing ritual actions.[512] Islamic notions of ritual impurity are believed to be related to either Rabbinic or Zoroastrian ideas;[513] however, what is important to note is that Islamic purity regulations are usually deemed to be less rigorous than those of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. For example, ritual impurity can be derived from both physical substances and through contact with an unclean person or place; but in Islam, impurity is derived solely from substances.[514] In Judaism and Zoroastrianism, ritual impurity is of major spiritual importance and the notions of purity and holiness became *sacralised*; but the concept of purity in Islam is much more basic, as Janina Safran suggests: 'The Islamic system of purity is focused on ritual worship and treats the defilement of the body, often by bodily acts and substances, as a regular circumstance of the human condition.'[515] It should also be stressed that the concept of purity in Islamic law is *ritual* and not *hygienic*.[516]

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[511] Neusner, *Purity*, pp. 53 – 82 and Harrington, Hannah K., *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

[512] For a discussion of these terms in relation to the Qur'ān, see Burton, John, 'The Qur'ān and the Islamic Practice of *Wuḍū" BSOAS* 51 (1988) pp. 21 – 58 and Maghen, Ze'ev, 'Close Encounters: Some Preliminary Observations on the Transmission of Impurity in Early Sunnī Jurisprudence' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 348 – 392.

[513] Cf. Wensinck, A. J., 'Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung' *Der Islam* 5 (1914) pp. 62 – 80; Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Islamisme et Parsisme' *GS* vol. 4, pp. 232 – 260 and Katz, *Body of Text*, pp. 3 – 13.

[514] 'Sunnī Islam has in fact constructed what may be the only religious purity code extant which *does not recognize – let alone emphasize – the category of ceremonially contagious or contaminating human beings*...' Maghen, 'Close Encounters' p. 350.

[515] Safran, Janina M., 'Rules of Purity and Confession Boundaries: Maliki Debates about the Pollution of the Christian' *HR* 42 (2002) pp. 197 – 212.

[516] The idea that ritual purity laws were based on hygiene regulations was popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this has largely been discredited; see Douglas *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (Repr. London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 36 – 50; Reinhart, 'Impurity / No Danger' *HR* 30 (1990) pp. 1 – 24, p. 6; Wheeler, Brandon, 'Touching the Penis in Islamic Law' *HR* 44 (2004) pp. 89 – 119; Reinhart, Kevin A., 'Ṭahāra' *EI*^{2} vol. 10, p. 99 and Maghen, Z. 'Ablution' *EI*^{3}; for an analysis of some modern approaches to Islamic purity, see Gauvain, Richard, 'Ritual Rewards: A Consideration of Three Recent Approaches to Sunni Purity Law' *ILS* 12 (2005) pp. 333 – 393.

What, then, do the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* add to the subject of ritual purity? The *ḥadīth* in the collection are mostly concerned with individuals in a state of ritual impurity and the effects of that pollution on human interaction with angels. Take the following *hadīth*: '…Angels do not stay in the presence of someone in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*), nor [are they in the presence of someone who has been] anointed with *khalūq* until both [types] have been washed.'[517] At first, this *ḥadīth* may not appear to be of great concern; however, the absence of angels does have profound effects on the person concerned. If angels are driven away from an individual, any righteous acts that the Scribe of good deeds would normally record cannot be included in the person's 'book'. This *ḥadīth* essentially denies those in a state of *junub* the ability to perform credited righteous actions. It is also made clear in other ḥadīth (e.g. §365) that this applies to only 'one of your angels which is with you'[518] (i.e. the angel of good deeds); consequently, bad actions are still recorded during this state of impurity.

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the absence of angels is attributed to a whole range of different things, including:

i. urine / bowls of stagnant urine (§588 & 589)

ii. excrement (§368 & 567)

iii. nakedness (§364 – 366; 371, 372 & 388)

iv. those who are *junub* (§368, 592 & 595)

v. those who have had sexual intercourse (§367 & 368)

vi. houses with dogs (§584, 586 & 595)

vii. houses with idols (§582 – 585 & 595)

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[517] §592.

[518] §365: '…One of your angels which is with you gets embarrassed, just as someone gets embarrassed in front of two virtuous neighbours, who are both with him night and day.'

viii. houses with tambourines (§590 & 591)

ix. men anointed with *khalūq* (§592)

x. the funerals of unbelievers (§593)

xi. the funerals of individuals remaining *junub* (§593)

xii. the funerals of those who have been anointed with saffron (§593)

xiii. animals with bells (§512, 585 – 587, 596 & 597)

xiv. those people who have severed ties from the community (§594).

There are a number of important points raised by these *ḥadīth*. Firstly, in his article on touching the penis in Islamic law, Brandon Wheeler emphasises the point that to many of the jurists simply touching the penis did not necessitate *wuḍū'*, nor was *wuḍū'* necessary, except before ritual actions.[519] The idea behind this is that ritual purity is only obligatory before ritual actions, such as the *ṣalāt*, are actually performed. Reinhart has also shown that *ṭahāra* (ritual purity) is a negative concept; someone who is in a state of *ṭahāra* is someone that does not have to perform an ablution. In theory, ablutions are not necessary to perform the *ṣalāt* if the individual is already in *ṭahāra*.[520]

The *ḥadīth* cast Islamic notions of ritual impurity in a different light, for not only is someone made impure by coming into contact with a polluting substance, but the substance can also affect the ritual purity of an entire dwelling.[521] This is at odds with the standard understanding of ritual impurity, as discussed by scholars such as

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[519] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 119.
[520] See Reinhart, 'Purity / No Danger' pp. 5 – 6.
[521] In both Judaism and Zoroastrianism pollution can occur around a pollutant and through intermediaries. For example, in both religions, to remain ritually clean a set distance must be kept from a menstruating woman; cf. *Shayāst lā-Shayāst*, *III:1 – 35* (especially v. 13), in West, E. W., *Pahlavi Tests: The Bundahisn-Bahman Yast and Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860) pp. 217 - 221. For a thorough discussion of these issues in Judaism, see Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities: Part 22 – The Mishnaic System of Uncleanness* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Katz and Reinhart. For example, the consequences of pollution by urine would not be met until a ritual action was performed; these *ḥadīth* say otherwise, since the individual (as well as any guests and family members) are gravely affected prior to the performance of any ritual action. Being in a state of *junub*, for example, does not only mean that failure to perform the *ghusl* before a ritual makes that action invalid, it also prevents the individual from obtaining merit for any righteous deeds performed from the moment of pollution.

Whilst the absence of angels is usually associated with impure bodily substances, such as urine, semen, menstrual blood etc., animals and other objects (e.g. idols and tambourines) and certain actions (such as being naked) are *quasi*-polluting, as they have consequences for the individuals concerned equal to the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Although in these cases, the removal of the offending item or the cessation of the action will allow the angels to return without the performance of any ritual cleansing; i.e. if an individual is naked, he is not ritually impure, but needs to be covered before the angels will return; but if an individual has had sexual intercourse, then ritual purification is required.

Some of these 'prohibitions' are quite easily understood: for example, the ritual impurity of dogs in Islam has often been seen to be a *shibboleth* to their favour in Zoroastrian culture;[522] the ownership of idols is clearly prohibited as *shirk,* and so on.[523] The ban against playing tambourines is more obscure, but the prohibition of

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[522] Cf. Miller, Geoffrey David, 'Attitudes to Dogs in Ancient Israel: A Reassessment' *JSOT* 32 (2008) pp. 487 – 500 and Moazami, Mahnaz, 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: *Vidēvdād* Chapter XIII' *IIJ* 49 (2006) pp. 127 – 149. However, there are Arabic works that praise the dog, e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ, Abī ᶜUthmān ᶜAmr ibn Baḥr, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939 – 1945) and Ibn al-Marzūbān, *Kitāb faḍl al-kilāb ᶜalā kathīr mimman labisa 'l-thiyāb*; Smith, G. R. & Abdel Haleem, M. A. S. (eds. & trs.), *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of those who wear clothes* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1978).

[523] Cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā'* vol. 2, p. 241; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §54.3.6 – 8, p. 407.

dancing and tambourines was debated in Islamic jurisprudence.[524] Whilst saffron plays an important role in Islamic society and is not normally considered to be 'impure', Jamsheed Choksy notes that: '…[the use of saffron-dyed shrouds] was intended to prevent a Muslim's corpse from being confused with that of a non-Muslim (Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews in particular were required by Islamic governments to wear a yellow coloured cloth during medieval and premodern times to distinguish them from the Muslim socio-political majority)...'[525] The statement that angels do not accompany people travelling with animals with bells attached to them seems a little strange, especially as none of the *ḥadīth* provide much context. Take §512 as an example: 'God has angels, which descend every night to experience the weariness of a cavalry horse, except a riding animal which has a bell around its neck.' The 'prohibition', however, has quite a simple origin that had practical implications for the nascent Muslim community. Edward Lane includes a translation of §585 in his lexicon, with the comment: '…the reason is said to be, because it guides others to them; for Moḥammad liked not to let the enemy know of his approach until he came upon them suddenly.'[526]

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[524] Ibn Taymiyya is one scholar to prohibit men playing the tambourine: '*…rakhaṣa li-'l-nisā' an yuḍrabna bi-'l-daff fī al-'aᶜrās wa-'l-afrāh wa-ammā al-rijāl ᶜalā ᶜahdihi, fa-lam bakan ahad minhum bi-ḍarab bi-daff wa-lā yaṣfaqu bi-kaff' […it was permitted for women to beat a tambourine at weddings and parties, but as for men during [the Prophet's] time, they did not beat a tambourine or clap their hands]*. Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Halīm ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām, 'Mā taqūlu al-sāda al-aᶜlām' in *Majmūᶜ fatāwa Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyya* (Mecca & Riyadh: Maṭābiᶜ al-Riyāḍ, 1961 – 1967) vol. 11, pp. 558 - 586, p. 565. This is also found in his *Kitāb al-samā wa-'l-raqṣ*; see Michot, Jean R., *Musique et Danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le Livre de Samâ' et de la Danse (Kitâb al-Samâ' wa-'l-Raqṣ) compilé par le Shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijī* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1991) pp. 62 – 63. See also Shehadi, Fadlou, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp. 100 – 101; Cook, *Commanding Right*, pp. 90 – 91 and Lewisohn, Leonard, 'The Sacred Music of Islam: *Samᶜ* in the Persian Sufi Tradition' *Ethnomusicology Forum* 6 (2007) pp. 1 – 33.

[525] Choksy, Jamsheed K., 'Funerary Practices: Iran and Afghanistan' *EWIC*, pp. 119 - 122, p. 119; see also Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, pp. 85 – 100.

[526] Lane, *AELex*, p. 409.

Thus far, angels have been seen to react negatively to certain circumstances and objects, and will remain absent until the offending item has been removed. At first sight, this may appear to be simply a device to correct and regulate human behaviour; however, there is an important ethical aspect that needs to be considered. Brandon Wheeler discusses aspects of purity in Eden, concluding that: 'Urination, defecation, bleeding, and other natural bodily functions require *wuḍū'* because Adam's and Eve's bodies did not produce impure substances in the Garden of Eden.'[527] It was only after their expulsion from the Garden that impurity became a concern. By extension, the divine world, of which the Garden was a part, does not come into contact with impurities. This explains the behaviour of the angels in the human world, if angels are unable to come into contact with pollutants. Similar ideas can be found in Jewish texts, such as *Jubilees*, in which Adam and Eve are created outside of paradise; Martha Himmelfarb comments that: 'One reason that Jubilees delays Adam and Eve's entrance into the Garden is its discomfort with the idea of sexual relations in the Garden, which…it understands as a holy place, equivalent to the sanctuary.'[528] The behaviour of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* can be understood in this sense: angels cannot morally and physically come into the presence of certain actions and substances because of their innate nature.

The angels are not, however, just used to discourage certain behaviour by their absence, the angels are also said to be affected by individuals' actions in other ways. There are some *ḥadīth* that describe actions as hurting or embarrassing angels.

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[527] Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 103; the idea that the Garden was ritually clean can be seen in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* in which it is stated that: 'It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise.' Rosenthal (tr.), *From the Creation to the Flood*, p. 279; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 110.

[528] Himmelfarb, Martha, 'Sexual Relations and Purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees' *DSD* 6 (1999) pp. 11 – 36, p. 27.

The majority of these *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* are concerned with ritual prayer. Fiddling with stones, placing sandals on the ground, spitting and resting on the *qibla* are all addressed.[529] There is no consensus on how these misdemeanours affect the angels; for example, regarding fiddling with stones during the ritual prayer, §359 states that: 'Fiddling with stones in the mosque [causes] pain to an angel.' And §361: 'Do not fiddle with stones during the ritual prayers, for that [habit] is from the devil.' These two *ḥadīth* clearly indicate that those praying should concentrate on their actions, albeit expressed in different ways.

The *ḥadīth* discussed so far have looked at events and substances that cause a reaction from the angels. However, generally, the discouragement of certain actions is usually done in less explicit ways. The story of *Hārūt and Mārūt* is a good example of a narrative that is used to warn of the consequences of certain behaviour, particularly drinking alcohol. It is only after the angels have become drunk that they worship Zuhara's idols, fornicate with her and commit murder. Whilst the Qur'ān focuses on the two angels and their introduction of magic,[530] the stories of Hārūt and Mārūt are more concerned with human propensity to sin and the dangers of alcohol. Their story is used as an example of how not to behave, as Annemarie Schimmel writes: 'The traditional Sufi leaders recognised seven gates to hell: pride, cupidity, lust, anger, envy, avarice, and hatred, and the story of the two fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, as told in the Koran (Sura 2:96f.), could well illustrate the danger of followings one's own sexual desires.'[531] The two angels are not inherently 'evil' (as

[529] Stones: §359 & 361; Sandals: §356; Spitting: §355, 357, 358 & 360; Qibla: §574.
[530] Cf. Bauckham, 'Fall of the Angels'.
[531] Schimmel, Annemarie, '"I take off the dress of the body": Eros is Sufi Literature' in Sarah Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. 262 – 288, p. 265.

Jacques Waardenburg seems to suggest),[532] they simply fall foul to the problems and difficulties of human life.

The consequences of ritual impurity have often been viewed as less important in Islam than in other religions (especially Zoroastrianism and Judaism). This notion is based primarily on the fact that impurities, or more correctly, substances that cause pollution, do not cause a person to be immediately impure. The Islamic jurists also stress the fact that impurity is confined to the impure individual and that the pollution is not transferable. These *ḥadīth*, however, paint a rather different picture. Although impurity is still not transferred by contact with the polluted, anyone who comes into contact with the polluted individual *does* still suffer, albeit technically remaining clean.[533] Pollution and polluting substances such as urine and excrement, therefore, do have a significant effect on others. The effect is manifested in the alienation of the angel that records the good actions of an individual: essentially, when an individual comes into contact with polluting substances or individuals, any good action that is performed cannot be recorded. The deepest effect, however, is on the polluted individual. Anyone who does not cover himself or herself, leaves urine to stagnate, or does not perform the *ghusl* after intercourse cannot perform any good actions. Whilst the individual is not *legally* impure until he or she performs a ritual action that requires ablutions (such as the *ṣalāt*), the individual remains *eschatologically disadvantaged*, as the state of pollution has clear consequences in the life to come.

There is also a clear purpose to these *ḥadīth*; they attempt to dissuade individuals from remaining in a state of ritual purity, as it not only affects their own

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[532] 'Among the angels only Hārūt and Mārūt (S. 2:102), because of their action in Babel, are bad…'; Waardenburg, 'Changes of Belief' p. 280.

[533] i.e. if an individual enters a house in which there is a man in the state of *junub*, his angel would depart, but the individual remains clean when he has left the presence of the other person.

judgement, but the judgement of those that come into contact with them. The notion of *forbidding the wrong* is well known in Islam, but in these circumstances there is not necessarily any direct wrong. It is not illegal to be ritually unclean until the performance of the *ṣalāt* or other rites, but these *ḥadīth* imply that ritual impurity is morally or ethically *wrong*, or, at the very least, has negative consequences, encouraging the individual to avoid them.

If the angels are used to discourage certain types of negative behaviour, they are also used to encourage positive actions performed by a human. For example, the angel of good deeds writes down righteous deeds more often and the angel of misdeeds allows time for repentance.[534] There are a number of other specific actions that generate a positive response from the angels, either the individual's scribes or other angels. The angels bless: pious young men (§604); those who wear turbans on Friday (§621 & 628); those that seek knowledge (§622 – 623) ; those who say 'the Lord of the Two Worlds' after someone sneezes (§634 & 635); those who perform the fast in Ramaḍān (§665 & 718); those who remember God (§666); those who put on a sword for the *jihād* (§672); those who make their way to Mecca for the *ḥajj* on foot (§676); those who pray for the deceased (§712); those who attend the Friday prayers and hear the sermon (§719 – 722 & 728); and those who circumambulate the *Kaʿba* (§671). The role of the angels is also to encourage certain positive actions through praise, support or blessing.

[534] See §312, 319, 333 – 336, 341, 369, 382, 387, 391 & 445, as well as the discussion of this theme above; cf. §59 – 63, 503. §445 shows that it is not just the scribes that give preference to good actions, e.g. the angel that is responsible for noting who blesses Muḥammad: 'Gabriel came to me and said: 'Muḥammad, whoever blesses you from your community, God, Most High, writes a blessing for him, in it are ten good deeds, and it cancels out ten misdeeds,…'

On more specific issues there are a number of *ḥadīth* that encourage Muslims to recite the Qur'ān in its entirety or on set occasions.[535] The recitation of the Qur'ān was an important part of the ritual of the early Muslim community and there are numerous *ḥadīth* describing the merits of the Qur'ān (*faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*).[536] The reading and recitation of the Qur'ān is important as it is the word of God, and as Frederick Denny comments: 'Reciting the Qur'ān is akin to a sacramental act in that divine power and presence are brought near.'[537] This divine presence is made particularly manifest in *al-Ḥabā'ik* with the presence of the angels, who are seen to aid the believers in their recitation or memorisation of the Qur'ān, e.g. §708: 'The house in which the Qur'ān is recited comes into the view of the people of heaven, just as the stars come into the view of the people of earth.'[538] This *ḥadīth* and others like it attempt to show a reward for reciting the Qur'ān, but whilst this just refers to the recitation of the Qur'ān in the home, §713 states that: 'If the servant finishes the Qur'ān, sixty thousand angels pray for him...' If there is intention to memorise the Qur'ān and an individual dies before being able to do so, §696 says that: '…an angel comes to him, and teaches it to him in his grave, and so he meets God, Most High, and he knows it by heart.' An angel is also responsible for 'correcting' any

[535] §692, 695, 696, 698 – 701, 708 & 713; there is also an angel that is responsible for correcting an individual who mispronounces something in the Qur'ān, §462 – 465.
[536] Cf. al-Nawawī, Abū Zakārīyya Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al*-Qur'ān; Furber, Musa (tr.), *Etiquette of the Qur'ān: Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalat al-Qur'ān* (Illinois: Starlatch, 2003) and al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Iḥyā ᶜulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol. 1, pp. 244 - 247; Abul Qaseem, Muhammad, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazālī's Theory* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1979). See also Juynboll, G. H. A., 'The Position of Qur'ān Recitation in Early Islam' *JSS* 19 (1974) pp. 240 – 251 and Afsarrudin, Asma, 'The Excellences of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organisation of Early Islamic Society' *JAOS* 122 (2002) pp. 1 – 24. Qur'ān recitation remains an important part of Muslim devotional piety and is encouraged by the religious community through events such as Qur'ānic recitation competitions; cf. Gade, Anna M., 'Motivating Qur'anic Practice in Indonesia by "Competing in Goodness"' *JRS* 18 (2004) pp. 24 – 42.
[537] Denny, Frederick M., 'Islamic Ritual: Perspectives and Theories' in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam* pp. 63 – 77, p. 76; the story of Usayd ibn Ḥudayr and his experience of the *Sakīna* is an extreme example of this; see §297 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83 for a fuller account.
[538] §708; cf. §692 & 698.

misreading that a Qur'ānic reciter may make (§462 – 495), showing that the intention of reciting the Qur'ān is more important than necessarily achieving a perfect vocalisation of the text. There are also a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to specific verses and *suras* of the Qur'ān being particularly associated with angels, e.g. §699: 'The [Sura of the] Cow is the hump of the Qur'ān, and its climax. He sent down eighty angels with every verse.'[539] All these *ḥadīth* help to encourage Muslims to read and recite the Qur'ān, by highlighting the benefits of doing so and the angels act as the mediators of these blessings.

Just as Qur'ānic recitation and knowledge of the Qur'ān are an important part of Islamic spirituality, the performance of the ritual prayers plays a central role. The prayers act as a '…bridge between the human being and God. In their essential form, the canonical prayers in Islam are an affirmation, as indeed all faith is, of God's mercy and majesty.'[540] It has already been seen that the angels are used in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a template for the pattern and form of earthly ritual and that individuals need to be ritually clean before performing the prayers. The angels are also seen in this collection to bless and support Muslims in the *ṣalāt*. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, the majority of the *ḥadith* on this subject are positive, showing angelic support or praise for reciting the Qur'ān,[541] although §695 does say that: '…if he does not finish [the ritual prayers], the two [scribes] hit him on his face.' The main manifestation of this support is the presence of angels with Muslims as they pray:

> 'When a man stands up to perform the prayers in the desert of the Earth, he performs the prayers with two angels behind him. If he is called to

[539] See also §700 & 701, which say much the same about Q6 (Cattle).
[540] Ayoub, Mahmoud, 'Thanksgiving and Praise in the Qur'ān and in Muslim Piety' *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) pp. 1 – 10, p. 2.
[541] See §568 – 573, 576, 578 – 580, 598, 599, 614, 615, 617, 618, 716 & 717.

> prayer, and stands up to perform the prayers, angels like the mountains are behind him.'[542]

The angels are also said to continue praying for an individual who has performed the ritual prayers,[543] and to say 'Amen'.[544] One *ḥadīth* also states that the angels say 'O God forgive him! O God, have mercy upon him' for 'as long as [he] is in his place of prayer;[545] encouraging Muslims to spend more time at prayer. The *ḥadīth* also praise other supererogatory acts of devotion and piety, including: blessing the Prophet;[546] saying a prayer whilst passing the Yemeni corner of the Kaʿba (§458 – 460); saying 'The Most Merciful of those that are Merciful' (§466); and praying for the dead (§467 – 470). The idea behind all of these *ḥadīth* is not simply to encourage adherence to the prescribed regulations of ritual law (i.e. the performance of the ritual prayers), but to add to the religious and spiritual development of the individual. Above all, these actions play a key role in the daily remembrance of God (*dhikr*): 'As long as man is occupied with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, he is free from worldly concerns, and thus there is little chance for Satanic insinuation and temptation (*waswās*).'[547]

Angels, therefore, play an important role in the encouragement and support of the community to perform both obligatory and supererogatory prayers and worship. The angels pray and worship with humans on earth, which creates harmony between divine and human devotions. Angels encourage certain types of behaviour by stating

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[542] §568; see also §569 – 572; although the number of angels differs from four thousand (§571) to seventy thousand (§569), or just 'many' (§570).
[543] §576, 578 – 580, 598.
[544] §614, §615, 617 & 618.
[545] §716.
[546] §446, 447, 449 – 457; e.g. §447 '…Gabriel came to me and said: 'God said: "Whoever blesses you, I will bless him, I and my angels tenfold; whoever wishes you peace, I and my angels will wish him peace tenfold."' See also Robson, J., 'Blessings on the Prophet' *MW* 26 (1936) pp. 365 – 371.
[547] Nakamura, Kojiro, *Ghazali on Prayer* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973) p. 11.

that if humans behave in a certain way, the angels will pray for them. Other *ḥadīth* state that good actions are given more weight in the individual's *book*. All these indicate that certain actions give individuals a sense of *baraka*.

The notion of *commanding right and forbidding wrong* is an important and well-known concept in Islam, and the *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* go to some lengths to describe what behaviour should be encouraged and discouraged. The performance of ritual and the role of angels as the template or archetype for human ritual is an obvious example of *commanding right*. The visions of the heavenly world seek to authenticate the proper modes of ritual worship. The *ḥadīth* establish the sanctity of the *Kaʿba* as God's house, the necessity to constantly worship God and specific rituals associated with the pilgrimage.

If the *Kaʿba* is the *House of God*, then Muslims need to understand how they should approach it. When approaching God, it is necessary that the individual is in a state of *ṯahāra* and a number of different 'events' require an individual to cleanse himself or herself in preparation for encountering the divine. The rules that govern this approach to God are also applicable to the angels; the angels cannot come into contact with certain substances and states. The concept of *ṯahāra* has traditionally been seen as only important for the performance of the ritual prayers, but the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabāik* clearly show that individuals are affected negatively before this. Whether or not being in a state of ritual impurity is 'wrong' (technically it is not until *ṯahāra* is obligatory), the *ḥadīth* clearly imply that it could be equated with a 'wrong'. The *ḥadīth* do not 'forbid' these actions or states, but they do firmly discourage them.

Just as angels are used to discourage particular actions, they are also used to encourage others. All of the actions that the angels encourage are those that focus the individual on God: recitation of the Qur'ān, the performance of the *ṣalāt*, listening to the Friday sermon, saying particular invocations *etc.* The performance of these actions generates blessings and prayers from the angels, which have clear benefits for the individual in his or her individual eschatological future.

3.3 The Purpose and Function of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī ahkbār al-malā'ik*

The main focus of this chapter is the concept of time (or more specifically the notion of temporality) in the collection, in an attempt to understand the function of the work. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is quite different to other eschatological works of mediaeval Islam and the reason why needs to be addressed.

The first section of this chapter has looked at the roles of the angels in the lives of every human and the second at their roles in Islamic ritual. The underlying theme is that the collection is concerned with everyday life. The work could be called *eschatological* in the sense that it is concerned with the final judgement, but it is not *eschatological* in the normal understanding. In Biblical Studies, Christopher Rowland has argued that eschatology is not simply concerned with the future, but can reflect contemporary events.[548] However, even in Rowland's understanding of eschatology, the eschatology of the present still remains *eschatological*. Willem Bijlefeld, who applies the notion of eschatology in Biblical Studies to an Islamic context, comments that: 'Most scholars in this field reject this narrow interpretation of the term and see it as applicable to statements regarding the world to come and the last day(s) as well as to pronouncements regarding decisive turning points at a future date with the ongoing history of this world.'[549] Even with a modified understanding of eschatology, Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* still remains quite distinct and cannot really be considered to be *eschatological*, despite being concerned with the divine world.

[548] Rowland, 'Visions of God'.
[549] Biljefeld, 'Eschatology', p. 36.

What is important to consider is the fact that simply describing the divine world or divine creatures does not necessarily mean that a text is eschatological or apocalyptic.

This compilation is primarily focused on what angels are doing *now*, looking at what could be called the *angelic present*. This shifts the temporality of the compilation from an eschatological future to a contemporary reality. The work is not interested in the *angelic future*; there are no descriptions of the *eschaton* or the Final Day and even the post-mortem world of Munkar and Nakīr, heaven and hell *etc*. are limited to only a few *ḥadīth*. Similarly, the work is not concerned with the *angelic past*, and any references to the past, such as the creation of Adam, are cited because of their relevance to what angels do now.

What does this mean for the function of the work? Al-Suyūṭī seems to be aware of the importance of angels in human action and the work attempts to understand the angelic world and its relation to the human realm. The interaction between humans and angels occurs in a number of different ways, but is seen most clearly in the use of angels in ritual. The angels are both physically and contemporaneously *present* with the Muslim community as they perform ritual actions; the angels pray at the same time, the angels worship with individuals and so on. The collection also discusses how humans should behave given this continual contact with the angelic world. The angels react to certain types of human behaviour, both positively and negatively, and humans need to know about these, as they have important ramifications for an individual's future judgement.

It is misleading to suggest that *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is not at all concerned with the eschatological future, as much of the information provided in the

ḥadīth is related to an individual's *eschatological future*.[550] However, the compilation continually contextualises this *eschatological future* in terms of the interaction of humans and angels at this very moment in time. The *tours of hell* genre (including the *miʿrāj* literature) tend to use Heaven and Hell generally – warning Muslims of the consequences of right and wrong actions, and exhorting them to follow the *true path*. Vuckovic comments: 'These stories of reward and punishment play an integral role in the *miʿraj* narratives and in the ongoing dialogue regarding appropriate morality, behaviour and even political allegiance.'[551] *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the *miʿrāj* literature are both didactic, in that they attempt to teach and inform their readership, but they differ in their approaches. The *miʿrāj* literature tends to be parabolic; the descriptions of heaven and hell, although a future reality, are used to describe a *potential* future to which the reader must respond in order to avoid the punishments described. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not parabolic; rather it is *descriptive* of the current realities of *this world*, with the belief that certain actions will affect the individual's *personal eschatology*. Essentially, *al-Ḥabā'ik* informs its readers that the angels are ever present with humans in this life, at this very instant, and that human actions affect their relationship with the angels.

This chapter has focused on the interaction between humans and angels, but much of the information provided by the *ḥadīth* is encyclopaedic, explaining who the angels are, what they do, what they are called, what they look like and so on. This helps individuals to understand the angels and to identify with them, which is not the aim of the *miʿrāj* and eschatological works.

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[550] Cf. 'That in the Qur'ān, and in general in Islam, the emphasis lies on individual or personal eschatology is undeniable.' Bijlefeld, 'Eschatology' p. 36.
[551] Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 120.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* draws together *ḥadīth* from a number of different areas of Islamic thought and practice (e.g. purity, folklore, science, law and visions of heaven and hell), seeking to understand the celestial world and the functions that the various angels perform. Beyond the specific details of the interactions between humans and angels, the *ḥadīth* make clear that the angels are intermediaries and that all of their actions are performed on behalf of God and not independently. This is essential, as the creation of individual, free angels would threaten Islamic monotheism. This focus on the *angelic present* is the main purpose and function of the work, distinguishing it from other *ḥadīth* collections about the divine world and attesting to the originality of al-Suyūṭī's approach to *ḥadīth* and their compilation.

Translation and Commentary

Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; Leiden University, Or. 474 (28) fol. 187v.

4.1 A Note on the Supporting Manuscript

University of Leiden, Or. 474(28) foḷ 187v – 245r (*Legatum Warnerarium*)[552]

The manuscript is a collection of forty-one texts, of which forty are attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and they are all dated to 987 AH / 1579 – 1580 CE. The manuscript has had a relatively stable history, being collected by Levinus Warner (1619 - 1665), an ambassador of the Dutch Republic at the Ottoman court and held by the University of Leiden since 1669.[553] This makes this manuscript of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* a suitable basis for an *Urtext*.[554] The Leiden MS and the modern edition edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl are largely similar, with occasional exclusions, additions and use of synonyms.[555]

The text is written in a clear *nakhsh* with a text box containing thirty-one lines per folio. The text is written in black ink, with titles and the opening of each *ḥadīth* (i.e. *akhraja*) usually written in coloured ink. Throughout the text *hamza* is never written over a *kursī* but is simply marked by the long vowel, or, very occasionally, not at all. *Alif maqṣūra* is also usually written as a final-*yā'*. Most of

[552] I have been unable to study the MS personally, and the summary of the MS made below is based on observations of a facsimile copy of the text and on the information provided by Jan Just Witkam in his *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden - Volume 1– Manuscripts Or. 1 - Or. 1000* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007) pp. 208 – 210. As a result, I am unable to provide details about the dimensions of the manuscript.

[553] See Witkam, *Inventory*, p. 110; Witkam, Jan Just, 'The Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden' *BJMES* 8 (1981) pp. 60 – 64.

[554] The MS held by the Mingana Collection in Birmingham [MS Ar. 651i] is much later, dating to 1666 – 1667 CE; The MS held in the British Library [*Or. 9026/1*] is earlier than the Leiden MS and dates to 973 AH / 1566 CE; however, I have been unable to attain a facsimile of the MS and as the text dates to roughly the same period as the Leiden MS, I have principally used the Leiden MS as my *Urtext*.

[555] This is referred to throughout as the 'DKI Edition'. A list of textual variants has been included in the Appendix.

the lines are justified, but occasionally the titles of some sections (but not all) are centrally justified with indentations. There are also occasionally added notes referring to the chapter headings in the margins, although these are fairly rare and were added later. There are no miniatures or ornamentations, apart from the occasional addition of text-stops.

Please also note the following:

(*Arabic text*)	Arabic terms are occasionally added to clarify the translation.
[ ]^{N}	Textual variants are shown in square brackets, with a footnote.
[ ]	Square brackets (without a footnote) indicate phrases that have been added to clarify the translation.
.....(?)	A dotted line with a question mark is used to mark places where the text appears to be corrupt.
[Nb]	The numbering system of the DKI Edition has been followed. Any *ḥadīth* inserted by the Leiden MS have been marked with a 'b'; i.e. §2b is inserted by the MS after *ḥadīth* §2 in the DKI Edition.

Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr

al-Suyūṭī al-Shāfiᶜī

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik

(*The Arrangement of the Traditions*

About Angels)

4.2.1 Preface

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.[556]

'Praise belongs to God, who appointed the Angels to be messengers, having wings, two, three and four…'[557] Blessings and peace upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon the House, the Companions and the Successors. I have put together this small compilation of traditions about the righteous angels. I have included in it those traditions and narrations which mention them, and I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad. I have called it: *The Arrangement of the Traditions About Angels*.[558] By God, the Helper![559] Trust is in him!

4.2.2 The Necessity of Belief in Angels[560]

God, Most High, says: 'The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels'[561] Al-Bayhaqī[562] says in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*:[563] Belief in angels incorporates [the following] ideas: firstly, faith in their existence; secondly, [that] their being sent down [by God]

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[556] This introduction follows a standard format employed by al-Suyūṭī in his ḥadīth collections, consisting of: a relevant Qur'ānic quotation, laudations, a description of the work's contents, its title and a prayer or oath; cf. his *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī-'l-haya' al-sunnīya*; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 1.
[557] Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.
[558] For a discussion of the title, see Section 1.3 above.
[559] cf. Q 12:18; Arberry *Koran*, p. 227.
[560] The section is given the full title: *dhukira wujūb al-īmān bi-'l-malā'ika* = What is mentioned [concerning] the necessity of belief in angels.
[561] Q 2:285; Arberry *Koran*, p. 43
[562] See the Appendix for notes on each of al-Suyūṭī's sources.
[563] The text that starts here and ends after the first ḥadīth in the collection is lifted directly from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*; see al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ al-shuᶜab al-īmān* (Bombay: Dār al-Salifiyya, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 405 - 406.

is their status [in the universe] and a proof that they are servants of God. He created them like humans and jinn, ordered and entrusted [with a task]. They have no authority, save that over which God gives them authority and it is right that they should die;[564] but God, Most High, has given them an end in distant time; indeed, he will not receive them until they reach it.[565] They are not described by anything that would, through describing them by it, lead to them being associated with God, Most High; and so they are not called *gods*, as the ancients called them.[566]

Thirdly: recognition that from amongst [them are messengers, which he sends to whichever human he wishes, and it is also allowed that he sends some of them to some;][567] from recognition of that, it follows that among them are the Bearers of the Throne, the Rangers, the Guardians of Paradise, the Guardians of Hell, the Recorders of Deeds, and the Cloud Drivers; indeed the Qur'an shows all of it or most of it.

[1] We related[568] from Ibn ᶜUmar [from ᶜUmar][569] from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), when he was asked about faith; he said: Believe in God, His angels, His Book and His messengers.[570]

[564] Lit: 'death is upon them rightly…'
[565] i.e. the *ajal* of the angels is, like that of humans, fixed and immovable.
[566] In the Qur'ān, the Meccans are told that their deities are not divine, but are merely angels; cf. Q 34:40 & 43:19; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 442 & 506. See also Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* and Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' pp. 733 – 758.
[567] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 12.
[568] Almost all of the ḥadīth begin with the Arabic *akhraja* to introduce each ḥadīth; this has not been translated, but its absence is noted. In this case the ḥadīth is preceeded by *wa-rawaynā*.
[569] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 14.
[570] cf. Q 2:285 & 4:136; this is the end of the quotation from al-Bayhaqī's *Shuᶜab al-īmān*.

4.2.3 The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers[571]

[2] [Muslim][572] from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels were created out of light, the Father of the Jinn[573] was created out of a mixture of fire and Adam was created out of what characterizes you.

[2b][574] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*[575] from ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light.

[3] Abū ʻl-Shaykh in *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* from ᶜIkrima; he said: The angels were created from the light of the Glorious One.

[4] Abū ʻl-Shaykh[576] from Zayd ibn Rūmān; that he heard that the angels were created from the spirit of God.

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[571] In Islamic philosophy, angels were believed to be Intellects and were incorporeal; for a discussion of this see Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.
[572] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 16.
[573] *al-Jānn*; this can be used as the collective noun for *jinn*, or as a reference to Iblīs. See Lane, *AELex* pp. 462 & 2704; al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 34, pp. 370 – 371 and Zbinden, Ernst, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1953) pp. 3 – 8.
[574] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, ll. 18 – 19.
[575] Sezgin says that the *Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* is ‘ein mystiches Buch, in dem er sich auf den *ṣaḥabī* ᶜAlī b. Salām beruft, dem die Schriften des Propheten Daniel in die Hände gefallen sin sollen.’ Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 201.
[576] Al-Suyūtī does not cite the book from which the *ḥadīth* is taken again, unless two books have been used (as will be seen later). This *ḥadīth* is from the *Kitab al-ᶜaẓama.*

4.2.4 The Great Abundance of the Angels

[God] Most High said: 'And none knows the hosts of the Lord but He.'[577]

[5] al-Bazzār, Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mandah in *Kitab al-radd ᶜalā al-jahamiyyah* from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light and He brought them to life out of it. Then He said: 'Let there be a thousand thousands of you.' A single angel is smaller than a fly[578] and there is nothing more numerous than the angels.

[6] al-Bayhaqī in *Al-Shuᶜab* from Masᶜūd; he said: There is no place in the heavens without a face of an angel or its two feet; then he recited: 'we are the rangers (*ṣāfūna*).'[579]

[7] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr; he said: There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright[580] until the Hour comes.

[8] Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr; he said: The Messenger of God[581] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Heaven groaned

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[577] Q 74:3; Arberry *Koran*, p. 617.
[578] Flies are used as the generic term for something incredibly small, e.g. Q 22:73; 'Surely those upon whom you call, apart from God, shall never create a fly…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 341.
[579] Q 37:165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[580] This and the following ḥadīth with the same phrase could be an allusion to Q 22:26 or 39:9; Arberry *Koran*, pp. 336 and 472.
[581] The Leiden MS reads 'al-nabī'; fol. 187v, l. 31.

– and it could do nothing but groan![582] There is no place in [heaven] to set four fingers except upon the place of an angel's forehead.[583]

[9] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜĀʾisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is nowhere to place a foot in heaven, except upon an angel prostrating or standing upright – and so the Word [of the Most High]:[584] 'None of us is there, but has a known station; we are the rangers'.[585]

[10] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḍiyā' in *al-Mukhtāra*, and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with his friends, he said to them: 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'We have not heard anything.' He said: 'Indeed, I heard the creaking of the heavens, and it is not to blame for its creaking; there is no place in it [for a foot],[586] except upon an angel bowed down in worship or standing.'

[11] al-Ṭabarānī from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is no place for a foot in the Seven Heavens,[587] nor a hand outstretched, nor a palm of the hand, without an angel standing or an angel prostrating in [that place]; when it is the Day of Resurrection,

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[582] *aṭṭat / ta'iṭṭa* ['-Ṭ-Ṭ]. This is a relatively rare root meaning to groan or creak, often with particular reference to camels (be it the camel itself or a saddle *&c.*). This particular *ḥadīth* is usually cited as an example in the lexicons – see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 19, pp. 164 – 165 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 66.
[583] This same ḥadīth also appears in al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[584] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 1.
[585] Q 37:164 – 165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[586] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 4.
[587] The concept of 'Seven Heavens' is also important in Judaism and Christianity; see Collins, Adela Yarbo, 'The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses' in Collins and Fishbane, *Other Worldly Journeys*, pp. 59 - 93.

they will say [together]:[588] 'We worship you! We have only worshipped You in a manner worthy of You. We have not associated anything with You.'[589]

[12] al-Dīnawārī in *al-Mujālasa* from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: There is nothing more numerous in God's creation than the angels: [for] none of the sons of Adam are without two angels,[590] the driver who drives him, and the watcher, who watches him;[591] therefore, there are twice the number of the sons of Adam; then in addition to that, the heavens [and the earth][592] are crammed full, and beyond the heavens are yet still [more]: those around the Throne[593] are more numerous than those which are in the heavens.

[13] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Saᶜīd from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: In the Garden [there is] a river[594] and Gabriel does not enter it, get out and shake himself, without God creating an angel from every drop that falls from him.[595]

[14] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih; he said: God has a river in the air, covering the earths, all of them. Seven times [a day] God sends into that river an

[588] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 6.
[589] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[590] § 312 – 406 deal with the Srcibes in more detail.
[591] Cf. Q 50:21: *wa-jā'at kullu nafsin maᶜahā sā'iqun wa-shahīdun*; 'And every soul shall come, and with it a driver and a witness.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[592] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, ll. 9 – 10.
[593] These angels are presumably additional to the *ḥamlat al-ᶜarsh* (Bearers of the Throne).
[594] In the pre-Islamic pantheon *Allah* was both the creator of the world and the rain-god; the Qur'ān emphasises the supremacy of *Allah* as the creator and the life-sustainer, as it is He and He alone that provides humans with water, and by extension life: '[Water] reveals aspects of the dependence of creation on him, his dealings with it, and its duty to serve him.' Johns, Anthony H., 'Water' *EQ* vol. 5, p. 462.
[595] Although containing a few ḥadīth that locate the origins of rain in heaven, al-Suyūṭī's *al-Hay'a* does not include this ḥadīth (nor any others included in this collection); see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 160 – 164.

angel from heaven, and it gets into it, immersing the whole of its body, then it washes in it; when it gets out, rain [falls] from it; rain is from light, and from every raindrop emanates[596] an angel, which praises God; all of creation praises God.[597]

[15] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzā^{c}ī; he said: Moses (peace be upon him) said: 'Lord, who is with you in heaven?' He said: 'My angels.' He said: 'How many are there, Lord?' He said: 'Twelve tribes.' He said: 'How many does each tribe add up to?' He said: 'The sum of the dust [of the earth].'

[16] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ka^{c}b; he said: Nothing trickles from an angel's eye unless there is an angel flying from the fear of God.[598]

[17] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-^{c}Alā' ibn Hārūn; he said: Every day, Gabriel is immersed in the al-Kawthar,[599] and then he shakes himself; and so every raindrop is created from an angel.

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[596] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-khalaqa min kulla qaṭra malakan*' ['He creates an angel from every raindrop *or* An angel is created (*fa-khuliqa*) from every raindrop]; fol. 188r, l. 14.

[597] See also §172 – 177 for ḥadīth on the Angel of the Rain. Rain was believed to come from angels, e.g. al-Shahrastānī, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn ^{c}Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Milāl wa-'l-nihāl* (Tūfīq, M. (ed)), (Cario: Matba^{c}at Hijāzī bi-'l-Qāhira, 1948), vol. 2, p. 111; for secondary material, see Lawrence, Bruce B., 'Shahrastānī on Indian Idol Worship' *SI* 38 (1973), pp. 61 – 73, p. 67 and for this belief in modern practice, see: Başgöz, Ilhan, 'Rain-Making Ceremonies and Seasonal Festivals' *JAOS* 87 (1967) pp. 304 – 306, p. 305. The Angel of the Rain is named as *Ridya* in the Babylonian Talmud; see *Ta'* 25b, p. 133 and *Yom.* 21a, p. 90. A similar ḥadīth to this appears in Al-Tha^{c}labī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23. However, the ḥadīth is attributed to Abū Hurrayah, and Gabriel immerses himself in a *baḥr min nūr* (a sea of light). Ibn Khaldūn also includes similar imagery when describing Jesus' return at the end of time, see Ibn Khaldūn, ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamamd al-Maghribī (ed. Muṣtafā Fahmī al-Kutbī), *al-Muqaddima min al-kitāb al-^{c}ibar* (Cairo: Maṭba^{c}at al-Taqaddam bi-Sharḥ Muḥammad ^{c}Alī, n.d.) p. 259; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History (Second Edition)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 2, p. 194.

[598] In the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth weeping is generally not discouraged; cf. Chittick, William C., 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' in Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (eds.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in The Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) pp. 132 – 144, pp. 132 – 134.

[599] A river in paradise, also shown to Muḥammad during the *Mi^{c}rāj*. See Alvorado, Salustio, 'Sobre al-Kawṯar y Otros Ríos del Paraíso en la Eschatología Islámica y Cristiana' *BAEO* 41 (2005) pp. 247

[18] Abū ʻl-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: There is no creation of God more numerous than the angels; there is nothing that grows without an angel being responsible for it.

[19] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from al-Ḥakam; he said: I heard that He sends down with the rain [such and such] [600] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblīs. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.

[20] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Seven Heavens are filled with angels; if you measured a hair,[601] you would not be able to compare it with something you had already measured;[602] amongst them one is standing still, one prostrated and one worshipping, terrified and shaking their wings in fear[603] of God. Not even the blink of an eye disobeys him. The distance between the back and the head of one of the Bearers of the Throne is a journey of a hundred years.

– 253; Horovitz, J [-Gardet, L.], ʻKawthwarʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, pp. 805 – 806; and El-Zein, Amira, ʻWater of Paradiseʼ *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 466 – 467; cf. *GenR* 78:1, p. 714 – 715 and *LamR* 3:2 §8, pp. 201 – 202.

[600] This has been inserted on the basis of an extremely similar ḥadīth which appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥayʼa al-sanīya*. The ḥadīth reads: ʻ*…wayanzilu maᶜa kadhā wa-kadhā min al-malāʼika yatukbūna ḥaythu yaqaᶜu dhālika ʻl-maṭar wa-man yarzuquhu wa-mā yakhruju minhu maᶜa kulla qaṭra*.ʼ §VI:27; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 26.

[601] cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 13; Brinner, *Lives,* p .22.

[602] i.e. the angel's hair is immeasurable.

[603] The Leiden MS uses the slightly stronger ʻ*faraqan*ʼ (*terrified*); fol. 188r, l. 25.

[20b][604] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no place [the size] of the eye of a needle[605] without an angel being responsible for it, raising knowledge about it up to God and the angels of heaven; [the angels] are more numerous than the number of specks of dust and as small.

[21] Ibn al-Mundhir in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr; it was attributed to [Muḥammad]; he said: The angels are in ten parts: nine parts are Cherubim, who glorify God night and day, without rest; and one part is responsible for everything that is hidden. There is no place in the heavens without a worshipper or an angel bowing; and the sacred place is around the Throne, and the Inhabited House[606] is around the Kaᶜba; if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it. Every day seventy thousand angels pray in it;[607] then they do not come back to it.

[22] Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜAmr al-Bakālī; he said: God, [Most High],[608] divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.[609]

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[604] The Leiden MS inserts this ḥadīth; fol. 188r, ll. 26 – 28.
[605] A common metaphor in Islam; cf. Q 7:40; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 147 (although the phrase is *samm al-khiyāṭ*); much has been written about this Qur'ānic phrase: cf. Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Eye of the Needle' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 354 – 359 and Rippin, A. 'Qur'ān 7:40: «Until a Camel Pases through the Eye of the Needle»' *Arabica* 27 (1980) pp. 107 – 113.
[606] Q. 52:4; the *bayt al-ma'mur* is thought to be the seventh heaven and it is said to be located directly above the Kaᶜba. See Porter, 'Muhammad's Journey p. 77 and Morris, 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ᶜArabī' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 636, n. 35 & *JAOS* 108 (1988) p. 69 n. 169; cf. also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 27.
[607] 70,000 is a traditional number in Islamic tradition for the size of an angelic army; cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.
[608] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 2
[609] There is a scribal error in the Leiden MS with a repition of 'and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest…'; fol. 188v, ll. 4 – 5.

[23] Ibn Abī Hātim through the intermediary of Khabīb[610] ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs from his father; he said: Humans and jinn are in ten parts, humans form one part and jinn nine parts; the jinn and the angels are in ten parts, the jinn are one part, the angels nine; the angels and the Spirit are ten parts, the angels are one part, the Spirit nine; the Spirit and the Cherubim are ten parts, the Spirit forms one part of it, the Cherubim are nine parts.[611]

[24] Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, al-Khaṭīb and Ibn ᶜAsākir thorough the intermediary of ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr from ᶜĀdī ibn Arṭā from one of his worthy friends - ᶜUbbād said: I have forgotten his name - from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: God has angels which tremble [in fear of Him].[612] There is no angel from amongst them that does not shed a tear from its eyes, except an angel found standing, praising God. Angels were prostrating when God created the heavens and the earth and they did not raise their heads,[613] and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; angels were bowing, and they did not raise their heads, and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; and those that were posted, they have not left their posts, and they will not leave them until the Day of Resurrection. Thus, when it is the Day of Resurrection, it will be made manifest to them by their Lord (may He be praised and glorified) and they will look at Him, and they will say, ‘Praise be to You, we have served You just as we should.’

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[610] Given in the Leiden MS as ‘Ibn Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān…’; fol. 188v, l. 6.
[611] If these numbers were read as ‘for every one human there are ten jinn’ the final number of Cherubim would be 10,000 (a myriad - which is a traditional number for counting angels, cf. Deut. 33:2 and Rev. 5:11) for every human; however, as read, the total number are 6,561 cherubim for every human.
[612] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 10.
[613] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

[25] Ibn Mandah in *al-Maᶜrifa* and Ibn ᶜAsākir from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ᶜĀlāʾ from Banū Sāᶜada from his father al-ᶜĀlāʾ ibn Saᶜd, from someone who submitted on the Day of Victory[614] that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said one day at a social gathering, 'Did you hear what I heard?' They said: 'What have you heard, Messenger of God?' He said, 'I heard the sky groan, and it could do nothing but groan! There is no place for a foot in it without an angel standing or bowing down or prostrating in [that place]; then he recited: 'We are the rangers,[615] We are they that give glory.'[616]

[26] Ibn Jarīr from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas concerning His Word: 'And he taught Adam the names, all of them'[617] he said: The names of the angels.

4.2.5 The Four Archangels[618] who are in charge of the command of the World

[27] [Ibn Abī Shayba],[619] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Shuᶜab* from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: Four are in charge of the command of this world:

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[614] Namely, the conquest of Mecca – see *AELex* (1984) p. 2328; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad,* p. 533.
[615] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 18.
[616] Q 37:166; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.
[617] Q 2:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.
[618] Although there is no designation of 'archangel' in Islamic angelology as such, the Greek *αρχαγγελος* is translated into Arabic as *ra'īs malā'ika*; cf. 1Th. 4:16; *UBS* p. 703; and the Mount Sinai Codex 151 (dated to 867 C.E.), Staal, H. (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Codex 151 – I:Pauline Epistles* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1983) p. 173. This is also the standard translation in modern translations of the Bible into Arabic: see *Kitāb al-ᶜahd al-jadīd* (Cambridge: Jamᶜīyyat al-tawrā al-brīṭānīyya wa-'l-ajnabīyya, 1917) p. 233.
[619] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, ll. 20 – 21.

Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death and Isrāfīl.[620] As for Gabriel, he is responsible for the winds and the army;[621] Michael[622] is responsible for the rain and the plants;[623] the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls; and Isrāfīl, he is sent down to them with the command [of God].

[28] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Sābiṭ; he said: 'In the *Umm al-Kitāb*, everything will be in existence until the Day of Resurrection, and three of the angels are responsible for preserving [existence]: Gabriel is responsible for the Book, which he brings down to the Messengers, and Gabriel is also responsible for the acts of destruction when God has willed [Gabriel] to annihilate peoples; and he is responsible for victory in battle.[624] Michael is responsible for preservation [of life], rain and the plants of the earth. The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls. When this world comes [to an end], they [will compare] what they have preserved to the *Umm al-Kitāb* (?),[625] and they will find it to be the same. Ibn Abī Shayba narrated it.[626]

[29] Al-Bayhaqī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with Gabriel, who

[620] Gabriel is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (Q 2:97, 98 and 64:4), Michael once (Q 2:98); the Angel of Death once (Q 32:11) and Isrāfīl is not mentioned.
[621] Gabriel has a similar role in the Talmud; cf. *BB* 74b, p. 297 and *San.* 19b, p. 99 & 95b, p. 644.
[622] The Leiden MS reads 'Isrāfīl' in error; fol. 188v, l. 22.
[623] In Islamic tradition, Michael is frequently associated with nature and the sustenance of humans, cf. al-Qazwīni, *Ajā'ib*, p. 37.
[624] Cf. the Battle of Badr; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79 and 113.
[625] The Leiden MS reads: '….*al-dunyā jamᶜ bayn hufzihim wamā fī umm al-kitāb fa-yajidūnahu siwā"* fol. 188v, l. 23. However, both the Arabic of the Leiden MS and the DKI edition are unclear, and the ḥadīth appears to be corrupted.
[626] Ibn Abī Shayba is mentioned at the start of the ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 20.

was confiding in him;[627] suddenly, the highest heaven was split open and Gabriel began to become smaller and [an angel][628] drew close and came nearer to the earth, and there was an angel standing directly in front of the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: 'Muḥammad, your Lord greets you; and He gives you the choice between becoming an angelic prophet or a human prophet.'[629] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Then Gabriel beckoned to me with his hand that I should be humble,[630] and I knew that he was my guide, so I said: 'A human prophet.'

Then that angel ascended into heaven, and I said: 'Gabriel, I have wanted to ask you about this, but seeing your form[631] distracted me from my asking the question. Who is this, Gabriel?' He said: 'This is Isrāfīl. On the day of his creation, God created him with his feet lined up directly in front of him; he does not look up; between him and the Lord are Seventy Lights; and from these there is no light close to Him, save it being consumed by fire; between his hands is the *Preserved Tablet*;[632] when God allows anything in heaven or in earth, that tablet ascends, [descends][633] and it hits [Isrāfīl] on the forehead. Then [Isrāfīl] sees and if there is anything for me to do, he orders me to do it; and if there is anything for Michael to do, he orders him to do it; and if there is anything for the Angel of Death to do, he orders him to do it.'

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[627] In Islamic tradition Muḥammad is often alone when he encounters Gabriel, e.g. in the narrative of the first revelation, Muḥammad seeks seclusion on Mount Ḥirā' before meeting the angel; see al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §3, pp. 3 – 4.
[628] As Gabriel is already with Muḥammad, it must be the other angel (Isrāfīl) who is approaching.
[629] Lit.: 'servant prophet'.
[630] Lit.: 'you should be humble' – but this does not make sense.
[631] Lit.: 'state' or 'condition' – i.e. when Gabriel became small.
[632] This is generally considered to be above the Seventh Heaven. Daniel Madigan notes that, 'Taken literally, [these images of writing] are difficult to read as a whole. Alternatively, they can be read, and often are in the Islamic tradition, as complementary, symbolic representations of God's knowledge and will.' Madigan, Daniel A., 'Preserved Tablet' *EQ* vol. 4, p. 262.
[633] This is not included in the text, but the Tablet needs to come back down to Isrāfīl.

I said: ‘Gabriel, What are you responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the winds and the army.’ I said: ‘What is Michael responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the plants and the rain.’ I said: ‘What is the Angel of Death responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the taking of the souls.’ [Muḥammad said]: ‘And I do not think that [Isrāfīl] will descend [to earth] until the coming of the Hour. What you have seen [in the way of my behaviour] is nothing but fear of the coming of the Hour.’

[30] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The creations closest to God are Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl; the distance between them and God is a journey of fifty thousand years:[634] Gabriel is on his right and Michael on the other, with Isrāfīl between them.

[31] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: These four are angels:[635] Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death; [they were] the first of the creations of God, [and they will be] the last whom God will cause to die; [and] the first of those whom God will bring to life; they are the ones who organize a command,[636] and they are the ones who carry out an order.[637]

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[634] The Leiden MS reads ‘five thousand years’; fol. 189r, l. 12.
[635] *Amlāk*: the plural of paucity (*jumᶜ al-qilla*) for *malak*– i.e. referring to 3 – 10 angels. Elsewhere in the text no number is given, as it is here. For more on these plurals see Ratcliffe, Robert R., *The Broken Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic* (Amsterdam : J. Benjamins, 1998) p. 69*f.* and ᶜAbbās Abū ‘l-Suᶜūd, *Al-Fayṣal fī alwān al-jumūᶜ* (Cairo: Dar al-Maᶜārif bi-Miṣr, 1971) pp. 33 – 44.
[636] Cf. Q 79:5 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 30, pp. 30 - 31; the *mudabbirāt* are said to be angels.
[637] Cf. Q 51:4 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 26, pp. 187 – 188; the *muqassimāt* are said to be angels.

[32][638] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān; he said: Gabriel is the agent of God to His messengers, and Michael receives the Book which is sent up concerning the deeds of the people; and Isrāfīl is in the role of the gatekeeper.

[33] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid that a man said: ‘Messenger of God, which angel is the dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ Gabriel came to him, so he said: ‘Gabriel, which of the creations is dearest to God?’ He said: ‘I do not know.’ So Gabriel ascended, then descended and said: ‘Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death. As for Gabriel, he is responsible for war and the messengers; as for Michael, he is responsible every raindrop that falls, every leaf that grows and every leaf that falls; as for the Angel of Death, he is responsible for the taking of the soul of every servant on land and sea; and as for Isrāfīl, he is the intermediary of God between Him and between them.’

[34] al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḥākim from Abū ‘l-Malīḥ from his father, that he was performing the two ritual prostrations of the morning prayers with the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), and he was praying near him; and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) performed two lively prostrations, and I heard him say three times: ‘O God, the Lord of Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and Muḥammad, I take refuge in you from the Fire.’[639]

[638] This ḥadīth is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189r, l. 15.
[639] This is said as part of the prayers said during the circumambulation of the Kaᶜba during the hajj; see Kamal, Ahmad, ‘The Sacred Journey’ in A. de L. Rush (ed.), *Records of the Hajj – Vol. 1: Prayer, Invocations and Rites* (London: Archive Editions), p. 159; it is also reminiscent of Q 11:47; 23:97 and 23:98; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 216 and 350.

[35] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜĀʾisha that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted while his head was in her lap,[640] and she began to stroke his face and pray for him to be cured. When he came to, he said: 'No! Do not ask God! The highest companion is with Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl - peace be upon them.'

4.2.6 Gabriel (peace be upon him)[641]

[36] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn; he said: Gabriel's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God', Michael's name [means] 'Servant (*ᶜubayd*)[642] of God', and Isrāfīl [means] 'Servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful'; Everything derives from *Īl*, that is the temple of God[643] – may He be praised and glorified.

[37] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: Gabriel [means] 'the Servant of God'; Michael [means] 'the Servant of God'; every name has *Īl* in it, and this means 'the Temple of God.'

[38] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr; he said; Gabriel's name amongst the angels is 'Servant of His Lord' – may He be praised and glorified.

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[640] cf. al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* §2, p. 3.
[641] This and almost all of the chapters that follow, begin with the phrase '*mā jā'a fī*...' = 'what is said / found concerning…'. This has not been translated.
[642] *ᶜUbayd* is the diminutive of *ᶜabd* (see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1935); the use of the diminutive may be being used to lower the status of Michael, who is the dominant angel in Judaism (cf. Hag 12b & Ber 4b) and promote Gabriel. This trend can be seen in other Islaimc eschatological texts, see Bowman, 'Eschatological Fragment' pp. 203 – 204.
[643] From the Hebrew *'el* which is the standard word for 'God' not 'temple of God'; see *BDB*, p. 41. The *TA* does not contain any of these temple etymologies, and simply states that it is a name of God; see al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.

[39] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ’isha; he said; I heard that Gabriel is the Imām of the people of Heaven.

[40] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Indeed, I tell you that the best of the angels is Gabriel.

[41] Muslim from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel, in a green[644] robe; he filled the space between Heaven and Earth.

[42] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I saw Gabriel descending and he filled the space between East and West, wearing a silk gown[645] encrusted with pearls and rubies.[646]

[43] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜĀ’isha (God be pleased with her);[647] she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘I would

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[644] *khadrā’* can also indicate blue: ‘Das Wort bezeichnet die den ganzen dunklen Farbbereich umfassende Grundfarbe, sowohl ‘grün’ als auch ‘blau’.’ Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) p. 306. It would seem more likely to be green as in the Qur’ān green is closely associated with God and paradise – see Rippin, Andrew, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365. Ibn Khaldūn also includes a ḥadīth in which Khadījah says: ‘…green and white are the colours of goodness and the angels.’ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, p. 74; Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah,* vol. 1, p. 186.

[645] Silk was very expensive and in the Qur’ān it is associated with the paradise and redemption: ‘Clearly referring to the cultural context of the qur’ānic revelation, a recurrent image presents the redeemed as garbed in silk or other fine fabrics and wearing valuable jewels.’ Golnaldez, V., ‘Silk’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 11. Being described in this way, Gabriel is firmly rooted in the divine world. For more on silk and the development of the silk-trade in early Islamic history see: Lombard, Maurice, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman: VIIe – XIIe siècle* (Paris: Mouton Editeur, 1978) pp. 79 – 104.

[646] Rubies, pearls and coral are the only precious stones mentioned in the Qur’ān and they are only used in passages about paradise; see Troupeau, Géerad, ‘Metals and Minerals’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 383 – 384. Pearls are also associated with the First and Seventh Heavens – see MacDonald, John, ‘Paradise’ *IS* 5 (1966), p. 344.

[647] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 16.

like to see you in your image.' He said: 'You would like that?!' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Your appointed time is on such and such a night at Baqīᶜ al-Gharqad.'[648] So he met him at the appointed time, and he spread out one of his wings,[649] and it blotted out the horizon until he could not see anything in the sky.

[44] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd concerning His Word: 'Indeed he saw him another time.'[650] He said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel hanging in the air, on his feet were pearls, like raindrops on the grass.

[44b][651] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās from Waraqa al-Aṣārī; he said: I said: 'Muḥammad, how does the creature, [which comes to you],[652] come to you?' – meaning Gabriel; He said: 'He comes to me from the sky, his two wings are pearls and the soles of his feet are green.

[45] Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Do you see your Lord?' He said: 'Between me and Him there are seventy veils[653] of fire and light, if I were to see the lowest of them, I would be consumed by fire.'

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[648] The oldest cemetery in Medina in the South-East of the town; for more information, see Wensinck, A. J. [-Bazmee Anasri, A. S.], 'Baḳīᶜ al-Ghaṛḳad' *EI²* vol. 1, pp. 957 – 958.
[649] Gabriel is also believed to have six hundred wings; cf. al-Rabghūzī, Naṣīr al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Dīn; Boeschoten, H. E., O'Kane, J. & Vandamme, M., *Al-Rabghūzī: The Stories of the Prophets – Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' – An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) vol. 2, p. 596.
[650] Q 53:13; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550.
[651] The DKI edition includes two ḥadīth with the number 44; so as to maintain the DKI numbering, the second 44 has been labelled 44b; it is not an edition of the Leiden MS.
[652] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 12.
[653] Here, as in the Qur'ān, *hijāb* refers to a dividing curtain as opposed to a face veil; see Toorawa, Shawkat M., 'Clothing' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 346 – 347.

[46] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) when he ascended into Heaven, saw Gabriel in [his] true form,[654] his wings strung with chrysolites, pearls and rubies; he said: ‘It seemed to me that the space between his eyes filled the horizon, but I used to see him before that in a different form and more often I used to see him in the form of Diḥya al-Kalbī,[655] and sometimes I used to see him just as a man sees his friend through the bottom of a sieve.[656]

[47] Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) only saw Gabriel in his true form twice; as for the first time, he asked to see his soul, and he saw his soul, and it filled the horizon; as for the other, it was on the Night Journey ‘by the Lote-Tree.’[657]

[48] Abū ‘l-Shaykh the intermediary of[658] ᶜAṭā’ from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The space between Gabriel’s shoulders is a [journey of][659] five hundred years for a quick-flying bird.

[49] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Isḥāq al-Hāshimī[660] from Ibn ᶜAbbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel has six

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[654] This is a common theme of the *miᶜrāj* literature: cf. al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 595 – 596.
[655] Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of ‘such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.’ Lammens, ‘Diḥya’ p. 274; cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 595.
[656] *Ghirbāl* can also mean a tambourine (see *TA* vol. 30, pp. 87 – 89), but the haziness of looking through the bottom of a sieve is the main idea here.
[657] Q 53:14; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550; according to Al-Thaᶜlabī this is the abode of Gabriel, see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.
[658] A number of the ḥadīth include the phrase ‘*min ṭarīq*…’= ‘through the intermediary of…’; see Appendix E for more information on these intermediaries.
[659] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 23.

hundred wings [adorned] with pearls and he spread them out like peacocks' feathers.[661]

[50] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa, Ibn Jurayj[662] and Qatāda – the Tradition came from amongst them: Gabriel has two wings, and he has a belt strung with pearls;[663] his front teeth shine like a bald forehead; his head is platted tightly like small pearls, and the pearls are like snow; his feet are greenish.

[51] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih that he was asked about the creation of Gabriel; he reported that the space between his shoulders, from this one to that one, is [a journey][664] of seven hundred years for a bird.

[52] Ibn Sa^{c}d and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Dalā'il* from ^{c}Ammār ibn Abī ^{c}Ammār that Ḥamza ibn ^{c}Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: 'Messenger of God, show me Gabriel in his true form.' He said: 'You are not able to see him.' He said: 'Yes, but show him to me.' He said: 'Sit down!' So he sat down; [then] Gabriel [came down and][665] was on a piece of wood in the Ka^{c}ba. The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation)

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[660] The Leiden MS gives the fuller name; fol. 189v, l. 24.
[661] The *Yezīdīs* (a Kurdish sect) venerated a peacock angel (*malak ta^{c}ūs*); see Ebeid, R. Y., and Young, M. J. L., 'An Account of the History and Rituals of the Yazīdīs of Mosul' *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) pp. 481 – 522; see also Ahmed, Sami Said, *The Yazidis: Their Life and Beliefs* (Miami: Field Research Projects, 1975). For more general information on the Yezīdīs see Kreyenbroeck, Philip G., 'Religion and Religions in Kurdistan' in Philip G. Kreyenbroeck and Christine Allison (eds.), *Kurdish Culture and Identity* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996) pp. 85 – 110. However, the more likely influence is Byzantine / Christian, as peacocks were associated with heaven and paradise and appropriated into Islamic iconography, see al-Khamis, Ulrike, 'An early Islamic bronze ewer examined' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998) pp. 9 – 19, particularly p. 12.
[662] Given as Ibn Jarīr in the Leiden MS, but this appears to be an error; fol. 189v, l. 26.
[663] A belt is referred to once in the Talmud, *Men.* 29a, p. 188.
[664] *khafq al-ṭayr* = the beating of (the wings of) the bird.
[665] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 1.

said: ‘Raise your eyes and look!’ So he raised his eyes and looked and he saw his feet, like green chrysolite; and he fell down unconscious.

[53] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Shihāb that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) asked Gabriel to show himself to him in his true form. Gabriel said, ‘You will never be able to bear it.’ He said, ‘I would like you to do it.’ So the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) went to pray on a moonlit night and Gabriel came to him in his true form. And the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted as soon as he saw him, then he came round while Gabriel supported him, placing one of his hands upon his chest and the other between his shoulder blades, and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘I did not think that there could be a creation like that!’ Gabriel said: ‘Just imagine what it would have been like if you had seen Isrāfīl! He has twelve wings, of which one is in the East and one is the West; the Throne is on the nape of his neck, and sometimes, for the glory of God, he makes himself smaller until he has become like a small sparrow[666] so that only [God’s] glory can carry His Throne.[667]

[54] Ibn Mardawayh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown,[668] hemmed with pearls and precious stones, his head is like a mountain[669] and

[666] *Al-waṣᶜ* or *al-waṣaᶜ*; a small bird, like a sparrow (*ᶜuṣfūr*); see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 10, p. 276; Ibn Manẓūr also cites this ḥadīth.
[667] This ḥadīth is also in the short section on Gabriel in al-Qazwīnī’s *ᶜAjā’ib*, p. 37.
[668] This is a motif carried through into Islamic tradition from Judeo-Christian imagery: cf. Ezekiel 9:3; 10:2; Daniel 7:9; John 20:12 *&c*.

his hair like small pearls, and he is the colour of snow,[670] [he has a] bald forehead [which] is [like] the glistening of the front teeth, and he [wears] two belts made of strung pearls, and his two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God.[671]' Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.

[55] Ibn ᶜAsākir in a weak chain of authority[672] from ᶜĀ'isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God created Gabriel's skull as large as the oasis of al-Ghūṭa.[673]

[56] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) visited a man from among the *Ansār*; when he came near to his home, he heard him talking in the doorway. After he had sought permission [to enter], he entered, but he did not see anyone. The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'I heard someone other than you talking.' He said: 'Messenger of God, [I entered, worried by [the sound] of someone talking, which I sought sanctuary from][674] and he came to me. I have never seen a more noble man after you sitting there and there is no better narrator than him.' He said: 'That is

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[669] The Leiden MS reads '*ka-'l-ḥubk*' (cf. Q 51:7), but the meaning is unclear; the DKI reading is more suitable; fol. 190r, l. 12.
[670] Lit.: 'his colour is like snow...'
[671] Gabriel is frequently identified with the *ruḥ al-qadūs*; see Griffith, Sidney H., 'Holy Spirit' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 442 - 444 and Webb, Gisela, 'Gabirel' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 278 – 280.
[672] The ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ defines a weak ḥadīth simply as one which is neither sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) nor fair (*ḥasan*) i.e. any ḥadīth in which there are questions concerning the veracity of one of the authorities in the *isnād*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (tr. E. Dickinson), *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth – Kitāb maᶜrifat anwāᶜ ᶜilm al-ḥadīth* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2005) p. 25.
[673] An area of orchards and gardens in Damascus fed by the Baradā; thought to be one of the four earthly paradises; see Elisséeff, N. , 'Ghūṭa' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 1104 – 1106.
[674] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 20.

Gabriel. From amongst you there is a man; if one of them swears an oath by God, then [Gabriel] will fulfil it.'[675]

[57] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel (peace be upon him) said: 'If my Lord sends me to do something, and I then go to it; I find the being, but He has arrived there before me.'

[58] Al-Ṭabarānī from Maymūna bint Saᶜd; she said: I said: 'Messenger of God, can someone in a state of ritual impurity[676] go to sleep?' He said: I do not like him to go to sleep until he has performed the ritual ablutions, for I fear that if he dies, then Gabriel will not be with him.

[59] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The angel closest to God is Gabriel, then Michael. If God singled out a servant for a very good action that he did; He says so-and-so has done such-and-such a pious act, My blessings are upon him; then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' Then Michael asks: 'Which of the people of heaven can see him?' They say: 'What did our Lord say?' And he says: 'So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.' And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth. If God singled out a servant for a very bad action that he did; he says: 'My servant, so-and-so, has done such-and-such a disobedient act, my curse is upon him.' Then Michael asks Gabriel: 'What did our Lord say?'

[675] In the DKI Edition, this is marked as a Qur'ānic quotation, but it is not.
[676] Particularly ritual impurity after sexual intercourse, after which ablutions are necessary; for more on ritual purity laws see Burton, 'Practice of *wuḍūᶜ*'.

And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very disobedient action that he did, and the curse of God is upon him.’ And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth.[677]

[60] al-Ṣābūnī in *al-Mi’atayn* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh, from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel is responsible for the human desires. If a believer prays, then [God][678] says: ‘Gabriel withhold from my servant what he wants,[679] for I love him and I love his voice.’ If a non-believer prays, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate him and I hate his voice.’

[61] al-Bayhaqī from Thābit, he said; we heard that God, Most High, made Gabriel (peace be upon him) responsible for the needs of the people. When a believer asks for something, He says: ‘Gabriel, withhold from my servant what he wants, for I love his prayer.’ If a non-believer asks for something, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate his prayer.’ Al-Bayhaqī said this is how it was given [to me] (*maḥfūẓ*).

[62] Ibn Abī Shayba through the intermediary of Thābit from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar;[680] he said: Gabriel is responsible for needs; if a believer asks his Lord for something, He says: ‘Hold back! Hold back out of love for his prayer, so that [his

[677] A similar ḥadīth to this appears in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā’* – see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 153 - 154; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 255.
[678] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 5.
[679] Lit.: ‘Hold back the need of my servant’ and ‘Fulfill the need of my servant’. In Islamic belief, having ones needs fulfilled can lead to faithlessness in God; cf. ‘Sometimes He gives while depriving you, and sometimes He deprives you in giving.’ Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Ḥikām*; Victor Danner (tr.), *Ibn ᶜAṭā’illāh’s Ṣūfī Aphorisms* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) §83, p. 36.
[680] Given as ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmayr in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 10.

prayer] may increase.' If an unbeliever asks for something, He says: 'Give it [to him]! Give it [to him] out of hatred for his prayer.'

[63] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī from Abū Dharr; he said; When God says: 'Gabriel, take away from the believing heart of my servant the sweetness which I used to find. He said: 'The faithful servant has become a confused disciple, whose soul used to be protected. I have sent him misfortune, the like of which had never been sent to him before.' When God saw him in that state, he said: 'Gabriel, go back to the heart of my servant. I did not take it away from him. Indeed, I have put him to the test, and I find him truthful, and I will help him increasingly from my heart.

[64] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAmr ibn Murra; he said: Gabriel is on the South Wind.

[65] Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I did not choose to see Gabriel (peace be upon him) perched on the curtains of the Kaᶜba, as he said: 'O the one who finds, O illustrious one; you never cease from blessing me; yet you bestow it upon me, without having seen Him.'

[66] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād; he said: God looked at Gabriel and Michael, and the two of them were crying; so God said: 'What has made you cry? You know that I have not committed an outrage.' The two said: 'Lord, we

do not feel safe from your devising.' And He said this, and they were affected by it: 'The only ones who feel safe from my devising are all the losers.'[681]

[67] Imām Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawni that he heard that Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) crying and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'Why should the mouth of God not make me cry? I did not dry my eyes when God created the Fire; for fear that I might disobey him, he threw me into it.'

[68][682] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān*, Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī[683] informed us, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī informed me in Mecca; al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād told us; [Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī; Abū 'l-Faḍl narrated it from his father ᶜĀṣim from his father ᶜUmar from Qatāda ibn al- Nuᶜmān; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said:][684] 'God sent Gabriel (peace be upon him) down in the most beautiful form of what had come to me in form, and he said: 'God salutes you, Muḥammad, and He says to you: "I revealed to the world, in such a way that [the world] should be bitter, troubling, oppressive and that it should act harshly towards my close associates, so that they

[681] This is almost a direct quotation of Q 6:99 'None feels secure against God's devising but the people of the lost.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 155.
[682] In both the DKI edition and Leiden MS, there is no '*akhraja*' at the beginning of this ḥadīth; fol. 190v, l. 26.
[683] Al-Suyūṭī occasionally includes the whole *isnād*, if there is some concern over the *isnād* (see the end of this ḥadīth).
[684] The Leiden MS gives a slightly different version of the section of the *isnād*: Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀsim from ᶜAmr ibn Qatāda ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān al-Anṣārī form his father, Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said…'; fol. 190v, ll. 27 – 29.

want to meet me; and that [the world] should be [made comfortable, agreeable, and good for my enemies, so that they are loathe to meet me].[685] Indeed, I created it as a prison for my friends and a paradise for my enemies.' Al-Bayhaqī said: We only write it with this *isnād* and there are unknown[686] things in it(?).[687]

[69] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Wāthila ibn al-Asqaᶜ; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) came to a curly-haired,[688] cross-eyed, short-necked, feet-deformed, small-eared,[689] left-handed, emaciated Yemeni who walked with his legs apart, he said: 'Messenger of God, explain to me what God has given me.' When he told him, he said: 'I swear to God that I will not do any more religious duties.' He said: 'Why [do] that?' He said: 'Because he created me, and created me deformed.' Then he ran away. So Gabriel came to [Muhammad] and said: 'Muhammad, where is the one who rebuked [God]? He rebuked a beautiful Lord, so He has castigated him. [God] said: 'Say to him: Truly, [Messenger of God],[690] he should be happy that God will send him in the image of Gabriel on the Day of Resurrection.' So he said [this] to him; and he said: 'Yes, Messenger of God, I am rebuking God for not making my body sufficiently strong to do any of the duties that please God except what the deeds

[685] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 1.
[686] The validity of a ḥadīth that includes an unknown transmitter (*majhūl*) is disputed in Ḥadīth scholarship; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 85; however the Arabic text does not appear to be be referring to *isnād*.
[687] This appears to refer to the various *isnāds*, but one would normally expect *–hā* instead of *–hum*.
[688] Evil is traditionally portrayed by ugliness, for example the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) is described as a human with a number of deformities, so much so that '…even a Jewish man named Ibn Sayyād (d. 683) was believed to be the Antichrist and was nearly killed by Omar…' Saritoprak, 'Legend of al-Dajjāl' p. 292. However, this ḥadīth is more likely to simply be describing someone with the most afflictions possible, rather than portraying him as being evil.
[689] The Leiden MS reads '*aḍjam*', which according to Lane is '…having a nose that inclines towards one side of the face.' (i.e. a crooked nose), see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1770; fol. 191r, l. 3.
[690] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 7.

that I have done for him.' On this [*ḥadīth*] al-ᶜAlā ibn Kathir said: al-Bukhārī did not accept this *ḥadīth*.[691]

[70][692] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr concerning His Word: 'Save only to such a messenger as He is well-pleased with: then He despatches before him and behind him watchers.'[693] He said: He only sends down Gabriel for the Revelation, and with him are four angelic *ḥufaẓa*.

[71] al-Ṭabarānī in a chain of trusted authorities (*bi-'snād rijālihi thiqāt*)[694] from Umm Salama that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: In Heaven there are two angels; one of the two is responsible for misery and the other is responsible for tenderness; the appropriate ones responsible are Gabriel and Michael. And there are two Prophets, one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other is responsible for misery, the appropriate ones are responsible, [and he said that these are Abraham and Noah. I have two companions; one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other for misery.][695] The appropriate one is responsible and he mentioned Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[696]

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[691] *Munkar* is used both of rejected and unfamiliar ḥadīth; many ḥadīth scholars rejected ḥadīth attributed to transmitters designated *munkar*, e.g. Muslim, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī) vol. 1, pp. 55 - 56; however some ḥadīth scholars did accept these ḥadīth, see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb maᶜrifāt*, p. 59, n. 1. See also, Juynboll, G. H. A., 'Muslim's Introduction to his *Saḥīḥ*, Translated and Annotated with an excursus on the chronology of the *fitna* and *bid'a*' *JSAI* 5 (1984) pp. 263 – 302, p. 269, n. 9.

[692] In the Leiden MS there is an empty space left between *akhraja* and Abū 'l-Shaykh, an author's name may be missing; fol. 191r, l. 9.

[693] Q 72:27; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 613.

[694] *Thiqāt* is the technical term for reliable authorities, as opposed to an unreliable authorities (*ḍuᶜafā'*); various ḥadīth scholars collected volumes listing reliable and unreliable authorities, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā' al-saghīr* (Aleppo: Dār al-Wāᶜī, 1976).

[695] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 14.

[696] For a discussion of Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar, cf. Al-Suyūṭī (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd), *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajarīyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969) pp. 44 – 48; Jarret, H. S. (tr.), *History of the Caliphs* (repr. Karachi: Krimsons, 1977) pp. 40 – 41.

[72] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: ʻGabriel, I think that I have good standing with you.ʼ He said: ʻOf course – by the One who sent you in Truth! I have not been sent to a prophet whom I have loved more than you.ʼ He said: ʻI would like you to tell me about my standing with you here.ʼ He said: ʻI am able to do that.ʼ He said: ʻBy the One who sent you in truth! I was drawn unprecendetly close to my Lord [regarding my standing], and I have never approached the like of him before. And He had decreed that I could approach Him. It was a journey of five hundred years. The closest creation of God (may he be praised and glorified) is Isrāfīl. And [Isrāfīl] decreed that [Muḥammad] could approach [Isrāfīl]; the distance [between Isrāfīl and God(?)][697] is a journey of seventy years; among them are seventy lights and the lowest light blinds the eyes, so how could I have come to know what is beyond that? But it appeared to me on the Tablet;[698] then he called us and then sent us away.

[73] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Rabbāḥ; he said: I narrated that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ʻYou only come to me looking like you are grieving.ʼ[699] He said: ʻI have not laughed since the Fire was created.ʼ[700]

[74] al-Firyābī[701] and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ʻFor the trumpet[702] shall be blown and

[697] The text is unclear here.
[698] i.e. Muḥammad approaches God, but can only go as far as Isrāfīl, the angel nearest to God. Muḥammad is told what exists beyond Isrāfīl by the Tablet.
[699] See Lane for a discussion of this idiomatic expression, *AELex*, p. 1673.
[700] This ḥadīth appears again with Michael and Isrāfīl being the angels who do not laugh; see §79 & 97.

whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills.'[703] They said: 'Messenger of God, who are these whom God, may he be praised and glorified, will exclude?' He said: 'Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death, Isrāfīl and the Bearers of the Throne. For when God grasps the souls of the created beings, he will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you, my Lord, and I extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death remain.' And he will say: 'Take the soul of Isrāfīl!' So he will take the soul of Isrāfīl. And God will say to the Angel of Death: 'Who remains?' And he will say: 'I praise you and I bless my Lord and extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death remain.' And He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael!' So he will take the soul of Michael, and he will fall down like a great mountain. And He will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' He will say: 'Gabriel [and][704] the Angel of Death.' And He will say: 'Die, Angel of Death!' and he will die. Then He will say: 'Gabriel, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and everlasting face remains.' And Gabriel is about to die and pass away. He said: it was necessary for him to die, and he fell down prostrating, his wings flapping.

He said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said that he preferred his creation over the creation of Michael as a great mountain.

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[701] This could be either Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī (d. 301 / 913) or Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī (d. 212 / 827). Abū Bakr was a ḥadīth collector and Abū ᶜAlī was an exegete; as this is an exegetical ḥadīth it is difficult to ascertain which al-Firyābī is meant; See Sezgin, *GAS,* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 166.

[702] For more on the trumpet that heralds the resurrection see: Smith, Jane I., 'Eschatology' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 47 – 48.

[703] Q 39:68; Arberry. *Koran*, p. 479.

[704] This appears to be an error in the text and 'wa-' has been added following earlier examples above.

[75] Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from a *ḥadīth* attributed to Anas concerning His Word: 'For the trumpet shall be blown…'[705] (and the rest of the verse); he said: From these God, may He be praised and glorified, will exclude three: Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death. God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and compassionate face remains and your servant Gabriel, and Michael and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Michael.' Then God, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal face remains and your servant Gabriel and the Angel of Death.' He will say: 'Take the soul of Gabriel.' Then He, the most knowledgeable, will say: 'Angel of Death, who remains?' And he will say: 'Your eternal and generous face remains and your servant the Angel of Death.' When he is about to die, he will say: 'Die!' Then he will proclaim: 'I began the creation then I take it back.'

[76] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜAṭā' ibn al-Sā'ib; he said: The first among those who are held to account is Gabriel because he is the faith of God to His messengers.

[77] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa; he said: The one responsible for the Scales[706] on the Day of Resurrection is Gabriel (peace be upon him).

[705] Q 39:68; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.
[706] Cf. Q 42:17 & 55:7-9, Arberry; *Koran*, pp. 500 & 557.

4.2.7 Michael (Peace be upon him)

[78] Ibn al-Mundhir[707] from ᶜIkrima; he said: Gabriel's name [means] Servant (*ᶜabd*) of God, Michael's name [means] Servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God.[708]

[79] Aḥmad and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Anas that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: 'Why have I never seen Michael laughing?'[709] He said: 'Michael has not laughed since the Fire was created.'

[80] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in *Nawādir al-uṣūl* from Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ; he said: Gabriel and Michael came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) while he was cleaning his teeth and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) gave Gabriel the toothpick.[710] He said: Gabriel said, 'God is Great!' Al-Ḥakīm said: that is, [Muḥammad] gave [it] to Michael and then [Gabriel] said: 'God is Great!'

[81] al-Ḥākim from Abū Saᶜīd; he said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: My two ministers from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael and from the earthly world are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.[711]

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[707] Given as Ibn ᶜAbd al-Mundhir in the Leiden MS, this seems to be an error; fol. 191v, l. 10.
[708] See §36 for a discussion of the use of *ᶜabd* and *ᶜubayd*.
[709] For the negative attitude to laughing in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth, see Chittick, 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' pp. 133 – 134.
[710] Teeth-cleaning is an important part of Islamic ritual purity, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* §244 – 245; p. 69; and Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, vol. 1, pp. 64 - 65 (Bewley, *Al-Muwaṭṭa'*, §2.32.115—117, p. 23). For more secondary sources on this see: Risplet-Chaim, Vardit, 'The siwāk: A Medieval Islamic Contribution to Dental Care' *JRAS* 2 (1992) pp. 13 – 20 and Janot, Francis, Vezie, Philippe & Bottero-Cornillac, Marie-Jeanne, 'Le siwāk (bâtonnet frotte-dents), instrument à usages religieux et médical' *AI* 32 (1998) pp. 101 – 123.
[711] Cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 569 – 572.

[82] al-Bazzār, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God supports me with four ministers: the two from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael, the two from earthly word are Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

[83] al-Daylāmī[712] through the intermediary of al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī from ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna from Abū Umāma from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; ascribing it to the Prophet, [he said]: The muezzin of the heavenly host is Gabriel and Michael is their Imam,[713] who leads them in the prayers in the *Inhabited House*. The angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited House* and they perform the ritual prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).

[84] Ibn al-Najjār said in his *Ta'rīkh*: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb related to me an oral tradition in Isfahan from Abu Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah related to him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī[714] informed him; he said: I swear by God that Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī informed him; he said: Abū 'l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-

[712] There are a number of authors with the name al-Daylamī, but the reference to al-Sulamī indicates that this is Shams al-Dīn al-Daylamī, as he made a commentary on al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī's *al-Sirr fī anfās al-ṣūfīya*; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol.1, pp. 647 – 648; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 207 and Arberry, A. J., 'The Works of Shams al-Dīn al-Dailamī' *BSOAS* 29 (1966) pp. 49 – 56.
[713] Cf. ḥadīth §39, which says that Gabriel is the Imām of heaven.
[714] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 25.

Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib informed him; he said: I swear by God that Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī told him; he said: I swear by God that al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī told him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā][715] [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar][716] told me; he said: I swear by God that Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me; he said: I swear that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib][717] told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [told me; he said: I swear by God that Gabriel][718] told me; he said: I swear by God that Michael told me; he said: I swear by God that Israfīl told me from the Preserved Tablet that God the Blest and the Most High said: The wine-drinker is like the idolater.

The *ḥafiẓ* Ibn Hajar said in his *Lisān al-mīzān*: This *matn* with this aforementioned *isnād* is [attributed] to ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā; Abu Nuᶜaym excludes him from his *isnād* in *al-Ḥilya*. Whoever does not know its status [see] al-Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī as well, but he only mentions Gabriel; Muḥammad said: 'The wine addict is like the idolater.'[719] Ibn Ḥibbān attributed the *matn* in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

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[715] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[716] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.
[717] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 32.
[718] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v , l. 32 – fol. 192r, l. 1.
[719] This ḥadīth is well-known, although the following *matn* is more common: *wa-man shariba al-khamr fi-'l-dunyā, fa-māta, wa-huwa yudumnuhā*; see Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 2, p. 144. The *matn* found here (and in §171) is found in Ibn Māja, Abu ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (ed. Muḥammad Fuᶜād ᶜAbd al-Baqī), *Sunan Ibn Māja* (Cairo: Bābī al-Ḥalabī, s.d.) vol. 2, p. 1120, §3375.

4.2.8 Isrāfīl (peace be upon him)

[85] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: God, Most High, created the Trumpet[720] out of white pearls with the purity of glass; then he said to the Throne: 'Take the trumpet and keep hold of it.' Then He said: 'Be!' And Isrāfīl came into being, and He ordered him to take the Trumpet, so he took it and it had a hole for the number of every created soul (*rūḥ*) and spirit (*nafs*) that is born; two souls do not go through one hole. In the middle of the Trumpet there is an aperture like the roundness of the Heaven and the Earth. And Isrāfīl placed his mouth over that aperture. Then the Lord said to him: 'I have made you responsible for the Trumpet, and yours is the blowing and the shouting.'[721] And Isrāfīl came before the Throne, placed his right foot under the Throne and his left foot; he has not looked away since God created him, so that he can wait for what He commands him [to do].

[86] al-Tirmidhī and declared it to be fair (*ḥasan*), al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'How can I be happy when the possessor of the trumpet has already put the mouthpiece to his mouth, tilted his head and inclined his ear? He will wait until he is commanded to blow it.' They said: 'What should we say?' He

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However, the *isnād* is different: Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shayba & Muḥammad ibn al-Sabbāḥ – Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Aṣbahānī - Suhayl – Abū Suhayl – Abū Hurayrah.

[720] This is the trumpet that announces the end of the world; it is mentioned ten times in the Qur'ān (Q 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13 and 78:18); a description of Isrāfīl can also be found in al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 596.

[721] Cf. Q 36:50 – 55; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 453.

said: ‘Say: “God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is he”[722] “In God have we put our trust.”’[723]

[87] al-Ḥākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Possessor of the Trumpet looks fixedly whilst he is responsible for it. Prepared, he looks towards the Throne, fearing that [if he were to look away], he would be ordered to let out a cry before he [could] return his gaze; his eyes are two milky stars.[724]

[88] Ibn Abi Ḥātim from Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī;[725] he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The two Possessors of the Trumpet[726] do not stop holding onto the trumpet, waiting until they are ordered [to blow it].

[89] al-Daylāmī from Abū Umāma; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of God;[727] Michael’s name [means] servant (*ᶜubayd*) of God; and Isrāfīl’s name [means] servant (*ᶜabd*) of the Merciful.

[90] al-Ṭabarānī, Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Hilya* and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; that a Jew said: ‘Messenger of God, tell me about the angel of God which is near

[722] Q 3:173; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 67.
[723] Q 7:89 and 10:85; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 154 and 207.
[724] Milk, like pearls, is used to represent holiness; see Rippin, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365.
[725] Given as ‘al-Khudhrī’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 18.
[726] This ḥadīth and others do not explain who the two angels of the trumpet are. Isrāfīl is normally the only angel associated with the Trumpet, but occasionally others are also associated with it – see §99.
[727] As before, see §36, 37 & 87 above.

him.' [He said: 'The angel which is near Him is][728] Isrāfīl, then Gabriel, then Michael, then the Angel of Death.'

[91] Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim [and Ibn Mardawayh][729] from Abu Saᶜīd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Isrāfīl is the Possessor of the Trumpet and Gabriel is on his right and Michael is on his left.[730]

[92] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī; he said: No created thing is closer to God than Isrāfīl, and between him and between God are seven veils. And he has a wing in the East, and a wing in the West; a wing on the Seventh Earth and a wing on his head. His head is placed between his two wings. When God gives him an order, the tablets (*alwāḥ*) are lowered down to Isrāfīl with God's command [written] on them, then Isrāfīl will look at them; Gabriel then calls out and [Isrāfīl] answers him. As none of the angels can hear his voice without being made unconscious, when they come round, they say: 'What [was that]?' [Isrāfīl] says: '[It was] your Lord.' They will say: 'The Truth, and He is the All-High, the All-Great.'[731] The Angel of the Trumpet (who is the one responsible for it)[732] [has] one of his feet on the Seventh Earth, whilst he kneels on his knees, staring fixedly at Isrāfīl. He has not looked up since God made him; he will look when he is given the signal and then he will blow the Trumpet.

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[728] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[729] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.
[730] cf. Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 29; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 47. In this section of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyyā'* Adam ascends to heaven on the horse al-Maymūn: Gabriel takes the reins, Michael is on the right and Isrāfīl is on the left. This is a different context but it does highlight the fact that these three angels are often mentioned together and that their positions vary. See also Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 103; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 175.
[731] Q 34:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 440.
[732] Note that in this ḥadīth the Angel of the Trumpet is not Isrāfīl, as elsewhere.

[93] Ibn Abī Zamanīn in *al-Sunna* from Kaᶜb; he said: The closest of the angels to God is Isrāfīl; he has four wings: a wing in the East, a wing in the West, he is covered[733] by the third [wing] and the fourth is between him and the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). If God wants to reveal a command, the Preserved Tablet comes down until it slams into Isrāfīl's forehead; and he raises his head and looks; when the command is written, he calls out to Gabriel and he responds. And he says: 'You are commanded to do such and such an order.' Gabriel does not descend from one heaven to another without its people becoming terrified with fear of the Hour, until Gabriel says: 'the Truth is from the Truth!'[734] And he descends to the Prophet and gives the revelation to him.

[94] Abū 'l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth;[735] he said: I was with ᶜĀ'isha, while Kaᶜb was with her and she said: 'Kaᶜb, tell us about Isrāfīl.' And he said: 'He is the Angel of God. There is nothing in his presence. He has a wing in the East and he has a wing in the West, and a wing is on the nape of his neck and the Throne is on the nape of his neck.' ᶜĀ'isha said: 'I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say the same.' Kaᶜb said: 'The Tablet is on his forehead, so when God wants to give a command, he writes it on the Tablet.'

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[733] The *sarawīl* is an undergarment used to cover male and female genitalia; see Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 10 – 11, and for pictures of earlier and later *sarawīl* see Scarce, Jennifer, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 33 & 74 - 75. Although normally referring to 'trousers' specifically, *sarāwīl* can have a more general meaning, e.g. the *TA* describes a *sirwāl* as a *qamīṣ*, *darᶜ* or '*kulla mā lubisa*' Al-Zabīdī, *TA,* vol. 29, p. 196. The association of the *sarāwīl* with personal modesty implies that the wing is being used to cover the Isrāfīl's genitalia, in the same way that the seraphim in Is. 6:3 'cover their feet'. The same ḥadīth, with a slightly different *isnād* and *matn*, appears below (§99), but Isrāfīl's wing is said to be 'clothed' (*tasarbala* [Form II *srbl*]) as opposed to '*trouser-ed'* (*tasarwala* [Form II *srwl*]).

[734] cf. Q 8:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 172.

[735] The Leiden MS gives the name as 'Abd al-Ḥarth'; fol. 192r, l. 11.

[95] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith that Kaᶜb said to ᶜĀ’isha: ‘Did you hear the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [say anything about Isrāfīl?’ She said: ‘Yes, I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation)][736] saying, “He has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West; and the Tablet is between his eyes, so if God wants to write a revelation, He inscribes it between his eyes.”’

[96] Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: It is said that one of the Bearers of the Throne[737] [is Isrāfīl]; and that Isrāfīl has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck; his feet go down to the lowest part of the Seventh Heaven and his head passes through the highest part of the Seventh Heaven.

[97] Al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Muṭṭalib that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I said to Gabriel: ‘Gabriel, why have I not seen Isrāfīl laughing? None of the angels have come to me without me seeing them laughing.’ Gabriel said: ‘We have not seen that angel laughing since the Fire was created.’[738]

[736] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 12.
[737] The Bearers of the Throne are referred to in Q 40:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 481; see also Elias, Jamal, ‘Throne of God’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 276 – 278.
[738] This is almost identical to §79.

[98] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) heard a crash,[739] and he said: ‘Gabriel, is the hour coming?’ He said: ‘No, this is Isrāfīl coming to earth.’

[99] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith; he said: I was with ᶜĀ’isha while Kaᶜb al-Ḥabr[740] was at her house, and he mentioned Isrāfīl. ᶜĀ’isha said: ‘Tell me about Isrāfīl.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘Feel free to ask.’[741] She said: ‘By all means! So tell me.’ Kaᶜb said: ‘He has four wings; two wings are in the air, a wing, with which he is clothed,[742] and one wing is in the nape of his neck; the Pen is on his ear; when He sends down revelation, the Pen writes, then the angels wipe it off [the Tablet]. The Angel of the Trumpet is lower than him, and he genuflects on one of his knees and he raises the other; and he puts the Trumpet to his mouth, bending his back and his side towards Isrāfīl. When he has been ordered, he will look at Isrāfīl, and when [Isrāfīl’s] two wings are closed, [the Angel of the Trumpet] will blow into the Trumpet. ᶜĀ’isha said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [talking][743] in this way.

[100] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī; he said: When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.

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[739] This appears to be related the various ‘I heard the heavens groaning’ ḥadīth above (§10 & 25).
[740] i.e. Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār; *aḥbār* is the plural *ḥibr* / *ḥabr* and is used as a compliment; the word is derived from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, a title of an Jewish scholar below that of Rabbi; see Schmitz, M., ‘Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār, Abū Isḥāḳ b. Mātī’ b. Haysu’ / Haynū’’ *EI*^{2} vol. 4, p. 316; for more on the Jewish *ḥāber*, see Spiro, Solomon J., ‘Who was the *Ḥaber*? A New Approach to an Ancient Institution’ *JSJ* 11 (1980) pp. 186 – 216.
[741] Lit: ‘The knowledge is yours’ – an Arabic idiom.
[742] cf. §93; see note above.
[743] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192v, l. 29.

[101] Also from him;[744] he said: None of God's creations have a better voice that Isrāfīl; when he begins to glorify God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and praising of the people of the Seven Heavens.

[102] [Abū 'l-Shaykh] through the intermediary of al-Layth; Khālid told me from Saᶜīd; he said: I was told that Isrāfīl is the muezzin of the people of heaven,[745] and he makes the call to prayer [twelve times during the day][746] and twelve times at night; and at every hour's proclamation, whoever is in the Seven Heavens and whoever is in the Seven Earths hears his proclamation, except jinn and humans. Then he, the greatest of the angels, goes to the front of them and performs the ritual prayer for them. [Saᶜīd] said it reached me that Michael leads the angels in the *Inhabited House*.

[103] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Abī Jabala in his *Isnād*; he said: The first of those to be called on the Day of Resurrection is Isrāfīl; God will say, 'Have you delivered my covenant?' And he will say, 'Yes, Lord, I delivered it to Gabriel.' And he will summon Gabriel, and it is said: 'Did Isrāfīl deliver my covenant to you?' He will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Isrāfīl. And he will say to Gabriel, 'What did you do with my covenant?' And he will say, 'Lord, I delivered it to the Messengers.' So he will summon the Messengers, and it will be said to them: 'Did Gabriel deliver my covenant to you?' And they will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Gabriel.

[104] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Sinān; he said: The created thing closest to God is the Tablet, and it is suspended from the Throne; and if God wants to reveal something,

[744] i.e. Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzāᶜī.
[745] This is said to be Gabriel in §83.
[746] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 2.

He writes on the [Preserved] Tablet [and the Tablet moves][747], and the Tablet goes [down] until it hits Isrāfīl's forehead;[748] Isrāfīl covers his head with his wings so that he does not raise his eyes to the majesty of God and looks at [the Tablet]; if it is [a command] for the people of the heaven, then he hands it over [to Michael; if it is [a command] for the people of the earth, then he hands it over][749] to Gabriel. The first to be called to account on the Day of Resurrection is the [Tablet. It is called by Him. Its whole body trembles in fear, and it will be said to it: 'Did you send out [my commands]?' It will say: 'Yes.' It will be said: 'Who saw you?' And it will say, 'Isrāfīl.' Then Isrāfīl][750] will be called and his body will tremble with fear. And it will be said to him: 'Did the Tablet send [my commands to] you?' When he has said 'yes' the Tablet says: 'Praise be to God, who saved me[751] from evil reckoning.[752] Then like that.'

[105] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḍamra; he said: I heard that the first to bow down to Adam[753] (peace be upon him) was Isrāfīl; God rewarded him by putting the Qur'ān on his forehead.

[106] al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and al-Bazzār from Ibn ᶜAmr; he said: A group of people came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) and they said: 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr claimed that

[747] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 10.
[748] The Leiden MS reads '*wajh*' for '*ra's*'; fol. 193r, l. 11.
[749] Omitted in the Leiden MS, but is an error; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[750] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 12.
[751] cf. Q 23:28; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 345.
[752] Q 13:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 242.
[753] The principal Qur'anic narratives of the prostration to Adam can be found at Q 2:29 – 34 & 38:71 – 75; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 5 &469. See also Jung, *Fallen Angels* for a discussion of the narrative's origins. Some texts say that Gabriel or Michael were the first to bow down – see Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration' p. 30, n. 96.

righteous actions are from God and unrighteous actions are from humans, but ᶜUmar has said that both righteous actions and unrighteous actions come from God, and a group follows this one and a group follows that one.'[754] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'The judgment between you both is [found] in the judgment of Isrāfīl between Gabriel and Michael: Michael said the words of Abū Bakr; and Gabriel the words of ᶜUmar; Gabriel said to Michael: "When the people of the heavens differ, [or] the people of the earth differ, we should seek a legal ruling from Isrāfīl." And so the two of them went to seek a legal ruling from him and he made a ruling between the two of them concerning the truth about predestination: "His kindness, His wickedness, His sweetness and His bitterness, all of them come from God." Then [Muḥammad] said: 'Abū Bakr, if God did not want disobedience then he would not have had created Iblīs.' Abū Bakr said: 'God and His Prophet have spoken the truth.'

4.2.9 The Angel of Death[755] (peace be upon him)

[107] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Abū Hurayrah; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create Adam,[756] He sent an angel from the Bearers of the Throne to fetch some dust from the earth.[757] When

[754] This is a famous ḥadīth; see van Ess *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie,* pp. 160 – 178.
[755] For basic information on the Angel of Death, see Wensinck, 'ᶜIzrā'īl' *EI*[1] & *EI*[2]; cf. the short section on the angel in al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, pp. 37 – 38.
[756] This and the next ḥadīth have different *mitān* but are essentially the same story. Al-Thaᶜlabī includes a different version, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: '*qāla al-mufassirūna bi-alfāẓi mukhtalafati wa-maᶜānin mutafaqati*' ('The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings'); Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36.
[757] The Qur'ān includes many references to Adam being made of earth: e.g. Q 2:264; 3:59; 16:59; 18:37; 22:5; 30:20: 35:11; 40:67 &c. For an analysis of these narratives and their relation to Jewish and Christian literature see, Chipman, 'Mythic Aspects'.

[the angel] came down to take [it], the Earth said: 'I implore you, by the One who sent you, not to take anything from me today, part of which is to be for the Fire tomorrow.' So [the angel] left it, and when he ascended to his Lord; He said: 'What prevented you from fetching what I ordered you to fetch?' He said: 'The Earth sought Your [protection] and I was worried about bringing back something that had been protected [by You].' So He despatched another [angel] to [the Earth], and it said the same thing until He had sent all of them;[758] and so He sent out the Angel of Death and [the Earth] said the same to him; so [the Angel of Death] said: 'The One who sent me is more deserving of obedience than you.' So he took [mud] from the face of the whole Earth, from its goodness and its wickedness, and took it to his Lord, and He poured water of the Garden onto it and it became moulded mud[759] and he created Adam from it.

[108] Ibn Jarīr, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* and Ibn ᶜAsākir through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik, Abū Sāliḥ, Ibn ᶜAbbās, Murra, Ibn Masᶜūd and some of the Companions;[760] they said: God sent Gabriel to the Earth to fetch some clay from it. The Earth said: 'God protect me from you from [mud] being taken away[761] from me!' So [Gabriel] returned without taking anything; and he said: 'O Lord, [the Earth] took your protection, so I respected [the protection that it sought].' So He sent Michael and it was as before; and so He sent the Angel of Death, and [the Earth] sought protection from him; but he said: 'I seek God's protection that I may

[758] i.e. all of the Bearers of the Throne.
[759] See Q 15:26, 27 & 33; Arberry translates this as 'mud moulded', *Koran*, pp. 254 – 255; Adam is also said to have been made from a clot (ᶜ*alaq*) in Q 96:2; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651. However, the ᶜ*alaq* is not prominent in these narratives of Angel of Death and the creation of Adam.
[760] i.e. this is not an *isnād* but a ḥadīth with multiple narrators.
[761] The Leiden MS reads *yunaqqiṣu* (fol. 193v, l. 2).

return, without not having carried out His command.' And he took [mud] from the face of the Earth.

[109] al-Daylamī from Zayd ibn Thābit; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: If you were to learn of the moment of [your] death (*ajal*),[762] and know how far it were away, then you would come to hate hope and its deception; there is no-one of any family without the Angel of Death coming to them twice every day; and whoever senses him, then indeed the moment of death has come. He takes his soul (*rūḥ*),[763] and if his family cries and mourns, he says: 'Do not cry and do not mourn! By God! I have not lessened your age, nor have I kept your livelihood from you, and there is no sin[764] for me [in doing this], and I will return to you again and again, until there are none of you left.'

[110] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: There is no tent,[765] nor any mud-brick house on the surface of the Earth, without the Angel of Death circumambulating it twice a day.

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[762] The concept of *dahr* [fate] was important in the pre-Islamic concept of death; Jacques Waardenburg notes that 'In the Qur'ān it is not *dahr* [fate] but God who decides the appointed time (*ajal*) of each individual and who causes the person to die…' Jacques Waardenburg, 'Death and the Dead' *EQ* vol. 1, p. 508. See also Goldziher, I., *Muslim Studies,* p. 230; Goldziher, I., 'Ajal' *EI²* Vol 1, p. 140; Watt, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' pp. 14 – 15; O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* and Smith & Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*; cf. also *MK* 28a, p. 183.

[763] *Nafs* and *rūḥ* are usually seen as being synonymous (e.g. Calverly, 'Doctrines of the Soul' p. 254 and Tritton, A. S., 'Man, *Nafs*, *Rūḥ*, *ᶜAql*' *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp. 491 - 495, p. 491). The ḥadīth in this collection, particularly in this section, uses the terms both as synonyms and as terms applying to different parts of soul (e.g. §124); see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 17 – 21.

[764] For a discussion of the different meanings of Arabic words for 'sin', see Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion III' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 194 – 209.

[765] *Bayt shaᶜr* = house of hair; this is a Bedouin tent.

[111] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* and ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zawā'id al-Zuhd* from ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī; he said: There is no inhabitant of a house, without the Angel of Death studying them twice a day.

[112] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in *Dhikr al-mawt* and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Ḥasan; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies every house three times, and if one of them senses him, then his life (*rizq*) has indeed come to an end, and his appointed time of death (*ajal*) has come; [the Angel of Death] takes his soul (*rūḥ*) and [when he has taken his soul],[766] his family draws near to him wailing and crying; and the Angel of Death takes hold of two posts of the doorframe and says: 'There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you![767] I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your[768] food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there are none of you left!' Al-Ḥasan said: By God! If they were to see his place or hear his words, then they would forget their dead and cry for their own souls.

[113] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: The Angel of Death watches every house five times every day and he studies the face of the sons of Adam every day. He said: And from [this experience] is the terror which hits people, meaning[769] shaking and shuddering.[770]

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[766] Added by the Leiden MS (fol. 193v, l. 14).
[767] If read as *dhanab* (dependant) rather than *dhanb* (sin, misdeed) this would mean: 'Why should I care about your family?' [Lit: 'What are your dependents to me?].
[768] The Leiden MS reads *la-hā* for *li-kum* throughout; (see fol. 193v, l. 16).
[769] The Leiden MS reads: *wa-min-hā* instead of *yaᶜnī*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.
[770] The Leiden MS reads: *al-inqibāḍ* (depression, gloom) for *al-intifāḍ*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.

[114] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shakyh from ᶜIkrima; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies the Book of people’s lives.[771] Some say [ᶜIkrima] said three times, and some say he said five times.

[115][772] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Kaᶜb; he said: There is no-one in any house,[773] without the Angel of Death being at his door seven times every day,[774] looking to see whether there is anyone in it, whom He has ordered to be taken [up to God].

[116] Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ᶜAṭā’ ibn Yisār; he said: There is no person in a house, without the Angel of Death studying them five times every day [to see] if he has been commanded to take anyone from among them.

[117] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Thābit al-Banānī; he said: Night and day, [all] twenty four hours, there is not a single hour that passes one who breathes,[775] without the Angel of the Death standing over [the soul]; if he has been ordered to take [a soul],[776] he takes it; otherwise he goes away.

[118] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta’rīkh* from a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet[777] given by Anas that the Angel of Death looks upon the faces of the servants of God seventy

[771] There are a number of different things to which ‘*al-kitāb’* can apply, here it is the book of an indiviudal’s deeds, as recorded by the scribes; see Berg, Herbert, ‘Ṭabārī’s Exegesis of the Qur’ānic Term *al-Kitāb*’ *JAAR* 63 (1995) pp. 761 – 724, p. 763.
[772] In the Leiden MS §115 comes after §116; fol. 193v, ll. 22 – 24.
[773] Lit: ‘There is not in any house anyone…’
[774] The Leiden MS omits *kulla yawm*; fol 193v, l. 25.
[775] *dhū rūḥ* = ‘one who has *rūḥ*.’
[776] Or: ‘If He [i.e. God] has ordered the taking of [a soul]…’
[777] *marfūᶜ* = ‘raised’. This is a ḥadīth that is attributable to the Prophet; see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Maᶜrifat*, p. 31.

times a day; if the servant [of God], to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: 'Wonderful! I have been sent to him to take his soul (*rūḥ*) while he is laughing!'

[119] Al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr*, Abū Nuᶜaym, Ibn Mandah, both of them in their works called *al-Maᶜrifa* through the intermediary of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad from his father, from al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj [from his father];[778] he said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) say, as he looked at the Angel of Death while he was [standing by] the head of one of the *anṣār*: 'Angel of Death, be kind to my friend, he is a believer.' The Angel of Death said: 'Be of good cheer! Be happy! I am kind to every believer, and know, Muḥammad, that I am going to take the soul of [every] son of Adam! If he gives out a great shout; then I come to the house, and his soul (*rūḥ*) is mine. And I say: "What is this cry? By God! We have not wronged him,[779] and we have not [taken his soul] before his appointed time (*ajal*), nor have we hastened his destiny (*qadar*). There is no sin for us in taking his soul." If they are pleased by what God has arranged [for them], then they are rewarded; if they are displeased, then they are sinning and transgressing. We will return to you, again and again, so be on your guard! There is no person who lives in a tent, or in a mud house, on the land, or on the plain, or on the mountain, without me studying them every day and night until I know the trivialities and the great things in

[778] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 193v, l. 32.
[779] Cf. Q 7:101; 'And We wronged them not, they have wronged themselves…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 223; in this case the third person plural verb appears to refer to the Angel of Death; the use of plural may indicate the Angel of Death's helpers (cf. §127), especially considering the Angel of Death has already used the first person singular in this ḥadīth.

their souls; by God! If I wanted to take a soul of a mosquito,[780] I could not do it until God had let it be – He is the One who orders its taking.'

Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad said: I heard that when [the Angel of Death] studies [people] during the appointed times for the ritual prayer, if [someone] is about to die,[781] and if he is one of those who remembers the ritual prayers, then the angel approaches him and drives Satan away from him, and the angel whispers the *talqīn*[782] to him at that great moment: 'There is no god, but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.'

[120] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt* from ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr; he said: While Abraham (peace be upon him) was in his house one day, suddenly a man of beautiful appearance came into his presence, and [Abraham] said: 'Servant of God, who admitted you into my house?' He said: 'Its Lord admitted me into it.' He said: 'Its Lord is the most right [to do] that. Who are you?' He said: 'The Angel of Death.' He said: 'Things have been described to me about you [that I cannot see in you][783].' [Abraham] said: 'Turn around.' And so he turned around, and there were eyes at the front and eyes at the back and every one of his hairs were like people standing on end. So Abraham begged God for protection against that and said: 'Return to your first form.' He said: 'Abraham, when God sends me to someone He wants to meet, He sends me in the form which you saw first.[784]

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[780] Cf. Q 2:26: 'God is not ashamed to strike a similitude even of a gnat, or aught above it.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[781] The Leiden MS reads: *fa-idhā naẓara* (see fol. 194r, l. 8); = 'if he sees Death with him…'
[782] 'It was *sunna* to whisper the *shahāda* in the ear of a dying man whose face is turned towards Mecca.' Tritton, A. S., 'Djanāza' *EI*^{2} vol. 2, pp. 441 – 442, p. 441.
[783] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 13.
[784] Al-Suyūṭī also includes other accounts of the death of Abraham in his *Faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, pp. 346 – 352.

[121] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from Kaᶜb; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) saw a man in his house, and he said: ʻWho are you?ʼ He said: ʻI am the Angel of Death.ʼ Abraham said: ʻIf you are right, then show me a sign so that I might know that you are the Angel of Death.ʼ The Angel of Death said: ʻI shall appear before you.ʼ And he appeared, then [Abraham] looked and he saw [the Angel of Death] in the form in which he takes the believers; he saw that he was made of light and dazzlement, which only God, Most High, could have told him about. Then [the Angel of Death] said: ʻI will appear before you.ʼ And he appeared before him, then [Abraham] looked and the Angel of Death showed him the form in which he takes unbelievers and adulterers; and Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul (*nafs*) was about to leave.

[122] [Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā] from Ibn Masᶜūd and Ibn ᶜAbbās; the two said: When God, Most High, took Abraham as a friend, the Angel of Death asked his Lord for permission to send [Arbraham] the good news [about it].[785] And so he came to Abraham and gave him the good news about it, and he said: ʻPraise be to God!ʼ Then he said: ʻAngel of Death, show me how you take the souls of the unbelievers.ʼ He said: ʻAbraham, you will not be able to bear it.ʼ He said: ʻOn the contrary!ʼ He said: ʻI will come before you.ʼ And [the Angel of Death] came before him, then [Abraham] looked [and there was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of him; there were no hairs on his body, except it being in the form of a man coming out of him, with flames of fire coming out of his ears. Abraham fainted. When he came round, the Angel of Death had changed back

[785] Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 23.

into his previous form. Then he said: 'Angel of Death, if an unbeliever, in his grief and distress, saw only your form, then that would be enough for him! Show me how you take the believers.' [The Angel of Death] said: 'I will come before you.' And he came before him, then [Abraham] looked and he was a young man, whose face was very beautiful, the most pleasing of odour, [wearing] a white gown. [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, if a believer at the moment of death saw in the way of happiness and kindness only this face of yours, then that would suffice!'

[123] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Ashᶜath ibn Aslam; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) asked the Angel of Death, whose name is Azrā'īl,[786] and who has two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head;[787] [Abraham] said: 'Angel of Death, what do you do if there is a soul (*nafs*) in the East and a soul in the West, whilst a plague[788] strikes a [particular place on] earth and two armies meet – how do you deal with them?' He said: 'I call the spirits (*arwāḥ*), by the permission of God, and they are between these two fingers of mine.' He said: The earth is flattened for him, it was made like a basin,[789] and [the Angel of Death] takes out of it when He wants.

[124] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam that Jacob (peace be upon him) said: 'Angel of Death, is [it right that] from every person's soul (*nafs*) without exception, you take

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[786] Both spellings *ᶜAzrā'il* and *ᶜIzrā'īl* can be found; see al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 2035.
[787] *qifāhu* – more precisely the 'back of the neck'. See *AELex*, pp. 2991 – 2292.
[788] *wabā'* is used as a general major epidemic, as opposed to *ṭāᶜūn* which is used for the plague specifically; see Conrad, Lawrence I., '*Ṭāᶜūn* and *Wabā'*: Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam' *JESHO* 25 (1981) pp. 268 – 307, p. 271.
[789] *ṭast*: a large basin, which is used by al-Kindī for the preparation of musk and according to Lane is used for washing hands before a meal; see al-Kindī, Yaᶜqūb ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb fī kīmīyā' al-ᶜiṭr wa-'l-taṣᶜīdāt* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1948) p. 5 and Lane, E. W., *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (repr. London: Constable, 1973) pp. 142 – 143.

its spirit (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'How? While you are here with me, souls (*anfus*) are in the outermost parts of the Earth?' He said: 'God has flattened the Earth for me, and it is like a bowl placed in front of one of you, and He takes whoever is at its outermost parts [that He] wants.[790] That is how the world is for me.'

[125] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: The Earth was created for the Angel of Death like a bowl; [God] takes from it whenever He wishes, and He created helpers for [the Angel of Death], who receive the souls; then [the Angel of Death] takes [the souls] from [the helpers].

[126] Ibn Jarīr and Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas that it was asked of the Angel of Death whether it is he alone who takes the souls (*arwāḥ*). He said he is the one who is responsible for the [fulfilment of the] command of the souls (*arwāḥ*)[791] but he has helpers for that; however, the Angel of Death is in charge and every stride of his [goes] from the East to the West.

[127] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word, Most High: 'Our messengers take him.'[792] He said: The helpers of the Angel of Death are from the angels.

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[790] The ḥadīth could either be referring to God or to the metaphorical person (i.e. one of you) with the bowl between his legs.
[791] Note that *arwāḥ* is used both of human 'souls' or 'spirit' and the (angelic) spirits that aid the Angel of Death.
[792] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

[128] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaᶜī concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[793] He said the angels take the souls (*anfus*), then the Angel of Death takes [the souls] from [the angels] afterwards.

[129] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Qatāda concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’[794] He said: The Angel of Death has messengers, and he makes the messengers responsible for taking [the souls] then they hand them over to the Angel of Death.

[130] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* from Wahb in Munabbih; he said that the angels who are associated with the people[795] are the ones who receive them and they write their time [of death]; when they take the soul [to God], they hand them over to the Angel of Death, who is like the one who comes after[796] - meaning the tax collector,[797] who draws up to himself what is beneath him.

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[793] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[794] Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.
[795] i.e. the Scribes; see §312 – 406.
[796] *al-ᶜĀqib* (in the sense of ‘follower’ or ‘successor’) is a significant title: in a ḥadīth Muḥammad says that it is one of his five names; see Al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, §3532, p. 679; the epithet is also used in devotional literature, cf. al-Jazūlī, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (si.: s. n, s.d) p. 23 and Ebeid, R. Y. and Young, M. J. L., ‘A List of the Appellations of the Prophet Muḥammad’ *MW* 66 (1976) pp. 259 – 262, p. 260.
[797] The *ᶜashār* was the collector of the *ᶜushr* land tax, which was paid by Muslims; non-Muslims paid the *kharāj* land tax; see Løkkegaard, Frede, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (repr. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978) p. 78; for more details on these two land taxes see Yaḥyā ibn Adām, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaᶜat al-Salafīyya wa-Maktabtumā, 1347 / 1928/9) pp. 24 – 31; and Duri, ᶜAbdal ᶜAziz, ‘Notes on Taxation in Early Islam’ *JESHO* 17 (1974) pp. 136 – 144. Although the use of this term for the Angel of Death is rare (cf. Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 4, pp. 224), it is reminiscent the Qur’ānic use of metaphors derived from commerce and daily life; see Rippin, A. J., ‘The Commerce of Eschatology’ in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur’an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 125 – 135.

[131] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Shahar ibn Ḥawshab; he said: The Angel of Death is sitting and the world is between his knees, and the Tablet is in his hands, on which is [written] the appointed times of death of the sons of Adam; with angels standing in front of him, he studies the Tablet, not raising his eyes. And when he comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God],[798] he says: 'Take this one!'

[132] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that it was asked about [a situation in which] two souls that came to die in the twinkling of an eye, one in the East and the other in the West; how is the Angel of Death in a position to deal with them both? [Ibn ᶜAbbās] said: The ability of the Angel of Death to [deal with] creatures in the East and the West, in darkness, in the air and in the seas is always like a man with a table in front of him, taking from it whatever he wishes.

[133] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: It was said: 'Messenger of God, the Angel of Death is alone; but [there are] two armies meeting between the East and the West, and in the area between that there are the fallen and the dead?' He said: 'God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death able [to cope]: He made [the Earth] like a bowl between one of your hands, and [the Angel of Death] can pass over anything in it.

[134] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is the one who takes all of the souls [to God]; indeed he has power over what is on the earth, just as one of

[798] Or: 'When it comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God]…'

you has power over his leisure; angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy; when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.

[135] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shakyh from Abū ʻl-Muthannā al-Ḥimṣī; he said: The world, with its lowlands and its mountains, is between the thighs of the Angel of Death, and with him are angels of mercy and angels of suffering. When he takes the souls (*arwāḥ*), these hand over to these, and those over to those, meaning the angels of mercy and the angels of suffering. It is said [that] if there is a fierce battle and the sword is like lightning, then [he said], he summons them and the souls come to him.

[136] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Abū Qays al-Azdī; he said; It was said to the Angel of Death: 'How do you take the souls?' He said: 'I summon them, and they come to me.'

[137] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death came to Solomon, son of David,[799] while he had a friend with him and Solomon said to him: 'Why is it that you either come to a household and take them all together, or you go away from a household, leaving them alone, without taking anyone from them?' He said: 'I do not know what I take from them, rather I am under the Throne, and He sends down the deeds[800] on which are the names.

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[799] For the death of Solomon in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiya'* see Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* pp. 326 - 328; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 544 – 548; a similar story appears in *Shab.* 30a, p. 133.

[800] *ṣikāk* (plural of *ṣakk*) – derived from the Persian *chak* [see Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1892) p. 386] – are normally used in

[138] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Khaythama; he said: Solomon, son of David, said to the Angel of Death: 'When you want to take my soul (*rūḥ*), would you let me know about it?' He said: 'I do not know when it is your [time].[801] It is something written that comes down to me, which names who is going to die.'

[139] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Maᶜmar; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.

[140] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Ibn Jarīr; he said: It reached me that it is said to the Angel of Death: 'Take so-and-so at a certain time on a certain day!'

[141] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ᶜIkrima concerning His Word, Most High: 'It is He who recalls you by night…'[802] He said: He receives souls during sleep; there is no night - by God! - without Him grasping souls – all of them; and He asks every soul about what its owner did during the day, then He calls the Angel of Death, and he says: 'Take this one! Take this one!'

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connection with legal documents and pensions; however Lane notes that the middle of Shaᶜbān was also called *laylat al-ṣakk*, and on this day God allots the *rizq* for every human being; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1709.

[801] *Mā anā uᶜlimu bi-dhālika min-ka* = I do not know about that concerning you.

[802] Q. 6:60; Arberry, Koran, p. 128.

[142] Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā from ᶜAṭāʼ ibn Yisār; he said: When it is the middle night of Shaᶜbān,[803] He hands over a page to the Angel of Death, and it is said: ʻTake from those on this page!ʼ If the servant is lying in bed, or couples marry, or someone builds a building,[804] [he does so] while his name has already been copied into the [book of the] dead.

[143] Ibn Jarīr from ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara; he said: [The names of] whoever is going to die on the Night of Power[805] until the following one[806] is copied to the Angel of Death; and [the Angel] will find the man who has married a woman, and the man who has planted the plant; but [only] when the name is amongst the dead.

[144] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: On the middle night of Shaᶜbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death [information] regarding the taking of every soul that He wants to be taken during that year.

[145] al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Najjār from ᶜĀʼisha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to abstain[807] during the whole of Shaᶜbān

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[803] i.e. 15th Shaᶜbān. Some scholars have considered that this night may have been influenced by a pre-Islamic New Year festival; Wensinck also notes that ʻAccording to the ḥadīth, Muḥammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Shaᶜbān.ʼ Wensinck, ʻShaᶜbānʼ *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, p. 154. See also von Grunebaum, G. E., *Muhammadan Fesitvals* (London: Curzon Press, 1976) pp. 52 – 53.

[804] In a Prophetic ḥadīth about another unnamed prophet, people who have married, built a house and acquired new livestock are exempted from fighting in battle (see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 249; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 412); here these people are not exempted from death.

[805] Note that there is not any consensus on the date when this happens (cf. §142). The Night of Power is the evening of 27th Ramaḍān – see Plessner, M., ʻRamaḍānʼ *EI*^{2} vol. 8, pp. 417 – 418 and Marcotte, Roxanne D., ʻNight of Powerʼ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 537 – 539.

[806] Lit.: ʻ…until its likeness.ʼ

[807] Sheila McDonough comments that ʻDrawing close to God requires abstaining or fleeing from all that might inhibit the human response to the divine initiate.ʼ McDonough, Sheila, ʻAbstinenceʼ *EQ* vol. 1, p. 19. Cf. Q 66:1, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 593.

until Ramaḍān; but he only fasted for a whole month during Shaᶜbān.[808] She said: 'Messenger of God, is it because Shaᶜbān is the dearest month for you that you fast during it?' He said: 'Yes, ᶜĀ'isha, the taking [of souls] is written for the Angel of Death during it; I do not want my name to be deleted, so I fast.

[146] Aḥmad, al-Bazzār and al-Ḥākim and he declared the ḥadīth to be authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Abū Hurayrah from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: The Angel of Death used to come to people manifestly, but he came to Moses and he [Moses] slapped him and gouged out his eye, and [the Angel of Death] went to his Lord; and he said: 'Lord, your servant Moses has gouged out my eye. Unless you favour him, tear him open.' He said to him: 'Go to my servant [Moses] and say to him that he should place his hand on a skin of an ox, and then he will have a year for every hair that his hand has covered.' So he came to him and [Moses] said: 'What is after this?' He said: 'Death.' And he said: 'Let it be now.' And so [the Angel of Death] smelt [Moses], took his soul and God gave him back his eye. After that he came to people in stealth.[809]

[147] Abū Nuᶜaym from al-Aᶜmash; he said: The Angel of Death used to be visible to people, but he came to [one particular] man, saying: 'Finish your business, for I

[808] i.e. Shaᶜbān was the only month during which he performed superogatory fasting for its entirety.

[809] This ḥadīth is found in many Arabic sources; see Al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, p. 247; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 409; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 237 – 240; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 434; Brinner, W. M. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume III – The Children of Israel*, pp. 87 – 88. This popularity of this tradition can be seen in its influence on the Falsahas of Ethiopia, see Ullendorf, Edward, 'Literature of the Falashas'. There are many examples in extra-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature of Prophets (particularly figures such as Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon) meeting the Angel of Death before they die. The *Testament of Abraham* is a good example of this genre (see Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death*). Narratives including highly anthropomorphised and comic depictions of the Angel of Death are still found in Arab folktales, cf. El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folktales of Egypt* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) pp. 117 – 122 and Hanauer, J. E., *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1935) pp. 32, 36 – 39.

want to take your soul.' And [the man] made a complaint; consequently, [God] then sent down disease and made death a secret.

[148] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shakyh from al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd that the Angel of Death used to take souls without pain, but the people cursed him and worried about him, so he complained to his Lord. Consequently, God established diseases and they forgot about the Angel of Death. It is said someone dies like this or like that.[810]

[149] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās that an angel sought permission from his Lord to go down to Enoch;[811] and he came to him and greeted him, and Enoch said to him: 'Is there anything between you and the Angel of Death?' He said: 'He is one of my brother angels.' He said: 'Are you able to help me with something concerning him?' He said: '[If you want to] delay [death] any [amount of time],[812] or hasten it, then no, but I will ask him for you, and he will treat you kindly concerning death.' He said: 'Ride between my wings!' So Enoch rode and ascended into the highest heaven, and he met the Angel of Death, with Enoch between his wings; and the angel said to him: 'I have need of you.' He said: 'I already know about your need; you spoke to me about Enoch, [and what remains of his age,][813] but his name has been wiped out, and

[810] Lit: it was said that so-and-so died in that way and in that way.
[811] Al-Thaᶜlabī includes one continuous narrative of Enoch; this ḥadīth contains a number of similar elements, but some differences too; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 49 - 50; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 83 – 85; cf. al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 81 – 85 and al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 52.
[812] *Ammā an yu'khiru shay'an aw yuqdamuhu fa-lā* = (lit.) 'As for delaying anything or arriving at it, then no.'
[813] This is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 195v, l. 13,

none of his appointed term[814] remains, save half the blinking of an eye**,** and then Enoch died between the wings of the angel.

[150] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir that the Angel of Death said to Abraham (peace be upon him):[815] 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.' He said: 'I ask you in the truth of the One who sent you that you consult Him about me.' He said: 'Your friend[816] asked that I consult with you about him.' [God] said: 'Go to him and say to him: Your Lord says: the Friend wants to meet His friend.' So he came to him, and he said: 'I was in pain when you ordered him [to take my soul].' He said: 'Abraham, have you drunk wine?'[817] He said: 'No.' Then [the Angel of Death] asked him to breathe over him[818] [and] he took his soul (*nafs*) in that way.

[151] Aḥmad from Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: David[819] (peace be upon him) was extremely jealous,[820] and he had the habit that when he went out, the doors [of his harem] would be shut. No-one would go into his family until he returned. One day he went out and returned,

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[814] *Ajal* refers to both the appointed moment of death, and the total time allotted for life.
[815] For a different account of the death of Abraham, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 97 - 98; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 164 – 165.
[816] Abraham is designated the *khalīl allāh* and the portrayal of Abraham as the 'friend of God' is important in Judaism, Christianity and Islam; see Guthrie, A., 'The Importance of Abraham' *MW* 45 (1955) pp. 113 – 120; p. 118 and Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Qumran Scrolls and the Qur'an' *MW* 48 (1958) pp. 223 – 236, pp. 225 – 226.
[817] s*harāb* is used by jurists to indicate wine; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1528; cf. §171.
[818] *istankaha* (X) is relatively rare and refers to the action of breathing over someone's nose so that they can smell the individual's breath; see Hava, J. G., *Farā'id al-durīya* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1964) p. 799.
[819] For the death of David in the *Qiṣas al-Anibiya'*, which is relatively similar, see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA* p. 292; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 489 – 490; al-Kisā'ī, *QA*, pp. 277 – 278; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 397.
[820] *ghayra* refers to sexual jealousy specifically; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2316. For analysis of a similar story in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* see Wagtendonk, 'The Stories of David' p. 349. This tradition is also told of Abraham; see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 395; Winter (tr.), *Remembrance of Death*, p. 44 – 45.

and there was a man standing in doorway of his house. [David] said to him: 'Who are you?' He said: 'I am the one who does not revere kings, and the one who is not prevented from passing through the veil.' David said: 'You, therefore, by God! - are the Angel of Death. [I] welcome the command of God!' And David hurried[821] to his place [before the Angel of Death] and his soul was taken.

[152] Ibn Mājah from Abū Umāma; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death responsible for the taking of the souls (*arwāḥ*) except those martyred at sea – He takes charge of the taking their souls Himself.[822]

[153] Juwaybir from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of human souls, and he is the one who orders the taking of their souls; and [there is] an angel for the *Jinn*, an angel for the *Shayṭāns*, and an angel for the birds, wild animals, the predatory animals, the large fish and the ant; so there are four angels. Angels die in the first strike of the lightning. The Angel of Death is responsible for taking of their souls, then [the angel] dies. As for those who are martyred at sea, God is responsible for the taking of their souls; He does not give the responsibility for that to the Angel of Death, for their honour is with Him when they travel through the depths of the sea for His sake.

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[821] *zamala*: 'He was as though he limped, by reason of his briskness, or sprightliness…' Lane, *AELex*, p. 1252; see also Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 13, p. 328 and al-Zabidī, *TA*, vol. 29, p. 135.

[822] Although sea trade routes existed before and after the advent of Islam, the Arabs relied on land trade most heavily; however, sea-trade and naval forces did develop – see Hourani, George Fadlo, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) pp. 53 – 55.

[154] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī; he said: It reached me that the last to die is the Angel of Death; it is said to him: ‘Angel of Death, die!’ So with that he will let out a cry, (if the creatures of the heavens and the earth were to hear it, they would die of fright); then he will die.[823]

[155] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Ziyād al-Numayrī; he said: I have read in a certain book that death is harder for the Angel of Death than it is for the rest of the creations.

[156] al-ᶜUqaylī in *al-Ḍuᶜafā’*, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Daylamī from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The allotted time (*ajal*) for all livestock and insects of the earth is [devoted to] the worship of God. When their glorification of God is completed, God takes their souls and there is nothing for the Angel of Death [to do] in that.

[157] al-Khaṭīb in *Ruwāt Mālik* from Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī; he said: I was with Mālik ibn Anas, when a man asked him about fleas: ‘Does the Angel of Death take their souls (*arwāḥ*)?’ He bowed his head for a long while and then said: ‘Do they have a soul (*nafs*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Then the Angel of Death takes their souls (*arwāḥ*) [and] God receives their souls (*anfus*) in full when they die.’

[823] The Leiden MS may read *lam* for *thumma*, but the writing is not clear (fol. 196r, l. 1); *thumma* makes more sense here.

[158] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Muᶜādh ibn Jabal; he said: The Angel of Death has a spear,[824] which has the space from the East to the West in its reach, and when the appointed time of death of a servant of the world comes, he hits his head with that spear and he says: 'Now the army of death is called upon you.'

[159] Ibn ᶜAsākir from Ibn ᶜAbbās which is traceable to the Prophet (*marfūᶜ*); that the Angel of Death has a poisoned spear, which has one end in the East, and another end in the West, and he cuts the vein of life with it.[825]

[160] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: The Angel of Death sits on a ladder between Heaven and Earth and he has messengers[826] from amongst the angels. When the soul (*nafs*) is in the throat[827] the Angel of Death sees him from his ladder, and he looks intently at him, then another which dies sees him.

[161] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān; he said: ᶜIkrima was asked: 'Does a blind man see the Angel of Death when he comes to take his soul (*rūḥ*)?' He said: 'Yes.'

[162] Abū Nuᶜaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: A servant does not get ill from any illness without the messenger of the Angel of Death being with him until there is

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[824] The Angel of Death is said to have a spear (*'idrā'*) in *CantR.* 4:7, although the exact meaning of *'idrā'* is disputed. Cf. Cohen (tr.), p. 117 and Bender, A. P., 'Belief, Rites and Customs of the Jews, Connected with Death, Burial and Mourning' *JQR* 6 (1894) pp. 317 – 347, p. 323.

[825] The way in which the Angel of Death kills humans is similar to the way in which humans kill animals in ritual slaughter (*dhabḥ*); see Bousquet, G.-H., 'Dhabīḥa' *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, pp. 213 – 214.

[826] The Leiden MS reads *rusul* for *rasūl*; fol. 196r, l. 13. A large number of angelic helpers would seem more appropriate; cf. § 125, 127 – 129 & 135.

[827] *Thughrat al-naḥr = fossa jugularis*; see Fonahn, A., *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology* (Kristiana: Jacob Dybwad, 1922) §3282, p. 152; cf. Q 50:16 '….and We are nearer to him than the jugular vein.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

another illness which the servant gets ill from; the Angel of Death comes to him, and says: Messenger after messenger has come to you, but you did not care about them, and now a messenger has come to you, who will cut your ties[828] with this world!'

[163] Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-ᶜArīf in his *Fawā'id*, and Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī in his *Fawā'id* from Anas ibn Mālik; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the Angel of Death comes to a friend of God, Most High, he greets him and his greeting is to say: 'Peace be upon you, friend of God. Rise and leave your house, which you have left in ruin,[829] [and go] to your house which you have built [with your good deeds].'[830] When it is not a friend of God, he says to him: 'Rise and leave your house, which you have made comfortable, and [go] into your house, which you have ruined [with your misdeeds].'[831]

[164] Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl wa-'l-īmān* concerning a question from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wants to take a soul of a believer, He reveals to the Angel of Death: 'Recite to him from me: "Peace!"' And when the Angel of Death comes to take his soul, he recites: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

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[828] Lit. 'footprint'.

[829] The text could read 'which I have left in ruin etc.' However, this ḥadīth appears to express the idea that a pious Muslim should be paying more attention to remembering God, than making their home comfortable; and that the good actions of an individual prepares their place in heaven.

[830] *ᶜamara* carries positive meanings (e.g. flourishing, full of camels etc.); see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2153 – 2154.

[831] Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665: 'When a righteous man departs from the world he is welcomed by three companies of angels. One exclaims, 'Come into peace'; the other exclaims, *He who walketh in his uprightness*, while the third exclaims, '*He shall enter into peace; they shall rest on their beds*'. When a wicked man perishes form the world he is met by three groups of angels of destruction. One announces, '*There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked'*, the other tells him, '*He shall lie in sorrow'*, while the third tells him, '*Go down and be thou laid with the uncircumcised'*.' See also *Shab.* 152b, p. 779.

[165] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

[166][832] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Hākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzab concerning the Word, Most High: '[Their greeting], on the day that they shall meet Him, will be "Peace!"'[833] He said: On that day, they will meet the Angel of Death; whoever is a believer, [the Angel of the Death] will take their soul more peacefully for him.

[166b] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama*, Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurayẓī he said: When the soul of the believing servant is spent, the Angel of Death comes to him and says to him: 'Peace be upon you, Friend of God! God says to you: Peace!' Then he recites this verse: '…whom the angels take while they are godly saying, 'Peace be on you!'[834]

Al-Silafī said in *al-Mashyakha al-Baghdādiyya*: I heard Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāᶜiẓ saying; [I heard Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan saying;][835] I heard my father saying: I saw in a book that God, Most High, makes the phrase 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' appear on the palm of the Angel of Death

[832] This follows the Leiden MS fol. 196r, l. 27*f.* In the DKI edition, the *isnād* of §166 used with the *matn* of 166b.
[833] Q. 33:44; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 432.
[834] Q. 16:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.
[835] This is included in the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 3.

in writing of light; then He commands [the Angel of Death] to stretch out his hand to the Knower[836] at the time his death, and that writing is shown to him; when the soul of the one who knows sees it, it flies towards Him[837] more quickly than a blink of an eye.

[167] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death was made responsible for Solomon (peace be upon him), and he was told: 'Go into his presence every day, and ask what he needs; then do not leave him until you have performed it.'[838] He used to enter upon him in the image of a man, and he would ask him how he was. Then he would say: 'Messenger of God, do you need anything?' If he said: 'Yes', then he did not leave him until he had done it; and if he said: 'No', then he left him until the following morning. One day he entered upon him while there was an old man with him. [Solomon] stood up, and greeted [him], then [the Angel of Death] said: 'Do you need anything, Messenger of God?' He said: 'No.' The [angel] glanced at [the old man] and the old man trembled; the Angel of Death left and the old man stood up and said to Solomon: 'I beg you, by the truth of God! to command the wind[839] to carry me and throw me down on the furthest lump of mud in the land of India!' So [Solomon] commanded it and it carried him [there]. The Angel of Death came into Solomon the next morning and asked him about the

[836] *Al-ᶜĀrif* is not a name of God, but is commonly used to refer to Sufi mystics; see Shah-Kazemi, Reza, 'The notion and significance of *maᶜrifa* in Sufism' *JIS* 13 (2002) pp. 155 – 181, p. 157.
[837] Or 'to the Angel of Death'.
[838] i.e. until he had fulfilled Solomon's needs.
[839] Solomon is believed to have had magic powers, including the command of the winds, which were given to him by God. See Johns, Anthony H., 'Air and Wind' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 51 – 55; Soucek, Priscilla, 'Solomon' *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 76 – 78 and Walker, J., [-P. Fenton], 'Sulaymān b. Dāwūd' *EI*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 822 – 824. This power is mentioned in the Qur'ān; cf. Q 21:81; 34:12 and 38:36; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 329, 438 & 467.

old man. [The Angel of Death] said: 'His book[840] came down to me yesterday, [saying] that I should take his soul tomorrow at the rising of dawn in the furthest lump of mud in the land of India; but when I came down, and thinking that he was there, I then found him with you. I was astonished and could not think of [anything] other than him;[841] I came down to him today at the break of dawn and found him on the highest lump of mud in the land of India, and he trembled, and I took his soul (*rūḥ*).'

[168] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death went into Solomon and began to look at one of his companions who continued to look at him. When he left, the man said: 'Who was that?' He said: 'That was the Angel of Death.' He said: 'I saw him looking at me as if he wanted me.' He said: 'What do you want [me to do]?' He said: 'I want to you to carry me on the wind until you put me down in India.' So [Solomon] called the wind and he carried him upon it, and he put him down in India. Then the Angel of Death came to Solomon, and [Solomon] said to him: 'You were looking at the man from my companions.' He said: 'I was astonished by him. I was ordered to take him in India and he was with you!'

[169] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death went to the Prophet during the illness which he contracted[842] and he sought permission to enter [his

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[840] This is the book that contains the details of the individual's *ajal*; see Berg, 'Ṭabārī's Exegesis' p. 763.
[841] Lit.: *mā lī hammun ghayrihi* 'I had no concerns other than him.'
[842] This ḥadīth and the following do not appear in the *Sīra* (see Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad* pp. 678 – 683) nor al-Ṭabarī's account of the Prophet's death (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 183 – 199; Poonawala, Ismail K. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Vol. IX – The Last Years of the Prophet* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990) pp. 162 – 183). The death of Muḥammad became important in Muslim spirituality as Muḥammad accepted death willingly; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*

presence] while his head was in ᶜAlī's lap.[843] He said: 'Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God and his blessings.' ᶜAlī said: 'Come back again [at another time]! We are too busy[844] to deal with you.' The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Do you know who this is, Abū 'l-Ḥasan? This is the Angel of Death. Bring him in, in good faith.' When [the Angel of Death] entered, he said: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Where is Gabriel?' He said: 'He is not near me, but he is coming.' The Angel of Death left until Gabriel came down to him. And Gabriel said to him while he was standing at the door: 'Why did he expel you, Angel of Death!' He said: 'Muḥammad asked for you.' When the two sat down, Gabriel said: 'Peace be upon you, Abū 'l-Qāsim![845] This is a farewell for you and for me.' It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone from a household before him, and will not greet [anyone][846] after it.

[170] al-Ṭabarānī from al-Ḥusayn that Gabriel came down to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) on the day of his death, and he said: 'How do you find yourself?' He said: 'Gabriel, I find myself distressed and I find myself scared.' The Angel of Death sought permission to enter from the door. Gabriel said: 'Muhammad, this is the Angel of Death, who is seeking permission to enter your house. He has not sought permission from me [to come to] a human before you, and he will not seek permission from me [to come to] a human after you.' [Muḥammad] said: 'Give him

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vol. 4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58. Al-Rabghūzī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* includes similar material to these ḥadīth, see al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 671 – 679, especially pp. 673 – 678.

[843] Some ḥadīth say that this was ᶜĀ'isha; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 199; Poonwawala, *Last Years of the Prophet*, p. 183 al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, p. 403; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 65.

[844] *mashāghīl* in the *mafāᶜīl* form is a broken plural of *mashghūl*; see Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) vol. 1, §305a, p. 229.

[845] Qāsim was one of Muḥammad's sons by Khadīja, and Abū 'l-Qāsim was his *kunya*; see Déclais, Jean-Louis, 'Names of the Prophet' *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 501 – 505, p. 501.

[846] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 29.

permission!' So [Gabriel] let him in. [The Angel of Death] approached until he stood before [Muḥammad] and said: 'God has sent me to you and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul (*nafs*), then I will take it; if you do not want [me to take it], then I will leave it.' He said: 'Do [it], Angel of Death.' He said: 'Yes, as you command.' Gabriel said to [Muḥammad]: 'God indeed desires to meet you.' Then the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Carry out what you have been commanded [to do] by Him'

[171] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta'rīkh* said: Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsiṭī told me;[847] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh[848] ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad told me;[849] he said: I bear witness by

[847] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 6.
[848] 'Ibn ᶜAbd Allāh is missing from this person's name in the Leiden MS, however the rest of the name is present; fol. 197r, l. 7.
[849] Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 9

God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī told me;[850] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Gabriel told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Michael told me;[851] he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ᶜAzrā'īl told me; he said: he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that God, Most High, told me; he said: The one addicted to wine is like the slave of an idol.[852]

4.2.10 The Bearers of the Throne[853](peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord…'[854]

[179] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī in *Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmīya*,[855] Abū Yaᶜlā, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Mardawayh and al-

[850] The DKI edition includes Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī twice in the *isnād*; the Leiden MS does not include him at all; see fol 197r, l. 10.
[851] Michael is omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 14.
[852] This ḥadīth has already appeared above (§84) in the section on the Angel Michael; the *isnād* is different in each of the ḥadīth, but they have a *common link* in Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar. The 'angelic *isnād*' is also different, with the chain going through Isrāfīl in §84 and ᶜAzrā'īl in §171.
[853] In the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha the angels that carry God's Throne are given as Gabriel, Michael, Rafael / Rufael and Fanuel / Penuel (cf. *1 En.* 40:2, 9-10; 71:7- 13; *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 32 & 50 and *Sib. Or.* 2:215; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 350); in the Qur'ān and Islamic tradition, however, the Throne Angels are distinct from other named angels, which bears a closer resemblance to later Jewish exegesis in which aspects of God's Throne become angelic (e.g. the *opannīm* and the *galgallīm* are derived from the wheels of the Throne); see Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands* pp. 31 – 69 and Barton, 'Names of Angels and Demons' pp. 156 – 159.
[854] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[855] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 22.

Ḥākim who declared to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) [in *al-Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jaḥmiyyah*][856] from al-ᶜAbbās[857] ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib concerning His Word: '[eight] shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord' – Eight angels in the form of goats.[858]

[180] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd from Ibn ᶜAbbās: The Bearers of the Throne have horns, which have corners like the corners of spears. The space between one of their balls of their feet to their ankles is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the space between the tip of his nose to his collarbone is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the distance from the tip of his nose to the earlobe is five hundred years. [859]

[181] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd and Abū Yaᶜlā in a sound chain of authorities from Abū Hurayrah; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I was told about an angel whose two legs pass through the Seven Earths and that the Throne was on his shoulders, [this angel] says: 'I worship you, where you are and where you will be.'

[181b][860] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I

[856] Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[857] Given as 'Ibn ᶜAbbās' in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.
[858] The origin of the belief that the bearers are in the form of goats is unclear, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.
[859] 'The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En. …In the Hekalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiᶜur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.' Alexander, '3 Enoch – Introduction', p. 263 n. 9c. See also the discussion about the size of the angels in Chapter 3.
[860] This ḥadīth is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 30 - 198r, l. 1.

was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne; the distance between his earlobe to the shoulder is a distance of seven hundred years.

[182] Abū Dā᾽ūd, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā᾽ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Hear me, that I was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne: his two feet are on the lowest Earth and the Throne is on his horn; and [the space] between his earlobe and his shoulder is the distance it would take a bird to fly for seven hundred years. That angel says: ‘I worship you wherever[861] you are!’

[183] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Abū Qabīl that he heard ᶜAbd Allāh say: The Bearers of the Throne; the space that is between the inner corner of one of their eyes to the outer corner of his eye is the distance of five hundred years.

[184] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ḥassān ibn ᶜAṭiyya; he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight. Their feet are firmly fixed on the Seventh Earth, their heads pass through the Seventh Heaven, their horns are the same as their height and on top of [their horns] is the Throne.

[185] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Zādhān;[862] he said: The Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the limits [of the universe]. They are not able to look up because of the beams of light.[863]

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[861] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ayna*’ for ‘*ḥaythu*’; ‘*ḥaythu*’ seems more appropriate; fol. 198r, l. 4.
[862] Given as ‘Zādān’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 8.
[863] God is often described in these terms in Islam; cf. The Light Verse; Q 24:35; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 356 - 357.

[186] Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Hārūn ibn Ri’āb, he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight and they call back to each other in merciful voices; four of them saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your clemency after Your knowledge [of sins committed]!’; and [the other] four saying: ‘We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your forgiveness of sins, according to Your decree!’

[187] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Rabīᶜ concerning His Word: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’[864] [Eight][865] from the angels.

[188] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Zayd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Four carry him today, eight [will carry him] on the Day of Resurrection.[866]

[189] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the ones that carry him are four angels, and each angel has four faces and four wings, with two wings on its face, which [prevent it from][867] looking at the Throne, [for if it were to look] it would be struck unconscious, and two [other] wings, with which they fly. Their feet are on the ground

[864] Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604; cf. Rev. 4:6, where there are four bearers of the Throne.
[865] Added by the Leiden MS, fol 198r, l. 13.
[866] Cf. Q 69:17: ‘…and the angels shall stand upon its borders, and upon that day eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604. There is some debate in the exegetical literature about what this meant exactly, e.g. al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948) vol. 12, pp. 266 – 267; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan ta’wīl al-Qur’ān* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 29, pp. 58 – 59; and al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥmmad ibn ᶜUmar, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* [*Tafsīr*] (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜAmīra al-Sharafiyya, c. 1906) vol. 8, p. 200.
[867] Omitted in the the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, ll. 15 – 16.

and the Throne is on their shoulders. Each one of them has a face of a bull, a face of a lion, a face of a human and a face of an eagle.[868] They do not say a word, except that they say: 'Holy! God Almighty, your glory fills the heaven and the earth!'[869]

[190] Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik; he said: The rock which is under the Earths[870] is the extent of creation and on its limits are four angels; each one of them has four faces: a face of a man, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle and a face of a bull; while they are standing on it, they encompass the heavens and the earth and their heads are under the Throne.

[191] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: today they are four, but when the Day of Resurrection comes, they will be supported by four others. An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need; an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need;[871] an angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need. Each angel has four faces: a face of a human, a face of an eagle, a face of a bull and a face of a lion; and when they carry

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[868] Cf. Ezk. 1:10 and Rev. 4:8; this Arabic text is very close to Ezekiel's first Throne Vision (Ezekiel 1:1 – 2:11). The four different faces represent creation as a whole rather than just humans; cf. Richard Bauckham on Rev. 4:9: 'Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but "every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea" (5:13).' Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.

[869] This is almost a direct translation of the *trisagion* of the Seraphim in Is. 6:3.

[870] The Leiden MS reads '*arḍīn*'; fol. 198r, l. 22. For a discussion of the rock under the earth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 194 (on Q 2:29); see also Mahmoud, Muhammad, 'The Creation Story in *Sūrat al-Baqara*, wihh Special Refernce to Al-Ṭabarī's Material: An Analysis' *JAL* 26 (1995) pp. 201 – 214, pp. 202 – 203. The idea of the earth being diving into seven layers, with a rock and a sea below is also found in Judaism; see Gaster, T. H., 'Earth' *EJ* vol. 6, coll. 338 – 340 and Lane-Poole, Stanley, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Muhammadan) *ERE* vol. 4, p. 174.

[871] See Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 471 – 472.

the Throne, they fall down onto their kness because of the glory of God. They whisper: 'There is no power and no strength save in God.' And standing up on their feet they are the same height.

[192] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Makḥūl; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There are four angels amongst the Bearers of the Throne; an angel is in charge of the forms and he is the human;[872] an angel has the likeness of the master of the predatory animals, and he is the lion; an angel is in the likeness of livestock, he is the bull (and he has been angry since the day of [the worship of][873] the calf[874] until now);[875] and an angel has the likeness of the master of the birds, and he is an eagle.

[193] ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from ᶜUrwa; he said: The Bearers of the Throne – one of their forms is in the likeness of a man; one of their forms is in the likeness of an eagle; one of their forms is in the likeness of a bull and one of their forms is in the likeness of a lion.

[872] This alludes to the human dominion over animals.
[873] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 30.
[874] Cf. '…he said, "and I seized a handful of dust from the messenger's track, and cast it into the thing [i.e. the calf]. So my soul prompted me."' Q 20:96; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 318. A tradition of Ibn Masᶜūd interprets the phrase *athar al-rasūl* as *athar faras al-rasūl*; David Halperin argues that this could be related to a Jewish tradition, in which the dust from the footstep of the ox-*ḥayyah* was added to the image of the calf (see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 176 – 187 and 478 – 479), and concerning the original Jewish tradition comments: 'The Israelites draw the living essence of the *merkevah* ox, through the dust of its footprint, into the molten calf that they have made.' Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 178.
[875] 'this hour of mine', i.e. the time of the Prophet.

[194] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Zayd; he said: There is no-one higher amongst the Bearers of the Throne, save Isrāfīl. He said: Michael is not one of the Bearers of the Throne.

[195] Abū ʻl-Shaykh from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) came up to his friends and said: ʻWhy are you meeting?ʼ And they said: ʻWe have come together to remember our Lord and we are contemplating his glory.ʼ He said: ʻYou will never [be able to] continue meditating on his glory, unless I tell you about something of the glory of your Lord.ʼ They said: ʻIndeed, Messenger of God!ʼ He said: ʻAn angel from amongst the Bearers of the Throne, it is said Isrāfīl, has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck, his feet pierce the lowest Seventh Earth and his head pierces the highest Seventh Heaven; the created world of your Lord is in his likeness.

[196] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the month of Ramaḍān begins, [God, Most High,][876] orders the Bearers of the Throne to refrain from saying the *tasbīḥ* and they ask [God's] forgiveness for the community of Muḥammad and the believers.

[197] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Mālik ibn Dīnār; he said: I heard that in a part of the heavens there is an angel which has eyes the number of little pebbles [on earth];[877] there is no eye among them that does not have a tongue and two lips

[876] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198v, l. 9.
[877] In Jewish tradition the Cherubim and the *Ḥayyōt* are said to have many eyes: cf. *2En* 21:1, *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 134 – 135; *ApAbr.* 18:3 – 7. *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698; *3En* 22, *OTP,* vol. 1, p. 278; these images are largely based on the desriptions of God's chariot in Ezk. 1 & 10. Having many eyes is a symbol

underneath it, which praise God, the Blessed and the Most High, in a language which is not understood by its neighbours. The Bearers of the Throne have horns between their shoulders. Their horns and their heads are a distance of five hundred years apart and the Throne is above that.

[198] al-Dīnawarī from Abū Mālik concerning His Word: 'His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth'[878] He said: The Rock which is under the Seventh Earth; on its four sides are four from amongst the angels; each of the angels has four faces: a face of a human, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle, and the face of a bull; they stand on its sides and they surround the Earth and the Heavens; their heads are under the Seat and the Seat is under the Throne.[879]

[199] al-Dīnawarī from Khālid ibn Maᶜdān; he said: The Throne has been heavy for the Bearers of the Throne from the very begining; when those who are praising [God] stand up, it becomes lighter for them.

[200] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* through the intermediary of Qutayba from Bakr ibn Maḍr from Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh from Ziyād ibn Abī Ḥayya; he said: I heard that regarding the Bearers of the Throne, there streams from [one of their] eyes the

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of omniscience and God bestowing this power on his creations. Cf. God transforming Enoch into a creature with 365,000 eyes in *3En.* 9; 25:2 & 26:6, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 263, 278 – 280; see also Ulmer, Rivka, *The Evil Eye in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature* (Jerusalem: Ktav, 1994) pp. 21 – 23.

[878] Q. 2:255; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 37.

[879] There is some debate in Islamic tradition about the differences between the Throne (*ᶜarsh*) and the Seat (*kursī*); the *kursī* is often interpreted as 'footstool' as it is a more general word for a 'support'. See Hurat, Cl. [-Sadan, J.], 'Kursī' *EI²* vol. 5, p. 509; Elias, 'Throne of God' and Vitestam, Gösta, '*ᶜArsh* and *kursī*. An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam' in Jakob H. Grønbæk *et al.* (eds.), *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1990) pp. 369 – 378, p. 374.

likeness of rivers of tears.[880] When one raises its head, it says: 'I worship You! We do not fear You as much as You deserve to be feared!' God, may He be praised and glorified, says: 'But those who swear falsely by My name are liars, they do not know [that they should be fearful].'

[201] Ibn Mardawayh from Umm Sa^{c}d; she said: I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say: The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel, its feet are on the limits of the earth, and its two wings are in the East and his neck is under the Throne.[881]

[202] ^{c}Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Mardawayh, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Ibn ^{c}Abbās; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the [distance] between one of their ankles to the bottom of their foot is the [time it would take to travel] five hundred years. He mentioned that the stride of the Angel of Death [reaches] from the East to the West.

[880] Cf. *GenR* 78:1, pp. 714 – 715 & *LamR* 3:2 §8, po. 201 – 202; the rivers of paradise are said to be fed by the perspiration of the *ḥayyōt*, caused by their bearing the Throne.

[881] Al-Suyūṭī devotes a chapter to the Cockerel (§280 – 294) as well as part of his collection *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*. (Tottoli, 'At Cock-Crow' pp. 142 – 143). The 'cosmic cockerel' has been mentioned in passing by a number of scholars, but the significance of the 'cosmic cockerel' has not been discussed. Asin Palacios comments: 'El gallo de la layenda musulmana es también de gigantesco tamaño, y se ofrece a los ojos de Mahoma llendano el cielo; sus alas agítanse igualmente al entonar sus cánticos religiosos excitando a los hombres a la prática de la oración, y reposan después…' Asin Palacios, M., *Escatologia Musulmana*, pp. 31 & 52; Kopf, 'Dīk'. The cockerel does, however, have a long history of being associated with the divine, especially the light or the sun – see Ehrenburg, Erica, 'The Rooster in Mesopotamia' in Erica Ehrenburg (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) pp. 53 – 62.

[203] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜIkrima; he said: All of the Bearers of the Throne are *ṣawr*. ᶜIkrima was asked: 'What is meant by *ṣawr*? He said: 'He bows his cheek a little.'[882]

[204] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: The angels who carry the Throne are not able to look at what is above them because of the beams of light.

[205] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: '[Concerning] the feet of the Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the lowest earth and their heads pierce the Throne; they are humble and do not raise their eyes; they have a more intense fear [than the people of the Seventh Heaven, and the people of the seventh heaven have a more intense fear than][883] the people of the heaven which is below, and that which is below [that] has a more intense sense of fear than that which is beneath it.

[206] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaf* from Abū Umāma; he said: The angels who carry the Throne talk in Persian.[884]

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[882] '*ṣawr*' is a general term for 'bowing' or 'inclination' and as such does not describe the inclination or bowing of a particular part of the body, see *AELex*, p. 1744.

[883] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 1.

[884] This is unusual as the Arabic language of the Qur'ān is seen as paramount in Qur'ānic self-perception (see Jenssen, Herbjørn, 'Arabic Language' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 127 – 135; especially, pp. 132 - 134), to the extent that non-Arabic loanwords in the Qur'ān were viewed as obscure Arabic words by Islamic scholars (see Kopf, L, 'Religious Influences on Islamic Philology' *SI* 5 (1956) pp. 33 – 59). Likewise angelic speech (a form of divine revelation) is normally associated with a faith's language of revelation, as a symbol of the faith's claim on true religion, (cf. The Pseudepigraphical work *Jubilees* 12:25 – 27). Steve Weitzmann has commented that: 'To understand Hebrew, according to *Jubilees*, is to belong to a divinely selected group with access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel. In *Jubilees* Hebrew is also said to connect those who use it to the heavenly community.' Weitzman, Steve, 'Why did the Qumran community write in Hebrew?' *JAOS* 119 (1999) pp. 35 – 45, p. 41. There are some other Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts that believe that angels speak in an esoteric language that humans cannot understand (e.g. *ApAbr.* 15:7; *2En.* 17:1, *2Cor.* 12:4). In this case, however, the angels are speaking in a language other than Arabic that was understood by a large number of Muslims. For more on the relationship between Persian and Arab literature and culture see Danner, Victor, 'Arabic Literature in Iran' *CHI*, vol. 4, pp. 566 – 594.

[207] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the Word of the Most High: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[885] He said: Their feet are on the limits [of the earth] and their heads are with the Throne. They are not able to raise their eyes because of the beams of light.

[208] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās concerning His Word: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.'[886] He said: Eight ranks of angels – only God knows their number.

[209] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning the verse;[887] he said: It is said: Eight ranks, only God knows their number.[888]

[209b] [889] [ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the verse];[890] it is said: The heads of the eight angels are with the Throne in the Seventh Heaven and their feet are on the lowest Earth; they have horns like mountain goats and the distance between the roots of their horns to their tips is a journey of five hundred years.

[885] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[886] Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[887] i.e. Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.
[888] This interpretation is relatively common, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 29, pp. 58 - 59.
[889] This is given as a separate ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 8.
[890] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, ll. 8 – 9. The verse being referred to is Q 69:17.

4.2.11 The Spirit (peace be upon him)

The Most High said: 'in it the angels and the Spirit descend'[891] and He said: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks'.[892]

[210] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* through the intermediary of Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is a creation from the greatest of the angels.[893]

[211] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Ḍaḥḥāk; he said: The Spirit is the veil[894] of God, [Most High];[895] he will stand in front of God on the Day of Resurrection, and he is the greatest of the angels; if he were to open his mouth, there would be enough room for all of the angels together. The creations look to him; but out of fear of him, they are not able to raise their eyes to what is above him.

[212] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* in a weak *isnād* from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he said: The Spirit is an

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[891] Q 97:4; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 652.
[892] Q 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627. In Judaism, particularly in the Hellenic period, the 'spirit of God' was considered in angelic terms; for a discussion of this in Philo and others see Levinson, John R., 'The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel according to Philo' *HTR* 88 (1995) pp. 189 – 207. In Islam, the Spirit was often identified with Gabriel, rather than being a separate angel; cf. al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib*, p. 37.
[893] The Leiden MS reads: *al-rūḥ <u>malak</u> min aᶜẓam al-malā'ika khalqan*; fol. 199r, ll. 14 – 15.
[894] The veil is related to the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple in Judaism (for a full discussion of the Veil of the Temple, see Légasse, S., 'Les voiles du Temple de Jérusalem: Essai de Parcours Historique' *RB* 87 (1980) pp. 560 – 589). Some Jewish, Christian and Samaritan texts describe the Veil of the Temple as an angel, for a full discussion of these descriptions see Fossum, 'Angel of the Lord'. For a discussion of the veil in Islam see Winter, Tim, 'The Chador of God on Earth: the Metaphysics of the Muslim Veil' *NB* 85 (1996) pp. 144 – 157.
[895] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 20.

angel. It has seventy thousand faces; every face has seventy thousand tongues; every tongue has seventy thousand languages,[896] which praise God in all of those languages; and from every act of praise God creates an angel, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.

[213] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of ᶜAṭā' from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit is an individual angel;[897] he has ten thousand wings; two wings [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces and every face has a thousand tongues, and two eyes, and two lips, which praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[214] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Spirit is one of the angels; he has ten thousand wings, two wings of which [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces, and every face has a thousand tongues and two lips, which will praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[215] Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān; he said: The Spirit is the most exalted angel, and the nearest of them to the Lord, and he is the one responsible for revelation (*waḥy*).[898]

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[896] Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,* p. 85.
[897] Some commentators believed that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel; cf. §219, 222 – 228.
[898] *waḥy* is an intimate, non-verbal form of revelation (as opposed to *nuzul, inzāl* &c.); see Izutsu, Toshihiko, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964) pp. 158 – 162; Wensinck [-Rippin] 'Waḥy' *EI*^{2} vol. 11, pp. 53 – 56 and Nwyia, Paul, *Exégèse Coranqiue et Language Mystique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1970) pp. 56 – 57. Gabriel is usually associated with revelation that is communicated to prophets by *tanzīl* whereas the Spirit is associated with *waḥy* ("inspiration").

[216] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Masᶜūd; he said: The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven and he is greater than the heavens, the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every act of praise. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.[899]

[217] Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī from ᶜĀ'isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to say during his kneelings (*rukūᶜ*) and prostrations (*sujūd*): 'Glory to the Holy One, the Lord of the Angels and the Spirit.'[900]

[218] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-ṣifāt* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirit was created in the likeness of a human.[901]

[219] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits eat;[902] they have two hands, feet and heads, whereas the angels do not.

[220] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from ᶜIkrima; he said: The Spirit is the greatest creation from among the angels and no angel descends without the Sprit.

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[899] A literal reading of Q. 78:38 mentioned above.
[900] Cf. 'All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God, the King, the All-Holy…' Q 62:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 583.
[901] Cf. '...then we sent to her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault.' Q 19:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 303.
[902] Note the plural verb; this ḥadīth is referring to *al-Rūḥ* as a species or class of angel, rather than as an individual angel; as such the translation 'Spirits' seems to be preferable, although the Arabic does strictly say 'the Spirit'.

[221] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The Spirit was created from the creations of God in the image of a human; an angel does not come down[903] from heaven without one of the Spirits (*wāḥid min al-rūḥ*) with him.

[222] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ᶜAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Spirit is an army amongst the armies of God; they are not part of the angels; they have heads, two hands and feet. Then he recited: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks’[904] and he said: These are an army and these are an army.[905]

[223] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Abū Ṣāliḥ; he said: The Spirits are a creation similar to people, but they are not people; they have two hands and feet.

[224] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda; he said: The *Jinn*, the humans, the angels and the devils do not make one tenth of the Spirit.[906]

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[903] The Leiden MS reads: *mā nazala*; ‘an angel has not come down from heaven…’ fol. 199v, l. 7.
[904] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[905] The Jalālayn gloss ‘*yaqūmu al-rūḥ*’ with: ‘*Jibrīl aw jund allāh*’ / ‘Gabriel or an army of God.’ al-Jalālayn [al-Maḥalī, Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad & al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr], *Tafsīr* (s.i.: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c. 1920), p. 499; whereas al-Bayḍawī is even vaguer: ‘…the spirt is an angel responsible for the spirits (*arwāḥ*) or a group of them, or Gabiel or a creation mighter than the angels (*khalq ’aᶜẓam min al-malā’ika*).’ al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 383.
[906] Cf §21 – 23.

[225] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Shaᶜbī concerning His Word: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.’[907] He said: Both of them are ranks[908] of the Lord of the Two Worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the spirits and a rank of angels.

[226] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Salmān; he said: Humans and *jinn* are ten parts: humans make one part and the *jinn* make nine parts; the angels and the *jinn* are ten parts: *jinn* make one part and the angels make nine parts; the angels and the spirits are ten parts: the angels make one part and the Spirit makes nine parts; [the Spirit and][909] the cherubim are ten parts: the Spirit makes one part and the cherubim make nine parts.[910]

[227] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Abī Nujīḥ; he said: The Spirit is the *hafīẓ* of the angels.[911]

[228] Ibn al-Anbārī in *Kitāb al-aḍdād* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits are a creation amongst the angels, but the angels do not see them; just as you do not see the angels.

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[907] Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.
[908] Read *simāṭā* for *ṣimāṭā* and likewise *ṣimāt* (*bis*), cf. Leiden MS fol. 199v, l. 17; = ranks of people, see *AELex*, p. 1427.
[909] Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199v, l. 20.
[910] Cf. §23 above; al-Suyūṭī has taken the same ḥadīth from a different source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim), but the authority is the same (given as Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs).
[911] Note the ambiguity between the singular *al-Rūḥ* and the plural noun in apposition (*ḥafaẓa*). *Al-Rūḥ* is strictly singular – the correct plural is *arwāh* – but is considered as a plural is certain places.

4.2.12 Riḍwān, Mālik and the Keepers of the Fire (peace be upon them)

The Most High said: 'And they shall call, 'O Malik, let thy Lord have done with us!' He will say, 'You will surely tarry.'[912] And the Most High said: 'And those who are in the Fire will say to the keepers of Gehenna'[913] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'and over which are harsh, terrible angels'[914] and the rest of the verse; and he said: 'over it are nineteen. We have appointed only angels to be masters of the Fire'[915] and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: 'the guards of hell'. [916]

[229] al-Qutbī[917] in *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār* from Ṭāwus[918] that God, may He be praised and glorified, created Mālik[919] and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him; no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with one of his fingers; by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

[230] al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī in *Ṣifat al-nār* from Anas; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grand him salvation) saying: By the one who [holds] my soul in

[912] Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; *Mālik* has normally been interpreted as an actual name (although it could simply mean 'possessor'), a variant reading of *Māl*, would seem to support this, see al-Baydawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 243 and Bell, Richard (ed. C. E. Bosworth & M. E. J. Richardson), *A Commentary on the Qur'ān* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), vol. 2, p. 248.
[913] Q 40:49; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 486.
[914] Q 66:6; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 594.
[915] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 616 – 617.
[916] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[917] This is possibly Ibn Qutayba, who wrote a work called, *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 1, p. 120.
[918] The Leiden MS reads: *Tāwūs / Tā'ūs*, fol. 199v, l. 2.
[919] The Leiden MS reads: *malakan*; 'created an angel'; fol. 199v, l. 28.

his hand![920] The Angels of Hell were created a thousand years before Hell itself; every day they increase their power.

[231] ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zuwā'id al-Zuhd* from Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī; he said: I heard that there are nineteen Keepers of the Fire.[921] The space between one of their shoulders is a journey of a hundred autumns; there is no mercy in their hearts; indeed, they were made for torture, one of these angels beats one of inhabitants of the Fire[922] vigorously**,** then he leaves him crushed [like dust] from his head to his feet.

[232] Ibn Jarīr from Kaᶜb; he said: The space between the shoulders of one of the Keepers is a journey of [five][923] hundred years; every of them has a pole with two prongs, and he prods [the inhabitant of Hell] vigorously with it; he harasses seven hundred thousand [people] with it.

[233] Ibn al-Mundhir from Mujāhid; he said: I was told that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) described the Guardians of Hell; he said: Their eyes are like lightning, and their mouths are like cockerels' spurs, their hair trails [on the floor],[924] they are as strong as humans and *jinn*[925] and one of them receives a

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[920] Cf. 'So Glory be to Him, in whose hand is the dominion and unto whom you shall be returned' and 'Blessed by He in whose hand is the Kingdom - He is powerful over everything, who created death and life...' Q36:83 & 67:1 – 2; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 455 & 596.

[921] The number nineteen has, as Bell comments '…given much rise to questioning and speculation.' Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 2, p. 453. Al-Bayḍawī says that the number could refer to angels '*malakan*' or a species of angels '*ṣanfan malā'ika*' that are responsible for punishing different types of sinners or that the nineteen are responsible for punishing the people in the Fire for an hour each, with five hours left aside for the ritual prayers, see Al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 396. Karl Ahrens associated with the number nineteen with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, citing Mandaean beliefs as a possible source, see Ahrens, Karl, *Muhammad als Religionsstifter* (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1935) pp. 30 – 31.

[922] Lit: 'the angel from amongst them beats the man from amongst the people of the Fire.'

[923] The Leiden MS reads, '*mā'ia*'; fol. 200r, l. 4.

[924] Cf. the descriptions of Munkar and Nakīr, §302 – 311.

[whole] community of people [and] he herds them; on his neck is a mountain, until he casts them into the Fire, and he throws the mountain on top of them [afterwards].

[234] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Abī Shayba, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Baᶜth* through the intermediary of al-Azraq ibn Qays from a man from the Banū Tammīm; he said: We were with Abū 'l-ᶜAwām, when he recited this verse: 'over it are nineteen.'[926] He said: 'What do you say: nineteen angels or nineteen thousand?' I said: 'There is no doubt:[927] nineteen angels.' And he said: 'How do you know that?' I said: 'For God, Most High, said: 'and their number we have appointed only as a trial for the unbelievers'[928] He said: 'You are right. There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one[929] of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people]. Between the shoulders of every angel is a distance of this much.' Al Quṛtubī said: 'The intention of His Word is nineteen of their heads, as for the number of the Keepers, no-one knows their number, except God, may He be praised and glorifed!'[930]

[235] Hannād ibn al-Sarī in *Kitāb al-zuhd* from Kaᶜb; he said: When men are ordered into the Fire, a hundred thousand angels await him.

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[925] The *thaqalayn* are humans and jinn; see Lane, *AELex,* p. 344.
[926] Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 616.
[927] The Leiden MS reads, '*ba-lā*'; fol. 200r, l. 11.
[928] Q 74:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 617.
[929] The Leiden MS reads, '*malak*'; fol. 200r, l. 13.
[930] See al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ*, vol. 19, p. 79. This ḥadīth is also mentioned in his *tafsīr* of this verse, see al-Quṛtubī, *Al-Jāmiᶜ* vol. 19, p. 78.

[235b][931] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from Mujāhid concerning His Word: 'the guards of hell'[932]: [They are] angels.

[236] al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith;[933] he said: The myrmidons (*al-zabāniyya*):[934] their feet are on earth and their heads are in heaven.

[237][935] al-Wāḥidī in *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and Ibn ᶜAsākir in his *Ta'rīkh* through the intermediary of Isḥāq ibn Bashar from Juwaybir from al-Ḍaḥḥāk from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When some polytheists reproached the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) for being poor, they said: 'What ails this Messenger that he eats food and goes in the markets?'[936] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was saddened by that, so Gabriel came down to him[937] and said: 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!" And He says to you: "We have not sent any messengers before you who did not eat food whilst walking in the markets."' While Gabriel and the Prophet (God bless him

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[931] The Ledien MS includes this ḥadīth; fol. 200r, ll. 16 – 18.
[932] Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.
[933] A different list of sources is given in the Leiden MS (fol. 200r, ll. 18 – 19): al-Firyābī, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Hārith.
[934] *Al-zabānīya* (Arberry = 'the Keepers of Hell'; Q 96:18, *Koran*, p. 651); the word poses questions about its root (c.f. al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 411) and it is believed to be foreign, derived from either Syriac or Persian, see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 148 (Syriac) and Eilers, Wilhelm, 'Iranisches Lehngut im arabishen Lexikon: Über einige Berufsnamen und Titel' *IIJ* 5 (1962) pp. 203 – 232, p. 220 (Persian). Tor Andrae associates the word with the Syriac *shabbāyā*, 'bodyguards', see Andrae, Tor (tr. Jules Roche), *Les Origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adiren Maisonneuve, 1955), p. 159.
[935] The opening '*akhraja*' is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 200r, l. 20.
[936] Q. 25:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 362.
[937] Q 25:7 – 8 continues the Meccans' words with: 'Why has an angel not been sent down to him, to be a warner with him, or why is not a treasure (*kanz*) thrown to him, or why has he not a Garden to eat of?' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363. Although not focusing on the life of Muḥammad, Michael Bonner has written an article that looks at the importance of poverty in the theology of the Qur'ān, see Bonner, Michael, 'Poverty and Economics in the Qur'an' *JIH* 35 (2005) pp. 391 – 406.

and grant him salvation) were talking to each other, Gabriel suddenly made himself smaller[938] until he was like a bird.[939] The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'Why have you made yourself smaller until you are like a bird?' He said: 'Muḥammad, one of the gates of heaven has opened and it had not been opened before [I did] that.'[940] Suddenly Gabriel returned to his [normal] state, and he said: 'Muḥammad, I introduce you to this [angel], Riḍwān, the Guardian of the Garden.' Then Riḍwān drew closer until he greeted [him]. He said: 'Muḥammad, the Lord of Power says to you: "Peace!"' (And he had with him, a basket of light,[941] which glistened) 'And your Lord says to you: "These are the keys to the treasuries of the this world,[942] however, whatever [you take] will not decrease your reward which will be with you in in the next world, [for me] it is like the wing of a flea."'[943] Then the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) looked at Gabriel,[944] who was like the advisor to him,[945] and Gabriel hit him to the ground with his hand; and he said: 'Humble yourself before God!' [Muḥammad] said: 'Riḍwān, there is nothing that I need on earth.' Riḍwān said: 'You are right, God is with you.' They saw that this verse was sent down by Riḍwān: 'Blessed be He who, if He will, shall assign to

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[938] In Classical Arabic *dhāba [al-jism]* can have the meaning 'to become thin'; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 986.
[939] The Leiden MS reads '*hūda*' throughout; fol. 200r, ll. 25 – 26.
[940] Cf. §29 & 53 above; in these cases the angel Isrāfīl appears.
[941] *Safaṭ al-nūr*; a basket that is formed by weaving leaves together, which was, appropriately for Riḍwān, also used in burials in pre-Islamic times; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1372.
[942] Cf. 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR* 73:4, p. 670; see also *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.
[943] Cf Q 2:26; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.
[944] The Leiden MS omits '*ilā jibrīl*'; fol. 200r, l. 30.
[945] Angels frequently take on this role (the *angelus interpres*) in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature; Wansbrough comments: 'In Muslim, as in Rabbinic, tradition one of Gabriel's primary functions is that of pedagogue: as he had been guide and mentor to Joseph....and to Moses...so too for Muhammad he performed thie rites of initiation into prophethood, instructed him during his ascension to heaven and arranged from him the conent of revelation during meetings in Ramaḍān.' Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 63; see also Hannah, Darrell D., *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) p. 47.

thee better than that – gardens underneath which rivers flow, and he shall assign to thee palaces.'[946]

[238] al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: During my night journey I saw Moses, son of ᶜImrān with me, as a tall man with curly hair, as if he were a man form the tribe of Shanū'a;[947] and I saw Jesus, son of Mary, [who as of medium height],[948] and of moderate complexion, [ranging between] red and white; and his hair was lank; and I saw Mālik, the Guardian of Gehenna and al-Dajjāl in the verses [of the Qur'ān] that God showed.[949]

[239] Ibn Mardawayh from ᶜUmar; he said: When the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) travelled by night,[950] he saw Mālik, the Keeper of the Fire; when a person frowns, [Mālik] can see the anger in his face.

[240] Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī in *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* from Abū Salama; he said: I saw ᶜUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmt east of the Holy House, crying; and it was asked of him: 'What is making you cry?' He said: 'In this place, the Messenger of God (God bless

[946] Q. 25:10; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363.
[947] More commonly known as the ᶜAzd Shanū'a; see Strenziok, G., 'Azd' *EI*^{2} vol. 1, pp. 811 – 813, p. 812.
[948] This is included because it is found in the ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī's, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* §3229, p. 621 and in the context of Moses being described as tall, makes sense here.
[949] Al-Bukhārī includes Q 32:23; '…so be not in doubt concerning the encounter with him.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 425.
[950] The two events of the *isrā'* (Night Journey) and the *miᶜrāj* (Ascension) were sometimes combined, and sometimes separated; for a discussion of these themes, see Nünlist, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit*.

him and grant him salvation) told me that he saw Mālik[951] turn over a live coal like bunch [of fruit].'

[241] al-Daylamī from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When God wants a servant to be good, he sends an angel from the Keepers of the Garden to him; [the angel] wipes his back and bestows his soul (*nafs*) with purity.

[242] al-Khalīlī in his *Mashyakha* from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I will be the first [person] to knock on the Gate of the Garden, and the Keeper will stand up and say: 'Who are you?' And I will say: 'I am Muḥammad.' And he will say: 'I will go and open it for you. I have not got up for anyone before you, and I will not get up for anyone after you.'

4.2.13 Al-Sijill [952] (peace be upon him)

[243] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAlī concerning the Word of the Most High: 'as a scroll is rolled'[953] He said: Mālik.

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[951] The Leiden MS reads, '*malakan*'; fol. 200v., l. 9. Cf. §229 and fol. 199v, l. 28.
[952] This Chapter heading is not given in the DKI edition, but given in the Leiden MS; fol. 200v, l. 14.
[953] Q 21:104; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 331. Jeffrey comments that *sijill* is only used of the 'divine scroll', whereas *sifr* is used for earthly books; see Jeffrey, A., 'The Qur'ān as Scripture' *MW* 40 (1950) pp. 41 – 55, p. 47 n4. A similar phrase occurs in Is. 34:4, but here the Hebrew word *ṣēfer* (Ar. *sifr*) is used; (see *BHS*, p. 725). There is some debate about the derivation of *sijill*, but it is now generally accepted to have been derived ultimately from the Latin *sigullum*, and reached Arabic through Greek, Aramaic, Syriac or Armenian. For a full discussion of its etymology see Vacca, V., 'Sidjill' *EI*[1] vol. 4, p. 403; de Blois, F. C., 'Sidjill – In Ḳur'ānic and Early Arabic Usage' *EI*[2] vol. 9, p. 538; Ambros, Arne A., with Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), p. 129;

[244] ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ᶜAṭiyya;[954] he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel's name.[955]

[245] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, when forgiveness ascends, he says: 'Write it in light!'

[246] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from al-Suddī; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel responsible for the pages; when a person dies, he hands over his book to *Al-Sijill* and he shuts it and keeps it until the Day of Resurrection.

[247] Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir from Abu Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, and Hārūt and Mārūt[956] were amongst his helpers, and every day he would glance three times, by which he would look at the *Umm al-Kitāb*, and he would have a look. [The book] is not his, but [one day] he caught sight of some information in it about the creation of Adam,[957] and what is in [the *Umm al-Kitāb*] concerning them; and he secretly told Hārūt and Mārūt about it, and when the Most High said: '"I am creating on earth a viceroy." They said, "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there."'[958]; the two of them said: 'That is disrespectful to the angels.'

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and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 163 - 164. Al-Suyūṭi believed it to be a foreign word, see al-Suyūṭī (ed. & tr. William Y. Bell), *al-Mutawakkilī* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) pp. 19 & 41.

[954] The Leiden MS omits '*ᶜan ᶜAṭiyya*''; fol. 200v, l. 16.

[955] Some exegetes believed that *al-Sijill* referred to an angel others that it refers to a scribe of Muḥammad, e.g. al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. 17, pp. 99 – 100. Al-Suyūṭi also states al-Sijill is an angel in his *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[956] The Leiden MS occasionally uses the form *Harūt* instead of *Hārūt* (e.g. fol. 200v, ll, 20, 22; 201r, l. 8 etc.) and these instances will not be noted further.

[957] Al-Sijill sees a reference to the creation of Adam in the *Umm al-Kitāb*, before God reveals to the angels his intentions, regarding his creation.

[958] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.

4.2.14 Hārūt and Mārūt[959] (peace be upon them)[960]

[248] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ᶜAbd Ibn Ḥamīd in their *Musnads*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in *Kitab al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Ḥibbān in his *Saḥīḥ* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar that he heard the Messenger of the God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: Concerning Adam; when God brought him down to earth, the angels said: ‘What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while We proclaim Thy praise and call Thee holy?’ He said, ‘Assuredly I know that you know not.’[961] [The angels] said: ‘Our Lord, we are more obedient than the Children of Adam.’ God, Most High, said to the angels:[962] ‘Pick out two angels. We will send them down to Earth and see how the two [angels] will do. The angels said: ‘Our Lord, Hārūt and Mārūt!’[963] And so both of them were sent down to Earth, and al-Zuhara appeared to the two of them[964] as the most beautiful woman.[965] She came to the two of them and they asked her for her soul, and she

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[959] Al-Thaᶜlabī devotes a whole chapter to Hārūt and Mārūt, which provides a useful comparison for these stories; see al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91; al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 45 – 48; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, Vol .2, pp. 52 – 55; see also al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā’ib*, pp. 40 – 41.

[960] The Leiden MS adds: *ᶜalayhumā al-salām*’; fol. 200v, l. 23.

[961] Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5. The DKI edition marks the Qur’ānic quotation from ‘*in Ādam lamma...*’ This is an error, the Qur’ānic quotation begins at ‘*ayy rabb...*’ Also note that this ḥadīth combines two separate narratives (that of the creation of Adam and the Hārūt and Mārūt narrative). The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most frequently placed during the lifetime of the Prophet Idrīs (e.g. §255). There is a certain disjunction between the image of Hārūt and Mārūt in the Qur’ān and Islamic tradition.

[962] The Leiden MS adds: *li-‘l-malā’ika* (fol. 200v, l. 28).

[963] For a discussion of the origin of the names Hārūt and Mārūt, see Section 2 above.

[964] The ḥadīth in this section present two versions of the same story, firstly that al-Zuhara was a woman who then became the star/planet Venus and secondly (e.g. §255) that al-Zuhara / Venus came down from heaven to seduce and test the two angels. The story is not, however, aetiological.

[965] Al-Zuhara is associated with Anahīd (= Amretatat) in §251, and Anahīd was associated with great beauty: cf. *Yast* V:78 ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him [Vistaru] in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant.’ For more on Amretatat see Herzfeld, Ernst, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) pp. 356 – 368. In Astrology, Venus is also associated with beauty, fornication, prostitutes and fermented drinks (among other things), cf. al-Qabīṣī, Abū al-Ṣaqr ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn ᶜUthmān ᶜAlī al-Mawṣilī (ed. & tr. Charles Burnett &al.), *Kitāb al-mudhal ilā ṣināᶜat aḥkam al-nujūm* (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute

said: 'No! By God! Not until you accept the worship of idols.'[966] The two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never associate anything with God.' So she went away from them. Then she returned with a baby boy,[967] whom she was carrying; and they asked her for her soul, and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you kill this baby boy.'[968] And the two of them said: 'No! By God! We will never kill him!' So she went away and then she returned with a glass of wine, which she was carrying. They asked her for her soul and she said: 'No! By God! Not until you have drunk this wine.' So they drank,[969] became drunk, fornicated with her,[970] and killed the boy. When the two woke up, the woman said: 'By God! You have not left anything! You both denied me it, but you did it when you were drunk!' As a result the two had to make a choice between the punishment of this world or the next and they chose the punishment of this world.

[249] al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜUmar; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels looked down upon this world and they saw the children of Adam being disobedient. They said: 'Lord! How ignorant these [humans] are! How little knowledge they have of your Majesty!' God,

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& Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), pp. 74 – 75 and al-Birūnī, Abū 'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awā'il ṣināᶜat al-tanjim*; R. Ramsey Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology* (London: Luzac & Co., 1934) pp. 232, 240, 245 and 251.

[966] Lit: Not until you say this word about idolatry.

[967] *al-ṣabī*; a baby that has not yet been weaned; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1650.

[968] The Qur'ān takes a strong position against infanticide, suggesting that it was common in pre-Islamic Arabic; for a discussion of this theme, see Giladi, Avner, 'Some Observations on Infanticide in Medieval Islamic Society' *IJMES* 22 (1990) pp. 185 – 200, especially pp. 186 – 188.

[969] Cf. Q 5:91; 'Satan only desires to precipitate enmity and hatred between you in regard to wine and arrow-shuffling, and to bar you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 114. Although the Hārūt and Mārūt narratives could be appropriate in the passages forbidding the consumption of wine, the narratives are usually found in the *tafsīrs* of Q 2:102; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 456 – 459; vol. 2, pp. 356 – 375; and vol. 7, pp. 32 – 35.

[970] The association of sexual immorality was also connected with the pagan worship of Venus / Aphrodite; cf. Moore, Michael S., 'Jesus Christ: "Superstar" (*Revelation xxii 16b*), *NT* 24 (1982) pp. 82 – 91, p. 86.

may He be praised and glorified said: 'If you were in their skin, then you would disobey me.' They said: 'How can this be? We worship Your praiseworthiness and we glorify You.' He said:[971] 'Choose two angels from amongst you!' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt; then the two of them came down to earth and [the earth] roused in them human desires. A woman presented herself to them but they did not disobey until they fornicated with her. God said: 'Choose between the punishment of this world or the next!' And one of the two looked to his friend and said: 'Whatever you say, I will choose.' He said: 'I say that the punishment of this world will end, but the punishment of the next world will not end.' So, the two chose the punishment of this world.' The two are those two whom God mentions in His Book: 'and that which was sent upon Babylon's two angels…'[972] and the rest of the verse.[973]

[250] al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Ibn ᶜUmar that he used to say: 'Has the *red one*[974] appeared yet?' When he saw it, he said: 'It is not welcome.'[975] Then he said: 'Two angels from amongst the angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, asked God if they could go down to earth. So they went down to earth,[976] and judged the people. When they got to a point where they could say words,

[971] The Leiden MS reads *qālū* for *qāla* (fol. 201r, l. 8); this appears to be a scribal error.
[972] Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 12.
[973] None of the ḥadīth in this section actually refer Hārūt and Mārūt teaching people magic, as mentioned in Q 2:101, but are all concerned with the fall of Hārūt and Mārūt. The fall-narratives are often attached to this verse in the exegetical tradition without much elaboration. Incidentally, a number of Christian theologians attributed the teaching of Greek philosophy to fallen angels, see Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels' and Margoliouth, 'Hārūt and Mārūt'.
[974] *Al-Ḥamrā'* usually refers to the planet Mars, but in this ḥadīth (as well as §255) Venus is clearly intended.
[975] This would make more sense if *al-Ḥamrā'* were understood to be the planet Mars, as Mars (and Jupiter) were traditionally seen as brining bad luck in Near Eastern astrology. Cf. Reiner, E., *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995) p. 4 – 7, Jastrow, Morris, 'Signs and Names of the Planet Mars' *AJSLL* 27 (1910) pp. 64 – 83, Al-Qabīṣī, *K. al-mudhal,* pp. 68 – 69. The planet Venus is not normally seen as bringing bad luck, but is associated with immorality; this is probably what ᶜUmar is referring to.
[976] The Leiden MS adds '*fa-ahbaṭa harūt wa-mārūt illā 'l-arḍ*' (fol. 201r, l. l4).

they went up from [earth] to heaven. God[977] sent to them the most beautiful woman. She asked them a question about desire and she asked them a question about their souls; and they did not leave until she promised them a meeting. Then she came to them for the meeting and she said: "You two can teach me the word which allows you to ascend." And they taught her [the word].[978] She said it and ascended into heaven. She was transformed and made just as you have seen. At the very moment that the two said the word, they could not ascend, so [God] sent them [a message] that the two should choose between the punishment of the afterlife or the punishment of this world; and one of the two said to the other: "Indeed, we should choose the pain of his world."'

[251] Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh in his *Musnad*, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd in his *Tafsīr*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*, Ibn Jarīr, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-ᶜAẓama* and al-Hākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from ᶜAlī ibn Abī Tālib; he said: This is *Al-Zuhara*: the Arabs call her *al-Zuhara* and the Persians call her *Anahīd*.[979] The two angels were passing verdicts on the people [of Earth]. She came to the two of them, and they saw[980] her. Al-Zuhara said to the two: 'Will the two of you not tell me by what means you go up to heaven and by what means you come down to earth?' (And the two said 'In the name of God, the Greatest.' [to go up to heaven and down to earth).[981] She said: 'I will not leave you[982] until you teach it to me.' One of the two said to his companion: 'Teach it to her!' The [other angel] said:

[977] The Leiden MS omits *Allāh* (fol. 201r, l. 16).
[978] The Leiden MS adds '*al-kalima*' (fol. 201r, l. 18).
[979] Also known in Persian as *Bīdukht*; see Moᶜīn, Muḥammad (ed.), *Lughatnāma* (Tehrān: Chāpkhāne-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1959 – 1975) Fasc. 87, p. 264 and Fasc. 174, p. 479.
[980] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādāhā*' (fol. 201r, l. 22); '…they wanted her…'.
[981] The phrase 'In the name of God, the Greatest' acts as a password for entering and leaving heaven.
[982] The Leiden MS reads '*bi-mawtaykumā*' (fol. 201r, l. 23).

‘How severe God’s punishment will be for us?!’ The [other angel] said: ‘We will hope in the great abundance of God[’s mercy]![983]’ So [one of the angels] taught it to her; she said it and she flew to heaven. An angel of heaven was terrified by her ascent; so he bowed his head and did not sit down afterwards; God transformed her and she became a star.

[252] Ibn Rāhwayh and Ibn Mardawayh in his *Tafsīr* from ᶜAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God cursed al-Zuhara, for it was she who seduced the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt.

[253] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: The people of the lowest heaven looked down on the Earth[984] and they saw them acting disobediently, so they said: ‘Lord, the people of Earth are acting disobediently.’ God, may He be praised and glorified, said: ‘You are with me, but they are hidden from me.’ And it was asked of them: ‘Choose three of you.’[985] So they chose three from them on the condition that they came down to earth and judged between the people of earth. Human desire would be aroused in them, but they were ordered that they could not drink wine, that they could not kill anyone, that they could not fornicate, and that they could not prostrate themselves before idols. And from them was one that wished to be released [from this task], and he asked and two were sent down to the earth.[986] The most beautiful woman came to the two of them and it was said she [was called] Anahīd, and the two together fell in love with her. Then the two came to her house, they met

[983] The Leiden MS reads: ‘*saᶜat raḥmat allāh*’ (fol. 201r, l. 24).
[984] The Leiden MS reads ‘*ᶜalā ahl al-arḍ’* (fol. 201r, ll. 28 – 29).
[985] The third angel is possibly *al-Sijill* (cf. §247), although this appears to be rare and most accounts of this story only refer to Hārūt and Mārūt being selected.
[986] The could possible be *al-Sijill*; cf. §247.

with her and they wanted her. She said [to them]:[987] 'Not until you drink my wine, kill my neighbour's son and bow down before my idols.' The two of them said: 'We will not bow down [to your idols].' Then the two drank the wine, killed [the boy], then they bowed down [before the idols]. The angels in the sky looked down at them, and she said to them: 'Tell me the word which, if you both say it, the two of you can fly away.' And they told her,[988] and she flew away then she was turned into live coal, and this is *al-Zuhara*. As for the two, Solomon, son of David, sent for them, and they had to make a choice between the punishment of this world and the [pains of the][989] next. They chose the punishment of this world and they are suspended between heaven and earth.

[254] Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ḥākim, and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shuᶜab al-īmān* from Ibn ᶜAbbās; he said: When the people after Adam fell into the situation that they fell into and began to be disobedient and to not believe in God, the angels in Heaven said: 'The Lord of This World, who created them; you only created them to worship you and to obey you, but they now fall into the situation that they have fallen in to, committing unbelief, commiting suicide, eating unlawful food, fornicating, stealing and drinking wine; they have begun to curse each other, and they do not circumcise themselves.' [Some sources] say that they were in hiding (?)[990] and they did not circumcise themselves. And it was said to them: 'Choose from amongst you the two best angels and I will give the two of them of them a task; and I will prohibit the two of them [from doing certain

[987] The Leiden MS omits '*la-humā*' (fol. 201v, l. 3).
[988] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-akhbarahā*' – 'it was told to her' (fol. 201v, l. 5).
[989] The Leiden MS reads '*wa-ᶜadhāb al-akhira*' (fol. 201v, l. 6).
[990] The text is a little confused here.

things].' And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. So the two of them were sent down to Earth and the desires of the sons of Adam were aroused in them. [God] ordered the two that they should serve Him and not associate anything with Him. He banned them from killing prohibited individuals, from eating prohibited foods and from fornicating, stealing and drinking wine. The two remained on the Earth for a time ruling the people with justice. This was during the time of Enoch.[991] And at that time there was a woman, who was the most beautiful woman, just as the beauty of Venus is amongst the rest of the stars. The two of them came to her, spoke softly to her,[992] and wanted her on her own; but she refused unless the two took her orders and her faith. So the two asked her about her faith and she brought out to them an idol and said: 'This is what I worship.' And the two said: 'There is no need for us to worship this.' So they went and stayed away[993] for a while. Then the two came to her and they wanted[994] her on her own [and she said as she had said before, so they went away. Then they came to her [again] and they wanted her on her own**,]**[995] and when she saw that they refused to worship the idol, she said to the two of them: 'Choose one of the three faults:[996] worshiping this idol, killing this person, or drinking wine.' And the two said: 'None of these are right, but the least contemptible of the three is the drinking of the wine.' So they drank the wine. [The wine][997] was taken from them

[991] The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most often placed during the time of Enoch (*Idrīs*); cf. al-Thaᶜlabī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91.
[992] Cf. Q 33:32; 'If you are godfearing, be not abject (*takhḍaᶜna*) in your speech, so that he in whose heart is sickness may be lustful, but speak honourable words.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 430; the verb also has a strong connotation of love, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 757.
[993] The Leiden MS reads '*ghabarā*' for '*ghābā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17), *ghābā* is more suitable here.
[994] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 201v, l. 17) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[995] The Leiden MS is missing a portion of the text from '*fa-faᶜalat mithl dhālik….fa-arādāhā ᶜalā nafsihā*' (fol. 201v, l. 18). This appears to be a scribal error.
[996] Note the woman's avoidance of words such as *dhanb* etc.; *khilāl* is a general word, which does not necessarily carry any religious overtones, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 780.
[997] *Khamr* can be both masculine and feminine (see Lane, *AELex*, pp. 808 – 809).

both and they fornicated with the woman. The two then feared that the person[998] would reveal what they had done, so they killed him. When the drunkenness lifted from them and they realised what sin they had done, they wanted to go up to heaven; but they could not, as it had been made inaccessible to them.[999] And the cover that was between the two of them and between the people of heaven was lifted up,[1000] and the angels looked down at what had come to pass. They wondered with great wonder and they came to understand that whoever is hidden [from God], is the one with less fear. After that they began to ask for forgiveness for whoever was on the earth.

It was said to the two of them: 'Choose[1001] between the punishment of this world and the punishment of the next.' The two said: 'As for the punishment of this world, it will come to an end and it will pass. As for the pain of the next world, it will not come to an end.' So they chose the punishment of this world. The two stayed in Babylon and they were punished.

[255] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Mujāhid; he said: I was camping with ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar during a journey, when, one night, he said to his servant: 'Look the *red one* has risen. There is no welcome in it, nor any greeting; God does not give life to it; it is the friend[1002] of the two angels.

The angels said: 'Lord, how can you ignore the disobedience of the sons of Adam, while they are shedding blood unlawfully, violating your prohibitions and

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[998] i.e. a witness; in §255 the angels kill a man (most likely al-Zuhara's husband) so that their crime is not revealed; in other versions (e.g. §248) the two kill a child.
[999] For the idiomatic expression, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 674. This is reminiscent of Q 34:53: 'And a barrier is set between them and that they desire…' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 443.
[1000] Cf. Q. 50:22; 'Thou wast heedless of this; therefore We have now removed (*fa-kashafnā*) from thee they covering (*ghiṭā'*), and so thy sight today is piercing.' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.
[1001] The Leiden MS uses a 2 m. pl. imperative (*ikhtārū*) for the DKI dual (*ikhtārā*), fol. 201v, l. 24; the dual is preferable.
[1002] Or 'master'; which could be appropriate in this context.

spreading corruption in the land?' He said: 'Indeed, I have put them to test; perhaps if I tested you in the same way as I have tested them, you would do as they have done.' They said: 'No!' He said: 'Choose two from the best of you.' So they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. He said to the two of them, 'I [am going to permit] your going down to earth. I am going to make you swear that you will not associate [anything with Me], that you will not fornicate and that you will not act treacherously. So they came down to earth and lust overwhelmed them both. Al-Zuhara came down to them, in the form of a most beautiful woman, and paraded herself in front of them, and they wanted[1003] her on her own. She said: 'Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without them being the same [religion as me].' The two said: 'What is your faith?' She said: 'Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*).' The two said: 'This is idolatry.[1004] We cannot associate ourselves with it.' So she left them for a period of time. Then she came up to them, and they wanted her by herself. She said: 'What you wish is only [the right of] a husband of mine. I would not like it if [someone] were to catch sight of me doing this; [as] this [would cause me] to be dishonoured.[1005] If you two profess my faith to me and you promise that you will take me up to heaven, then I will do it.' So they professed her faith to her, and they came to her [whilst she was in the form that] they saw; then the two took her up to

[1003] The Leiden MS reads '*fa-arādahā*' (fol. 202r, l. 2) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.
[1004] Zoroastrianism held an unusual place in Islamic theory: 'Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists [Zoroastrians] along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the Madjūs were intermediate between *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture.' Morony, M., 'Madjūs' *EI*^{2} vol. 5, pp. 1110 – 1118, p. 1110. See also Bürgel, J. Christoph, 'Zoroastrians as Viewed in Medieval Islamic Sources' in Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 202 – 212.
[1005] Much has been written on the death penalty for adultery in Islam *fiqh*; e.g. Burton, John, 'The Origin of the Islamic Penalty for Adultery' *TGUOS* 26 (1978) pp. 16 – 27 and Burton, John, 'Law and exegesis: The Penalty for Adultery in Islam' in G. R. Hawting & Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 269 – 284.

heaven, and when they got to heaven, she grabbed them and cut off their wings, and the two fell [down to Earth] frightened, remorseful, and crying.

On earth is a prophet, who spent hit time in personal devotion from one Friday to the next, and on Friday his prayers would be answered. The two said: 'If we come to somebody, we will ask him to teach us [how to] repent. And they came to him, he said: 'May God have mercy upon you both!' How can inhabitants from the earth teach an angel?!' And they said: 'Indeed, we have been put to the test.' He said: 'Come to me on Friday.' So they came to him and he said: 'I have nothing to say to you. Come to me on the following Friday!' So they came to him, and he said: 'Choose! Indeed, you must choose if you want to be released from the earth and [receive] the punishment of the afterlife; or if you want the punishment of this life, the judgement of God will be upon you both on the Day of Resurrection.' One of the two said: 'This world will only last a short time.' And the other one said: 'Woe unto you! I have obeyed you from the beginning, so I will obey you now.' So the two chose the pain of this world.

This story can be enhanced by many other chains of transmission (*turuq*);[1006] the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar[1007] collected them into a single section and he said in his book *Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī-'l-dhabb ᶜan musnad Aḥmad*, that anyone who had concerns about [the story], could attest with certainty to the veracity of this story, because of the many different chains of transmission and the strength of their sources.[1008] He

[1006] The Leiden MS highlights this is red (fol. 202r, l. 12).
[1007] Al-Suyūṭī's father studied with Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Suyūṭī believed that he may have attended 'the *majlis* (gathering, here probably a kind of seminar is meant) held by an old man whose name he had not been able to remember, but he had thought that it must have been the famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī.' Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 26. Al-Suyūṭī was evidently well acquainted with his work and considered him one of his teachers.
[1008] Ibn Ḥajar uses word play, referring to 'entrances' and 'exits': the 'entrances' are clearly the chains of transmission, but the 'exits' are more vague, perhaps referring to the sources (i.e. texts and compilations) in which the ḥadīth are found.

said that he had studied a portion of these, which Aḥmad had compiled, and he mentioned over ten different chains of transmission; and [Ibn Ḥajar said:] I collected the different chains of transmission from exegeses and I reckoned them to amount to some twenty-odd chains.

4.2.15 The Sakīna[1009] (peace be upon it)[1010]

[295] al-Ṭabaranī in *al-Awsaṭ* from ᶜAlī (may God be pleased with him); he said: When the pious are mentioned, be quick to mention ᶜUmar. We, the Companions of the Prophet, did not think it unlikely that the *Sakīna* articulated itself on the tongue of ᶜUmar (may God be pleased with him). Ibn al-Athīr said in *al-Nihāya*: The *Sakīna* is an angel.

[296] al-Ṭabarānī from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr that he came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: 'Messenger of God, yesterday I recited *Surat al-Kahf*[1011] and something came and covered my mouth.' The Prophet (God

[1009] The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur'ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, 'Notion de la Sakina'. In the Qur'ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims' aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with Ark of the Covenant, see Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

[1010] Note the masculine, rather than feminine, suffix; this is because the *Sakīna* is an angel, which is masculine.

[1011] Q. 18; Arberry (1998) 288 – 301. *Surat al-kahf* is recited for protection against the anti-Christ (al-Dajjāl); Massigon also states that the entire *sūra* is recited every Friday at the congregational prayers ; see Massingon, Louis, 'Les "Septs Dormants", Apocalypse de l'Islam' *AB* 68 (1949) pp. 245 – 260; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 18, p. 65.

bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'That is the *Sakīna*. It came to hear the Qur'ān.'[1012]

[297] al-Ṭabarānī from Abū Salama; he said: When Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr al-Anṣārī was praying – he said[1013] – when it was night; [he said]: Suddenly [something] like a cloud covered me, and in it were things like lights, and [my] wife was sleeping beside me and she was pregnant; the horse was tethered in the courtyard and I feared that the horse[1014] would bolt away; [my] wife was terrified and she delivered her child; so I concluded my prayers.' So [the Prophet][1015] said: 'Recite, Usayd! That was an angel that listens to the Qur'ān.'

[1012] The *sakīna* is associated with the recitation of the Qur'ān; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, §5011, p. 996; see also Firestone, Reuven, 'Shekina' *EQ* vol. 4, pp. 589 – 591, p. 591.
[1013] Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 204r, l. 15.
[1014] The Leiden MS reads *faras* and the DKI *ḥisān*; fol. 204r, l. 16.
[1015] This ḥadīth is quite famous, but here the *matn* is omits some information; in the fuller narrative, Usayd tells the Prophet about his experience, asks what it was and what he should have done; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

Conclusions

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis has been to widen the study of angels in Islam beyond that of Qur'ānic studies and Islamic eschatology. The study of angels in Islam has tended to be restricted to these two areas. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a corpus of *ḥadīth* that focus Islamic angelology in Islamic tradition more generally. The translation and commentary have shown that the relationship between humans and angels is a very close one, far closer than one may have expected.

The *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* do however reveal a complex mix of ideas. Every human has two (or more) recording angels; this establishes a direct relationship between angels and humans; yet despite their closeness to humanity, the angels always retain their unique angelic character. This is seen particularly clearly in the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Ritual impurity acts as a *shibboleth* between humans and angels: after the expulsion of Adam from the Garden, humans defecate, copulate, menstruate, and so on, and live in a world of impurity. Angels, as creatures of the divine world, remain ritually pure and cannot come into contact with impurity. This relationship, as I have argued in Section 3, has important consequences in Islamic ritual law. Being unclean is not technically sinful, but impurities do still have an effect on angels, and individuals can become *eschatologically disadvantaged* by their inability to perform credited actions. This intricate relationship with the angels is not, however, entirely negative for humans, as the angels pray for the Muslim community, bless and pray for pious devotional behaviour, give more weight

to good actions and so on. The angels, therefore, also enable humans to be *eschatologically advantaged* by certain actions.

Despite the fact that the relationship between humans and angels has a bearing on an individual's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is quite different from the standard Islamic eschatological material (as well as Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature). Traditionally, descriptions of heaven and hell are used as a warning, focused on the *potentiality* of punishment and reward. Hell is the *potential* future for those that do not return to the *straight path*, heaven is the reward for those that do. Sins and crimes in this kind of literature tend to be quite general, or when they are specific, refer to major sins such as murder, *kufr* and so on. Crudely, these works argue: Do not [*commit murder*], because those who [commit *murder*] will be sent to the Fire; and those that do not [*commit murder*] will be admitted into the Garden. In contrast, *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does not refer to major sins, but discusses the relationship between humans and angels at a much more basic, everyday level; and raises the question of the effects that certain human actions have on angels. The collection says that angels are present in this world and that the reader should be aware of their existence as human actions have an effect on their behaviour, and consequently, on the reader's *eschatological future*. This is a very different argument.

Section 2 raised the question of the origins and development of Islamic angelology through an analysis of angelic nomenclature and iconography. Past scholarship has usually portrayed Islamic angelology as being entirely derived from Jewish and Christian beliefs. However, the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* show that this relationship is much more complex. The naming of angels in Islam, except for a few isolated borrowings, shows a particularly Islamic approach, especially the use of the

formula: *The Angel of X*. Whilst there are a number of angels derived from divine hypostases in Judaism, some of the angels, such as *al-Sijill* are purely Islamic, derived form the text of the Qur'ān. Likewise, the iconography of angels in Islam has both commonalities with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also some unique elements. This would seem to suggest that Islam, whilst aware of the role and iconography of angels in Judaism and Christianity, adapted these ideas for its own use, and consequently an Islamic angelology evolved. The inclusion of a number of less well known angels in Islam, such as Ṣadluqan and Miṭaṭrūsh (Sandalphon and Metatron) suggest a much later borrowing, after Islamic angelology had developed and established itself.

The work appears to have been aimed at either a literate public or students, both of whom would have found al-Suyūṭī's approach of spiritual and educational benefit. The world in which *al-Ḥabā'ik* was written was in a state of political and social decline, with the Mamluks falling to the rising power of the Ottomans only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death. However, the *ᶜulamā'* and the higher education establishments in Cairo were able to flourish in this period, a result of their independence through the *waqf* system. There also seems to have been a deeper engagement with society at large in this period, with whole genres emerging to reflect the needs of the contemporary society.

Many of these trends in late-Mamluk scholarship can be seen in a-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, both in the main body of the *ḥadīth* compilation, as well as in the theological *khātima* that follows it. The two sections act to convey the importance of angels in Islam, belief in their existence, and their place in the universe. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* acts as a compendium of information about angels,

suitable for both the growing literate public and the significant amount of students that passed through the Cairene higher education establishments.

Al-Suyūṭī is famed for his ability to compile collections of *ḥadīth* in original subject areas, and *al-Ḥabā'ik* is no exception. Al-Suyūṭī's wide knowledge of *ḥadīth* is shown throughout, with the work drawing a wide range of authors and texts. Likewise, the *khātima* shows a strong familiarity with many *mutakallimūn*. There has been some analysis of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources in the past, and the analysis of the sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that the *ḥadīth* are principally drawn from the formative period of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Islam, namely the third and fourth centuries *hijrī*; whereas the sources for the *khātima* are much later. This shows that al-Suyūṭī wished to engage with more contemporary sources in the theological postscript and accepted reputable collections of *ḥadīth* in the main body of the text. The analysis of the sources also suggests that al-Suyūṭī used the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī as *Urtexte* for his new compilation. Although, the great number of other works incorporated in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that it was not simply an act of plagiarism. Above all, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the impressive skill that al-Suyūṭī demonstrates in the arrangement and compilation of material. Al-Suyūṭī takes material from diverse sources and reshapes them into an accessible and readable resource.

It is hoped that this thesis has widened the study of Islamic angelology beyond the accounts of Muhammad's *miʿrāj*, the Qur'an and the eschatological literature. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the wonders of the angelic world, as well as its intimacy with *this* world. At the heart of this relationship is that fact that the angels are God's emissaries, and that everything

that the angels do is done on behalf of God. The angels act as intermediaries between humans and God and this intermediation works in both directions: the angels keep watch over human actions on God's behalf, but the angels also bring blessings to humans, and pray for humanity, especially pious Muslims. It has not been possible to explore all of the questions that the angelology of the *ḥadīth* raise, but it is hoped that this thesis has brought the possibility of further research into this interesting and exciting area of Islamic belief and spirituality.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ARABIC TEXT

Extracts from al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*; (ed.) Muḥammad al-Saᶜīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya, 1408 / 1988).

الحبائك في أخبار الملائك

للإمام جلال الدين عبد الرحمن السيوطي

٨٤٩ هـ - ٩١١ هـ

تحقيق
خادم السنة المطهرة
أبو هاجر محمد السعيد بن بسيوني زغلول

بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد للّه جاعل الملائكة رسلاً أولي أجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد والآل والصحب والأتباع. فهذه تأليف لطيف جمعته في أخبار الملائكة الأبرار. استوعبت فيه ما وردت به الأحاديث والآثار، وختمته بفوائد يبتهج بها أولو الأبصار. وسميته (الحبائك، في أخبار الملائك) واللّه المستعان. وعليه التكلان.

ذكر وجوب الإيمان بالملائكة

قال اللّه تعالى: ﴿**آمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربه والمؤمنون كل آمن باللّه وملائكته**﴾ قال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان: والإيمان بالملائكة ينتظم في معانٍ:

(**أحدها**) التصديق بوجودهم.

و (**الثاني**) إنزالهم منازلهم وإثبات أنهم عباد اللّه وخلقه كالإنس والجن مأمورون مكلفون لا يقدرون إلّا على ما أقدرهم اللّه عليه والموت عليهم جائز ولكن اللّه تعالى جعل لهم أمداً بعيداً فلا يتوفاهم حتى يبلغوه ولا يوصفون بشيء يؤدي وصفهم به إلى إشراكهم باللّه تعالى، ولا يدعون آلهة كما دعتهم الأوائل.

و (**الثالث**) الاعتراف بأن منهم رسلاً يرسلهم إلى من يشاء من

البشر وقد يجوز أن يرسل بعضهم إلى بعض، ويتبع ذلك الاعتراف منهم حملة العرش ومنهم الصافون ومنهم خزنة الجنة ومنهم خزنة ومنهم كتبة الأعمال ومنهم الذين يسوقون السحاب فقد ورد بذلك كله أو بأكثره:

١ - وروينا عن ابن عمر عن النبي ﷺ حين سئل الإيمان فقال «ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله».

مبدأ خلق الملائكة والدلالة على أنهم أجسام خلافاً للفلاسفة

٢ - (أخرج) مسلم عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ وخلقت الملائكة من نور وخُلِق الجانّ من مارج من نار وخلق آدم مما وصف لكم».

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١ - الترغيب، والترهيب ٢/١٦٥ وعزاه المنذري لأحمد بإسناد صحيح عمرو بن عبسة ورواته محتج بهم في الصحيح والطبراني وغيره ورواه البيهقي عن أبي أمامة عن رجل من أهل الشام عن أبيه.

وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢/٢٣٦ - ١٠/٩٤.

الجامع الكبير ١/١٠٨٤ و١٢١٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث عمر بن الخطاب رواه لمسلم، وأبو داود، والترمذي، والنسائي، وابن ماجة وأحمد.

٢ - مسلم كتاب الزهد ب ١٠ رقم ٦٠ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

وانظر مسند أحمد ٦/١٥٣ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٤. / الدار المنثور ٦/١٤٣.

البيهقي ٩/٣. / تفسير القرطبي ١٠/٢٤.

تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٣٨٨ و ١٦٣٥ و ٧/٤٦٧.

٣ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ في كتاب العظمة عن عكرمة قال خلقت الملائكة من نور العزة.

٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زيد بن رومان أنه بلغه أن الملائكة خلقت من روح الله.

كثرة الملائكة جداً

قال تعالى ﴿وما يعلم جنود ربك إلاّ هو﴾.

٥ - (وأخرج) البزار وأبو الشيخ وابن منده في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن ابن عمرو قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور وينفخ في ذلك ثم يقول ليكن منكم ألف ألفان فإن من الملائكة لخلقاً أصغر من الذباب وليس شيء أكثر من الملائكة.

٦ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في الشعب عن ابن مسعود قال ما في السموات شيء منها موضع إلاّ وعليه جبهة ملك أو قدماه ثم قرأ وإنا لنحن الصافون.

٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير قال ما في السماء موضع إلاّ عليه ملك إما ساجد وإما قائم حتى تقوم الساعة.

٨ - (وأخرج) أحمد والترمذي وابن ماجه والحاكم عن أبي ذر قال

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٨ - الترمذي الزهد ب ٩ رواه الترمذي بلفظة وزاد عليه [والله لو تعلمون ما أعلم لضحكتم قليلاً ولبكيتم كثيراً وما تلذذتم بالنساء على الفرش ولخرجتم إلى الصعدات تجأرون إلى الله لوددت أني كنت شجرة تعضد] قال أبو عيسى: وفي الباب عن أبي هريرة وعائشة وابن عباس وأنس. قال هذا حديث حسن غريب، ويروى من غير هذا الوجه أن أبا ذر قال: لوددت أني شجرة تعضد.

وانظر ابن ماجة الزهد باب ١٩ حديث رقم ١٤٩٠ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر =

قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ما منها موضع أربع أصابع إلّا وعليه ملك واضع جبهته) .

٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ (ما في السماء موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم فذلك قوله: ﴿وما منا إلّا له مقام معلوم وإنا لنحن الصافون﴾ .

١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم والطبراني والضياء في المختارة وأبو الشيخ عن حكيم بن حزام قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ مع أصحابه فقال

= مع اختلاف في ألفاظ الحديث. وله زيادة طويلة.

وانظر مسند أحمد ١٧٣/٥ . / الحاكم ٥١٠/٢، ٥٧٩/٤ .

وانظر البيهقي ٥٢/٧ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر مع اختلاف في الألفاظ وله زيادة طويلة.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢١٧/١٠ . ـ الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥ .

٩ ـ تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٦/٨ وذكره ابن كثير عن عائشة بلفظ [ما في السماء الدنيا موضع قدم إلّا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم، وذلك قول الملائكة: وذكر الآية وقد ذكره أيضاً بلفظ نحواً من هذا اللفظ وبإسناد غير إسناد حديثنا وعن العلاء بن سعد [وقد شهد فتح مكة] وقال هذا إسناد غريب جداً.

وانظر تفسير القرطبي ٣١٧/١٥.

الدر المنثور ٢٩٢/٥، ٢٩٣ وعزاه لمحمد بن نصر في كتاب الصلاة وابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ . وابن مردوية عن عائشة رضي اللّه عنها.

اللآلىء المصنوعة ١٢٣/٢ .

١٠ـ كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٦٥ و ٢٩٨٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه لحسن بن سفيان، وأبو نعيم.

وانظر الجامع الكبير ٣٧٦/٢ و ٥٨٦ . / تفسير ابن كثير ٦٦٤/٤ / ٣٢٩.

هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا ما نسمع من شيء قال إني لأسمع أطيط السماء وما تلام أن تئط ما فيها موضع قدم إلّا عليها ملك ساجد أو قائم.

١١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما في السموات السبع موضع قدم ولا شبر ولا كف إلّا وفيه ملك قائم أو ملك ساجد فإذا كان يوم القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك ما عبدناك حق عبادتك إلّا انا لم نشرك بك شيئاً.

١٢ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن أسلم قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ليس من بني آدم أحد إلّا ومعه ملكان سائق يسوقه وشاهد يشهد عليه فهذا ضعف بني آدم ثم بعد ذلك السموات والأرض مكبوسات ومن فوق السموات بعد، الذين حول العرش أكثر مما في السموات.

١٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سعيد عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال (إن في الجنة لنهراً ما يدخله جبريل من دخلة فيخرج فينتفض إلّا خلق اللّه من كل قطرة تقطر منه ملكاً).

١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه: إن للّه نهراً في الهواء سعة الأرضين كلها سبع مرات ينزل على ذلك النهر ملك من السماء فيملؤه ويسد ما بين أطرافه ثم يغتسل منه فإذا خرج قطر منه قطرات من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة منها ملك يسبح اللّه بجميع تسبيح الخلائق كلهم.

= الدر المنثور ٢٩٣/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن حكيم بن حزام رضي اللّه عنه.

مشكل الآثار ٤٣/٢ .

١١ - تفسير ابن كثير ٢٩٥/٨ وذكره بلفظه إلّا أنه زاد فيه [أو ملك راكع].

١٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال قال موسى عليه السلام يا رب من معك في السماء قال ملائكتي قال وكم هم يا رب قال إثنا عشر سبطاً قال وكم عدد كل سبط قال عدد التراب.

١٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن كعب قال لا تقطر عين ملك منهم إلّا كانت ملكاً يطير من خشية اللّه.

١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن العلاء بن هارون قال: لجبريل في كل يوم اغتماسة في الكوثر ثم ينتفض فكل قطرة يخلق منها ملك.

١٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق مجاهد عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من الملائكة ما من شيء ينبت إلّا ملك موكل به.

١٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الحكم قال بلغني أنه ينزل مع المطر من الملائكة أكثر من ولد آدم وولد إبليس يحصون كل قطرة وأين تقع من يرزق من ذلك النبات.

٢٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن السموات السبع شوة من الملائكة لو قيست شعرة ما انقاست، منهم الراكد والراكع لساجد ترعد فرائصهم وتضطرب أجنحتهم خوفاً من اللّه ولم يعصوه فة عين وإن حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى مخه مسيرة مائة م.

٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر في تفسيره عن عبد اللّه بن عمرو يرفعه

١٨ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٥ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظ «ليس من خلق اللّه أكثر من ئكة يخلقهم مثل الذباب» ثم يقول تبارك وتعالى «كونوا ألف ألفين» رواه البزار، اله رجال الصحيح والحديث عن عبد اللّه بن عمر، وصدق عليه ابن عباس ي اللّه عنهما.

قال «الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء الكروبيون الذين يسبحون الليل والنهار لا يفترون وجزء قد وكلوا بخزانة كل شيء وما من السماء موضع إلّا فيه ساجد أو ملك راكع وإن الحرم بحيال العرش وإن البيت المعمور لبحيال الكعبة لو سقط لسقط عليها يصلي فيه كل يوم سبعون ألف ملك ثم لا يعودون إليه».

٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن عمرو البكاليّ قال إن اللّه تعالى جزأ الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء منهم الكروبيون وهم الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم أيضاً الذين يسبحون بالليل والنهار لا يفترون قال ومن بقي من الملائكة لأمر اللّه ورسالات اللّه.

٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم من طريق حبيب بن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان أبي الأعيس عن أبيه قال: الإنس والجن عشرة أجزاء فالإنس من ذلك جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء، والجن والملائكة عشرة أجزاء فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة والملائكة والروح عشرة أجزاء فالملائكة جزء والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح من ذلك جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان والخطيب وابن عساكر من طريق عبّاد بن منصور عن عدي بن أرطاة عن رجل من

٢٤ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٤٥ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لأبي الشيخ في العظمة والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، والخطيب، وابن عساكر عن رجل من الصحابة.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٧. / تاريخ بغداد ١٢/٣٠٧.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/١٢٦، ١٠/٢١٧. / الحاوى للفتاوى ٢/٣٥٠.

كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٣٦ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي وأبو الشيخ في العظمة، والبيهقي في الشعب، والخطيب، وابن عساكر - عن رجل من الصحابة.

سحبة سماه ـ قال عباد فنسيت اسمه ـ عن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال «إن ملائكة ترعد فرائصهم من مخافته ما منهم ملك تقطر من عينيه دمعة وقعت ملكاً قائماً يسبح، وملائكة سجوداً منذ خلق اللّه السموات أرض لم يرفعوا رؤسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وملائكة ركوعاً لم فعوا رؤوسهم ولا يرفعونها إلى يوم القيامة وصفوفاً لم ينصرفوا عن افهم ولا ينصرفون عنها إلى يوم القيامة فإذا كان يوم القيامة تجلى لهم م عز وجل فنظروا إليه وقالوا سبحانك ما عبدناك كما ينبغي لك.

٢٥-(وأخرج) ابن منده في المعرفة وابن عساكر عن عبد الرحمن بن لاء من بني ساعدة عن أبيه العلاء بن سعد وكان ممن بايع يوم الفتح النبي ﷺ قال يوماً لجلسائه هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا وما تسمع سول اللّه قال أطت السماء وحق لها أن تئط ليس منها موضع قدم إلّا به ملك قائم أو راكع أو ساجد ثم قرأ ﴿وإنا لنحن المسبحون﴾.

٢٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن الربيع بن أنس في قوله ﴿وعلم آدم سماء كلها قال أسماء الملائكة﴾.

رؤوس الملائكة الأربعة الذين يدبرون أمر الدنيا

٢٧ ـ (أخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة هقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط قال يدبر أمر الدنيا أربعة جبريل ائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل فأما جبريل فموكل بالرياح والجنود وأما ئيل فموكل بالقطر والنبات وأما ملك الموت فموكل بقبض الأرواح إسرافيل فهو ينزل بالأمر عليهم.

٢٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن سابط قال في أم الكتاب كل هو كائن إلى يوم القيامة ووكل ثلاثة من الملائكة أن يحفظوه فوكل

٢٧ ـ سبق برقم ١٠.

جبريل بالكتاب أن ينزل به إلى الرسل ووكل جبريل أيضاً بالهلكات إذا أراد اللّه أن يهلك قوماً ووكله بالنصر عند القتال ووكل ميكائيل بالحفظ والقطر ونبات الأرض ووكل ملك الموت بقبض الأنفس فإذا ذهبت الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل أم الكتاب فيجدونه سواء. رواه ابن أبي شيبة.

٢٩ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي والطبراني وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال بينا رسول اللّه ﷺ ومعه جبريل يناجيه إذ انشق أفق السماء فأقبل جبريل يتضاءل ويدخل بعضه في بعض ويدنو من الأرض فإذا ملك قد مثل بين يدي رسول اللّه ﷺ فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام ويخيرك بين أن تكون نبياً ملكاً أو نبياً عبداً قال رسول اللّه ﷺ فأشار جبريل إليّ بيده أن تواضع فعرفت أنه لي ناصح فقلت نبياً عبداً فعرج ذلك الملك إلى السماء فقلت يا جبريل قد كنت أردت أن أسألك عن هذا فرأيت من حالك ما شغلني عن المسئلة فمن هذا يا جبريل قال هذا إسرافيل خلقه اللّه يوم خلقه بين يديه صافاً قدميه لا يرفع طرفه بينه وبين الرب سبعون نوراً ما منها نور يدنو منه إلّا احترق، بين يديه اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أذن اللّه بشيء في السماء أو في الأرض ارتفع ذلك اللوح فضرب جبهته فينظر فيه فإن كان من عملي أمرني به وإن كان من عمل ميكائيل أمره به وإن كان من عمل ملك الموت أمره به قلت يا جبريل على أي شيء أنت قال على الرياح والجنود قلت على أي شيء ميكائيل قال على النبات والقطر قلت على أي شيء ملك الموت قال على قبض الأنفس وما ظننت أنه هبط إلّا بقيام الساعة وما ذاك الذي رأيت مني إلّا خوفاً من قيام الساعة.

٣٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن جابر بن عبد اللّه قال

٣٠ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/ ١٠.

ل رسول اللّه ﷺ إن أقرب الخلق من اللّه جبرئيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل
نهم من اللّه لمسيرة خمسين ألف سنة جبرائيل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن
خرى وإسرافيل بينهما.

٣١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال هؤلاء الأربعة أملاك
ريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت أول من خلقهم اللّه من الخلق
خر من يميتهم وأول من يحييهم هم المدبرات أمراً والمقسمات أمراً.

٣٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن خالد بن أبي عمران قال: جبريل
ن اللّه إلى رسله وميكائيل يتلقى الكتب التي ترفع من أعمال الناس
سرافيل بمنزلة الحاجب.

٣٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عكرمة بن خالد أن رجلاً قال
رسول اللّه أيُ الملائكة أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فجاءه جبريل فقال
جبريل أي الخلق أكرم على اللّه قال لا أدري فعرج جبريل ثم هبط
ل: جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فأما جبريل فصاحب
رب وصاحب المرسلين وأما ميكائيل فصاحب كل قطرة تسقط وكل
ة تنبت وكل ورقة تسقط وأما ملك الموت فهو موكل بقبض روح كل
- في بر أو بحر وأما إسرافيل فأمين اللّه بينه وبينهم.

٣٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني والحاكم عن أبي المليح عن أبيه أنه
ى مع النبي ﷺ ركعتي الفجر فصلى قريباً منه فصلى النبي ﷺ ركعتين
يفتين فسمعته يقول «اللهم رب جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل ومحمد
ذ بك من النار» ثلاث مرات.

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٣٤ - مجمع الزوائد ٢/٢١٩، ١٠/١٠٤ و ١١٠.
وذكره الهيثمي بنحوه، وقال رواه النسائي بنحوه من غير تقييد بركعتي الفجر -
ا أبو يعلى عن شيخه سفيان بن وكيع وهو ضعيف.

٣٥ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن عائشة أن النبي ﷺ أغمي عليه
ورأسه في حجرها فجعلت تمسح وجهه وتدعو له بالشفاء فلما أفاق قال
لا بل إسألي اللّه الرفيق الأعلى مع جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل عليهم
السلام.

ما جاء في جبريل عليه السلام

٣٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن علي بن حسين قال
إسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه وإسرافيل عبد الرحمن
وكل شيء رجع إلى إيل فهو معبد للّه عز وجل.

٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن عباس قال: جبريل عبد اللّه
وميكائيل عبيد اللّه وكل اسم فيه «إيل» فهو معبد للّه.

٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن عمير
قال إسم جبريل في الملائكة خادم ربه عز وجل.

٣٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن موسى بن أبي عائشة قال بلغني أن
جبريل إمام أهل السماء.

٤٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ
ألا أخبركم بأفضل الملائكة جبريل.

٤١ - (وأخرج) مسلم عن ابن مسعود قال رأى رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٤٠ - مجمع الزوائد ٣/١٤٠، ٨/١٩٨ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه ولو زيادة في
الحديث وعزاه للطبراني وفيه نافع بن هرمز وهو متروك،
وانظر الدار المنثور ١/٩٢.
كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٣٤٣ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه للطبراني عن ابن عباس
رضي اللّه عنه، وله زيادة.

جبريل في حلة خضراء قد ملأ ما بين السماء والأرض.

٤٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ قال رأيت جبريل منهبطاً قد ملأ ما بين الخافقين عليه ثياب سندس معلق بها اللؤلوء والياقوت.

٤٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ لجبريل وددت لو رأيتك في صورتك قال وتحب ذلك قال نعم قال موعدك كذا وكذا من الليل بقيع الغرقد فلقيه موعده فنشر جناحاً من أجنحته فسد أفق السماء حتى ما يرى من السماء شيء.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود في قوله ﴿ولقد رآه نزلة أخرى﴾ قال رأى رسول الله ﷺ جبريل معلقاً رجليه عليها الدرّ كأنه قطر المطر على البقل.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس عن ورقة الأنصاري قال قلت يا محمد كيف يأتيك الذي يأتيك يعني جبريل قال يأتيني من السماء جناحاه لؤلؤ وباطن قدميه أخضر.

٤٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول

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٤٢ - كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٧ و١٥١٦٨ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها وعزاه لأبي الشيخ.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٢.

٤٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٥/١٣٧ وأشار الزبيدي إلى الحديث.
وانظر الدر المنثور ١/٩٣ وذكر حديثاً يشابه حديثنا وفيه أن رجلاً من اليهود سأل رسول الله ﷺ فقال يا رسول الله هل احتجب الله بشيء عن خلقه غير سموات. قال: نعم وبينه وبين الملائكة... وذكر نحواً منه.
وانظر اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٩.

الله ﷺ لجبريل هل ترى ربك قال إن بيني وبينه لسبعين حجاباً من نار ونور لو رأيت أدناها لاحترقت.

٤٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن شريح بن عبد الله أن النبي ﷺ لما صعد إلى السماء رأى جبريل في خلقته منظوم أجنحته بالزبرجد واللؤلؤ والياقوت قال فخيل لي أن ما بين عينيه قد سد الأفق وكنت أراه قبل ذلك على صور مختلفة وأكثر ما كنت أراه على صورة دحية الكلبي وكنت أحياناً أراه كما يرى الرجل صاحبه من وراء الغربال.

٤٧ - (وأخرج) أحمد وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود أن رسول الله ﷺ لم ير جبريل في صورته إلاّ مرتين أما واحدة فإنه سأله أن يريه نفسه فأراه نفسه فسد الأفق وأما الأخرى فليلة الإسراء عند السدرة.

٤٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ما بين منكبي جبريل مسيرة خمسمائة عام للطائر السريع الطيران.

٤٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق إسحاق عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال جبريل له ستمائة جناح من لؤلؤ قد نشرها مثل ريش الطواويس.

٥٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل حديث بعضهم في بعض: لجبريل جناحان وعليه وشاح من در منظوم وهو براق الثنايا أجلى الجبين ورأسه حبك حبك مثل المرجان وهو اللؤلؤ كأنه الثلج وقدماه إلى الخضرة.

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٤٨ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأبي الشيخ عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٥١ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه أنه سئل عن خلق جبريل فذكر أن ما بين منكبيه من ذي إلى ذي خفق الطير سبعمائة عام.

٥٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن سعد والبيهقي في الدلائل عن عمار بن أبي عمار أن حمزة بن عبد المطلب قال يا رسول اللّه أرني جبريل في صورته قال إنك لا تستطيع أن تراه قال بلى فأرنيه قال فاقعد فقعد جبريل على خشبة كانت في الكعبة فقال النبي ﷺ إرفع طرفك فانظر فرفع طرفه فرأى قدميه مثل الزبرجد الأخضر فخر مغشياً عليه.

٥٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ سأل جبريل أن يتراءى له في صورته فقال جبريل إنك لن تطيق ذلك قال إني أحب أن تفعل فخرج رسول اللّه ﷺ إلى المصلى في ليلة مقمرة فأتاه جبريل في صورته فغشي على رسول اللّه ﷺ حين رآه ثم فاق وجبريل مسنده وواضع إحدى يديه على صدره والأخرى بين كتفيه فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما كنت أرى أن شيئاً من الخلق هكذا فقال جبريل كيف لو رأيت إسرافيل إن له لاثني عشر جناحاً منها جناح في المشرق وجناح في المغرب وإن العرش على كاهله وإنه ليتضاءل الأحيان لعظمة اللّه حتى يصير مثل الوصع حتى ما يحمل عرشه إلّا عظمته.

٥٤ ـ (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال إن

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٥٢ ـ ابن سعد البيهقي في الدلائل.

٥٣ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب.

وانظر الزهد لإبن المبارك ص ٧٤ وذكره بنحوه.

٥٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.

جبريل ليأتيني كما يأتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض مكفوفة باللؤلؤ والياقوت رأسه كالجبل وشعره كالمرجان ولونه كالثلج أجلى الجبين براق الثنايا عليه وشاحان من درّ منظوم وجناحاه أخضران ورجلاه مغموستان في الخضرة وصورته التي صور عليها تملأ ما بين الأفقين وقد قال ﷺ أشتهي أن أراك في صورتك يا روح اللّه فتحول له فسد ما بين الأفقين.

٥٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر بسند ضعيف عن عائشة قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ خلق اللّه جمجمة جبريل على قدر الغوطة.

٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال عاد رسول اللّه ﷺ رجلاً من الأنصار فلما دنا من منزله سمعه يتكلم في الداخل فلما استأذن عليه دخل عليه فلم ير أحداً فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ سمعتك تكلم غيرك قال يا رسول اللّه لقد دخل عليّ داخل ما رأيت رجلاً قط بعدك أكرم مجلساً ولا أحسن حديثاً منه قال ذاك جبريل ﴿**وإن منكم لرجالاً لو أن أحدهم يقسم على اللّه لأبره**﴾.

٥٧ ـ (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن عكرمة قال قال جبريل عليه السلام إن ربي عز وجل ليبعثني إلى الشيء لأمضيه فأجد الكون قد سبقني إليه.

٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ميمونة بنت سعد قالت قلت يا رسول اللّه هل يرقد الجنب قال ما أحب أن يرقد حتى يتوضأ فإني أخاف أن يتوفى فلا يحضره جبريل.

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٥٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ١٥١٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لابن عساكر عن عائشة قال الذهبي في الميزان: هذا حديث منكر.

٥٨ ـ الحاوي للفتاوى ٢٩٤/٢ وذكر السيوطي استشهاداً بالحديث على نزول جبريل عليه السلام إلى الأرض بعد وفاة الرسول ﷺ.

٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن أدنى الملائكة من اللّه
ريل ثم ميكائيل فإذا ذكر اللّه عبداً بأحسن عمله قال فلان بن فلان
ل كذا وكذا من طاعتي صلواتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ما
دث ربنا فيقول فلان بن فلان ذكر بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات
ه عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل من يراه من أهل السماء فيقولون ماذا أحدث
نا فيقول ذكر فلان ابن فلان بأحسن عمله فصلى عليه صلوات اللّه
يه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء حتى يقع إلى الأرض وإذا ذكر عبداً
سوأ عمله قال عبدي فلان ابن فلان عمل كذا وكذا من معصيتي
نتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ماذا أحدث ربنا فيقول ذكر فلان
، فلان بأسوأ عمله فعليه لعنة اللّه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء
ى يقع إلى الأرض.

٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) الصابوني في المائتين والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن
بر بن عبد اللّه عن النبي ﷺ قال إن جبريل موكل بحاجات العباد
ا دعا المؤمن قال اللّه يا جبريل أحبس حاجة عبدي فإني أحبه وأحب
ته وإذا دعا الكافر قال اللّه يا جبزيل أقض حاجة عبدي فإني أبغضه
غض صوته.

٦١ ـ (وأخرج) البيهقي عن ثابت قال بلغنا أن اللّه تعالى وكّل
يل عليه السلام بحوائج الناس فإذا دعا المؤمن قال يا جبريل إحبس
جته فإني أحب دعاءه وإذا دعا الكافر قال يا جبريل اقض حاجته فإني
ض دعاءه قال البيهقي هذا هو المحفوظ.

٦٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة من طريق ثابت عن عبد اللّه بن
ر قال إن جبريل موكل بالحوائج فإذا سأل المؤمن ربه قال احبس

٦٠ ـ الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي والصابوني في المائتين عن
رضي اللّه عنه.

احبس حباً لدعائه أن يزداد وإذا سأل الكافر قال أعطه أعطه بغضاً لدعائه.

٦٣ ـ (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي عن أبي ذر قال إن اللّه يقول يا جبريل إنسخ من قلب عبدي المؤمن الحلاوة التي كان يجدها لي قال فيصير العبد المؤمن والهاً طالباً للذي كان يعهد من نفسه نزلت به مصيبة لم ينزل به مثلها قط فإذا نظر اللّه إليه على تلك الحال قال يا جبريل رد إلى قلب عبدي ما نسخت منه فقد ابتليته فوجدته صادقاً وسأمده من قبلي بزيادة.

٦٤ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عمرو بن مرة قال: جبريل على ريح الجنوب.

٦٥ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عساكر في تاريخه عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما شئت أن أرى جبريل عليه السلام متعلقاً بأستار الكعبة وهو يقول يا واجد يا ماجد لا تزل عني نعمة أنعمت بها علي إلّا رأيته.

٦٦ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن أبي رواد قال نظر اللّه إلى جبريل وميكائيل وهما بكيان فقال اللّه ما يبكيكما وقد علمتما أني لا أجور فقالا يا رب إنا لا نأمن مكرك قال هكذا فافعلا فإنه لا يأمن من مكري إلّا كل خاسر.

٦٧ ـ (وأخرج) الإمام أحمد في الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني أنه بلغه أن جبريل أتى النبي ﷺ وهو يبكي فقال له رسول اللّه ﷺ ما يبكيك قال وما لي لا أبكي فواللّه ما جفت لي عين منذ خلق اللّه النار مخافة أن أعصيه فيقذفني فيها.

٦٥ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٥٠٦٣ و٦٤٣٣ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن علي رضي اللّه عنه إلّا أنه قال (يا واحد يا أحد) ولم يقل (يا واجد يا ماجد).

٦٨ - وقال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان أنبأنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن يوسف الأصبهاني أنبأنا أبو بكر أحمد بن سعيد بن فرضخ الأخميمي بمكة حدثنا الوليد بن حماد حدثنا أبو محمد عبد اللّه بن الفضل بن عاصم ابن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الأنصاري حدثني أبي الفضل عن أبيه عاصم عن أبيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أنزل اللّه جبريل عليه السلام في أحسن ما كان يأتيني في صورة فقال إن اللّه يقرئك السلام يا محمد ويقول لك إني قد أوحيت إلى الدنيا أن تمرري وتكدري وضيقي وتشددي على أوليائي كي يحبوا لقائي وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لأعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي فإني قد خلقتها سجناً لأوليائي وجنة لأعدائي، قال البيهقي لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا الإسناد وفيهم مجاهيل.

٦٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن واثلة بن الأسقع قال أتى النبي ﷺ جل من أهل اليمن أكشف أحول أوقص أحنف أصمع أعسر أرسح سج فقال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني بما فرض اللّه عليَّ فلما أخبره قال إني اشهد اللّه أن لا أزيد على فريضته قال ولم ذاك قال لأنه خلقني فشوه لقي ثم أدبر فأتاه جبريل فقال يا محمد اين العاتب إنه عاتب رباً كريماً عتبه قال قل له ألا يرضى أن يبعثه اللّه في صورة جبريل يوم القيامة ال له، فقال بلى يا رسول اللّه فإني أعاهد اللّه أن لا يقوى جسدي ى شيء من مرضاة اللّه إلّا عملته، فيه العلاء بن كثير قال البخاري كر الحديث.

٧٠ - (وأخرج) وأبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير في قوله إلّا من

٦٨ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤٥٢١ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه الاّ [وتسهلي وتوسعي ليعي لإعدائي] وعزاه للبيهقي عن قتادة بن النعمان وقال، لم نكتبه إلّا بهذا ناد، وفيه مجاهيل. وانظر كنز العمال ٦١١٠ نحوه.

ارتضى من رسول فإنه يسلك من بين يديه ومن خلفه رصداً قال ما نزل جبريل بشيء من الوحي إلا ومعه أربعة حفظة من الملائكة.

٧١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني بسند رجاله ثقات عن أم سلمة أن النبي ﷺ قال إن في السماء ملكين أحدهما يأمر بالشدة والآخر يأمر باللين وكل مصيب جبريل وميكائل، ونبيان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر يأمر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر إبراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان أحدهما يأمر باللين والآخر بالشدة وكل مصيب وذكر أبا بكر وعمر.

(وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود قال جاء جبريل إلى النبي ﷺ فقال يا جبريل إني لأحسب أن لي عندك منزلة قال أجل والذي بعثك بالحق ما بعثت إلى نبي قط أحب إليَّ منك قال فإني أحب أن تعلمني منزلتي هناك قال إن قدرت على ذلك قال والذي بعثك بالحق لقد دنوت فيها من ربي دنواً ما دنوت مثله قط وإن كان قدر دنوي منه مسيرة خمسمائة سنة وإن أقرب الخلق من اللّه عز وجل إسرافيل وإن قدر دنوه منه مسيرة سبعين سنة فيهن سبعون نوراً إن أدناها ليغشى بالأبصار فكيف لي بالعلم فيما وراء ذلك ولكن يعرض لي بلوح ثم يدعونا فيبعثنا.

٧٣ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن رباح قال حدثت أن النبي ﷺ قال لجبريل لم تأتني إلّا وأنت صارٌّ بين عينيك قال إني لم أضحك منذ خلقت النار.

٧١ - مجمع الزوائد ٥١/٩ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه وعزاه للطبراني ورجاله ثقات. وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٤/١ نحوه.

٧٣ - الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لإحمد في الزهد عن رباح رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٢٧.

٧٤ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول
له ﷺ ﴿ونفخ في الصور فصعق من في السماوات ومن في الأرض إلّا ما
اء اللّه﴾ قالوا يا رسول اللّه من هؤلاء الذين استثنى اللّه عز وجل قال
بريل وميكائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل وحملة العرش فإذا قبض اللّه
واح الخلائق قال لملك الموت من بقي فيقول سبحانك ربي وتعاليت ذا
علال والإكرام بقي جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ
س إسرافيل فيأخذ نفس إسرافيل فيقول اللّه لملك الموت من بقي
قول سبحانك تباركت ربي وتعاليت ذا الجلال والإكرام بقي جبريل
يكائيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ نفس ميكائيل فيأخذ نفس ميكائيل
نع كالطود العظيم فيقول يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول جبريل: ملك
ت فيقول مت يا ملك الموت فيموت فيقول يا جبريل من بقي فيقول
ي وجهك الدائم الباقي وجبريل الميت الفاني قال لا بد من موته فيقع
جداً يخفق بجناحيه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن فضل خلقه على خلق
كائيل كالطود العظيم.

٧٥ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أنس رفعه في
ه ﴿ونفخ في الصور﴾ الآية قال فكان ممن استثنى اللّه عز وجل ثلاثة
ريل وميكائيل وملك الموت فيقول اللّه وهو أعلم يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل وميكائيل وملك
ت فيقول توف نفس ميكائيل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من
ي فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي وعبدك جبريل وملك الموت فيقول توف
س جبريل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول بقي
هك الباقي الكريم وعبدك ملك الموت وهو ميت فيقول مت ثم
ي أنا بدأت الخلق ثم أعيده.

٧٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عطاء بن السائب قال أول من

يحاسب جبريل لأنه كان أمين اللّه إلى رسله.

٧٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة قال صاحب الموازين يوم القيامة جبريل عليه السلام.

ما جاء في ميكائيل عليه السلام

٧٨ - (أخرج) ابن المنذر عن عكرمة قال جبريل اسمه عبد اللّه وميكائيل اسمه عبيد اللّه.

٧٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد وأبو الشيخ عن أنس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال لجبريل مالي لم أر ميكائيل ضاحكاً قط قال ما ضحك ميكائيل منذ خلقت النار.

٨٠ - (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي في نوادر الأصول عن زيد بن رفيع قال دخل على رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل وميكائيل وهو يستاك فناول رسول اللّه ﷺ جبريل السواك فقال جبريل كبّر قال الحكيم أي ناول ميكائيل فإنه أكبر.

٨١ - (وأخرج) الحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ وزيراي من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل ومن أهل الأرض أبو بكر وعمر.

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٧٩ - مسند أحمد ٣/٢٢٤ ورواه بلفظه.
وانظر الشريعة للآجري ص ٣٩٥. / الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٦٩.

٨١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي للحاكم عن أبي سعيد رضي اللّه عنه. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٦٧٩ و ٣٦١٤٨. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٢٨٦ و ٤٧٤.

٨٢ - (وأخرج) البزار والطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن اللّه أيدني بأربعة وزراء اثنين من أهل السماء جبريل وميكائيل واثنين من أهل الأرض أبي بكر وعمر.

٨٣ - (وأخرج) الديلمي من طريق السرى بن عبد اللّه السلمي عن عبد الحميد بن كنانة عن أبي أمامة عن علي ابن أبي طالب رفعه: مؤذن أهل السماوات جبريل وإمامهم ميكائيل يؤم بهم عند البيت المعمور فتجتمع ملائكة السماوات فيطوفون بالبيت المعمور وتصلي وتستغفر فيجعل اللّه ثوابهم واستغفارهم وتسبيحهم لأمة محمد ﷺ.

٨٤ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو عبد اللّه الأديب مشافهة بأصبهان عن أبي طاهر ابن أبي نصر التاجر أن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن إسحاق بن منده أخبره قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو عبد اللّه الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين الدينوري قال أشهد باللّه لقد أنبأنا أبو القاسم عبد اللّه بن إبراهيم الجرجاني قال أشهد باللّه لقد أخبرني أبو الحسن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن القاسم بن الحسن بن

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٨٢ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٤٧٣ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وعزاه للخطيب، وابن عساكر وقالا تفرد بروايته محمد بن (نجيب) عن وهيب عن عطا.

وانظر جمع الجوامع ٤٧٢٣. / كنز العمال ٣٢٦٥٨، ٢٦١١٩.

تاريخ بغداد ٣/٢٩٨. / مجمع الزوائد ٩/٥١. / الدر المنثور ١/٩٤.

الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢٩٢. / حلية الأولياء ٨/١٩٠.

٨٤ - الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠ وذكر الحديث بسنده الطويل، وقال السيوطي: قال أبو نعيم: صحيح ثابت.

وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩. / كنز العمال رقم ٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨. / حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤. / لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦.

زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أحمد بن عبد اللّه الشعبي البغدادي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني الحسن بن علي العسكري قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن موسى قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي الحسين بن علي قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب قال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني محمد رسول اللّه ﷺ وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد باللّه لقد حدثني إسرافيل عن اللوح المحفوظ أنه يقول اللّه تبارك وتعالى شارب الخمر كعابد وثن، قال الحافظ ابن حجر في لسان الميزان هذا المتن بالسند المذكور إلى علي بن موسى أخرجه أبو نعيم في الحلية بسند له فيه من لا يعرف حاله إلى الحسن العسكري أيضاً لكن لم يذكر فيه إلاّ جبريل قال يا محمد إن مدمن الخبر كعابد وثن. والمتن أورده ابن حبان في صحيحه من حديث ابن عباس.

ما جاء في إسرافيل عليه السلام

٨٥ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال خلق اللّه تعالى الصور لؤلؤة بيضاء في صفاء الزجاج ثم قال للعرش خذ الصور فتعلق به ثم قال كن فكان إسرافيل فأمره أن يأخذ الصور فأخذه وبه ثقب بعدد كل روح مخلوقة ونفس منفوسة لا تخرج روحان من ثقب واحدة وفي وسط الصور كوة كاستدارة السماء والأرض وإسرافيل واضع فمه على تلك الكوة ثم قال له الرب قد وكلتك بالصور فأنت للنفخة وللصيحة فدخل إسرافيل في مقدم العرش فأدخل رجله اليمنى تحت العرش وقدم اليسرى

ولم يطرف منذ خلقه اللّه لينتظر ما يؤمر به.

٨٦ - (وأخرج) الترمذي وحسنه والحاكم والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ كيف أنعم وصاحب الصور قد التقم القرن وحنى جبهته وأصغى سمعه ينتظر متى يؤمر به فينفخ قالوا فما نقول يا رسول اللّه قال قولوا حسبنا اللّه ونعم الوكيل على اللّه توكلنا.

٨٧ - (وأخرج) الحاكم وصححه وأبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن طرف صاحب الصور مذ وكل به مستعد ينظر حول العرش مخافة أن يؤمر بالصيحة قبل أن يرتد إليه طرفه كأن عينيه كوكبان دريان.

٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ ما زال صاحبا الصور ممسكين بالصور ينتظران متى يؤمران.

٨٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ

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٨٦ - حلية الأولياء ٥/١٠٥، ٧/١٣٠ وذكره أبو نعيم بلفظ [كيف أنعم وصاحب القرن قد التقم القرن، وأصغى بسمعه متى يؤمر فينفخ فيه] وقال غريب من حديث الثوري عن عمرو ولم نكتبه إلّا من حديث الفريابي. ورواه ابن عيينة عن عمار الدهني عن عطية / تاريخ بغداد ٣/٣٦٣. وانظر الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩.

٨٧ - الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩ ورواه الحاكم بلفظه غير «حول» فعنده (نحو) وقال هذا حديث صحيح الإسناد ولم يخرجاه..

وانظر الدرر المنثور ٣/٢٢. / جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٦٤٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٨٩٠٥.

٨٩ - الدر المنثور ١/٩١ وعزاه السيوطي لإبن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة =

اسم جبريل عبد اللّه واسم ميكائيل عبيد اللّه واسم إسرافيل عبد الرحمن.

٩٠(وأخرج) الطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة أن رجلاً من اليهود قال يا رسول اللّه أخبرني عن ملك اللّه الذي يليه قال إن الملك الذي يليه إسرافيل ثم جبريل ثم ميكائيل ثم ملك الموت عليهم السلام.

٩١ - (وأخرج) أحمد والحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إسرافيل صاحب الصور وجبريل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن يساره.

٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي بكر الهذلي قال ليس شيء من الخلق أقرب إلى اللّه من إسرافيل وبينه وبين اللّه سبعة حجب وله جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وجناح في الأرض السابعة وجناح عند رأسه. وهو واضع رأسه بين جناحيه فإذا أمر اللّه بالأمر تدلت الألواح على إسرافيل بما فيها من أمر اللّه فينظر فيها إسرافيل ثم ينادي جبريل فيجيبه فلا يسمع صوته أحد من الملائكة إلّا صعق فإذا أفاقوا قالوا ماذا قال ربكم قالوا الحق وهو العلي الكبير وإن ملك الصور الذي وكل به إن إحدى قدميه لفي الأرض السابعة وهو جاث على ركبتيه شاخص بصره إلى إسرافيل ما طرف منذ خلقه اللّه ينظر متى يشير إليه فينفخ في الصور.

٩٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي زمنين في السنّة عن كعب قال إن أقرب

= عن علي بن حسين وزاد عليه [وكل شيء راجع إلى «إيل» فهو معبد للّه عز وجل].

٩١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي لسعيد بن منصور وأحمد وابن أبي داود في المصاحف وأبي الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم وصححه، وابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري.

الملائكة إلى اللّه إسرافيل وله أربعة أجنحة جناح بالمشرق وجناح بالمغرب وقد تسرول بالثالث والرابع بينه وبين اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي أمراً جاء اللوح المحفوظ حتى يصفق جبهة إسرافيل فيرفع رأسه فينظر فإذا الأمر مكتوب فينادي جبريل فيلبيه فيقول أمرت بكذا أمرت بكذا فلا يهبط جبريل من سماء إلى سماء إلّا فزع أهلها خافة الساعة حتى يقول جبريل الحق من عند الحق فيهبط على النبي فيوحي إليه.

٩٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب فقالت يا كعب حدثنا عن إسرافيل قال هو ملك اللّه ليس لدنه شيء جناح له بالمشرق وجناح له بالمغرب وجناح على كاهله والعرش على كاهله فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت النبي ﷺ قال كعب واللوح على جبهته فإذا أراد اللّه أمراً أثبته في اللوح.

٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث أن كعباً قال لعائشة هل سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول في إسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ يقول: له أربعة أجنحة منها جناحان أحدهما بالمشرق والآخر بالمغرب واللوح بين عينيه فإذا أراد اللّه أن يكتب الوحي يقرين جبهته.

٩٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه من الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا.

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٩٦ - حلية الأولياء ٦/٦٦ وذكره أبو نعيم، وقال تفرد به إسماعيل بن عياش الأحوص عن شهر بن حوشب عن ابن عباس، ورواه عبد الجليل بن عطية عن شهر عن عبد اللّه بن سلام. - الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٧.

٩٧ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن المطلب أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال قلت لجبريل يا جبريل مالي لا أرى إسرافيل يضحك ولم يأتني أحد من الملائكة إلّا رأيته يضحك قال جبريل ما رأينا ذلك الملك ضاحكاً منذ خلقت النار.

٩٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال سمع النبي ﷺ هدّة فقال يا جبريل أقامت الساعة قال لا هذا إسرافيل هبط إلى الأرض.

٩٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن عبد اللّه بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب الحبر فذكر إسرافيل فقالت عائشة أخبرني عن إسرافيل فقال كعب عندكم العلم قالت أجل فأخبرني قال: له أربعة أجنحة جناحان في الهواء وجناح قد تسربل به وجناح على كاهله والقلم على أذنه فإذا نزل الوحي كتب القلم ثم درست الملائكة وملك الصور أسفل منه جاث على إحدى ركبتيه وقد نصب الأخرى فالتقم الصور محني ظهره وطرفه إلى إسرافيل وقد أمر إذا رأى إسرافيل قد ضم جناحيه أن ينفخ في الصور فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول اللّه ﷺ.

١٠٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال إذا سبح إسرافيل قطع على كل ملك في السماء صلاته استماعاً له.

١٠١ - (وأخرج) عنه أيضاً قال ليس أحد من خلق اللّه أحسن صوتاً من إسرافيل فإذا أخذ في التسبيح قطع على أهل سبع سماوات صلاتهم وتسبيحهم.

١٠٢ (وأخرج) من طريق الليث حدثني خالد عن سعيد قال بلغنا أن إسرافيل مؤذن أهل السماء فيؤذن لاثنتي عشرة ساعة من النهار ولاثنتي عشرة ساعة من الليل لكل ساعة تأذين يسمع تأذينه من في السماوات

لسبع ومن في الأرضين السبع إلاّ الجن والإنس ثم يتقدم منهم عظيم لملائكة فيصلي بهم، قال وبلغنا أن ميكائيل يؤم الملائكة في البيت لمعمور.

١٠٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن أبي جبلة بسنده ال أول من يدعى يوم القيامة إسرافيل فيقول اللّه هل بلغت عهدي يقول نعم يا رب قد بلغته جبريل فيدعى جبريل فيقال هل بلغك سرافيل عهدي فيقول نعم فيخلى عن إسرافيل فيقول لجبريل ما صنعت في عهدي فيقول يارب بلغت الرسل فيدعى الرسل فيقال لهم ل بلغكم جبريل عهدي فيقولون نعم فيخلى عن جبريل.

١٠٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سنان قال أقرب الخلق من للّه اللوح وهو معلق بالعرش فإذا أراد اللّه أن يوحي بشيء كتب في لوح فيجيء اللوح حتى يقرع جبهة إسرافيل وإسرافيل قد غطى رأسه جناحه لا يرفع بصره إعظاماً للّه فينظر فيه فإن كان إلى أهل السماء دفعه لى ميكائيل وإن كان إلى أهل الأرض دفعه إلى جبريل فأول ما يحاسب وم القيامة اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم يقال من يشهد لك فيقول إسرافيل فيدعى إسرافيل ترعد فرائصه فيقال ، هل بلغك اللوح فإذا قال نعم قال اللوح الحمد للّه الذي نجاني من سوء الحساب ثم كذلك.

١٠٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ضمرة قال بلغني ن أول من سجد لآدم عليه السلام إسرافيل فأثابه اللّه أن كتب القرآن ، جبهته.

١٠٦ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط والبيهقي في الأسماء الصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو قال جاء فِئام[1] من الناس إلى رسول

) بكسر الفاء أي جماعة.

اللّه ﷺ فقالوا يا رسول اللّه زعم أبو بكر أن الحسنات من اللّه والسيئات من العباد وقال عمر الحسنات والسيئات من اللّه فتابع هذا قوم وهذا قوم فقال رسول اللّه ﷺ لأقضين بينكما بقضاء إسرافيل بين جبريل وميكائيل إن ميكائيل قال بقول أبي بكر وقال جبريل بقول عمر فقال جبريل لميكائيل إنا متى يختلف أهل السماء يختلف أهل الأرض فلنتحاكم إلى إسرافيل فتحاكما إليه فقضى بينهما بحقيقة القدر خيره وشره وحلوه ومره كله من اللّه ثم قال يا أبا بكر إن اللّه لو أراد أن لا يعصى لم يخلق إبليس فقال أبو بكر صدق اللّه ورسوله.

ما جاء في ملك الموت عليه السلام

١٠٧ - (أخرج) سعيد بن منصور وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن أبي هريرة قال لما أراد اللّه عز وجل ان يخلق آدم بعث ملكاً من حملة العرش يأتي بتراب من الأرض فلما هوى ليأخذ قالت الأرض أسألك بالذي أرسلك أن لا تأخذ مني اليوم شيئاً يكون للنار منه نصيب غداً فتركها فلما رفع إلى ربه قال ما منعك أن تأتي بما أمرتك قال سألتني بك فعظمت أن أرد شيئاً سألني بك فأرسل لها آخر فقال مثل ذلك حتى أرسلهم كلهم فأرسل ملك الموت فقالت له مثل ذلك فقال إن الذي أرسلني أحق بالطاعة منك فأخذ من وجه الأرض كلها من طيبها وخبيثها فجاء به إلى ربه فصب عليه من ماء الجنة فصار حماً مسنوناً فخلق منه آدم.

١٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات وابن عساكر من طريق السدي عن أبي مالك وعن أبي صالح عن ابن عباس وعن مرة عن ابن مسعود وناس من الصحابة قالوا بعث اللّه جبريل إلى الأرض ليأتيه بطين منها فقالت الأرض أعوذ باللّه منك أن تنقص مني

فرجع ولم يأخذ شيئاً وقال يا رب إنها عاذت بك فأعذتها فبعث ميكائيل كذلك فبعث ملك الموت فعاذت منه فقال وأنا أعوذ بالله أن أرجع ولم أنفذ أمره فأخذ من وجه الأرض.

١٠٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت قال قال رسول الله ﷺ لو رأيتم الأجل ومسيره لأبغضتم الأمل وغروره وما من أهل بيت إلّا وملك الموت يتعاهدهم في كل يوم مرتين فمن وجده قد انقضى أجله قبض روحه فإذا بكى أهله وجزعوا قال لم تبكون ولم تجزعون فوالله ما نقصت لكم عمراً ولا حبست لكم رزقاً ما لي ذنب وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي منكم أحداً.

١١٠ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال ما على ظهر الأرض من بيت شعر ولا مدر إلّا وملك الموت يطوف به كل يوم مرتين.

١١١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف وعبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن عبد الأعلى التميمي قال ما من أهل دار إلّا وملك الموت يتصفحهم في اليوم مرتين.

١١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت وأبو الشيخ عن الحسن قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يتصفح في كل بيت ثلاث مرات فمن وجده منهم قد استوفى رزقه وانقضى أجله قبض روحه وأقبل أهله برنة وبكاء فيأخذ ملك الموت بعضادتي الباب فيقول ما لي إليكم من ذنب وإني لمأمور والله ما أكلت لكم رزقاً ولا أفنيت لكم عمراً ولا انتقصت لكم أجلاً وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي

١٠٩ - عن كنز العمال رقم ٤٢١٣٣ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت رضي الله عنه.

منكم أحداً قال الحسن فوالله لو يرون مقامه ويسمعون كلامه لذهلوا عن ميتهم ولبكوا على أنفسهم.

١١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن زيد بن أسلم قال يتصفح ملك الموت المنازل كل يوم خمس مرات ويطلع في وجه ابن آدم كل يوم اطلاعه قال فمنها الذعرة التي تصيب الناس يعني القشعريرة والانتفاض.

١١٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عكرمة قال ما من يوم إلّا وملك الموت يطلع في كتاب حياة الناس؛ قائل يقول ثلاثاً وقائل يقول خمساً.

١١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن كعب قال ما من بيت فيه أحد إلّا وملك الموت على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات ينظر هل فيه أحد أمر به يتوفاه.

١١٦ - (وأخرج) سعيد بن منصور وأحمد في الزهد عن عطاء بن يسار قال ما من أهل بيت إلّا يتصفحهم ملك الموت في كل يوم خمس مرات هل منهم أحد أمر بقبضه.

١١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن ثابت البناني قال الليل والنهار أربع وعشرون ساعة ليس فيها ساعة تأتي على ذي روح إلّا وملك الموت قائم عليها فإن أمر بقبضها قبضها وإلّا ذهب.

١١٨ - (وأخرج) ابن النجار في تاريخه عن أنس مرفوعاً إن ملك الموت لينظر في وجوه العباد كل يوم سبعين نظرة فإذا ضحك العبد الذي بعث إليه يقول يا عجباً بعثت إليه لأقبض روحه وهو يضحك.

١١٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الكبير وأبو نعيم وابن منده كلاهما في المعرفة من طريق جعفر بن محمد عن أبيه عن الحارث بن الخزرج قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول - ونظر إلى ملك الموت عند رأس رجل من الأنصار - فقال يا ملك الموت ارفق بصاحبي فإنه مؤمن فقال ملك الموت طب نفساً وقر عيناً فإني بكل مؤمن رفيق واعلم يا محمد أني لأقبض روح ابن آدم فإذا صرخ صارخ قمت في الدار ومعي روحه فقلت ما هذا الصارخ والله ما ظلمناه ولا سبقنا أجله ولا استعجلنا قدره وما لنا في قبضه من ذنب فإن ترضوا بما صنع الله تؤجروا وإن تسخطوا تأثموا وتوزروا وإن لنا عندكم عودة ثم عودة بعد عودة فالحذر الحذر وما من أهل بيت شعر ولا مدر بر ولا فاجر سهل ولا جبل إلّا أنا اصفحهم في كل يوم وليلة حتى لأنا أعرف بصغيرهم وكبيرهم منهم بأنفسهم والله لو أردت أن أقبض روح بعوضة ما قدرت على ذلك حتى يكون الله هو يأذن بقبضها. قال جعفر بن محمد **بلغني إنما يتصفحهم عند** مواقيت الصلاة فإذا حضر عند الموت فإن كان **ممن يحافظ على الصلوات** دنا منه الملك وطرد عنه الشيطان ويلقنه الملك **لا إله إلّا الله محمد رسول** الله في ذلك الحال العظيم.

١٢٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب ذكر الموت عن عبيد بن عمير قال بينما إبراهيم عليه السلام يوماً في داره إذ دخل عليه رجل حسن الشارة فقال يا عبد الله من أدخلك داري قال أدخلنيها ربها

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١١٩ - الطبراني في الكبير ٤/٢٦١ ورواه الطبراني بزيادة في الألفاظ والحديث عنده عن الحارث بن الخزرج عن أبيه.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٦/٣٦٣. / مجمع الزوائد ٢/٣٢٦.

الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٨٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٤٢٨١٠. / الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣.

قال ربها أحق بها فمن أنت قال ملك الموت قال لقد نعت لي منك أشياء ما أراها فيك قال أدبر فأدبر فإذا عيون مقبلة وعيون مدبرة وإذا كل شعرة منه كأنها إنسان قائم فتعوذ إبراهيم من ذلك وقال عد إلى الصورة الأولى قال يا إبراهيم إن الله إذا بعثني إلى من يحب لقاءه بعثني في الصورة التي رأيت أولاً.

١٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن كعب قال إن إبراهيم عليه السلام رأى في بيته رجلاً فقال من أنت قال أنا ملك الموت قال إبراهيم إن كنت صادقاً فأرني منك آية أعرف أنك ملك الموت قال ملك الموت أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها المؤمنين فرأى من النور والبهاء شيئاً لا يعلمه إلّا الله تعالى ثم قال أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها الكفار والفجار فرعب إبراهيم رعباً حتى أرعدت فرائصه وألصق بطنه بالأرض وكادت نفسه تخرج.

١٢٢ - (وأخرج) عن ابن مسعود وابن عباس قالا لما اتخذ الله تعالى إبراهيم خليلاً سأل ملك الموت ربه أن يأذن له فيبشره بذلك فأذن له فجاء إبراهيم فبشره بذلك فقال الحمد لله ثم قال يا ملك الموت أرني كيف تقبض أنفاس الكفار قال يا إبراهيم لا تطيق ذلك قال بلى قال فأعرض، فأعرض ثم نظر فإذا برجل أسود ينال رأسه السماء يخرج من فيه لهب النار ليس من شعرة في جسده إلّا في صورة رجل يخرج من فيه ومناخره لهب النار فغشي على إبراهيم ثم أفاق وقد تحول ملك الموت في الصورة الأولى فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم يلق الكافر من البلاء والحزن إلّا صورتك لكفاه فأرني كيف تقبض أنفاس المؤمنين قال أعرض فأعرض ثم التفت فإذا هو برجل شاب أحسن الناس وجهاً وأطيبهم ريحاً في ثياب بيضاء فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم ير المؤمن عند موته من قرة العين

والكرامة إلّا صورتك هذه لكان يكفيه.

١٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن أشعث بن أسلم قال سأل إبراهيم عليه السلام ملك الموت واسمه عزرائيل وله عينان في وجهه وعينان في قفاه فقال يا ملك الموت ما تصنع إذا كانت نفس بالمشرق ونفس بالمغرب ووقع الوباء بأرض والتقى الزحفان كيف تصنع قال أدعو الأرواح بإذن الله فتكون بين أصبعي هاتين قال ودحيت له الأرض فتركت مثل الطست يتناول منها حيث يشاء.

١٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم أن يعقوب عليه السلام قال يا ملك الموت ما من نفس منفوسة إلّا وأنت تقبض روحها قال نعم قال فكيف وأنت عندي ها هنا والأنفس في أطراف الأرض قال إن الله يخر لي الدنيا فهي كالطست يوضع قدام أحدكم فيتناول أنا من أطرافها شاء، كذلك الدنيا عندي.

١٢٥ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن الحسن قال جعلت الأرض لملك الموت مثل الطست يتناول من حيث شاء وجعل له أعوان يتوفون الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم.

١٢٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس أنه سئل عن ملك الموت هل هو وحده الذي يقبض الأرواح قال هو الذي يلي أمر الأرواح وله أعوان على ذلك غير أن ملك الموت هو الرئيس وكل خطوة منه من المشرق إلى المغرب.

١٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن ابن عباس في قوله تعالى ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾

قال أعوان ملك الموت من الملائكة.

١٢٨ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن إبراهيم النخعي في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال الملائكة تقبض الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم ملك الموت بعد.

١٢٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله ﴿توفته رسلنا﴾ قال إن ملك الموت له رسل فيلي قبضها الرسل ثم يدفعوها إلى ملك الموت.

١٣٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن وهب بن منبه قال إن الملائكة الذين يقرنون بالناس هم الذين يتوفونهم ويكتبون لهم آجالهم فإذا توفوا النفس دفعوها إلى ملك الموت وهو كالعاقب يعني العشار الذي يؤدي إليه من تحته.

١٣١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن شهر بن حوشب قال: ملك الموت جالس والدنيا بين ركبتيه واللوح الذي في آجال بني آدم في يديه وبين يديه ملائكة قيام وهو يعرض اللوح لا يطرف فإذا أتى على أجل عبد قال اقبضوا هذا.

١٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أنه سئل عن نفسين اتفق موتهما في طرفة عين واحد في المشرق وآخر بالمغرب كيف قدر ملك الموت عليهما قال ما قدرة ملك الموت على أهل المشارق والمغارب والظلمات والهواء والبحور إلّا كرجل بين يديه مائدة يتناول من أيها شاء.

١٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال قيل يا رسول الله ملك الموت واحد والزحفان يلتقيان بين المشرق والمغرب وما بين ذلك من السقط والهلاك فقال إن الله عز وجل قوى ملك الموت

حتى جعلها كالطست بين يدي أحدكم فهل يفوته منها شيء.

١٣٤ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال ملك الموت الذي يتوفى الأنفس كلها وقد سلط على ما في الأرض كما سلط أحدكم على ما في راحته ومعه ملائكة من ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب فإذا توفى نفساً طيبة دفعها إلى ملائكة الرحمة وإذا توفى نفساً خبيثة دفعها إلى ملائكة العذاب.

١٣٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي المثنى الحمصي قال إن الدنيا سهلها وجبلها بين فخذي ملك الموت ومعه ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب فيقبض الأرواح فيعطي هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب قيل فإذا كانت ملحمة وكان السيف مثل البرق قال يدعوها فتأتيه الأنفس.

١٣٦ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن أبي قيس الأزدي قال قيل لملك الموت كيف تقبض الأرواح قال أدعوها فتجيئني.

١٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال أتى ملك الموت سليمان بن داود وكان له صديقاً فقال له سليمان ما لك تأتي أهل البيت فتقبضهم جميعاً وتدع أهل البيت إلى جنبهم لا تقبض منهم أحداً قال لا أعلم بما أقبض منها إنما أكون تحت العرش فتلقى إلى صكاك فيها أسماء.

١٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن خيثمة قال قال سليمان بن داود لملك الموت إذا أردت أن تقبض روحي فأعلمني بذلك قال ما أنا أعلم بذلك منك إنما هي كتب تلقى إليّ فيها تسمية من يموت.

١٣٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد وابن أبي الدنيا عن معمر قال بلغنا أن ملك الموت لا يعلم متى يحضر أجل الإنسان حتى يؤمر بقبضها.

١٤٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن جرير قال بلغنا أنه يقال لملك الموت اقبض فلاناً في وقت كذا في يوم كذا.

١٤١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وهو الذي يتوفاكم بالليل﴾ قال يتوفى الأنفس عند منامها ما من ليلة إلاّ والله يقبض الأرواح كلها فيسأل كل نفس عما عمل صاحبها من النهار ثم يدعو ملك الموت فيقول إقبض هذا إقبض هذا.

١٤٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن عطاء بن يسار قال إذا كانت ليلة النصف من شعبان دفع إلى ملك الموت صحيفة فيقال إقبض من في هذه الصحيفة فإن العبد ليفرش الفراش وينكح الأزواج ويبني البنيان وإن اسمه قد نسخ في الموتى.

١٤٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن عمر مولى غفرة قال ينسخ لملك الموت من يموت ليلة القدر إلى مثلها فتجد الرجل ينكح النساء ويغرس الغرس واسمه في الأموات.

١٤٤ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعيد أن النبي ﷺ قال في ليلة النصف من شعبان يوحي الله إلى ملك الموت بقبض كل نفس يريد قبضها في تلك السنة.

١٤٥ - (وأخرج) الخطيب وابن النجار عن عائشة قالت كان رسول الله ﷺ يصوم شعبان كله حتى يصله برمضان ولم يكن يصوم شهراً تاماً إلاّ شعبان فقلت يا رسول الله إن شعبان لمن أحب الشهور

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١٤٤ - كنز العمال رقم ٣٥١٧٦ وعزاه السيوطي للدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعد مرسلاً. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢٨٢/١٠.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٢٦/٦

ليك أن تصومه قال نعم يا عائشة إنه يكتب فيه لملك الموت من يقبض تحب أن لا ينسخ اسمي إلاّ وأنا صائم.

١٤٦ - (وأخرج) أحمد والبزار والحاكم وصححه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال إن ملك الموت كان يأتي الناس عياناً فأتى موسى فلطمه ففقأ عينه فأتى ربه فقال يا رب عبدك موسى فقأ عيني ولولا كرامته عليك لشققت عليه قال له إذهب إلى عبدي فقل له فليضع يده على جلد ثور فله بكل شعرة وارت يده سنة فأتاه فقال ما بعد هذا قال الموت قال فالآن فشمه شمة فقبض روحه ورد الله عليه عينه فكان بعد يأتي الناس في خفية.

١٤٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم عن الأعمش قال كان ملك الموت يظهر للناس فيأتي الرجل فيقول إقض حاجتك فإني أريد أن أقبض روحك فشكا فأنزل الداء وجعل الموت خفية.

١٤٨ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي الشعثاء جابر بن زيد أن ملك الموت كان يقبض الأرواح بغير وجع فسبه الناس ولعنوه فشكى إلى ربه فوضع اللّه الأوجاع ونسي ملك الموت يقال مات فلان بكذا وكذا.

١٤٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس أن ملكاً استأذن ربه أن يهبط إلى إدريس فأتاه فسلم عليه فقال له إدريس هل بينك وبين

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١٤٦ - الحاكم ٢/٥٧٨ ورواه الحاكم بنحوه، وقال هذا حديث صحيح على شرط مسلم ولم يخرجاه.
/ جمع الجوامع رقم ٧١٠٢. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٨٣. / الأتحافات السنية ص ١٧٨.

ملك الموت شيء قال ذاك أخي من الملائكة قال هل تستطيع أن تنفعني عنده بشيء قال أما أن يؤخر شيئاً أو يقدمه فلا، ولكن سأكلمه لك فيرفق بك عند الموت قال إركب بين جناحي فركب إدريس فصعد إلى السماء العليا فلقي ملك الموت وإدريس بين جناحيه فقال له الملك إن لي إليك حاجة قال قد علمت حاجتك تكلمني في إدريس وقد محى اسمه ولم يبق من أجله إلاّ نصف طرفة عين فمات إدريس بين جناحي الملك.

١٥٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن محمد بن المنكدر أن ملك الموت قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام إن ربك أمرني أن أقبض نفسك بأيسر ما قبضت نفس مؤمن قال فإني أسألك بحق الذي أرسلك أن تراجعه فيَّ فقال إن خليلك سأل أن أراجعك فيه فقال ائته وقل له إن ربك يقول إن الخليل يحب لقاء خليله فأتاه فقال امض لما أمرت به قال يا إبراهيم هل شربت شراباً قال لا فاستنكهه قبض نفسه على ذلك.

١٥١ - (وأخرج) أحمد عن أبي هريرة أن رسول اللّه ﷺ قال كان داود عليه السلام فيه غيرة شديدة فكان إذا خرج أغلقت الأبواب فلم يدخل على أهله أحد حتى يرجع فخرج ذات يوم ورجع فإذا في الدار رجل قائم فقال له من أنت قال أنا الذي لا أهاب الملوك ولا يمنع مني الحجاب قال داود أنت إذاً واللّه ملك الموت مرحباً بأمر اللّه فزمل داود مكانه فقبضت نفسه.

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١٥١ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/٢٠٦ ذكره الهيثمي وله زيادة طويلة، وعزاه لأحمد وفيه المطلب بن عبد اللّه بن حنطب وثقه أبو زرعة وغيره، وبقية رجاله رجال الصحيح.
وانظر كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٢٧. / تفسير ابن كثير ٦/١٩.

١٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن ماجه عن أبي أمامة سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن الله عز وجل وكّل ملك الموت بقبض الأرواح إلاّ شهداء البحر فإنه يتولى قبض أرواحهم.

١٥٣ - (وأخرج) جويبر عن ابن عباس قال: وكل ملك الموت بقبض أرواح الآدميين فهو الذي يلي قبض أرواحهم وملك في الجن وملك في الشياطين وملك في الطير والوحش والسباع والحيتان والنمل فهم أربعة أملاك والملائكة يموتون في الصعقة الأولى وإن ملك الموت يلي قبض أرواحهم ثم يموت فأما الشهداء في البحر فإن الله يلي قبض أرواحهم لا يوكل ذلك إلى ملك الموت لكرامتهم عليه حيث ركبوا لجج البحر في سبيله.

١٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال بلغني أن آخر من يموت ملك الموت يقال له يا ملك الموت مت فيصرخ عند ذلك صرخة لو سمعها أهل السماوات والأرض لماتوا فزعاً ثم يموت.

١٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن زياد النميري قال قرأت في بعض الكتب أن الموت أشد على ملك الموت منه على جميع الخلق.

١٥٦ - (وأخرج) العقيلي في الضعفاء وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والديلمي عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ آجال البهائم وخشاش

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١٥٢ - ابن ماجه رقم ٢٧٧٨ ورواه بزيادته عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٥/١٧٣. / إرواء الغليل ٥/١٧.

١٥٦ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤, ٥ وعزاه السيوطي للعقيلي في الضعفاء وقال: لا أصل له وأورده ابن الجوزي في الموضوعات، وفي اللالىء المصنوعة: «موضوع والمتهم به الوليد (بن موسى الدمشقي) قال العقيلي أحاديثه بواطل».

الأرض كلها في التسبيح فإذا انقضى تسبيحها قبض الله أرواحها وليس إلى ملك الموت من ذلك شيء.

١٥٧ - (وأخرج) الخطيب في رواة مالك عن سليمان بن معمر الكلابي قال حضرت مالك بن أنس وسأله رجل عن البراغيث أملك الموت يقبض أرواحها فأطرق طويلاً ثم قال: ألها نفس قال نعم قال فإن ملك الموت يقبض أرواحها الله يتوفى الأنفس حين موتها.

١٥٨ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن معاذ ابن جبل قال إن لملك الموت حربة تبلغ ما بين المشرق والمغرب فإذا انقضى أجل عبد من الدنيا ضرب رأسه بتلك الحربة وقال الآن يزار بك عسكر الموت.

١٥٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر عن بن عباس مرفوعاً إن لملك الموت حربة مسمومة طرف لها بالمشرق وطرف لها بالمغرب يقطع بها عرق الحياة.

١٦٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال: ملك الموت جالس على معراج بين السماء والأرض وله رسول من الملائكة فإذا كانت النفس في ثغرة النحر رأى ملك الموت على معراجه شخص بصره إليه فنظره آخر ما يموت.

١٦١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم بن أبان قال سئل عكرمة أيبصر الأعمى ملك الموت إذا جاء يقبض روحه قال نعم.

وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٩٢١. / الدر المنثور ٢/٢١، ٤/١٨٤.
اللآلىء المصنوعة ٢/٢٢٥. / الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢١.

الفوائد المجموعة ص ٢٧١. / لسان الميزان ٦/٨٠٧.

١٦٢ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن مجاهد قال ما من مرض يمرضه العبد إلاّ رسول ملك الموت عنده حتى إذا كان آخر مرض يمرضه العبد أتاه ملك الموت فقال أتاك رسول بعد رسول فلم تعبأ به وقد أتاك رسول يقطع أثرك من الدنيا.

١٦٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الحسين ابن العريف في فوائده وأبو الربيع المسعودي في فوائده عن أنس بن مالك قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إذا جاء ملك الموت إلى ولي الله تعالى سلم عليه وسلامه عليه أن يقول السلام عليك يا ولي الله قم فاخرج من دارك التي خربتها إلى دارك التي عمرتها وإذا لم يكن ولياً لله قال له قم فاخرج من دارك التي عمرتها إلى دارك التي خربتها.

١٦٤ - (وأخرج) أبو القاسم ابن منده في كتاب الأهوال والإيمان بالسؤال عن ابن مسعود قال إذا أراد الله عز وجل قبض روح المؤمن أوحى إلى ملك الموت اقرئه مني السلام فإذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روحه قال ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٥ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في تفسيره عن ابن مسعود قال إذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روح المؤمن قال: ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن أبي الدنيا وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال إذا استنفقت نفس العبد المؤمن جاءه ملك الموت فقال له السلام عليك يا ولي الله، والله يقرأ عليك السلام ثم نزع بهذه الآية: ﴿الذين تتوفاهم الملائكة طيبين يقولون سلام عليكم﴾ وقال السلفي في المشيخة البغدادية سمعت أبا سعيد الحسن بن علي الواعظ يقول سمعت أبي

يقول رأيت في بعض الكتب أن الله تعالى يظهر على كف ملك الموت بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بخط من النور ثم يأمره أن يبسط كفه للعارف في وقت وفاته ويريه تلك الكتابة فإذا رأتها روح العارف طارت إليه في أسرع من طرف العين.

١٦٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن داود بن أبي هند قال بلغني أن ملك الموت كان وكّل بسليمان عليه السلام فقيل له ادخل عليه كل يوم دخلة فسله عن حاجته ثم لا تبرح حتى تقضيها فكان يدخل عليه في صورة رجل فيسأله كيف هو ثم يقول يا رسول الله ألك حاجة فإن قال نعم لم يبرح حتى يقضيها وإن قال لا انصرف عنه إلى الغد فدخل عليه يوماً وعنده شيخ فقام فسلم ثم قال ألك حاجة يا رسول الله قال لا ولحظ الشيخ لحظة فارتعد الشيخ وانصرف ملك الموت فقام الشيخ فقال لسليمان أسألك بحق الله إلاّ ما أمرت الريح فتحملني فتلقيني بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فأمرها فحملته ودخل ملك الموت على سليمان من الغد فسأله عن الشيخ فقال هبط إليّ كتابه أمس أن اقبض روحه غداً مع طلوع الفجر بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فهبطت وما أحسبه إلاّ ثم فوجدته عندك فجعلت أتعجب وأنظر إليه ما لي هم غيره فهبطت عليه اليوم مع طلوع الفجر فوجدته بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند ينتفض فقبضت روحه.

١٦٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيثمة قال دخل ملك الموت إلى سليمان فجعل ينظر إلى رجل من جلسائه يديم النظر إليه فلما خرج قال الرجل من هذا قال هذا ملك الموت قال رأيته ينظر إليّ كأنه يريدني قال فما تريد قال أريد أن تحملني على الريح حتى تلقيني بالهند فدعا الريح فحمله عليها فألقته في الهند ثم أتى ملك الموت سليمان فقال إنك كنت تديم النظر إلى رجل من جلسائي قال كنت أعجب منه أمرت أن

قبضه بالهند وهو عندك.

١٦٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال جاء ملك الموت إلى نبي ﷺ في مرضه الذي قبض فيه فاستأذن ورأسه في حجر علي فقال لسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته فقال علي إرجع فإنا مشاغيل عنك قال النبي ﷺ أتدري من هذا يا أبا الحسن. هذا ملك الموت، أدخل اشداً فلما دخل قال إن ربك يقرئك السلام قال أين جبريل قال ليس و قريب مني، الآن يأتي، فخرج ملك الموت حتى نزل عليه جبريل قال له جبريل وهو قائم بالباب ما أخرجك يا ملك الموت قال التمسك حمد فلما أن جلسا قال جبريل سلام عليك يا أبا القاسم هذا وداع مني منك فبلغني أنه لم يسلم ملك الموت على أهل بيت قبل ولا يسلم على حد بعده.

١٧٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن الحسين أن جبريل هبط على لنبي ﷺ يوم موته فقال كيف تجدك قال أجدني يا جبريل مغموماً أجدني مكروباً فاستأذن ملك الموت على الباب فقال جبريل يا محمد هذا ملك الموت يستأذن عليك ما استأذن عليَّ آدمي قبلك ولا يستأذن عليَّ آدمي بعدك قال ائذن له فأذن له فأقبل حتى وقف بين يديه فقال إن لله أرسلني إليك وأمرني أن أطيعك إن أمرتني أن أقبض نفسك قبضتها إن كرهت تركتها قال وتفعل يا ملك الموت قال نعم بذلك أمرت فقال ه جبريل إن الله قد اشتاق إلى لقائك فقال رسول الله ﷺ امض لما مرت به.

١٧٠ - الطبراني في الكبير ٣/١٣٩ ورواه بنحوه.
وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ١٠/٢٩٥ و ٢٩٦. / الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٤٧.
/ كنز العمال رقم ١٨٨٢. / بدائع المنن رقم ١٨٢٠. / مجمع الزوائد ٣٥/٤.

١٧١ - وقال ابن النجار في تاريخه أخبرنا يوسف بن المبارك بن الحامل الخفاف قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد أخبرني محمد بن عبد الباقي الأنصاري قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثنا القاضي أبو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبو محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن عبد الله بن المليح السجزي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن محمد الهروي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عبد السلام بن صالح وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني علي بن موسى الرضى وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي موسى بن جعفر وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي جعفر بن محمد وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي محمد بن علي وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن الحسين وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني أبي علي بن أبي طالب وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني رسول الله ﷺ قال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني جبريل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني ميكائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله لقد حدثني عزرائيل وقال أشهد بالله وأشهد لله إن الله تعالى قال مدمن خمر كعابد وثن.

ما جاء في ملك القطر عليه السلام

١٧٢ - (أخرج) البغوي في معجم الصحابة والطبراني عن أنس

١٧١ - حلية الأولياء ٣/٢٠٤ وذكره الأصبهاني، وقال هذا حديث صحيح ثابت رواته العترة الطيبة ولم نكتبه على هذا الشرط بالشهادة بالله ولله إلاّ عن هذا الشيخ.
وانظر لسان الميزان ١/٦٤٦. وانظر كنز العمال رقم ١٣١٦٠ و ١٣٦٩٨.
وانظر الجامع الكبير ٢/١٨٠. وانظر جمع الجوامع رقم ٣٣٠٦ و ٣٣٠٩.

حاتم والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس قال السماء الدنيا موج مكفوف والثانية مرمرة بيضاء والثالثة حديد والرابعة نحاس والخامسة فضة والسادسة ذهب والسابعة ياقوتة حمراء وما فوق ذلك صحارى من نور ولا يعلم ما فوق ذلك إلاّ اللّه تعالى وملك موكل بالحجب يقال له ميطا طروش.

ما جاء في حملة العرش عليهم السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية ﴾.

١٧٩ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وعثمان بن سعيد الدارمي وأبو يعلى وابن المنذر وابن خزيمة وابن مردويه والحاكم وصححه في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن العباس بن عبد المطلب في قوله ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية قال ثمانية أملاك على صورة الأوعال.

١٨٠ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد عن ابن عباس في قوله حملة العرش قرون لها كعوب ككعوب القنا ما بين أخمص أحدهم إلى كعبه مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين أرنبته إلى ترقوته مسيرة خمس مائة عام وبين ترقوته إلى موضع القرط خمس مائة عام.

١٨١ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وأبو يعلى بسند صحيح عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك قد مرقت رجلاه الأرض السابعة والعرش على منكبيه وهو يقول سبحانك أين كنت وأين تكون.

١٨٢ - (وأخرج) أبو داود وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن جابر أن النبي ﷺ قال أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك من

حملة العرش رجلاه في الأرض السفلى وعلى قرنه العرش وبين شحمة أذنه وعاتقه خفقان الطير سبع مائة عام يقول ذلك الملك سبحانك حيث كنت.

١٨٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق أبي قبيل أنه سمع عبد اللّه يقول: حملة العرش ما بين موق أحدهم إلى مؤخر عينيه مسيرة خمس مائة عام.

١٨٤ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن حسان بن عطية قال حملة العرش ثمانية أقدامهم مثبتة في الأرض السابعة رؤوسهم قد جاوزت السماء السابعة وقرونهم مثل طولهم عليها العرش.

١٨٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زاذان قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في التخوم لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

١٨٦ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن هارون بن رئاب قال: حملة العرش ثمانية يتجاوبون بصوت رخيم تقول أربعة منهم: سبحانك وبحمدك على حلمك بعد علمك وأربعة، يقولون: سبحانك وبحمدك على عفوك بعد قدرتك.

١٨٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الربيع في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ من الملائكة.

١٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن زيد قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ يحمله اليوم أربعة ويوم القيامة ثمانية.

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١٨٨ - تفسير الطبري ٢٩/٣٧ وذكره بلفظه.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٦/٢٦١. / تفسير القرطبي ١٨/٢٦٦.

١٨٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين يحملونه أربعة أملاك لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وأربعة أجنحة جناحان على وجهه يمنعانه من أن ينظر إلى العرش فيصعق وجناحان يطير بهما أقدامهم من الثرى والعرش على أكتافهم لكل واحد منهم وجه ثور ووجه أسد ووجه إنسان ووجه نسر ليس لهم كلام إلاّ أن يقولوا قدوس، اللّه القوي ملأت عظمته السماوات والأرض.

١٩٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق السدي عن ابن مالك قال الصخرة التي تحت الأرض منتهى الخلق على أرجائها أربعة أملاك لكل واحد منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه ثور وهم قيام عليها قد أحاطوا الأرض والسماوات والسماوات تحت العرش.

١٩١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش اليوم أربعة فإذا كان يوم القيامة أيدوا بأربعة أخرى ملك منهم في صورة إنسان يشفع لبني آدم في أرزاقهم وملك في صورة نسر يشفع للطير في أرزاقها وملك في صورة ثور يشفع للبهائم في أرزاقها وملك في صورة أسد يشفع للسباع في أرزاقها ولكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه نسر ووجه ثور ووجه أسد فلما حملوا العرش وقروا على ركبهم من عظمة اللّه فلقنوا لا حول ولا قوة إلاّ باللّه فاستووا قياماً على أرجلهم.

١٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن مكحول قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن في حملة العرش أربعة أملاك ملك على صورة الصور وهو ابن

١٩٢ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لأبو الشيخ عن مكحول رضي اللّه عنه.

آدم وملك على صورة سيد السباع وهو الأسد وملك على صورة الأنعام وهو الثور فما زال غضبان منذ يوم عبد العجل إلى ساعتي هذه وملك على صورة سيد الطير وهو النسر.

١٩٣ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد الدارمي والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن عروة قال حملة العرش منهم من صورته على صورة إنسان ومنهم من صورته على صورة النسر ومنهم من صورته على صورة الثور ومنهم من صورته على صورة الأسد.

١٩٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن زيد قال لم يسم من حملة العرش إلاّ إسرافيل قال وميكائيل ليس من حملة العرش.

١٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أن رسول اللّه ﷺ خرج على أصحابه فقال ما جمعكم فقالوا اجتمعنا نذكر ربنا ونتفكر في عظمته فقال لن تدركوا التفكير في عظمته ألا أخبركم ببعض عظمة ربكم قالوا بلى يا رسول اللّه قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه في الأرض السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا في مثله من خليقة ربكم.

١٩٦ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إذا

١٩٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٣٢٠/١، ١٦٢/١ وذكره الزبيدي وعزاه للأصبهاني في ترتيبه وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن طريق حوشب عن ابن عباس رضي اللّه عنهما.
وانظر الدر المنثور ٣٤٧/٥. / كشف الخفاء ٣٧١/١.

١٩٦ - جمع الجوامع ١٧٦٧ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي اللّه عنه.
وانظر كنز العمال ٢٣٧١٦.

دخل شهر رمضان أمر الله تعالى حملة العرش أن يكفوا عن التسبيح ويستغفروا لأمة محمد والمؤمنين».

١٩٧ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن مالك بن دينار قال: بلغني أن في بعض السموات ملكاً له من العيون مثل عدد الحصا ما منها عين إلّا وتحتها لسان وشفتان يحمدون الله تبارك وتعالى بلغة لا تفقهها صاحبتها وإن حملة العرش لهم قرون بين أظلافهم ورؤوسهم مقدار خمسمائة سنة والعرش فوق ذلك.

١٩٨ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن أبي مالك في قوله ﴿وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض﴾ قال إن الصخرة التي تحت الأرض السابعة، على أرجائها أربعة من الملائكة لكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه نسر ووجه ثور وهم قيام على أقدامهم قد أحاطوا بالأرض والسماوات ورؤوسهم تحت الكرسي والكرسي

١٩٩ - (وأخرج) الدينوري عن خالد بن قال: إن العرش ثقيل على حملة العرش من أول النهار فإذا قام الليل خف عليهم.

٢٠٠ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان من طريق قتيبة عن بكر بن مضر عن صخر بن عبد الله عن زياد بن أبي حبة قال: بلغني أن من حملة العرش لمن يسيل من عينيه أمثال البكاء فإذا رفع رأسه قال: سبحانك ما نخشى حق خشيتك يا الله عز وجل لكن الذين يحلفون باسمي كاذبين لا يعلمون.

٢٠١ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن أم سعد قالت سمعت النبي ﷺ يقول «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤة على صورة ديك رجلاه في تخوم

٢٠١ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي الله عنها.

الأرض وجناحاه في المشرق وعنقه تحت العرش».

٢٠٢ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن مردويه والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن ابن عباس قال حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى أسفل قدمه مسيرة خمسمائة عام وذكر أن خطوة ملك الموت ما بين المشرق إلى المغرب.

٢٠٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عكرمة قال: حملة العرش كلهم صور قيل لعكرمة وما صور فأمال خده قليلاً.

٢٠٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: لا تستطيع الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش أن ينظروا إلى ما فوقهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٥ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن ميسرة قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في الأرض السفلى ورؤوسهم قد خرقت العرش وهم خشوع لا يرفعون طرفهم وهم أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء السابعة وأهل السماء السابعة أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء التي تليها والتي تليها أشد خوفاً من التي تليها.

٢٠٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن أبي أمامة قال: إن الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش يتكلمون بالفارسية.

٢٠٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن المنذر عن ميسرة في قوله تعالى: ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال أرجلهم في التخوم ورؤوسهم عند العرش لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال: ثمانية صفوف من الملائكة لا يعلم عدتهم إلّا الله.

٢٠٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الضحاك في الآية قال: يقال ثمانية صفوف لا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله ويقال: ثمانية أملاك رؤوسهم عند العرش في السماء السابعة وأقدامهم في الأرض السفلى ولهم قرون كقرون الوعلة ما بين أصل قرن أحدهم إلى منتهاه مسيرة خمسمائة عام.

ما جاء في الروح عليه السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿تنزل الملائكة والروح فيها﴾. وقال: ﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً﴾.

٢١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات من طريق ابن [illegible] عن ابن عباس قال: الروح من أعظم الملائكة خلقاً.

٢١١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الضحاك قال: الروح حاجب الله: يقوم بين يدي الله يوم القيامة، وهو أعظم [illegible] لوسع جميع الملائكة، فالخلق إليه ينظرون فمن [illegible] إلى من فوقه.

٢١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات بسند ضعيف [illegible] أبي طالب قال: الروح ملك له سبعون ألف وجه لكل [illegible] ألف لسان لكل لسان سبعون ألف لغة يسبح الله بتلك [illegible] خلق الله من كل تسبيحة ملكاً يطير مع الملائكة إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر [illegible] الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس قال: الروح ملك واحد له [illegible] ألف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب، له [illegible] في كل وجه ألف لسان وعينان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال: الروح ملك من الملائكة له عشرة آلاف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب له ألف وجه لكل وجه ألف لسان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مقاتل بن حيان قال: الروح أشرف الملائكة وأقربهم من الرب وهو صاحب الوحي.

٢١٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن مسعود قال: الروح في السماء الرابعة وهو أعظم من السماوات والجبال والملائكة يسبح كل يوم اثني عشر ألف تسبيحة يخلق الله تعالى من كل تسبيحة ملكاً من الملائكة يجيء يوم القيامة صفاً وحده

٢١٧ - (وأخرج) مسلم وأبو داود والنسائي عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ كان يقول في ركوعه وسجوده «سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح».

٢١٨ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق على صورة بني آدم.

٢١٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال: الروح يأكلون ولهم أيدي وأرجل ورؤوس وليسوا بملائكة.

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٢١٧ - أبو داود، كتاب استفتاح الصلاة تفريع أبواب الركوع والسجود ب ١٥١ حديث رقم ٨٧١ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
وانظر النسائي كتاب الافتتاح ب٩٨، ١٦١. / البيهقي ٢/٨٧ و١٠٩، ١٣١/٥.
/ إحياء علوم الدين ١/٣٢٨. / تفسير القرطبي ١/٢٧٧. / الإتحافات السنية ٣/٧٥، ٥/٦٤ و٩٦ و١٧١.

٢٢٠ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن
أعظم خلقاً من الملائكة ولا ينزل ملك إلّا

٢٢١ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد و
ابن عباس قال: الروح خلق من خلق الله
من السماء ملك إلّا ومعه واحد من الروح

٢٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
مجاهد عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال
بملائكة لهم رؤوس وأيدي وأرجل، ثم
صفاً﴾ قال: هؤلاء جند وهؤلاء جند.

٢٢٣ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق و
الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن
يشبهون الناس وليسوا بالناس لهم أيدي

٢٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
قال: ما يبلغ الجن والإنس والملائكة

٢٢٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم
﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً
القيامة صماط من الروح وصماط من

٢٢٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن
أجزاء فالإنس جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء
فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة، والملائكة

٢٢٢ - الدر المنثور ٦/٣٠٩ وعزاه السيوطي في العظمة وابن أبي حاتم وابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن أبي نجيح قال: الروح حفظة على الملائكة.

٢٢٨ - (وأخرج) ابن الأنباري في كتاب الأضداد عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق من الملائكة لا تراهم الملائكة كما لا ترون أنتم الملائكة.

ما جاء في رضوان ومالك وخزنة النار عليهم السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿ونادوا يا مالك ليقض علينا ربك قال إنكم ماكثون﴾ وقال تعالى ﴿وقال الذين في النار لخزنة جهنم﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿عليها ملائكة غلاظ شداد﴾. الآية وقال ﴿عليها تسعة عشر وما جعلنا أصحاب النار إلّا ملائكة وما جعلنا عدتهم إلّا فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿سندع الزبانية﴾.

٢٢٩ - (وأخرج) القتبي[1] في عيون الأخبار عن طاوس أن الله عز وجل خلق مالكاً وخلق له أصابع على عدد أهل النار، فما من أهل النار يعذب إلّا ومالك يعذبه بأصبع من أصابعه فوالله لو وضع مالك اصبعاً من أصابعه على السماء لأذابها.

٢٣٠ - (وأخرج) الضياء المقدسي في صفة النار عن أنس سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: والذي نفسي بيده لقد خلقت ملائكة جهنم قبل أن تخلق جهنم بألف عام فهم كل يوم يزدادون قوة إلى قوتهم.

٢٣١ - (وأخرج) عبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني قال: بلغنا أن خزنة النار تسعة عشر ما بين منكبي أحدهم مسيرة

(١) ويقال: القتبي وهو عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، اللغوي والأديب المشهور، قليل الرواية، صدوق.

مائة خريف، ليس في قلوبهم رحمة إنما خلقوا للعذاب يضرب الملك منهم الرجل من أهل النار الضربة فيتركه طحيناً من لدن قرنه إلى قدمه.

٢٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن كعب قال: ما بين منكبي الخازن من خزنتها مسيرة خمسمائة سنة، مع كل واحد منهم عمود وشعبتان يدفع به الدفع يصدع به في النار سبعمائة ألف.

٢٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن مجاهد قال: حدثت أن النبي ﷺ وصف خُزان جهنم فقال «كأن أعينهم البرق وكأن أفواههم الصياصي يجرون أشعارهم، لهم مثل قوة الثقلين يقبل أحدهم بالأمة من الناس يسوقهم. على رقبته جبل حتى يرمى بهم في النار فيرمي بالجبل عليهم.

٢٣٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد وابن أبي شيبة وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر والبيهقي في البعث من طريق الأزرق بن قيس عن رجل من بني تميم قال كنا عند أبي العوام فقرأ هذه الآية ﴿وعليها تسعة عشر﴾ فقال ما تقولون أتسعة عشر ملكاً أو تسعة عشر ألفاً؟ قلت: لا بل تسعة عشر ملكاً، فقال ومن أين علمت ذلك؟ قلت لأن الله قال يقول ﴿وما جعلنا عدتهم إلاّ فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ قال صدقت كم تسعة عشر ملكاً وبيد كل واحد منهم مرزبة من حديد لها شعبتان فضرب بها الضربة يهوي بها سبعين ألفاً بين منكبي كل ملك منهم مسيرة كذا وكذا، قال القرطبي المراد بقوله عليها تسعة عشر رؤساؤهم، وإنما جُعلت المنزلة فلا يعلم عدتهم إلاّ الله عز وجل.

٢٣٥ - (وأخرج) هناد بن السري في كتاب الزهد عن كعب قال: يؤمر بالرجل إلى النار فيبتدره مائة ألف ملك.

٢٣٦ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال: الزبانية أرجلهم في

الأرض ورؤوسهم في السماء.

٢٣٧ - (وأخرج) الواحدي في أسباب النزول وابن عساكر في تاريخه من طريق إسحق بن بشر عن جويبر عن الضحاك عن ابن عباس قال: لما عيّر المشركون رسول الله ﷺ بالفاقة قالوا «ما لهذا الرسول يأكل الطعام ويمشي في الأسواق» حزن رسول الله ﷺ لذلك فنزل عليه جبريل فقال: السلام عليك يا رسول الله رب العزة يقرئك السلام ويقول لك وما أرسلنا قبلك من المرسلين إلاّ أنهم ليأكلون الطعام ويمشون في الأسواق فبينما جبريل والنبي ﷺ يتحدثان إذ ذاب جبريل حتى صار مثل الهوذة فقال رسول الله ﷺ «مالك ذبت حتى صرت مثل الهوذة» قال: يا محمد فتح باب من أبواب السماء لم يكن فتح قبل ذلك إذ عاد جبريل إلى حاله فقال: يا محمد أبشر هذا رضوان خازن الجنة فأقبل رضوان حتى سلم ثم قال يا محمد رب العزة يقرئك السلام ومعه سفط من نور يتلألأ ويقول لك ربك هذه مفاتيح خزائن الدنيا مع مالا ينتقص لك مما عندي في الآخرة مثل جناح بعوضة، فنظر النبي ﷺ إلى جبريل كالمستشير له، فضرب جبريل بيديه إلى الأرض فقال تواضع لله فقال يا رضوان لا حاجة لي في الدنيا، فقال رضوان: أصبت أصاب الله بك. ويرون أن هذه الآية أنزلها رضوان ﴿تبارك الذي إن شاء جعل لك خيراً من ذاك جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ويجعل لك قصوراً﴾.

٢٣٨ - (وأخرج) البخاري ومسلم عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «رأيت ليلة أسري بي موسى بن عمران رجلاً طويلاً جعداً كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى بن مريم مربوع الخلق إلى الحمرة

٢٣٨ - مسند أحمد ١/ ٢٤٥ ورواه بلفظه عن ابن عباس ولم يذكر فيه [ورأيت مالكاً خازن جهنم والرجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى].
وانظر مشكاة المصابيح ٥ رقم ٥٧١٥. / كنز العمال رقم ٣٢٢٧١.

والبياض سبط الرأس ورأيت مالكا خازن جهنم والدجال في آيات أراهن الله تعالى.

٢٣٩ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن عمر قال: لما أسري برسول الله ﷺ رأى مالكا خازن النار فإذا رجل عابس يعرف الغضب في وجهه.

٢٤٠ - (وأخرج) أبو بكر الواسطي في فضائل بيت المقدس عن أبي سلمة قال رأى عبادة بن الصامت على شرقي بيت المقدس يبكي فقيل له: ما يبكيك؟ فقال من ها هنا حدثني رسول الله ﷺ أنه رأى مالكا يقلب جمراً كالقطف.

٢٤١ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إذا أراد الله بعبد خيراً بعث إليه ملكاً من خزان الجنة فمسح ظهره فسخى نفسه بالزكاة».

٢٤٢ - (وأخرج) الخليلي في مشيخته عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «أنا أول من يقرع باب الجنة فيقوم الخازن فيقول من أنت؟ فأقول أنا محمد فيقول أقوم فأفتح لك ولم أقم لأحد قبلك ولا أقوم لأحد بعدك».

٢٤٣ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن علي في قوله تعالى ﴿كطي السجل﴾ قال مالك.

٢٤٤ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عطية قال السجل اسم ملك.

٢٤٥ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عمر قال: السجل ملك فإذا صعد بالاستغفار قال اكتبوها نوراً.

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٢٤١ - جمع الجوامع رقم ١١١٢ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن علي رضي الله عنه.

وانظر تنزيه الشريعة ١٤١/٢. / كشف الخفاء ٣٠٩/٢. / تذكرة الموضوعات ص ٦٣.

٢٤٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن السدي قال: السجل ملك موكل بالصحف فإذا مات الإنسان دفع كتابه إلى السجل فطواه ورفعه إلى يوم القيامة.

٢٤٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وابن عساكر عن أبي جعفر الباقر قال: السجل ملك، وكان هاروت وماروت من أعوانه، وكان له كل يوم ثلاث لمحات ينظرهن في أم الكتاب فنظر نظرة لم تكن له فأبصر فيها خلق آدم وما فيه من الأمور، فأسر ذلك إلى هاروت وماروت فلما قال تعالى ﴿إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة قالوا أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها﴾ قالا ذلك استطالة على الملائكة.

ما جاء في هاروت وماروت

٢٤٨ - (أخرج) أحمد بن حنبل وعبد بن حميد في مسنديهما وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن حبان في صحيحه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن عبد الله بن عمر أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول ﴿إن آدم لما أهبطه الله إلى الأرض قالت الملائكة أي رب أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها ويسفك الدماء ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال إني أعلم ما لا تعلمون﴾ قالوا ربنا نحن أطوع لك من بني آدم، قال الله تعالى: هلموا ملكين من الملائكة حتى نهبطهما إلى الأرض فننظر كيف يعملان فقالوا: ربنا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض فتمثلت لهما الزهرة امرأة من أحسن البشر فجاءتهما فسألاها نفسها فقالت: لا والله حتى تكلما بهذه الكلمة من الإشراك، قالا لا والله لانشرك بالله أبداً فذهبت عنهما ثم رجعت بصبي تحمله، فسألاها نفسها فقالت لا والله حتى تقتلا هذا الصبي، قالا والله لا نقتله أبداً، فذهبت ثم رجعت بقدح من خمر تحمله فسألاها نفسها، فقالت لا والله حتى تشربا هذا الخمر فشربا فسكرا فوقعا عليها وقتلا الصبي، فلما أفاقا قالت المرأة والله

ما تركتما شيئاً أبيتماه عليّ إلّا قد فعلتماه حين سكرتما، فخيرا عند ذلك بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا».

٢٤٩ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «أشرفت الملائكة على الدنيا فرأت بني آدم يعصون فقالت يا رب ما أجهل هؤلاء ما أقل معرفة هؤلاء بعظمتك! فقال اللّه عز وجل لو كنتم في مسلاخهم لعصيتموني قالوا كيف يكون هذا ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال فاختاروا منكم ملكين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت، ثم أهبطا إلى الأرض وركبت فيهما شهوات بني آدم ومثلت لهما امرأة فما عصما حتى واقعا المعصية فقال اللّه اختارا عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فنظر أحدهما إلى صاحبه قال ما تقول فاختر قال أقول إن عذاب الدنيا ينقطع وإن عذاب الآخرة لا ينقطع، فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما اللذان ذكر اللّه في كتابه ﴿وما أنزل على الملكين﴾ الآية.

٢٥٠ - (وأخرج) الحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن ابن عمر أنه كان يقول: أطلعت الحمراء بعد؟ فإذا رآها قال، لا مرحباً ثم قال إن ملكين من الملائكة هاروت وماروت سألا اللّه أن يهبطا إلى الأرض، فكانا يقضيان بين الناس فإذا أمسيا تكلما بكلمات فعرجا بها إلى السماء، فقيض اللّه لهما امرأة من أحسن الناس وألقيت عليهما الشهوة وألقيت في أنفسهما فلم يزالا حتى وعدتهما ميعاداً فأتتهما للميعاد فقالت علماني الكلمة التي تعرجان بها فعلماها فتكلمت بها فعرجت إلى السماء

٢٤٩ - الجامع الكبير ٢/٥٠٩ وذكره السيوطي عن ابن عمر رضي اللّه عنهما. وفيه [قرأت بني آدم يعصون] وكلمة [مسالحهم] غير كلمة [مسلاخهم].
شعب الإيمان ١/١١٣ ورواه بلفظه ثم قال البيهقي في تعليقه: ورويناه موقوفاً من وجه آخر عن مجاهد عن ابن عمر، وهو الأصح فإن ابن عمر أنه أخذه عن كعب.

فمسخت فجعلت كما ترون، فلما أمسيا تكلما بالكلمة فلم يعرجا فبعث إليهما إن شئتما فعذاب الآخرة وإن شئتما فعذاب الدنيا فقال أحدهما لصاحبه بل نختار عذاب الدنيا.

٢٥١ - (وأخرج) إسحاق بن راهويه في مسنده وعبد بن حميد في تفسيره وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم في المستدرك وصححه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال إن هذه الزهرة تسميها العرب الزهرة والعجم أناهيد، وكان الملكان يحكمان بين الناس فأتتهما فرأياها فقالت لهما الزهرة: ألا تخبراني بما تصعدان به إلى السماء وبما تهبطان به إلى الأرض فقالا باسم اللّه الأعظم، قالت ما أنا بمواتيكا حتى تعلمانيه فقال أحدهما لصاحبه علمها إياه فقال كيف بنا بشدة عذاب اللّه؟ قال الآخر انا نرجو سعة اللّه فعلمها إياه فتكلمت به فطارت إلى السماء، ففزع ملك في السماء لصعودها فطأطأ رأسه فلم يجلس بعد ومسخها اللّه فكانت كوكباً.

٢٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن راهويه وابن مردويه في تفسيره عن علي قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ لعن اللّه الزهرة فإنها هي التي فتنت الملكين هاروت وماروت.

٢٥٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس قال: إن أهل سماء الدنيا أشرفوا على الأرض فرأوهم يعملون بالمعاصي فقالوا يا رب أهل الأرض يعملون بالمعاصي فقال اللّه عز وجل: أنتم معي وهم غيب عني، فقيل لهم اختاروا منكم ثلاثة فاختاروا منهم ثلاثة على أن يهبطوا إلى الأرض فيحكموا ما بين أهل الأرض وجعل فيهم شهوة الآدميين

٢٥٢ - تذكرة الموضوعات ص ١١٠ وأشار الفتني إلى الحديث وعزاه لأبي نعيم عن علي وقال: الصحيح وقفة على كعب كذا قال البيهقي.

فأمروا أن لا يشربوا خمراً ولا يقتلوا نفساً ولا يزنوا ولا يسجدوا لوثن، فاستقال منهم واحد فأقيل وأهبط اثنان إلى الأرض، فأتتهما امرأة من أحسن الناس يقال لها أناهيد، فهوياها جميعاً ثم أتيا منزلها فاجتمعا عندها فأراداها، فقالت لهما: لا حتى تشربا خمري وتقتلا ابن جاري وتسجدا لوثني فقالا: لا نسجد ثم شربا من الخمر ثم قتلا ثم سجدا فأشرف أهل السماء عليهما، وقالت لهما أخبراني بالكلمة التي إذا قلتماها طرتما فأخبراها فطارت فمسخت جمرة وهي هذه الزهرة، وأما هما فأرسل إليهما سليمان بن داود فخيرهما بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما مناطان بين السماء والأرض.

٢٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عباس قال: لما وقع الناس من بعد آدم فيما وقعوا فيه من المعاصي والكفر باللّه قالت الملائكة في السماء: رب هذا العالم الذي إنما خلقتهم لعبادتك وطاعتك قد وقعوا فيما وقعوا فيه وركب الكفر وقتل النفس وأكل مال الحرام والزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فجعلوا يدعون عليهم ولا يعذرونهم، فقيل إنهم في غيب فلم يعذروهم فقيل لهم: اختاروا منكم من أفضلكم ملكين آمرهما وأنهاهما فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض وجعل لهما شهوات بني آدم وأمرهما أن يعبداه ولا يشركا به شيئاً ونهاهما عن قتل النفس الحرام وأكل مال الحرام وعن الزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فلبثا في الأرض زماناً يحكمان بين الناس بالحق، وذلك في زمان إدريس وفي ذلك الزمان امرأة حسنها في النساء كحسن الزهرة في سائر الكواكب وأنها أتيا عليها فخضعا لها في القول وأراداها على نفسها فأبت إلّا أن يكونا على أمرها ودينها فسألاها عن دينها فأخرجت لهما صنماً فقالت هذا أعبده فقالا لا حاجة لنا في عبادة هذا فذهبا فغابا ما شاء اللّه، ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها

ففعلت مثل ذلك فذهبا ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها، فلما رأت أنهما أبيا أن يعبدا الصنم فقالت لهما اختارا إحدى الخلال الثلاث إما أن تعبدا هذا الصنم وإما أن تقتلا هذا النفس وإما أن تشربا الخمر فقالا: هذا لا ينبغي وأهون الثلاثة شرب الخمر، فشربا الخمر فأخذت منهما فواقعا المرأة فخشيا أن يخبر الإنسان عنهما فقتلاه، فلما ذهب عنهما السكر وعلما ما وقعا فيه من الخطيئة أرادا أن يصعدا إلى السماء فلم يستطيعا وحيل بينهما وبين ذلك، وكشف الغطاء فيما بينهما وبين أهل السماء، فنظرت الملائكة إلى ما وقعا فيه، فعجبوا كل العجب وعرفوا أنه من كان في غيب فهو أقل خشية، فجعلوا بعد ذلك يستغفرون لمن في الأرض، فقيل لهما اختارا عذاب الدنيا أو عذاب الآخرة فقالا: أما عذاب الدنيا فإنه ينقطع ويذهب، وأما عذاب الآخرة فلا انقطاع له فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فجعلا ببابل فهما يعذبان.

٢٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن مجاهد قال: كنت نازلاً على عبد اللّه بن عمر في سفر فلما كان ذات ليلة قال لغلامه: أنظر طلعت الحمراء لا مرحباً بها ولا أهلاً ولا حياها اللّه هي صاحبة الملكين قالت الملائكة رب كيف تدع عصاة بني آدم وهم يسفكون الدم الحرام وينتهكون محارمك ويفسدون في الأرض، قال إني قد ابتليتهم فلعل إن ابتليتكم مثل الذي ابتليتهم به فعلتم كالذي يفعلون قالوا لا، قال فاختاروا من خياركم اثنين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت فقال لهما إني مهبطكما إلى الأرض وعاهد إليكما أن لا تشركا ولا تزنيا ولا تخونا فأهبطا إلى الأرض وألقي عليهما الشبق وأهبطت لهما الزهرة في أحسن صورة امرأة، فتعرضت لهما فأراداها على نفسها فقالت إني على دين لا يصلح لأحد أن يأتيني إلّا من كان على مثله، قالا وما دينك قالت المجوسية قالا الشرك هذا شيء لا نقربه فمكثت عنهما ما شاء اللّه ثم تعرضت لهما

فأراداها على نفسها فقالت ما شئتما غير أن لي زوجاً أكره أن يطلع عليَّ هذا مني فافتضح فإن أقررتما لي بديني وشرطتما أن تصعدا بي إلى السماء فعلت، فأقرا لها بدينها وأتياها فيما يريان ثم صعدا بها إلى السماء فلما انتهيا إلى السماء اختطفت منهما وقطعت أجنحتهما فوقعا خائفين نادمين يبكيان، وفي الأرض نبي يدعو بين الجمعتين فإذا كان يوم الجمعة أجيب، فقالا لو أتينا فلاناً فسألناه يطلب لنا التوبة فأتياه فقال: رحمكما الله كيف يطلب أهل الأرض لأهل السماء؟ قالا إنا قد ابتلينا، قال: ائتياني في يوم الجمعة، فأتياه فقال ما أجبت فيكما بشيء ائتياني في الجمعة الثانية، فأتياه فقال اختارا فقد خيرتما فإن أحببتما معافاة الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة، وإن أحببتما فعذاب الدنيا وأنتما يوم القيامة على حكم الله قال أحدهما الدنيا لم يمض منها إلاّ القليل وقال الآخر ويحك إني قد أطعتك في الأول فأطعني الآن فاختارا عذاب الدنيا؛ لهذه القصة طرق أخرى كثيرة جمعها الحافظ ابن حجر في جزء مفرد، وقال في كتابه القول المسدد في الذب عن مسند أحمد، إن الواقف عليه يكاد يقطع بوقوع هذه القصة لكثرة الطرق الواردة فيها وقوة مخارج أكثرها وقد وقفت على الجزء الذي جمعه فوجدته أورد فيه بضعة عشر طريقاً، وقد جمعت أنا طرقها في التفسير فبلغت نيفاً وعشرين طريقاً.

ذكر قصة ملك آخر عليه السلام

٢٥٦ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن عبد الله بن عيسى قال: كان فيمن كان قبلكم رجل عبد الله أربعين سنة في البر، قال: يا رب قد اشتقت أن أعبدك في البحر، فأتى إلى قوم فاستحملهم فحملوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم ما شاء الله أن تجري ثم قامت، فإذا شجرة في ناحية الماء فقال: ضعوني على هذه الشجرة فوضعوه وجرت بهم سفينتهم فأراد ملك أن يعرج إلى السماء فتكلم بكلامه الذي كان

يعرج به فلم يقدر على ذلك فعلم أن ذلك لخطيئة كانت منه، فأتى صاحب الشجرة فسأله أن يشفع له إلى ربه، فصلى ودعا للملك، وطلب الملك إلى ربه أن يكون هو يقبض نفسه ليكون أهون عليه من ملك الموت، فأتاه حين حضر أجله فقال: إني طلبت إلى ربي أن يشفعني فيك كما شفعك فيَّ، وأن أكون أنا أقبض نفسك فمن حيث شئت قبضتها، فسجد سجدة فخرجت من عينه دمعة فمات.

ما جاء في الرعد والبرق عليهما السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ويسبح الرعد بحمده والملائكة من خيفته﴾.

٢٥٧ ـ (أخرج) أحمد والترمذي وصححه والنسائي وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وابن مردويه وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس قال: أقبلت يهود إلى رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: أخبرنا ما هذا الرعد؟ قال «ملك من ملائكة الله موكل بالسحاب، بيده مخراق من نار يزجر به السحاب، يسوقه حيث أمره الله» قالوا: فما هذا الصوت الذي نسمع؟ قال «صوته» قالوا صدقت.

٢٥٨ ـ (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب المطر وابن جرير وابن المنذر والبيهقي في سننه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال: الرعد ملك والبرق ضربة السحاب بمخراق من حديد.

٢٥٩ ـ (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال: الرعد ملك يسوق السحاب بالتسبيح كما يسوق الحادي الإبل بحدائه.

٢٦٠ ـ (وأخرج) البخاري في الأدب وابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن

٢٥٧ ـ الدر المنثور ٤/٥٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث طويل وعزاه للترمذي وصححه، وأحمد والنسائي وابن مردويه وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبي الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

٢٨٧ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ من طريق سالم بن أبي الجعد عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن مما خلق اللّه ديكاً براثنه على الأرض السابعة وعرفه منطو تحت العرش قد أحاط جناحه بالأفقين فإذا بقي ثلث الليل الآخر ضرب بجناحيه ثم قال سبحوا الملك القدوس سبحان ربنا الملك القدوس لا إله لنا غيره، فيسمعها من بين الخافقين إلّا الثقلين» فيرون أن الديكة إنما تضرب بأجنحتها وتصرخ إذا سمعت ذلك.

٢٨٨ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي صادق قال الديكة تجاوب الملائكة بالتسبيح هل رأيتم طيراً يصيح بالليل.

٢٨٩ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن أبي عمرة قال حين يقول الملك: سبحوا القدوس فحينئذ تحرك الطير أجنحتها.

٢٩٠ ـ (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الحميد بن يوسف قال صاح ديك عند سليمان عليه السلام فقال سليمان هل تدرون ما يقول هذا؟ قالوا لا: قال فإنه يقول: إذكروا اللّه يا غافلين.

٢٩١ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن صفوان بن عسال قال: إن للّه ديكاً تحت العرش جناحه في الهواء وبراثنه في الأرض فإذا كان في الأسحار وأذان الصلوات خفق بجناحه وصفق بالتسبيح فتسبح الديكة تجيبه بالتسبيح.

٢٩٢ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان وضعفه عن

٢٨٧ ـ اللآلىء المصنوعة ١/٣٢.

٢٩٢ ـ جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٦١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، وضعفه عن جابر رضي اللّه عنه، وعنده لفظ (هاج) غير لفظ (صاح) وفي الباب أربعة أحاديث بلفظ (إن للّه ديكاً كلها ضعيفة).

جابر بن عبد اللّه قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «إن للّه ديكاً رجلاه في التخوم وعنقه تحت العرش منطوية فإذا كان هنة من الليل صاح سبوح قدوس فصاحت الديكة».

٢٩٣ ـ (وأخرج) ابن عدي عن العرش بن عميرة قال قال رسول اللّه ﷺ إن للّه تعالى ديكاً براثنه في الأرض السفلى وعنقه تحت العرش يصرخ عند مواقيت الصلاة ويصرخ له ديك السماوات سماء سماء ثم يصرخ بصراخ ديك السماوات ديكة الأرض سبوح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح.

٢٩٤ ـ (وأخرج) الديلمي في مسند الفردوس عن أم سعد، امرأة من المهاجرات، قالت قال رسول اللّه ﷺ «العرش على ملك من لؤلؤ على صورة ديك رجلاه في التخوم السفلى وعنقه مثنية تحت العرش وجناحاه بالمشرق والمغرب فإذا سبح اللّه ذلك الملك لم يبق شيء إلّا سبح اللّه عز وجل».

ما جاء في السكينة عليه السلام

٢٩٥ ـ (أخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط عن علي رضي اللّه عنه قال «إذا ذكر الصالحون فحي هلا بعمر، ما كنا أصحاب محمد نبعد أن السكينة تنطق على لسان عمر رضي اللّه عنه. قال ابن الأثير في النهاية السكينة هنا ملك.

٢٩٦ ـ (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أسيد بن حضير أنه أتى النبي ﷺ

٢٩٣ ـ كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٢٨٠ أنظر حديث ٢٨٤.

٢٩٤ ـ الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٦ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي اللّه عنها.

فقال يا رسول الله إني كنت أقرأ البارحة سورة الكهف فجاء شيء حتى غطى فمي فقال النبي ﷺ تلك السكينة جاءت حتى تسمع القرآن.

٢٩٧ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن أبي سلمة قال بينا أسيد بن حضير الأنصاري يصلي بالليل فإذا غشيني مثل السحابة فيها مثل المصابيح والمرأة نائمة إلى جنبي وهي حامل، والفرس مربوط في الدار فخشيت أن تنفر الحصان فتفزع المرأة فتلقي ولدها فانصرفت من صلاتي فقال اقرأ يا أسيد فإن ذلك ملك استمع القرآن.

ما جاء في ملك الجبال عليه السلام

٢٩٨ - (أخرج) أحمد والبخاري ومسلم عن عائشة أنها قالت قلت للنبي ﷺ أتى عليك يوم أشد من يوم أحد؟ قال «لقد لقيت من قومك وكان أشد ما لقيت منهم يوم العقبة إذ عرضت نفسي على ابن عبد يا ليل ابن عبد كلال فلم يجبني إلى ما أردت فانطلقت وأنا مهموم على وجهي فلم أستفق إلا وأنا بقرن الثعالب فرفعت رأسي فإذا أنا بسحابة قد أظلتني فنظرت فإذا فيها جبريل فناداني فقال إن الله قد سمع قول قومك لك وما ردوا عليك وقد بعث إليك ملك الجبال لتأمره بما شئت فيهم فناداني ملك الجبال فسلم عليّ ثم قال يا محمد إن شئت أطبق عليهم الأخشبين، قال النبي ﷺ بل أرجو أن يخرج الله من أصلابهم

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٢٩٨ - فتح الباري ٧/١٦٦ وأشار إلى الحديث ولم يذكره.
- مشكاة المصابيح رقم ٥٨٤٨ وذكره بلفظه وقال متفق عليه.
وانظر إحياء علوم الدين ٤/١٣٩. / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/٨٨.
تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٢٥٩. / رياض الصالحين ص ٢٨٥.
كنز العمال رقم ٣١٩٨٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأحمد، والبخاري، ومسلم عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

من يعبد الله وحده لا يشرك به شيئاً».

٢٩٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة قال قال رسو
الله ﷺ «جاءني جبريل فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام وهذا ملك
الجبال قد أرسله معك وأمره أن لا يفعل شيئاً إلا بأمرك فقال له ملك
الجبال إن شئت دمدمت عليهم الجبال وإن شئت رميتهم بالحصباء وإ
شئت خسفت بهم الأرض قال يا ملك الجبال فإني أأني بهم لعلهم أ
يخرج منهم ذرية يقولون لا إله إلا الله، فقال ملك الجبال أنت ك
سماك ربك رؤوف رحيم».

ما جاء في رميائيل خازن أرواح المؤمنين عليه السلام

٣٠٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت عن وهب بن منب
قال: إن أرواح المؤمنين إذا قبضت ترفع إلى ملك يقال له رميائيل وه
خازن أرواح المؤمنين.

ما جاء في دومة خازن أرواح الكفار عليه السلام

٣٠١ - (أخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت من طريق أبان بر
تغلب عن رجل من أهل الكتاب قال: الملك الذي على أرواح الكفا
يقال له دومة.

ما جاء في فتان القبر عليهم السلام

٣٠٢ - (أخرج) الترمذي وحسنه وابن أبي الدنيا والآجري في

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٣٠٢ - موارد الظمآن رقم ٧٨٠ ورواه بنحو من لفظه.
وانظر شرح السنة ٥/٤١٦ قال البغوي حديث حسن.
مشكاة المصابيح رقم ١٣٠. / جمع الجوامع ٢٣١٨. / كنز العما
٤٢٥٠٠.

Appendix B

Chapter Details for Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

A Table Cross-referencing the MS [Or. 474/28] and the Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyya Edition

Chapter	Hadith Nos.	DKI	Leiden MS	
			Begins	Ends
Preface	1	pp. 9 – 10	fol. 187v, l. 1	fol. 187v, l. 15
Substance	2 - 4	pp. 10 - 11	fol. 187v, l. 15	fol. 187v, l. 21
Great Number	5 - 26	pp. 11 - 16	fol. 187v, l. 21	fol. 188v, l. 19
Archangels	27 – 35	pp. 16 - 19	fol. 188v, l. 19	fol. 189r, l. 26
Gabriel	36 – 77	pp. 19 - 29	fol. 189r, l. 26	fol. 191v, l. 10
Michael	78 – 84	pp. 29 – 31	fol. 191v, l. 10	fol. 192r, l. 5
Israfil	85 – 106	pp. 31 – 37	fol. 192r, l. 5	fol. 193r, l. 22
Angel of Death	107 - 171	pp. 37 - 53	fol. 193r, l. 22	fol. 197r, l. 14
Throne Bearers	179 – 209	pp. 56 - 62	fol. 197v, l. 20	fol. 199r, l. 11
The Spirit	210 – 228	pp. 62 – 65	fol. 199r, l. 11	fol. 199v, l. 22
Ridwan etc.	229 – 242	pp. 65 – 68	fol. 199v, l. 23	fol. 200v, l. 9
Al-Sijill	243 – 247	pp. 68 – 69	fol. 200v, l. 9	fol. 200v, l. 23
Hārūt & Mārūt	248 – 256	pp. 69 – 74	fol. 200v, l. 23	fol. 202r, l. 16
Sakīna	295 - 297	pp. 83 - 84	fol. 204r, l. 9	fol. 204r, l. 17

Appendix C

Textual Variants: Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

MS Variants [Leiden MS Or.474/28]

Chapter	No.	Fol.	Line	MS Reading	DKI Reading
Preface	-	187v	1	Marginalia: السابعة والعشرون في الملايكة من وجوه	
	-	187v	1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه تقتي	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
	-	187v	2	اما بعد حمد الله	الحمد الله
	-	187v	3	فهذا تاليف	فهذه تاليف
	-	187v	4	استوعبدت فيها	استوعبدت فيه
	-	187v	7	الملائكة ينتظم معابن (؟)	الملائكة ينتظم في معان
	-	187v	10	ولا يدعون الهتهم لهة	ولا يدعون آلهة
	-	187v	12	Omitted	الاعتراف بان منهم رسلا يرسل الى من يشاء من البشر وقد يجوز ان يرسل بعضهم الى الارض ويتبع ذلك
	1	187v	16	عن ابن عمر عن النبي	عن ابن عمر عن عمرعن النبي
Substance	2	187v	17-18	اخرج عن عائشة	اخرج مسلم عن عائشة
	2	187v	18-19	Ḥadīth inserted	
Great Abundance	6	187v	25	ما في السماء سماء منها موضع	ما في السماوات شيء منها موضع
	8	187v	29	ثُئط	
	9	187v	31	النبي	رسول الله
		188r	1	قائم فذلك قوله تعالى	قاءم ذلك قوله
	10	188r	2	بينما	بينا
		188r	4	موضع قدم الا عليه ملك	موضع قدم الا عليها ملك
	11	188r	6	لقيامة قالوا سبحانك	القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك
		188r	7	عبادتك انا لم	عبادتك الا انا لم
	12	188r	9-10	ذلك اسماوات مكبوسات	ذلك السماوات والارض مكبوسات
	14	188r	14	فاذا خرج قطرت منه	فاذا خرج قطر منه
		188r	14	من نور فخلق من كل قطرة	من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة

Great Abundance	15	188r	16	رب من معك	يا رب ن معك
	20	188r	25	اجنحتهم فرقاً من الله	اجنحتهم خوفاً من الله
		188r	26	Ḥadīth inserted	
	21	188r	31	موضع اهاب الا فيه ملك ساجد	موضع الا فيه ساجد
	22	188v	2	قال ان الله	قال ان الله تعالى
		188v	2	فتسعة	تسعة
		188v	4-5	من بقي من الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم ايضاً الذين يسحون الليل والنهار ولا يفترون ومن بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله	من بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله
	23	188v	6	ابن خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاغيش	خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاعيس
	24	188v	10	فرائصهم ما منهم ملك	فرائص من مخافعه ما منهم ملك
	25	188v	18	وانا لنحن الصافون وانا لنحن المسبحون	انا لنحن المسبحون
Four Archangels	27	188v	20-21	ابن ابي شببة وابن ابي حاتم والبيهقي في الشعب وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن ابن سابط	ابن اي حاتم وابو الشيخ في العظمة ولبيهقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط
		188v	22	اما السرافيل فموكل القطر	اما ميكائيل فموكل القطر
	28	188v	23	الدنيا جمع بين حفظهم وما في ام الكتاب	الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل ام الكتاب
		188v	20	[Mentioned at the beginning of the ḥadīth]	...رواه ابن ابي شيبة
	29	188v	28	بينما	بينا
	30	189r	12	خمسة الاف سنة	خمسين الف سنة
	32	189r	15	Omitted	
	35	189r	25	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الاعلى / الا على	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الأعلى
Gabriel	36	189r	28	معبّد	
	43	189v	6	Omitted	رضي الله عنها
	44b	189v	12	يا محمد كيف ياتك يعني جبريل	يا محمد كيف ياتك الذي ياتك يعني جبريل
	48	189v	23	Omitted	مسيرة
	49	189v	24	اسحاق الهاشمي	اسحاق

Gabriel	50	189v	26	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جرير وقتادة دخل	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقتادة دخل
		189v	27	حُبك حُبك	
	52	190r	1	فقعد فنزل جبريل على خشبة	فقعد جبريل على خشبة
	53	190r	7	ما كنتُ	
	54	190r	12	راسه كالحبك	راسه كالجبل
	56	190r	20	لقد دخلت الداخل اغتماماً بكلام الناس مما بي من الحمى فدخل علي داخل	فدخل علي داخل
		190r	21	رجلاً بعدك قط اكرم	رجلاً قط بعدك اكرم
	60	190v	5	دعى المؤمن قال يا جبريل	دعى المؤمن قال الله يا جبريل
	62	190v	10	عبد الله ابن عمير	عبد الله ابن عمر
	68	190v	26	The ḥadīth runs on from the last with *qāla* (no *akhraja*) as per the DKI edition	
		190v	27-29	محمد بن عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم عن عمرو بن قتادة بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله	ابو محمد عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم بن بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله
		191r	1	Omitted	وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطيبي لاعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي
	69	191r	3	احنف اضجم اعسر	احنف اصمع اعسر
		191r	6	قل الا	قل له الا
		191r	7	فقال له قل بلا يا رسول الله	فقال له قل بلا
	70	191r	9	Large gap between *akhraja* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh – name missing (?)	
	71	191r	14	Omitted	وذكر ابراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان احمدهما يا عر باللين والاخر بالشدة وكل مصيب
	72	191r	19	مسيرة سبعين عاماً	مسيرة سبعين سنة

Gabriel	74	191r	30	فيقول جبريل وملك الموت	فيقول جبريل :ملك الموت
	75	191v	5	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك وعبدك جبريل	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل
Michael	78	191v	10	ابن عبد المنذر	ابن المنذر
	84	191v	25	Omitted	ابو عبد الله الحسين الدينوري
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو علي بن موسى
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو موسى بن جعفر
		191v	32	Omitted	ابن علي بن علي طالب
		191v	32	وقال اشهد بالله لقد حدثنا جبريل وقال...	Omitted
Isrāfīl	85	192r	6	Ornamentation	
		192r	6 – 7	الصور من لؤلؤة	الصور لؤلؤة
		192r	7	ضفاء الزجاجة	ضفاء الزجاج
		192r	9	من ثقب واحد	من ثقب واحدة
		192r	9	كوة كاستدار	كوة كاستدارة
	87	192r	17	مستعد ينظر نحو العرش	مستعد ينظر حول العرش
	88	192r	18	ابي سعيد الخذري	ابي سعيد الخدري
	90	192r	22	عن ملك الله الذي يليه اسرافيل تم	عن ملك الله الذي يليه قال ان الملك الذي يليه اسرافيل ثم
	91	192r	23	احمد والحاكم وابن مردويه عن ابن سعيد	احمد والحاكم عن ابن سعيد
	93	192v	5	بكذا فلا تهبط	بكذا فلا يهبط
	94	192v	6	Omitted (but a space left)	اخرج
		192r	8	ليس دونه سيء	ليس لدونه شيء
	95	192r	11	عن عبد الحرث ان كعبا	عن عبد الرحمنبن الحارثان كعبا
		192r	12		يقول في اسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول
	97	192r	20	قال رسول الله صلعم	قال النبي صلعم
	99	192v	29	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعميقول	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعم
	100	193r	1	In black	اخرج

Isrāfīl	102	193r	2	Omitted	لاثنى عشرة ساعة من النهار و[لاثنى]
	103	193r	6	نعم رب	نعم يا رب
	104	193r	10	بشيء كتب في اللوح المحفوظ فنحى اللوح حتى	بشئء كتب في اللوح حتى
		193r	10-11	اسرافيل قد غطى وجهه بجناحه	اسرافيل قد غطى راسه بجناحه
		193r	11	فان كان الى السماء	فان كان الى اهل السماء
		193r	12	Omitted	الى ميكائيل وان كان الى اهل الارض دفعه
		193r	12	Omitted	اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم فيقال من يشهد لك فيقول اسرافيل فيدعى اسرافيل
		193r	12	فيقال له قد بلغك	فيقال له هل بلغك
	106	193r	15	البزار والطبراني والبيهقي فى السماء والصفات عن ابن عمرو	الطبراني في الاوسط والبيهقي في الاسماء والصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو
		193r	16	الى النبي	الى الرسول الله
		193r	16	اهل الارض فليحاكم الى اسرافيل	اهل لارض فلنتحاكم الى اسرافيل
Angel of Death	107	193r	27	فارسل اخر	فارسل لها اخر
		193r	29	Marked (ink stain?) after: كلها من طيبها	
	108	193v	2	بلله منك عن ينقص مني	بلله منك عن تنقص مني
	112	193v	14	اجله قبض روحه فاذا قبض روحه اقبل	اجله قبض روحه اقبل
		193v	16	والله ما اكلت لها رزقا	والله ما اكلت لكم رزقا
		193v	16	...لها عمرا	... لكم عمرا
		193v	16	...لها اجلا	... لكم اجلا
	113	193v	20	تسيب الناس ومنها	تسيب الناس يعني...
		193v	20	الاقباض	الاتتفاض
	115	193v	22	Placed after 116	
	116	193v	24	Placed before 115	

Angel of Death	115	193v	25	على بابه سبع مرات	على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات
		193v	25	ينظر فه	ينظر حال فه
	119	193v	32	الحارث بن الخزرج عت ابيه قال	الحارث بن الخزرج قال
		193v	32	ونظر ملك الموت [Corrected in margin]	ونظر الى ملك الموت
		194r	6	الى انا تصفحهم	الى انا اصفحهم
		194r	6	حتي لا انا اعرف	حتي لانا اعرف
		194r	8	بلغني عنه انما	بلغني انما
		194r	8	الصلى فاذا نظر عند...	الصلى فاذا حضر عند...
	120	194r	12	السارة	الشارة
		194r	13	لي منك قال ادبر	لي منك اشياء ما ارلها فيك قال ادبر
		194r	15	ornamentation: dot in a circle	
	122	194r	22	فيبسره	فيبشره
		194r	23	فبشره فقال	فبشره بذلك فقال
	123	194r	32	سلم	اسلم
		194v	1	وعين في قفاه	وعينان في قفاه
		194v	2	باذن الله فيكون	باذن الله فتكون
	124	194v	5	ههننا	ها هنا
		194v	6	ان الله سخر [؟] لي	ان الله يخر لي
		194v	6	ما اي اطرافها	ما ايا اطرافها
	126	194v	9	من حيث شاء وجعلت له	من حيث وجعل له
	129	194v	16	ابن جرير في قوله تعالى...	وابن جرير وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله...
	131	194v	21	قال ملك جالس...	قال ملك الموت جالس...
	133	194v	29 - 30	...عز وجل حوى\قوى[؟] لملك الموت الدنيا حتى جعلها كالطست	...عز وجل قوى ملك الموت حتى جعلها كالطست
	134	194v	32	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم والعذاب	ملائكة من مكائكة الرحم وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب
	135	195r	2	ابن ابي حاتم	ابن ابي الدنيا

Angel of Death	135	195r	3*ff*	بين فخذي ملك الموت فاذا توفى نفسا طيبا دفعها الى ملائكة الرحمة فاذا توفى نفسا خبيثة دفعها الى ملائكة العذاب.	LEI MS: §135 is confused with §134; §135b [LEI] is the same as §135 [DKI]
	135b	195r	N/A	Omitted	فيقبض الرواح فيعطى هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرهمة وملائكة العذاب
	136	195r	11	تحت العرش فيلفى	تحت العرش فتلقى
	136	195r	11	صكا	صكاك
	138	195r	12-13	ما انا باعلم ذلك	ما انا اعلم بذلك
	139	195r	14	حتى يؤمر بقبضه	حتى يؤمر بقبضها
	142	195r	20	Ornamental nūn at end of line	
	144	195r	23	راشد بن سعد	راشد بن سعيد
	146	195v	1	لسقفت	لشققت
	146	195v	2 – 3	ورد الله عليه حينه	ورد الله عليه عينه
	149	195v	12 – 3	...اليك حاخة قا ل علمت حاجتك	...اليك حاخة قا ل قد علمت حاجتك
	149	195v	13	...في ادريس وقد بقى من عمره محى اسمه	...في ادريس وقد محى اسمه
	150	195v	16	فقال ان خليلك سالك ان...	فقال ان خليلك سال ان...
	150	195v	18	شربت شرابا قط قال لا	شربت شرابا قال لا
	154	196r	1	فزعاً لم يمت	فزعا ثم يموت
	157	196r	6	ابن انس وقد ساله	ابن انس وساله
	158	196r	10	عسكر الموات	عسكر الموت
	160	196r	13	وله رسل من الملائكة	وله رسول من الملائكة
		196r	13	النفس في تعرة (؟)	النفس في ثغرة
	163	196r	19	الربيع المسودي عن	الربيع المسودي في فوائده عن
	166	196r	27f	hadith inserted	
		196r	32-1	قال السلام	قال له السلام
		196v	1	يا ولي الله الله	يا ولي الله والله
		196v	3	...الواعظ يقول سمعت محمد بن الحسن يقول سمعت ابي	...الواعظ يقول سمعت ابي

Angel of Death	166	196v	4	على كف الموت	على كف ملك الموت
				من النور امر ان...	من النور ثم امره ان...
	167	196v	8	يا رسول االه لك حاجة	يا رسول الله الك حاجة
		196v	14	فجعلت العجب وانظر اليه	فجعلت اتعجب وانظر اليه
	168	196v	20	كنت اعجب عنه اريد ان اقبضه	كنت اعجب عنه امرت اقبضه
	169	196v	25	هو قريب الآن ياتيك	هو قريب الان ياتي
		196v	29	ولا يسلم بعده	ولا يسلم على احد بعده
		196v	32	على ادمي بعدك قالوا	على ادمي بعدك قال
	171	197r	4	ابن النجار في تاريخه انبانل (؟)	ابن النجار في تاريخه اخبرنا
		197r	6	Omitted	القاضي ابو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي
		197r	7	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن المايح السجزي	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن عبد الله بن المايح السجزي
		197r	9	Omitted	جعفر بن محمد
		197r	10	Omitted	ابن محمد بن علي
		197r	13	Omitted	ميكائيل
		197r	14	مدن الخمر كالعباد وثن	مدمن الخمر كالعباد وثن
Bearers of the Throne	179	197v	22	الدارمي في كتاب الرعد الجهمية	الدارمي
		197v	23	الحاكم	الحاكم في كتاب الرعد الجهمية
		197v	23	ابن عباس	العباس
	181	197v	29	منكبه	منكبيه
	181b	197v	30	Extra hadith inserted	
	182	198r	4	اين	حيث
	185	198r	8	زادان	زاذان
	186	198r	11	يقول اربعة منهم	تقول اربعة منهم
	187	198r	13	ثمانية ن الملائكة	ن الملائكة
The Spirit	210	199r	14-15	الروح ملك من	الروح من
	212	199r	20	الله تعالى	الله
		199r	21	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
		199r	22	ملائك	ملائكة

The Spirit	213	199r	23	فيهما	منهما
	216	199r	29	السموات	السماوات
	217	199r	30	Ornamental *nūn* at end of line	
	221	199v	7	ما نزل	ما ينزل
	225	199v	17	سماطا	صماطا
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
		199v	17	سماط	صماط
	226	199v	20	تسعة والكروبيون	تسعة والروح والكروبيون
		199v	18-20	و	ف
Riḍwān, Mālik and the Guardians of the Fire	229	199v	27	طاووس	طاوس
		199v	28	ملكاً	مالكاً
		199v	29	اصابعاً	اصابع
	232	220r	4	مائة	خمسمائة
	234	220r	11	بلا	لا بل
		220r	12	وبيد كل ملك منهم	وبيد كل واحد منهم
	235	220r	16-18	Extra hadith inserted	
	236	220r	18-19	Different *isnād* used	
	237	220r	20	Omitted	اخرج
		220r	25	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	26	الهودة	الهوذة
		220r	27	ابشر يا محمد	يا محمد ابشر
		220r	30	Omitted	الى جبريل
	240	220v	9	صلعم رأى	صلعم انه رأى
		220v	9	ملكاً	مالكاً
Al-Sijill	243	220v	10	New title added: ما جاء في السجل عليه السلام	
	244	220v	16	Omitted	عن عطية
	247	220v	20	هروت	هاروت
		220v	22	هروت	هاروت
Hārūt & Mārūt	248	220v	23	عليهما السلام	Omitted
		220v	28	قال الله تعالى لالمالئكة هلموا	قال الله تعالى هلموا
	249	201r	8	قالوا فاختاروا	قال فاختاروا
		201r	8	هروت	هاروت
	250	201r	14	فاهبط هروت وماروت الى الارض	Omitted

		201r	16	فقيض لهما	فقيض الله لهما
Hārūt & Mārūt	250	201r	18	فعلّماها الكلمة	فعلّماها
	251	201r	19	اسحق	اسحاق
		201r	22	فاراداها	فراياها
		201r	23	بمواتيتكما	بمواتيتك
		201r	24	كيف لنا	كيف بنا
		201r	24	Scribal correction added to text: سعد > سعة	
		201r	24	سعة رحمة الله	سعة الله
	252	201r	27	هروت	هاروت
	253	201r	28-29	على اهل الارض	على الارض
		201r	31	فيحكموا بين	فيحكموا ما بين
		201v	3	فقالت لا	فقالت اهما لا
		201v	5	فاخبرها	فاخبراها
		201v	6	وعذاب الاخرة	والاخرة
	254	201v	12	هروت	هاروت
		201v	17	فغبرا	فغابا
		201v	17	فارادها	فاراداها
		201v	18	Omitted	ففعلت....على نفسها
		201v	24	اختاروا	اختارا
	255	201v	29	فعل	فلعل
		201v	30	هروت	هاروت
		202r	2	ارادها	اراداها
		202r	12	اطلعتك	اطعتك
		202r	12	In red: لهذه القصة طرف	
		202r	15	اكثرها انتهى وقد	اكثرها انتهى وقد
		202r	15	على جزئه	على الجزء
		202r	16	والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم	Omitted
Sakīna	295	204r	10	عن علي رضي الله عنه اذا ذكر	عن علي رضي الله عنه قال اذا ذكر
	297	204r	15	الانصاري يصلي قال اذ بالليل فاذا غشيني	الانصاري يصلي بالليل فاذا غشيني
		204r	16	فخشيت ان تنفر الفرس	فخشيت ان تنفر الحصان
		204r	17	ولدها فانصرفت	ولدها فانصرف
Tempters	302	204v	8-9	اتاه ملكان اسودان ازرقان	اتاه ملكان ازرقان
		204v	12	فيقول هو عبد الله	فيقول ما كان تقول هو عبد الله

Appendix D

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the Ḥadīth Section

The following is a table giving the full names of the sources used by al-Suyūṭī in those ḥadīth from *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* translated in this thesis. The table includes:

(i) the name, as used by al-Suyūṭī (and other classical Arabic texts)
(ii) the full name of the author
(iii) the author's date of death
(iv) a reference to either Sezgin's *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums* or, where appropriate, Brockelmann's *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur.*

? indicates an uncertain attribution
X indincates an author that I have been unable to trace

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827	I:99	
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963	I:113	
Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-ᶜArīf	X			
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	X			
Abū 'l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū 'l-Shaykh	369 / 979	I:200-1	
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932	I:659-60	

Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888	I:149	
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038		I:362
Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919	I:171-2	
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855	I:502-9	
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905	I:162	
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870	I:115f	
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895	I:600-1	
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193	I:648	II:207
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922	I:521-2	I:154
Ḍiyā', al-	Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245		I:112; SI:690
Firyābī, al-	Abū Bakr Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī or ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[1]	301 / 913 212 / 827	I:40 I:166	
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933	I:221-2	
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857	I:111	
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894		SI:247
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938	I: 178-9	
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849	I:108-9	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008	I:46	
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939		I:119
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176		I:331
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797	I:95	

[1] Without further information, such as titles of works, it is impossible to tell who is being cited, as both were scholars of *tafsīr* and ḥadīth; Heinen suggests ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf; Heien, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 274.

Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930	I:495-9	
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011	I:350	
Ibn Hanbal	*See Ahmad*			

Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965	I:189-91	
Ibn Jarīr	See al-Ṭabarī			
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924	I:601	
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886	I:147-8	
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005	I:214-5	
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019	I:225	
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889		I:120
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845	I:300-1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853	I:109-10	
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714	I:30	
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī[2]	446 / 1054	-	-
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071		I:329
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945	I:443	
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875	I:136-43	
Nasā’ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā’ī	303 / 915	I:167f	
Qutbī, al-	*See Ibn Qutayba*			
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983		I:362
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842	I:104	

[2] From the information provided by Ibn Khallikān, this appears to be the correct attribution, as al-Khalīlī is said to be a ḥadīth scholar and biographer; however I have been unable to trace the author any further, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aᶜyān wa-anbāᶜ abnā’ al-zamān*; (tr. MacGukin de Slane), *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary* (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842 – 1871) Vol. 1, p. 53 n. 3 and Vol. 4, p. 27.

Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181		I:365
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ʻl-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971	I:195-7	
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923	I:323-8	
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938		SI:184
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930	I:653-9	
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934	I:177	
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075		I:411-2

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Saᶜīd	95 / 714
Ibn al-Mubārak	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī	181 / 797
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	211 / 827
Firyābī, al-	ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī[3]	212 / 827
Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr	Abū ᶜUthmān Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr ibn Shuᶜba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842
Ibn Saᶜd	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd ibn Manīᶜ al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845
Ibn Abī Shayba	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī	235 / 849
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853
Aḥmad	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sārīy ibn Musᶜab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Juᶜfī	250 / 870
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875
Ibn Mājah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886
Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashᶜat ibn Isḥāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ᶜUbayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894
Dārimī, al	Abū Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAmr ibn ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905
Nasā'ī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Shuᶜayb ibn ᶜAlī al-Nasā'ī	303 / 915

[3] Following Heinen (see above).

Abū Yaᶜlā	Abū Yaᶜlā Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr ᶜAlī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924
Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
ᶜUqaylī, al-	Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAmr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-ᶜUqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934
Ibn Abī Hātim	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939
Marwazī, al-	?Abū ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Bustī	354 / 965
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū ‘l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971
Abū ‘l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Hayyān Abū ‘l-Shaykh	369 / 979
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū ᶜUthmān Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983
Ibn Mandah	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜĪsā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Iṣfahānī	410 / 1019
Abū Nuᶜaym	Abū Nuᶜaym ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī	430 / 1038
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Yaᶜlā al-Khalīl ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī	446 / 1054

Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Wāḥidī, al-	Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥamamd ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075
Ibn ᶜAsākir	Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn ᶜAsākir	571 / 1176
Silafī, al-	Abū Ṭāhir ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193
Ḍiyā’, al-	Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449

Works Cited by Al-Suyūṭī

Name	Short Title	Full Title in *GAS* / *GAL*	Ḥadīth No.	GAS	GAL
ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad al-kabīr*	248	I:113 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	251	I:113 §2	
Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī	*Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*	?	240		
Abū Nuᶜaym	*Al-Ḥilya*	*Kitāb ḥilyat al-anbiyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*	57, 82, 90, 96, 117, 125, 131, 158, 162		I:362 §1
	Al-Maᶜrifa	Not listed	119		
Abū 'l-Rabīᶜ al-Masᶜūdī	*Fawā'id*	Not listed	163		
Abū 'l-Shaykh	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama*	*Kitāb al-ᶜaẓama* or *Kitāb ᶜaẓamat Allāh wa-makhlūqātihi*	2, 27, 30, 123, 125, 129, 130, 251	I:201 §1	
	Tafsīr	No longer extant	128, 166b		
al-Bayhaqī	*Al-Asmā'*	Not listed	106, 108, 181b, 182, 193, 202, 210, 212, 223, 246, 249, 254		
	Al-Baᶜth	Not listed	75, 86, 234		
	Al-Dalā'il	*Kitāb al-dalā'il al-nubūwwa*	52		I:363 §3
	Shu'ab al-īmān	*Al-Jāmiᶜ al-muṣannaf fī shuᶜab al-īmān*	Preface, 6, 24, 27, 60,68,97,166,166b, 186, 200		I:363 §5
al-Dārimī	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	179	I:601 §2	
al-Dinawarī	*Al-Mujālisa*	*Kitāb al-mujālasa*	12, 136, 144, 197		I:154 §1

al-Ḍiyā’	*Al-Mukhtāra*	*Al-Mukhtāra*	10		I:690 §10
	Ṣifāt al-nār	Not listed[4]	230		
al-Ḥākim	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	Not listed	179		
	Al-Mustadrak	*Al-Mustadrak ᶜalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*	250, 251	I:221 §1	
Hannād al-Sārī	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	235	I:111 §1	
Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā	*Kitāb al-ᶜaqūbāt*	Not listed	248, 251		
	Dhikr al-mawt	Not listed[5]	112, 120		
Ibn Abī Shayba	*Al-Muṣannaf*	*Al-Muṣannaf* (*al-Musnad*)	111, 206	I:108 §3	
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	*Al-Sunna*	? *Risāla fī ᶜaqīdat ahl al-sunna*	93	I:46 §1	
Ibn al-Anbārī	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	*Kitāb al-aḍdād*	228		I:119 §1
Ibn al-ᶜArīf	*Fawā’id*	Not listed	163		
Ibn ᶜAsākir	*Ta’rīkh*	*Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*	65, 237		I:331 §1
Ibn Ḥajar	*Lisān al-mīzān*	*Lisān al-mīzān*	84		II:68 §4
Ibn Ḥanbal	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	248	I:504 §1	
	Al-Zuhd	*Kitāb al-zuhd*	35, 67, 73, 110, 111, 116, 125, 139	I:506 §3	
Ibn Ḥibbān	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad*	*Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī ‘l-dhabb ᶜan Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*	255	I:505	
	Ṣaḥīḥ	*Al-Musnad al-ṣahīh ᶜala al-taqāsim wa-‘l-anwā’*	84, 248	I:190 §1	
Ibn Mandah	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	*Kitāb al-radd ᶜalā al-jahmiyya*	5	I:215 §3	
	Al-Maᶜrifa	*Maᶜrifat al-ṣaḥāba*	25, 119	I:215 §1	

[4] However a work with the title *Ṣifat al-janna* is listed (*GAL* SI:690 §12), and the *Ṣifat al-nār* is likely to be part of this text, or a companion work.

[5] The work is no longer extant, but it has been reconstructed by Leah Kinberg; see Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā (reconstructed Leah Kinberg), *Kitāb al-mawt wa-kitāb al-qubūr* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1983).

Ibn Mardawayh	*Tafsīr*	No longer fully extant	252	I:225 §5	
Ibn al-Mundhir	*Tafsīr*	*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*	21	I:496 §1	
Ibn al-Najjār	*Ta'rīkh*	*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*[6]	84, 118, 171	I:350 §1	
Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh	*Musnad*	*Al-Musnad*	251	I:110	
al-Khalilī	*Mashaykha*	*Al-Mashaykha*[7]	242		
al-Khaṭīb	*Rūwāt Māik*	Not listed	157		
al-Marwazī	*Al-Janā'iz*	Possibly part of his *al-Kāfī fī 'l-fiqh*	148, 165	I:443	
al-Qutbī / Ibn Qutayba (?)	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	*ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*	229		I:121 §1
al-Sābūnī	*Al-Mi'atayn*	*Kitāb al-mi'atayn*	60		I:363
Al-Silafī	*Al-Mashaykha al-Baghdādiyya*	*Muᶜjam shuyūkh Baghdād*	166b		I:365 §2
al-Ṭabarānī	*Al-Awsaṭ*	*Al-Muᶜjam al-awsaṭ*	99, 106, 295	I:196 §2	
	Al-Kabīr	*Al-Muᶜjam al-kabīr*	119	I:196 §1	
al-Tirmidhī	*Nawādir al-usūl*	*Nawādir al-uṣūl fī maᶜrifat akhbār al-rasūl*	80	I:655 §9	
al-ᶜUqaylī	*Al-Ḍuᶜafā'*	*Kitāb al-ḍuᶜafā'* (*wa-'l-matrūkīn*)	156	I:177 §1	
Al-Wāḥidī	*Asbāb al-nuzūl*	*Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl*	237		I:411 §1

[6] There is also a *Ta'rīkh Kūfā* by the same author (*GAS* I:350 §2) but it is most likely to be his more famous *Ta'rīkh Baghdād.*
[7] See the note on al-Khalīlī above.

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the *Khātima*

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***	***GAS***	***GAL***
Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268		SI:550
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā’	458 / 1065	I:513	SI:686
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286		SI:126
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013	I:608	
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149		I:369
Al-Safawī al-Urmawī	*See* Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī			
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392		SII:108
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327		II:105
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262		
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366		
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209		SI:359
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111		SI:744
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933		
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012	I:607	
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū ʻl-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī ʻl-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243		SI:610
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ʻl-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū ʻl-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053		SI:671

Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025		
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018	I:223	
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999	I:668	
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240		SI:790
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142		
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278		SI:680
Quṛtubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Quṛtubī	656 / 1258		I:384
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226		I:393
Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa'd al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389		I:295
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323		SII:15
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350		SII:126
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403		SII:110
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370		SII:105
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā'	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309		
Tayyibī, al-	X			

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

Name in Text	***Full Name***	***Died***
Ḥākim, al-	Abū ᶜAlī Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Hamdawayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
Kalābādhī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012
al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Jaᶜfar al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018
Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū 'l-Maᶜalī ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053
Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Yaᶜlā Muḥammad ibn ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā'	458 / 1065
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī	536 / 1142
Al-Qāḍī ᶜIyād	ᶜIyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī	544 / 1149
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	*See* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286
Rāfiᶜī, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfiᶜī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī al-Ṣūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] ᶜArabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭāᶜī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū ᶜAmr ᶜUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'l-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243
Qurṭubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn ᶜUmar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī	656 / 1258
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām	ᶜIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262

Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ᶜUthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiᶜī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278
Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’	Tāj al-Dīn ibn ᶜAṭā’ Allāh ᶜAbbās	709 / 1309
Ṣafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Thanā’ Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323
ᶜAlā’ al-Din al-Qunawī	ᶜAlā al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī ibn Ismāᶜīl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zarᶜī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350
ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	ᶜIzz al-Dīn ibn Jāmaᶜa	767 / 1366
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370
Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa’d al-Dīn Masᶜūd ibn ᶜUmar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqinī al-Kinānī al-ᶜAsqalānī	805 / 1403
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū ‘l-Faḍl ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-ᶜAsqalānī	852 / 1449
Tayyibī, al-	X	

Appendix E

The Authorities of the *Ḥadīth*

Index of Authorities

The authorities cited by al-Suyūṭī are only given with a short name in most instances. The table below gives the full names as given in Volume 8 of A. J. Wensinck's, *Concordance de la Tradition Muslumane*.

X : marks an authority I have been unable to trace
* : marks a name which could refer to a number of different people
? : marks a possible, although not definite, authority

Cited Name	Full Name	*CTM*	§
al-Aᶜamash	Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aᶜmash	142	147
al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	al-ᶜAbbās ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hishām Abū ‘l-Faḍl	141	179
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlā al-Tamīmī	X		111
ᶜAbd Allāh	*		183
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Burayda ibn al-Ḥaṣīb al-Aslamī	145	224
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth	? ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth ibn Nawfal	146	94, 99, 236
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr	*see Ibn ᶜAmr*		21
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	157	62, 248
Abū ‘l-ᶜAwām	X		234
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād	X		66
ᶜAbd al-Azīz ibn ᶜUmayr	X		38
Abū ‘l-Muthnā al-Ḥimṣī	Muslim ibn al-Muhtannā Abū ‘-Muthannā	254	135
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān[1]	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas	173	23
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam	X		12
Abū ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	Abū Ṭālib ibn ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib	128	84, 171
Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī	X		92
Abū Dharr	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	78	8, 63
Abū Hurayrah	Abū Hurayrah	278	87, 90, 107, 146, 151, 181
Abū ᶜImrān al-Jawnī	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Jawnī Abū ᶜImrān	179	67, 231
Abū Jaᶜfar al-Bāqir	X		247
Abū Mālik	Abū Mālik al-Ghifārī	237	108, 190, 198
Abū Qays al-Azdī	X		136
Abū Saᶜīd	*	99	13, 81, 91
Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī	a.k.a. Saᶜd ibn Mālik Sinān	99	86, 88
Abū Salama	*	107	240, 297

[1] Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜyas from his father.

Abū Ṣāliḥ	*	122	223
Abū Sinān	ᶜĪsā ibn Sinān Abū Sinān	216	104
Abū Umāma	? Abū Umāma ibn Taᶜlaba al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī	17	89, 152, 206
ᶜĀ'isha	ᶜĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr	135	2, 9, 35, 42, 43, 55, 95, 145, 217
al-ᶜAlā' ibn Ḥārūn	X		17
ᶜAlī [ibn Abī Ṭālib]	ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū 'l-Ḥasan	197	65, 83, 196, 212, 241, 243, 251, 252, 295
ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn	ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Zayn al-ᶜAbdidīn	197	36
ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	ᶜAmmār ibn Abī ᶜAmmār	200	52
ᶜAmr al-Bakālī	X		22
ᶜAmr ibn Murra	ᶜAmr ibn Murra	212	64
Anas	*see Anas ibn Mālik*		45, 74, 75, 79, 118, 156, 230, 242
Anas ibn Mālik	Anas ibn Mālik	19	163
Ashᶜath ibn Aslam	X		123
ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	ᶜAṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	192	76
ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	ᶜAṭā' ibn Yiṣār	192	116, 142
ᶜAtiyya	*	192	244
al-Awzāᶜī	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜAmr al-Awzāᶜī Abū ᶜAmr	175	15, 100, 101
al-Barā' ibn ᶜAzāb	Al-Barā' ibn ᶜĀzib ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜUmāra al-Awsī	27	166
al-Ḍaḥḥāk	*	127	209, 211
Ḍamra	*	127	105
Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind	76	167
Ḥudhayfa	?Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān al-ᶜAbsī	57	50, 77
al-Ḥakam	*	64	19, 124
al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān	X		161
Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām	65	10
Hārūn ibn Ri'āb	X		186
al-Ḥasan	al-Ḥasan ibn Abi Ḥasan al-Baṣrī Abū Saᶜīd	60	112

Ḥasan ibn ᶜAtiyya	X		184
al-Ḥusayn	Ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	61	170
Ibn Abī Jabala	X		103
Ibn Abī Nujīḥ	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Abī Nujīḥ Yasār al-Thaqafī	169	227
Ibn ᶜAbbās	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAbbās Abū ᶜAbbās	151	18, 29, 37, 40, 48, 49, 54, 56, 82, 97, 98, 108, 122, 127, 132, 134, 149, 153, 159, 169, 180, 195, 202, 208, 210, 213, 221, 222, 237, 238, 253, 254
Ibn ᶜAmr	ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ al-Qurashī	163	2b, 5, 106
Ibn Jarīr	X		140
Ibn Jurayj	ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ibn Jurayj	180	50
Ibn Masᶜūd	ᶜAbd Allāh Ibn Masᶜūd Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	166	6, 41, 44, 47, 72, 108, 122, 164, 165, 216
Ibn Sābiṭ	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sābiṭ Abū Sābiṭ	173	27, 28
Ibn Shihāb	Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī Abū Bakr	248	53
Ibn ᶜUmar	*see ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar*		1, 245, 249, 250
Ibn Zayd	X		188, 194
Ibrahīm al-Nakhaᶜī	Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd ibn Qays al-Nakhaᶜī	3	128
ᶜIkrima	ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	3, 57, 78, 114, 141, 203, 220
ᶜIkrima ibn Khālid	?ᶜIkrima ibn al-ᶜĀs	195	33
Jābir	? *see Jābir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh*		181b, 182
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Kaᶜb	Kaᶜb al-Aḥbār ibn Māṭiᶜ al-Ḥimyarī	232	16, 20b, 93, 95, 115, 121, 232, 235
Khālid ibn Abī ᶜImrān	X		32
Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	Khālid ibn Maᶜdān	71	199
Khaythama	Khaythama ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sabra	75	137, 138, 168
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al-Khazraj)			
Maᶜmar	*	261	139
Makḥūl	Makḥūl al-Dimashqī	263	192
Mālik ibn Dīnār	Mālik ibn Dīnār	238	197
Maymūna bint Saᶜd	Maymūna bint Saᶜd	269	58
Maysara	*	268	205, 207, 209b
Muᶜādh ibn Jabal	Muᶜādh ibn Jabal al-Anṣārī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	257	158
Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir	Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir Abū Bakr	249	150
Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	Muḥammad ibn Kaᶜb al-Qurẓī	248	154, 166b
Mujāhid	? Mujāhid ibn Jabr al-Makhzūmī	239	110, 125, 162, 218, 219, 228, 233, 235b, 255
Muqātil ibn Ḥayyan	X		215
Murra	Murra	251	108
Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	Mūsā ibn Abī ᶜĀ'isha	267	39
Qatāda	*	224	50, 129
Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān	Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmān ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Ẓafarī Abū ᶜUmar	225	68
Rabāḥ	*	80	73
al-Rabīᶜ	*	81	187
al-Rabīᶜ ibn Anas	X		26, 126
Rāshid ibn Saᶜīd	X		144
Saᶜīd	*	102	102
Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr	Saᶜīd ibn Jubayr Abū ᶜAbd Allāh	102	7, 70
Salmān	*	106	226
al-Shaᶜthā' Jābir ibn Zayd	X		148
Shahar ibn Ḥawshab	Shahar ibn Ḥawshab al-Ashᶜarī	120	131
al-Shaᶜbī	ᶜĀmir ibn Sharāḥīl al-Shaᶜbī Abū ᶜAmr	133	225
Shurayḥ ibn ᶜAbd Allāh	X		46
Sulaymān ibn Maᶜmar al-Kilābī	X		157

al-Suddī	Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Karīma al-Suddī	13	246
Ṭāwus	Ṭāwus ibn Kaysan al-Yamānī Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān	128	229
Thābit	*	37	61
Thābit al-Banānī	Thābit ibn Aslam al-Banānī Abū Muḥammad	37	117
ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr	ᶜUbayd ibn ᶜUmayr ibn Qatāda Abū ᶜĀsim	183	120
ᶜUmar	ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ	201	239
ᶜUmar Mawlā Ghafara	X		143
Umm Saᶜd	Umm Saᶜd	96	201
Umm Salama	Umm Salama al-Anṣārī	108	71
ᶜUrwa	*	190	193
Usayd ibn Ḥudayr	Usayd ibn Ḥudayr ibn Simāk al-Awsī al-Anṣārī Abū Yaḥyā	14	296
Wahb ibn Munnabih	Wahb ibn Munnabih al-Dhimārī	291	14, 20, 31, 51, 59, 85, 130, 189, 191, 214
Waraqa al-Anṣārī	X		44b
Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ	Wāthila ibn al-Asqāᶜ ibn Kaᶜb al-Laythī	289	69
Zādhān (or Zādān)	X		185
Zayd al-Aslam	Zayd al-Aslam Abū Usāma	89	113
Zayd ibn Rafīᶜ	X		80
Zayd ibn Rūmān	X		4
Zayd ibn Thābit	Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī Abū Saᶜīd	89	109
Ziyād al-Numayrī	X		155
Ziyād ibn Abī Hayya	? Ziyād ibn Jubayr ibn Ḥayya al-Thaqafī	88	200
Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad	X		133, 160
Unknown	N/A		24
Unknown (father of Abū ‘l-Malīḥ)	X		34
Unknown (some companions)	N/A		108

Appendix F

Summary of the *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

Summary of *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

172 – 177 The Angel of the Rain

172 al-Baghawī and al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

173 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.

174 Ibn Jarīr
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

175 Abū ᶜAwāna and al-Ḍiyā'
An angel drives the clouds and he has a rope.

176 al-Ṭayālisī, Aḥmad and Muslim
A man hears a voice in the clouds and then follows the clouds to Yemen; he then meets the Angel of the Rain.

177 al-Dīnawarī
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

178 The Angel of the Veil

178 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh

The heaven of this world has invisible waves; the Second Heaven is made of white marble; the Third Heaven is made of iron, the Fourth Heaven is made of copper; the Fifth Heaven is made of silver; the Sixth Heaven is made of gold; and the Seventh Heaven is made of rubies; above that is a desert of light and no one knows what is above it except God, Most High. The angel responsible for the veil is called Mīṭāṭrūsh.

256 Another Angel

256 Ibn Abī Shayba
A pious man wishes to worship God in the sea and he is taken there by a group of people. The man asks to be left by a tree in a river. An angel wanted the pious man to go to heaven, so God commands the Angel of Death to take his soul.

257 – 267 Thunder and Lightning

257 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Diyā'

An angel is responsible for the clouds; the angel has a whip to drive the clouds; thunder is the sound of his voice.

258 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel and lightning is the sound of the clouds being driven with a whip.

259 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

260 al-Bukhārī and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel.

261 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Mardawayh
Thunder is an angel; his voice is thunder and lightning is his whip.

262 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

263 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel is responsible for moving the clouds; lightning is the raising of the angel's whip and thunder is the sound of the whip being cracked.

264 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Lightning is an angel coming into view.

265 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is the sound of the Angel of the Cold clapping and lightning is when he looks at the people on Earth.

266 Ibn Mardawayh
There is an angel responsible for moving the clouds; he is called Rūfīl.

267 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Lightning is an angel; the angel has four faces: a face of a human, an eagle, a lion and a bull; lightning is when the angel flicks its tail.

268 – 273 Ismāᶜīl

268 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl who is in charge of 70,000 angels.

269 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
During the *miᶜrāj* Muḥammad sees Ismāᶜīl, who is responsible for the Second Heaven; he is in charge of 70,000 angels; each angel has an army of 100,000 angels.

270 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāᶜīl.

271 al-ᶜAdani
Before the Prophet's death, Gabriel comes to him three times; on the third day Gabriel shows Muḥammad the angel Ismāᶜīl, who is the Angel of Death.

272 al-Shāfiᶜī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 100,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 100,000 angels.

273 al-Bayhaqī
Ismāᶜīl is an angel that has command over 70,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 70,000 angels.

274 Ṣadluqan

274 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Ṣadluqān is an angel; his toe is a ninth of the size of the seas.

275 – 276 Riyāfīl

275 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Riyāfīl was the angel that accompanied Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn; he tells Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn how the angels worship God in heaven.

276 Ibn Abī Ḥatim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn asks Riyāfīl about the Water of Life.

277 – 278 Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn

277 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

278 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Dhū ʻl-Qarnayn was an angel.

279 Dhū ‘l-Nurayn

279 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Dhū ‘l-Nurayn was an angel.

280 – 294 The Cockerel

280 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven in the form of Cockerel; when the Cockerel praises God in heaven, the earthly cockerels reply.

281 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel is underneath the Throne; its claws are made of pearls, and its spurs are made of green chrysolite; it causes the cockerels to crow at dawn.

282 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

283 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Ḥākim
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.

284 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth, its head is under the Throne and its wings are in the air.

285 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel in the lowest heaven; its chest is made of gold, its stomach is made of silver, and its legs are made of sapphires, its claws are made of emeralds, and its claws are under the lowest earth. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its neck is under the Throne and its crest is made of light, protecting the space between the Throne and the Seat; it flutters his wings every night, three times.

286 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel; its two wings are ornamented with chrysolite, pearls and sapphires. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its feet are on the lowest earth and its head is under the throne. It causes the cockerels to crow at dawn. On the Day of Resurrection it will be told to stop beating its wings.

287 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Cockerel’s feet are on the Seventh Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

288 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Cockerels reply to the angels and praise God.

289 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
When the angel says ‘Praise the Holy One’, the cockerels on earth flap their wings.

290 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A cockerel crowed in the presence of Solomon and he told people that it was praising God.

291 al-Ṭabarānī
God has a Cockerel under the Throne; its wings are in the air and its claws are on the earth; when it is dawn, and it is the time of the call to prayer, it flaps its wings and the cockerels praise God.

292 Ibn ᶜAddī and al-Bayhaqī
The Cockerel’s feet are on the extremities of the Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.

293 Ibn ᶜAddī
God has a Cockerel; its claws are on the lowest earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out when it is the time for the ritual prayers; the cockerel calls out to the heavens: ‘Exalt! Exalt!’ Then the Cockerel of the heavens and the cockerels of the earth call out.

294 al-Daylamī
The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel; its feet are on the boundaries of the lowest [earth] and its neck is under the throne; its wings are in the East and the West; when that angel worships God, there does not remain anything except the praise of God.

298 – 299 The Angel of the Mountains

298 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl ibn ᶜAbd Kalāl was approached by Muḥammad to enter into a treaty, but he refused. At Qarn al-Thaᶜālib Muḥammad looked to heaven and saw Gabriel. Gabriel tells him that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains asks Muḥammad if he would like him to cause the mountains to fall up Ibn ᶜAbd Yālayl and his people. Muḥammad says no, but asks that their children may become Muslims.

299 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Gabriel informs Muḥammad that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains tells Muḥammad that he can do anything he wants. Muḥammad says that he does not want anything, other than for people to profess *tawḥīd*. The Angel tells Muḥammad that he is very merciful.

300 Ramyā'il

300 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the believers are handed over to Ramyā'īl.

301 Dūma

301 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the unbelievers are handed over to Dūma.

302 – 311 The Tempters of the Grave

302 al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, al-Ājurrī and al-Bayhaqī
An account of the events in the grave.

303 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

304 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of human interaction with angels, including references to: The Angel of the Womb, the angel that accompanies an individual until puberty, The Noble Watching Scribes and the Angels of the Grave (unnamed).

305 al-Bayhaqī
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

306 al-Ṭabarānī
The names of the two angels who come to the grave are Munkar and Nakīr.

307 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.

308 Juwaybir
An account of what happens at the moment of death and the questions asked by the angels in the grave.

309 Abū Nuᶜaym
There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.

310 Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān
There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.

311 Ibn al-Najjār
The angels of the daytime are kinder than the angels of the night.

312 – 406 The Noble Watching Scribes

312 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right, the angel of bad deeds is on the left. If the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet. There are two angels responsible for the man at night and another two responsible for him during the day; a fifth angel is with the man continuously.

313 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 6:60.

314 Ibn Abī Zamanīn
There are four scribes: two for the night and two for the day; they come together at the dawn prayers.

315 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Ḥibbān
Angels follow people at night and day and they come together at the dawn prayers.

316 Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

316b[1] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

317 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.

318 [Ibn Jarīr][2] and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels alternate between day and night.

319 [Ibn Jarīr] and Ibn al-Mundhir[3]
An exegesis of Q 13:11 & 50:17; if the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; the angel on the right, writes things down without the approval of the angel on the left, but the angel on the left has to seek approval from the angel on the right. if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet.

320 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the Scribes are ordered by God to do what they do.

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[1] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, ll. 12 – 14.
[2] Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, l. 14.
[3] The Leiden MS combines §318 & 319 (fol. 205v, l. 15); the DKI edition also omits *akhraja*, so this ḥadīth appears to be a continuation of §318.

321 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 50:17; there are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right; the angel of bad deeds is on the left.

322 al-Daylamī
The two angels sit on the teeth, and the person's tongue is their pen and his spit their ink.

323 Abū Nuᶜaym
The name of the Scribe of Misdeeds is Qaᶜīd.

324 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the scribe writes down everything that a person talks about; but on Thursday, the scribe notes down both what the individual says and does.

325 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Ḥākim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel only writes down deeds and sins, it does not write down mundane things.

326 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angel of good deeds only writes down actions that reward and strengthen his companion.

327 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The scribe of good deeds is on the right and the scribe of bad deeds is on the left. When an individual does a good deed, the angel writes it down ten times; when an individual does a bad action, the angel of good deeds tells the angel of bad deeds to hold off writing it against the individual until Thursday, in case the person repents.

328 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Once a man was riding a donkey and it stumbled and the man said: 'I have stumbled'; the angel of bad deeds said that it was a bad action and the angel of good deeds thought that it was a good action; the angel of bad deeds was called away, but the angel of good deeds remained and wrote it down.

329 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

330 al-Khaṭṭīb
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.

331 Ibn Jarīr
There are two scribes at night and two during the day.

332 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The human's tongue is the angel's pen and his spit his ink.

333 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel on the right writes down good deeds and the one on the left, bad deeds.

334 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for three hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

335 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

336 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
Good actions are written down ten times, but bad actions are only recorded once; if an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six or seven hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.

337 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a person dies, the angels remain with the individual in the grave, in case the person seeks forgiveness.

338 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and al-Ḥākim
The first to know of an individual's death are the scribes, as they descend every day with the individual's *rizq*; when it is not given, they know that the person will die.

339 Ibn Mardawayh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn*.

340 al-Ṭabarānī
At the end of the day, the angel looks at the devil's book; if the angel finds any good actions recorded in the devil's book, the angel wipes it out and records it as a good action ten times. When individuals go to sleep they should say 33 *takbīrs*, 34 *taḥmīds* and 33 *tasbīḥs*.

341 Aḥmad
A man said 'Praise be to God' many times and the angel noted it down and magnified them.

342 ᶜAbd Allāh and al-Dīnawarī
The angels take their records up to heaven after the evening prayers.

343 Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn* and the angel of good deeds leaves his records in *ᶜIlliyun*.

344 al-Daylamī
God told the scribes not to record anything while an individual is angry.

345 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds departs from an individual when he is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

346 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunya and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

347 Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

348 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning how the angels write down their records.

349 al-Tirmidhī
When a servant tells a lie, the angel is separated from him by a mile form the stench which comes from him.

350 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

351 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

352 al-Ḥākim
When a person is ill, God reveals to the Scribes: ʻI have bound my servant in some of my chains. If I take him, I will forgive him; if I keep him alive, during the time of his illness I will stop his sin being recorded.ʼ

353 al-Ṭabarānī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

354 Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dāraquṭnī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

355 Aḥmad and al-Bukhārī
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him, for that is the direction of God; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

356 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Individuals should keep their sandals on their feet or place them in front of them; there is an angel on their right and there is their brother's angel on their left.

357 Ibn Abī Shayba
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

358 Ibn Abī Shayba
The Prophet saw spit on the *qibla*, and he reproached the people and told them not to spit in front of them, or to their right.

359 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones causes pain to an angel.

360 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A man is told to spit on his left, not on his right.

361 Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones during prayer is a habit from the Devil.

362 Ibn Mājah and al-Ṭabarānī
A man says a prayer and the scribes seek confirmation from God whether it is a good or bad action.

363 al-Bazzār
The Scribes record all actions.

364 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity and if there are any children present when an adult reveals him or herself, the child could be taken by a devil.

365 al-Bayhaqī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity.

366 al-Bayhaqī
Angels remain with individuals constantly, except when two people have sexual intercourse.

367 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels stay away from two things: human excrement and sexual intercourse.

368 al-Bazzār
Angels get embarrassed by nudity; angels stay away from three things: human excrement, those in *janāba* and those that need a major ritual ablution (*ghusl*).

369 Ibn Mardawayh
A man is praised for performing *tayammum*; angels stay away from an individual in two cases: when he is on the toilet and when he is with his wife; a person should conceal himself behind a wall or a camel.

370 al-Dīnawarī
If a man finishes the Qur'ān, the angel kisses him between the eyes.

371 Ibn Abī Shayba
Whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel has turned away from him.

372 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels never look when you reveal yourself.

373 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.

374 al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

375 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

376 al-Ḥākim
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.

377 Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

378 al-Dāraquṭnī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

379 Ibn al-Jawzī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.

380 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

381 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

382 Ibn ᶜAsākir
When a servant repents, God makes the Scribes forget his sin.

383 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Sammūya and al-Ṭabarānī
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

384 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.

385 Abū Nuᶜaym
Believers should clean their teeth, as they are the seats of the Scribes; there is nothing more harmful to them than a remnant of food.

386 al-Shīrāzī
Whoever takes a bath uncovered, the two angels curse him.

387 al-Dīnawarī
When an individual thinks about doing a good action, it is written down once; when the individual does it, it is written down ten times; when a servant thinks of doing a bad action, it is not written down, but is written down once, when he does it. The angels know about an individual's intentions by smell.

388 al-Dīnawarī
Every person has five angels: one on the left, one on the right, on in front and one behind and one above him.

389 al-Dīnawarī
An exegesis of Q 50:18; the angels are between a person's two canines.

389b Aḥmad
A person does not speak good things, without the angels saying much of it.

390 al-Daylamī
Believers should refrain from kneeling down after sunset as it is painful for the two angels.

391 Ibn Jarīr
There is an angel on the right, which is responsible for good deeds and which has authority over the angel on the left. If a person does a good action, it is recorded ten times; when a person does a bad action, the angel asks the one of the right if it can write the action down; the angels on the right says, 'No' as the person may seek forgiveness. The angel on the left asks the angel on the right three times, after which the angel on the right tells the angel on the left to write it down.

An exegesis of Q 50:18 & 13:11; there is an angel on a person's forehead; when he bows down, the angel raises him; when the person is proud, the angel beats him. There are two angels on a person's lips and they only record when a person says: 'God bless him and grant him salvation.' There is an angel standing on your mouth which prevents snakes from entering; and

two angels on your eyes. There are ten angels and two sets for the day and the night, making twenty angels in total.

392 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, al-Firyābī, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; when a person dies, the angels leave an individual.

393 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual from *jinn*.

394 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

395 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

396 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

397 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; every individual has two angels during the day and two angels during the night; they guard the individual.

398 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

399 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Abū Ibn Kaᶜb.

400 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

401 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

402 Abū Dā’ūd, Ibn Abū ‘l-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.

403 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā
Three hundred and sixty angels are responsible for a believer, which protect him; these include: an angel for sight, seven angels who drive away events which have not been ordained. If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

404 Ibn Jarīr and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

405 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels show people the rewards of the pious and the punishments of the impious, so that they may learn.

406 ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad
A believer and an unbeliever go fishing. The believer says a prayer to God before casting his net, and the unbeliever prays to his gods, before casting his. The unbeliever catches many fish, but the believer does not. Eventually the believer catches a fish, but when he picks it up, it wriggles out of his hand and returns to the sea. The believer's angel complains to God, but God shows the angel the places set for the believer and the unbeliever in heaven, and the angel sees that the believer receives a great reward.

407 – 408 The Angels Responsible for the Leaves of the Trees

407 al-Bayhaqī
Angels write down and record details about leaves as they fall off trees.

408 al-Bayhaqī
An angel helps a Muslim to find his way when he is lost on his way to Mecca.

409 – 410 Sharahīl and Harahīl

409 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Sharahīl is the angel responsible for the night; Harahīl is the angel responsible for the day.

410 al-Ṭabarānī
Unnamed angels are responsible for the coming of the day and the night.

411 – 412 Irtiyā'il

411 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

412 Ibn Abī ʻl-Dunyā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Irtiyā'il removes grief from human hearts.

413 – 414 The Angel responsible for Cemeteries

413 Ibn Baṭṭa
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

414 al-Daylamī
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

415 – 422 The Angel which bears the Fish and the Rock

415 al-Bazzār, Ibn ᶜAddī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

416 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

417 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

418 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Four angels surround the rock at the bottom of the Earth.

419 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

420 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are four angels responsible for each of the corners of the rock

421 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The distance between each of the earths is 500 years and under the Seventh Earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.

422 Ibn Jarīr
Q 68:1; under the earth is a fish; under the fish is a sea; under the sea is an angel; the angel is on a rock; and the rock is on the wind.

423 – 429 The Guardians of the Winds

423 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Ḥākim
The wind is kept in the Second Earth and was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

424 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

425 Abū ʻl-Shaykh, al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

426 al-Firyābī, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

427 Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of ᶜĀd.

428 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

429 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ᶜĀd.

430 – 434 The Angel of the Sun

430 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The noblest angel is the Angel of the Sun and he is the most influential over the Angel of Death.

431 Ibn Abī Shayba
The sun is driven by 360 angels.

432 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh
Seven angels are responsible for the sun.

433 Ibn al-Mundhir
The sun does not rise until 70,000 angels have called out to it.

434 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Two angels are responsible for the sun.

435 The Angel of the Shade

435 Ibn Jarīr
Abraham was protected by the Angel of the Shade when he was thrown into the Fire of Nimrod.

436 – 443 The Angel of the Womb

436 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
One angel is responsible for the sperm, another for the clot and another for the embryo; God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male or female, and the individual's *rizq* and *ajal*.

437 Aḥmad
After 40 days and angel comes to womb and writes down whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male of female, short or tall; and the individual's *rizq*, health and *ajal*.

438 al-Bazzār, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Dāraquṭnī
God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched and male or female.

439 Muslim
After 42 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *rizq*.

440 al-Ṭabarānī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

441 al-Bāwardī
After 72 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.

442 ᶜUthmān ibn Saᶜīd al-Dārimī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be wretched or happy.

443 Abū Nuᶜaym
An account of embryogenesis.

444 The Angel of the Foetus

444 Abū 'l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the foetus; when the mother lies down, the angel raises the foetus' head so that it does not drown in blood.

445 – 447 The Angel responsible for the Blessing of the Prophet

445 al-Ṭabarānī
If a Muslim blesses the Prophet, God blesses him with a blessing that is worth ten good deeds and which cancels out ten bad deeds.

446 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Baghawī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless the individual tenfold.

447 al-Ṭabarānī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless him tenfold; whenever anyone wishes the Prophet peace, the angels wish the individual peace tenfold.

448 The Angels which Creates Jewellery for the People in the Garden

448 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
God has an angel that makes jewellery for the inhabitants of paradise.

449 – 457 The Angel of the Prophet's Prayer

449 al-ᶜUqaylī, al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ʻl-Shaykh and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

450 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

451 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

452 al-Khaṭṭīb
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

453 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

454 al-Daylamī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

455 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

456 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him and extra blessings are granted for those that do so on Friday and Friday nights.

457 Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī

God has angels that tell the Prophet of the peace of the community.

458 – 460 The Angel of the Yemeni Corner

458 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

459 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

460 al-Jindī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Kaᶜba.

461 The Angel responsible for the Stoning Pillars of Minā

461 al-Azraqī
An angel is responsible for the *jimār*.

462 – 465 The Angel responsible for the Qur'ān

462 Al-Ḥākim
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

463 Abū Saᶜīd al-Salmān
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

464 al-Daylamī
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

465 al-Khaṭīb
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

466 The Angel Responsible for saying 'The Most Merciful…'

466 al-Ḥākim
An angel blesses and grants the requests of those that say: 'The Most Merciful of those that Merciful' three times.

467 – 470 The Angel responsible for the prayer of those hidden

467 Ibn Saᶜd
Two angels are responsible for dealing with prayers for the deceased.

468 Ibn Abī Shayba, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Mājah
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

469 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

470 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

471 The Angel responsible for Crying

471 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A human does not cry until an angel rubs the individual's liver with his wing.

472 The Angels responsible for Faith, Life and other things

472 al-Dinawārī
After the scattering of the people of Babel, a number of angels disperse to different areas of the world.

473 The Angel responsible for Livelihoods

473 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
Angels are responsible for giving sustenance to humans.

474 The Angel responsible for Ritual Prayer

474 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḍiyā' al-Maqdisī
God has an angel that calls out to humans at the times of the ritual prayers.

475 – 477 The Angel responsible for funerary rites

475 al-Rāfiᶜī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

476 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels walk with funerary processions.

477 al-Bayhaqī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

478 – 484 The Angel that delights Ḥasan and Ḥusayn

478 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

479 Ibn Manda
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

480 Ibn Mandah, Abū Nuᶜaym and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fāṭima will be responsible for the women.

481 Aḥmad
If an angel comes down to earth, it has never been down to earth before.

482 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

483 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

484 al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

485 The Angel responsible for the plants

485 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Angels are responsible for plants; the distance between the ankles and shoulders of the Bearers of the Throne is a distance of 500 years.

486 – 487 The Angel responsible for the Sea

486 Aḥmad and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the sea; when it puts its foot into the sea, the sea rises and when it lifts it out, the sea falls; this is the ebb and flow of the sea.

487 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An angel is responsible for the sea; if it did not hold it back, it would flood the earth.

488 – 489 The Angel responsible for the Noble Tomb

488 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Angels visit the Tomb of the Prophet.

489 Al-Azraqī
70,000 angels pray in the *Bayt al-maᶜmūr*, then they circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

490 – 491 The Cherubim

490 Ibn ᶜAsākir
On the cherubim; the distance between their collar bone and their earlobes is a distance of 500 years.

491 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The Spirit is under the wings of the Cherubim, who carry the Throne.

492 The Spirits

492 al-Bayhaqī
The spirits are in the Seventh Heaven; on the Night of Power they descend to Earth and pray for all those who are praying in the mosque.

493 – 545 On the Characteristics of the Angels

493 al-Ṭabarānī
An unnamed angel can devour the world in one bite.

494 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
The distance between an unnamed angel's shoulder and ear is a distance of 100 years.

495 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of light and snow.

496 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

497 Abū ʻl-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

498 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel with 360 heads.

499 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel, which has a vast number of eyes and tongues which praise God. The Bearers of the Throne have horns, and the distance between the horns and their heads is 500 years.

500 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are 70,000 angels standing in ranks.

501 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerns eight angels which praise God.

502 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The Prophet saw an angel that was the same size as the Kaᶜba.

503 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels watch and comment on the behaviour of humans.

504 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the angel at the gate of Heaven.

505 Abū Ya’lā and Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

506 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels say ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

507 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel says ‘Praise the Holy Angel’ every morning.

508 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nuᶜaym
Concerning the judgement of humans.

509 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and al-Ḥākim
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

510 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.

511 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Throne is made of rubies; angels have 70,000 wings

512 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels accompany cavalry detachments, except groups in which the horses are adorned with bells.

513 Ibn Lāl
Concerning the creation of the angels.

514 al-Daylamī
God has made angels responsible for the *ḥaram*.

515 al-Daylamī
Angels talk about what humans say.

516 al-Daylamī
Angels cry out every night: ‘Sons of the forty seeds, the time for harvest is approaching.’

517 al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

518 al-ᶜUqaylī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn Mardawayh
Gabriel enters a river of paradise and from the drops of rain, angels are created. The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

519 al-Ṭabarāni and Ibn Mardawayh
Concerning the *miᶜrāj*; Muhammad is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* in the Seventh Heaven; he is told that 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

520 Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

521 al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

522 al-Jindī
The *bayt al-maᶜmūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.

523 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Jindī
Adam is shown the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and told to build the Kaᶜba in the same form.

524 Ibn Jarīr
The Kaᶜba is built in the place where Adam descended to earth and it is in the same form as the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

525 al-ᶜAzraqī
When Adam feared Satan, he sought help from God and God sent angels to protect him in the Kaᶜba and made it a sacred site.

526 Hannād al-Sārī
There are two angels in heaven who comment on hypocrisy and greed.

527 Ibn Mājah
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

528 al-Ṭabarānī
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.

529 Ibn Jarīr, Abū Yaᶜlā, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Badr, Gabriel came down with 1000 angels on the Prophet's right hand side, and Michael and Isrāfīl came down with 1000 angels each on the Prophet's left hand side.

530 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels have not died, except at the Battle of Badr.

531 al-Ṭabarānī
A detachment of angels came down to Earth at the Battle of Badr, wearing white turbans; at the Battle of Ḥunayn they wore red turbans; the angels have not been hit on any day other than the Battle of Badr.

532 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels killed at Badr by hitting people on their necks.

533 al-Ṭabarānī
The detachment of angels wore black turbans at the Battle of Badr and red turbans at the Battle of Ḥunayn.

534 Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans at the Battle of Badr.

535 Ibn Abī Shayba and Ibn Jarīr
The angels were the first rank at the Battle of Badr.

536 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

537 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Q 3:125; The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.

538 Aḥmad and Muslim
A Muslim became harassed by a polytheist and then he heard the cracking of a whip behind him, and the sound of horse and the polytheist was struck by the whip and went green. The Prophet told him it was from the auxiliaries in the Third Heaven.

539 Abū Nuᶜaym al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Ḥunayn someone saw a man in white.

540 al-Wāḥidī and al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad asks Gabriel about the angels at the Battle of Badr.

541 Abū Nuᶜaym
A vision concerning Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar.

542 al-Ḥākim
The Prophet has a dream about a black sheep; Abū Bakr interprets the vision

543 Ibn Saᶜd
The Prophet has a vision in which he sees Ḥanẓala ibn Abī ᶜĀmīr being washed by angels.

544 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The Prophet sees a vision of an angel standing on earth, with one foot on the ground and the other on top of the sky.

545 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The space between an angel’s earlobe and collarbone is a distance of 7000 years.

546 – 681 General Traditions About Angels

546 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels are created and do not have hearts.

547 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Q 21:20; angels were created to glorify God.

548 al-Bukhārī
Angels were created to be God’s servants.

549 Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
Q 21:20; angels were created to serve and worship God.

550 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A prayer of the angels.

551 al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating.

552 Aḥmad
Devils are warded off with the words ‘What God wills’.

553 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of the angels.

554 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The angels worship God in heaven during the night.

555 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God does not talk to the angels.

556 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
The decrees of God pass through the heavens.

557 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Waḥy sounds like ringing to the angels and when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

558 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
The decrees of God pass through the heavens and *waḥy* sounds like ringing to the angels; when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.

559 Abū Nuᶜaym
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

560 al-Khaṭṭīb and al-Daylamī
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying ‘There is no power or strength, save in God.’

561 Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn ᶜAsākir
ᶜUmar wished to punish a hypocrite, who performed the ritual prayers sitting down.

562 Abū ‘l-Shaykh, al-Ḥakīm and al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating; an angelic prayer.

563 Abū ‘l-Shaykh.
Angelic prayers.

564 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angelic prayers.

565 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
A description of each of the Seven Heavens and the forms of the angels.

566 al-Shāfiᶜī
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

567 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

568 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

569 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

570 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

571 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

572 Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜĀmir
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

573 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.

574 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels dislike those who rested on the *qibla* after two prostrations during the dawn prayers.

575 al-Daylamī
God made the acceptance of *tawḥīd* incumbent on humans and angels.

576 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for humans for as long as they are prostrating.

577 Abū ᶜUbayd
ᶜUmar recited *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and said that it was the prayer that the angels said during the night.

578 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

579 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray during the night.

580 al-Daylamī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.

581 al-Rāfiᶜī
A description of an unnamed angel with 1000 heads, each head with a 1000 faces (*etc*.)

582 Mālik, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

583 Mālik, Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

584 Ibn Mājah
A house with idols and dogs is not entered by angels.

585 al-Baghawī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nuᶜaym.
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells.

586 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells or a dog.

587 Aḥmad
Angels do not accompany riding beasts with bells or go into houses with bells.

588 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

589 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.

590 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

591 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.

592 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* or anointed with *khāluq* in it.

593 Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not attend the funerals of unbelievers, or those anointed with saffron or who are ritually impure.

594 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel does not come near a group that has severed the bonds of kinship.

595 Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* in it, or if there is a dog or idols in it.

596 al-Nasā'ī
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

597 Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

598 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for individuals for as long as their tables are set.

599 al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Bayhaqī
Angels do not go near someone who has eaten garlic, onion or leek.

600 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are hurt by whatever hurts humans.

601 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr
A person is told to wash the head of someone who has died with water and to sprinkle his bed with water.

602 Ibn Mandah
A man says a prayer before going to bed.

603 al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
An angelic prayer.

604 Aḥmad
The angels are proud of pious men.

605 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

606 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Angels come to Damascus on Friday nights and pray for the sick.

607 al-Bayhaqī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

608 al-Daylamī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.

609 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

610 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a specific prayer of supplication is used, 70,000 angels pray for the believer to be forgiven.

611 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Kharā’iṭī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

612 Ibn Ṣaṣarī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

613 Ibn Mājah
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

614 al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

615 al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

616 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

617 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

618 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.

619 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The first rank is like a rank of angels

620 Muslim
The ranks of angels are crammed tight, one after the other.

621 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels bless those who wear turbans on Fridays.

622 al-Ṭayālisī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

623 al-Bayhaqī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.

624 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels do not see any human entertainment except for betting and fighting.

625 al-Daylamī
The angels wear the *izār* when they are in the presence of God.

626 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angels were wearing turbans at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn.

627 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels wear turbans.

628 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels wear turbans.

629 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of horses.

630 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans and rode black and white horses at the Battle of Badr.

631 al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

632 Mālik and al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.

634 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn al-Sunnī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

635 al-Bayhaqī
When someone sneezes and says ‘Lord of the Two Worlds’, the angels bless the individual.

636 al-Bukhārī
The angels come down to Earth in the clouds.

637 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels give people wisdom.

638 al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī
Angels give people wisdom.

639 Abū ‘l-Fatḥ al-Azdī
God listened to the prayers of Moses.

640 al-Kharā’iṭī
On the right hand side of the Throne is someone who calls out to the Seven Heavens.

641 Abū Nuᶜaym
If God loves a servant, He casts His love into the hearts of His angels; if God hates a servant, He casts His hate into the hearts of the angels.

642 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels bless the child of a slave-girl.

643 al-Ṭabarānī
When a daughter is born to a man, the angels bless the family and cover her in their wings.

644 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, Abū Yaᶜlā', Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim
When someone goes to bed, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his last action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his last action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the night. The same happens when the individual wakes in the morning.

645 Abū 'l-Shaykh
When someone wakes up in the morning, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his first action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his first action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the day.

646 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

647 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

648 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.

649 al-Bayhaqī
A man should not engage in trade or military leadership until he is able to do so.

650 al-Bayhaqī
When God hates a servant, God sends an angel to the individual to surround him with luxury.

651 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bayhaqī
God puts believers to the test.

652 Ibn ᶜAddī
The angels rejoice in believers who dye their hair green (i.e. with henna)

653 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
A devil comes to a man in human form and befriends him. An angel also comes to him in human form and befriends him. The devil recognises that the angel is an angel, but the man does not. The angel then kills the devil. The man and the angel then receive hospitality and the angel steals a silver bowl. The man says that he can not be a friend of someone who commits murder and steals. The angel then explains to the man that the other 'human' was a devil who wanted to kill him.

654 al-Bayhaqī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

655 al-Bayhaqī
The angels do not have names in heaven.

656 al-Ṭabarānī
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

657 Ibn ᶜAsākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.

658 al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Angels are ashamed of nudity.

659 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels bear witness to God in heaven.

660 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels led Solomon to making the correct legal judgments.

661 Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah
There is no servant that prays for the Prophet, without the angels praying for him.

662 al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

663 Aḥmad
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.

664 Ibn Mājah
The Prophet tells someone about the Gates of Heaven.

665 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels are proud of the Muslims during Ramaḍān.

666 Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Muḥammad berates a group for sitting down whilst praising God and tells them that Gabriel boasts about the Muslims in heaven.

667 al-Bazzār, Ibn Jarīr and al-Bayhaqī
On the Day of Resurrection, God will boast to his angels about his creations.

668 al-Daylamī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

669 Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

670 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God boats about humans to the angels.

671 Ibn ᶜAddī, Abū Nuᶜaym and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans and those that circumambulate the Kaᶜba to the angels.

672 al-Khaṭṭīb
God boasts about humans and those that fight in His path to the angels; the angels pray for a human as he fights in God's path.

673 Aḥmad
When a servant sleeps whilst prostrating, God boasts about him to the angels.

674 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Gabriel comes down to Earth with a troop of angels who pray for all those who are praying and remembering God. When it is ᶜĪd, God boasts about them to the angels.

675 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Riḍwān opens the Gates of Heaven and Mālik shuts the gates of Hell. Gabriel comes down to earth with a troop of angels and places a green flag on top of the Kaᶜba. Gabirel has 600 wings.

676 al-Bayahqī
The angels bless those who are performing the pilgrimage and embrace those who make the journey on foot.

677 Aḥmad
Angels curse people who make a sign to their brother with an iron object.

678 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels were created on Wednesday, the jinn were created on Thursday and Adam was created on Friday.

679 Ibn Jarīr
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

680 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.

681 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn ᶜAsākir
When the Earth was created, it was spread out from the Kaᶜba and the angels were the first to circumambulate it.

682 – 744 On the Circumambulation of the Holy House

682 al-Jindī
God sent an angel to circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

683 al-Jindī
Adam is told by the angels that they had been circumambulating the Kaᶜba for 2000 years.

684 al-Azraqī
Concerning the creation of Adam, the protestation of the angels and the building of the Kaᶜba and the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

685 al-Azraqī
There are fifteen houses of God, one in each of the seven heavens and earths and God's house. They are all directly above each other.

686 al-Azraqī
Angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

687 al-Azraqī
Adam is told to worship God in the Kaᶜba, just as the angels worship God in the *bayt al-maᶜmūr*.

688 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

689 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Kaᶜba.

690 al-Azraqī
Muḥammad sees Gabriel wearing a green headband, which is covered by dust. Gabriel tells him that he has been prostrating at the *bayt al-maᶜmūr* and the beating of the angels' wings beat dust into the air.

691 Ibn Mājah
Angels curse those who sell faulty goods.

692 Abū Nuᶜaym
Angels are with those who finish reciting the Qur'ān.

693 Ibn al-Sunnī
The angels curse those who pray in a name other than their own.

694 Ibn ᶜAsākir
The angels curse those who give religious rulings, whilst knowing that a different ruling is the correct one.

695 al-Dāraquṭnī
No place of prayer is without an angel: one on the left and one of the right of the person praying.

696 Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn ibn Bashrān and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel teaches the Qur’ān to whoever had intended to learnt it by heart, but who died before being able to do so.

697 Abū Yaᶜlā
Concerning ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAffān.

698 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
Angels are with anyone who recites the Qur’ān in the Kaᶜba

699 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
Eighty angels were sent down with the *Sura of the Cow*.

700 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Mardawayh
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

701 al-Ḥakīm [al-Tirmidhī] and al-Bayhaqī
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.

702 Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī
God’s commands pass through the heavens and the jinn hear, but do not pay heed them

703 al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
God’s commands pass through the heavens.

704 Muslim
Two angels receive the soul of the deceased.

705 Ibn ᶜAsākir
A vision of an angel.

706 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels do not listen to humans, except with the permission of God.

707 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
The houses of believers light up for the angels.

708 al-Bayhaqī
Houses in which the Qur’ān is being recited look like stars to the angels.

709 Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī
God came to Muḥammad in the most beautiful form.

710 al-Ṭabarānī
There is no house in a city without an angel standing over the lintel with its sword unsheathed to prevent the Anti-Christ entering the house.

711 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
When a woman makes the midday-bed of her husband, angels help her.

712 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
When someone is in the presence of the deceased, the angels say 'Amen' to whatever prayers are said.

713 al-Daylamī
If someone finishes the Qur'ān, 60,000 angels pray for him.

714 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Cockerels crow when they see angels; donkeys bray when they see a devil.

715 al-Bazzār
Angels curse a Muslim who unsheathes his sword against another Muslim.

716 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for people performing the ritual prayers for the length of time that they remain praying.

717 al-Khaṭṭīb
Angels are present at the ritual prayers.

718 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for someone who is fasting who comes into the presence of food.

719 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

720 Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

721 Aḥmad, Abū Yaᶜlā and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

722 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.

723 al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, al-Bāwardī and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels call out to Muslims on the Day of *Fiṭr*.

724 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels rejoice at the passing of winter.

725 al-Shīrāzī
The angels prayed for Adam.

726 al-Dāraquṭnī and Ibn ᶜAsākir
Gabriel and the angels prayed for Adam (on the day of the prostration to Adam) and Gabriel then understood the significance of Adam's role as God's *khalīf*.

727 al-Daylamī
Concerning the events of the Day of Resurrection.

728 Ibn Mājah
Angels pray for those who attend the Friday prayers.

729 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

730 ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.

731 Ibn ᶜAsākir
God has knowledge of the hidden.

732 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer; the Prophet told him that it was an angel.

733 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer.

734 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God's blessings on his creations pass through the heavens.

735 Ibn ᶜAsākir and Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī
A Muslim sees Gabriel, Michael and other angels praying in the Kaᶜba.

736 al-Bayhaqī
During Ramaḍān, the angels circumambulate the Kaᶜba.

737 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī
The angels greet people on the Night of Power.

738 Saᶜīd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn al-Mundhir
During the night, the angels pass over all the believers and pray for them.

739 Ibn al-Mundhir
Angels beat their wings in peace on the Night of Power.

740 Aḥmad
On the Night of Power and other days the angels on the earth are more numerous than the pebbles.

741 al-Daylamī
The angels perform the ritual prayers.

742 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not like a spirit of copper.

743 ᶜAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 35:1; the angels have two, three or four wings.

744 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels have two to twelve wings and they are feathered. Gabriel has six wings.

Appendix G

Images of Angels in Islamic Art

Angels in Islamic Art

Six images from Islamic Art have been included below, simply to give an idea of the standard forms of angelic iconography.

Miᶜrājnāma [BNF Turc 190 fol unknown]
This is one of only a few images that show the huge size of the angel Gabriel. This image is taken from an account of Muḥammad's ascension (*miᶜrāj*) and he is seated on Burāq.

Source: Colby, Frederick S., *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muḥammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006).

Album [TSMK Hazine 2154] fol. 61v
A picture of the angel, *al-Dīk*, one of the few purely zoomorphic angels; here the image is simply that of a cockerel. In the ḥadīth, *al-Dīk* is given more angelic attributes. One of these attributes is the cockerel's great size, which can be seen to some degree in this image, as it is a twice the size of Muḥammad. The cockerel is also associated with precious stones, which cannot be seen in this image.

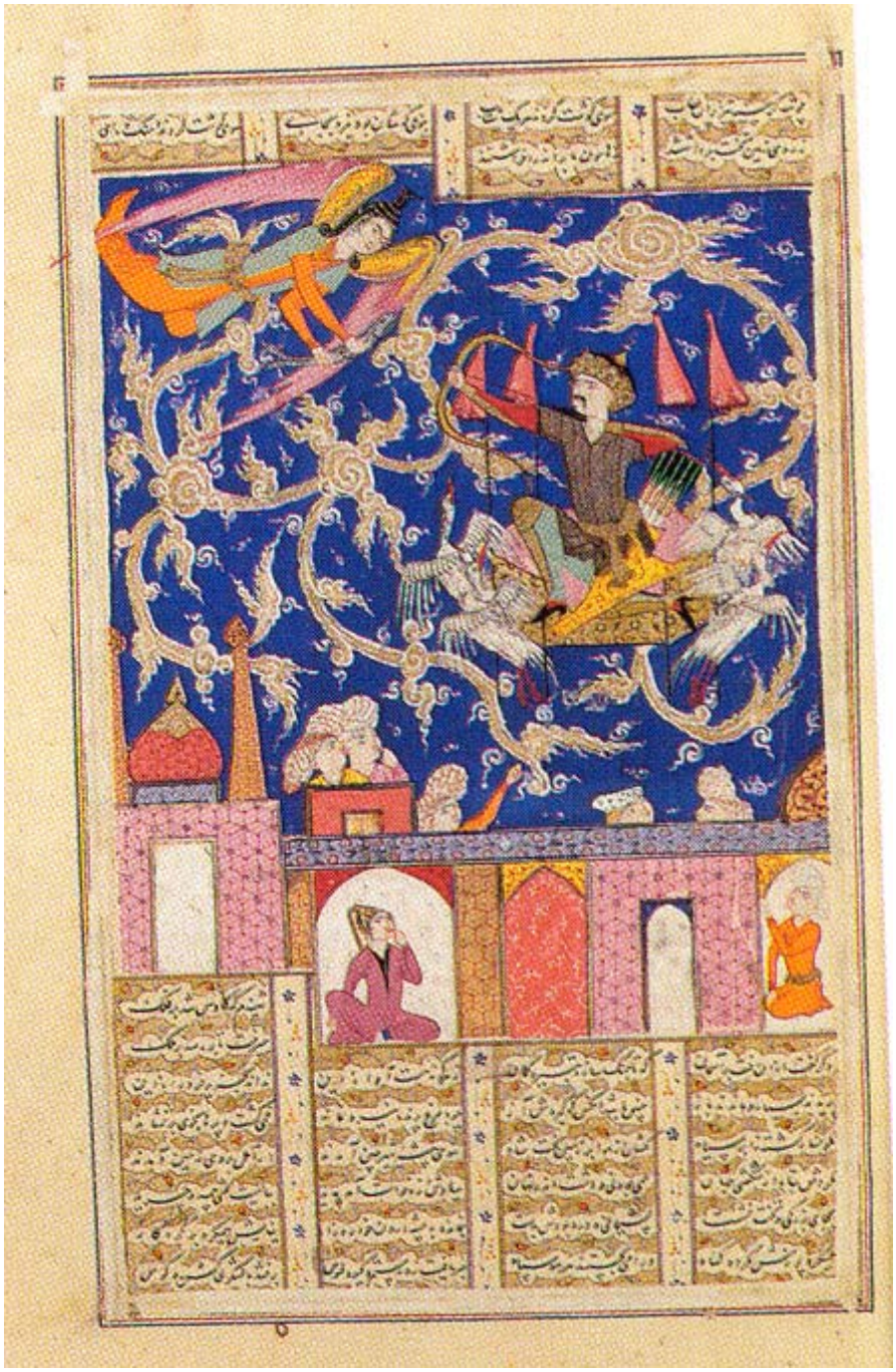
Source: Ettinghausen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen (ed. Myriam Rosen-Alayon), *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267; fig. (i), p. 247.

Al-Qazwīnī, *ᶜAjā'ib al-makhluqāt* [British Library Or. 47011 fol 38r]

There are a number of illustrated manuscripts of al-Qazwīnī's *Kitāb ᶜajā'ib al-makhluqāt*, which have a similar form for the angels. It is often difficult to distinguish between different angels and often the only means to tell the angels apart is by their place in the Arabic text.[1]

Source: Jones, Dalu *et. al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Islam: Haywood Gallery 8th April – 4th July 1976* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), p. 347

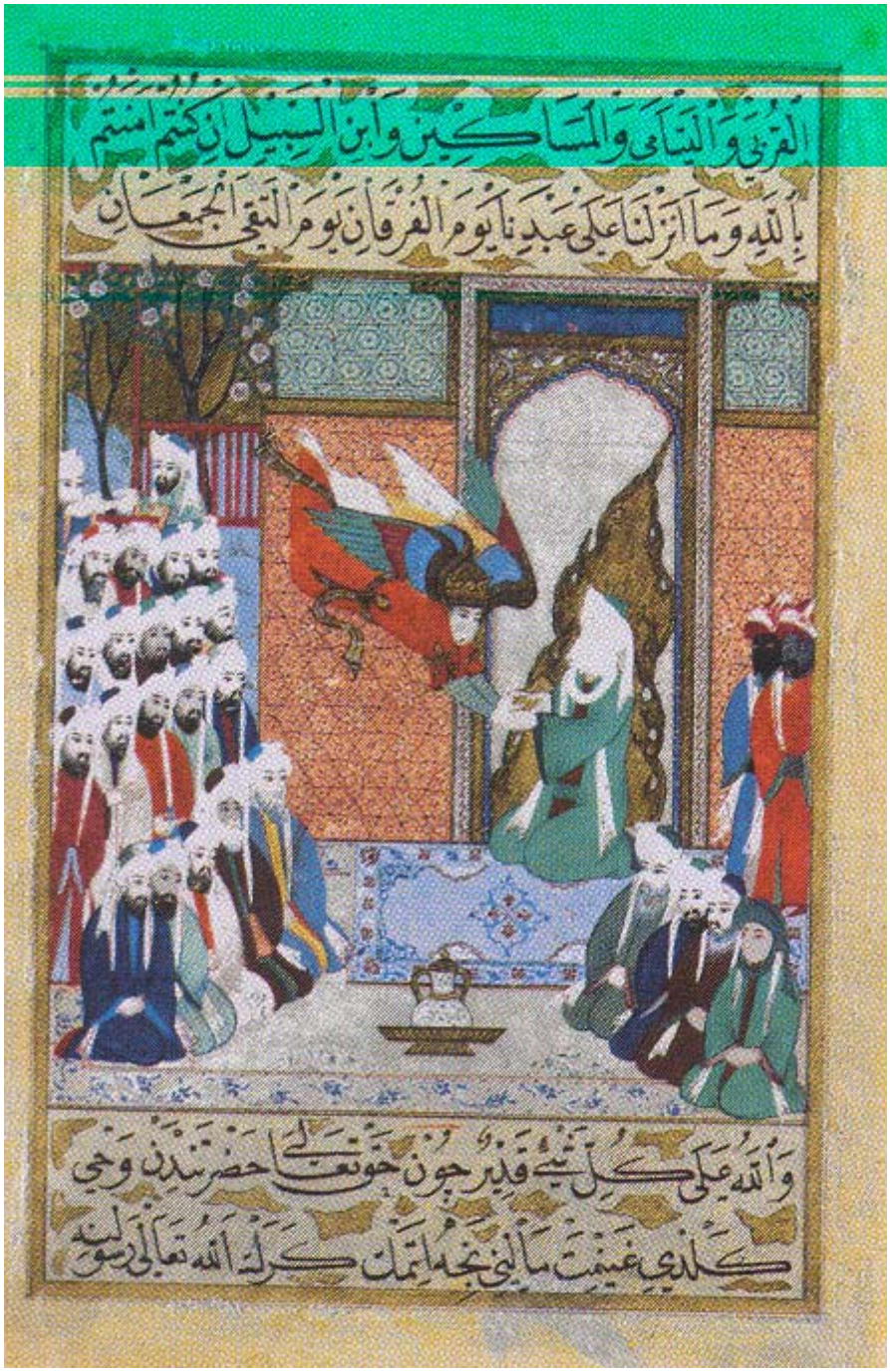
[1] For a discussion of these images, see Baidee, Julie A. D., *An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī* (PhD. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1978).



Shāhnāma [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Persan 490 fol 62r]

Persian images of angels tend to have more slender wings, as in this miniature. The angels are often depicted with their hair worn up, ornamented with pearls. Although Gabriel's hair is said to look 'like white pearls' (e.g. §50), there are no ḥadīth that actually suggest that the angels' hair were adorned with them. This is likely to be a reflection of contemporary dress.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, Marthe, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam: Paris, musée du Louvre 23 avril – 23 juillet, 2001* (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Naionaux, 2001) p. 206.



Siyar-i Nabi [Louvre MAO 149] loose leaf

This image depicts Gabriel revealing Sura 8. Angels are often exactly the same size as the humans in the miniature, as can be seen here (as well as some of the images included in this small selection). This image also shows the angel with four wings, this is quite rare as angels are usually given two wings in Islamic art.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux*, p. 284.

Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* [EUL Arabic MS 20 fol 22r]

Angels are very rarely depicted in a completely anthropomorphic form, this is one of only a few examples (another good example is from a *Siyār-i Nabī* [TSMK Hazine 1222 fol. 155r]).[2] The image follows the description of *al-Rūḥ* (identified with Gabriel) coming to Mary as a *basharan sawīyan*; cf. Q 19:17.

Source: Rice, David Talbot, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976) p. 85.

[2] See: Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press), p. 246 and Ipşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam*, p. 142.

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[1] Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-Aᶜīs from his father.

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Some of the ḥadīth include transmission through a limited *isnād*, frequently with the words '*min ṭarīq*...'; these individuals are listed below:

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95	ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥarīth
34	Abū 'l-Malīḥ
183	Abū Qabīl
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237	al-Ḍaḥḥāk
119	al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj
210	Ibn Abī Talḥā
49	Isḥāq al-Hāshimī
237	Isḥāq ibn Bashar
119	Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
237	Juwaybir
23	Khabīb ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-Aᶜīs
102	Khālid
102	al-Layth
119	Muḥammad (father of Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad)
18, 221, 222	Mujāhid
200	Qutayba
200	Ṣakhr ibn ᶜAbd Allāh
83	al-Sarī ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Sulamī
108, 190	Al-Suddī
62	Thābit
24	ᶜUbbād ibn Manṣūr
234	Unknown (man from Banū Tammīm)

Authorities Mentioned in Full Isnāds (§68, 84 & 171)

(The authorities have been left in the same order as they appear in the *isnād*.)

68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yusūf al-Iṣfahānī
68 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saᶜīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī
68 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ᶜĀṣim ibn ᶜUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuᶜmā al-Anṣārī
68 Abū ‘l-Faḍl
68 ᶜĀsim (father of Abū ‘l-Faḍl)
68 al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād

84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Adīb
84 Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir
84 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mandah
84 Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī
84 Abū ‘l-Qāsim ᶜAbd Allāal-Jurjānī
84 Abū ‘l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
84 Aḥmad ibnᶜAbd Allāh al-Shuᶜabī al-Baghdādī
84 Al-Ḥassan ibn ᶜAlī al-ᶜAskarī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad
84 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
84 Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
84 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
84 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

171 Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf
171 Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī
171 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭṭīb
171 Al-Qāḍī Abū al-ᶜAlā’ Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Wāsitī
171 Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī
171 ᶜAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī
171 ᶜAbd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ
171 ᶜAlī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī
171 Abū Mūsā ibn Jaᶜfar
171 Abū Jaᶜfar ibn Muḥammad
171 Abū Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī
171 Abū ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn

Bibliography

8.1 Abbreviations

8.1.1 Journals, Encyclopaedia and Monographs

AAS	African and Asian Studies
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AELex	Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*
AI	Annales Islamologiques
AJCP	Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Lanugages and Literatures
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
BAEO	Boletín de la Asociacíon Española de Orientalistas
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BHS	Hebrew Bible; *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
CHAL	Cambridge History of Arabic Literature
CHI	Cambirdge History of Iran
CTM	Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane*
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EA	Etudes Asiatiques
EAL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature
ED	Encyclopedia of Death
EdAM	Enciclopedia dell'arte Medievale
EHR	The Economic Historical Review
EI^1	Encyclopaedia of Islam (First Edition)
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)
EI^3	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Third Edition)
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EphThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EQ	Encyclopedia of the Qur'an
ER^2	Encyclopedia of Religion (Second Edition)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
EWIC	Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures
FGA	Freer Gallery of Art
GAS	Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GS	Goldziher (ed. DeSomogyi), *Gesammelte Schriften*
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IA	Islamic Art
IC	Islamic Culture
ICMR	Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJMES	International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IrS	Iranian Studies
IS	Islamic Studies
Isl.	Der Islam
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAIS	Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies
JAL	Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHB	Journal for the History of Biology
JHMAS	Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies
JJRL	Journal of the John Rylands Library
JMMA	Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JQS	Journal of Qur'anic Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Ritual Studies
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
LA	Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-ᶜarab*
ME	Medieval Encounters
MS	Manuscript
MSR	Mamlūk Studies Review
MW	Muslim World
NB	New Blackfriars
NRSV	Bible (New Revised Standard Version)
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OTr	Oral Tradition
OTP	Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*

PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PEW	Philosophy East and West
PP	Past and Present
PT	Poetics Today
QA	Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ [used for al-Thaʾlabī, al-Kisāʾī & al-Rabghūzī]
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chrsitentum
RB	Revue Biblique
RC	Religion Compass
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RP	Revue Philosophique
RZBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
SI	Studia Islamica
TA	Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
TPAPA	Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association
UBS	Greek New Testament; United Bible Society (4th Edition)
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdI	Die Welt des Islams
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

8.1.2 Abbreviations (Ancient Texts)

1 En.	First Enoch (Ethiopic)
1Th.	First Letter to the Thessalonians
2En	Second Enoch (Slavonic)
2Cor	Second Letter to the Corinthians
3Bar	Third Baruch
3En	Third Enoch (Hebrew)
ActsJ	Acts of John
ApAb	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApEl	Apocalypse of Elijah
ApIs	Apocalypse of Isaiah
ApPaul	Apocalypse of Paul
ApZeph	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
BB	Baba Bathra
CantR	Song of Songs (Qohelet) Rabbah
DeutR	Deuteronomy Rabbah
DialSav	Dialogue of the Saviour
Ezk.	Ezekiel
GenR	Genesis Rabbah
GPhil	Gospel of Philip
Ḥag	Ḥagigah
JanJam	Jannes and Jambres
JosAsen	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub.	Book of Jubilees

Ket.	Ketuboth
LadJac	Ladder of Jacob
LAE(V)	Life of Adam and Eve (*Vita*)
LamR	Lamentations Rabbah
Men.	Menahot
MK	Mo'ed Katan
NumR	Numbers Rabbah
Q.	Qur'ān
QuesEzra	Questions of Ezra
San.	Sanḥedrin
Shab.	Shabbat
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Ta'	Ta'anith
Tob.	Tobit
Yom	Yoma

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Daoist Magical Incantations, Hand Seals, and Star Stepping

Training in Daoist Magic from the Zheng Yi School of Ancient Chinese Mysticism

Written by

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Temple of the Celestial Cloud

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Disclaimer:

Ancient occult magic was never intended to replace orthodox religion, but rather to complement it in its quest for a deeper understanding of esoteric spirituality. Through the alchemy of prayer and meditation, an individual can be transformed into an enlightened or "awakened" state of awareness.

Several of the ancient meditation practices, magical techniques and Shengong exercises described herein are currently practiced within the secret societies throughout the world, including the People's Republic of China. These esoteric techniques can be very powerful and may in some cases be too mentally and physically demanding for some individuals. The readers should therefore use their own discretion or consult a priest or mental health professional before engaging in these exercises and meditations.

The rituals used for spiritual protection and energetic destruction are still as powerful today as they were when first introduced in ancient China. The secret of their timelessness lies in the fact that the personal power of the Celestial Immortals, various Spirit Entities, and Demonic Beings never changes. Therefore, the author, the International Institute of Daoist Magic, and the publishers are neither liable or responsible to any person or entity with respect to any loss or damage caused, or alleged to be caused, directly or indirectly by reading or following the instructions for any condition, ritual, incantation, Hand Seal, or interpreting information provided in this text.

This book describes traditional methods of both ancient and modern forms of Chinese Mysticism (Daoist occult magic and sorcery), and is not intended to persuade the readers in any way, shape or form to believe in or practice sorcery. Any person attempting such rituals is doing so at his or her own risk.

Additionally, sometimes Daoist exercises and meditations require special herbal formulas, as well as the regulation of the individual's diet (e.g., fasting) and living environment (solidarity). It is important to note that herbal prescriptions will vary according to the individual's constitution, condition and specific goal, and must be treated accordingly only by a doctor or herbalist qualified to prescribe Chinese medical herbs. Each state in the U.S. has their own regulations and restrictions, therefore, it is advisable for the reader to consult their own state medical board for use of proper application and liabilities of the techniques described within this text.

The Secret Trainings of Daoist Magical Incantations

Introduction to Training Daoist Magic

Born from ancient Chinese shamanism, Daoist alchemy gradually evolved to encompass all levels of human experience, the mastery of which is commonly known today as Daoist Magic. Because magic links spirit with matter, the Daoists have always used magic as part of their tradition in all cultivation, alchemy, and healing practices. Thus, it is through the understanding and application of magical practices that the Daoist sorcerers embraced the three realms of matter, energy, and spirit, seeking to unite with the Dao by gathering and manipulating the subtle energies of nature.

Through the use of magic (i.e., spirit travel, dream interpretation, controlling the weather, divination, healing, and conjuring or removing spirit entities), the ancient Daoist sorcerers were able to train the body's life-force to sense, manipulate, and control the energetic manifestations that govern within the physical world.

History of Daoist Magic

The Daoist magic commonly taught today in China, Taiwan, Vietnam, etc. originally developed from two separate branches of Chinese mysticism (Figure 1.1). The Yin branch of Daoist magic originated from ancient knowledge that was gathered and eventually written down by the philosophers of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). These

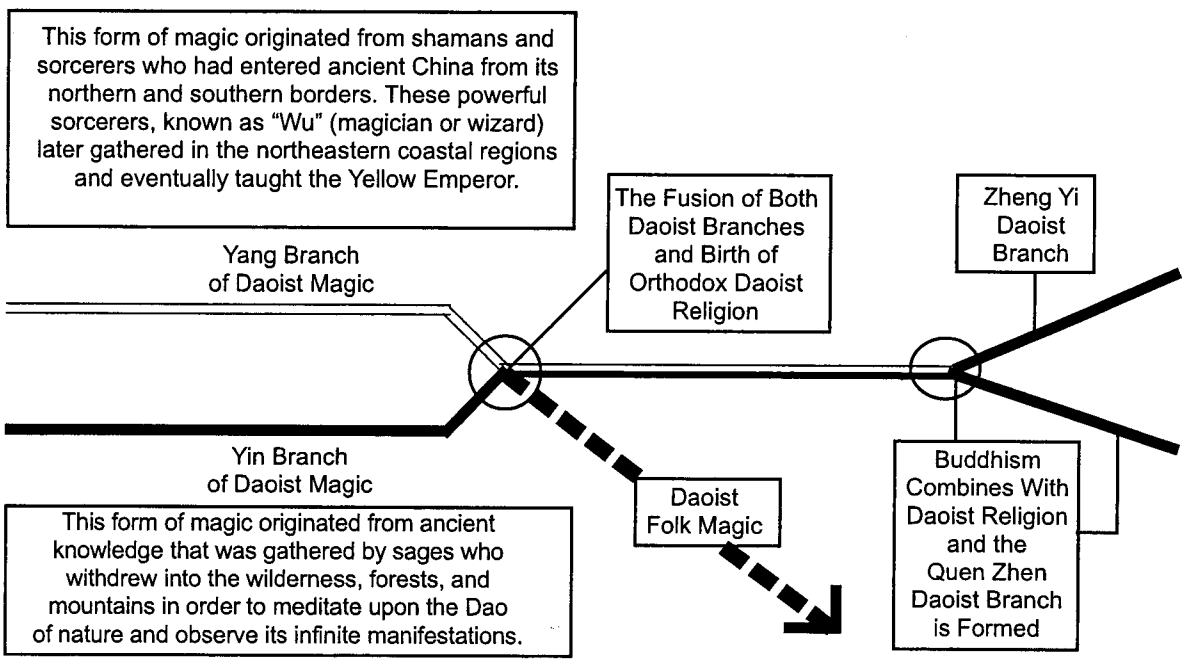


Figure 1.1. Origin of Daoist Magic

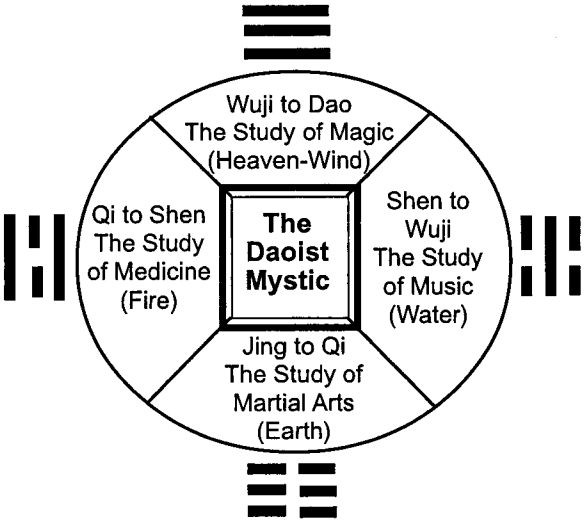


Figure 1.2. The Four Pillars of ancient Daoist sorcery

individuals withdrew into the wilderness, forests, and mountains in order to meditate upon the Dao of nature and observe its infinite manifestations. Disciples of these Daoists practices sought after a more feminine, receptive energetic knowledge, which could only arise as the fruit of a passive and yielding attitude, developed through the observation and study of nature.

The Yang branch of Daoist magic originated from shamans and sorcerers who had entered ancient China from its northern and southern borders. These individuals later gathered together and were concentrated within the northeastern coastal regions of ancient China (especially within the states of Chi and Yen). These sorcerers were eventually given the name of "Wu" (magician or wizard) and were believed to have eventually taught the Yellow Emperor.

Eventually, the two different elements of nature study and Wu sorcery combined in order to form the Daoist "religion" of later times. The Wu sorcery that was not incorporated into religious Daoism eventually became associated with the most ancient practices of Chinese folk magic, which centered around the worship of the various powers of Heaven and Shang Di (the God Above).

In these early formative stages, both science and magic were indistinguishable. Even the early "royal society" found it difficult to distinguish between science and what we now call magic. For example, up until the 16th Century, science was commonly called "Natural Magic."

Eventually, the title "Daoist Mystic," referred to an individual who had mastered the physical, energetic, and spiritual components of the esoteric alchemical practices of Martial Arts (Jing to Qi), Medicine (Qi to Shen), Music (Shen to Wuji), and Magic (Wuji to Dao). The study of each of these specific disciplines formed the Four Pillars of ancient Daoist sorcery, enabling the mystic to enter into ever deeper and more subtle spiritual realms of enlightenment (Figure 1.2).

Three Bodies, Three Breaths & Three Minds

In order to avoid the risk of losing any form of cultivated magical power or jeopardizing their ability to energetically manifest, the ancient Daoist sorcerers were taught to discipline their Three Bodies (i.e., the Physical Body, Energy Body and Spirit Body). This magical training included mastering the supernatural powers and manifestations that stemmed from the energetic and spiritual bodies surrounding their core-self (located deep inside their Taiji Pole).

This disciplined practice enabled the sorcerers to control their Three Bodies and fuse them with their Three Breaths. This physical, energetic, and spiritual fusion then become powerfully directed by their Three Minds (Figure 1.3).

Then, when the Daoist sorcerer spoke a magical incantation, it was directed by the Three Minds (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Mind), and initiated through magical Hand Seals and/or Star Stepping patterns, which were then activated through the sorcerer's Three Bodies (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Body). The energetic combination of all Three Minds and all Three Bodies was then fused with the energetic combination of all Three Breaths (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Breath) in order to create true magical power (Figure 1.4).

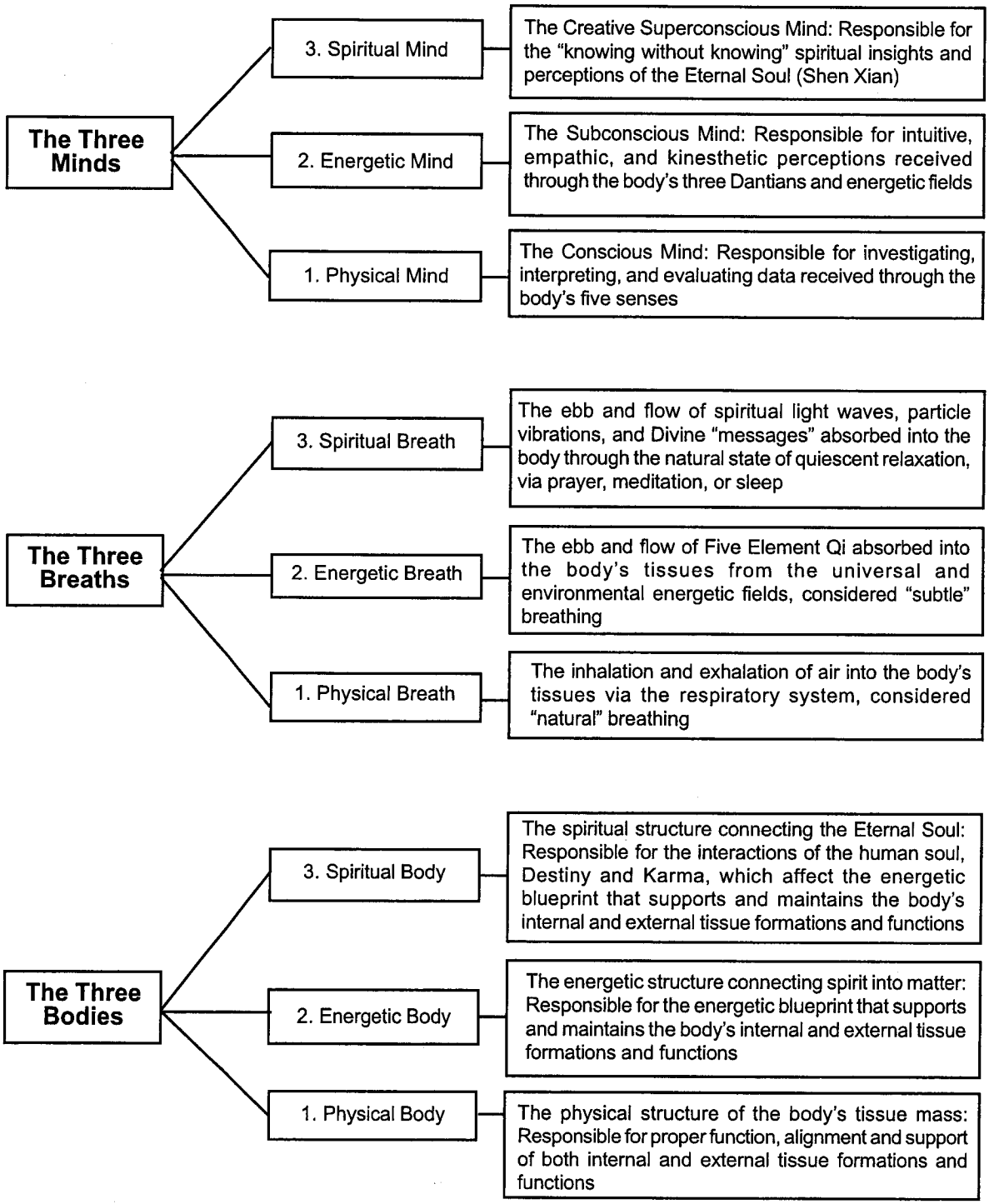


Figure 1.3. The Ancient Daoist Understanding of Internal Harmony

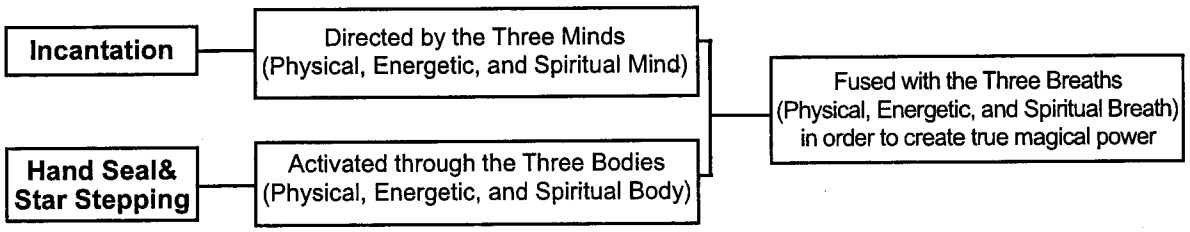


Figure 1.4. The Three Minds and Three Bodies fuse with the Three Breaths in order to create true magical power

Mind Secret, Speech Secret, & Body Secret

In ancient China, Daoist magical practices were always initiated through the combined use of three secret training known as the Mind Secret (used to train the sorcerer's Imagination, Sensation, Intention, and Attention), the Speech Secret (used to train Breath Incantations), and the Body Secret (used to train magical Hand Seals and Star Stepping). The mastery of these three disciplines gave the Daoist sorcerers the ability to enter the Three Realms (Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld) and obtain knowledge and experience that could assist then in their goal of obtaining immortality. The three secret magical practices are described as follows:

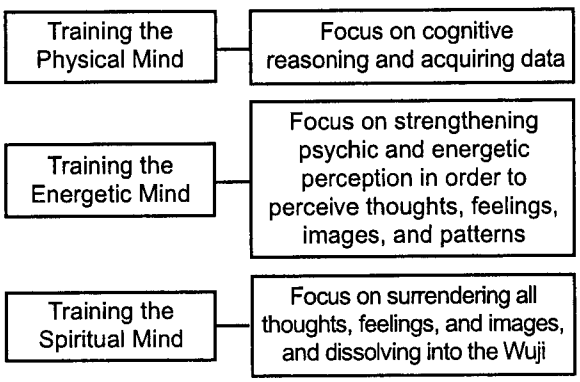


Figure 1.5. Training The Three Types of Posture

Training the Mind Secret

The ancient Daoists taught that the mind functions on three different planes, simultaneously orienting within the physical, energetic, and spiritual worlds. Together, these three mental planes make up the mind of an individual. In this way the three layers of mind encase the individual's Eternal Soul in physical, energetic and spiritual matrices. Therefore, in ancient China, training the mind was divided into three stages, training the physical mind, training the energetic mind and training the spiritual mind, described as follows (Figure 1.5):

- **Training the Physical Mind:** This type of mind training is based on training the sensory input, thoughts, and analytical patterns that direct the actions and movements of the body's physical tissues. Focus is placed on cognitive reasoning and on acquiring data.
- **Training the Energetic Mind:** This type of mind training is based on training to respond to the energetic perceptions received from the vibrational patterns which are themselves responsible for directing and influencing the Physical Mind. Focus is placed on strengthening psychic and energetic perception in order to perceive thoughts, feelings, images, and patterns.
- **Training the Spiritual Mind:** This type of mind training is based on perceiving spiritual interactions connected to the divine, affecting the Original Soul's primary life purpose. Focus is placed on surrendering all thoughts, feelings, and images and dissolving into the Wuji.

Yin and Yang Divisions of the Mind

There are two divisions of the mind (Yin and Yang), each consisting of three different levels. The Yin part of the mind belongs to the energy of the Earth and is a more body-oriented type of mind. The Yang part of the mind belongs to the energy of Heaven and is a more consciousness-oriented type of mind. The three levels of the mind are described as follows (Figure 1.6).

1. The most superficial level of the mind exists within the individual's Will (Zhi) and Intention (Yi), and represents the mind's everyday functions (i.e., cognitive thinking). The Zhi is considered the "thinking body," while the Yi is considered the "thinking mind."
2. The middle level of the mind exists within the emotional and spiritual influences of the Seven Corporeal Souls (Po) and Three Ethereal Souls (Hun), and represents the moving and active aspects of the mind (e.g., body movements, reflexes, instincts, drives, and spirit projection - when accompanied by the Yuan Shen).
3. The deepest level of the mind exists within the Prenatal foundation of the Kidney's Jing and the Heart's Shen, and represents the original and primordial energetic and spiritual form of the "Original Mind" (Yuan Shen). The "Original Mind" is manifested throughout the body via the Yin and Yang energetic natures contained within the original Prenatal Elements of Fire and Water.

These different levels of energies create the body, as well as activate the mental, emotional and spiritual transitional states of the mind. All three levels of the mind are interactive and interdependent.

Energetic Divisions of Qi	Yin	Yang
Psychophysical Divisions	Di (Earth) Body Orientation	Tian (Heaven) Consciousness Orientation
Superficial Level of the Mind (Zhi and Yi)	Zhi (Will) Kidneys Thinking Body	Yi (Intention) Spleen Thinking Mind
Middle Level of the Mind (Hun and Po)	Po Lungs Corporeal Soul	Hun Liver Ethereal Soul
Deepest Level of the Mind (Yuan Shen)	Jing (Essence) Kidneys Water Qi	Shen (Spirit) Heart Fire Qi

Figure 1.6. Mental and Emotional Transitional States of the Mind

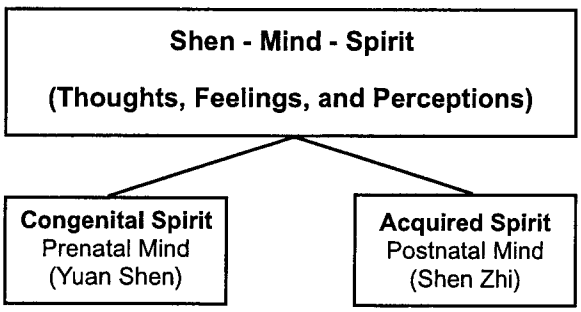


Figure 1.7. The Prenatal and Postnatal Mind

THE PRENATAL AND POSTNATAL MIND

The ancient Daoists considered the Heart the Emperor of all internal organs because it stores the individual's Shen (Spirit). The Shen was further divided into two components: the Prenatal Mind known as the Yuan Shen (the intuitive congenital spirit), and the Postnatal Mind known as the Shen Zhi (the analytical acquired spirit). These two aspects of the mind are described as follows (Figure 1.7):

- **The Prenatal Mind (Yuan Shen):** This congenital aspect of the mind is inherited from the Jing, Qi, and Shen of both parents and dominates the vital activities of all the major viscera, as well as the active functioning of the body's entire energetic organism and spiritual matrix.
- **The Postnatal Mind (Shen Zhi):** This acquired aspect of the mind is developed through interactions with people and the environment after birth. It dominates thought and interaction, and it engages in unlimited mental activity.

INTERACTIONS OF YUAN SHEN AND SHEN ZHI

The Yuan Shen (Original Mind) and Shen Zhi (Acquired Mind) are interactive and interdependent. If the Shen Zhi is active and chattering (sometimes called the "monkey mind"), it is difficult for the Yuan Shen to convey its intuitive information.

According to ancient Daoist texts on energetic alchemy, the Shen Zhi is meant to be a servant of the Yuan Shen. However, it is the nature of the unenlightened mind to allow the Shen Zhi to become extremely stubborn, developing a chronic, suspicious demeanor. If the activity of the Shen

Zhi becomes too self-involved, it can become completely independent. As the Shen Zhi strives for control it inhibits the development of the Yuan Shen, causing disbelief and suspicion to dominate the individual's mind and override most intuitive perceptions.

Regulating the Mind is therefore needed to bring harmony between the analytical (Zhi) and intuitive (Yuan) aspects of the mind. In ancient Daoism there is a saying, "the mind must be led by a master; the Yuan Shen must be that master and must lead the Heart's Shen Zhi as One Mind."

The Four Secret Powers of the Mind

In Daoist magic, "Training the Mind," refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application and fusion of four secret powers. These four secret powers are represented through the image of Four Celestial Animals: the Green Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Phoenix, and the Black Turtle/Snake (Figure 1.8). In training the Mind Secret, the Four Celestial Animals are attributed to different magical powers and states of consciousness:

- **The Green Dragon:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Heaven, the Hun, Imagination, and Yang Qi.
- **The White Tiger:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Earth, the Po, Sensation, and Yin Qi.
- **The Red Phoenix:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Fire, the Shen, Intention, and Yang Qi.
- **The Black Turtle/Snake (Dark Warrior):** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Water, the Zhi, Attention, and Yin Qi.

In Daoist magic, the fusion of all Four Celestial Animal powers is a prerequisite for creating the true magical power of manifestation. The magical energies of the Green Dragon and White Tiger must be combined in order to create and sustain the sorcerer's Energy Body. The magical energies of the Red Phoenix and Black Turtle/Snake must be combined in order to create and sustain the sorcerer's Spirit Body. The energies of both the Energy Body and Spirit Body must combine and fuse as one in order to create true magical power (Figure 1.9).

The Four Celestial Animals are manifestations

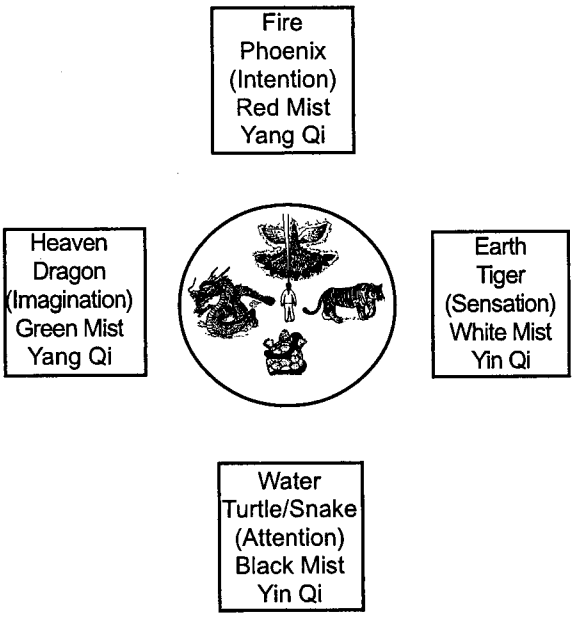


Figure 1.8. The Four Celestial Animals and their powers

of the divine energy radiating from the sorcerer's "Most Secret Name" (i.e., the sorcerer's spiritual name of power). The power of the sorcerer's Most Secret Name is used as a magical bridge in order to connect together the two realms of spirit and matter. It is imagined and kept as a Luminous Jewel, located deep inside the core center of the sorcerer's Lower Dantian, and it is utilized whenever he or she performs Breath Incantations, Magical Hand Seals, or Star Stepping patterns.

Language, Mythology and Energetic Geometry

The training of the Four Celestial Animals of the Mind Secret also involves three important magical disciplines: Language, Mythology, and Energetic Geometry. Through these three important disciplines, the Daoist sorcerer learns the secret "trigger" mechanisms needed in order to release and control powerful magic. In the context of magic, power is defined as the ability to produce a result (i.e., how long it takes to manifest something).

These three important magical disciplines are used to help focus the sorcerer's Will (Zhi). By gathering them together with Intention (Yi), the sorcerer is creating a magical universe that he or she can use to energetically effect the three realms.

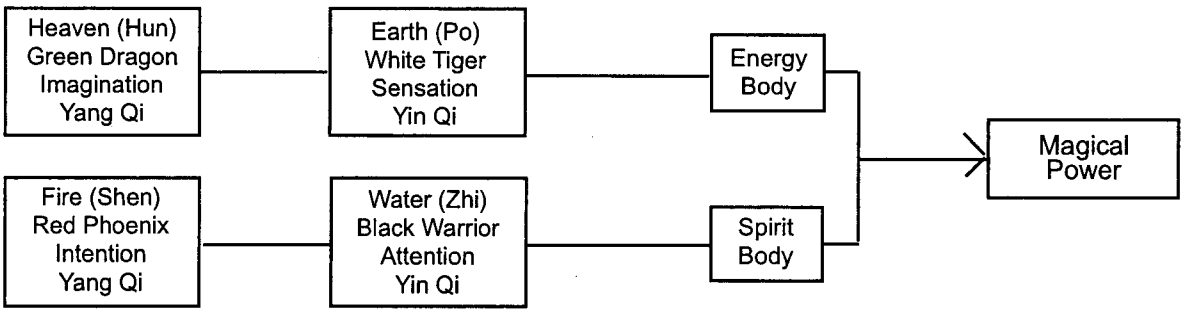


Figure 1.9. The secret powers of the Four Celestial Animals are needed to create the power of true magic

The disciplines of Language, Mythology and Energetic Geometry are defined as follows:

- **Language:** This skill encompasses the use of magical words, their pronunciations, and the methods of combining them. This discipline is externally trained through the skill of speech (verbal expression) and internally trained thought processing. It is expressed and manifested into the external world via the sorcerer's Magical Incantations.
- **Mythology:** This skill encompasses the use of the myths and legends that deal with gods, demigods, heroes, and villains surrounding people, places, and things. This discipline is energetically trained through culture and tradition. Its effect is experienced within the world of matter externally through images (energetic symbols and icons) and internally through dreams (Archetypes, Dream Travel, and visionary work). Although some mythological correspondences will remain consistent, certain energetic aspects will greatly vary depending on the sorcerer's magical tradition.
- **Energetic Geometry:** This skill encompasses the use of the sacred mathematical formulas that deals with the relative properties and measurements of solids, surfaces, lines, points, and angles. This discipline is energetically trained through vision (external sight) and is released into the world of matter externally through magical forms (i.e., Body Postures, Hand Seals, and Star Stepping) and internally through images (energetic shapes). Each of the Four Celestial Animals corresponds to one of the Four Directions. Each of the Four Directions acts as a secret door that opens onto a vast hallway of interconnected meanings (i.e., each direction corresponds to a certain time, season, polarity, planet, shape, color, sound, herb, stone, Element, number, etc.). In ancient Daoism, masters of Feng Shui and Divination were extremely skilled at recognizing the magical correspondences of Energetic Geometry.

FOUR WAYS TO AVOID LOSING MAGICAL POWER

When training esoteric magic, the ancient Daoists described four primary ways that a sorcerer could lose his or her power and weaken the ability to mentally manifest. These four ways are described as follows: Leaking Magical Power Through the Mouth, Leaking Magical Power Through Vision, Leaking Magical Power Through Geometry, and Leaking Magical Power Through Sex. Because the sorcerer's magical power can be lost through one or several of these four methods, it reveals two important things about their mental training:

- First, pertaining to each of these four methods, the sorcerer's magical power can be cultivated and conserved by certain disciplined means of magical training.
- Second, the skill of intentionally creating specific manifestations can be consciously expressed through each of these four methods.

Leaking Magical Power Through the Mouth

Magical power can leak out through the mouth via undisciplined external talking and internal thought. There are Three Filters used by

sorcerers in order to build the energetic power of speech and not lose the power of words. These three filters entail three specific questions that the sorcerer asks him or herself before speaking, described as follows:

- Is it necessary to say this, or should I remain silent?
- Is it truthful (authentic), and will it create energy in the direction of where I want to go?
- Is it kind to the listener and will it help them spiritually heal and grow, or will it close their spirit and harden their heart?

These three questions are designed to transform the sorcerer's conditioned programmed mind and alter the reactive habits of the sub-personalities working within the unconscious mind. Over time, the practice of these questions dismantles the sorcerer's masks and defense mechanisms, which are designed to mislead and deceive others for the sake of the sorcerer's ego identity. The sorcerer then has access to the infinite power of his or her divine self. As the sorcerer's Acquired Mind (Shen Zhi) eventually quiets its excessive chattering, the Original Spirit (Yuan Shen) begins to automatically take over as a spiritual observer, "truly listening to what the sorcerer is listening to."

Through mastering the Three Filters, eventually the power of the sorcerer's words become so powerful that when he or she speaks any form of magical Incantation, Spell, or Mantra, the power of the words are automatically brought into manifestation. This magical power eventually transfers over to nonverbal communication and becomes evident in the manifestations of the Magical Hand Seals and Star Stepping patterns.

Leaking Magical Power Through Vision

Magical power can leak out through vision via undisciplined external sight and internal dreams. One important technique used to assist the sorcerer in avoiding the loss of magical power through vision is to train in the skill of Visualization. Visualization is simply seeing or experiencing images within your mind. By using visualization to form a mental image, you can increase your energetic potential by a factor of ten. This type of mental training builds neuromuscular connections that allows you to develop a spiritual and energetic foundation from which to progress.

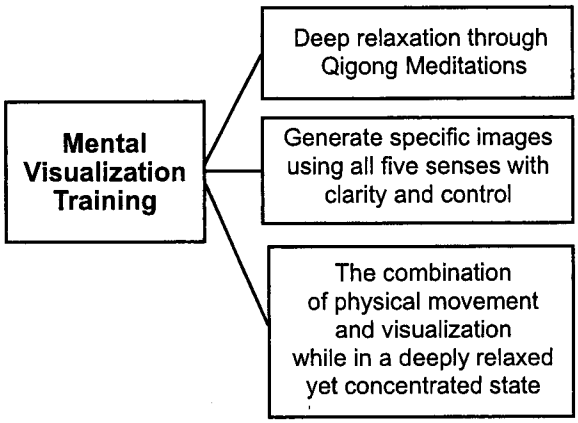


Figure 1.10. The Three Steps in Mental Visualization

There are three steps in achieving a successful visualization practice: Deep Relaxation through Qigong Meditations, Clarity of Visualization, and Physical Movement and Visualization (Figure 1.10). When practicing visualization skills, it is important to keep the following points in mind:

- **Begin External, Then Progress Internal:** Keep the image or symbol external during the initial phases of training. Then, as your perceptions become more refined, utilize the more subtle image of an internal psychic symbol.
- **Choose a Familiar Symbol:** The image or symbol that you choose for visualization practice should be easily identified by your mind (i.e., it should easily attract and hold your mind's attention).
- **Do Not Change Your Symbol:** Training every day using the same visualized symbol allows the mind to create a faster energetic patterning.
- **Picture the Image With Your Eyes Closed:** Clearly visualizing your symbol with your eyes closed allows the mind to create a faster energetic re-patterning. In order to obtain clarity of visualization and generate specific images using all five senses with clarity and control, visualize internally with your senses. When using your imagination, it is important to see, feel,

hear, taste, and smell the experience that you are creating. This should be performed to the degree that you are actually experiencing what your imagination is conjuring.

Be persistent and work towards a fullness of this internal experience. Generally, the mind will progress through five transitional stages when the sorcerer's clarity of visualization is being mastered. These five stages are described as follows:

1. **Unstable:** The mind's attention and focus constantly changes; it is unstable and wavering in both thought and feeling.
2. **Inattentive:** The mind's attention and focus becomes confused, unobservant, and inattentive to the original thought-intention.
3. **Occasionally Focused:** The mind's attention and focus begins to direct its attention, becoming occasionally focused.
4. **Focused:** The mind's attention and focus begins to gather into one spot; its attention is becoming clear and focused.
5. **Mastered:** The mind's attention and focus is completely controlled and clarity of visualization is mastered.

The sorcerer can also choose to use a combination of physical movements and visualization while in a deeply relaxed yet concentrated state. This can be accomplished by external visualization. One method of training is to imagine seeing yourself on your own mental movie screen, while analyzing and correcting your performance (movements and actions) towards a successful and powerful outcome. Visualize different types of movement patterns and interactions. During this type of active visualization training, if you detect an error in movement or action, mentally rewind and replay the event until the action or movement occurs perfectly.

Leaking Magical Power Through Geometry

Magical power can leak out through Energetic Geometry via exposure to external forms (postures) and internal images (shapes).

Leaking Magical Power Through Sex

Magical power can leak out through undisciplined sexuality via the loss of Essence (Jing), Energy (Qi) and Spirit (Shen).

TRAINING THE SPEECH SECRET

The ancient Chinese believed and taught that everything in the universe was made of sound. Sound waves not only affect matter, but also affect the consciousness as well; this is the purpose of using an Incantation in meditation or chanting. Therefore, Incantations were also used to develop such psycho-kinetic feats as weather control, teleportation, and levitation, and were also continuously chanted in order to create magical amulets or talismans used for protection against illness and evil.

In Daoist magic, Training the Speech refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application or breath and sound. When the spoken sound is released through Breath via magical incantations, a powerful spiritual interaction and energetic fusion involving the Brain (Kidney Water) and Heart (Heart Fire) occurs. It is therefore important for the sorcerer's Shen to consciously guide and direct the spoken sound, as the projected voice is a direct manifestation of the sorcerer's spirit and life-force energy.

THE THREE LEVELS OF BREATH

Through proper breath and mind control, a Daoist sorcerer is able to store Qi and Shen, similar to the way a storage battery contains electricity. Many of the powers attributed to advanced Qigong and Shengong practice are largely due to the hidden knowledge and esoteric understanding of how to utilize conserved Qi and Shen and later use it for specific purposes. The ancient Daoists understood that certain forms of breathing could enable him or her the ability to energize, empower, and increase latent psychic abilities.

In order to obtain the ultimate control and utilization of stored Qi and Shen, these ancient Chinese masters of esoteric knowledge divided the skill of breath into three levels: Training the Physical Breath, Training the Energetic Breath, and Training the Spiritual Breath. These three levels are described as follows (Figure 1.11):

- **Training the Physical Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the physical motion of the body's respiratory patterns. Focus is placed on the interaction of the Lungs, diaphragm, and abdomen.
- **Training the Energetic Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the energetic respiratory motion for ingesting and releasing the vibrational patterns of the Five Element sounds and colors.
- **Training the Spiritual Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the spiritual respiratory motion for ingesting and releasing Divine light vibrating within the Wuji.

The Energy of The Breath (Wind)

The ancient Daoists considered the Wind (Feng) to be the first and primary element in commanding the influences of Nature upon the Earth. In nature, the energy of the moving Wind can be so gentle that it can cause subtle penetration of the body's tissues and cells. The energetic currents of the Wind flow like water, moving across the body's surface, circulating, and sometimes collecting into energetic pockets and then unpredictably moving on.

In Daoist magic, the energetic flow of the Human Wind (breath) establishes the foundation of the internal environmental climate. The energy of "Human Wind" is created by the combination of the sorcerer's Yi (Intention), Shen (Spirit), and Qi (Energy). The speed and direction of the energetic flow of the Human Wind is determined by the air flow created from high (Heart Fire) and low (Kidney Water) pressure regions.

Chinese Characters for Wind

The ancient Chinese ideograph depicting the character for Wind, "Feng," is described as follows (Figure 1.12):

- The Chinese character that depicts the ideogram for "Feng" is composed of two images: The character on the outside, "Fan," represents Wind. The character on the inside, "Chong," represents worms or insects that are being carried off by the wind. Together, both characters are used to depict the power and sudden, or violent impulses of the Wind's potential to carry something into extreme behavior.

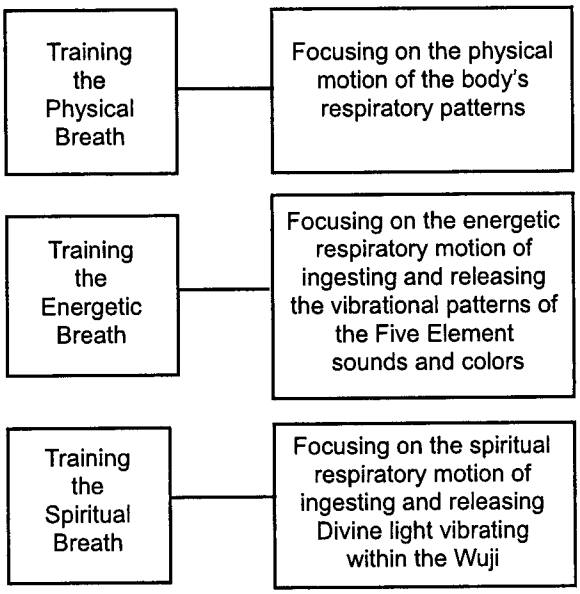


Figure 1.11. Training The Three Types of Breath

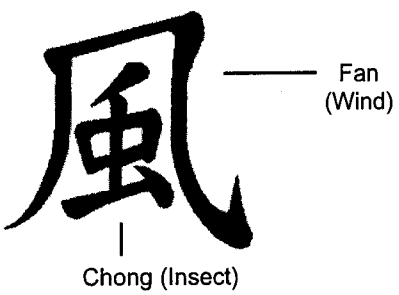


Figure 1.12. Chinese Characters for Wind "Feng"

The Wind's Effects on Matter

The ancient Daoists considered the human body to be like that of an empty stalk or "reed," capable of vibrational resonance through energetic stimulation via the body's own internal emotional "Winds," as well as the breath (Figure 1.13). When the Wind blows hard (i.e., the sorcerer's projected Qi and Shen are strong), the intended individual's body will resonate and vibrate like a reed, expressing one or several of the seven various internal emotions through the seven external orifices.

In the Daoist Magic, the penetrating property of the sorcerer's breath is used like the Wind, act-

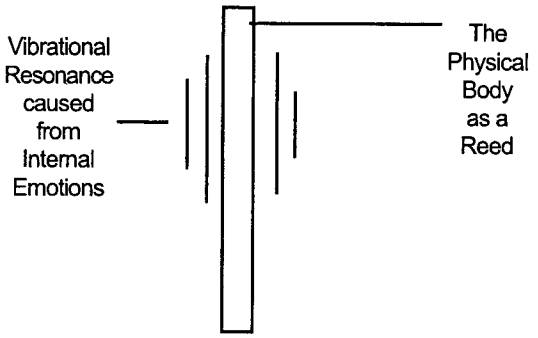


Figure 1.13. The ancient Daoists considered the human body to be like that of an empty stalk or "reed."

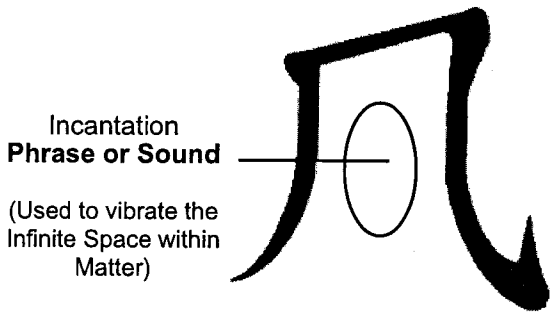


Figure 1.14. Each exhaled sound and breath acts as the Wind, carrying the sorcerer's projected thoughts and images into an individual's tissues and cells"

ing as the medium to carry the specific "Messages" and sound resonances of Breath Incantations throughout the individual's tissues. This is the foundational theory of Breath Incantations used in ancient China to invoke healing, treat disease, summon and dispatch spirit entities, and remove evil states from people, places, and things.

As the projected sound and breath penetrates a person, place, or thing, it carries with it the energetic "Messages" of the sorcerer's thoughts and intentions (Figure 1.14). The infinite space contained within the energetic matrix of the intended person, place, or thing will begin to vibrate like a reed, responding to the wind of the breath as it carries specific sounds into and through the physical structure.

Exhaling Color, Sound, and Breath

In order to maximize power, the Daoist sorcerer can also use color in combination with Breath Incantations. When directed into the tissues of an individual's body, the projected Breath Incantation will cause the internal organ's cells to vibrate. This vibration creates more space, allowing the Qi of the exhaled color to immediately fill the energetic field surrounding the cells.

Consonants and Vowels

Both consonants and vowels are necessary to form words of power. However, the vowels are the vitality of the words, whereas the consonants merely act as a template to limit and shape the Qi into a unique pattern. According to Daoist magic, vowels are Yang and represent the masculine creative force of the Dao, which embodies everything, but is itself without form. Consonants are Yin and represent the formative feminine force of the Dao, which has no inherent creativity, but enables all creation.

Consonants are considered to be Yin and correspond to matter (which is energy that has been constrained and congealed). For the most part, consonants do not have power and cannot be extended or elongated with the voice without the support of a vowel. Even those consonants that are sustainable (i.e., F, L, M, N, R, S, V, and Z) involve either compressing the lips, pressing the tongue against the teeth or palate, or tightening the throat.

Only vowels (which are considered to be Yang and correspond to spirit) have power, and can be voiced with a fully opened throat, allowing the individual to vibrate unobstructed "like a reed." Vowel sounds (which is energy that is unrestricted) can be projected with considerable power, because the column of Qi released into the environment can be energetically rooted into the Lower Dantian and spiritually directed through the Yellow Court.

Three Types of Projected Sounds

In ancient China, the physical body was considered the crucible in which the eternal elixir of life could be cultivated. It contains the life giving energy and acts like a capacitor storing and releasing different vibrational frequencies. These frequencies can be accessed and modulated through the use of Mantras.

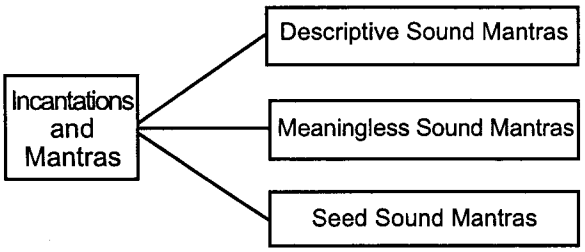


Figure 1.15. The Three Main Types of Mantras

There are three main types of Mantras used to initiate cellular vibration: Descriptive Sound, Meaningless Sound, and Seed Sound, described as follows (Figure 1.15):

- **Descriptive Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for achieving specific desired goals. They can be utilized for healing or spiritual growth.
- **Meaningless Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for stimulating and awakening specific energy centers in the individual's body. It is generally a collection of sound phrases and can be utilized for healing or spiritual growth. For example, the specific Incantations commonly used in Qigong exercises are types of meaningless sound incantations.

When "Descriptive" and "Meaningless" Incantations are employed, the body's energy will continue to accumulate until the energy is used or otherwise discharged.

- **Seed Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for stimulating, awakening, and creating a permanent "standing wave" of energy within the tissue cells of the body, or within a specific energy center in the brain. Seed Sound Incantations are sound phrases used for creating a continuous type of specific energetic effect, which eventually will become a coherent and accessible type of energy.

Projecting Sound Vibration

When resonant sound penetrates an individual's body, it causes massive chaotic vibrational patterns that disrupt the body's normal energetic flow. This energetic disruption can be used in order to soften and liquefy stagnant Qi, and this is the primary reason why patients are given healing sound therapy in Medical Qigong clinics.

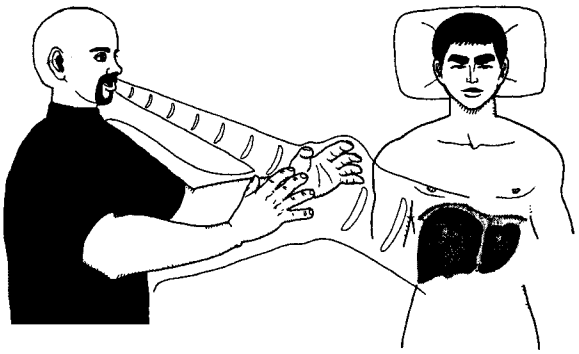


Figure 1.16. Increasing Projected Sound Resonances with Focused Imagery

Since thoughts and emotions are strongly affected by sound, the body defends itself against outside vibrational signals by anticipating and setting up signals which cancel out external sound vibrations. Our ability to filter out these recognizable sounds, while allowing us to maintain our own thoughts and emotions can become a major barrier to the effects of surface vibrational patterns. As soon as the thoughts and emotions begin to intrude on the dominant beliefs or established emotional patterns in an individual's tissues, his or her body automatically identifies the invading signal and filters it out.

While the body can defend itself against rhythmic signals, the suppressed attitudes and emotions are defenseless against the random sounds of a chaotic resonance emitted from a Daoist sorcerer because it is unpredictable. The projected sound resonations simply go past the individual's vibrational defenses and soften all thoughts and emotions in the target frequency range.

Training Sound Projection

When projecting sound, it is important for the sorcerer to visualize the sound waves penetrating and rippling through the focused item (water, solid matter, tissues, cells, etc.). This focused visualization, combined with a long exhalation during the released tone, allows for deeper penetration of the sound's resonance and is used to disperse stagnations. The following are two popular training exercises used by Daoist sorcerers for mastering the sound projection skill.

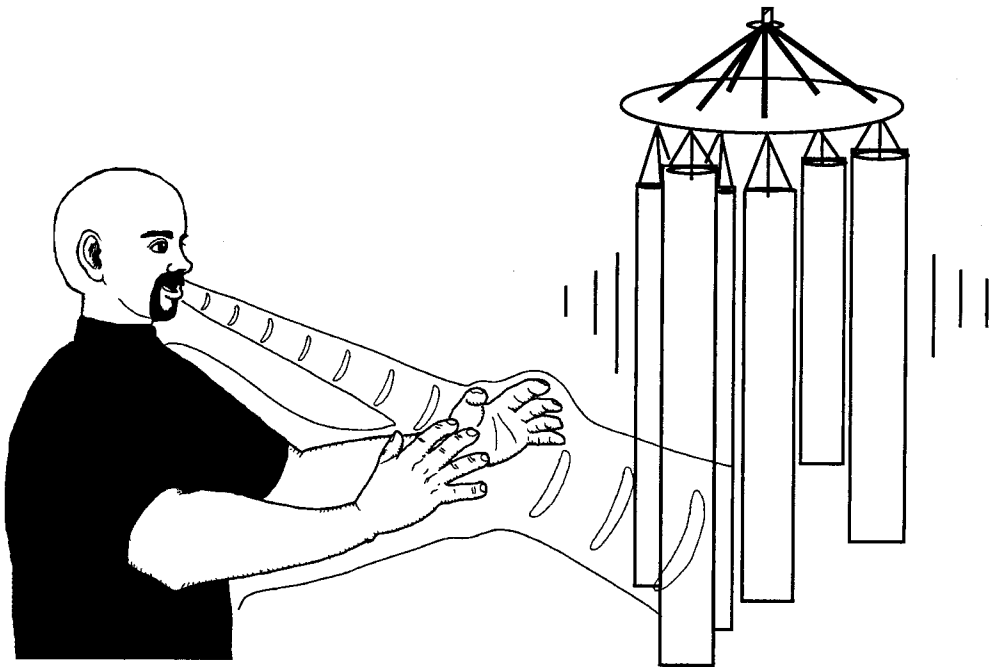


Figure 1.17. Training Sound Resonation Projection to Ring Different Bells

USING THE IMAGINATION TO INTENSIFY SOUND PROJECTION

When projecting a magical incantation via audible sound, the sorcerer can increase the intensity of the effect of the emitted sound vibration on the individual's internal organs by utilizing focused visualization. This is accomplished by sinking and rooting the mind into the internal organ area before projecting the sound, described as follows (Figure 1.16):

1. Begin by targeting a specific internal organ. Allow the mind to sink deep into the individual's tissues and imagine and feel your hands embracing the internal organ.
2. Allow your intention to fully envelop the internal organ, feel and experience its physical, energetic, and spiritual matrix.
3. Imagine holding the internal organ and begin to project sound deep into its center. Feel the internal organ vibrating from deep inside the center of the organ's tissues.
4. Imagine and feel any stagnation located within the internal organ's tissues separating, dissolving, and dispersing.
5. After emitting several sounds, immediately purge any dispersed Toxic Qi that was released from the internal organ's tissues.

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #1

In ancient China, Daoist sorcerers would sometimes train sound projection skill by directing the sound into the surface of different size bells (Figure 1.17). Each projected sound would stimulate and ring a different metal bell, causing a different tone to be released from the surface of the bell, depending on the particular tone and pitch used (high, medium, or low).

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #2

In ancient China, after a Daoist sorcerer had perfected the skills acquired from training the previous exercise, he or she would then begin to train in advanced sound projection skills. These advanced projection skills allowed the sorcerer the ability to focus the specific projected sound into the tissues or internal organ systems of the body. Each projected sound would stimulate and vibrate a different type of tissue and organ system, causing it to resonate throughout the entire body. This

allowed the Daoist sorcerer the ability to simultaneously project conscious intent into the cells and tissues of matter, affecting the individual's internal organ systems, channels, and tissues.

For example, one exercise used to practice this type of energetic sound projection was to focus on the specific tissues of the hand. To begin with, the sorcerer would focus his or her attention onto the left hand and begin to project sound, vibrating the specific tissues related to that particular internal organ. This particular Sound Projection exercise is described as follows (Figure 1.18):

- **The Skin:** Focus your attention on the skin tissue wrapping the external structure of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Shang" sound into the left hand and feel all of the external structures of the left hand's skin vibrate.
- **The Muscles:** Focus your attention on the muscle tissue existing underneath the tissue of the skin of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various muscles wrapping the internal structure of the bones and connecting to the skin of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Gong" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structure of the left hand's muscles vibrate.
- **The Tendons and Ligaments:** Focus your attention on the tendons, ligaments and inner fascia tissues existing within the various layers of skin, muscles, and bones of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various tendons, ligaments, and inner fascia tissues wrapping and extending throughout the internal structure of the bones and skin tissues of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Guo" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's tendons, ligaments and inner fascia tissues vibrate.
- **The Blood Vessels:** Focus your attention on the structures of blood vessels existing within the various layers of skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments and inner fascia of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various tubular structures of the veins and arteries wrapping and extending throughout the internal structure of the skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, and inner fascia of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Zheng" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's blood vessels vibrate.
- **The Bones:** Focus your attention on the structures of bones existing underneath the various layers of skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, inner fascia, and blood vessels of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various structures of the bones being wrapped by the internal structure of the skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, inner fascia and blood vessels of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as

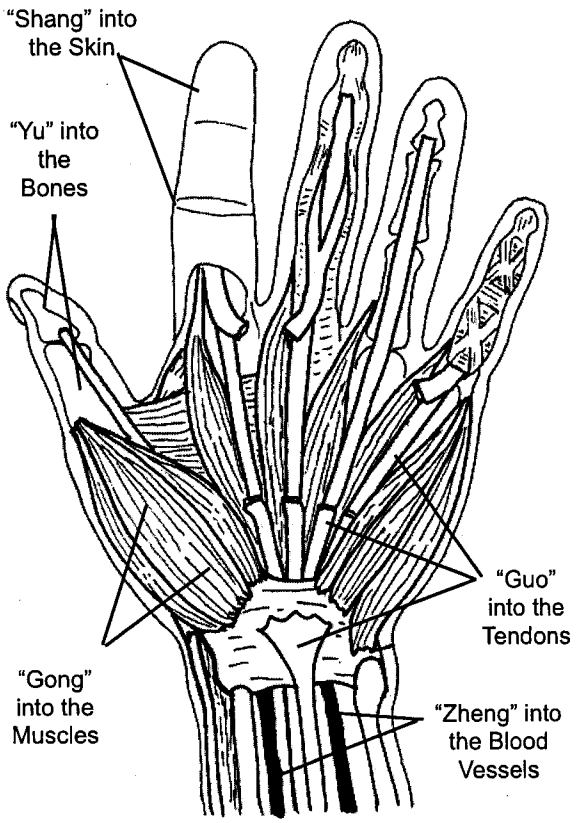


Figure 1.18. The advanced projection skills allowed the Daoist master the ability to focus the specific projected sound into the tissue systems of the body (Inspired from the original artwork of Wynn Kapit).

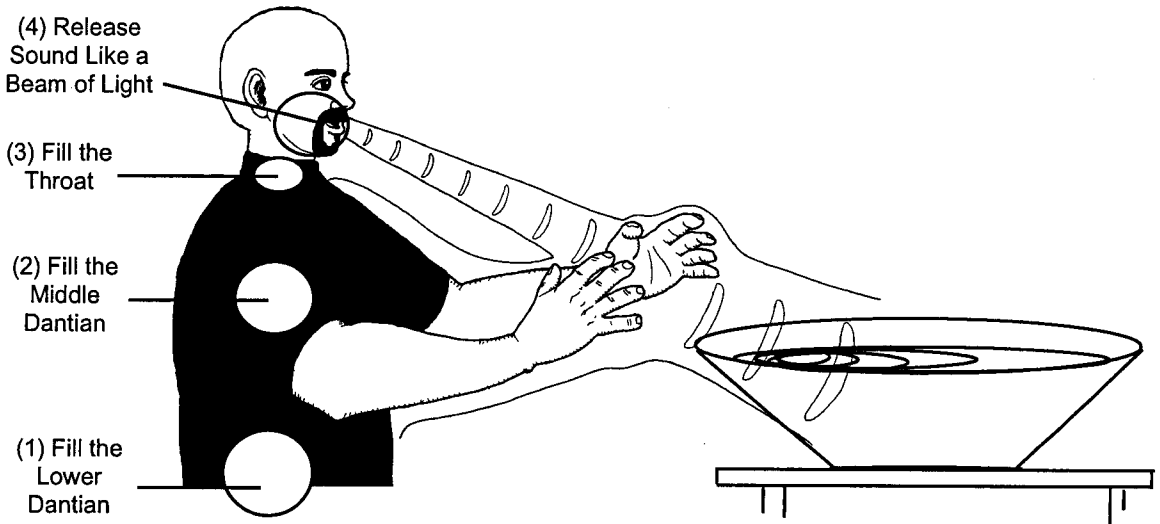


Figure 1.19. Training Sound and Breath Projection into a Bowl of Water

breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Yu" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's bones vibrate.

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #3

In ancient China, before being taught Breath Incantations, the Daoist sorcerers trained sound projection skills by focusing the projected breath and sound into a bowel of water (Figure 1.19). Each projected sound would be carried along with the sorcerer's projected intention and breath, and would create different energetic patterns on the surface of the water, depending on the particular tone and pitch used (high, medium or low).

1. Begin by gathering the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound into the Lower Dantian.
2. Allow the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound to overflow the Lower Dantian and enter into the Middle Dantian, filling the chest area completely.
3. Direct the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound to overflow the Middle Dantian and enter into the throat area.
4. From the back of the throat, release the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound into the water, projecting it like a beam of condensed light. Simultaneously, imagine the body melting into the Earth to increase the depth of the tone projection.
5. Alternate from a pattern of straight exhaled tone projection to a chaotic pattern of exhaled tone projection. This chaotic, staccato resonance is a dynamic approach used for breaking-up and dispersing chronic or difficult Qi, Blood, and Body Fluid stagnations.

WORDS AND MAGIC

A word is the center of an idea, just as an idea is the center of a mental image. The mind subconsciously molds itself around the prevailing mental image or attitude, and then proceeds to draw from the outer world for material from which to build in accordance to the belief. Therefore in magic, words are considered to be living beings. A word's meaning is its spirit, and its sound is its body. If you ignore either, you weaken its innate power.

The ancient Chinese worshiped the magical power of language, and the spoken word quickly became a powerful and influential part of early Daoist sorcery. The art of speaking "magic words" was once taken seriously in ancient China. The misuse of speech in general was regarded as an unfavorable display or misuse of one's mind. Spoken words are invocations of ideas, and they represent and express the formulation of specific concepts, plans, and actions. They are symbols of ideas, to be imagined, pictured, and comprehended within the mind.

The ancient Chinese believed that it was the energy inherent in spiritual words of power that established the foundations of all creation (spiritual, energetic, and physical). The energetic manifestations of the spoken word can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, or an energetic reality when spoken with true conviction and intention.

In the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), Invocations and Incantations (recited words or phrases of power) were usually performed in conjunction with secret Hand Seals (also called Mudras), magical rituals (e.g., Star Stepping and Big Dipper Pacing), or the use of Healing Talismans. All of these magical skills were used in order to increase the sorcerer's confidence in overcoming disease or combating Evil Spirits.

The proper use of words (or names) was considered extremely important to the Daoist sorcerer. In Daoist magic, a name or word is very significant. When correctly vibrated by the tongue (the Shen, or spiritual Fire of the Heart) and combined with the Will of the Kidneys, the vocalized Qi comes alive. The spoken word or name then embodies the identity, the very being, of what it signifies; and a resonance is established between the living name and the thing itself. By manipulating the name, the potential of the named thing is released upon the world, both in spiritual and energetic form. This spiritual and energetic form acts as a blueprint upon which the entire universe of space and time, energy, and matter is based.

When audibly initiating a form of suggestive influence over an individual and voicing a name or phrase out-loud (i.e., "heal"), the sorcerer's spirit (Shen) imitates the initial creative act of the Divine through the utilization of sound and breath (Qi) through intention (Yi) and will (Zhi). This is sometimes known as a "declaration." A declaration is speaking something into being that was not previously there and for which there is often little or no agreement in the surrounding environment. The power of a declaration is directly related to the integrity of the sorcerer that speaks it into being.

In ancient Daoist magic, sorcerers were taught that by speaking the proper name and magical summoning words, they could cause a spirit or deity to come forth. When used skillfully, names and words of power can summon or dispatch, attract or disperse, heal or destroy. In ancient China, powerful incantations were known to invoke the presence of supreme deities, and were used to cure the deaf and blind, give speech back to the mute, give movement back to the paralyzed, revive the dead, save lives, or banish demons.

Because of the energetic nature of the words, the intonation and rhythm of an incantation was extremely important. The proper sound and pronunciation that must be recited in the incantation were often well guarded secrets, kept by the ancient Daoist. Incantations were sometimes also used as a form of hypnotic patterning, wherein the Daoist sorcerer used language and tones lowered into a slow, melodic rhythm, in order to induce trance. The most common linguistic pattern used in this type of trance incantation was sometimes called "verbal pacing." Verbal pacing is sometimes combined with audibly stating sensory experiences (i.e., "relax," -pause- "and allow your body to sink into a quiescent state of bliss," -pause- "now feel energetic waves carrying your consciousness deeper" -pause- etc.) in order to induce altered states.

Magical Names, Words, and Phrases

There exist certain Words of Power that are able to alter the internal and external realities of those uttering them, and the power may rest in the very sounds of the words as much as their meanings. Many of such words are names, though the meanings may have been lost or forgotten. Very many magical tools require words to be inscribed upon them and/or said over them during their construction and/or use.

Knowing the complete and true name of an object, being, or process gives a sorcerer complete control over it. A name is considered to be the definition, energetic connection, and association with that item. Knowing the complete and true name of something or someone means that you have achieved a complete understanding of its or their true nature. This is why, in most ancient cultures, individuals are given "secret names," as well as "public names." It is also why the sharing of a secret name is such an act of trust (because the secret name is considered to be very close to, if not identical with, the person's true name).

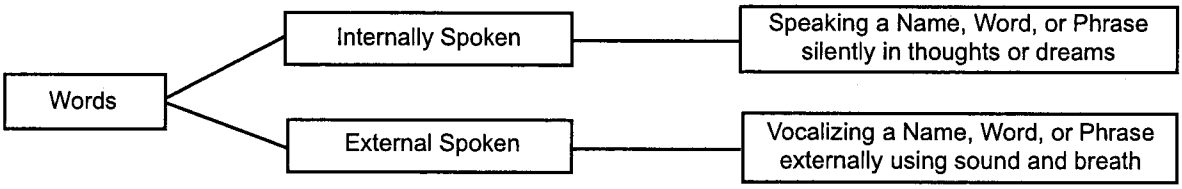


Figure 1.20. The Internally Spoken Name and the Externally Spoken Name

In ancient China, Daoist sorcerers taught that there were two important aspects of any name, word, or phrase which must be considered before using any form of incantation. They are, the Internally Spoken Name and the Externally Spoken Name, described as follows (Figure 1.20):

- **The Internally Spoken Name:** This refers to the silent internal recitation of a name, word, or phrase that occurs within your thoughts or dreams.
- **The Externally Spoken Name:** This refers to the audible expression of a name, word, or phrase when externally vocalized (i.e., whispering or speaking out loud).

Each magical system, whether Daoist, Buddhist, Indian, or Christian, has its own hidden methods of vibrating names, words, and phrases. Because these techniques are jealously guarded secrets of magical power, they are kept hidden from the public and from individuals of lower rank in every religious order. However, the universal features of languages allow us to understand commonalities in the use of the magical vibration of names, words, and phrases.

THREE TYPES OF WORDS

There are three categories of words used to formulate sentence structure and phrases, Denotative Words, Connotative Words, and Words Beyond Verse, described as follows:

- **Denotative Words:** These are words that relate to the acquired analytical mind (Shen Zhi) of the waking state. They indicate something, and are based on the critical comparisons and analytical observations of data gathered and filtered through the five senses. Denotative Words correspond to the "outer-verse," and relate to the World of Five Elements and action.

  The outer-verse (conscious day to day experiences) is eventually absorbed within the Inner-verse (the unconscious reflection of the day's experience). Therefore, it is said that a "small outer-verse" exists within the inner-verse (i.e., you think or dream about what happened during the day).
- **Connotative Words:** These are words that relate to the congenital original mind (Yuan Shen) of the dream state. They are suggestive in their meaning and convey or express ideas through metaphors based on the experiences or influences of the unconscious mind. Connotative Words correspond to the "inner-verse," and relate to the will (Zhi) and imagination (Hun).

  Because your imagination energetically creates within your mind, the magical effects of a Mantra, Spell, or Incantation can be immediately experienced and felt in the inner-verse - which then creates action within the outer-verse.
- **Words Beyond Verse:** These are words that relate to the realm of magic and are commonly expressed in Mantras, spells, and incantations. They entail magical words and sounds relating to the creation, tonification, regulation, purgation, or destruction of something.

THE POWER OF WORDS

The magical spells and incantations used in Daoist Magic are initiated in order to influence events, objects, people, and physical phenomena by mystical, paranormal, or supernatural means. The Words of Power that a Daoist sorcerer utters to accomplish such magical spells and incantations are generally rooted in ancient sounds and syllables. These magical sounds and syllables are used in order to bind or release energy.

The best-known type of magical practice is the "spell," defined as a ritualistic formula intended to bring about a specific effect. When a spell is spoken to create a positive manifestation over a

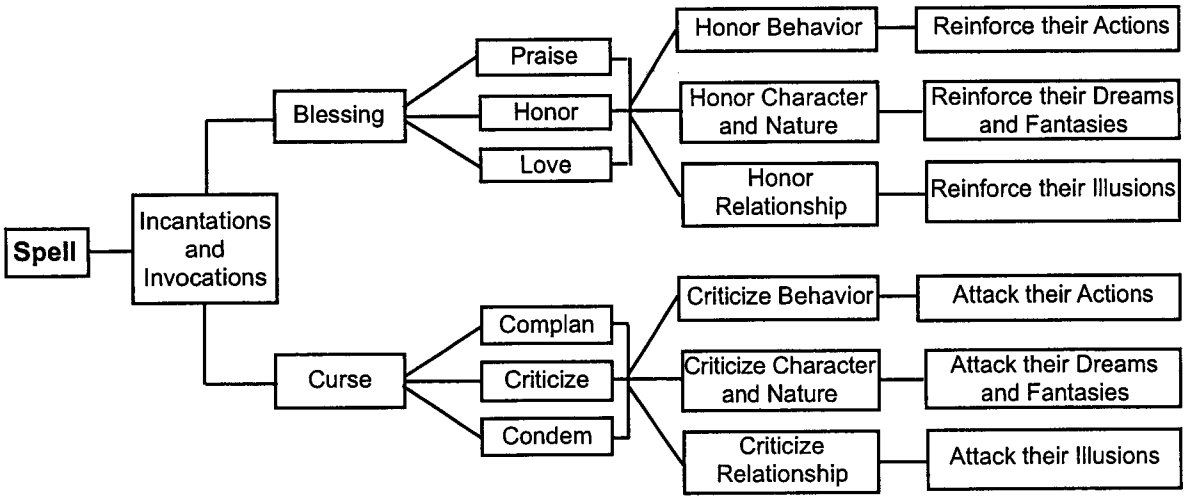


Figure 1.21. The best-known type of magical practice is the "spell," defined as a ritualistic formula intended to bring about a specific effect.

person, place or thing (i.e., invoke and/or confer praise, honor, and unconditional love), it is known as a "blessing." When a spell is spoken in order to create a negative manifestation over a person, place or thing (i.e., complain, criticize, or condemn) it is known as a "curse" (Figure 1.21).

Spells can be spoken, written, or physically constructed using a multitude of ingredients (i.e., stones, plants, talismans, etc.). The failure of a spell to work in the way that it was designed may be attributed to many causes, such as failure to follow the exact formula, general circumstances being un-conducive, or lack of magical ability.

Words of Power may be classified into five different categories that overlap in their definition and function. These five categories are: Words of Creation, Mantras and Incantations, Magical Passwords, Spells and Invocations, and Healing-Charms. Examples of each of these five intermingled categories are described as follows (Figure 1.22):

- **Words of Creation:** These are magical Words of Power that are used to bring forth creation, manifesting and materializing the sorcerer's thoughts and ideas into the world of matter.
- **Mantras:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for the purpose of affecting matter, energy, and spirit through the repetitive recitation of the secret names of various gods and supernatural beings.

Every Mantra spoken under the right circumstance creates some magical effect (either good or bad). A curse once uttered, for example, must eventually attach itself onto something (i.e., the person, place or thing that it was originally directed towards). If the curse is countered, it can be energetically turned back and directed towards the individual who originated the spell.

To the ancient Daoists, Mantras were believed "to enchain the power of the gods themselves." There was nothing that could resist their magical effect. These Words of Power were believed to be charged with the ability to provide either a blessing or a curse. At their bidding, the demons will enter a man or be cast out of him, and the only test of their efficacy is supplied by the unique powers of the Mantras themselves, since a stronger Mantra can neutralize a weaker Mantra.

The ancient Daoists believed that, in the hands of those who have the key to their true pronunciation, certain Mantras are capable of providing the sorcerer with special supernatural powers. Nothing was impossible for the sorcerers who knew how to use and apply these magical Words of Power.

One popular antidote used by a sorcerer to reverse a spell after it has begun its magical task (for example, the sorcerer suddenly develops a change

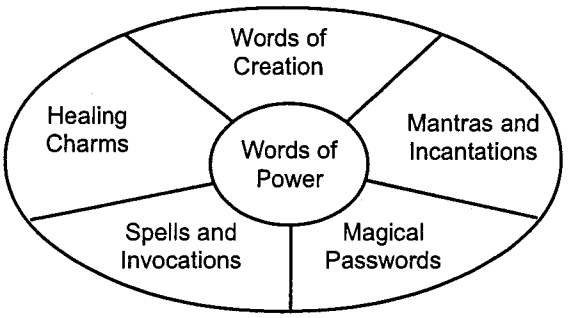


Figure 1.22. The Five Categories of Words

of heart), is to speak the Mantra backwards in order to reverse the spell. By pronouncing the same words of a spell backwards - the sorcerer can undo the energetic effects of any hastily spoken inauspicious Words of Power.

- **Magical Passwords:** These are magical "Words of Power" that are used to "open" or "close" energetic portals, and provide the sorcerer with safe passage through other spiritual dimensions (i.e., the Gates of the Underworld). In ancient China, it was believed that Daoist sorcerers could energetically constructed magical gateways, and use these Gateways in order to sojourn to every corner of the known world and beyond. It is said that because the knowledge of these magical portals could be used for both good as well as evil purposes, the Magical Passwords used in "Gatecraft" spells were jealously guarded. In certain Daoist traditions, the secret of constructing and utilizing these magical portals have become completely lost.
- **Spells and Invocations:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for conjuring up the spirits of the dead, exorcising demons, or for removing spells from off of the living.

Throughout China's ancient history, there are numerous examples of magical spells and incantations used for raising the various grades of spirits (i.e., from the ghost of a suicide to the innumerable company of demons). In each case, the effectiveness of the spell or incantation depends on the utterance of magical Words of Power (which are sometimes a combination of strange, manufactured tones).

When a Daoist sorcerer, turning to the four quarters, calls upon the names of the "Gods of the Four Directions" (Mo Li Hung, Mo Li Shou, Mo Li Chung, and Mo Li Hai), the summoned spirit gods will stand before him in human form to do his bidding. The Gods of the Four Directions can bestow onto the sorcerer the gift of invisibility, foreknowledge of the weather, knowledge of the raising and calming of storms, and the ability to understand the language of birds.

- **Healing Charms:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for healing.

NORMAL AND MAGICAL CONVERSATIONS

All conversations are based on the understanding of words, and in modern societies, speech is used to interact with others and exchange thoughts and beliefs. For the sake of simplicity, we can divide conversation into two basic categories: Normal Conversation and Magical Conversation.

In both Normal Conversation and Magical Conversation there is an exchange of information or ideas that has been constructed together based on the understanding of words, phrases, and vocabulary. The terminology, definitions, and expressions of these words specifically express the ideas of the individuals and their particular fields of expertise. These two categories can be described as follows:

- **Normal Conversation:** This category entails conversation used for Greeting and Grooming (surface conversations used in superficial greetings, and in saying good-bye), Finding Resources (conversations used for acquiring information and searching out possibilities), and Action (conversations used for making a recommendation, request, commitment, promise, or declaration).
- **Magical Conversation:** This category entails conversation used for Spells and Incantations, Invocations, Trance Induction, Healing, etc.

There is an ancient magical saying that states, "the sentences that we use are the ones we serve or live out." All sentences vary in power due to the syntax used to construct their verbal actions. In Daoist Magic, the Training the Speech Secret centers around the correct use of the magical power of words and their energetic definitions.

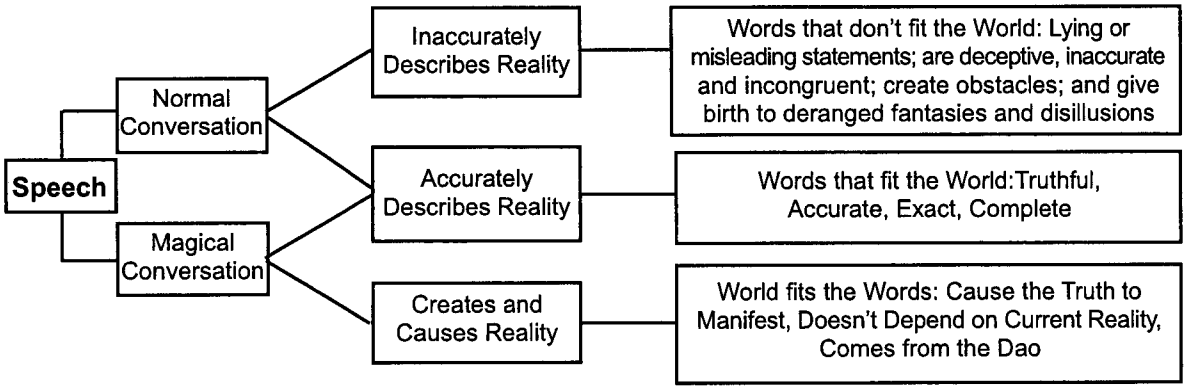


Figure 1.23. The Three Manifestations of Speech

For example, a Spell or "Invocative Phrase" is used in order to paint a "word picture" and invoke powerful feelings as well as gather energetic resources.

The Manifestations of Speech

Speech can be further divided into three levels of energetic manifestation, depending on the integrity and De (Virtue) of the individual. These three levels are, Speech That Inaccurately Describes Reality, Speech That Accurately Describes Reality, and Speech That Creates and Causes Reality, described as follows (Figure 1.23):

- **Speech That Inaccurately Describes Reality:** These are words of deception, that misuse their function of conveying the truth. In this type of speech, the words that are used are inaccurate and incongruent, and are expressed through lying or misleading statements. When used in this manner, speech creates obstacles, and gives birth to deranged fantasies and disillusions.
- **Speech That Accurately Describes Reality:** These are words of truth, that are accurate, exact, and complete in their description.
- **Speech That Creates and Causes Reality:** These magical words create. They cause the truth to manifest, and don't depend or rely on the current reality, because they come from the infinite space of the Dao.

Rhyme and Rhythm

Rhyme and rhythm are two important tools used to empower the magical incantation. In ancient China, rhymes were used as an important tool for memory, allowing the disciples to retain the secret lineage information that was passed down orally from master to student. Many of the popular rituals still practiced today in China revolve around the recitation of some of these ancient rhymed chants and magical incantations.

Rhymes act as magical correspondences that energetically turn the lines of the spell back in onto itself, increasing its magical potency in an enchanting yet orderly fashion. Rhymes can also be used to unite and bind words of power together in a tightly formed energetic net, designed to capture whatever the sorcerer directs his or her attention onto.

The rhythm of an incantation or spell is its energetic meter. The number of characters (or words) used to construct the magical rhythm and tempo of the incantation will vary, depending on the sorcerer's specific goal. The importance of an Incantation is manifested within its rhythm and overall vibration created, which is attributed to the specific magical powers contained within the sorcerer's true self. The continuous recitation of an Incantation helps to induce an altered state of consciousness and can be utilized to commune with the Divine, to achieve a state of ecstasy, to summon psychic powers for esoteric energetic practices, to exorcise spirits or demons, or for healing purposes.

The chanting of an Incantation is sometimes practiced in continual cadence (with musical modulation), which creates a specific pattern of energy and power. When sounding an Incantation, the rhythm of the tone or phrase can be released either through fast or slow repetitions:

- **Fast Release:** When an Incantation is sounded

through fast release, it can generate an incredible amount of energy. The fast release is generally chosen to overcome inertia, disrupting a pathogenic uniform pattern that has become toxic to the individual. For example, shouting "No!" at someone in order to stop their energetic and physical patterns.

- **Slow Release:** When an Incantation is sounded through slow release, it can bring about a calm state of relaxation and peace. The slow release is generally chosen to sedate an active state of energetic agitation. For example, calmly speaking "relax" to someone in order to quiet and sedate their energetic and physical patterns.

Whenever composing an incantation needed to accompany a magical Hand Seal or Star Stepping pattern, the three guidelines below should be strictly followed:

- First, do not rush through the construction of the rhyme. Consider its magical purpose and energetic function and write its "life purpose" down on paper.
- Second, when composing the rhyme, consider any and all magical correspondences and word options that could apply to augment and empower its energetic construction.
- Third, devise the most lyrical rhyme that conveys the incantation's intention and "life purpose."

Four Levels of Speech

The ancient Daoists believed that only when the Invocations or Incantations were spoken solemnly, through four levels of speech, would the vibrational essence of the magical sounds manifest and reveal their deepest secrets and powers. Each degree of speech transmits a different level of energetic "message," allowing for a deeper type of energetic manifestation. The four levels of speech are described as follows (Figure 1.24):

1. **Jing (Verbal) Speech:** This is considered the physical speech of the conscious mind. It is the expression of the "power of action," and focuses on specific activities such as past, present, or future exploits. It is the external, audible manifestation of phonemes (units of speech) that refers to, or is directed towards, physical, external sense objects through pronunciation, inflection and the melody of words. This type of speech is considered Jing (Essence) Speech, and it is released into the world through the mouth via the tongue and vocal cords.

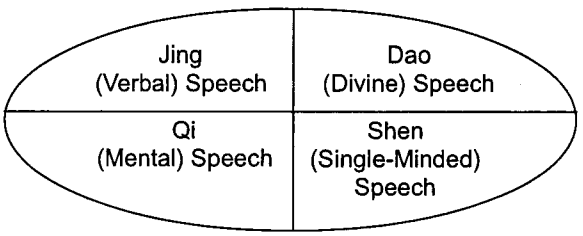


Figure 1.24. The Four Levels of Speech

2. **Qi (Mental) Speech:** This is considered the dreaming consciousness speech of the subconscious mind. It is the internal monologue and dialogue verbalized within one's mind. It is the expression of the "power of one's knowledge and wisdom." It is directed towards mental objects (objects of the inner senses) through the experiences and passions of the heart. It is considered the medium between the external verbal speech and the internal convictions of the single-minded speech. This type of speech is considered Qi (Energy) Speech, and it is released into the world through the nose via the breath.
3. **Shen (Single-Minded) Speech:** This is considered the speech of dreamless sleep, that occurs when the unconscious mind takes over. It is a perceptible but not particularized type of speech (not distinguishing between subject and object). It is the vehicle for the "power of desire and projected intentions," released through the concentration of Qi into a single-minded vision or "message." It is considered the medium between the mental speech and the divine speech. This type of speech is considered Shen (Spirit) Speech, and it is released into the world through the eyes via the spirit.
4. **Dao (Divine) Speech:** This is considered the speech of the super-conscious mind, composed of all three speeches (Jing, the speech of the conscious mind; Qi, the speech of the subconscious mind; and Shen, the speech of the unconscious mind). It is considered pure intention, expressed through the will of the Divine, flowing directly from the Wuji. It is beyond all objects,

motionless, external, internal, and peaceful. It is a speech that is telepathic, materializing directly from the individual's intuitive awareness, and it can only be perceived by those who are highly evolved spiritually.

Spoken or written words generate mental or internal dialogues which add patterned Qi to the words in order to energize the information. The Qi activates the words allowing them to become vital and "alive." The ancient Daoists believed that if you lose your ability to access the higher levels of speech, you distance yourself from the Heavenly Truth (Universal knowledge and wisdom) and Earthly Truth (Human understanding). This separation produces confusion, doubt, and cynicism, generating misconceptions and distortions of the "truth."

When treating individuals with the energetic art and skill of "Faith Projection" or "Divine Incantations," full spectrum speech (Jing, Qi, Shen, and Dao) must be utilized in order to transmit and convey all four levels of the Daoist Mystic's intention. When full spectrum speech is projected, it reaches into the four energetic receptive levels of an individual's listening ears (Jing, Qi, Shen, and Dao).

INCANTATIONS

An incantation is defined as the speaking of magical words, during a ritual (either as a hymn or prayer), in order to invoke or praise a deity, or with the intention of casting a spell on a person, place, or thing. The term derives its meaning from the Latin word "incantare," meaning "to chant (a magical spell) "upon," or "into" a person, place, or thing.

Magical Incantations are spoken spells. The ancient Daoists compared them to "a string of magical pearls." Each magical pearl (word) contains its own innate energetic form and meaning. The magical rhythm of the syllables, the repetition of certain consonants and vowels, and the rhymes that bind the ends of each line in a magical incantation reverberate the sorcerer's intention into the Three Worlds.

In all magical disciplines, incantations have certain similar qualities, for example:

- Many incantations have a strong reliance on performative language, including repetition, and formulaic composition.
- Most incantations are metrical in one of several poetic forms of the language in which they are written. Some use an unusual verse form of composition (i.e., incantations that are spoken or written in ordinary spoken language is somewhat rare).
- Almost all incantations invoke the aid of a divine or semi-divine being, or some other form of spirit entity.
- The "information packing" in an incantation is generally extremely tight. Sometimes the magical metaphors in an incantation are difficult to understand. This is because they are either designed to be deliberately meaningless, or because the sorcerer intended the metaphor to carry more semantic weight than usual.
- Many incantations contain nonsense words. These words may be mantras, "barbarous words," or strings of vowels or other non-linguistic sounds.
- Most incantations require some sort of physical action performed by the sorcerer in order for the magical power of the incantation to work. These actions may be described as part of the spell. In some instances, it is difficult to tell if the description of the actions is also to be incanted as part of the spell.

SOUND RESONANCE AND INCANTATIONS

The skill of reciting powerful Jue (Incantations or Mantras) is essential for the Hand Seals or Star Stepping to be functional in Daoist Magic. Incantations or Invocations are words charged with vibrational power. They have long been practiced as a secret esoteric tradition for conjuring and casting spells, and certain words of power were only taught to select disciples within the ancient Daoist sects.

An Incantation is a word, phrase, abstract musical tone or combination whereof that is used to emanate or initiate a spiritual and energetic message within the body's tissues. Each Incantation or Mantra has two important qualities: form and color. Similar to prayer, when an Incantation is continually chanted, it reprograms the individual's spirit, emotion, mind, and body. When spoken aloud for several minutes, an Incantation can vibrate silently in the mind and body of the individual for several

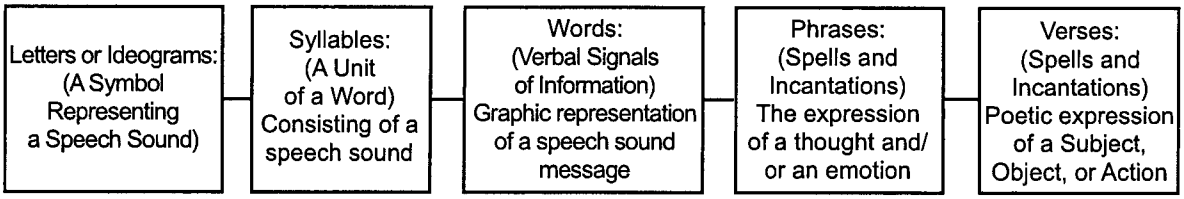


Figure 1.25. The energetic structure of a magical spell or incantation can be divided into five parts.

hours, carrying with it the imprinted message of the Incantation's vibration, image, and meaning.

Certain Incantations, when performed correctly with focused intent, are considered the manifestation of "sacred sounds," and they connect the individual with a particular deity or energy form. Other Incantations are designed to activate certain Dantians or Chakra areas and empower the sorcerer with specific energetic and spiritual powers. These types of Incantations can be sometimes harnessed in order to create or destroy. This skill was particularly used in secret Chinese internal martial arts societies.

Each Incantation contains a specific sound or collection of sounds that can vibrate the infinite space within matter, alter energetic patterns, and affect specific tissues within different parts of the body. The ancient Daoists viewed the mind as an energetic force that was not limited to only psychological interactions. All forms of creation or matter were believed to be nothing more than the manifestations of an individual's thoughts (projected consciousness) and energy. Therefore, every thought was believed to have a corresponding image or energetic form, and every image or energetic form was believed to have a corresponding vibrational tone or sound.

Through the released vibrational tones resonating from within the Incantation, the method of repetition used when sounding an Incantation aligns the sorcerer's consciousness with a particular energetic form. The repeated sound carries a specific type of energy that can be used for healing or protecting the cells, tissues, organs, body, mind, emotion or spirit of the individual.

It is important to note that certain Incantations do not have any specific comprehensive meaning (on the gross material plane). Their power is contained not within the specific words themselves, but in the sound vibration created when the Mantra is uttered verbally or when it takes form in the mind.

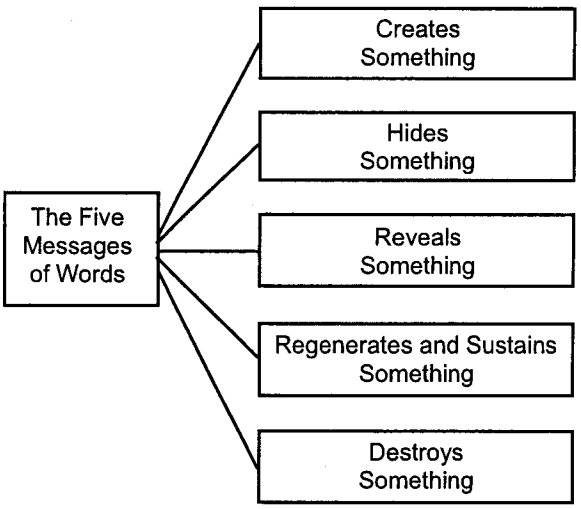


Figure 1.26. Magical Words are used as powerful verbal signals of information.

THE STRUCTURE OF A SPELL OR INCANTATION

The energetic structure of a magical spell or incantation can be divided into five parts (Letters or Ideograms, Syllables, Words, Phrases and Verses). Each of the four sections contains a specific function, described as follows (Figure 1.25):

- **Letters and Ideograms:** In magic, letters and ideograms are considered to be the powerful magical symbols of a speech sound and form the basis of all talismans. All humans are affected by these symbols, which are created and further energized by speech.
- **Syllables:** In magic, syllables are considered to be small magical units of a speech sound.
- **Words:** In magic, words are used as powerful verbal signals of information. Words express

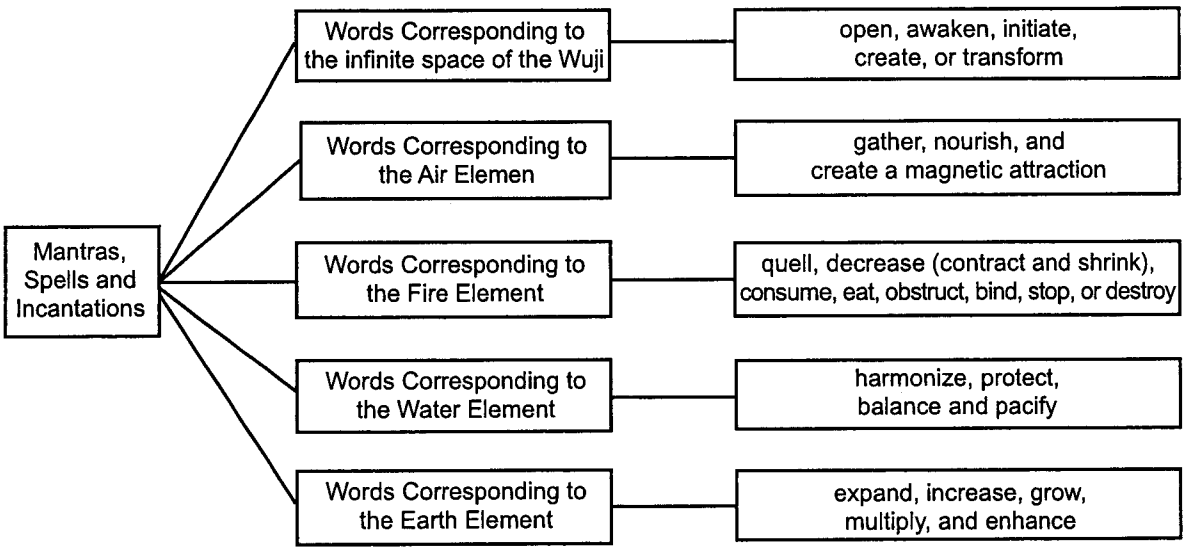


Figure 1.27. The Five Element Correspondences of Magical Phrases and Verses

the graphic representation of a speech sound message, and they are used to create, hide, reveal, regenerate and sustain, or destroy something (Figure 1.26).

- **Phrases:** In magic, phrases are used in the form of Mantras, Spells, Incantations, or Poems as the manner of expressing magical power. They consist of two or more grammatically related words that form a sense unit, expressing a thought and/or an emotional action.
- **Verses:** In magic, a verse is constructed of several phrases, and is expressed in the manner of a metrical (sometimes poetic) form of Mantra, Spell, or Incantation. The magical power of a verse is expressed through a subject, object and action.

The Five Elemental Correspondences to a Spell or Incantation

All things existing within the physical realm can be attributed to one or several Elemental correspondences. Likewise, magical incantations (i.e., Magical Phrases and Verses) can be attributed to the specific powers and energetic manifestations of Wuji, Air, Fire, Water, and Earth, and can be described as follows (Figure 1.27):

- **Wuji:** Words corresponding to the infinite space of the Wuji magically open, awaken, initiate, create, or transform a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Air:** Words corresponding to the Air Element magically gather, nourish, and create a magnetic attraction towards a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Fire:** Words corresponding to the Fire Element magically quell, decrease (contract and shrink), consume, eat, obstruct, bind, stop, or destroy a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Water:** Words corresponding to the Water Element magically harmonize, protect, balance and pacify a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Earth:** Words corresponding to the Earth Element magically cause something to expand, increase, grow, multiply, and enhance a person, place, or things energetic existence.

Three Main Components of an Incantation

The ancient Daoists believed that everything in life is interconnected in energetic patterns, webbed together in universal order. In order to create the esoteric power of true magic, these ancient sorcerers consciously placed their Intention (Yi) in the central moment of "Now," allowing time and space to diffuse and internal Wisdom and Will to passionately create.

Just as there are three different levels in the universe (i.e., the spiritual, the material, and the energetic consciousness that moves between them), so too are there three components to a magical spell or incantation. These three components are the Prayer, the Means, and the Intention, described as follows:

- **The Prayer:** This magical component directs the sorcerer's consciousness towards a specific deity, God, or spirit entity for assistance. All magic depends on this divine spiritual force in order for it to be effective. Where there is no life, there is no spirit, and where there is no spirit, magic is impossible. Therefore, magical incantations almost always involve a prayer, invocation, offering, or some other form of intentional connection with a deity or other spiritual being. It is important to know that the principles of magic are universal, the main changes from one religion to another are generally the names of the divinities to whom the sorcerer directs his or her prayer.
- **The Means:** This magical component is used to actively manipulate physical symbols (i.e., various objects, words, letters, Elements, Trigram patterns, Hand Seal gestures, Star Stepping patterns, etc.) in order to make the idea manifest within time and space. This energetic pattern is based on the Law of Correspondence.

  In Daoist sorcery, the Law of Correspondence relates all energetic patterns and universal connections. These magical laws characterize all things according to their energetic function, and they allow the sorcerer's magical tools, talismans, spells, and incantations to become operational and function within the material realm. They are the Means through which all magical protection and healing are initiated. For example, when practicing Mineral Magic, the sorcerer will use certain vibrant red stones in order to enhance his or her energetic connection with the Fire Element.

  The fundamental idea in using the Law of Correspondence to create an incantation is to focus on the central theme of the magical spell, while creating numerous supporting and interlinking items to feed the spell (like the many roots supporting a powerful tree). There is an ancient Daoist saying that states, *"The hub of a wheel is an empty hole, you can know it only by the spokes that surround it."* Meaning, the specific words and symbols used within an incantation to express its idea are not the archetype itself. They are simply material manifestations, facets, aspects, or forms of a transcendent idea that exists in the spirit realm, beyond space and time. Just as there is a central reason behind every note of a musical composition and every color placed within a painting, so too is there a reason behind every ingredient placed within a magical Incantation and ritual.

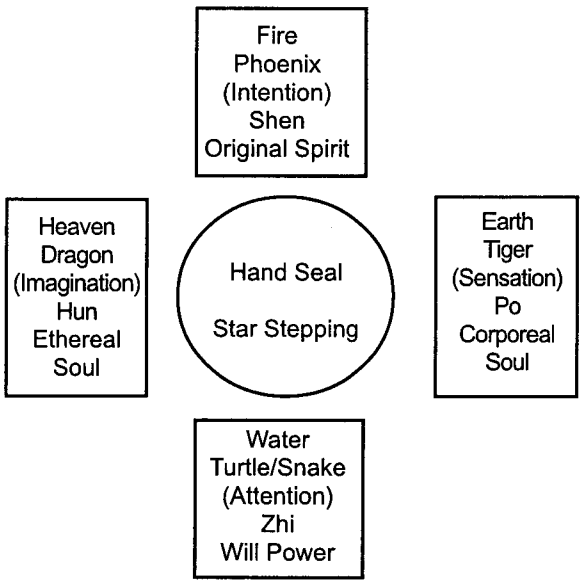


Figure 1.28. The four magical components of a sorcerer's inner nature

- **The Intention:** This magical component unites the prayer with the means. It is the sorcerer's own intention (Yi) that must be impassioned enough to gather together and focus the energetic powers of the four magical components of his or her Prenatal Inner Spirit (Figure 1.28). It is also this inflamed Intention that strongly unites spirit with matter and makes the magical patterns of the Hand Seals and Star Stepping functional. The more emotion and focused intention that is applied to an incantation, the more powerful it becomes.

In order to become successful in using Hand Seals and Star Stepping, the ancient Daoists had to not only master the art of speaking magical words or "Words of Power," but they also had to use their Intention (Yi) to master their Will (Zhi) in order to transform their thoughts and emotions (Shen) into magical energy (Ling Qi). This magical energy was then channelled outward and directed into the surrounding environment via the incantation and magical Hand Seal, affecting spirit, energy, and matter.

Five Requisites for Incantation Training

When practicing Incantations, the sorcerer normally chooses to energetically link its specific magical function with a particular Hand Seal. In ancient Daoism, there were five disciplines needed in order to achieve significant energetic manifestation using Incantations. These five disciplines are Location, Time, Number, Focus, and Control, described as follows (Figure 1.29).

- **Location:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should stay in one location and not travel about. It is also encouraged that the sorcerer face the same direction, sit in the exact same place and use the exact same posture and Hand Seal each day.
- **Time:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should determine a specific time for practice. It is encouraged that the sorcerer meditate at the exact time every day (limiting training time to no more than five minutes when first beginning). To be effective, some Incantations need to be repeated for a certain number of days (i.e. 40 days).
- **Number:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should determine the number of repetitions he or she will be sounding (24, 36, 48, 72, 96 or 108). It is also encouraged that the sorcerer practice the same number each day.
- **Focus:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should focus his or her mind, imagination, and intention on the resonant vibration of the Incantation. Most Incantations also have complex visualizations or concentration techniques that the sorcerer is required to practice along with the recitation. It is also encouraged that the sorcerer maintain a serious, reverent attitude when imprinting the Incantation with the specific Hand Seal and magical application.
- **Control:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should maintain complete control of his or her sexual organs (a woman should not perform Incantations when she is menstruating). This is to ensure that as the spiritual energy of the Incantation builds up over the course of the training, and his or her Jing (Essence) is stimulated, the sorcerer is able to guide the transformation upward into the desired energetic or spiritual manifestation.

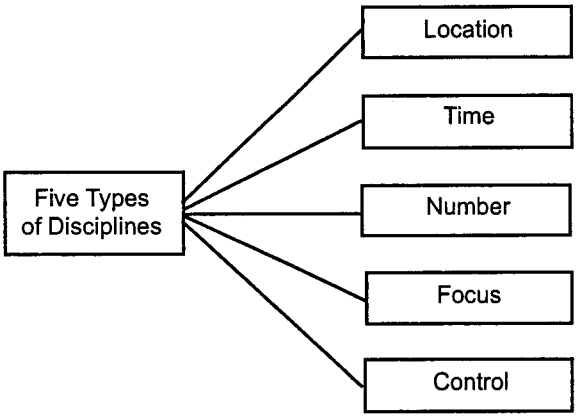


Figure 1.29. The Five Disciplines of Incantations needed in order to achieve energetic manifestation

Breath Incantations

In Daoist sorcery, it is taught that the reciting of any magical incantation must be spoken and imprinted with the sorcerer's Vital Breath (originating from the Yellow Court), and in conjunction with the visualization of the related spirits entity summoned to reinforce the spell. This way of reciting magical incantations is known as a Breath Incantation.

Breath Incantations has always been an important part of the ancient Chinese system of Magical Skills used in Daoist Sorcery. In the 24 rank registers of the *Tradition of the Mighty Commonwealth of Zheng Yi*, there is even a book called, "The Ritual of the Breath Incantation."

Because blood and breath bridge the realms of spirit and matter, they have always been perceived as powerful vehicles of magic by the ancient Dao-

ists. In fact, in ancient China, it was believed that the Vital Breath could be projected from the body, affecting people and objects to the degree that they could be energetically controlled or transformed. This energetic skill was known as "Breath Sorcery." When combined with the creative visualization of a specific deity (imagined and realized within one's mind), the Breath Sorcery would become so powerful that it could be used to restrict, control, or paralyze, and it was sometimes used to kill ghosts, evil spirits or demonic beings.

In ancient China, the famous Daoist sorcerer Zhao Ping used "Breath Sorcery" to charm streams so the degree that the water-level would suddenly drop as much as 20 feet. He was also known to use "Breath Sorcery" in order to light cooking fires on thatched roofs without setting fire to the building, prevent boiling water from scalding, and to prevent dogs from barking.

Since speech is older than writing, the use of spells and incantations is believed to be older than the uses of written charms and talismans. The energetic combination of an Incantation together with "Breath Sorcery," created an even more powerful tool known as a "Breath Incantation," which could be used to captivate and control the energy of an individual's spirit, mind, or body.

In ancient China, Daoist master Ge Hong of the Jin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.) wrote in the *Inner Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* that in certain areas within the Wu and Yue province Breath Incantations were commonly used and have been quite effective. However, according to recent archaeological discoveries, the popularity of Breath Incantations also extended to the Chu and Shu kingdoms as well. According to master Ge Hong's records, Breath Incantations were widely practiced for the use of becoming immune to contagious diseases, curing diseases, dispelling demons, reversing the flow of water, and stopping tigers, leopards, snakes and poisonous bees.

Breath Incantations are able to alter an individual's energetic and spiritual field, intrinsically connecting the one who utters the incantation with the force or concept of its power. These words, sounds or phrases are believed to have accumulated enormous power through the investment of many individuals having persistently practiced the Incantation over many thousands of years.

INTRODUCTION TO BREATH INCANTATIONS

The *Tai Yi Zheng Yi Book of Incantations for Dispelling Ghosts* states, "I have the vital breath of Heaven and Earth. As I recite the incantations, ghosts will be killed, wood will be broken, and the divine gods will fasten themselves; moreover, gold will melt, water will dry out, fire will extinguish itself, ghosts will kill themselves, ulcers will be cured, and poison will disappear. Supplications will stop, and curses will be worthless."

The ancient Daoists believed that if they recited certain incantations and mantras, celestial deities with strong magical powers would appear to them, and impart the incantation's secret meanings and esoteric powers that have been "hidden in Heaven." It was commonly taught that when a Daoist sorcerer recited certain incantations, thousands of millions of Celestial Warriors and Divine Generals would come to protect and to serve the sorcerer. As a result, throughout the various dynasties more and more incantations were added to the repertoire of Daoist mantra skills, which eventually became widely practiced.

INCANTATIONS IN RELIGIOUS DAOISM

According to the teachings of Religious Daoism, there can be no magical skills without the use of incantations. The most common incantations recited in religious Daoism are:

- Incantations for Setting Up the Altar
- Incantations for Purifying the Altar
- Incantations for Protecting the Altar
- Incantations for Protecting the Soul (when approaching the Altar)
- Incantations for Offering Petitions
- Incantations for Writing Talismans
- Incantations for Pacing the Big Dipper
- Incantations for Opening the Scriptures
- Incantations for Reading Scriptures.
- Incantations for Invoking Celestial Immortals
- Incantations for Invoking the Divine Generals
- Incantations for Invoking the Celestial Officers
- Incantations for Killing Ghosts
- Incantations for Controlling Devils and Arresting Demons

Additionally, the practice of reciting incantations have permeated into the daily life of the religious Daoists, even to the degree of reciting incantations when washing the hands, having meals, taking baths, having the hair cut, etc.

Characteristics of Daoist Incantations

Magical incantations have always been an essential part of Chinese sorcery, originating from the ancient understanding of the magic power of words. Religious Daoism inherited and further developed the use of these ancient magical incantations, and also included certain Buddhist incantations into their magical "tool-box" for use in the spirit realm.

In Daoist incantations, there are certain "magical statements" that make the spells unique (i.e., ending the statement using imperial commands) and are different in design from Buddhist incantations (which employ the names of Buddha when recited). For example, in Daoist incantations there are often such terms as "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances," "quickly, quickly, as this is Law," or "the Supreme Sovereign, quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" added to the end of the incantation. The reason for this, is because during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" was found in all imperial decrees and declarations of war. The phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" meant "to execute the orders like an imperial decree," which implied that if anyone disobeyed them, he or she will be seriously punished. Such official proclamations, used in state decrees, statutes and ordinances, were eventually adopted by the sorcerers of folk magic. Powerful witches and wizards all began incorporating the use of these imperial mandates into their magical incantations.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 B.C.-220 A.D.), witches and wizards often applied "writs for dispelling evil" when performing magical rituals to "separate humans and ghosts," and to protect themselves from being hurt by ghosts at funerals. Such magical writs usually ended with the fixed expression "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances." One simple pattern used as a magical write was "Dispel all of the spells in accordance with the statutes and ordinances."

At the end of some of the magical incantations there are such words as "act as regent," "imperial order," or "quickly" to show that the spirit entity must follow the orders of the incantation without delay. For example, when invoking the Divine Generals and Celestial Warriors to destroy evil, the Daoist sorcerer repeated the "Incantation for Opening the Flag," spoken as follows:

"The Valiant General of the Five Thunders
and The Generals of the Fire Chariots
Soar Up to the Heavens
and Down to the Earth.

Drive Thunder and Clouds
Open the Flags to Quickly Invoke
the Thousands of Divine Warriors
and Command Them Without Delay.

Quickly, Quickly,
In Accordance With
the Statutes and Ordinances"

This particular incantation addresses the Divine Generals of the Thunder Agency first, and then describes power of these great conquering generals. It also explains their duty and then opens the "Command Flag" in order to invoke them to come. It orders them to descend without delay, and ends with the fixed expression "Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!"

In order to be effective, the energetic pattern of Daoist incantations focus their content on communicating with and summoning Celestial Deities, Divine Generals, etc. For example, the incantation can be used to address the Supreme Venerable Sovereign, the Jade Emperor of the Divine Heaven, or the Celestial Master. In this way, the titles of the revered spirits are addressed directly, and are spoken in order to invoke the Divine Generals for controlling evil spirits and devils.

The reciting of the religious Daoist incantations is closely related to the Daoist Pantheon, and it is believed that even those spirits of comparatively lower spiritual ranks can be controlled by

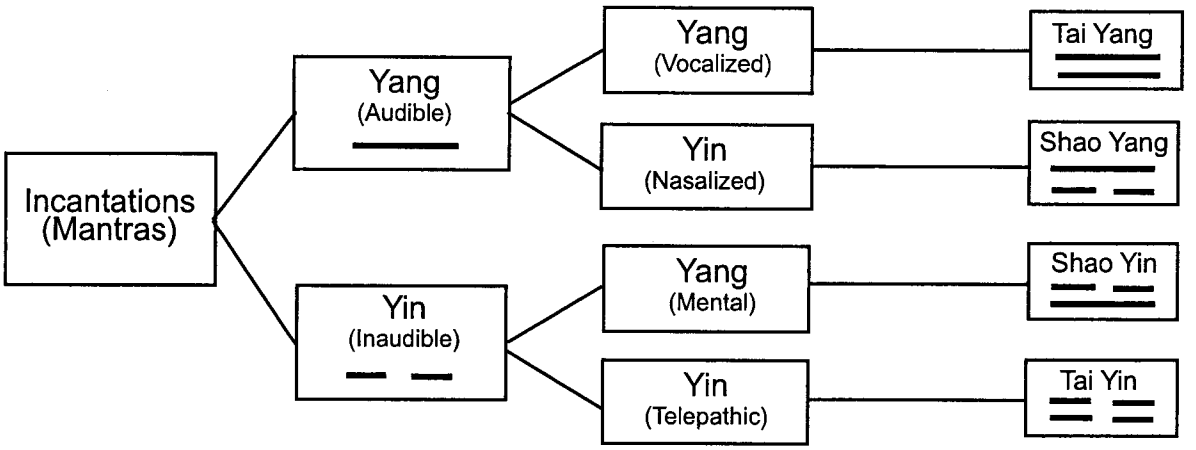


Figure 1.30. Incantation Training is Divided into Yang Sounds (Audible Toning) and Yin Sounds (Inaudible Toning)

the ritual masters, who directly address each of them by their names (this is done to show that the ritual masters has the ability to control the spirit). The incantations are orders to work these spirits, and in them the phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" is used in order to stress that these orders must be executed immediately, otherwise, the spirits will be punished.

FOUR TYPES OF BREATH INCANTATION

When practicing sound emission in the form of a Breath Incantation, the sorcerer can exhale the tone either audibly (Jing), sub-audibly (Qi), inaudibly (Shen), or "Transcended" (Wuji). The decision to use either audible, sub-audible, or inaudible Breath Incantations or to initiate transcended sound incantations will generally depend on the specific sound or phrase and the sorcerer's intended goal (Figure 1.30).

AUDIBLE (JING) INCANTATIONS

When the Audible Incantation is released through loud chanting, it creates a strong vibration within the body, at the level of Jing and Qi. However, the more subtle the sound, the deeper its effect on the individual and his or her surrounding environment.

The audible released sound (externalized) allows the individual the ability to express, in gross material force, the energetic nature of the Incantation. The audible released sound can be further divided into Yin and Yang pronunciations: Vocalized (Yang) Sound and Nasalized (Yin) Sound:

- **Vocalized Incantation Sound (Yang):** This is a spoken or vocalized Incantation, using sounds or phrases
- **Nasalized Incantation Sound (Yin):** This is an inner cranial Incantation, using individual nasalized syllables

SUB-AUDIBLE (QI) INCANTATIONS

When practicing sub-audible Incantations, the Daoist sorcerer will softly speak the audible released sound (externalized) in a whispered voice, creating a subtle vibration within the body at the Qi and Shen level. This allows the mouth to move (still forming the sound or phrase) and the breath to release the Incantation's energetic vibration.

INAUDIBLE (SHEN) INCANTATIONS

Incantations can also be internally and soundlessly toned. Silent chanting creates a subtle vibration within the body, at the level of Qi and Shen. When chanting an Incantation, there is a silent sound that proceeds the audible sound. The ancient Daoists believed that these subtle sounds comprise the energetic forces responsible for creating the Elements and allow for their ten thousand manifestations.

The inaudible released sound (internalized) allows the sorcerer the ability to initiate control over the focused item and its essence. The inaudible released sound can be further divided into Yin and Yang pronunciations: Mental (Yang) Sound and Telepathic (Yin) Sound.

- **Mentally Repeated Incantation (Yang):** This is a internal sounding Incantation, wherein the Incantation is repeated inside the sorcerer's Mind (Shen)
- **Telepathic Repeated Incantation (Yin):** This is a form of telepathic speech, in which only the sorcerer's Intention (Yi) and Willpower (Zhi) is conveyed.

The actual meditative writing of an Incantation or mantra (usually practiced through ancient Chinese calligraphy) was considered to be one of the most powerful conscious releases of energetic sound vibration. The skill of meditative Incantation writing required the ancient Daoist sorcerer to combine all three energetic approaches (Jing, Qi, and Shen) of the Incantation in order to impregnate the sound's vibrational resonance into the material substance of paper.

Transcended (Wuji) Incantations

This most secret type of Incantation is also internally and soundlessly toned. In this most advanced stage, the silent chanting creates a subtle vibration within the sorcerer's spirit body. This most subtle vibration allows the sorcerer to dissolve into the very essence of the Mantra's energetic matrix, and allows him or her to merge with the original source of sound and light. At this most subtle level, the sorcerer's Shen dissolves into the infinite space of the Wuji and fuses with the Dao.

When chanting this type of Transcended Incantation, the "listening" of the Mantra sound is experienced from the realm of existence, and total surrender in required in order to "realize and "awaken" to this type of spiritual fusion. At this stage of transcended awareness, the sorcerer will also be sending and receiving, into his or her presence, the infinite sounds of everyone who has ever spoken that specific Mantra. The ancient Daoists believed that these most subtle transcended sounds comprise the energetic forces responsible for creating the infinite space of the Wuji.

Breath Incantation Technique

The human body is "made of dust" only in the sense that our material tissues are constructed from the various elements of the Earth. The shape of our souls, however, was determined by the ex-

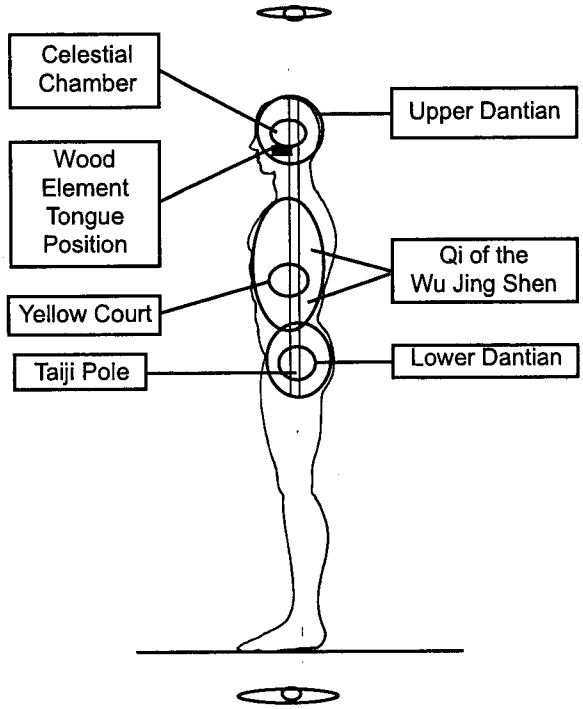


Figure 1.31. Performing Breath Incantations

pressed "Word" in the vital breath of the Divine. When expressed through Breath Incantations, "Words" have the power to affect not only the mind of the hearer, but also inanimate objects as well, particularly if they represent archetypal, astrological, or divine forces or beings.

The efficacy of Breath Incantations is greatly magnified when they are uttered by a sorcerer who has been purified by prayer and ritual practices. The ancient Daoists believed that the virtue (De) inherent in the "Word" is augmented by the personal virtue of the individual's voicing it. It is important to note that magical virtue refers to the quality of concentration and purification of the will, and has little to do with virtue in the conventional sense of propriety. In this context, De, could also be understood as having few or no open loops (incomplete tasks, communications, or relationships). This gives the sorcerer a much greater degree of frequency coherence (everything in his or her physical, energetic and spiritual bodies is in agreement); then when he or she focuses, it is

much more concentrated and directly harmonized with the Dao.

The Breath Incantations preformed by Daoist sorcerers in China utilize the ancient Four Levels of Speech techniques. These Four Levels of Speech are spoken solemnly through focused intention and assist the sorcerers in influencing or controlling the thoughts and actions of individuals by means of psychic hypnotic influence. Through the use of positive commands or thoughts, subtle insinuations can be used to reprogram the individual's chronic detrimental beliefs and initiate healing.

In order to perform the Breath Incantation technique, the Daoist sorcerer will proceed as follows:

1. After performing the "One Through Ten Meditation" and the "Three Invocations," imagine that divine healing light is flowing through your Taiji Pole into the Lower Dantian (Figure 1.31).
2. Roll both of your eyes upwards into the Celestial Chamber as you begin to draw a specific talismanic symbol on the center of your upper pallet using your tongue. The upper pallet is the position of the Wood Element and is one of the Hun's access points through the Taiji Pole into the Celestial Chamber. The tongue represents the spiritual nature of the Heart's Shen and the desired projection of the Yuan Shen (Figure 1.32).
3. Inhale the energetic powers of Heaven Qi and Earth Qi through the nose to activate the energetic nature of the talismanic symbol located at the top of the mouth, on the middle of the upper pallet (Figure 1.33).
4. Swallow and bring this combined Qi down into your Yellow Court area and mix it with the combined energetic and spiritual natures of the Wu Jing Shen (Hun from the Liver, Shen from the Heart, Yi from the Spleen, Po from the Lungs, and Zhi from the Kidneys).
5. Bring the divine healing light up from your Lower Dantian through the Taiji Pole into the Yellow Court and combine it with the Qi of the Wu Jing Shen, Talismanic energy, and breath. Once these four energies have combined, exhale them out the mouth with the intention of the projected sound or spoken word.
6. The projected sound or spoken word should include the energetic thought and spirit projection of your Jing (Verbal) Speech, Qi (Mental) Speech, Shen (Single-Minded) Speech, and Dao (Divine) Speech. This projected word should also be combined with the mystic's Hypnotic Influence (audible and thought projection), which is initiated by the voice, attitude, tone, words, mannerism, appearance, and demeanor.

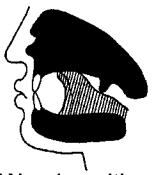
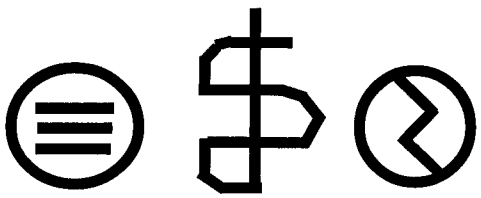


Figure 1.32. For the Wood position, which is related to the Liver, the tongue is placed on the middle of the upper palate at the center of the roof of the mouth.



Examples of Various Symbols used for Breath Incantations

Figure 1.33. The energetic nature of the talismanic symbol (drawn with the tongue at the top of the mouth) is activated by the sorcerer's thought intention. Each energetic pattern has a specific meaning and type of power, and it can be accompanied by a Mudra used to activate that power.

USING BREATH INCANTATIONS FOR PROTECTION

There is an important relationship between sound, Qi, and creation. In the act of creation, (before anything manifests), there must first be the Divine Mind in which time, space, and energy exists as one single point. This dynamic convergence creates form. This is considered by the ancient Daoist sorcerers to be the "seed of creation."

Therefore, through the vehicle of the spoken word (or sound), the fusion of breath (Qi) impregnated with mind (Shen) brings sound.

There are several ways that a Breath Incantation can be used to protect the Daoist sorcerer. Two of the more popular techniques used to energetically and spiritually protect the physically body are Single Sound Breath Incantations and Multiple Sound Breath Incantations, described as follows:

Single Sound Breath Incantation

One advanced way of spiritual protection is to fill the sorcerer's Wei Qi field with a particular divine incantation (sound or phrase), thereby allowing it to repel any and all incoming destructive negative energetic attacks. This technique especially works well against dark sorcery and psychic attacks coming from Spirit-Spell Incantations (incantations that summon and dispatch evil spirit entities to attack a victim). In ancient China, this technique was known as, "using the divine sound to combat a destructive sound."

- Begin by performing the 1-10 Meditation and Three Invocations (See Chinese Medical Qigong Therapy: Volume 3, Chapter 28). After performing the third invocation, focus the mind's attention on gathering the divine healing light into the Lower Dantian. Imagine and feel the divine light energizing your physical body, energetic body, and spiritual body. Hold this image until you feel all three bodies completely full of the divine healing light.
- Next, reconnect with the Divine and imagine creating an Energy Ball between both hands. Both hands are to be positioned facing each other, with the base of the palms roughly located at the same height as the middle of the chest, fingers pointing upwards (Figure 1.34).
- Create a talisman at the roof of the mouth with the tongue. As the tongue draws the talisman on the soft palate, begin to chant the mantra in your mind that you wish to use for generating divine power and sacred protection. It is important to have a powerful emotional connection to the specific Incantation or phrase used for spiritual protection. By emotionally focusing on the Incantation's specific energetic and spiritual powers, you ensure a powerful fusion of Qi and Shen.

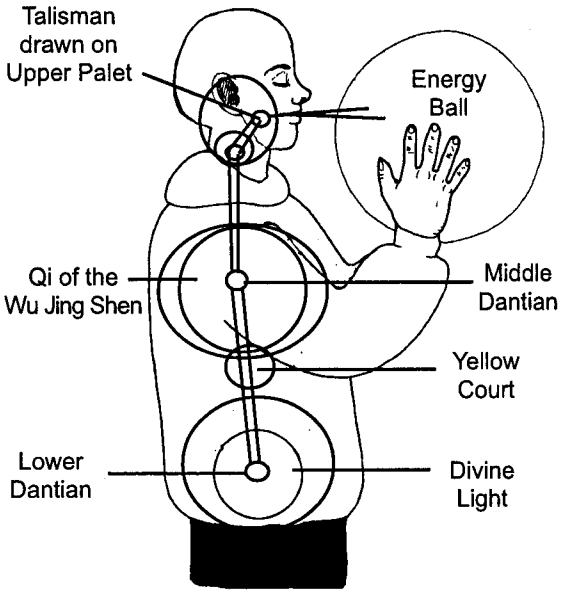


Figure 1.34. Direct the Lower Dantian Qi into the palm and imagine creating an energy ball of divine healing white light

- As you inhale, imagine divine light flowing in through the nose, stimulating and energizing the talisman (whose image is now drawn on the top of the mouth at the upper soft pallet). While continuing to inhale, imagine pulling the energetic and spiritual power of the talisman into the chest, Heart, and Middle Dantian area.
- Begin to connect and fuse the energetic and spiritual powers of the specific Incantation with the energetic and spiritual powers of the Five Yin Organs, specifically the five Prenatal virtuous energies emanating from the Wu Jing Shen (i.e., compassion from the Hun and Liver, peace and order from the Yuan Shen and Heart, integrity from the Po and Lungs, trust and truthfulness from the Yi and Spleen, willpower and wisdom from the Zhi and Kidneys).
- After combining and fusing the spiritual and energetic power of the Incantation with the spiritual and energetic power of the Wu Jing Shen and five internal organs, focus your at-

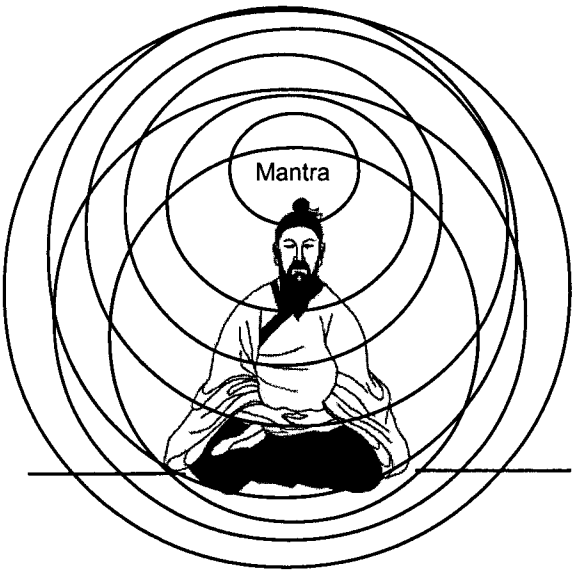


Figure 1.35. Fill the Wei Qi field with a particular Incantation and allow it to repel any incoming destructive negative energy

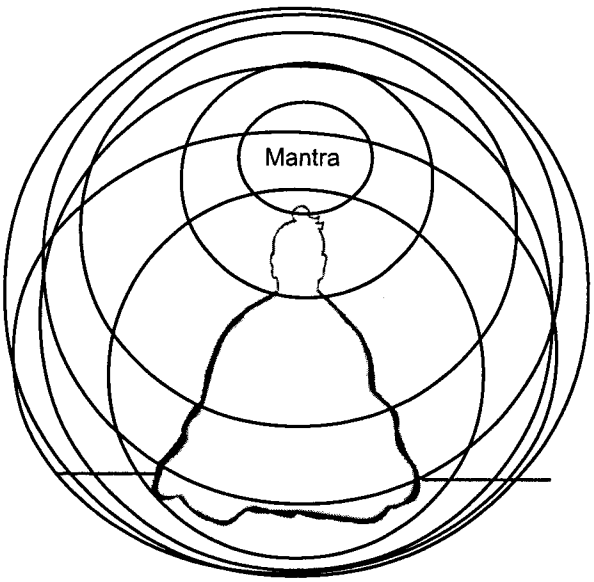


Figure 1.36. Imagine and feel the Physical, Energetic and Spiritual Bodies dissolving into the light and vibration of the Incantation, until all that inhabits the space of your three Wei Qi fields is the energetic light and sound of the divine vibration.

tention on bringing the divine light up from the Lower Dantian into the Middle Dantian. Imagine and feel all of these energetic and spiritual powers combining and fusing within the area of your Yellow Court.

- Next, bring the Qi upwards from the Yellow Court into the back of the throat, and exhale this infused spiritual energy combined with the specific Incantation phrase or sacred sound into the energy ball between your hands. Audibly or Inaudibly speak the divine sacrad sound as a Breath Incantation, and completely fill and empower the energy ball with the spiritual energy and power of the divine word.
- Focus your mind and intention on feeling the power of the Incantation vibrating between your hands. Imagine and feel the energetic and spiritual vibration becoming extremely bright and powerful. Then, raise the energy ball upwards in front of your Yintang (Third Eye area), releasing its light and power to expand outward, filling your three Wei Qi fields (Figure 1.35).
- Imagine and feel the divine light and power of the energy ball Incantation vibrating throughout your three Wei Qi fields, expanding light and sound vibration to the front, back, right, left, above, and beneath your body (protecting all six directions of space).
- Focus on your body being completely submerged and bathed in the vibrational resonance and power of this divine Incantation, until you feel the physical body slowly dissolve into this powerful energetic field of light and sound.
- Next, feel your energetic body dissolve into this energetic field. Then finally, feel your spiritual body dissolve until all that inhabits the space of your three Wei Qi fields is the energetic light and sound of the divine vibration (Figure 1.36).

MULTIPLE SOUND BREATH INCANTATION

Another variation used to counter Spirit-Spell Incantations is to encircle the divine incantation (sound or phrase) in several energetic spheres and

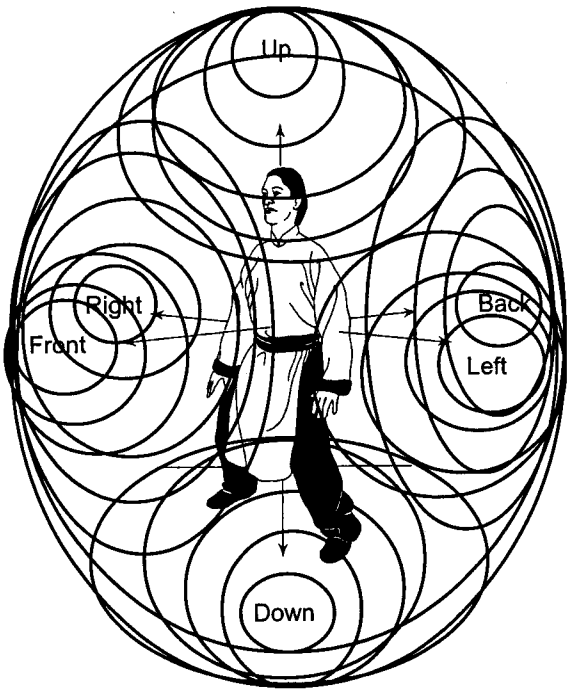


Figure 1.37. Fill the Wei Qi field with six energetic Breath Incantation orbs, allowing them to repel any incoming destructive negative energy

place them in six directions, surrounding the Daoist sorcerer's body. Each energetic orb resonates outward filling the sorcerer's Wei Qi field. Each of the energetic orbs will also resonate with the other energetic spheres, creating a multilayered reciprocal vibrational field. This multilevel energetic field allows the sorcerer the ability to be protected through the three Wei Qi fields and the six directions of space (Figure 1.37).

Imprinting with Incantations

Everything that exists in nature is a part of the energy and the consciousness that formed it. Matter can be regarded as an extension of consciousness, or as a particular form that consciousness has assumed. Therefore in order to learn to materialize (create, mold, form), or dematerialize (dissolve, disperse) Qi and Shen through Hand Seals or Star Stepping, it is important for the sorcerer to be able to create and imprint with magical words by first mastering the four primary properties of Qi. Once these are mastered, the sorcerer will then be able to excel in effecting and manipulating the energetic and spiritual levels of vibrational patterns and forms. This will enable the sorcerer to locate and materialize energy in order to strengthen deficient conditions or dematerialize energetic stagnations.

The Daoist sorcerer will use the power of words in order to energetically Create (design, manifest and bring into existence), Imprint (effect and influence), Feel (perceive, examine and ascertain), and Activate (energize, vitalize and animate its energetic function). These four energetic actions are known as the Four Functional Properties of Energy.

Four Functional Properties of Energy

When molding and forming Qi, the ancient Daoist sorcerers would utilize the four energetic actions for mastering the four primary properties of Qi: Create (Chuangzao), Feel (Ganjue), Imprint (Mingli), and Activate (Shi Huodong); described as follows (Figure 1.38):

- **Create (Chuangzao) - Forming the Energetic Blueprint:** The word "Chuangzao" translates as "to create," and it describes the Creative property of Qi. It refers to the production of the energetic form, as well as to the forces and energy associated with it. It makes life itself and the phenomena of materialization and dematerialization possible. Within the body, the Creative property of Qi is responsible for the construction, maintenance, and re-configuration of the body (i.e., electrons, cells, tissues). When materializing Qi, the Creative property of Qi is used to construct the energetic form: its shape, size, and texture (color, sound, solid, liquid, vapor or light).
- **Feel (Ganjue) - The Sensate Property of Qi:** The word "Ganjue" translates as "to feel or sense," and it describes the aspect of "feeling" the energetic quality of the created item. It is considered the manifestation of the "sensory" aspect or property of the Created Qi, and refers to the tangible feeling of the energetic form or substance, as well as the specific forces and energy associated with it (hot, cold, heavy, light, etc.).

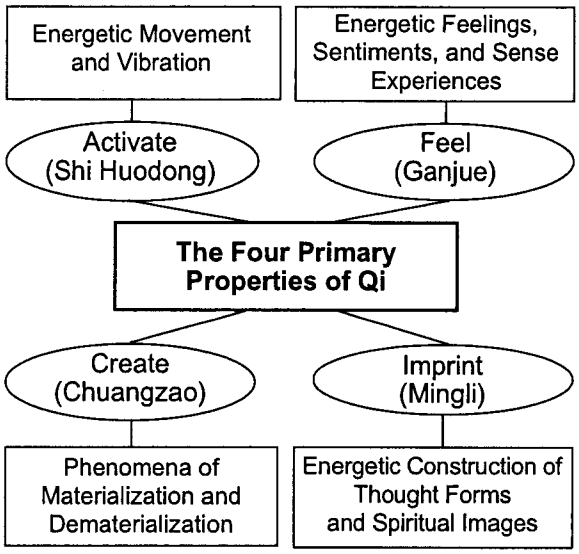


Figure 1.38. The Four Primary Properties of Qi

By mastering the Feeling aspect of Qi, the sorcerer can energetically dissolve into the Wuji and experience every cell or particle of material existence; or feel the ebb and flow of the subtle energetic fields that permeate an individual's physical body (by dissolving into the spiritual matrix that exists in-between the individual's energetic particles and cells). Ganjue makes the sorcerer's energetic feelings, sentiments, and sense experiences substantially real.

Within the body, the Feeling property of Qi makes it possible for an individual to enjoy the sensations of physical pleasure or suffer from physical pain. When materializing energy, the Feeling property of Qi allows the sorcerer to fully experience the quality of the subtle vibrations resonating within the energetic form that he or she has created. The energetic form will generally manifest through the Eight Energetic Touches (feeling hot, cold, heavy, light, expanded, contracted, vibrating, and spiralling).

- **Imprint (Mingli) - Tasking the Energetic Form:** The word "Mingli" translates as "to imprint," and it describes the energetic aspect of imprinting and spiritually "inscribing" the sorcerer's intention into the energetic form. Mingli allows the energetic form to retain specific instructions and perform required tasks. Tasking is considered a type of encoding the energetic form, and it includes all energetic and spiritual forces associated with the thoughts, emotions, and intentions that have impregnated the created object (i.e., Tonify, Purge, Regulate, protect, destroy, bind, heal, etc.).

  Imprinting makes the energetic construction of all thought forms and spiritual images possible. It is used after the sorcerer has shaped the energetic form through visualization. When recording images, it is the "Imprinting" quality of energy that helps the sorcerer to observe, memorize, and retain various shapes, sizes, and colors. Within the body, the Imprinting property of Qi makes it possible for every particle and cell of the body's tissues to become energized and strengthened, and to maintain a specific energetic structure.
- **Activate (Shi Huodong) - Awakening the Vibrational Property of Qi:** The term "Shi Huodong" translates as "to activate," and it is used as a term to describe the activity of formally "starting" the energetic and spiritual function of the Created object. The Activation of Qi makes the energetic movement and vibration possible. It is sometimes considered the awakening of the vibrational motion contained within the energetic form, as well as the specific powers (or forces of energy) associated with that awakening.

  The Activation of Qi is used as the means for transporting the sorcerer's projected energetic field. Within the body, the Activating property of Qi is responsible for all activities, both conscious (walking, physical coordinations, and eye movements) and unconscious (the energetic function of the circulatory system, respiratory system, vascular system, nervous system digestive system, etc.).

Creating, Feeling, Imprinting, and Activating Qi Meditation

The sorcerer should master the Four Primary properties of Qi by practicing Shengong exercises that use powerful visual images. When creating an "Energy Ball," for example, the sorcerer will utilize all Four primary properties of Qi, described as follows (Figure 1.39):

- **Create (Chuangzao):** The Creative property of Qi is used to construct the shape and size of the energy ball.
- **Feel (Ganjue):** The Feeling property of Qi allows the sorcerer to feel and acknowledge the energetic quality contained within the energy ball, (Hot, Cold, heavy, light, vibrating, spiralling, etc.).
- **Imprint (Mingli):** The Imprinting property of Qi allows the sorcerer the ability to impregnate the energy ball with a specific task or function (Tonify, Purge, Regulate, protect, destroy, bind, heal, etc.).
- **Activate (Shi Huodong):** The Activating property of Qi awakens the energy ball's vibrational movement, giving it life.

To assist the disciple in acquiring the skills needed for materializing Qi, the ancient Daoist masters would instruct the apprentice in "Imprinting and Feeling" Shengong meditations. The following is an example of an "Imprinting and Feeling" Shengong meditation:

1. **Create:** Begin from a seated posture, close your eyes and perform the "One Through Ten" meditation (see Chinese Medical Qigong Therapy: Volume 3, Chapter 28). Connect with the Divine and imagine pulling an energetic cord into your right palm from the Heavens. Feel the divine energetic cord mold into a powerful luminous ball. Imagine a luminous ball of white light energy molding into the size of a tennis ball. This type of imagery exercises the Creative property of Qi.
2. **Feel:** Feel the weight of luminous ball of white light energy in your hand. Feel it alive, electrical, hot, and vibrating; feel it rolling around in your palm like liquid mercury. This will train you in mastering the Feeling property of Qi.
3. **Imprint:** Now that you have created an energetic form of thought, it can be imprinted with additional messages (tasked to perform specific functions like gathering Toxic Qi or rebuilding a diseased internal organ). The energy ball can be inserted into a specific internal organ inside a patient's body for Tonification or Purgation, or it can be used for long distance healing. You can also focus your mind on a patient who is suffering from a particular illness and send this ball of white light energy to cover the patient's entire body. The greater your ability to concentrate on the formation of this thought form, the stronger its therapeutic value. This type of creative imagery exercises the Imprinting property of Qi.

   When utilizing this energetic modality for healing, it is important to realize that when divine light used to construct the energy ball, it will automatically fill the orb with healing light; this is considered the "Imprinting of the Divine's Creative property of Qi." This dynamic transformation initiated by the Divine Imprinting is necessary to alter the preexisting energetic pattern of the disease and change the patient's energetic fields.
4. **Activate:** Once the energy ball has been Created, its energetic power has been realized and felt, and its energetic form Imprinted with a specific "message," all that is left is to Activate its energetic function and give it life by giving it the mental command to begin.

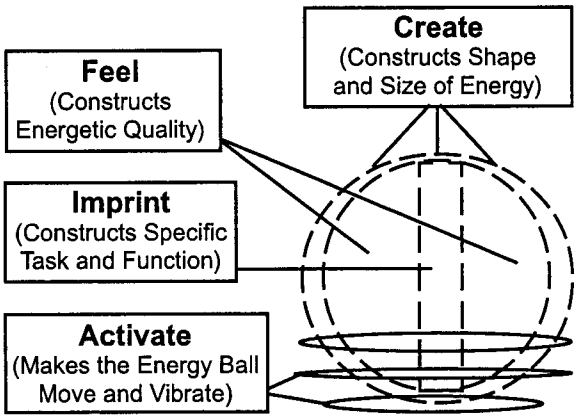


Figure 1.39. The Four Primary Properties of Qi Used to Create an Energy Ball

THOUGHTS, FEELINGS & ENERGETIC IMPRINTING

Thoughts and feelings have power; they are created through "Mind" and have shape, form, and energy. Thoughts can be felt; they have weight and color, can be expressed through different variations of light and vibration, and can be perceived or "seen" by those who posses psychic sight.

Our thoughts and feelings are energies that we project into the environment. These thought forms (projected from the conscious or subconscious) can assume a variety of shapes and colors, and differ from one another in form, energy, and power. Desires and emotions in their energetic thought forms can either be positive (as in sending a healing prayer) or negative (as in sending a curse).

The Imprinting of all Daoist Magical Hand Seals, Star Stepping, Magical Tools, etc. is accomplished through the use of the Four Functional Properties of Energy. When utilizing the Four Functional Properties of Energy, the sorcerer most consider the purpose of the formed energetic object. It is important that the sorcerer understand the exact reason for which the energetic object was created and its specific function; keeping these ideas in mind as a basis for maintaining and refining its energetic materialization.

MATERIALIZING ENERGETIC MATTER

The key to mastering energetic materialization is in the sorcerer's ability to concentrate and mold energetic matter. To materialize or dematerialize an object, the sorcerer must first construct and energetically form it within his or her mind through undisturbed, intense concentration using the Creative and Feeling properties of Qi. The object must then be infused and charged with an energetic task (i.e., to tonify or disperse) with divine light, using the Imprinting property of Qi.

When an energy ball is Activated, it is then released or projected into an individual's tissues using the Activating property of Qi. For example, when an energy ball is created for the purpose of dissolving a tumor, the reaction within the tissues (once the energy ball is inserted), is considered the manifestation of the Activating property of Qi.

Every material form has its own vibratory pattern which regulates its existence. In order to manifest or alter a specific energetic form, it is necessary for the sorcerer to adjust his or her vibrational rate to correspond with the frequency of the energetic matter. This requires the sorcerer to sometimes raise or lower his or her vibrational rate in order to resonate with the energetic form, thereby maintaining its existence after it has been materialized (or erasing its existence after it has been dematerialized).

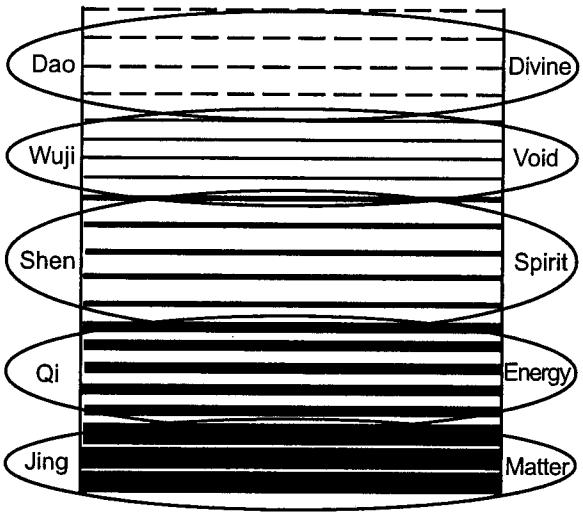


Figure 1.40. The Five Energetic Fields

- **Raising the Vibrational Rate:** Raising the vibrational rate allows the energetic field to become more subtle, faster, stronger, and brighter. To begin with, the sorcerer must first relax his or her body and mind, and place his or her Yuan Shen into the infinite space of the Wuji. This allows the sorcerer to access the center of space and time. Next the sorcerer will focus his or her intention on leading the vibrational rate of the focused item's energetic field through an ascending, prenatal progression (Jing - Qi - Shen - Wuji - Dao). This Shengong training includes enveloping the item and fusing with the gross material object, while simultaneously guiding and leading it through the various realms of matter towards the upper energetic realms of Qi, ending at the more subtle spiritual realms of Shen (Figure 1.40). Once the energetic shift is experi-

enced, the sorcerer will then begin to work according to his or her initial purpose.

- **Lowering the Vibrational Rate:** Lowering the vibrational rate allows the energetic field to become more slower, pronounced, and to take on form. To begin with, the sorcerer must first relax his or her body and mind, and place his or her Yuan Shen into the infinite space of the Wuji. This allows the sorcerer to access the center of space and time. Next the sorcerer will focus his or her intention on leading the vibrational rate of the focused items energetic field through a descending, postnatal progression (Dao - Wuji - Shen - Qi - Jing). This Shengong training includes enveloping the item and fusing it with the upper, more subtle realms of Shen, while simultaneously guiding and leading it through the various energetic fields, to the slower realms of gross matter. Once the energetic shift is experienced, the sorcerer will then begin to work according to his or her initial purpose.

Three Types of Creative Energetic Materialization

There are three types of creative energetic materialization: The Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form, The Visible but Intangible Energetic Form, and The Visible and Tangible Energetic Form (Figure 1.41).

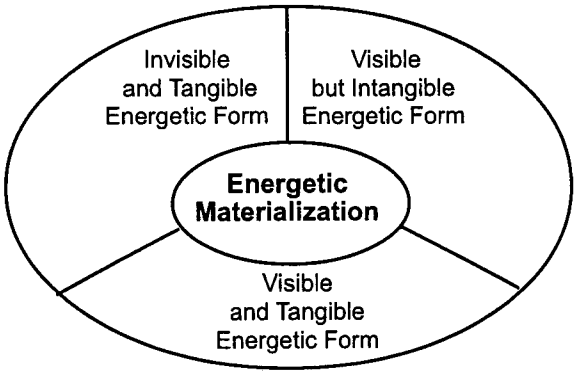


Figure 1.41. Three Types of Creative Energetic Materialization

1. **The Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization involves the construction of solid but invisible substances. It has the greatest force and potential when working within the three dimensional world of matter. This type of materialization allows the sorcerer to disperse energetic stagnations and tonify deficient conditions that would normally require several months of conventional Western medical treatment.

   In the Medical Qigong clinic, it is quite common for a patient to feel the doctor's hands moving inside his or her body, even though the doctor may be several feet away form the

patient. One example of Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form is the physical sensations felt within the patient's tissues when a Qigong doctor is using the "Invisible Needle" Technique.

Another example of Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form is experienced when a Qigong doctor purges grief from the patient's Lungs; the energetic composition of grief is invisible yet has a thick, slimy, tangible energetic form.

2. **The Visible but Intangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization has no physical power to directly affect solid objects. One example of Visible but Intangible Energetic Forms are the energetic colors and visions that manifest within an individual's aura field, as well as specific energetic forms or spiritual entities that can surround an individual's body or living space.

   Visible but Intangible Energetic Forms can sometimes be spiritual images projected by a sorcerer onto a individual's Subconscious Mind. These energetic images can be used to assist an individual in spiritual transformations and emotional growth, as well as to provide him or her with support in times of need.

   Another example of this type of materialization can be when a sorcerer is Soul Traveling (also known as astral projection). The sorcerer who is Soul Traveling can appear to someone in a ghostly form (like a mist) to give encouragement. Although the image may appear to be as solid as matter, it is possible to pass a hand completely through it.

3. **The Visible and Tangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization is solid and visible and requires advanced training in order to master its skill.

   When Soul Traveling, for example, a sorcerer can construct and materialize the image of a visible and tangible energetic form by simply lowering the vibrational rate of his or her Energy Body to such a degree that he or she can influence and move solid objects).

ENCHANTMENT

An Enchantment (sometimes known as Bewitchment) is the state of being under the hypnotic influence of a magical charm or incantation. An enchantment of a magical spell can be attached (generally on a relatively-permanent basis) to a specific person, place, or thing, so that it alters that thing's physical, energetic, and spiritual qualities. Sorcerers are frequently depicted as being able to seduce or control an individual by means of magical enchantments.

An enchantment with negative characteristics is usually referred to as a curse. Conversely, enchantments can also be spells used to deceive people, either by directly affecting their thoughts or by using some kind of projected illusion. Other forms of negative enchantments include deceiving people into believing that they have suffered a magical transformation (e.g., an energetic/spirit induced diseased state), or that the terrifying supernatural phenomena they are observing and/or experiencing is real.

An enchantment can also be used to manifest positive characteristics. It can shape and alter an individual's self-perceptions to the degree that they view the world in a "new," positive way. When the individual awakens from the trance state, he or she will then experience a new hope in life. This practice is seen in modern hypo-therapy.

TRANCE INDUCTION

A "trance" can be defined as "being lost in a state of mystical absorption." It is the by-product of coming under the hypnotic power of an Enchantment (known as Trance Induction) created from a magical charm, spell, or Incantation.

We are surrounded by an ocean of vibrations that are simultaneously resonating in different dimensions. When an Incantation is directed towards any person, place, or thing (and constantly repeated), the process of withdrawing the mind from the senses begins. As the focus of the mind continues to be directed onto the specific point of intention, both Qi and Shen gather. Once the process of sense withdrawal is complete, the sorcerer's mind can then hold on to and envelop the item of his or her focused intention. The spiritual, energetic, and physical fields of the item can now be influence through the directed mental power of the sorcerer's cultivated Qi and Shen.

For centuries, ancient Daoists have believed that an individual could be influenced (both positively and negatively) through the utilization of a powerfully controlled Shen. This type of influence could either occur accidently, or be directly initiated through focused intention. It entails the influencing or controlling of the thoughts and actions of an individual by means of a using an audible command, or through the subtle insinuation of the desired thought. These types of suggestive and psychic influences allows the sorcerer's conscious mind to initiate an effect upon the individual's subconscious mind and can be effectively used to re-patterning beliefs and actions.

In Daoist sorcery, there are generally three forms of psychic influence used to override an individuals defensive mechanisms, reprogram their belief, and initiate new energetic patterns; Audible Suggestive Influence, Thought Suggestive Influence and Hypnotic Suggestive Influence, described as follows:

AUDIBLE SUGGESTIVE INFLUENCE

This is considered the first level of psychic influence, and it is initiated by the sorcerer's voice, attitude, tone, words, mannerism, appearance, and demeanor. The individual's mind receives and accepts as truth the sorcerer's words and affirmations, and he or she then changes specific internal patterns, acting in accordance to the degree of his or her receptivity. The verbal suggestion is often necessary in order to initiate a deep impression on the subconscious mind and cause the individual to accept the new belief pattern. This type of audible suggestive influence becomes even more powerful and gains additional influence by having the individual repeat the audible affirmations or suggestions.

Traditionally, once the individual mastered the way of vibrating names, words, or phrases of power, he or she was then taught how to employ them in the use of the "commanding voice," which allows the "speaking intention" of Audible Suggestive Influence to be effective. The "command-

ing voice" is vibrated from the Lower Dantian in a deep forceful tone (either audible or inaudible) with an open throat. It affects the mind on the subconscious level (below the level of conscious thought) and can cause individuals to immediately react without understanding why. It is for this reason (the ability to implant thoughts and commands directly into another's subconscious mind) that the power of the commanding voice is kept from the general public, and given only to those life is devoted towards the divine and healing the suffering of humanity.

When initiating an Audible Suggestive Influence, it is important that the individual receiving the energetic input maintain a receptive state of mind for the interaction to be considered successful. In order to increase the potential for success, it is important that the sorcerer to constantly monitor the recipient's receptivity. Always focus and direct the mind's attention to initiate the specific repetitions of certain keywords that positively stimulate the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind. When initiating this type of auto-suggestion, there are three primary things that the sorcerer must monitor. These three things are the Recipient's Receptivity, Focused Attention, and Repetition, described as follows:

- **The Recipient's Receptivity:** When performing any type of Audible Suggestive Influence, it is imperative that the recipient maintain a quiet, relaxed, and peacefully receptive attitude. A certain percent of the effectiveness of this type of interaction depends on the degree of receptivity in the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind.
- **Focused Attention:** The recipient should be encouraged to give the sorcerer his or her undivided attention. A certain percent of the effectiveness of this type of interaction also depends on the degree of attention given by the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind.
- **Repetition:** The recipient should be encouraged to constantly repeat the sorcerer's suggestions. The constant repetition of various phrases in the form of suggestive "keywords" fastens the new energetic and spiritual pattern firmly onto the recipient's conscious and subconscious Mind.

When initiating an Audible Suggestive Influence, it is important for the sorcerer to maintain a certain quiescent state of mind for the interaction to be considered successful. In order to increase the potential for success, it is important that the sorcerer to constantly monitor his or her own attitude, voice, and eyes, as well as express images in the form of "word pictures" in order to deepen the energetic and spiritual imprinting on the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind. These four points of attention are described as follows:

- **Attitude:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her attitude and have the recipient's best interest at heart ("people don't care what you know, until they know that you care").
- **Voice:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her voice and should be able to project feeling and sincerity into the expressed words. The sorcerer's Qi and Shen should permeate his or her tone to the degree that the recipient feels the words vibrating within their body and mind when the suggestion is being planted.

  A softly spoken Mantra that maintains a particular rhythm can also be used in order to induce a hypnotic trance.
- **Eyes:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her gaze, and should look firmly yet compassionately through the recipient, seeing into his or her center core to communicate with the recipient's Soul. The focus of the sorcerer's eyes will allow for stronger concentration of thought, holding and maintaining the recipient's attention.

  A common preliminary to hypnotic indiction is the requirement for the recipient to fix his or her attention on a particular spot above eye level (sometimes the recipient was instructed to look upward into the dark celestial pool of a starry sky). This technique quickly has the effect of tiring the eyes and inducing a sensation of relaxation and sleepiness, which can easily be transformed into trance.

Additionally, a "flat" (featureless) environment can aide the sorcerer in quickly bring-

ing a individual into a trance state due to the lace of sensory stimuli.

The fixation of the gaze, the uninteresting environment, and the rhythm of the spoken mantra synchronized with rhythmic breathing all combine to become powerful tools for hypnotic induction.

- **Word Pictures:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her verbal descriptions when implanting autosuggestions. It is important that the recipient feel the desired condition with a mental picture of him or her living the outcome of the projected intention (e.g., being restored back to health).

Thought Suggestive Influence

This is considered the second level of psychic influence, and it is initiated by the sorcerer's inaudible projected thought and intention. The stronger the sorcerer's Qi and Shen, the greater the result. These conscious and subconscious thought projections stemming from the sorcerer's mind can only be effective if the individual is open and receptive to the thought waves directed towards him or her. This type of thought suggestive influence becomes powerful and gains additional influence by having the sorcerer perform certain Hand Seals and magical rituals.

Hypnotic Suggestive Influence

This is considered the third level of psychic influence, and it is a combination of the first two suggestive influences. It is initiated through the sorcerer's focused Qi and Shen emission, whereby the individual is enveloped and "bathed" in a constant flow of thought intention. This type of hypnotic influence becomes even more powerful and gains additional influence over the recipient when the sorcerer performs Breath Incantations.

Hypnotic Suggestive Influence can also be used when speaking magical incantations, in order to fuse the sorcerer's mind and intention with that of a recipient. This is an energetic skill in which various repetitions of powerful incantations are initiated in the form of auto suggestions or affirmations, spoken by the sorcerer into the recipient's physical, energetic, and spiritual bodies.

In Hypnotic Suggestive Influence, the projected mental attitude of the sorcerer is energetically impressed into the individual's tissues via the sorcerer's words, attitude, tone, and demeanor. As the sorcerer begins to audibly and telepathically pour "thought intention" into the mind of the individual, a strong positive current of uplifting, strengthening and healing thought is created. The fusion of both minds (the sorcerer's and the recipient's) is directed towards a common purpose, producing a powerful conscious and subconscious healing pattern.

The "hypnotic suggestion" induced by the trance is the main tool that a sorcerer uses to reprogram the mind of an individual. A hypnotic suggestion is defined as a statement of explicit instruction given in trance to do or experience something (e.g., relax the body, feel the body sink, feel a specific area become numb, etc.).

There are four main trance states induced by "hypnotic suggestion" that an individual can experience. These four trance states are described as follows:

- **Light Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, and the individual is breathing deeply.
- **Medium Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, the head and body slump, the responses are slower, the breathing is deep, and the individual experiences a reduced awareness of their surround environment.
- **Deep Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, the head and body slump, the responses are slower, there is a reduced awareness of the surround environment, and there is deeper abdominal breathing.
- **Somnambulism Trance:** In this state of trance, the individual experiences paralysis, loss of sensation, or catalepsy (i.e., rigidity, lack of response to stimuli, and mutism). During this trance state, the individual may experience sensations as if they are awake (similar to sleep walking). Consequently, when awakened the individual generally will not retain the hypnotic suggestion in either their conscious or unconscious memory.

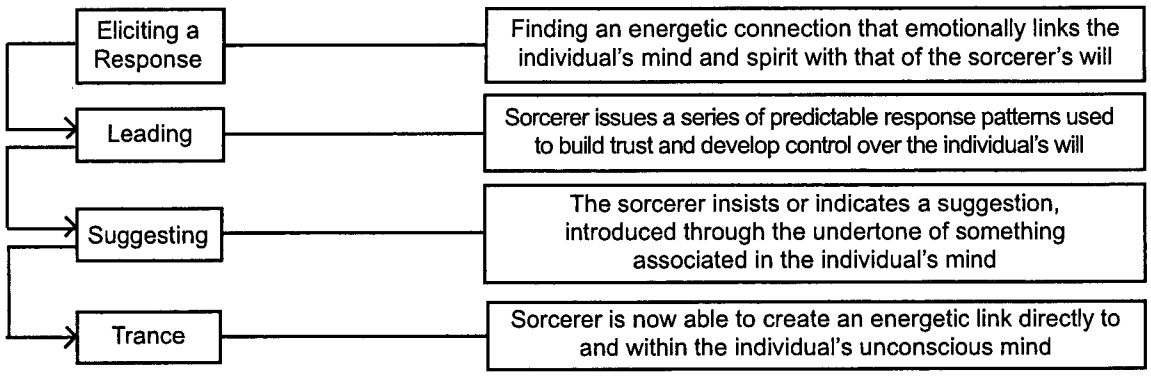


Figure 1.42. The four stages used to lead an individual into trance

The conscious mind thinks quantitatively using words, numbers, logic, and sequential thinking. The unconscious mind uses images, memories, feelings, intuitions, dreams, and abstract non-sequential thinking. At increasingly deeper levels of trance, the individual becomes more open to his or her unconscious mind and more receptive the hypnotic suggestions planted by the sorcerer's intention or contained within the magical incantation.

When you dissociate from your feelings you enter into a trance state (e.g., day-dreaming is a form of Light Trance state). In Daoist magic, the hypnotic suggestions contained within certain magical incantations are used to cause an individual to dissociate from his or her conscious mind in order to reprogram the unconscious mind. At this state, the unconscious mind can be flooded with various sensory images in order to elicit a creative experience, resulting in either a positive or negative emotional response (e.g., traveling through space, standing in the center of a beautiful field of flowers; or suddenly being surrounded by aggressive snakes, insects, fire, ghosts, etc.).

Once the individual is in a state of hypnotic trance, the sorcerer will proceed to deepen the trance state. The deeper the trance state, the more successful the "imprinting" process of the hypnotic suggestion will be on the individual's unconscious mind. These imprinted suggestions are then transformed by the individual's unconscious mind and integrated as part of their own ideas or conscious will.

FOUR STAGES USED TO INDUCE TRANCE

Psychic influence is a term used to indicate when one individual's mind is directed towards purposely influencing another. Every individual's mental state is accompanied by certain vibrations that resonate on the energetic and spiritual planes. The plane of physical vibrations arising from the human brain and nervous system has energetic counterparts that manifest through the vibrational resonance of the energetic and spiritual planes.

The effect of an individual's psychic influence is initiated through the energetic principle of "induction," which manifests on all three planes (physical, energetic and spiritual). The principle of induction is described as "that inherent quality or attribute of energy by which the manifestation of energy tends to reproduce itself in a second object by setting up a corresponding vibration, even though there is no direct contact between the two objects." For example, the vibrational manifestation of heat generated in one object tends to induce the vibrational response of heat in other objects that are within its range of induction. Likewise, the vibrational resonance of light striking another object can render it capable of additionally radiating light; and through induction, a magnet can induce magnetism into a piece of steel suspended nearby, even though the two objects do not actually touch each other. In the same way, an object which carries an electromagnetic charge can induce electricity in another object situated some distance away.

In every form or manifestation of energy, including thoughts and emotions, we can see the principle of induction operating. It is commonly held that no individual is able to influence another person through induction unless the individual being influenced already possesses within him or herself a similar thought or emotion.

A sorcerer will use four stages of induction to lead an individual into trance, Eliciting a Response, Leading, Suggesting, and Trance. Each of these four stages are described as follows (Figure 1.42):

- **Eliciting a Response:** In magic, this refers to finding an energetic connection to the individual that emotionally links their mind and spirit with the sorcerer's will. This energetic connection can either be spoken (e.g., through Mantras, Spells, or Incantations) or written (e.g., through Talismans, Icons, Symbols, etc.).

  Through eliciting a response, the sorcerer draws out something hidden from within the individual's unconscious mind. The extraction of this information can be subtle, yet it contains an important subconscious key that can be used to unlock the individual's unconscious mind.
- **Leading:** After eliciting an energetic response, the sorcerer builds on the energetic connection by leading the individual into a deeper trance state. In order to help the individual disassociate from the "normal" world of superficial relationships, the sorcerer issues a series of predictable response patterns. These energetic patterns are used to build trust in the sorcerer, and to develop control over the individual's will. For example, if the individual is sitting, the sorcerer will respond, "Now that you are sitting, you can relax yourself, and if you want - begin to feel your tissues getting heavy."
- **Suggestion:** After successfully leading the individual's Shen (thoughts and emotions), the idea is to take the individual into deeper trance states. This is accomplished through insisting or indicating a suggestion. The suggestion is introduced to the individual as the undertone of something (i.e., a feeling or recollection) associated in the individual's mind with a particular person, place, or thing. For example, "Feel the outside world slowly begin to fade away as you continue to listen to my voice."
- **Trance:** Once the individual enters into a deep trance, the sorcerer is now able to create an energetic link directly to and within the individual's unconscious mind.

TRAINING THE BODY SECRET

Training the Body refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application of the Body Posture Training (i.e., Lying, Sitting, and Standing Postures), Magical Hand Seal Training (i.e., Single and Double Hand Seal applications), and Star Stepping Training (Walking Posture applications).

In traditional Daoist magic, all Hand Seals are activated through the act of speaking incantations while secretly drawing a magical talisman with the tongue on the roof of the sorcerer's upper palate, and then exhaling the breath to "activate."

THE THREE TYPES OF POSTURE

In ancient China, training the posture was divided into three stages, training the physical posture, training the energetic posture, and training the spiritual posture, described as follows (Figure 1.43):

- **Training the Physical Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the structural integrity and alignment of the body's physical tissues. Focus is placed on the proper placement of the Bones, muscles, tendons, nervous system, internal organs and energetic systems.
- **Training the Energetic Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the energetic matrix which supports and moves the physical tissues of the body. Focus is placed on strengthening the energetic fields, cavities and energetic casings (orbs) that create and support the body's physical structure.
- **Training the Spiritual Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the normally unconscious spiritual patterns that create the blueprint for the body's energetic matrix.

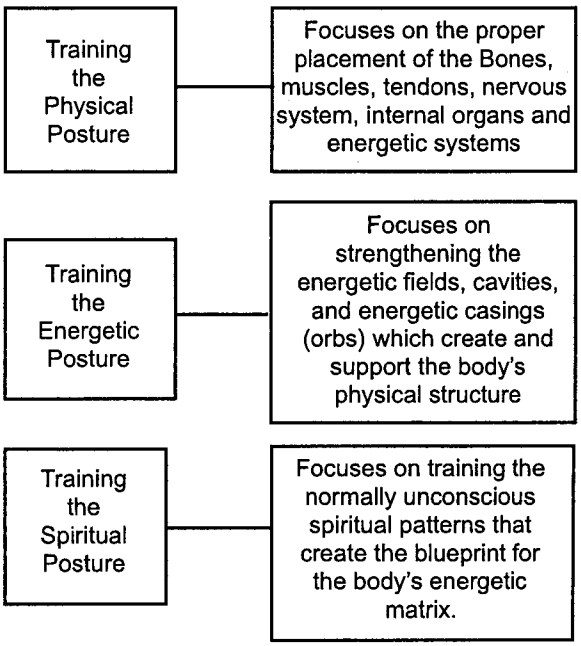


Figure 1.43. Training The Three Types of Posture

DAOIST MAGICAL HAND SEAL TRAINING

INTRODUCTION TO HAND SEALS

In Daoist magic, all Hand Seals are traditionally activated through the act of speaking incantations, while secretly drawing a magical talisman with the tongue on the roof of the sorcerer's upper palate. The Hand Seal represents the physical activation of "Earth" magic, energy internally moving from Essence (Jing) to Energy (Qi); the drawing of a magical talisman on the roof of the upper palate represents the spiritual activation of "Heaven" magic, energy moving from the Spirit (Shen) to the infinite space of the Dao (Wuji); and the exhaled Breath Incantation represents the energetic activation of "Man" magic, wherein the combined energies of Heaven and Earth move from internal thoughts, feelings, and intentions to external manifestation.

Because the Heart houses the Eternal Soul (located within the Taiji Pole), it contains the major energy field of the body. The secondary energy fields responsible for moving the body's energy are located within the hands and head. Therefore the heart (Man), hands (Earth) and head (Heaven) are all incorporated when constructing and implementing magical Hand Seals.

The energetic skill of the Hand Seal was one of the most secret of the Daoist esoteric practices of ancient China. They were respected as the key to the true magic which existed between the energetic and spiritual realms of Earth and Heaven. There are twelve types of alchemical transformations created from the proper magical application of Daoist Hand Seals:

1. **Purification:** These Hand Seals were used to remove toxic Qi and Shen
2. **Regulation:** These Hand Seals were used to balance and stabilize Yin and Yang
3. **Tonification:** These Hand Seals were used to Energize and strengthen Qi and Shen
4. **Rooting:** These Hand Seals were used to ground the body's Qi and Shen
5. **Meditation:** These Hand Seals were used to quiet the body's Qi and Shen, allowing the mystic to enter into the infinite space of the Wuji.
6. **Worship:** These Hand Seals were used to help the mystic energetically and spiritually connect with the Dao.
7. **Summon:** These Hand Seals were used to demanding or requesting the presence or service of a spirit entity
8. **Protection:** These Hand Seals were used to defend and ward-off harmful Qi and Shen, as well as evil spirits
9. **Binding:** These Hand Seals were used to stop, envelop, bind and restrain evil spirits
10. **Attacking:** These Hand Seals were used to striking, defeating and destroying evil spirits
11. **Imprisoning:** These Hand Seals were used to detain and confine evil spirits
12. **Sealing:** These Hand Seals were used to initiate energetic "closure" to a magical ritual

When applying any form of magical Hand Seal, in order for the energetic application to become effective, the Hand Seal must be activated through Breath Incantation. The magical incantation (directed by the Three Minds) must be applied with the proper Hand Seal (activated through the Three Bodies), and both powers of Mind and Body must fuse with the Ling Shen (Magical Spirit) of the Three Breaths in order to work (refer back to Figure 1.4).

TYPES OF HAND SEALS

Ancient Chinese sorcerers often used the finger gestures of specific Hand Seals in order to represent the energetic and spiritual functions of the universe, the mysteries of nature, the positions of space and the changes of time. According to the ancient *Book of Secret Correspondence*, "while making the various finger gestures of esoteric Hand Seals, the Daoist disciple feels the energetic form of the universe and knows that the transformations of all things are under his control. The contracted scene of the universe is visible on his hand."

The Daoist Hand Seals (called "Shou Jue") and Buddhist Mudras (called "Shou Yin") have been used in personal and communal rituals since the Southern Dynasty Period (420-588 A.D.) for the pur-

poses of exorcism, controlling spiritual entities, and healing diseases.

A Hand Seal or "Mudra" (Mudra is the Sanskrit word for "Seal" or "Gesture") is a specific hand posture used to form a specific symbol which serves to empower and enhance energetic and spiritual interactions and transformations. The primary meaning of a "Seal" implies stamping, marking, impressing or imprinting the engraving of a sign, image or text. Hand Seals were commonly used by both the ancient Daoist and Buddhist Qigong masters (Figure 1.44).

There are three types of magical hand seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist ceremonies: Fa Jue (Law Seals), Dou Jue (Star Seals), and Shen Jue (Spirit Seals). The skill of the Hand Seal also involves the use of both Single-Handed Finger Gestures (Dan Jue) and Double-Handed Finger Gestures (Shuang Jue).

The Zheng Yi Daoist systems have collected and used at least 70 different types of magical Hand Seals. Some of these magical seals include the famous Left and Right Thunder Block Hand Seal, the Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal, the Binding Collar Double Hand Seal, the Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal, etc.

Beginning students were generally taught simple Single and Double-Handed Seals first. This allowed the student to focus his or her mind's intention on manifesting and controlling specific forms of energetic and spiritual states.

Once the Daoist student had mastered gathering, embodying and projecting the elemental realms of the Bagua powers, he or she was then allowed to progress further into the more advanced Single and Double-Handed Hand Seals.

Specific Functions of the Hand Seals

The Single Hand Seal was commonly used in developing certain energetic powers, and for spiritual exorcisms. When performing spiritual exorcisms and other forms of Daoist rituals, the Single Hand Seals were generally created with the Daoist's left hand, while his or her right hand was used in order to conjure and control specific spirit deities (Figure 1.45).

The energetic finger formations of specific Hand Seals were used in combination with fo-

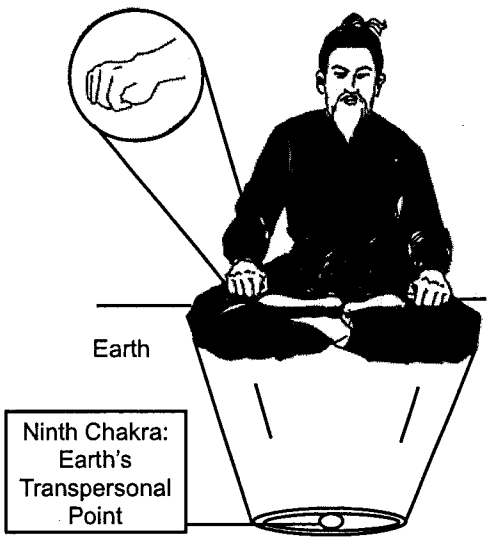


Figure 1.44. Ancient Daoist Single Hand Seal (One Handed Earth Mudras) used for Rooting the body's energetic field into the Ninth Chakra: the Earth's Transpersonal Point located under the ground.

As the left hand forms the magical Hand Seal, the energetic movement and action of the right sleeve "fan" creates the Auspicious Qi.

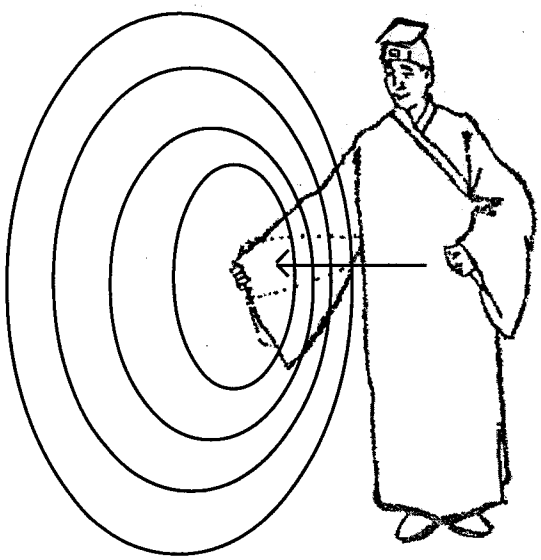


Figure 1.45. In the "Three Fans Technique," the "Second Fan" moves towards the right in order to create the "Auspicious Qi."

cused intention and were sometimes combined with incantations in order to receive and transmit ancient shamanistic energetic skills.

Hand Seals were also associated with protection from disasters. The Daoist classic *Tianhuang Zhidao Taiqing Yuce* (the Jade Volume of Great Clarity on the Utmost Way of the Heavenly Sovereign), compiled in the early Ming Dynasty (in 1444 A.D.) with a preface by the royal Ming prince Zhu Quan, states, "Hand Seals (Twist Signs) are used to communicate with the perfected Dao; summon protective celestial generals; control, exorcise, or destroy demons and malicious spirits; and affect the healing of disease."

The use of pseudo-Sanskrit seed words or phrases, and the complicated two-handed Hand Seals became very popular among the Daoists during the Tang (618-907 A.D.) and early Song Dynasties (960-1279 A.D.). Many of the energetic practices of Tantric Buddhism were integrated in the rapidly developing "Thunder Magic" techniques popularized by the Mao Shan Daoists during the mid-Song period in China.

The skill needed for the "divination of thunder" was already well established in ancient China by the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). During this time period, the ancient Daoist magicians were famous for their ability to summon thunder, rain and lightning. It is believed that the "Thunder Magic" techniques were developed by the ancient Mao Shan Daoists in order to harness both the benevolent and destructive power of thunder, thereby acquiring the ability to access and utilize the power of Heavenly Fire (lightning) needed to counter the effects of black magic, expel demons and destroy demons; the power of Heavenly Water (rain) was used to bring relief in times of drought.

When performing the various Single and Double Hand Seals, it is important for the Daoist disciple to pay strict attention to the flexibility of his or her wrist and fingers. All of the joints of the bones of the wrists and fingers should rotate smoothly, and the finger transitional movements of the various Hand Seals should be evenly connected. The mind should be focused on imagining and feeling the body's internal Qi creating or embodying the specific power and force of the energetic form that the Hand Seal represents. It is also important that, within this divine state of mind, the disciple take advantage of the infinite power placed at his or her disposal and therefore use the various Hand Seals with complete confidence and belief in the outcome.

Traditionally, a Daoists priest will make the appropriate finger gestures of specific Hand Seals, when he or she is performing the following rituals:

- Reading Daoist scriptures
- Reciting Incantations
- Pacing the Big Dipper
- Setting up the Altars
- Invoking the Celestial Martial Generals
- Practicing Vital Breath Incantations
- Arresting evil spirits
- Curing Illnesses
- Praying for Happiness
- Offering Sacrifices to Avoid Disasters
- Offering Sacrifices to Dispel Evil Spirits

The ancient Daoist text, *The Supreme Essential Secret of General Perfection to Help the Empire and Save the People* says that the disciples must make the finger gestures of specific Hand Seals when they "walk, inquire about illnesses, harness devils, enter temples, cross rivers, go into mountains and write talismans."

Since ancient times, the secret finger gestures used in making esoteric Daoist Hand Seals has been passed down together with the art of Breath Incantations. In the course of development and refinement, the ancient Daoists often changed and corrected the original finger gestures of certain Hand Seals, so that the finger gestures expanded into a comprehensive magical system.

Combining Hand Seals and Incantations

From a Daoist perspective, the ancient Chinese skill of spell-recitation is complex and multidimensional. However, when treating disease, there is nothing better than using an "Energetic Seal." Energetic Seals were used in ancient China to imprint the specific energy of a deity's spiritual power onto the Breath Incantation.

The main focus on utilizing the energetic power of a seal lies is in combining visualizations with breath incantations, spirit projection and proper timing. The ancient Daoist ritual of exorcistic Energetic Seal imprinting was generally practiced as an oral tradition, passed from master to disciple. It is said that the ancient Daoist master Fan Li practised this method "causing mountains to crumble, rivers and seas to flow backwards, Spirit-demons to tremble with fear and thunderclaps to resound."

Both Quiescent and Dynamic Postural training utilizes various hand postures designed to stimulate and increase the body's physical, energetic and spiritual potential. In ancient times, both Daoist and Buddhist mystics would sometimes combine the various Hand Seals with incantations (Mantras) in order to empower their intention, focus, and direction of Qi. Every specific Hand Seal had its own sound formula that required the master to combine physical practices relating to posture, breath and mind (i.e., pulling up on the anal sphincter while inhaling, clapping the teeth, swallowing saliva, spitting, etc.) with the energetic and spiritual practices of prayer and incantation (i.e., chanting a specific tone, reciting a prayer, using a specific incantation while exhaling, inhaling specific types of Heavenly and Earthly Qi powers, etc.).

Daoist Hand Seals are based on a theoretical construction of Yin and Yang, wherein the left hand is considered Yang and pure, and dominates the hand postures. Buddhist Mudras, however, originate from the Indian culture, which is predominantly right handed, therefore in the Buddhist system the right hand is seen as pure and dominates the hand Mudra postures.

Esoteric Study and Training

If the Hand Seals or incantations are not performed correctly, then the disciple will not receive the response that he or she is seeking (e.g., the ability to command the Thunder Martial Generals and their officers to apprehend demons or evil spirits). Therefore, when a disciple performs the Fa Jue Hand Seals (the Hand Seals that invoke the power of the Law), he or she should understand all of the symbolic meanings that each seal represents in the spiritual realm as well as within the Celestial Immortal World. If the disciple does not understand the secret meanings of each Fa Jue Hand Seal, he or she will not be able to access the hidden power that lays concealed within the body's own energetic and spiritual realms, and will also be unable to summon the Thunder Martial Generals to defeat, capture, control or destroy demons and evil spirits.

When starting to perform the various Hand Seals, the disciple must take advantage of his or her cultivated Jing, Qi and Shen, and fuse both the internal and external energetic fields in order to access the spirit realm of the Immortal World and make it respond to his or her own personal will (internal thoughts and desires). All of the "disciples of immortality" in the Zheng Yi Heavenly Masters Mansion are taught to pay strict attention to this advice and to not take the study of the three various schools of Hand Seals for granted. Traditionally, each disciple is not allowed to perform any of the Hand Seals and incantations without first completely understanding and mastering the external and internal influences of each Hand Seal and its particular energetic and spiritual potential.

The combination of Hand Seals and Breath Incantations is the key to connecting the mind and spirit with the movements of the hands; this allows the Shen (mind and heart) to converge with the movements of the human form in order to gather the ancestral spirits (Prenatal Wujingshen) into the body.

According to ancient Daoist records, the magical power of certain hand seal incantations was maximized during the time when the Pole Star (located in the center of the Heavens) was directly aligned with the Moon when it was positioned in the West. However, some of these most powerful secret Hand Seals used to create miraculous acts of transformation were not passed along from master to disciple, and therefore certain esoteric "secrets of Heavens" were lost.

Double Handed Seals

The purpose for using Double-Handed Hand Seals is to allow the Daoist mystic's body (Jing), energy (Qi), and mind (Shen) to combine and be directed towards one purposeful goal. In ancient China, Daoist mystics would commonly use the Double-Handed Bagua (Eight Trigram) Hand Seals in order to summon the powers of specific elements.

Forming the Ba Gua Hand Seals

The ancient Daoists understood that from the Wuji, the Dao creates Yin and Yang, which in turn give birth to four phases of universal energy (Greater Yang, Lesser Yang, Greater Yin and Lesser Yin). The four phases of universal energy give birth to the eight natural forces of the Bagua (Heaven, Thunder, Water, Mountain, Earth, Wind, Fire and Lake). These four phases also form the energetic basis of the prenatal and postnatal transformations, manifested in the form of eight energetic actions (known as the Bagua Trigrams). These eight energetic patterns are therefore symbolized by combinations of Yin and Yang lines (Yao). Traditionally, a Yin line is represented as a broken line (- -), and a Yang line is represented as a solid line (---). A Yao Trigram is composed of three lines, constructed with either Yin Yaos, Yang Yaos, or a combination of both Yin and Yang Yaos (Figure 1.46). These eight prenatal and postnatal energetic actions act as a template for all creation and can be further combined in order to form the ever-changing energetic patterns of the 64 Hexagrams of the Yi-Jing (Figure 1.47).

In ancient China, Daoist Mystics would summon the powers of specific Elements through connecting their fingers in various patterns in order to form Hand Seals in accordance with the energetic principles of the Eight Trigrams. Accessing the Eight Trigram power was initiated through connecting the fingers of both hands in various patterns in order to form Hand Seals in accordance with the energetic principles of the Bagua. The Double-Handed Bagua (Eight Trigram) Hand Seals are formed through the corresponding Yin and Yang configurations of the fingers.

The ancient Daoists believed that each energetic pattern would "open a gateway" to the

Figure 1.46. Yin and Yang Yao Trigram

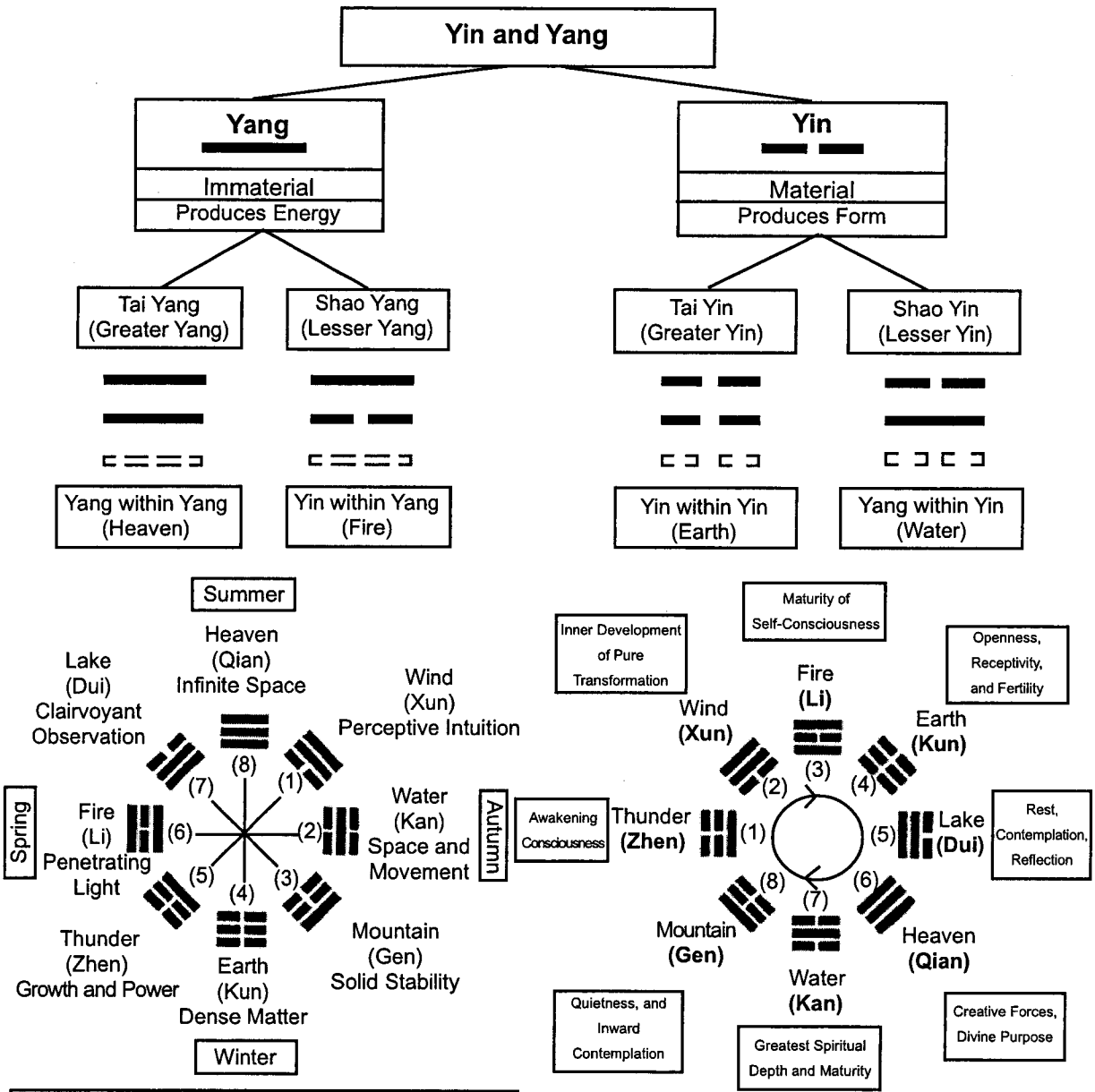
Trigram Element's energetic nature and allow an individual to absorb, manipulate, or control the Element's energetic and spiritual nature. The Bagua Trigrams can be organized and arranged according to either the Prenatal System of Fu Xi or the Postnatal System of King Wen Wang.

The Ancient Daoist Hand Seals used to access and control the energetic natures of the Ancient Five Elements is an extremely well guarded secret. The purpose for secrecy is due to the ability of controlling both the creative and destructive forces of these Elements. When combined with the colorful images and vibrational resonances of ancient Daoist Invocations (Mantras), these ancient Daoist Hand Seals can be used to initiate a powerful influence on the environmental energetic fields.

Eight Trigram Double-Hand Seals used for Yi-Jing Divination

The ancient Daoist Mystics also used the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams for Yi-Jing divination. This skill required the Daoist Mystic to dissolve his or her energetic and spiritual matrix into the infinite space of the Wuji while deep in a meditative state. Specific Hand Seals were used for assisting the Daoist Mystic in entering into the state of "No-Mind." This state of being an impartial, passive observer (non-judgemental) was needed for the divination to be effective.

1. To begin, start from a sitting posture, with both hands resting on the lap directly in front of your Lower Dantian. After performing the "One Through Ten" meditation and "Three Invocations" (in order to create a sacred training space), the divination practice begins. First relax, then concentrate and imagine dissolving into the infinite space of the Wuji, established within the "center of space" and "center of time."



The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams
Eight Dimensions or Phases of Energy
Polar Opposites: Yin (1-4) across from Yang (5-8).
This Cycle of Harmony Relates to the World of Thoughts and Ideas. The Opposite Energetic Forces are Responsible for the Creation of All Phenomena.

The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams
The Energetic Cycles of Forces are the External Manifestations of Divine Thought Starting with Zhen (1) - The Spark of Life (The World of Phenomena or Senses)

Figure 1.47. The Ancient Daoist Concept of Yin and Yang Expressing the Four Phases of Universal Energy and Manifesting Through the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams (Pre-Five Element Theory).

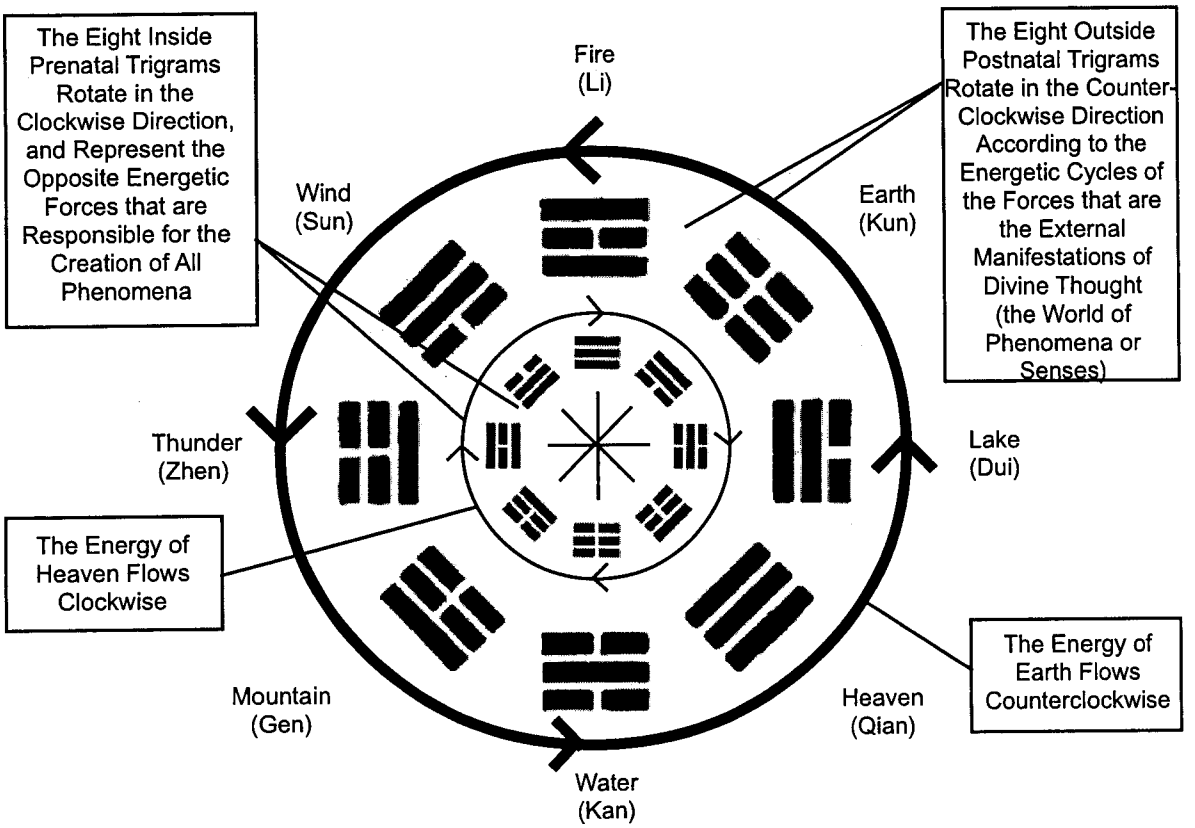


Figure 1.48. The Ancient Chinese Yi-Jing Hologram Structure of the Eight Trigrams in relationship to the Sixty-Four Hexagrams

While experiencing the energetic field and infinite space of the Wuji, completely surround your physical, energetic and spiritual body with the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigram formations (which will eventually combine to form the sixty-four hexagrams of the Yi-Jing). First surrounds your body with the energetic fields of the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams. Once the power of this energetic field is acknowledged, honored, and experienced, then surround the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams with an outside energetic field of the Postnatal Bagua Trigrams. (Figure 1.48).

2. Then begin to spin both Bagua Trigrams according to the following patterns:
   - The Prenatal Trigrams, located in the inside of the circle, spin in a clockwise direction. This represents the Prenatal creative cycle of Heaven's Yang energetic field.
   - The Postnatal Trigrams, located on the outside of the circle, spin in a counterclockwise direction. This represents the Postnatal cycle of Earth's Yin energetic field (Figure 1.49).
3. As both circles continue to spin, join only the tips of the thumbs and the tips of the little fingers (the middle six fingers are not allowed to touch, but simply face each other) and imagine forming a bright energetic circle. This energetic circle represents the infinite space of the Wuji. Once an "Energy Ball" has formed between the palms, then allow the energy to build, creating a brilliant white light orb. The connected thumbs on top of the circle represent the Qi of Heaven, the connected little fingers on the bottom of the circle represent the Qi of Earth (Figure 1.50).
4. Next begin to focus and concentrate on the specific question or purpose for the divina-

tion. While spinning, the outside and inside circles of the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams will slowly begin to stop their movements and begin to form a Hexagram (containing six Yaos). The Hexagram is constructed of three Yaos from the inner Prenatal Bagua Trigram circle combined with three Yaos from the outer Postnatal Bagua Trigram circle.

5. After observing the Hexagram, end the meditation and consult the Yi-Jing's book of commentaries for the proper interpretation of his or her reading.

EIGHT TRIGRAM DOUBLE-HAND SEALS FOR GATHERING POWER

To control the powers of the Eight Elements, the ancient Daoist Mystics used the Eight Trigram Hand Seals in order to create energetic portals or spiritual doorways into the infinite void of the Wuji. Before using the Double-Hand Seals to gather and control these specific powers, the Daoist Mystic must first change his or her relationship to each Element's fundamental characteristic. This understanding must be experienced on all three levels (physical, energetic and spiritual). Then, when practicing the exact meditation used for entering into the energetic and spiritual fields of each Element, the Daoist Mystic uses the proper Hand Seal for creating and controlling the Element's specific nature.

The following ancient Daoist Hand Seals are used to effectively conjure and control the ancient elements active within the Eight Trigrams. However, due to the innate dangers involved, the specific Incantations that are used to accompany the Hand Seals in conjuring and controlling the ancient elements must only be obtained through the careful guidance of a qualified master.

1. To begin the meditation used for summoning and controlling the power of the ancient Daoist Bagua Trigrams, start from a sitting posture, with both hands resting on the lap directly in front of your Lower Dantian. Then perform the "One Through Ten" meditation and "Three Invocations" in order to create a sacred training space in which to practice.

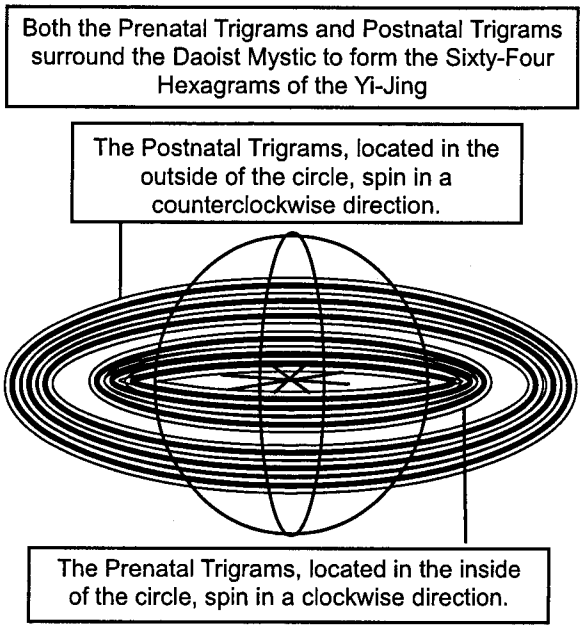


Figure 1.49. The Cycles of Heavenly and Earthly Energetic Forces Expressed Through the Bagua Trigrams Represent the External Energetic Manifestations of Divine Thought

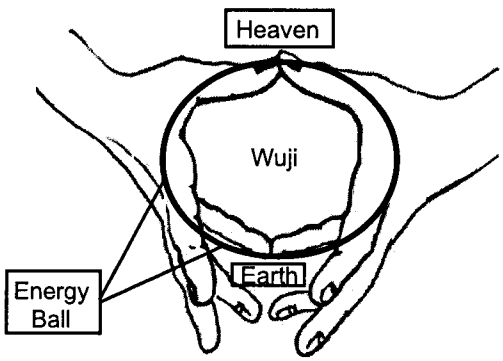


Figure 1.50. Bagua "Energy Ball" Hand Position

Relax, concentrate and imagine existing within the "center of space" and the "center of time."

While experiencing the energetic field and infinite space of the Wuji, completely surround your physical, energetic and spiritual body with an energetic field of divine light.

2. Next, join the tips of the thumbs and the tips of the little fingers and imagine forming an energetic circle. The middle six fingers are not

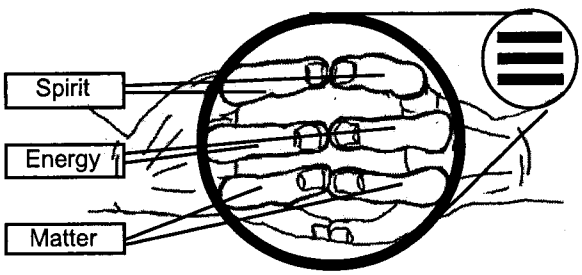


Figure 151. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Qian (Complete Yang, Heaven, Sky, Creativity, Strength and Power, Activity, Immaterial, Universal, Formless, Energy, Infinite Space). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to increase personal power by fusing energetic powers of all three Treasures (Heaven, Earth and Man) into his or her body. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the Sun, Moon and Star constellations

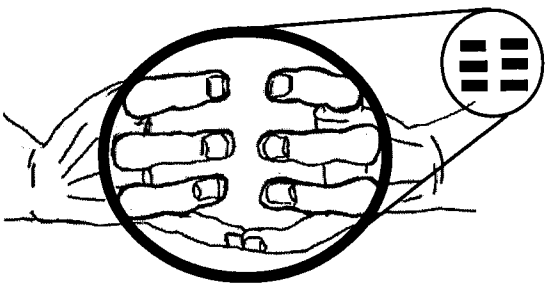


Figure 1.52. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kun (Complete Yin, Earth, Yielding, Receptive, Passivity, Material, Universal, Form, Dense Matter). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create density and solid mass. Because it is constructed with three Yin Yaos, this Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining a deeper state of receptivity. The Kun Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Earth Element

allowed to touch, but simply face each other. Once an "Energy Ball" has formed between the palms, allow energy to build, creating a brilliant white light orb. The connected thumbs on top of the circle represent the Qi of Heaven, the connected little fingers on the bottom of the circle represent the Qi of Earth (refer back to Figure 1.50).

3. Each of the eight configurations can be developed and formed through the combined effort of the middle six fingers, depending on the specific needs of the individual. After a significant amount of energy has accumulated between the palms, then arrange the middle six fingers to form the intended Bagua Trigram. By touching and connecting the middle six fingers, it is possible to create any of the various Bagua Trigram formations and initiate the energetic fields of these various powers. Each specific configuration acts as a template for conjuring, creating, absorbing or generating energy, described as follows:

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Qian (Heaven, Sky, Creativity, Strength and Power):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to increase personal power by fusing energetic powers of all three Treasures (Heaven, Earth and Man) into his or her body. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the Sun, Moon and Star constellations (Figure 1.51).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kun (Earth, Yielding, Receptive and Dense):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create density and solid mass. Because it is constructed with three Yin Yaos, this Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining a deeper state of receptivity. The Kun Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Earth Element (Figure 1.52).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Zhen (Thunder, Movement and Growth):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather and control thunder and lightning, as well as to create earthquakes. This Trigram is also used to facilitate spiritual growth (Figure 1.53).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Sun (Wind and Air, Penetrating and Sensitivity):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather or create Wind in order to bring or remove clouds, rain, snow, hail and tornados. The Sun

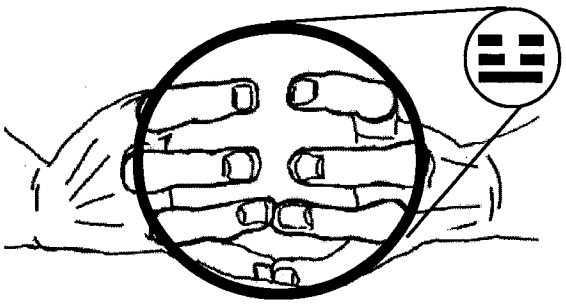


Figure 1.53. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Zhen (Strong Yang, Thunder, Exciting, Impetus, Vitality, Organic, Movement, Fertilization, Growth and Power). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather and control thunder and lightning, as well as to create earthquakes. This Trigram is also used to facilitate spiritual growth

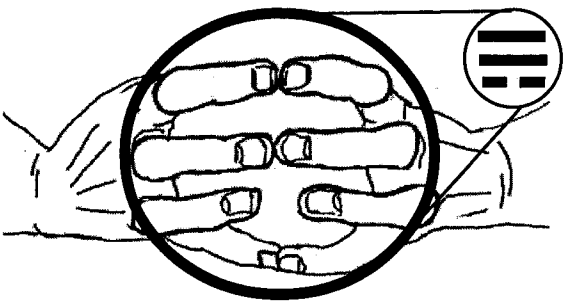


Figure 1.54. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Sun (Strong Yin, Wind and Air, Penetrating, Sensitivity, Assimilation, Pervasiveness, Organic, Gaseous, Perceptive Intuition). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather or create Wind in order to bring or remove clouds, rain, snow, hail and tornados. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Wind/Air Element

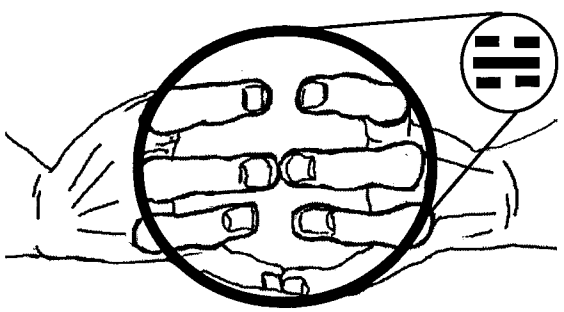


Figure 1.55. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kan (Middle Yang, Water, Dark, Formless, Lunar Forces, Elementary, Cold, Fluid, Space and Movement). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create coldness and darkness (in order to enter into the "shadow world"). This Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining an evasive state of formlessness. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Water Element

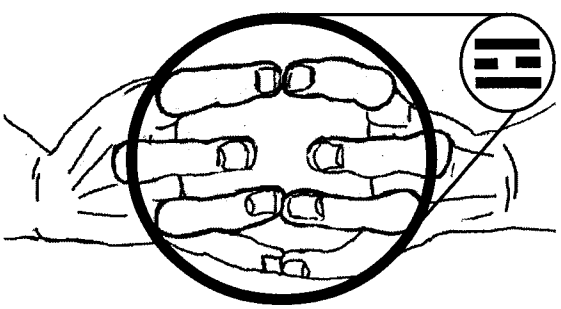


Figure 1.56. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Li (Middle Yin, Fire, Bright, Formed, Solar Forces, Elementary, Heat, Incandescence, Penetrating Light). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create fire, heat and light. The Li Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Fire Element

Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Wind/Air Element (Figure 1.54).

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kan (Water, Formless Fluid and Coldness):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create coldness and darkness (in order to enter into the "shadow world"). This Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining an evasive state of formlessness. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Water Element (Figure 1.55).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Li (Fire, Heat and Light):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create fire, heat and light. The Li Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Fire Element (Figure 1.56).

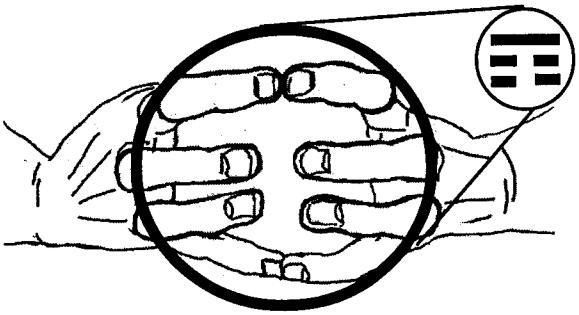


Figure 1.57. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Gen (Lesser Yang, Mountain, Tranquil and Quiescent, Steady, Heaviness, Inertia, Inorganic, Resistance, Solid Stability). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create stillness and peace of mind. This Trigram is also used to facilitate deeper states of spiritual quiescence

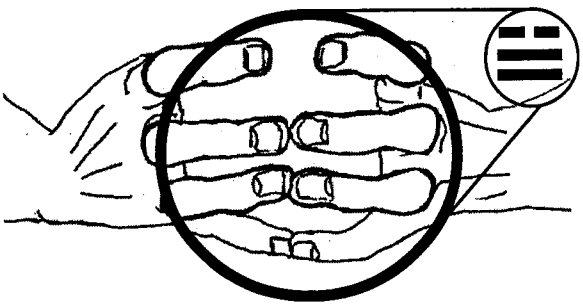


Figure 1.58. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Dui (Lesser Yin, Lake, Mist, or Rain, Reflective, Weightless, Evaporation, Inorganic, Changeability, Clairvoyant Observation). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create or gather mist, fog or rain. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the mist or fog in order to observe people and places

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Gen (Mountain, Solid, Tranquil and Quiescent):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create stillness and peace of mind. This Trigram is also used to facilitate deeper states of spiritual quiescence (Figure 1.57).

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Dui (Mist or Rain, Reflection and Observation):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create or gather mist, fog or rain. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the mist or fog in order to observe people and places (Figure 1.58).

THREE DANTIAN DOUBLE HAND SEALS

These Double Hand Seals require the Daoist sorcerer to use the energetic finger combinations of both hands in order to stimulate the Three Dantians. In these particular Mudras, both hands are united to form a powerful energetically focused union, similar to two streams combining to form a mighty river. The following are examples of popular Double-Handed Mudras used to energize, stimulate and focus energy into each of the Three Dantians.

STIMULATING THE LOWER DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Lower Dantian and is normally practiced for the transformational stage of changing the Kidney Jing into Kidney Qi, and filling the Sea of Marrow. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also known to increase the individual's intellect, willpower, bravery, determination and courage (Figure 1.59).

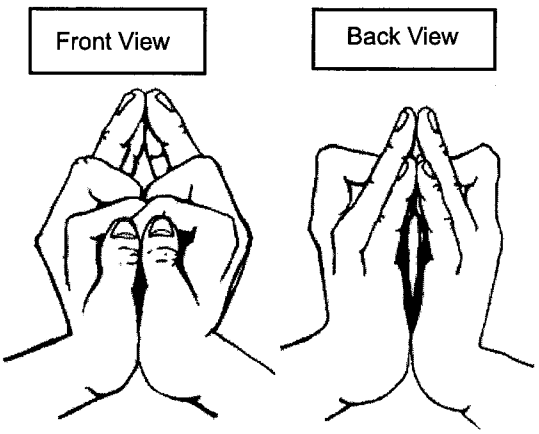


Figure 1.59. Lower Dantian Hand Position

STIMULATING THE MIDDLE DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Middle Dantian, and is traditionally practiced in order to stimulate the transformation of Qi to Shen occurring within the inner chambers of the Yellow Court and Middle Dantian. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also known to increase the energy to the individual's Lungs, Heart and thymus gland, and is sometimes known as the "Lotus Flower" Hand Seal (Figure 1.60).

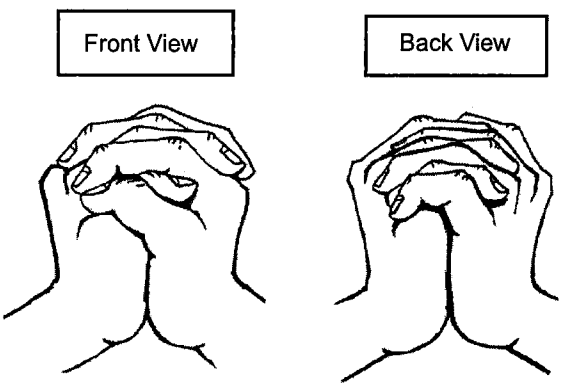


Figure 1.60. Middle Dantian Hand Position

STIMULATING THE UPPER DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Upper Dantian, and is traditionally practiced in order to stimulate the transformation of Shen to Wuji. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also used to develop the student's Yintang (Third Eye), and to increase his or her psychic abilities (Figure 1.61).

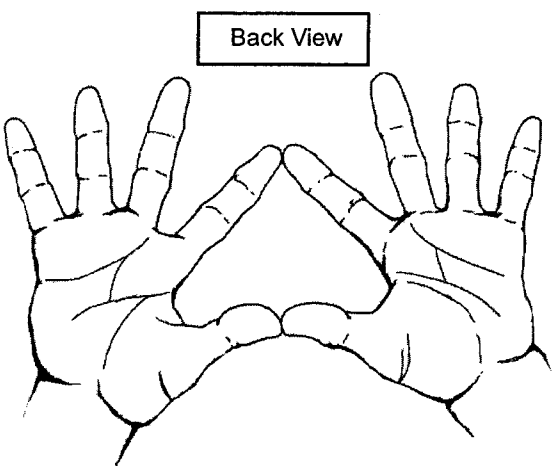
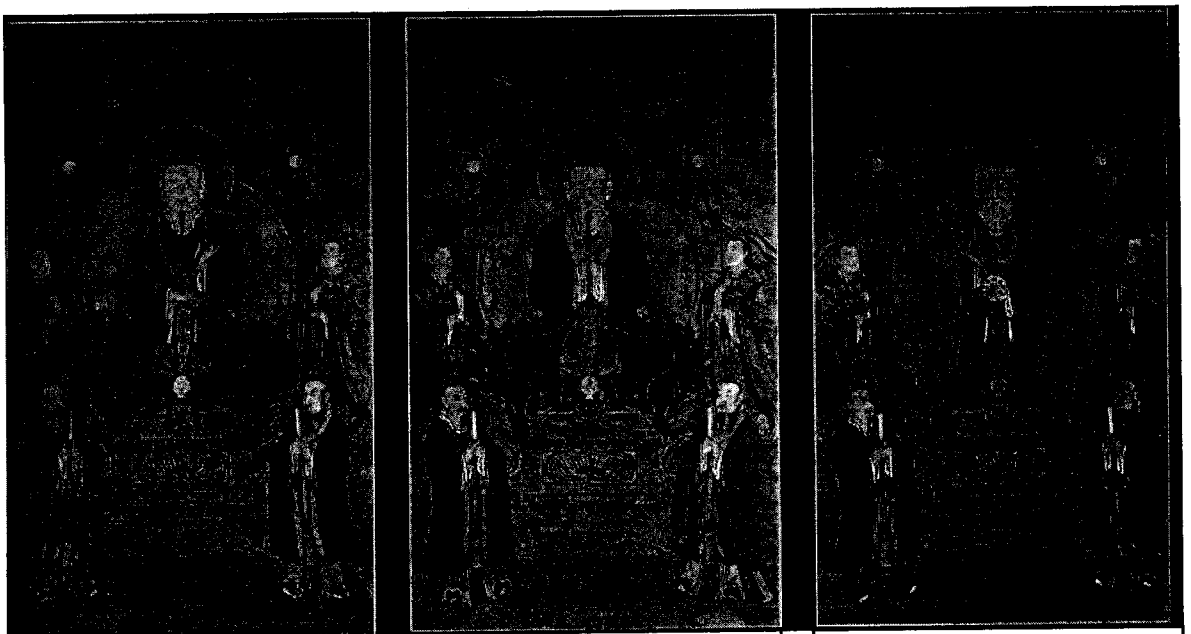


Figure 1.61. Upper Dantian Hand Position



Highest Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
Numinous Treasure Dominates)
the second phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to be the
Guardian of Magical Writings

Jade Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
Primordial Begining)
Dominates the first phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to be the
Ruler of Heaven and Earth

Supreme Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
the Dao and Its Virtue)
Dominates the third phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to
Reveal Secret Daoist Teaching

Figure 1.62. "Three Pure Ones"

Hand Seals and Rituals

There are certain Hand Seals that are used in the Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for communing with the three major types of Celestial Immortals: The Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven, The Patriarchs (sometimes called Missionaries) and The Celestial Generals. There are also specific Animal Hand Seals and Magical Instrument Hand Seals that are used for invocation of the various Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven.

Hand Seals related to the Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven

The finger gestures used in these Hand Seals are sometimes related to the worship of or communion with the three Daoist immortal gods, known as the "Three Pure Ones" (Figure 1.62). According to ancient Daoism, the Three Pure Ones (Highest Purity, also known as the Highest Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure; Jade Purity, also known as the Jade Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning; and Supreme Purity, also known as the Supreme Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue) are emanations of the Dao, and they rule over the highest three celestial realms. Connection to these upper celestial realms is initiated via the utilization of either the Jade Emperor Hand Seal, Highest Emperor Hand Seal, or Supreme Emperor Hand Seals. These magical Hand Seals are formed when the Daoist priest offers ritual "Report" petitions, commands the Celestial Martial Generals and their horses, and when commanding the "God of Plague" (the Emperor of the North). These Three Immortal Gods also represent the three different Zheng Yi Daoist branches and their powers. The corresponding Hand Seals are described as follows (Figure 1.63):

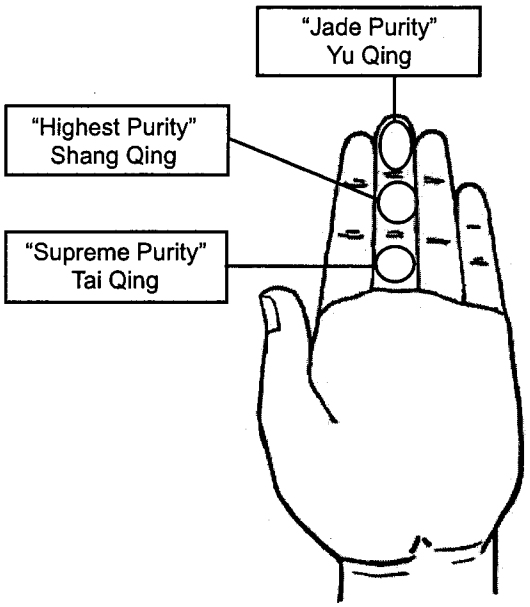


Figure 1.63. The "Three Pure Ones" Hand Seals.

Figure 1.64. The Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper

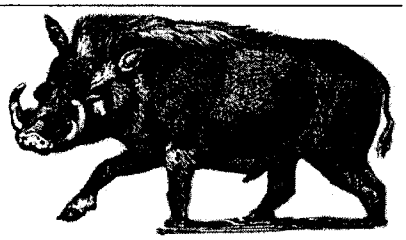


Figure 1.65. The divine animal that draws the carriage of the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper is named the "Horned Pig"

- **Yu Qing (Jade Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is applied at the last (third) joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Jade Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses. The pinching of the nail on the middle finger is also used when inquiring of illnesses.
- **Shang Qing (Highest Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is generally applied at the second joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Highest Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses.
- **Tai Qing (Supreme Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is applied at the first joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Supreme Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses.

ANIMAL HAND SEALS

Sometimes the Hand Seals related to the Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven are not directly called by the celestial names of the deities, but are instead represented by the images of their celestial animals (e.g., horses, cranes, tigers, dragons, lions, pigs, frogs, etc.) or magical instruments (e.g., immortal swords, golden bridges, golden lights, jade rings, etc.). For example, during the "Refinement and Salvation" ritual, when the Supreme Oneness Lord of Heaven is invited to descend to the altar, the ritual master forms the finger gestures of the Lion Double Hand Seal. As the two palms are crossed, the thumb of the left hand folds while the other nine fingers remain straight. These extended fingers represent nine horses for the Supreme Oneness Lord of Heaven to ride to the altar.

There are also various finger gestures used for symbolizing the spiritual power of the Big Dipper descending to the Earth and energetically covering (or filling) the body of the disciple. For example, the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper often sits on a lotus (Figure 1.64), and the divine animal that draws her carriage is named the "Horned Pig" (Figure 1.65). Therefore, Hand Seals

that form the images of either a lotus or of a pig are used to welcome the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper and invite her to descend to the altar (Figure 1.66). These specific Hand Seals can be used in rituals of worship, protection or healing by forming the Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal, the Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal, or the Big Pigs Head Double Hand Seal.

Magical Instrument Hand Seals

Sometimes the Hand Seals relate to magical instruments (e.g., immortal swords, golden bridges, golden lights, jade rings, etc.). For example, certain finger gestures, such as the Tiger Hand Seal and the Ghost Hand Seal are both named after evil spirits. Other types of finger gestures such as the Hand Seals used for Dispelling Ghosts, Controlling Ghosts, and for Controlling Thunder are named after their specific function and the purpose of the ritual. And the finger gesture of the Fork (Trident) Hand Seal, the Immortal Sword Hand Seal, and the Golden Bridge Hand Seal, are named after the divine instruments that are held by the ritual master or the specific energetic methods that he uses when conducting the rituals.

There are also other finger gestures which symbolize the various Hand Seals of the Sun Sovereign, the Moon Sovereign and the Dippers of the Five Directions. The number of Hand Seals used for controlling various objects and summoning immortals is difficult to calculate, as there are so many types of magical skills used in Daoist mysticism for refinement, cultivation, salvation, spreading the divine Vital Breath, curing illness, dispelling evil, inviting or invoking spirits, controlling ghosts, and praying to avoid disasters.

Hand Seals and the Martial Generals

There are so many Celestial Generals in Daoism that the Hand Seals representing the Martial Generals are the most numerous of all the various types of finger gestures. Also complicating things, is the fact that different Daoist sects prefer to use different Celestial Generals when practicing their magical skills.

The most important of the Patriarch finger gestures are the Celestial Master Hand Seals, which represent the descending of the Celestial

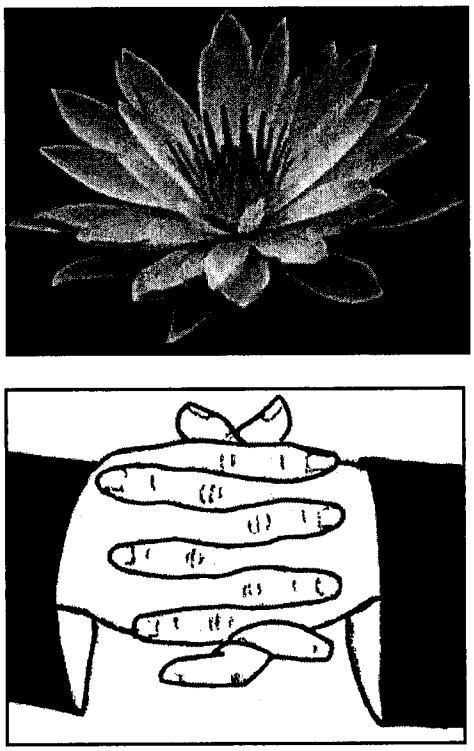


Figure 1.66. The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal

Master or the founder of a specific sect. When using these Hand Seals, the ritual master visualizes himself as the Celestial Master commanding the Celestial Soldiers to dispel the evil spirits.

The most important Hand Seals used to summon the Celestial Martial Generals are as follows:

- **The Supreme Commander Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the Commanders of the Thunder Agency.
- **The Heavenly Warrior Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the powerful Celestial Soldiers of Heaven.
- **The Inspector Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the Inspectors of the Warriors and their Horses, and is used in order to control the Celestial Soldiers.
- **The Celestial Officer Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the celestial officers who invoke the divine ones responsible for managing the files.

DAOIST ESOTERIC DOUBLE-HAND SEALS

The following is a description of the most common Double Hand Seals used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi sect) from Long Hu Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.
- Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing sect) from Mao Shan, located in the Jiangsu Province.
- Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo sect) from Ge Zao Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.

These particular Double Hand Seals can be divided into three main categories according to their magical uses: Hand Seals used for Worship, Hand Seals used for Summoning, and Hand Seals used for Attacking and Defending.

HAND SEALS USED FOR WORSHIP

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the alchemy of Worship. The primary goal is one of energetic and spiritual transformation brought about through prayer and meditation.

- **The Golden Dragon Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship (Figure 1.67). It energetically represents the fusion of the combined energies of Yin (the two fingers of the right hand) and Yang (the three fingers of the left hand).
- **The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents the shining golden light of the spirit body, and is used to connect the human body to the spirit (immortal) body in large ceremonies (Figure 1.68).
- **The Golden Bridge Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents two Yin and Yang Golden Hooks that are combined together in order to fuse the celestial energies of the Pre-

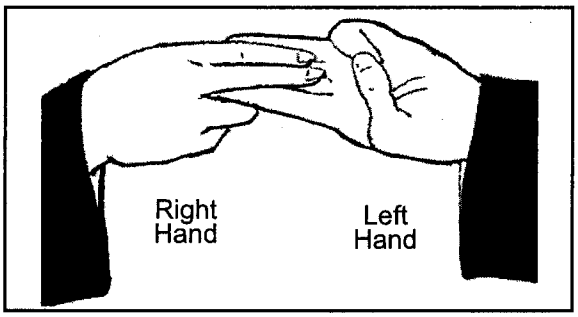


Figure 1.67. The Golden Dragon Double Hand Seal

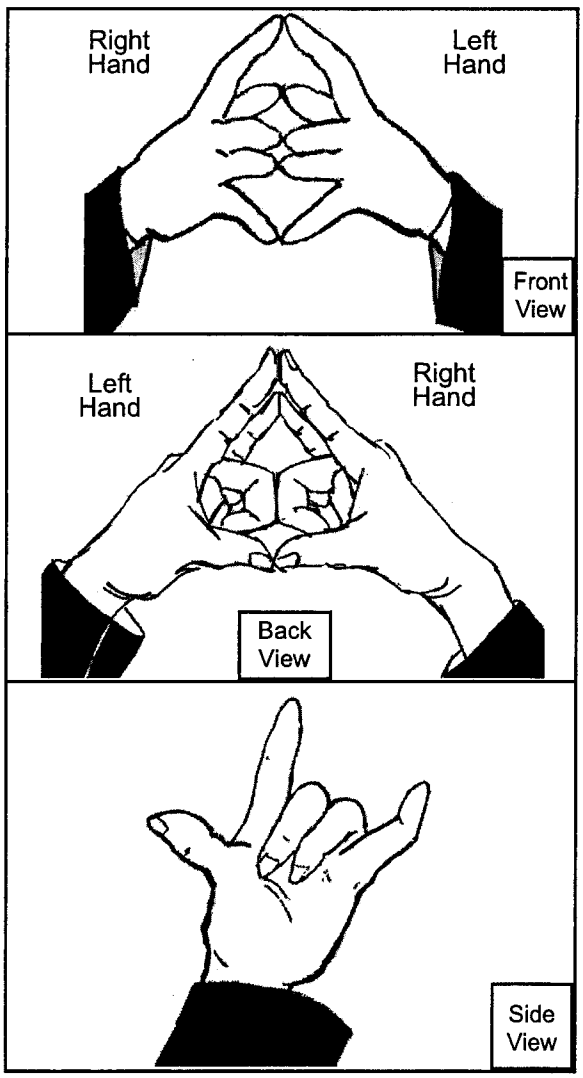


Figure 1.68. The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal

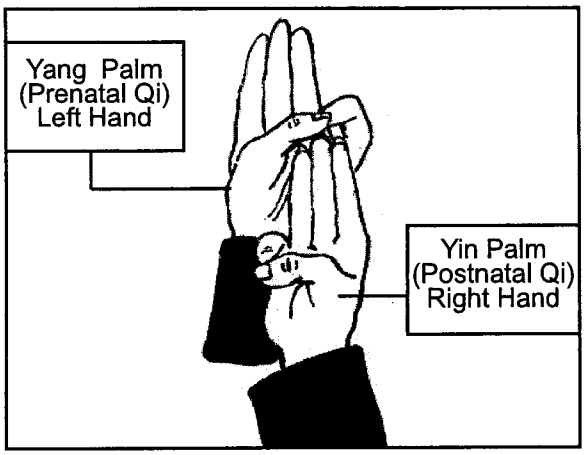


Figure 1.69. The Golden Bridge Double Hand Seal

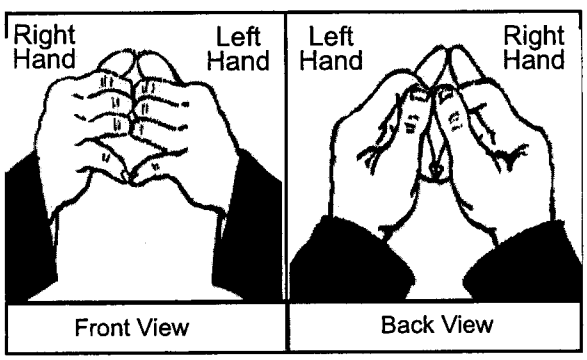


Figure 1.70. The Small Golden Light Double Hand Seal

natal Qi (represented by the left Yang palm) and Postnatal Qi (represented by the right Yin palm). This energetic fusion magically creates a Golden Bridge that the Daoist mystic uses to cross over from the material realm into the celestial realm (Figure 1.69).

- **The Small Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents the shining golden light of the spirit body, and is used in small ceremonies in order to connect the physical body to the spirit (immortal) body (Figure 1.70).
- **The Small Pig Pass Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes the pathway that the immortals use to travel to Heaven, and it is energetically used to open the esoteric spiritual pathway into the Wuji (Figure 1.71).

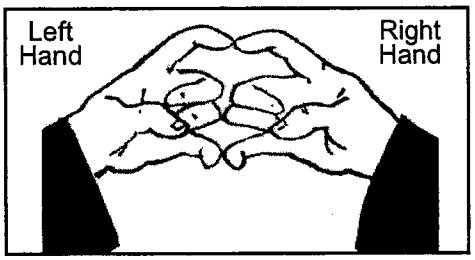


Figure 1.71. The Small Pig Pass Double Hand Seal

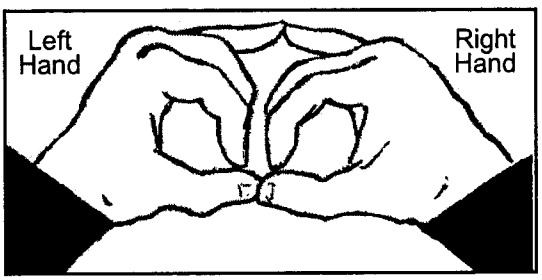


Figure 1.72. The Double Jade Ring Double Hand Seal

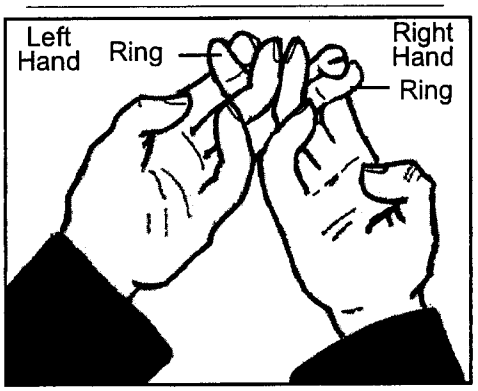


Figure 1.73. The White Crane Double Hand Seal

- **The Double Jade Ring Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the Qi of the Ancestral Master's Palace, and it is energetically used to change an individual's fate to become an immortal (Figure 1.72).
- **The White Crane Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the immortal crane and is energetically used to cross the spiritual waters of the afterlife. The Daoist sorcerer travels to the celestial realm while riding on the back of the crane (Figure 1.73).

HAND SEALS USED FOR SUMMONING

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Summoning. The primary goal of Summoning is that of demanding or requesting the presence or service of one of the five types of Immortals (Ghost Immortals, Human Immortals, Earth Immortals, Spiritual Immortals or Celestial Immortals).

- **The Double Star Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically represents the prebirth Palace of Dou Mu (Figure 1.74), and is used when human beings of the mundane world need the help from Mother Dou Mu. Dou Mu is the Mother of the seven stars of the Big Dipper (refer back to Figure 1.64). She is generally depicted with three eyes in each of her four faces (one in each major direction). She has four arms on each side of her body. Two of her hands are held together, palm to palm, while the other six hold a sun, moon, bell, golden seal, bow, and halberd. Dou Mu is regarded as holding a very senior position in the Daoist hierarchy, and she is credited with the ability to save people from many types of evil and trouble. Her birthday is celebrated on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month.
- **The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It represents the magical Lotus Flower, and is energetically used to send signals and contact Mother Dou Mu (Figure 1.75).
- **The Heavenly Mother's Palace Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the seal of Dou Mu Palace, and is energetically used for seeking approval of the Celestial Court (Figure 1.76).
- **The Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to invite Mother Dou Mu to sit on the throne of the altar (Figure 1.77).
- **The Big Pig's Head Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the immortal beast ("Horned Pig:" refer back to Figure 1.65) of Mother Dou Mu,

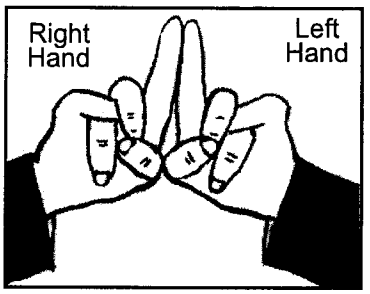


Figure 1.74. The Double Star Double Hand Seal

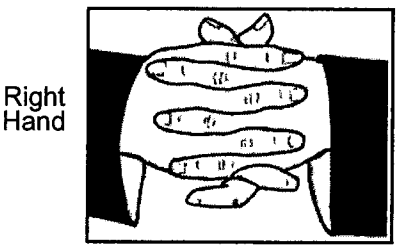


Figure 1.75. The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal

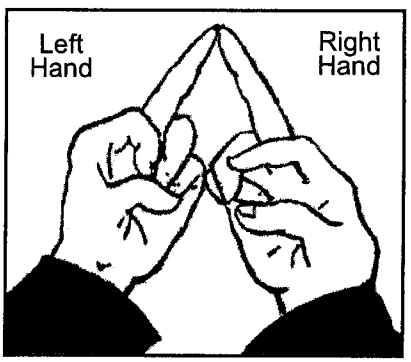


Figure 1.76. The Heavenly Mother's Palace Double Hand Seal

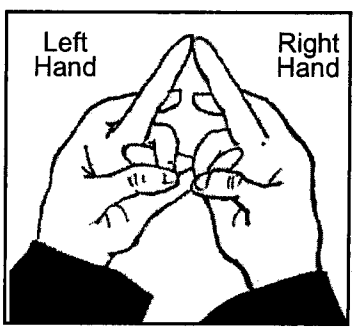


Figure 1.77. The Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal

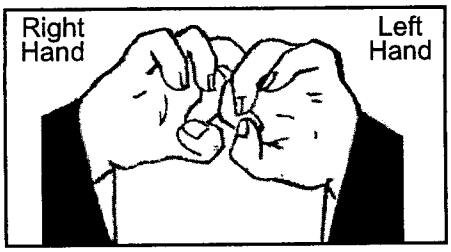


Figure 1.78. The Big Pigs Head Double Hand Seal

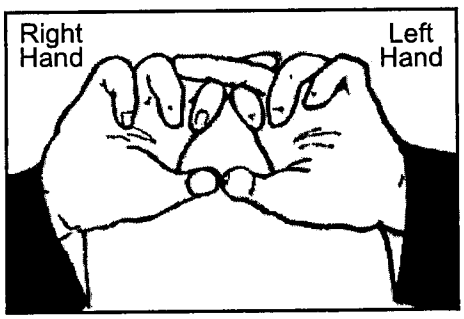


Figure 1.79. The Lions Incantation Double Hand Seal

and is energetically used to Summon the animal down into the human world (Figure 1.78).

- **The Lion's Incantation Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically symbolizes one of Mother Dou Mu's celestial animals (Figure 1.79).
- **The Elephant's Trunk Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically symbolizes the trunk of the elephant, and represents one of Mother Dou Mu's celestial animals (Figure 1.80).
- **The Welcoming The Immortals Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to welcome the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.81).
- **The Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the Treasury Seat of the immortals, and is energetically used to welcome celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.82).
- **The Summoning the Immortals Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is a energetically used as a signal for Summoning and gathering the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.83).

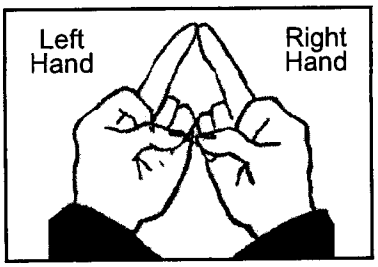


Figure 1.80. The Elephant Trunk Double Hand Seal

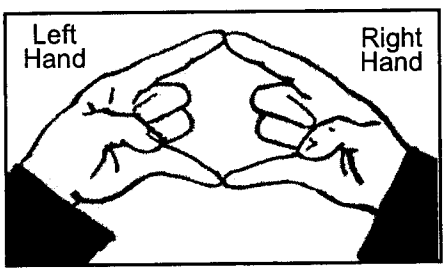


Figure 1.81. The Welcoming The Immortals Double Hand Seal

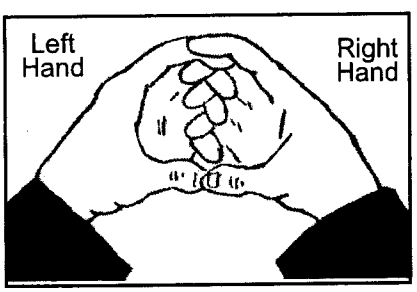


Figure 1.82. The Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal

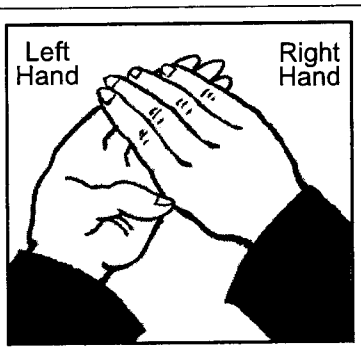


Figure 1.83. The Summonsing the Immortals Double Hand Seal

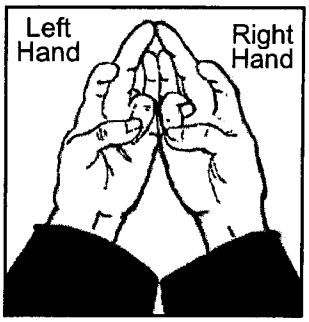


Figure 1.84. The He He (Gathering and Harmonizing) Double Hand Seal

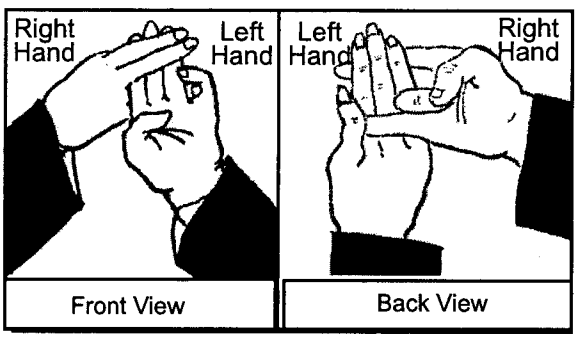


Figure 1.85. The Big Golden Command Block Double Hand Seal

- **The He He (Gathering and Harmonizing) Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used for gathering celestial powers by Summoning and gathering the Immortal Martial Generals to the altar (Figure 1.84).
- **The Big Golden Command Block Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to Summon the Immortal Martial Generals to the altar (Figure 1.85).
- **The Immortal Whirlwind Double Hand Seal (Front):** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the rolling of a magical whirlwind, spiraling in energetic circles like a wheel. It is energetically used for quickly sending messages to the celestial mansion (Figure 1.86).
- **The Summoning Clouds Double Hand Seal:** This Mao Shan Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning clouds in order to bring rain. It

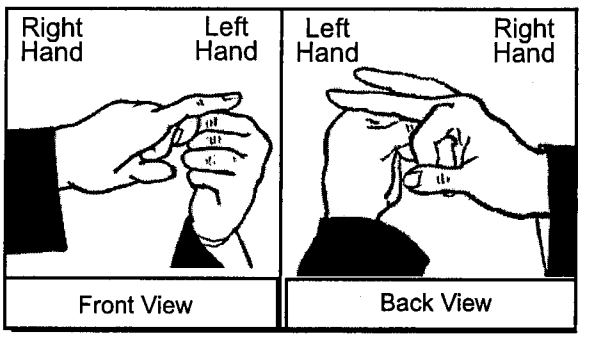


Figure 1.86. The Immortal Whirlwind Double Hand Seal

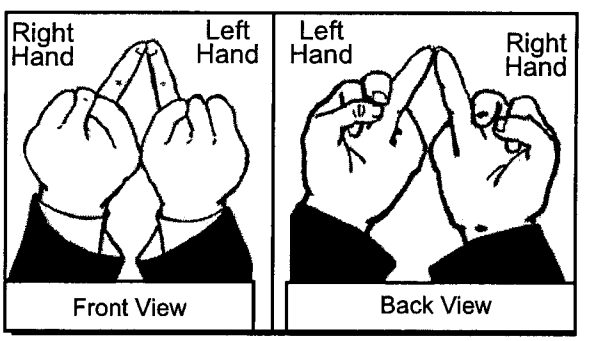


Figure 1.87. The Summoning Clouds Double Hand Seal

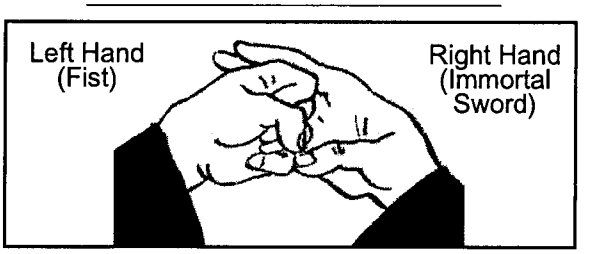


Figure 1.88. The "An Da" Double Hand Seal

represents the image of a wild mountain and a field (Figure 1.87).

- **The "An Da" Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for ending the Summoning Ritual. The left fist represents the celestial energy of the Sun, the right Immortal Sword represents the celestial energy of the Moon (Figure 1.88). The An Da Double Hand Seal is generally used before or after speaking magical incantations (i.e., the magical incantation is energetically shouted quickly followed immediately with the "An Da" Double Hand Seal to offer a form of energetic completion).

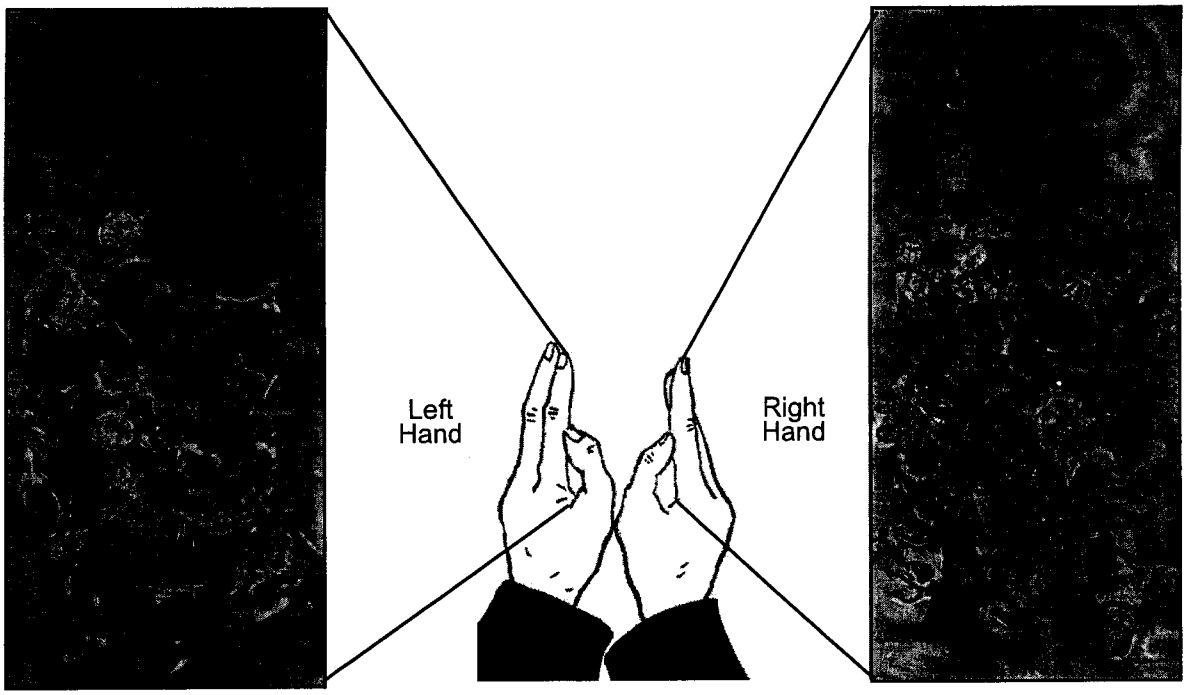


Figure 1.89. The Left and Right Eight Immortal Guards Double Hand Seal

Hand Seals Used For Attacking and Defending

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Attacking and Defending. These skills are commonly incorporated in esoteric Daoist rituals used for exorcism (removing evil spirits from a person, place or thing).

The training involved in the energetic and spiritual art of Attacking and Defending is divided into six primary stages: Protection, Obstruction, Attacking, Binding, Imprisoning, and Sealing. These six stages are described as follows:

Protection

The energetic goal of Protection Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide for the safety for the disciple's person (self, family, loved ones, etc.), place (house, worship area, etc.) or things (items of significance and importance).

- **The Left and Right Eight Immortal Guards Double Hand Seals:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes the eight Heavenly Martial Generals, and is energetically used for the protection of people, places and things (Figure 1.89).

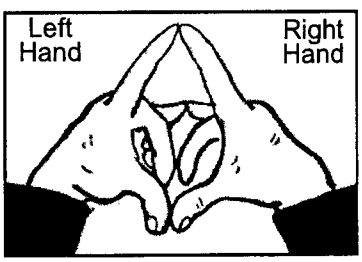


Figure 1.90. The Double Tiny Light Double Hand Seal

- **The Double Tiny Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to represent the electrical light that illuminates within the energetic particles contained within the field of Yin and Yang (which envelops the infinite space of the Wuji). It is used for protection by creating a shining golden light that purifies, illuminates, and shines divine light over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.90).

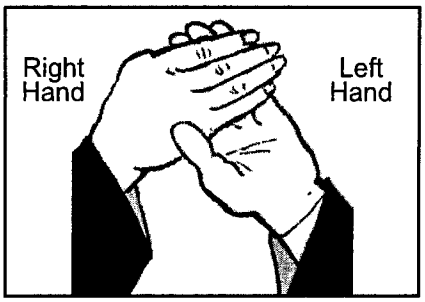


Figure 1.91. The Copper Tent Double Hand Seal

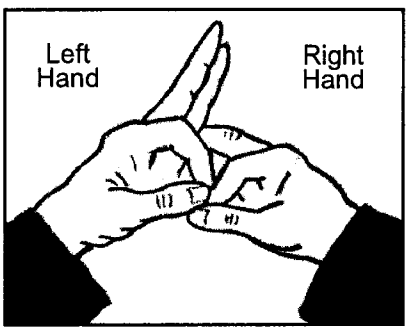


Figure 1.92. The Knife Mountain Double Hand Seal

OBSTRUCTION

The energetic goal of Obstruction Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to stop or inhibit a evil spirit or demonic entity from further antagonistic actions.

- **The Copper Tent Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a tent, and is energetically used to create a protective covering over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.91).
- **The Knife Mountain Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represent a mountain covered with sharp knives and spears. It is used as an energetic barrier to block and stop (or cut off) the pathway of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.92).
- **The Sword Trees Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. This double-handed Hand Seal represents 10,000 magical immortal swords.

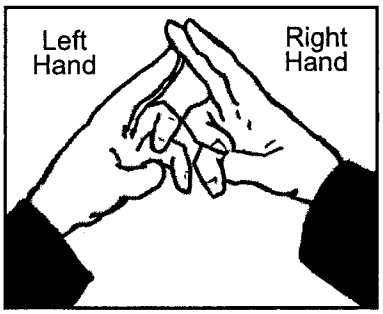


Figure 1.93. The Sword Trees Double Hand Seal

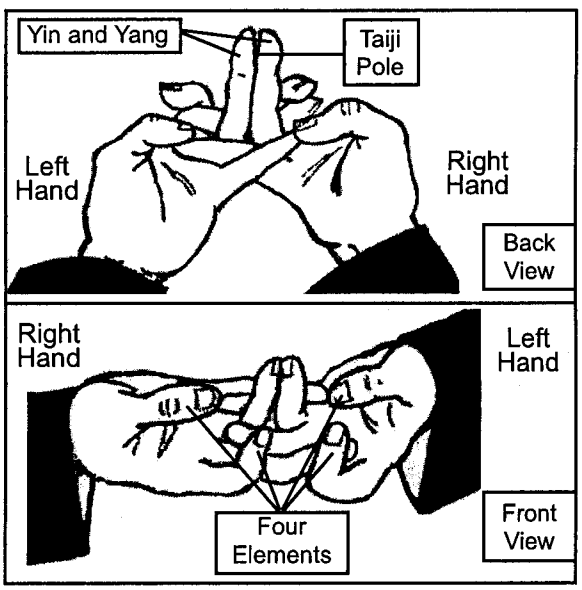


Figure 1.94. The Mount Tai Double Hand Seal

It is used as an energetic barrier to block and stop (or cut off) the pathway of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.93).

- **The Mount Tai Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. This double Hand Seal represents the energetic power of a huge and imposing mountain. It is used as an energetic barrier to block, cover, squash and stop (or cut off) the pathway or movement of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.94).

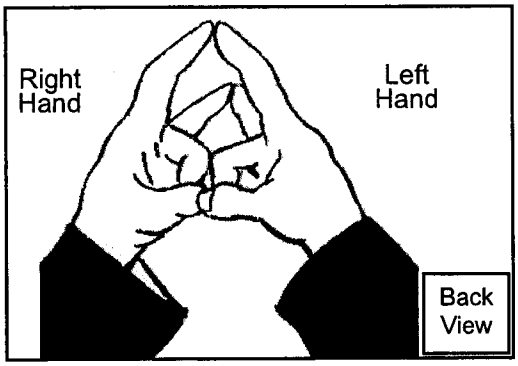


Figure 1.95. The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal

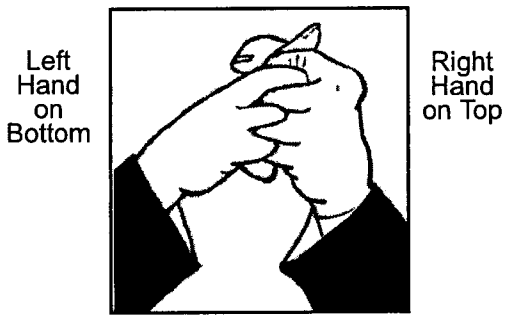


Figure 1.96. The Magical Gun Double Hand Seal

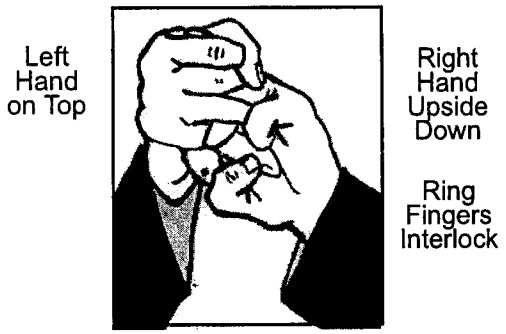


Figure 1.97. The Magical Cannon Double Hand Seal

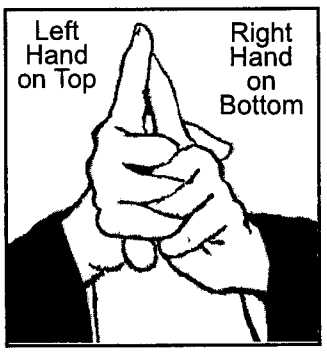


Figure 1.98. Two Dragons Pierce the Mountain Double Hand Seal

ATTACKING

The energetic goal of Attacking Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to initiate a direct attack onto the spirit entity, whereby its energetic form will be captured, defeated, or destroyed.

- **The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. Although this Double Hand Seal can also be used for Worship (see Figure 1.68), it can also be used for attacking and paralyzing (or freezing) spirit entities when combined with a specific Incantation (Figure 1.95).
- **The Magical Gun Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the blasting power of an ancient Chinese fire weapon (similar to that of a gun). It is energetically used as a fierce attack, and is similar to an energetic punch. It is usually energetically released by stomping the back foot, punching towards the intended enemy and shouting a specific incantation or mantra (Figure 1.96).
- **The Magical Cannon Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the explosive power of an ancient Chinese fire weapon. It is energetically used for a fierce attack, and is similar to an energetic bomb. It is usually energetically released by stomping the back foot, punching towards the intended enemy, and shouting a specific incantation or mantra (Figure 1.97).
- **Two Dragons Pierce the Mountain Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically penetrate through mountains or into the depths of the Earth. It is used to energetically cut through, chase-after and catch evil spirits (Figure 1.98).

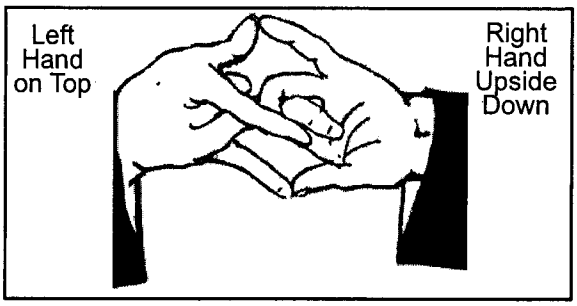


Figure 1.99. The Twisting and Binding Double Hand Seal

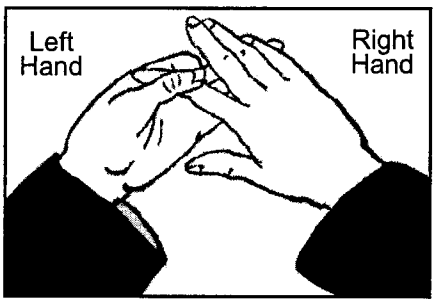


Figure 1.100. The Binding Collar Double Hand Seal

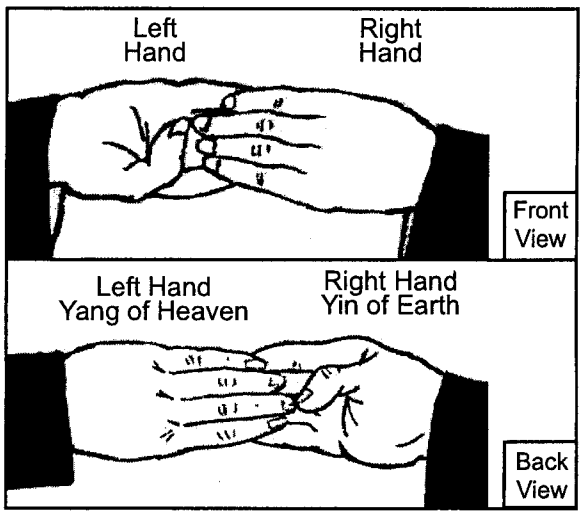


Figure 1.101. Heaven and Earth Net Double Hand Seal

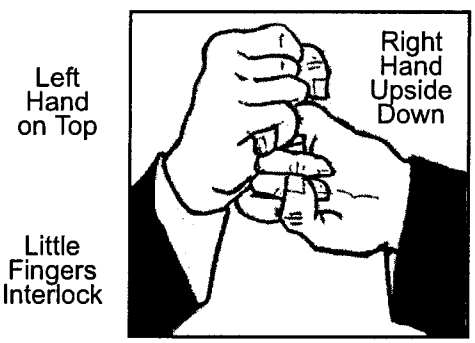


Figure 1.102. The Stone Weighted Scale Double Hand Seal

BINDING

The energetic goal of Binding Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to envelop, enclose, and restrain an evil spirit. "Binding" can also be used to keep someone from doing something - almost like putting an energetic wall between them and the chosen thing. This is a very restrictive form of magic, and is never to be taken lightly. A "Binding" spell can be very powerful and long lasting.

- **The Twisting and Binding Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It causes the surrounding energetic fields to envelop and twist around the spirit entity like bamboo reeds, and is energetically used for binding people, places and things, especially spirit entities and ghosts (Figure 1.99).
- **The Binding Collar Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the shackling of a secure steel collar around a prisoners neck, and is used for binding and restraining people, places, and things, especially evil spirits and ghosts (Figure 1.100).
- **The Heaven and Earth Net Double Hand Seal (Front):** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents a huge net that is extended between the Yang of Heaven and the Yin of Earth, used to ensnare people, animals, or evil spirits (Figure 1.101).
- **The Stone Weighted Scale Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the stone that is attached to the end of an ancient Chinese scale. It is energetically used to envelope, bind and block people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.102).

Figure 1.103. The Copper Fence Double Hand Seal

IMPRISONING

The energetic goal of Imprisoning Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to energetically detain and confine an evil spirit.

- **The Copper Fence Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a prisoner's cage, and it is energetically used to detain and confine people, places, things, and evil spirits (Figure 1.103). The only difference between the Copper Tent and the Copper Fence Double Hand Seal is the extension of the thumb and angle of the fingers (see Figure 1.91).
- **The Pit Incantation Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a pit used to capture defeated demons, and it is energetically used to incarcerate people, demons and evil spirits (Figure 1.104).

SEALING

The energetic goal of Sealing Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide the final energetic sealing needed after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area.

- **The Magical Lock Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the sealing and confining some person, place or thing with a magical lock (Figure 1.105). It is sometimes energetically used after binding an evil spirit in order to contain and imprison its energetic form (e.g., sealing after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area).
- **The Magical Seal Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending (Figure 1.106). It represents the combined energies of Yin and Yang converging onto one specific item (e.g., a person, place, or thing). It is sometimes energetically used after binding an evil spirit in order to contain and imprison its energetic form (e.g., sealing after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area).

When creating a powerful spiritual talisman or an energetic "tool," this Double Hand Seal can also be used for the construction of both the energetic "Opening" (before the initial imprinting) and the energetic "Closing" (e.g., sealing after the incantation is imprinted its function and purpose).

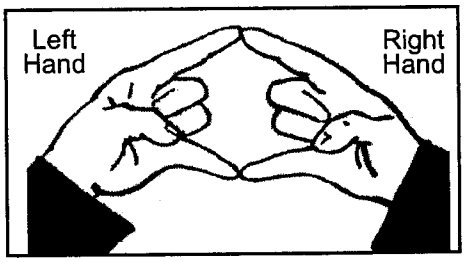


Figure 1.104. The Pit Incantation Double Hand Seal

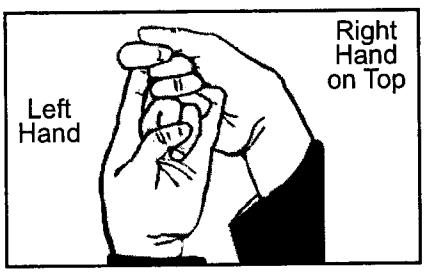


Figure 1.105. The Magical Lock Double Hand Seal

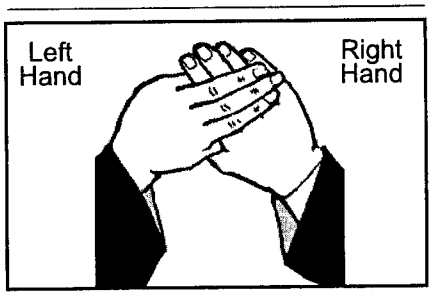


Figure 1.106. The Magical Seal Double Hand Seal

SINGLE HAND SEALS

Every specific Hand Seal has its own particular sound formula (incantation) that combines the use of ingesting specific types of Heaven Qi and Earth Qi powers. The Daoist mystic chants a specific incantation, employs a specific Hand Seal and then exhales to activate the supernatural powers.

Generally, Double Hand Seals were taught first in order to help the Daoist Mystic focus his or her concentration onto a specific object, deity, thought form or Eight Trigram power. After the individual became proficient in gathering and controlling the thought form or Trigram power with both hands, then Single Hand Seals were introduced. The purpose of Single Hand Seals being to use the left hand in order to summon spirits and gain control of specific powers, while the right hand was used to embody, command, task and dispatch the supernatural power.

The Daoist master's energetic hand seal can be used to force any member of the numerous demonic population to appear in visible form. With a seal in the left hand and a sword in the right the Daoist master is fully equipped to summon, question, and interrogate whatever demon he wishes.

DAOIST SINGLE-HAND SEALS

In Daoist magic, certain points on the left palm or specific areas on the joints of the fingers of the left hand are used in order to cultivate, gather and control specific energies and spiritual powers. Each of the finger joints symbolizes and corresponds to one of the specific energetic powers of The Five Elements, Five Planets, Five Directions, Five Yin Organ Spiritual Energies, Eight Trigrams, Seven Stars of the Big Dipper, Twelve Earthly Branches and Twelve Organ Channels. Therefore, when a Daoist mystic pinches a certain finger position, it symbolizes that he or she is accessing and controlling the energetic and spiritual powers through the utilization of one of the following Hand Seals:

- **The Five Element Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within either the energetic realms of the infinite space of the Wuji, Air/Wind, Fire, Water, and Earth; or through the energetic power and manifestations contained within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water.
- **The Five Planet Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within energetic celestial powers of Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury.
- **The Five Directions Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within celestial and terrestrial energetic powers of the five directions (Front, Back, Left, Right and Center).
- **The Wu Jing Shen Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the Five Virtues of Compassion, Order, Integrity, Trust and Wisdom.
- **The Eight Trigram Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the eight powers of Heaven, Mist/Rain, Thunder, Mountain, Earth, Water, Fire and Wind/Air.
- **The Seven Stars of the Big Dipper Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the Big Dipper, manifesting through the seven star celestial powers of influence (Lusty Wolf, Giant Gate, Store of Wealth, Civil Chief, Pure and Chaste, Military Chief and Troop Destroyer).
- **The Twelve Earthly Branches Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the specific powers of the Twelve Earthly Branches (Yin, Wu, Xu, Hai, Mao, Wei, Shen, Zi, Chun, Si, You and Chou).
- **The Twelve Organ/Channel Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within body's twelve primary internal organ channels (the Jing, Qi and Shen of the Liver - Gall Bladder, Heart - Small Intestine, Spleen - Stomach, Lungs - Large Intestine, Kidneys - Urinary Bladder, and Pericardium - Triple Burner Channels).

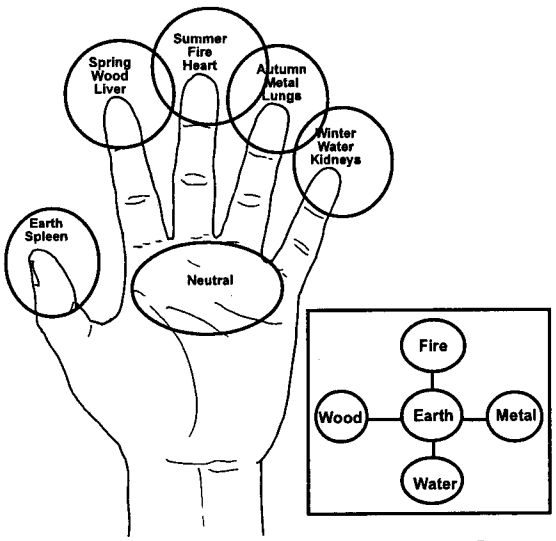


Figure 1.107. The Five Element Organ Energy Pattern was used to access the energy of the Wu Jing Shen (Five Essence Spirits contained within the Five Yin Organs). The ancient Daoist would use his or her left hand in order to absorb the organ Qi and Shen into the Lower Dantian or body's energetic field. This arrangement was also used to control the Ancient Five Elements.

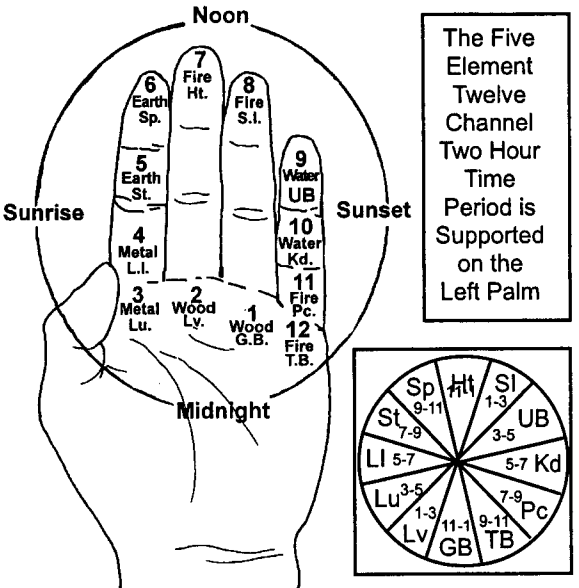


Figure 1.108. The Five Element - Twelve Channel Two Hour Time Period. The left palm is used for gathering and absorbing the 12 Channel energies of the Five Yin Organs. As the individual's thumb touches the specific areas on the fingers, the energy is gathered into the Lower Dantian and released out from the right palm.

Five Element Organ Pattern

In ancient China, the following hand chart of the Five Element Organ Pattern was used to access the energy of the Prenatal Wu Jing Shen (Original Five Essence Spirits) contained within the Five Yin Organs. This particular Daoist Hand Seal system was originally taught only to advanced disciples. When applying its energetic function to internal cultivation, the disciple would use his or her thumb to touch each individual finger in order to connect with the specific Element power. Likewise, the neutral position, located at the base of the fingers allowed the disciple to connect with the Earth Element (Figure 1.107).

The ancient Daoist would use the left hand in order to absorb the intended organ's Qi and Shen into the Lower Dantian or into the body's surrounding energetic field. The energy could then be released out the Daoist's body via the right palm. This energetic transformation was also used to control the Five Elements.

The left palm could also be used for gathering and absorbing the twelve channel energies of the Five Yin Organs. As the disciple's left thumb touched the specific areas on the fingers or palm, the energy was gathered into the Lower Dantian and then released out of the body via the disciple's right palm (Figure 1.108).

Daoist Three Dantians Single Hand Seals

In ancient Daoism, the single Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Energy, or Dantian energies. The following descriptions are of Single Hand Seals used in two separate branches of Daoist Mysticism:

Mao Shan Hand Seals (Zheng Yi Branch)

In the Highest Purity sect of Daoism, from the Zheng Yi tradition, the thumb represents the celestial powers of the Heaven, while the little finger represents the terrestrial powers of the Earth (as explained in the Eight Trigram Double-Hand Seals for Gathering Power, Figure 1.109). When combined (the thumb touches the little finger), the body's energy is regulated within the center Taiji Pole and the Three Dantians are balanced.

Traditionally, the ancient Mao Shan Daoist used a left handed Hand Seal that portrayed the

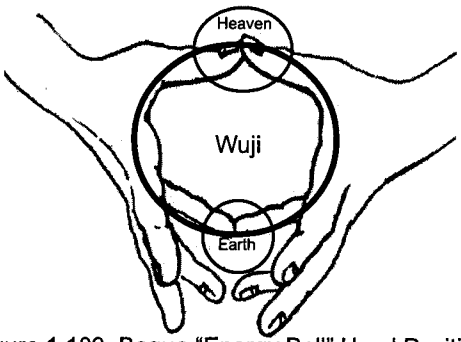


Figure 1.109. Bagua "Energy Ball" Hand Position

ideogram "Shan" (Figure 1.110). The magical image of the mountain was used in order to access and stimulate the internal Seas of Qi contained within the Three Dantians.

When cultivating internal power, the ancient Mao Shan sorcerers would train to access the magical powers of Heaven and Earth by blending these energies within their Three Dantians. This form of magical cultivation was initiated by energetically blending the Yang of Heaven (i.e., the descending celestial energy of the Green Dragon, represented by the sorcerer's "Imagination") and the Yin of Earth (i.e., the ascending terrestrial energy of the White Tiger, represented by the physical feelings of the energetic "Sensations"). The magical Hand Seals and their secret access points used by the ancient Mao Shan sorcerers to activate each Dantian is described as follows:

- **The Lower Dantian:** When training to transform Jing to Qi in the Lower Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the second crease (down from the top) of the ring finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Lower Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and into the Lower Dantian. The sorcerer would place his or her tongue on the Fire position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the hard palate at the front of the upper palate behind the teeth and gum line - Figure 1.111) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the front of the body into

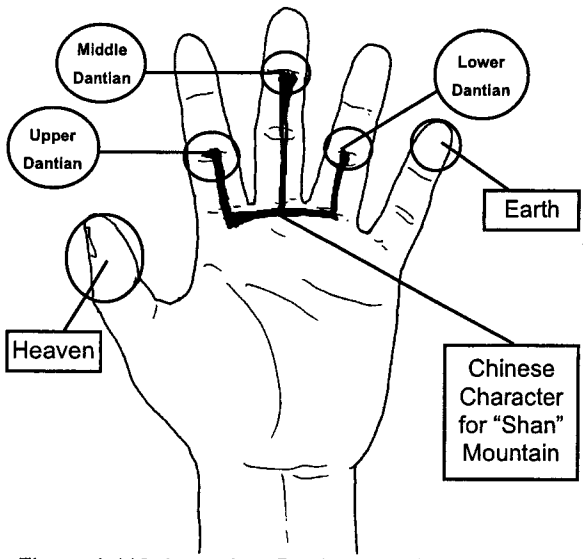


Figure 1.110. In ancient Daoism, the Single-handed Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Dantian Energy (an example of Mao-Shan Daoist training from the Zheng Yi tradition)

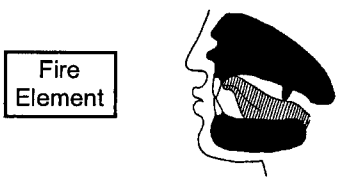


Figure 1.111. The Fire tongue position used for activating the Lower Dantian

the Lower Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Lower Dantian.

- **The Middle Dantian:** When transforming Qi to Shen in the Middle Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the first crease (down from the top) of the middle finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Middle Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and spine into the back of the heart at the Middle Dantian area. The sorcerer would place his or

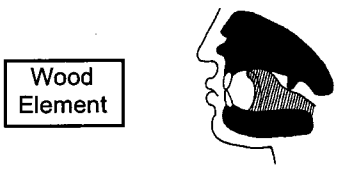


Figure 1.112. The Wood tongue position used for activating the Middle Dantian

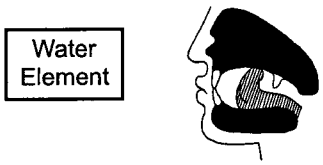


Figure 1.113. The Water tongue position used for activating the Upper Dantian

her tongue on the Wood position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the hard palate, at the middle of the upper palate at the center of the roof of the mouth - Figure 1.112) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the front of the body into the Middle Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Middle Dantian.

- **The Upper Dantian:** When transforming Shen to the infinite space of the Wuji via the Upper Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the second crease (down from the top) of the first (index) finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Upper Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and spine into the back of the head at the base of the Upper Dantian. The sorcerer would place his or her tongue on the Water position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the soft palate at the back of the upper palate - Figure 1.113) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the top of the head into the Upper Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Upper Dantian.

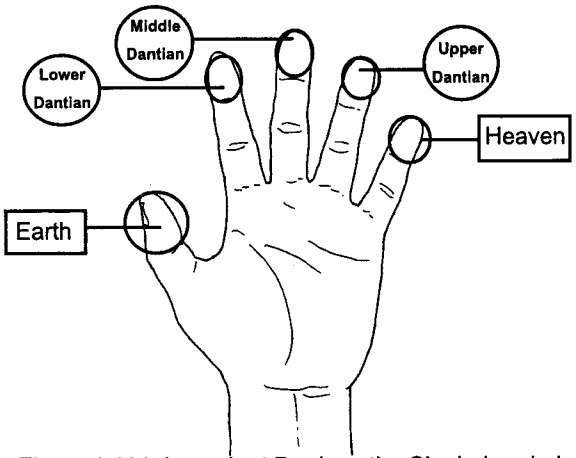


Figure 1.114. In ancient Daoism, the Single-handed Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Dantian Energy (an example of Wu Dang Shan Daoist training from the Quen Zhen tradition)

When performing these meditations, all the Daoist sorcerer needed to do was simply connect his or her thumb with each of the Dantian's access points, place the tongue in the secret Dantian position, and simultaneously draw the Qi of Heaven and Earth into the respected Dantian area in order begin energetic cultivation.

Wu Dang Shan Hand Seals (Quen Zhen Branch)

In the Pole Star sect of Daoism, from the Quen Zhen tradition, the thumb and little finger positions used to represent the power of the Heavens and Earth are reversed. In this particular Daoist system, the thumb represents the terrestrial powers of the Earth, while the little finger represents the celestial powers of the Heaven. When combined (the thumb touches the little finger), the body's energy is regulated within the center Taiji Pole and the Three Dantians are balanced.

When cultivating internal power, the ancient Wudang masters used the first (index) finger to represent the access point of the Lower Dantian; the middle finger to represent the access point of the Middle Dantian; and the ring finger to represent the access point of the Upper Dantian. When meditating, all the Daoist master needed to do was simply connect his or her thumb with each Dantian's access point in order to tap into its cultivated power (Figure 1.114).

BAGUA SINGLE HAND SEALS

In ancient China, after a Daoist Mystic learned how to control the energy of the Bagua through Double Handed Hand Seals, he or she would transfer the eight energetic powers of the Bagua to their left palm. The progression from using double hands to a single hand allowed the Daoist Mystics the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the specific Bagua into their body with their left hand, while extending and emitting the Qi with the right hand.

Hidden within the construction of the Bagua Trigram formation are the energetic patterns of the Nine Palaces (also known as the Magic Square). The ancient Daoist would use his or her left palm as a medium for conjuring the energetic structure of the Magic Square formation and "opening the gate to the supernatural world." After the Spirit Gate was opened, the Daoist mystic would initiate a specific incantation for conjuring the supernatural powers released from the Celestial Elements or Eight Trigrams. This was initiated by placing either the thumb or fingers of the left hand onto the specific Trigram location. Combined with a specific incantation, the supernatural powers of the Trigram could then be activated and summoned.

As the ancient Daoist performed the specific ritual for spiritual incantation, pacing through positions of the Nine Palaces of Heaven, he or she could use the same numeral sequence on the left palm as the Magic Square patterns by tracing the "magic steps of Yu" with the left thumb (Figure 1.115).

The Nine Palaces are arranged in an eight direction box formation with an additional number in the center. Each palace position is assigned a number, a specific color and a star (one of the seven stars of the Big Dipper, the extra star and the North Star). Each star is associated with a specific Prenatal energy flow related to one of the original Extraordinary Vessels and one of the Nine Chambers located in each one of the Three Dantians. The numbers and their correspondences are described as follows:

1. **The Trigram Kan:** This point is located at the base of the middle finger. Kan is assigned to the number 1 and its color is white.

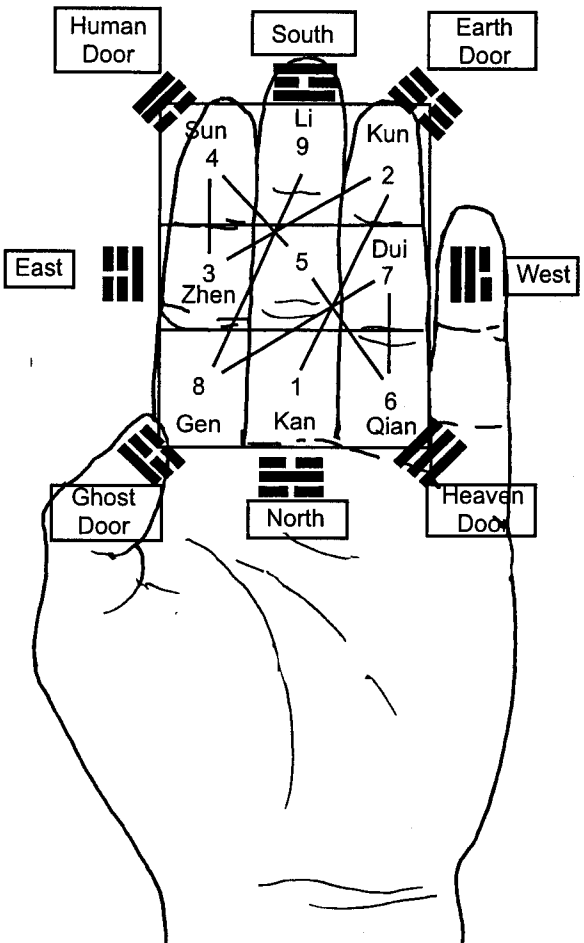


Figure 1.115. In ancient China, the PostnatalHeavenly Bagua pattern of the "Magic Square" was superimposed on the left palm allowing Daoist mystics the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the Bagua into the body, while extending and emitting the gathered Qi with his or her right palm.

2. **The Trigram Kun:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the ring finger. Kun is assigned to the number 2 and its color is black.
3. **The Trigram Zhen:** This point is located on the second digit of the index finger. Zhen is assigned to the number 3 and its color green/blue.
4. **The Trigram Sun:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the index finger. Sun is assigned to the number 4 and its color is blue.
5. **The Bright Hall (Ming Tang):** This point is located on the center digit of the middle finger. The Ming Tang (Bright Hall) is associated

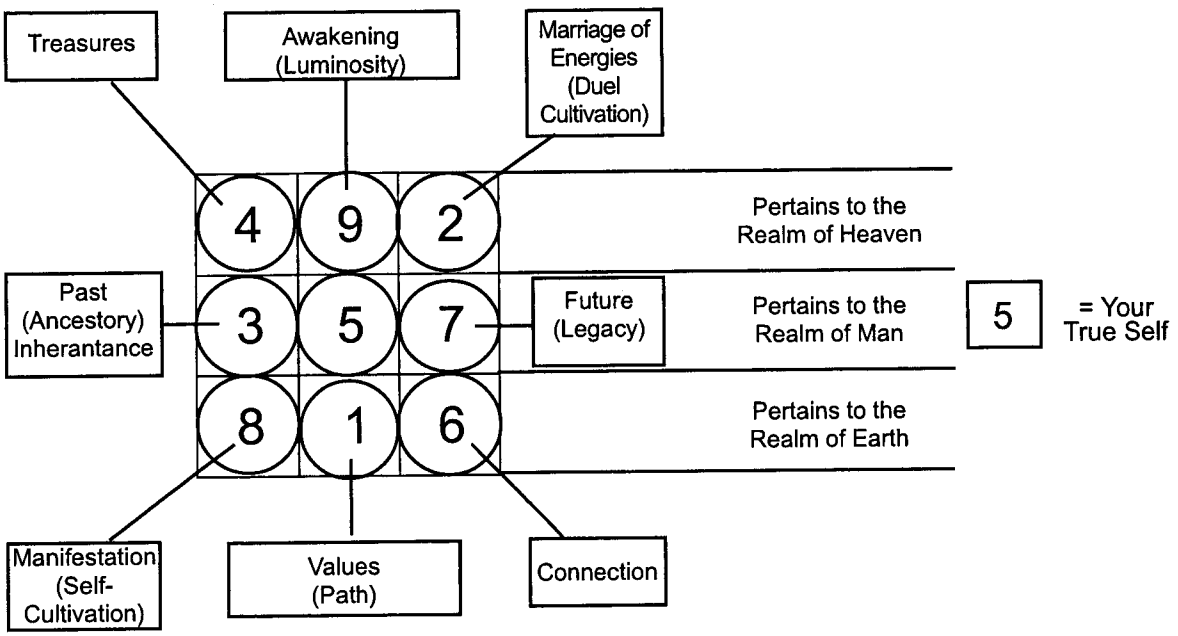


Figure 1.116. In Ancient China, the numbers of the Magic Square also related to the Three Realms of Heaven, Man, and Earth, and were used for Divination.

with the Taiji Pole and the middle space of the Magic Square; the Ming Tang is assigned to the number 5 and its color is yellow.

6. **The Trigram Qian:** This point is located at the base of the middle finger. Qian is assigned to the number 6 and its color is white.
7. **The Trigram Dui:** This point is located on the second digit of the ring finger. Dui is assigned to the number 7 and its color is red.
8. **The Trigram Gen:** This point is located at the base of the index finger. Gen is assigned to the number 8 and its color is white.
9. **The Trigram Li:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the middle finger. Li is assigned to the number 9 and its color purple.

It should be noted that the middle number "5" does not correspond to a Trigram because it is the unifying number placed in the center to represent balanced internal energy.

MAGIC SQUARE AND DIVINATION

In ancient China, the specific numbers of the Magic Square could also relate to the energetic manifestations that occur within the three realms of Heaven, Earth and Man. Because of this, the ancient Daoists sometimes used the Magic Square for Divination described as follows (Figure 1.116):

- While meditating, form a "Heaven and Earth" standing posture (Figure 1.117).
- Imagine a cord of divine light descending from the Heavens and penetrating the center

Imagine a cord of divine light descending from the Heavens and penetrating the center of the left palm

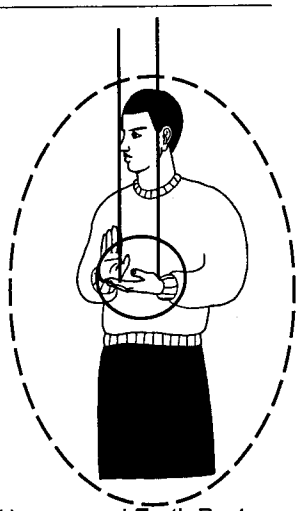


Figure 1.117. Heaven and Earth Posture

of the lower left palm creating the energetic pattern of the Magic Square previously described (refer back to Figure 1.116). The left palm (Magic Squares) should be placed horizontally in front of your Yellow Court (fingers pointing towards the right). This energetic position relates to the power of Earth.

- Next, with your right hand, form the Thunder Bolt Hand Seal (Figure 1.118) above the Magic Square, at the Heart and Middle Dantian area. This energetic position relates to the power of Heaven. The right hand's index finger should point towards the left direction, while the little finger should point downward into the numbers of the Magic Square positioned inside the left palm.
- Focus your mind's intention on a specific individual and perform magical Invocations over the Magic Square according to the specific intention of the divination. Begin to ask specific questions related to that individual's past, present or future while spiralling the Qi downward in a descending clockwise direction (moving from Heaven to Earth) using the tip of the Thunder Bolt Hand Seal (i.e. the little finger of the right hand).

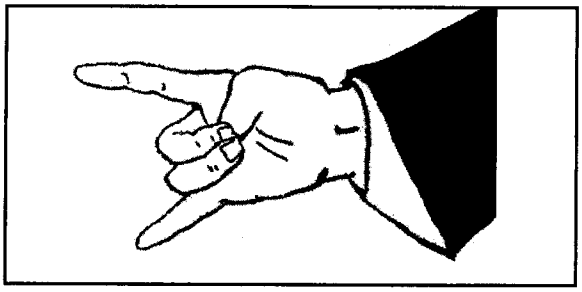


Figure 1.118. In this Thunder Fist Hand Seal, the thumb touches the base of the ring finger and roots the Lung Qi and the Po.

EARTHLY BRANCHES AND DAOIST ALCHEMY

The ancient Daoists viewed the body as a small and complete universe unto itself and understood that the internal organs are influenced by the celestial movements of the sun, moon, planets and stars. The Governing and Conception Vessels in particular are influenced by these Heavenly cycles (Figure 1.119).

In ancient China, the day was divided into twelve separate time divisions. Each time division encompassed two hours of the day and was named after one of the Twelve Earthly Branches. The ancient Daoists discovered that the body's Qi and Blood mirror the Earth's seasonal ebb and flow, rising and falling like the lunar tides.

Each time period in the Twelve Earthly Branches system is regarded as having a specific influence on each of the twelve gates of the body's chakra system. The rhythmic variations of the waxing and waning of Qi and Blood are associated with the waxing and waning of Yin and Yang energy, and with the circulation of Qi along the Microcosmic Orbit (Fire) cycle.

Each of the Twelve Chakra Gates relates to one of the Twelve Earthly Branches following the Fire Cycle of the Microcosmic Orbit. These twelve chakra gates extend their energy outward.

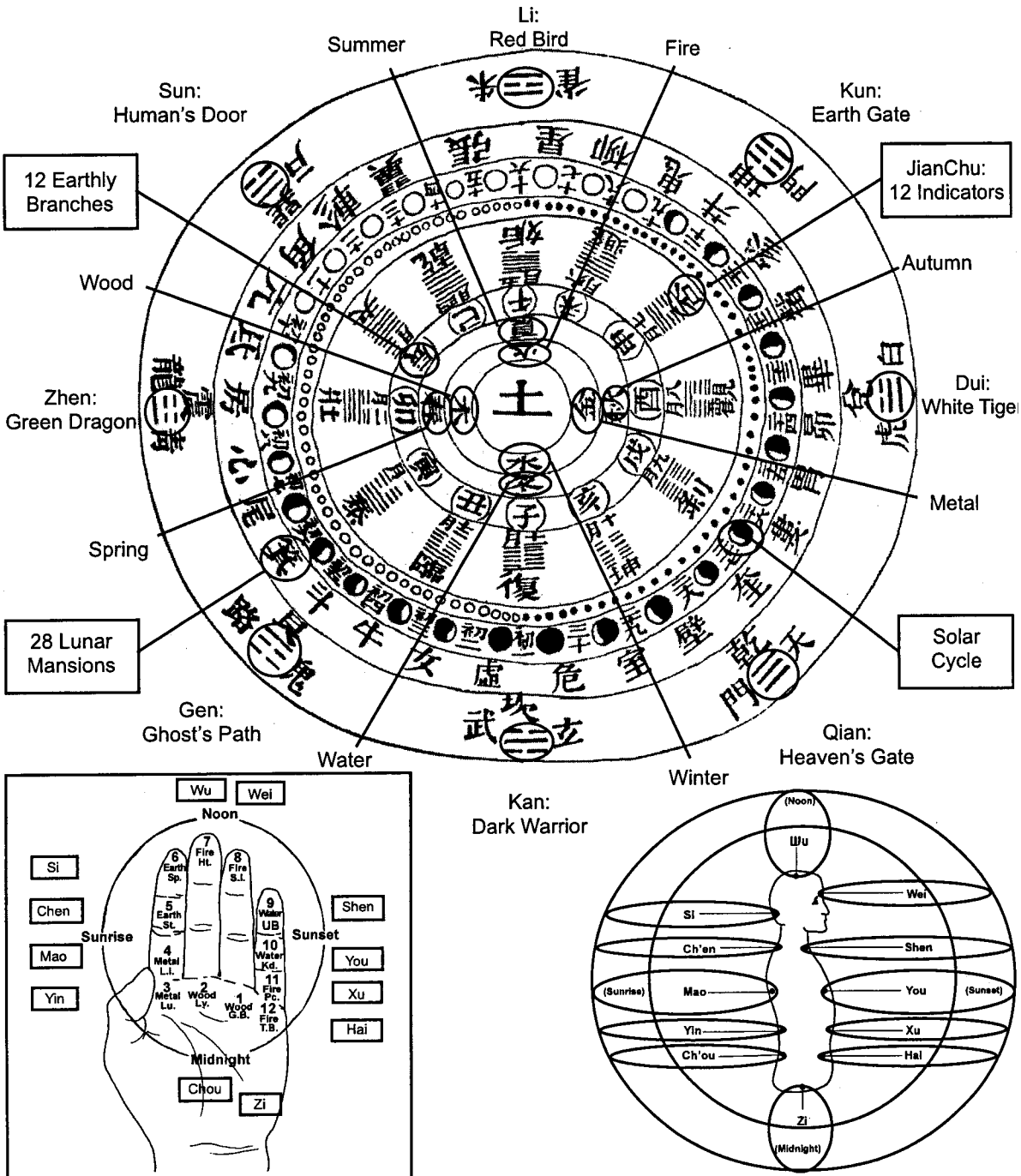


Figure 1.119. The Movement of the Body's Qi as Depicted by the Ancient Chinese "Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy" Chart. The Twelve Earthly Branch Relation with the Microcosmic Orbit: the main channels of the back and front of the body correspond to the ecliptic path of the sun. These twelve special energy points are associated with the Twelve Chakra Gates.

MAO SHAN HAND SEALS USED FOR HEALING OR PROTECTION

In the ancient Mao Shan Daoist monasteries, Hand Seals were used for bringing Qi from a specific internal organ or celestial direction into a vessel of water for healing (Figure 1.120). This Hand Seal technique is then followed with a specific Breath Incantation. If a Daoist mystic wishes to gather Heavenly Qi from which to strengthen the Liver, he or she will repeat the following Breath Incantation

"Dong fang wuji fei tian shen
wang su jiang Gan Qi yu wu sui zhong."

Which translates as "Eastern Palace infinite flying heavenly god, quickly bring down the Liver Qi into my water - do this as it is law."

The Incantation is then sealed by shouting "An Da" while simultaneously forming the An Da Double Hand Seal (Figure 1.121).

- **The "An Da" Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for ending the Summoning Ritual. The left fist represents the celestial energy of the Sun, the right Immortal Sword represents the celestial energy of the Moon (Figure 1.105). The An Da Double hand Seal is generally used before or after speaking magical incantations (i.e., the magical incantation is energetically shouted quickly followed immediately with the "An Da" Double Hand Seal to offer a form of energetic completion).

The Breath Incantation is changed according to the Daoist Mystic's needs, substituting the specific Palace and the specific internal organ Qi. Each of the palaces also has corresponding times, Ele-

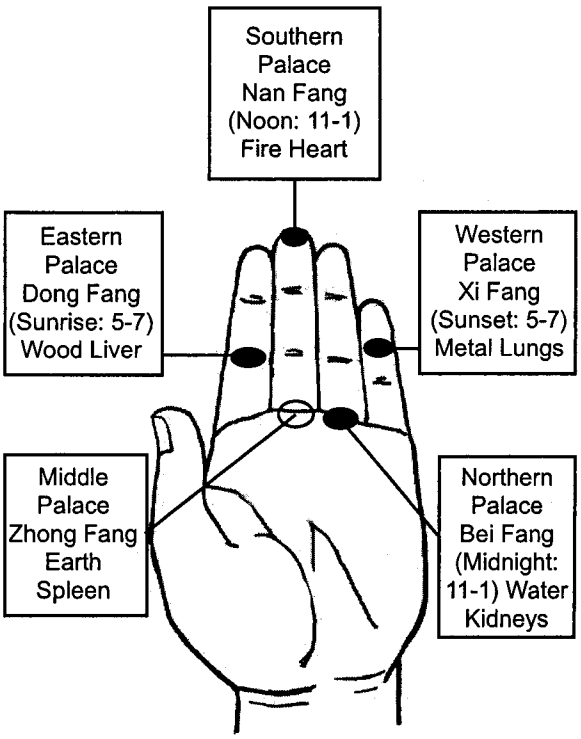


Figure 1.120. Hand Seal pattern used for bringing Qi from a specific Organ and direction into a glass of water for healing.

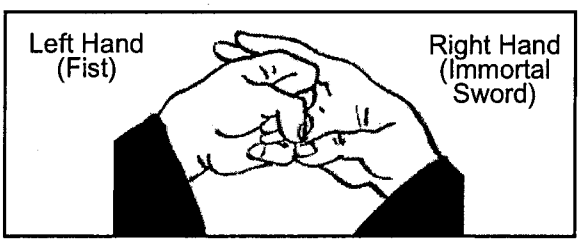


Figure 1.121. The "An Da" Double Hand Seal

Palace	Time	Element	Organ	Alter Gift	Immortal
Eastern Palace: *Dong Fang*	5-7 P.M. Sunrise	Wood Element	Liver *Gan*	Incense: *Xiang*	Green/Blue Immortal
Southern Palace: *Nan Fang*	11-1 Noon	Fire Element	Heart *Xin*	Light: *Deng* (Candles)	Red Immortal
Western Palace: *Xi Fang*	5-7 A.M. Sunset	Metal Element	Lungs *Fei*	Flowers: *Hua*	White Immortal
Northern Palace: *Bei Fang*	11-1 Midnight	Water Element	Kidneys *Shen*	Water: *Shui*	Black Immortal
Middle Palace: *Zhong Fang*		Earth Element	Spleen *Pi*	Fruit: *Gua*	Yellow Immortal

Figure 1.122. Chart of Daoist Five Palaces Corrspondence

ments of control, organ energies, altar gifts, and governing immortals (Figure 1.122).

Seven Stars of the Big Dipper #1 Single Hand Seals

In ancient Daoism Mysticism, the advanced Single Hand Seals (Mudras) were sometimes used to access the power of one of the seven specific stars of the Big Dipper. The following is one esoteric version of accessing the hidden power of the Seven Big Dipper Stars (Figure 1.123):

1. **The Gui Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located at the second segment of the index finger.
2. **The Gou Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the first segment of the index finger.
3. **The Fan Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the first segment of the middle finger.
4. **The Shou Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the third digit of the middle finger.
5. **The Bi Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the second digit of the ring finger.
6. **The Pu Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the second digit of the little finger.
7. **The Piao Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the third digit of the little finger.

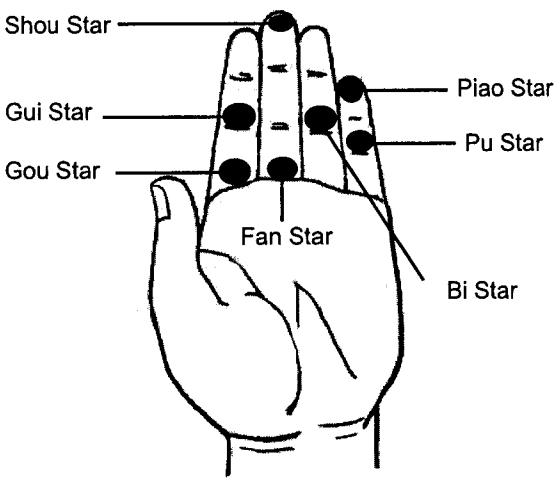


Figure 1.123. The Seven Stars of the Big Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

Seven Stars Pattern of the Northern Dipper Single Hand Seals

Certain advanced Single Hand Seals were sometimes used to access the combined power of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper by performing specific stepping rituals. In the advanced training, these esoteric stepping rituals could be performed on the Daoist mystic's left hand. The above is one version of a Northern Big Dipper

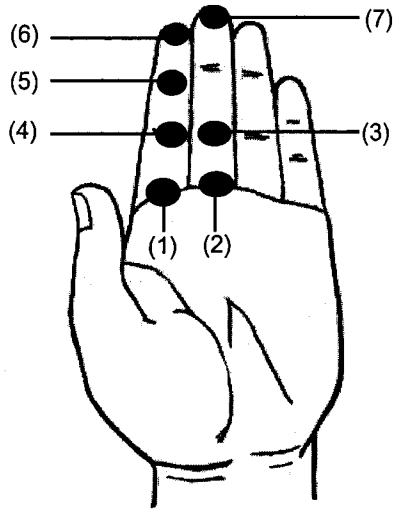


Figure 1.124. The Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

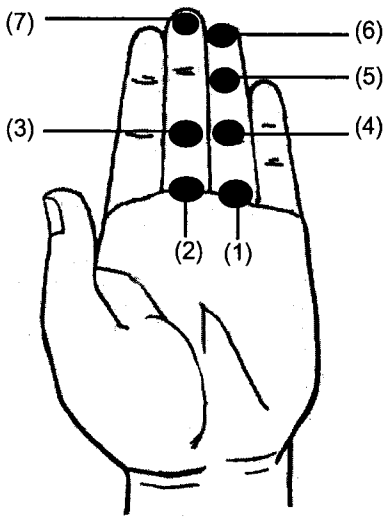


Figure 1.125. The Seven Stars of the Southern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand

Seven Star Stepping Pattern initiated on the Daoist mystic's left hand (Figure 1.124).

SEVEN STARS PATTERN OF THE SOUTHERN DIPPER SINGLE HAND SEALS

Certain advanced Single Hand Seals (Mudras) were sometimes used to access the combined power of the seven stars of the Southern Dipper by performing stepping rituals. In advanced training, these esoteric stepping rituals could be performed on the left hand of the Daoist mystic. The above is one version of a Southern Dipper Seven Star Stepping Pattern initiated on the Daoist mystic's left hand (Figure 1.125).

THE "FIVE THUNDERS EXPLODE" HAND SEAL

When performing Thunder Magic, the Daoist sorcerer will draw the Five Thunder Mountains on the center of his or her left palm, while reciting a magical incantation used to gather the power of the guardians of the Five Sacred Mountains. The sorcerer will draw five circles around the center of a "Thunder" character and speak the following incantation to call and dispatch the Five Thunder Generals from the Five Thunder Mountains (Figure 1.126):

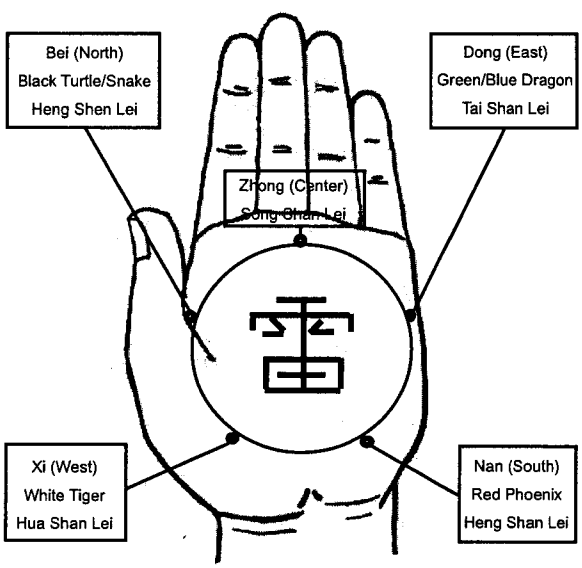


Figure 1.126. Draw the Chinese character for Thunder on the center of your palm with your Sword Fingers Hand Seal. Next, draw the Five Thunder Mountains and circle the mountains while reciting the Incantation.

"Dong Qi Tai Shan Lei
(The Eastern Energy of the Tai Shan Thunder);
Nan Qi Heng Shan Lei
(The Southern Energy of the Heng Shan Thunder);
Xi Qi Hua Shan Lei
(The Western Energy of the Hua Shan Thunder);
Bei Qi Heng Shan Lei
(The Northern Energy of the Heng Shan Thunder);
Zhong Qi Song Shan Lei
(The Center Energy of the Song Shan Thunder)"

Daoist Esoteric Single Hand Seals

The following is a description of the most common Single Hand Seals used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi sect) from Long Hu Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.
- Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing sect) from Mao Shan, located in the Jiangsu Province.
- Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo sect) from Ge Zao Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.

These particular Single Hand Seals can be divided into three main categories according to their magical uses: Hand Seals used for Worship, Hand Seals used for Summoning, and Hand Seals used for Attacking and Defending.

Single Hand Seals Used For Worship

The following is a list of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the alchemy of Worship. The primary goal is one of energetic and spiritual transformation, brought about through prayer and meditation.

- **The White Crane Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is energetically used to show respect to the celestial immortals. The last three fingers symbolize an offering of three incense to the celestial immortals (Figure 1.127). The first finger and thumb represent the eternal circle and the infinite space of the Wuji through which to access the Di (Divine or God).
- **The Willow Branch Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes the Willow Branch and is energetically used in rituals to purify the water at the altar, or to dip into the altar cup to flick holy water onto specific items for purification (Figure 1.128).

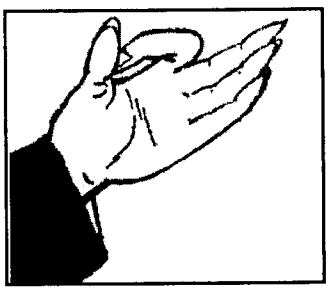


Figure 1.127. The White Crane Single Hand Seal

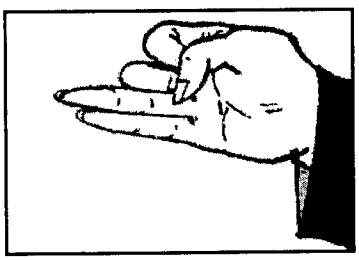


Figure 1.128. The Willow Branch Single Hand Seal

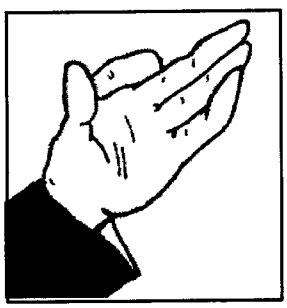


Figure 1.129. The Tiny Light Single Hand Seal

- **The Tiny Light Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is used to represent the electrical light that illuminates within the energetic particles contained within the field of Yin and Yang (which envelops the infinite space of the Wuji). It is energetically used for protection by purifying, illuminating and shinning divine light over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.129).
- **The Trident Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes three prongs and is energetically used to support the purified water cup on the altar during purification rituals, and is sometimes used

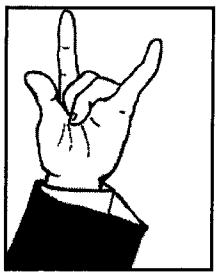


Figure 1.130. The Trident Single Hand Seal

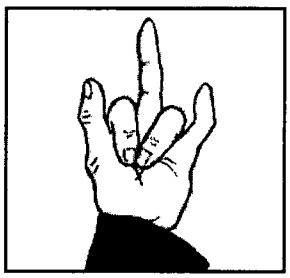


Figure 1.131. The Magical Toad Single Hand Seal

for holding or support other altar tools (Figure 1.130).

- **The Magical Toad Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents an image of the immortal three legged toad from the Moon Palace, and is energetically used to bring about the fragrant smell of the celestial world into the realm of the human world (Figure 1.131).
- **The Jade Ring Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is used to energetically represent a magical bracelet of the Celestial Mother Dou Mu, and used to show respect to the Palace of Dou Mu (the Mother of the seven stars of the Big Dipper). She is generally depicted as having three eyes in each of her four faces (one facing each of the four major direction). She has eight arms (four arms on each side of her body). Two of her hands are held together, palm to palm, while the other six hold a Sun, Moon, bell, golden seal, bow and halberd. Dou Mu is regarded as a senior Daoist immortal and is credited with the ability to save people from many types of evil and trouble (Figure 1.132).

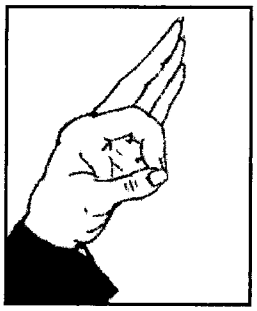


Figure 1.132. The Jade Ring Single Hand Seal

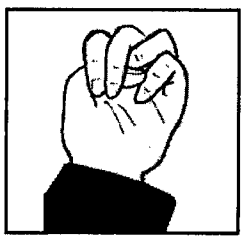


Figure 1.133. The Magical Root Single Hand Seal

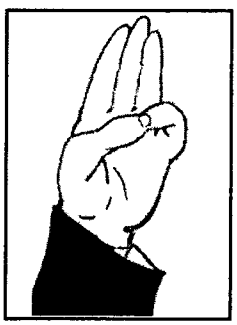


Figure 1.134. The Two Lotus Joining Single Hand Seal

- **The Magical Root Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the fusion of Qi and Shen, and is the energetic and spiritual foundation used to send reports to Mother Dou Mu in order to request for auspicious times (Figure 1.133).
- **The Two Lotus Joining Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is energetically used to invite Wang Mu Niang Niang (Mother of the Heavenly Emperor), welcome her to the altar and offer her respect as she appears (Figure 1.134).

Single Hand Seals Used For Summoning

The following is a description of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Summoning. The primary goal of Summoning is that of demanding or requesting the presence or service of one of the five types of Immortals (Ghost Immortals, Human Immortals, Earth Immortals, Spiritual Immortals and Celestial Immortals).

- **The Gathering The Hun Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is used in rituals to energetically gather the soul of the dead (Hun) to the altar (Figure 1.135).
- **The Flying Hun Crosses the Sea Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes flying over the ocean, and is energetically used for gathering the soul of the dead and bringing it back to the altar area (Figure 1.136).
- **The Golden Lotus Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically represents the Golden Lotus Flower where the Great Ancestral Master will show his appearance (Figure 1.137).
- **The Small Gold Metal Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used as a "Grand Order" (or command) for the Great Ancestral Master to come and protect you by terrifying and defeating evil spirits (Figure 1.138).
- **The Single Star Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal for Summoning. It energetically represents the Dan Dou (Single Star) and is used to request that Mother Dou Mu command or Summon the Heavenly Court to dispatch the Celestial Generals (Figure 1.139).
- **The Small Pig's Head Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It resembles a small pig's head and is energetically used in small ceremonies to summon the "Horned Pig" of Mother Dou Mu down into the human world (Figure 1.140).
- **The Jade Left Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbol-

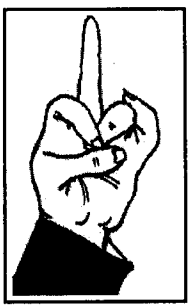


Figure 1.135. The Gathering The Hun Single Hand Seal

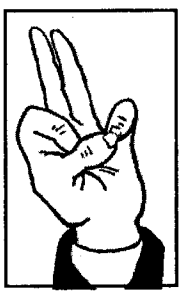


Figure 1.136. The Flying Hun Crosses the Sea Single Hand Seal

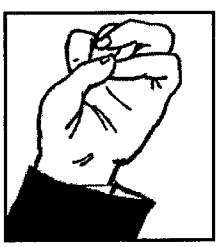


Figure 1.137. The Golden Lotus Single Hand Seal

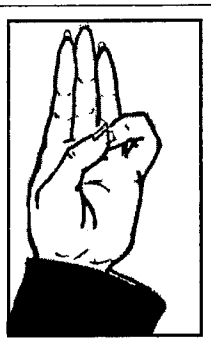


Figure 1.138. The Small Gold Metal Single Hand Seal

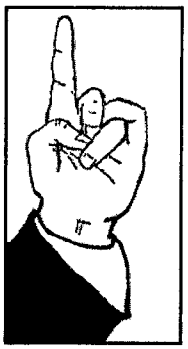


Figure 1.139. The Single Star Single Hand Seal

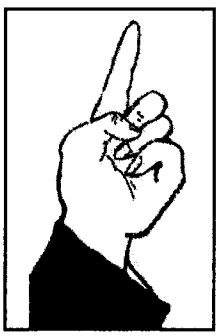


Figure 1.140. The Small Pig's Head Single Hand Seal

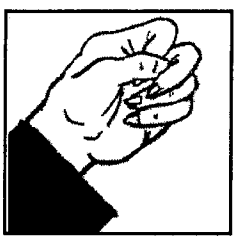


Figure 1.141. The Jade Left Single Hand Seal

izes the celestial Jade Palace and is energetically used to gather the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.141).

- **The Four Heavenly Immortal Generals Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the bringing the four Thunder Martial Generals to your side and is energetically used for protection (Figure 1.142).
- **The Magic Tiger Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It represents the Martial Generals' Magical Tiger and is energetically used to summon the General's Magical Tiger to the altar (Figure 1.143).
- **The Blue-Green Spirit Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to represent the celestial post from which Martial General Wen Qiong will rein in his Celestial Horse (Figure 1.144).

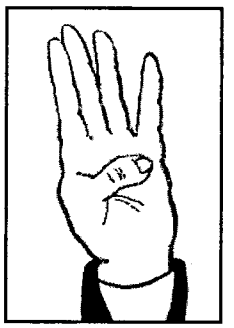


Figure 1.142. The Four Heavenly Immortal Generals Single Hand Seal

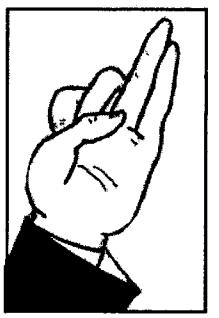


Figure 1.143. The Magic Tiger Single Hand Seal

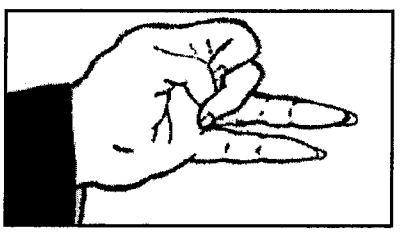


Figure 1.144. The Blue Green Spirit Single Hand Seal

Single Hand Seals Used For Attacking and Defending

The following is a list of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Attacking and Defending. These skills are commonly incorporated in esoteric Daoist rituals used for exorcism (removing evil spirits from a person, place, or thing).

The training involved in the energetic and spiritual art of Attacking and Defending is divided into six primary stages: Protection, Obstruction, Attacking, Catching, Imprisoning and Sealing. These six stages are described as follows:

- **Protection:** The energetic goal of Protection Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide for the safety of the disciple's person (self, family, loved ones, etc.), place (house, worship area, etc.) or things (items of significance and importance).
- **Obstruction:** The energetic goal of Obstruction Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to stop or inhibit a evil spirit or demonic entity from further antagonistic actions.
- **Attacking:** The energetic goal of Attacking Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to initiate a direct attack onto the spirit entity, whereby its energetic form will be captured, defeated, or destroyed.
- **Binding:** The energetic goal of Binding Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to envelop, bind, and restrain an evil spirit.
- **Imprisoning:** The energetic goal of Imprisoning Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to energetically detain and confine an evil spirit.
- **Sealing:** The energetic goal of Sealing Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide the final energetic sealing needed after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area.

Protection

- **The Magic Scissors Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the celestial scissors of the eternal law of the Dao and is energetically used to cut and separate the good from the energetic "cords" attached to the body via evil (dark) people, places or things (Figure 1.145).

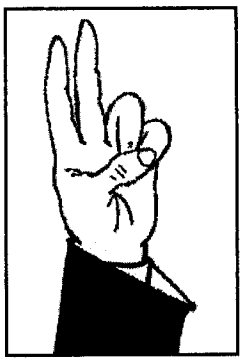


Figure 1.145. The Magic Scissors Single Hand Seal

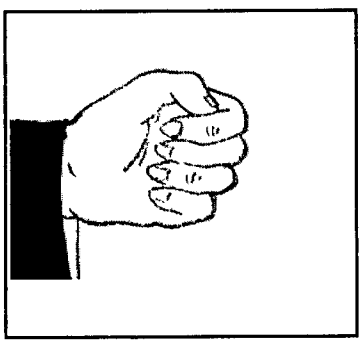


Figure 1.146. The "Sai Nian" Single Hand Seal

Obstruction

- **The "Sai Nian" Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a cork or stopper and is energetically used to block or stop the energetic leakages that occur from holes in an individual's Wei Qi (Aura) field. These energetic holes cause the individual life-force to become vulnerable to being stolen via people, places or things (energetic parasites). The Sai Nian Hand Seal is also used for obstructing psychic attacks and chasing away evil spirits (Figure 1.146).

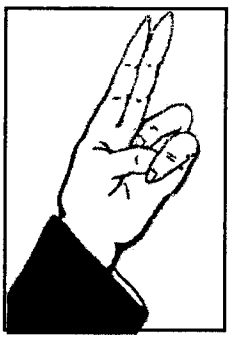


Figure 1.147. The Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal

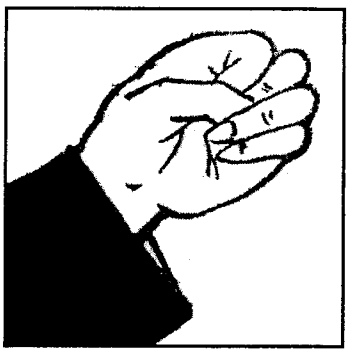


Figure 1.148. The Left Thunder Block Single Hand Seal

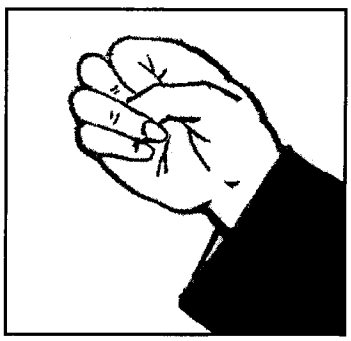


Figure 1.149. The Right Thunder Block Single Hand Seal

ATTACKING

- **The Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent the magical power of the Immortal Sword. The magical power released form this Single Hand Seal is energetically used to draw talismans and esoteric characters for protection, defence or attack. It is also commonly used for cutting and defeating evil spirits and demons (Figure 1.147).
- **The Left Thunder Block Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the power of Heavenly Thunder and is energetically used to terrify, attack and kill evil spirits (Figure 1.148).

  When forming the Left Thunder Block fist, the left thumb touches the base of the second (ring) finger before the last two fingers lock and seal the energy of the palm. The thumb is placed on the Gall Bladder Channel (Wood Element) access point (see Figure 1.108), and the Qian (Heaven) Trigram (see Figure 1.115) which allows the Daoist priest's Hun the ability to access the celestial energetic power of the lightning bolts that have been stored within the priest's Gall Bladder during the Thunder Magic rituals (used for gathering the celestial energy of thunder during the first storms of Spring).

  When using both the Left and Right Thunder Blocks (Lei Jue) to "attack and bind the evil with the sound of Thunder" the ancient Daoist teachings state that the disciples "eyes become like lightning and the voice becomes like thunder" when he or she stomps, shouts and releases the power of the celestial thunder.
- **The Right Thunder Block Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the power of Heavenly Thunder and is energetically used to terrify, attack and kill evil spirits (Figure 1.149).

  When forming the Right Thunder Block fist, certain Daoist schools will place the right thumb onto the base of the first (little) finger before the last two fingers lock and seal the energy of the palm. The thumb is placed on the Triple Burner Channel (Fire Element) access point (see Figure 1.114), which allows the Daoist priest the ability to access the energetic

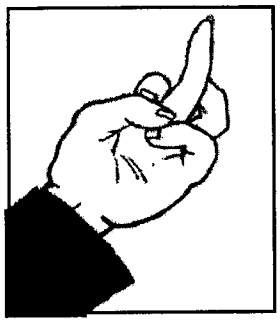


Figure 1.150. The Mount Tai Single Hand Seal

power of the fire and light that have been stored within the priest's Taiji Pole during the Thunder Magic rituals (used for gathering the celestial energy of thunder during the first storms of Spring).

- **The Mount Tai Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent picking up Mount Tai, lifting it 10,000 Zhuang (miles) in the air and then slamming it down hard on top of evil spirits and ghosts in order to energetically crush them (Figure 1.150).
- **The Purple Star Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the Shi Wei (Purple Star) of the Heavens. Energetically, its power is so immense that is used to place on top of fierce ghosts and evil spirits in order to dissolve them like acid (Figure 1.151).
- **The Demanding Knife Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the magical knife (Dao Tao) and is energetically used for chopping demons, cutting evil and destroying ghosts (Figure 1.152).
- **The Ghost Beating Stick Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the immortal stick used for beating demons and is energetically used to beat the evil spirits into submission (Figure 1.153).

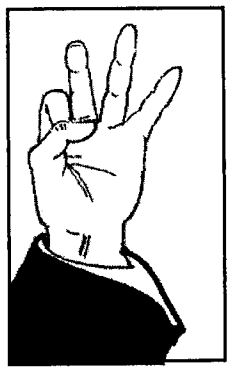


Figure 1.151. The Purple Star Single Hand Seal

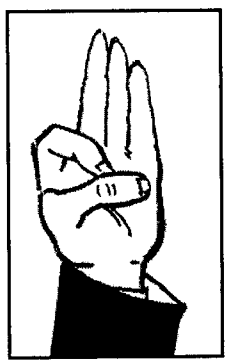


Figure 1.152. The Demanding Knife Single Hand Seal

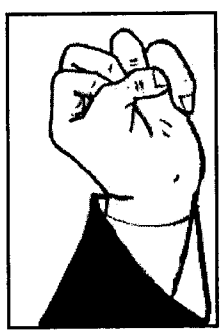


Figure 1.153. The Ghost Beating Stick Single Hand Seal

Figure 1.154. The Medical Fork Single Hand Seal

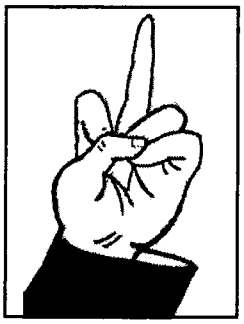


Figure 1.155. The Magic Needle Single Hand Seal

CATCHING

- **The Medical Fork Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically symbolizes a fatal poisonous weapon that is used to stop and kill evil things. This hand seal is commonly used in order to entice and bring spirit entities out of hiding into the "light," to then be paralyzed (or frozen) before beginning an exorcistic inquisition (Figure 1.154).
- **The Magic Needle Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents an immortal's needle, which has magical powers, and it is energetically used to chase, search and penetrate evil spirits and ghosts (Figure 1.155).
- **The Single Dragon that Pierces the Mountain Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically penetrate through mountains and into the depths of the Earth. It is used to energetically cut through, chase-after and catch evil spirits (Figure 1.156).

Figure 1.156. The Single Dragon that Pierces the Mountain Single Hand Seal

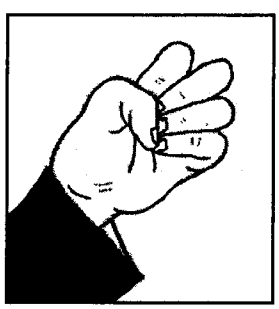


Figure 1.157. The Five Blacks Single Hand Seal

SEALING

- **The Five Blacks Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent the final seal (black cover), meaning to place a powerful energetic cover over a pit once it is closed (Figure 1.157). It is energetically used as the final or finishing technique for binding of an evil spirit inside a pit or cave (as in the final imprisoning of a demonic entity).

DAOIST MAGICAL STAR STEPPING PATTERNS

CYCLES OF THE STARS

To the ancient Daoists, the days of greatest importance (according to their calendar of magical events) was not assigned to a traditional month and day, but the specific day and hour on which a certain astronomical event took place. This knowledge of the Heavens required the sorcerer to be completely aware of the most subtle energetic movements that transpire within his or her environment, completely in tuned with the energetic movements of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Stars.

The ancient Chinese divided Heavenly energy into different classes of Yin and Yang: the Sun was seen as being the essence of Yang, the Moon as being the essence of Yin, and the Stars as being a combination of both Yin and Yang. The Stars were believed to have a great influence upon the energetic matrices of Earth and Man. The term "Stars" in ancient China, referred to the visible stars in the Northern Hemisphere; namely the Big Dipper, Polaris, the five planets, and the twenty-eight star constellations.

The Chinese ideograph for star, "Xing," is composed of two characters (Figure 1.158). On the top is the character "Ri" meaning "Sun;" on the bottom is the character "Sheng" meaning "to give birth to." It depicts the purest embodiment of refined matter which ascended into the Heavens and crystallized into Stars.

The ancient Chinese believed that stars and planets were energetically Yang, born from the Original (Yuan) Qi of Heaven and were considered to be the condensation of Fire, while the Milky Way was considered to be the condensation of Water. The ancient Chinese name for Milky Way is "Tianchong," meaning "Highway of Heaven."

The pure aspects of these stars were believed to form the universal patterns that are responsible for the manifestation of form and matter. Thus, the ancient Chinese also believed that everyone was born under the guardianship of the stars. Certain stars would have a great influence over an individual's life, determining whether he or she would be born as a human or animal, live long or die young, be rich or poor, etc.

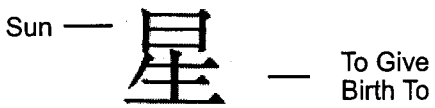


Figure 1.158. In Ancient Chinese Ideograph for the word "Star"

The ancient Daoists believed that the energetic matrix of the Spirit Body was composed of certain energetic substances that were common with, and peculiar to, the stars. These energetic substances constantly created and activated stellar manifestations within the body's energetic fields. These stellar manifestations expressed themselves within the spiritual sheath that enveloped an individual's spiritual, energetic, and physical bodies. Once an individual had awakened to the esoteric stellar power that was contained within their energetic field, they could successfully accelerate the formation of their Spirit Body, and free themselves from the realm of matter.

In an individual's everyday life, it was believed that all actions under Heaven would unavoidably incur consequences. How an individual thinks and acts was reported by the man's or woman's Yuan Shen to the stars that govern longevity and destiny, and years of life were subtracted for bad deeds performed. If the celestial vapor was eventually taken from the individual (i.e., due to misuse of life-force energy), then the terrestrial vapor contained within the individual's Spirit Body would slowly suffocate his or her life-force energy and death would follow.

HISTORY OF DAOIST STAR STEPPING

The ancient Daoist discovered that performing a ritual or speaking an incantation in a natural power spot (i.e., a place in the Earth where energy naturally accumulates) would tremendously enhance the magical power of the ritual and dramatically increase its energetic potency. This was one of the primary reasons why the skill of Feng Shui was so important to the ancient Daoists.

These energetic centers of the Earth were considered to be areas where matter intersects with spirit. They represented "cracks" in visible matter, that allowed the hidden spiritual energy to shine through. Once the power spot was discovered, the sorcerer could then use the energetic field of his or her own body to additionally increase the magical power of that area. This was initiated during a magical ritual by performing esoteric dance, chanting, or Star Stepping.

Daoist Star Stepping began in ancient China, when the shaman sorcerers would dance certain ritualistic steps in order to open the Celestial Gate and contact the various immortals living within the spirit world. These stepping patterns allowed the ancient Daoists to summon a spiritual entity from another plane of existence, causing it to manifest as a visible entity in either the energetic plane or the physical plane. These shuffling trance -like movements are variously known as "the Dance of the Wu," "the Steps of Yu," "Steps of the Big Dipper," or "Daoist Star Stepping."

In modern times, the ritual master (Fa Shi), wearing cloud shoes, imagines the diagram of the Big Dipper on ground, in front of the central altar, covering about ten square feet. The magical diagram of the Big Dipper symbolizes the nine levels of Heaven (sometimes called the "Nine Heavens").

Generally accompanied by Daoist music, the ritual master continues to visualize the Nine Heavens while performing the "Steps of the Big Dipper." This star stepping pattern is performed to correspond with the positions of the Dipper Stars and the 28 Constellations, and is utilized in conjunction with the magical diagrams of the Nine Palaces and the Eight Trigrams. The ancient Daoists believed that through the various stepping rituals, the spirit soul (Hun) of the priest could accomplish the following:

- **Spirit Travel:** To the ancient Daoists, the Northern Dipper was a celestial bridge that existed between Heaven and Earth. It was the path of celestial travel, the gateway to the Underworld, and the field of creative transformation. The sorcerer could therefore ascend into the Nine Heavens and deliver petitions ("reports") to the Celestial Immortals.
- **Controlling:** The Big Dipper was also used as a form of protective power, keeping the sorcerer safe from all manner of demonic influence that were sure to become attracted to the sorcerer's occult studies and rituals. The sorcerer could therefore receive various powers to control the energetic realms of nature, as well as to control the various actions of evil spirits and demons.
- **Destroying:** The sorcerer could invoke the magical power of Thunder in order to destroy the energetic and physical realms of people, places and things (specifically an evil spirit or demon).

THE GATE OF HEAVEN

In ancient China, it was traditionally believed that the Celestial Gate (or Gate of Heaven) was the energetic portal that an individual's soul entered into at the time of death, thus leading the deceased into another dimension. This magical gate could also be accessed and opened by an experienced Daoist sorcerer.

The Gate of Heaven is believed to be an actual spiritual "place," that exists as a physical location, and as a magical event. It can be accessed through the tail of the Big Dipper which serves as a "pointer," informing the sorcerer of the exact location from which to orient his or her magical rituals.

For example, during the evenings of the winter months (i.e. November), the Big Dipper seems to hanging "upside down" from its tail. It is during this time period, when the magical powers Heaven naturally descend upon the Earth, that the "Lu" Ordination is performed for the Zheng Yi Daoist priesthood, held in the Celestial Master's Mansion of Lung Hu Shan.

The ancient Daoist sorcerers would perform the magical Steps of Yu (also known as the "Steps of the Big Dipper") in order to open the Gate of Heaven. This magical ritual is based on the esoteric concept that "in order to create an invisible phenomenon, a sorcerer must first create its visible counterpart (i.e., constructing a magical circle and altar); and in order to create a visible phenomenon, a sorcerer must first create its invisible counterpart (i.e., casting the spell and reciting the incantations needed to open the energetic gate)."

The Three Gods of the Gate of Heaven

When performing the Steps of Yu, and attempting to enter into the Gates of Heaven, there are three Celestial Gods that preside over the Gate of the Northern Dipper in Mao Shan Daoism. These three gods are collectively known as the "Three-in-One," and are sometimes describes as the Male (the White Tiger), the Female, and the Great One (the Primordial King Ying Er, Ruler of the Gate of Life). The Great One is also sometimes known as "the King of the Yellow Court."

In certain Daoist sects, the Three-in-One gods are sometimes represented as the manifestations of Jing (Essence), Qi (Energy), and Shen (Spirit). Other Daoist sects equate them to the psychic energies of the subconscious, conscious, and superconscious mind. Still other Daoists express the Three-in-One as the gods of the Three Dantians ("Three Cinnabar Fields").

These three separate, yet related powers are susceptible to the prayers and invocations of the Daoist sorcerers. They are viewed as the primordial gods of creation, representing the subtle forces and influences that modern society has all but forgotten.

Incantation Used for Causing the Spirit to Leave the Physical Body

Before beginning the Steps of Yu, the Daoist sorcerer would normally say the "Chu Shen Zhou" ("Bring the Spirit Out of the Body") magical incantation. This magical incantation was recited when offering prayers and supplications to the Jade Emperor. This incantation was not only used to receive permission to enter the celestial realm, but it also prepared the sorcerer's Spirit for the long journey into the stars. The "Chu Shen Zhou" magical incantation is described as follows:

"Yuan Wo Shen Shen Chu Wo Shen Xing.
Ling Wo Long Shen Shang Da Di Ting.
Ji Ji Ru Lu Ling"

"Allow my Spirit to come out of my body.
Command my True Spirit to reach
the Jade Court.
Quickly - As this is Law"

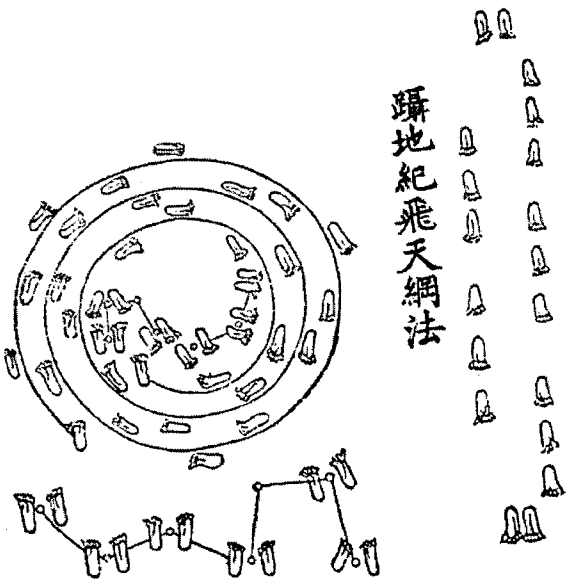


Figure 1.159. The "Steps of Wu," is used for invocation. This pattern, originally used to demonstrate the energetic and spiritual union of Heaven and Earth, shows the combined circular "Tread" pattern of "Terrestrial Regulation" and the Big Dipper "Flight" pattern of "Celestial Rules."

Incantation Used for Returning the Spirit Back into the Physical Body

After completing the Steps of Yu, the Daoist sorcerer would normally say the "Ru Shen Zhou" ("Bring the Spirit Back into the Body") magical incantation. This magical incantation was recited after completing the ritual, and before dispersing the celestial deities. The "Ru Shen Zhou" magical incantation is described as follows:

"Yuan Wo Shen Shen Ru Wo Shen Xing.
Ling Wo Zhu Shi Bao Wo Chang Sheng.
Yi Ru Sheng Qi Jun Lu Ling."

"Allow my Spirit to return to my body."
"Command my spirit to live in this world
and protect my long life.
As this is the command
of General Sheng Qi Jun."

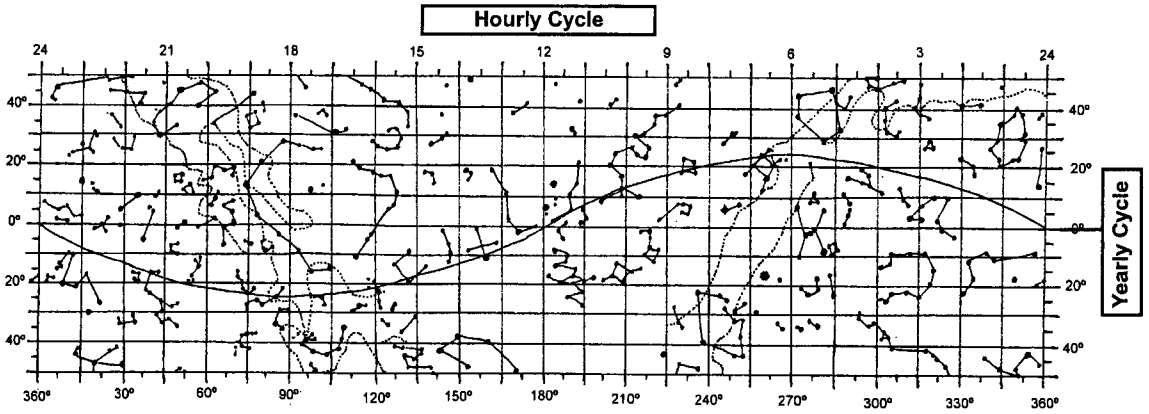


Figure 1.160. The Pathway of the Earth Through the Twenty-Eight Constellations. The positioning of the stars is considered to be the spiritual and energetic matrix (celestial diagram) of certain areas of the Heavens

THE STEPS OF YU

To the ancient Chinese, the Steps of Yu (also known as the "Paces of Yu") represented access to a magical "star gate." In ancient China, each of the seven stars of the Big Dipper related to one of seven magical gates, and also corresponded to one of the seven planets (Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn).

It is generally believed that the "Steps of the Big Dipper" stepping pattern was originally developed from the "Steps of Yu" (Figure 1.159). According to the *Magical Utterances* written by Yang Xiong of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220A.D.), "Because he often scaled high mountains and forded deep streams, when Emperor Yu had finished harnessing the water and the land, he suffered from a foot disease and would therefore walk with a limp." According to this source, the "Steps of the Big Dipper" are a result of the imitation of Emperor Yu's way of walking.

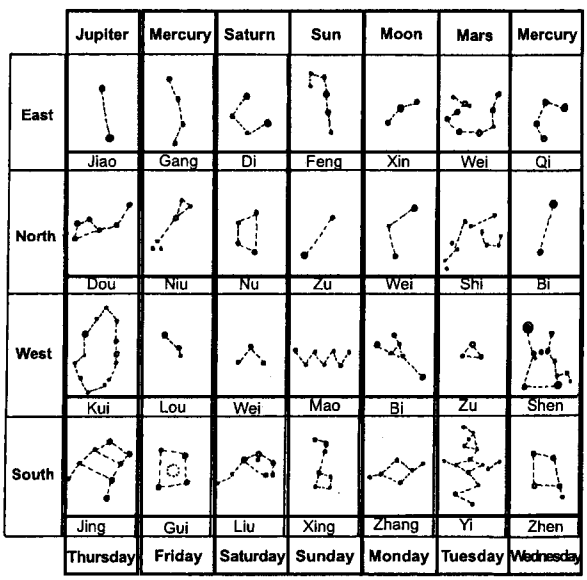


Figure 1.161. The Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

However, the actual "Steps of Yu" appeared quite early in China's ancient history and also incorporated the ancient art of Breath Incantation. According to the *Inner Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* and the *Book of Original Changes of the Pervasive Divine Eight Emperors*, "After Emperor Yu had harnessed the water and the land, he observed a huge bird along the ocean that had mastered Breath Incantations. The bird walked in a strange manner, and its steps could turn huge stones upside down. Emperor Yu studied the bird's stepping pattern and transformed the bird's strange way of walking into an effective method of acquiring magical skill." Therefore, the stepping pattern was called the "Steps of Yu," after its founder.

It is also said that Yu spent three years learning Breath Incantations and later used the magical power of Breath Incantations to match the star stepping patterns. The positioning of the stars is considered to be the spiritual and energetic matrix (celestial diagram) of certain areas of the Heavens (Figure 1.160 and Figure 1.161). Therefore, as his feet stepped within the celestial patterns of the Nine Dipper stars, Emperor Yu used Hand Seals and Breath Incantations to absorb the energetic and spiritual powers of the various stars.

Ancient Star Stepping Rituals

When practicing the Steps of Yu or any star stepping pattern, the sorcerer will follow certain magical protocols used for preparation and application. Each Daoist school will vary in its unique approach to performing the magical star stepping patterns.

Because some Daoist priests have reportedly been "instantly struck dead" by inadvertently "miss-stepping" during magical star stepping rituals, it is advised to adhere to the following list of precautions and advice used by many Daoist sorcerers when performing the ancient star stepping rituals. These esoteric practices were designed to assist the sorcerer in developing a powerful Spirit Body, capable of safely making the celestial voyage into the stars:

- Before beginning, the sorcerer must first prepare him or herself by performing "cleansing and purifying" rituals (bathing and fasting). These preparation rituals generally last three days, and sometimes require sexual abstinence, fasting, and the consumption of magical elixirs or Holy Waters (depending on the specific needs and functions of the magical ceremony).
- It is advised to first double-lock the ritual or meditation room before performing the magical rite. This helps insure complete privacy and avoids distractions.
- Certain rituals must take place at midnight, the hour when the Yang Qi begins to rise (11:00 pm - 1:00 am). Therefore, be aware of the specific time of year, month, day, and hour that the magical rite must take place (e.g., magical rituals are regularly performed during the solstices and equinoxes).
- The sorcerer will make sure that statues of a male and female celestial immortal has been placed in plain view on the altar. Any pair of deities representing the duel energies of Yang and Yin is suitable, however, they should represent a combination of Power and Spirituality (i.e., your greatest spiritual strength, combined with your most noblest aspirations). Care must be taken to invoke the celestial powers of both of these deities when performing this specific magical Star Stepping magical.
- Begin by creating a three ring Magical Circle for protection.
- Then, after the red altar candles and incense has been lit, the sorcerer should immediately grind and knock his or her teeth 36 times. This particular teeth knocking practice is used in order to stimulate the Kidneys, awaken the Yang Qi, and protect the sorcerer's body from ingesting Hou Qi (turbid or toxic energy).
- After knocking the teeth, the sorcerer will place his or her tongue in the Wood Element position. The Wood Element Tongue position is related to the spiritual energy of sorcerer's Hun. Connecting the tongue in this manner is a popular technique used by the ancient Daoist sorcerers for connecting with the Taiji Pole and releasing the spirit. It requires that the tongue be placed on the middle of the upper hard palate, at the center of the roof of the mouth (Figure 1.162).

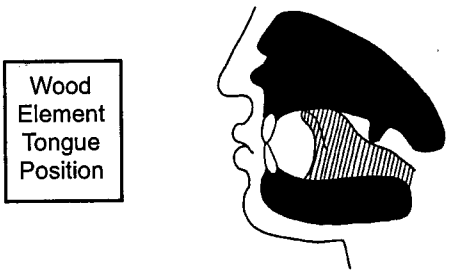


Figure 1.162. The Wood Element Tongue position is related to the spiritual energy of sorcerer's Hun.

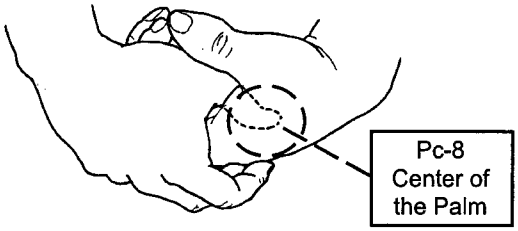


Figure 1.163. The Proper Hand Position

- After gathering Earth Qi into the Lower Dantian, the sorcerer will form the Yin and Yang Hand Seal. This particular Hand Seal is used to develop a strong electromagnetic charge in the sorcerer's Lower and Middle Dantians, and is naturally utilized by the mystic's body to balance the Yin and Yang currents (Figure 1.163).
- Next, the sorcerer will inhale, and with a slow concentrated breath, lead the Qi from the Lower Dantian to the Middle Dantian and heart area. It is important to keep the energy gathered and focused in the heart area, while the hands continue to rise upward towards the Yin Tang (Third Eye) area.
- The sorcerer will now imagine the Celestial God Tai Shang Lao Jun (Figure 1.164) hovering above his or her head, as a Divine ball of illuminating light, radiating powerful celestial light into his or her body (from the crown). Once the sorcerer experiences the illuminating light sensation, he or she will say the following "Mantra of Intention" three to seven times. Once the Mantra is completed, the sorcerer's mind should be completely empty:

"Tai Shang Si Bei
Wu Liang Du Ren."

"Divine Presence, fill me with compassion, so that I may help others without restraint."

- After the "Mantra of Intention" is spoken, the sorcerer will slowly lower his or her hands. While the hands are descending from the Yin Tang (Third Eye) area, the sorcerer will continue to imagine the energy from the Celestial Deity Tai Shang Lao Jun descending into his or her body, fusing with the energy of the heart. The fused energy of Heaven (i.e., the Divine light) and Earth (i.e., the Heart's Shen) will continue descending the body, along with the hands, until it reaches the Lower Dantian. When the combined energies reach the Lower Dantian, imagine and feel the energy immediately transform into steam, and fill the extremities with energy and power.

Figure 1.164. The Celestial God Tai Shang Lao Jun (also known as Lord Lao or Laozi)

- After completing the Mantra of Intention, the sorcerer will then summon the magical powers of the Celestial Yin and Yang, as well as the Four Celestial Animals of the Four Directions and offer burnt incense to these deities.
- Then, while facing East (i.e., the Green Dragon), the sorcerer will close his or her eyes and visualize the seven stars of the Big Dipper descending on top of his or her body (with the celestial handle of the Big Dipper pointing towards the Eastern direction). Daoist star stepping rituals require the sorcerer to protect his or her body by arranging the magical power of the seven stars in specific configurations in or around the body (see The Stars of the Big Dipper).
- The sorcerer will now turn his or her eyes "inward," and begin to visualizes and experience surrounding and transforming the entire cen-

ter core (i.e., energetic area surrounding the Taiji Pole) into the reflective image of a magic mirror.

- Next, the eight magical powers of the Bagua are then invoked and visualized surrounding each of the sorcerer's Three Dantians. Each of the three realms (spirit, energy, and matter) of the eight magical powers represent the Twenty-Four Perfected Immortals. The celestial powers of the Twenty-Four Perfected Immortals will energetically combine and begin to illuminate the sorcerer's three bodies (physical, energetic, and spiritual).
- The powerful illumination created from the eight magical powers of the Bagua is then reflected outward via the image of the Magic Mirror surrounding the sorcerer's center core. At this point, the locked meditation room will now become completely filled with the radiating celestial light emanating from the sorcerer's body.
- The Five Pure Lights that surround the sorcerer's Eternal Soul will now emerge from his or her Taiji Pole and heart area as five "Illuminating Pearls." These five magical orbs will additionally shine their powerful lights and further illuminate the four corners of the meditation room and the central space of the Magic Circle.
- At this moment, the radiating spiritual light poring from the sorcerer's center core begins to lift the sorcerer's spirit body out of his or her physical body, towards the Heavens.
- In the incense smoke above the altar, the sorcerer will eventually see the First Gate open. After the password is presented, the sorcerer's spirit body can begin to enter into the celestial realm and begin its journey among the stars.
- Now is the time when the sorcerer will perform the magical Star Stepping patterns required in the ritual. This experience should feel like rising on a ladder of light, and strolling among the seven stars of the Northern Dipper.

Ancient Stepping Patterns

The following are examples of the primary magical stepping patterns used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- **Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Long Hu Shan (Dragon Tiger Mountain), in the Jiangxi Province.
- **Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Mao Shan (Mao Mountain), in the Jiangsu Province.
- **Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Ge Zao Shan, in the Jiangxi Province.

Daoist Stepping patterns can be divided into several categories according to their magical uses. The most popular are: Big Dipper Stepping, Seven Star Stepping, Nine Palace Stepping, Twenty-Eight Star Constellation Stepping, Bagua (Eight Trigram) Stepping, Five Element Stepping, Three Stepping Patterns, and the Magical Esoteric Star Stepping Patterns, are described as follows.

Introduction to the Big Dipper

Much of what has been written in ancient China about the magical powers of the Big Dipper was preserved in the classic Daoist works on alchemy originating from the Mao Shan (Shang Qing) Daoist school during the Jin Dynasty period (265 - 420 A.D.). Shang Qing translates as "Highest Clarity," and refers to the "Nine Heavens" of ancient Daoist cosmology. The term "Nine Heavens" refers to the seven stars of the Big Dipper plus the two invisible stars, Fu and Bi. The Nine Heavens was sometimes called the "Abode of the Great One," who was believed to be the "Father of the Dao," and was older than the Heavens and Earth.

The Big Dipper (also known as The Emperor's Chariot or The Celestial Gate) was considered to be the "place of origin and of return." It was accepted as a magical gate by the ancient Daoists and was

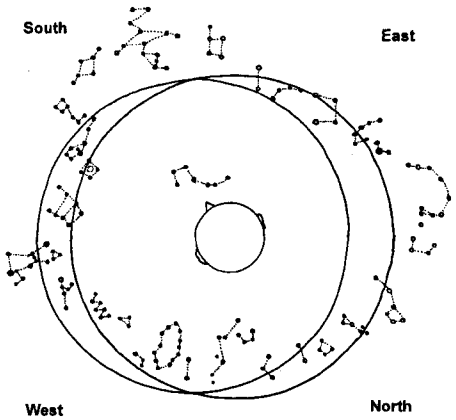


Figure 1.165. Facing the direction of the North Star and Big Dipper at night allowed the ancient Daoists the ability to accurately tell time.

Figure 1.166. Dou Mu, The Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper

used as the passageway into Heaven. According to the ancient Daoists, the Northern Ladle (Big Dipper) was the Chariot of the Celestial Emperor, who was believed to ride around the Celestial Pole Star continually overseeing his earthly kingdom. According to Mao Shan Daoist tradition, the Celestial Pole Star can only be approached through Seven Gates of the Big Dipper, which represents the highest attainment possible for earthly beings, hence the name Shang Qing, "Highest Clarity."

Since they associated it with Death, Enlightenment, Soul Travel, and the worship of the Celestial Immortals, the ancient Mao Shan Daoists continually worshipped and invoked the magical powers of the Big Dipper. While the Sun, Moon, and Five Planets were used as a kind of "cosmic timetable," effective as a means of foretelling the Macrocosmic changes within the Heavens and Earth or for predicting future events, the Big Dipper served another purpose entirely. It was used as a means through which the Daoist sorcerer could enter into the supernatural realm.

In ancient times, it was believed that the Heavens revolved around the Earth. This is one reason why the ancient Daoists believed the Big Dipper to be circumpolar (i.e., constantly circulating the North Star and never appearing below the horizon). Because it appears to rotate once around the North Star every twenty-four hours, the ancient Chinese were able to tell time from the position of the Dipper at night, give or take a few (four) minutes (Figure 1.165).

In Daoist cosmology, the Sun corresponds to the Middle Dantian, the Heart and the Element of Fire, the Moon corresponds to the Lower Dantian, the Kidneys and the Element of Water, and the Big Dipper corresponds to the Yellow Court, the Spleen, and the Element of Earth.

In some ancient Daoist sects, the Big Dipper is viewed as a female deity Dou Mu (the Immortal Mother of the Stars of The Dipper), and she is considered to be the "Governor of the Pavilion of Heavenly Treasure." She is said to have the most "brilliant eyes of all the Heavens." She, along with the Stars of the Dipper as her terrestrial spirit, and water celestial spirit, is in charge of life (Figure 1.166).

In the ancient Chinese Daoist book of the *Fundamental Destiny, Life-Prolonging Heart Scripture of the Great Sagely Primordial Sovereign of the Supreme Mysterious and Numinous Big Dipper,* it is written that, "with her great merit of medicine and healing, the Big Dipper manages and harmonizes the Five Elements, regulates the Yin and Yang Vital Breaths, dissolves stagnations and eliminates dark and Evil Qi. Under her mercy, those individuals who miss their time of salvation may redeem themselves. She is also in charge of the safety of

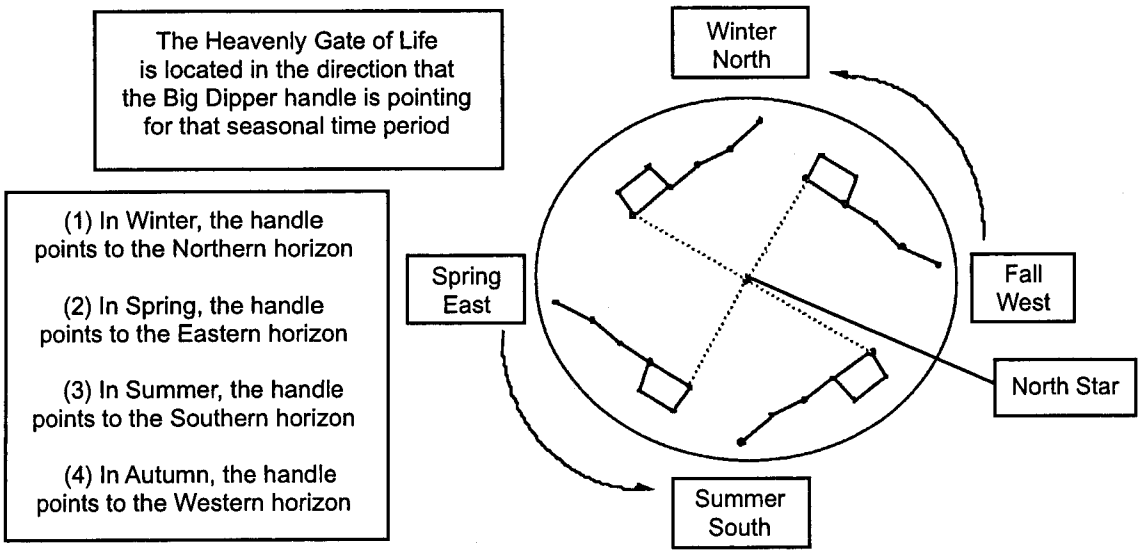


Figure 1.167. In Ancient China, the Handle of the Big Dipper was used to Determine the Season (The North Star was always positioned in the center of the diagram).

pregnancy and birth, as well as the healing of diseases. Seated on her throne, the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper peacefully cultivates divine perfection, refines celestial and terrestrial spirits, concentrates the Vital Breath with an empty mind and enters the Mystery of Mysteries. Breathing the numinous Wind, gathering the purple Wuji energy, she has attained the mysterious and numinous Sublime Dao, and releases infinite subtle rays, penetrating the Pool of Essence."

Angle of the Big Dipper

In ancient Chinese mysticism, the Big Dipper represents the foundational base for the "Gate of Access," which is considered the spiritual passageway between life and death. Through this gate the individual may obtain knowledge and insight concerning past, present, and future events. The ancient Daoists believed that the Heavenly Gate of Destiny or Life (Mingmen of Heaven) is located in the direction that the handle of the Big Dipper is pointing. In ancient China, the tip of the Big Dipper handle was sometimes called the "horse," because it leads the novice (the rider) to the Heavenly Gate of Destiny. The location of the Heavenly Gate of Destiny indicates the directions from which prayers and blessings are to be initiated, and exorcisms performed. It is also considered the place from which the soul of a deceased person can escape from the underworld.

As the Earth orbits the Sun, the angle at which the Big Dipper can be viewed changes on a daily, monthly, and yearly basis (Figure 1.167). These changing angles correspond to the different cycles of the Moon as they are arranged in the Twelve Earthly Branches, and repeat themselves after completing an orbit (360° rotation of twelve Moon cycles). These twelve lunar cycles determine the twelve seasonal periods (Figure 1.168). The beginning part of each month marks the beginning of the seasonal periods of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the beginning of the energy cycle of that month.

When the Big Dipper points to a specific direction in accordance to the "lunar month," a practitioner can face the direction that the handle is pointing to invigorate internal energy. The Big Dipper is related to the energetic transformations of germinating, beginning, and growing.

Spiritual Power of the Big Dipper

The ancient Daoists believed that the Gate of Life/Destiny indicates the directions from which prayer is to be initiated and is also the place through

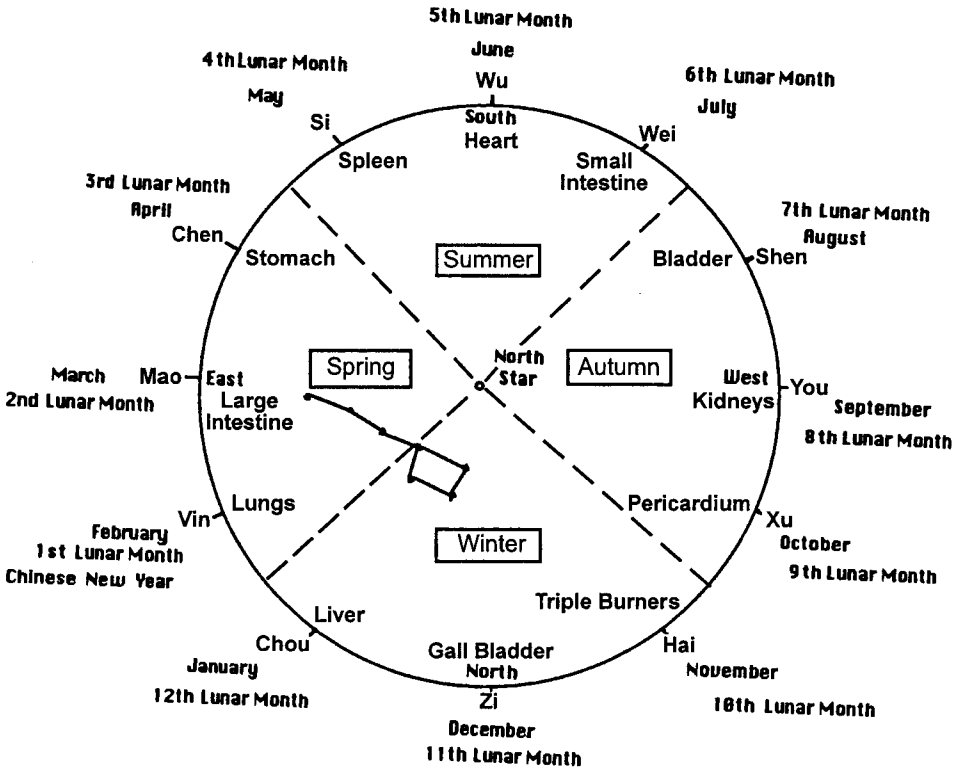


Figure 1.168. The beginning of the seasonal periods of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the twelve Moon cycles is determined by the angle of the Big Dipper.

which the soul of a deceased individual could escape the underworld. The Gate of Life/Destiny is found in different locations during the various times of the year (Figure 1.169 through Figure 1.172).

Because the Gate of Life/Destiny is located at the exact point of the tip of the handle of the Pole Star constellation, it also indicates the precise directions from which the Daoist Mystic would gather his or her celestial energy in the form of Thunder Magic cultivation.

Furthermore, the ancient Daoists also believed that the Stars of the Big Dipper move in the center of the Heavens and look down to control the four directions, four seasons and Five Elements. In ancient times, there were three specific kinds of spiritual practice centered around the Stars of the Big Dipper, described as follows:

1. The first consists of invoking its power for protection by having the celestial stars surround and cover the body with divine light.
2. The second consists of ascending into it in order to access the infinite knowledge contained within the realm of Big Dipper.
3. The third involves gathering the star's essence or star cream into the body to energize the Nine Chambers of the Three Dantians.

In ancient China, the Big Dipper was considered the bridge between the energies of the Sun, the Moon, and the source of "10,000 things." According to the *Seven Slips of a Cloudy Satchel*, "the Nine Stars are the luminous root of the Nine Heavens, the bright bridge of the Sun and Moon, and the ancestral abyss of all things." The Sun and Moon are together considered to create a bipolar energy field, whereas the Big Dipper is considered unipolar. The Sun corresponds to the Heart and Fire energy, which is related to the front area of the body. The Moon corresponds to the Kidneys and Water energy, which is related to the back area of the body. The Big Dipper corresponds to

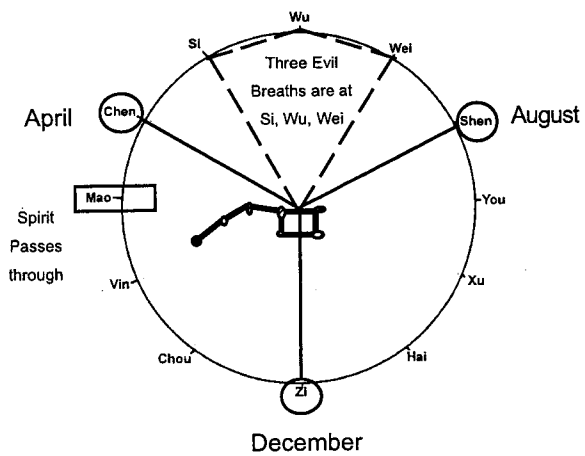


Figure 1.169. In the Shen, Zi, and Chen months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Middle Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Yin and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/ Destiny through Mao. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Si, Wu, and Wei.

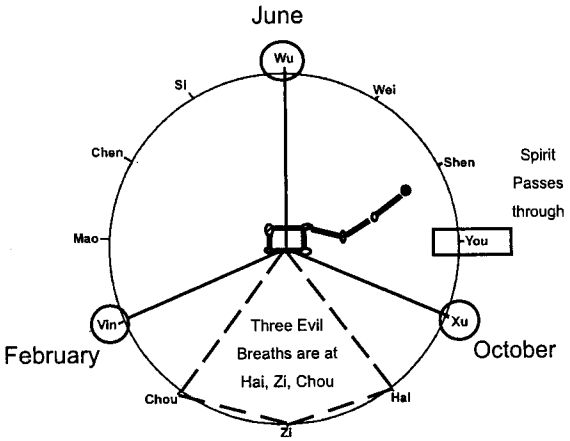


Figure 1.170. In the Yin, Wu, and Xu months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Supreme Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Shen and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/Destiny through Yu. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Hai, Zi, and Chou.

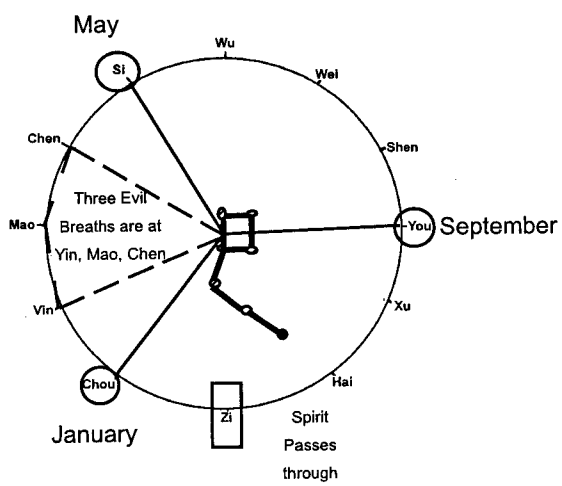


Figure 1.171. In the Si, You, and Chou months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Lower Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Hai and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/ Destiny through Zi. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Yin, Mao, and Chen.

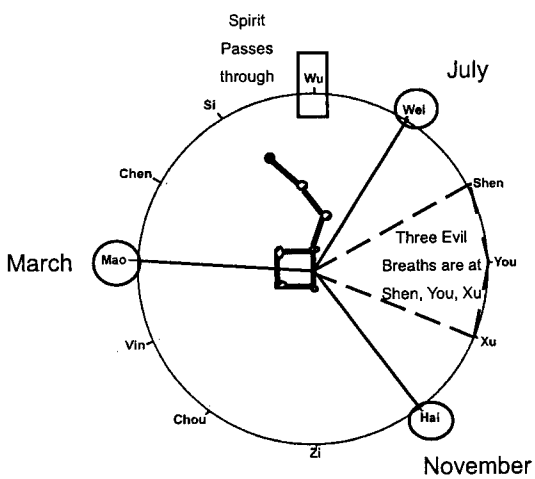


Figure 1.172. In the Hai, Mao, and Wei months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Upper Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Si and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/Destiny through Wu. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Shen, You, and Xu.

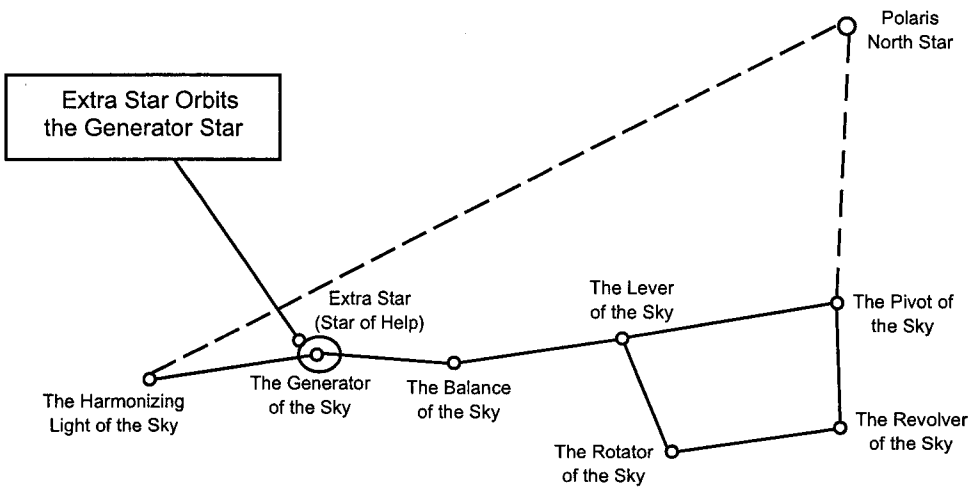


Figure 1.173. The Big Dipper is considered a reservoir of heavenly energy, collecting Qi from all of the other stars and constellations as it moves through the sky.

the Spleen and the center Earth Element, which is related to the Taiji Pole.

The energy from the Stars of the Big Dipper can also be used to balance the body's Five Agents (stored within the body's Five Yin Organs) and can be arranged internally to enhance perception of space and time. The Seven Po are also said to relate to the seven Stars of the Big Dipper.

THE STARS OF THE BIG DIPPER

The "Steps of Yu" enacted a Daoist sorcerer's magical journey from star to star through the various realms of the Northern Dipper. This sacred journey began with the "First Star" (located on the outer lip of the bowl of the Dipper), and continued to the last star, ending at the Celestial Gate (located on the very end of the handle).

The ancient Chinese believed that each person was born under the protection of one of the spirits who reside in each star of the Big Dipper. When pacing the "Steps of Yu," the sorcerer would therefore stop at each star and invoke the spirit's magical name, using the appropriate Words of Power in order to open each magical Seal. The ancient Daoists believed that there was a energetic memory encoded and contained within this magical ritual, allowing the Words of Power to automatically trigger and open the energetic portal of each star's celestial Gate.

As this encoded memory begins to awaken the deepest layers of the sorcerer's unconscious mind, it eventually works its way upward into his or her consciousness. Once the conscious mind experiences this spiritual awakening, the sorcerer's Spirit Body begins to conform itself around this encoded memory. At that moment of recognition, the sorcerer's Yang Body begins to absorb and envelop itself in the energetic material of the stars. Then, the sorcerer's Yang Body along with his or her consciousness begins to separate itself from its attachment to the dense energetic form of the Yin Body, and Soul Travel is manifested.

The names of the Big Dipper stars and their planetary correspondences are described as follows (Figure 1.173):

- **The First Star in known as the "Clarity of Yang:"** It is the star located at the lip of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Pivot of the Sky." In the ritual of "Walking the Dipper," the sorcerer begins at the midnight hour, starting at the "Clarity of Yang," when the Yang energy begins to rise.

  This star is also known as "The Gate of the Moon," and it represents entry into the spirit realm. When working specifically with just the "Clarity of Yang" star as a magical portal, the altar should face the North. It is also important

that the magical Seal used to open the celestial gate be engraved onto a silver talisman, during one of the three days of the Full Moon, and that no sunlight ever be permitted to shine onto this Seal. The incense used to access the spirit realm of the First Star is Camphor.

- **The Second Star in known as the "Essence of Yin:"** It is the star located at the outer bottom edge of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Revolver of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Mercury."
- **The Third Star in known as the "True One:"** It is the star located directly on the "floor" of the Dipper's bowl, just before the star known as the Underworld, and it is sometimes called "The Rotator of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Venus."
- **The Fourth Star in known as the "Underworld:"** It is the star located at the outer edge of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Lever of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of the Sun." It is considered to be the energetic portal to the "land of the Midnight Sun," and was sometimes known by the name "Mysterious Darkness" and "Black Obscurity."
- **The Fifth Star in known as the "Red One:"** It is the star located on the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Balance of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Mars."
- **The Sixth Star in known as the "Northern Bridge:"** It is the star located on the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Generator of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Jupiter." The Northern Bridge leads directly to the Celestial Gate. It also contains an "invisible" star that orbits the Northern Bridge.
- **The Seventh Star in known as the "Celestial Gate:"** It is the star located on the tip of the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Harmonizing Light of the Sky." The Celestial Gate provides the Daoist sorcerer with the final entrance to the celestial realms. This star is also known as the "Gate of Saturn."

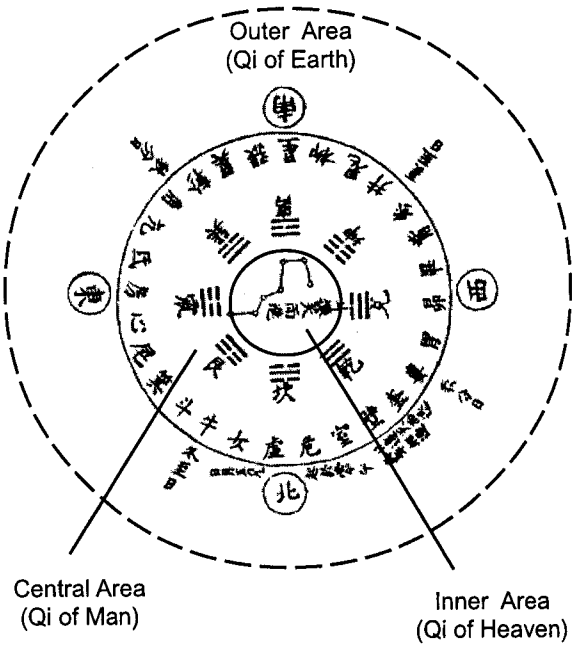


Figure 1.174. The ancient Daoists would sometimes use the energy of the Big Dipper for invoking its powerful protection.

Using the Dipper Stars for Protection

One method used in ancient China for invoking the powerful protection of the Big Dipper energy is for the individual to cover him or herself with the Stars of the Big Dipper. This was accomplished by first surrounding the body's outer energetic field with the four primary directions of the Earth Qi, then surrounding the central internal organs and energetic fields with the energy of the Postnatal Eight Trigrams.

Next, visualize the Big Dipper Stars descending from the Heavens and arranging themselves in a specific order around the center Taiji Pole of the body's core (Figure 1.174). After the inner core has been filled with the celestial power emanating from the Big Dipper Stars, the individual can be further protected by arranging the Stars in four specific ways:

- Shining above the individual's head, saturating through his or her entire body
- In front of or behind the doctor's body and radiating through his or her tissues

- Vibrating the nine chambers within the individual's Three Dantians
- As a celestial receptacle, with the bowl of the Dipper in the Lower Dantian in order to receive celestial light and the handle along the spine to strengthen one's destiny and virtue

The doctor imagines placing the stars of the Big Dipper into the center of his or her body. The Stars' energetic function is to govern the front, back, right, and left of the body, thus regulating the individual's Yin and Yang energy. The Stars' energetic function can also be used for absorbing energy from the four seasons into the individual's body.

Usually, meditations dealing with gathering energy from the Sun and Moon are followed by meditations involving the Big Dipper to further stimulate and energize the body's energetic fields. The Stars of the Big Dipper are also considered to be responsible for opening the seven orifices of the embryo's body, and for giving the embryo life. These stars also correspond to the Nine Chambers in the Three Dantians and the seven primary chakras.

The ancient Zheng Yi Daoists also believed that the Nine Emperors of the Dao Body (Heavenly Emperor, Purple Subtlety, Lusty Wolf, Giant Gate, Store of Wealth, Civil Chief, Pure and Chaste, Military Chief, and Troop Destroyer) were connected to the Nine Stellar Sovereigns of the Big Dipper.

THE NINE DARK STARS OF THE BIG DIPPER

The ancient Daoists also believed in the existence of certain "anti-stars," stars that could not be seen with the eyes but existed as counterparts to the visible stars. They therefore positioned the existence of these invisible Dipper stars around the location of the visible stars.

Just as there were invisible stars forming and invisible Dipper, so are there invisible planets forming an invisible solar system. The magical rituals employed by the ancient Daoists to summon the forces of these stars also work to summon the invisible forces into the sorcerer's own body.

According to ancient Daoist texts, the nine stars of the Big Dipper constellations are doubled in number by virtue of their association with a

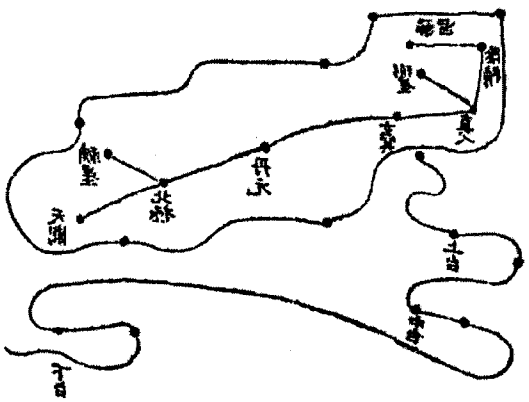


Figure 1.175. The Big Dipper, surrounded by the Dark Stars and Preceded by the Three Terraces

group of nine dark stars, which cast a "black light," or "light that does not shine." This is a type of sacred darkness floating around the North Pole. The black light is also associated with the "floating darkness" where nothing external or internal can be seen.

These nine dark stars are actually the stars of the celestial Hun and Po, or Ling Ming (Magical Light) wherein female deities known as the "Nine Empresses of the Great Yin" dwell (Figure 1.175). The Nine Empresses of the Great Yin are associated with the condition of *Wu Wei*, in which the forces of nature are gathered and hidden. They were also believed to assist the Daoist adept in the art of advanced physical, energetic, and spiritual transformation.

In ancient times, the Daoist adepts would direct the focus of their prayers and meditations toward these nine female deities in order to acquire the power of invisibility. Some of their names include, "She Who Hides by Transformation and Escapes into the Origin," "She Who Hides Her Traces and Disperses Her True Form," and "She Who Changes Her Body and Transforms Her Brilliance."

Within the physical body, these nine dark stars correspond and dwell within the Ming Tang of the Upper Dantian, while the nine visible stars of the Big Dipper correspond and dwell within the Heart and Middle Dantian.

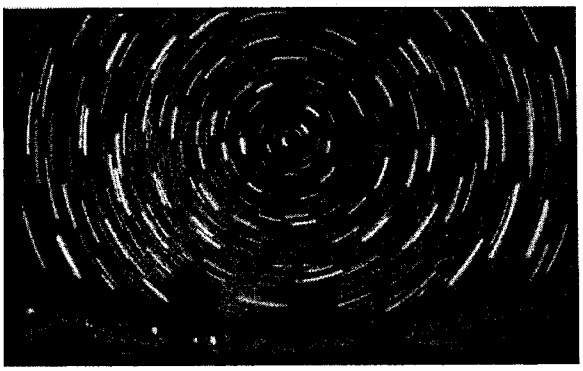


Figure 1.176. The ancient Daoist believed that the Pole Star was the absolute center of the Heavens. Pictured here (through time-lapse photography) the stars seem to trace concentric circles around the Pole Star.

The Pole Star and the Big Dipper

In 3000 B.C., the Celestial North Pole pointed to the star Thuban, in the constellation known as "Draco," or the Dragon. Draconis was considered to be the most important constellation at that time, and it seemed to pivot around the Heavens via one of its own stars, Thuban (also known as Alpha Draconis). Over time, the gradual change from Draconis to the Great Bear (Big Dipper) signified a energetic shift that occurred on the planet many centuries ago.

Currently, the Celestial North Pole corresponds to an area in space very close to the star known as Polaris (the North Star). According to ancient Daoist texts, the Pole Star (North Star) is the absolute center of the Heavens (Figure 1.176). It was further believed that the Pole Star axis, stemming from the North Star, traveled downward from the center of Heaven to connect with the Earth's center core through the North and South poles. The North pole was regarded as the peak (or Baihui) of the Earth, and was believed to be comprised of seven Stars, composing a fifth realm (differentiated from the Four Directions of Heaven).

The energies of each of the four directional animals and their seven constellations moved around the Earth's central Pole to create the Five Element changes in weather. If the weather changes progressed in their expected order, they were considered normal; however, if the weather transition occurred either earlier, later, stronger, or weaker than expected, it was considered to be an environmental Evil Qi.

Therefore, the ancient Chinese believed that one could predict the changes of weather by studying the interrelationships between the Five Elements and the cycles of the Sun, Moon, the Pole Star, the Five Planets, and the Twenty-Eight Constellations.

Big Dipper Stepping Patterns

The Big Dipper is also called the "Celestial Matrix" and the "Earthly Pattern." Therefore, the basic function of Pacing the Dippers is to symbolize leaving the Earth and crossing over the "Nine Quarters" of the Nine Heavens, patrolling the universe, and flying over the realm of the Immortals. Once the priest has entered into the celestial realm, he or she can receive assistance in prohibiting evil things, and controlling evil spirits. The Steps of Yu and the Pacing of the Big Dippers also had the additional function of creating supernatural powers, and enhancing the ability to prohibit and control spirit entities.

Within the course of their development, the specific functions of the stepping patterns became specialized. Some of the stepping patterns were mainly practiced in order to allow the mystic the ability to fly over the Nine Heavens, others were specifically used to control the spirits. For example:

- The pacing of the Dipper for "Destroying Hell and Invoking Thunder," was used as a skill in Thunder Magic. The stepping pattern was believed to be able to remove the Yin Vital Breath from the body and allow the disciple to be able to discharge Yang spiritual power (causing the frightening sound of thunder to be heard).
- Pacing the "Dipper of Spirit Possession" as a exorcistic skill for "Summoning and Interrogating Spirits" caused the spirit to attach itself to a specified children medium or other designated individual.
- The "Pacing The Numinous Dipper of the Divine Tiger of the Life-invoking Roar" was

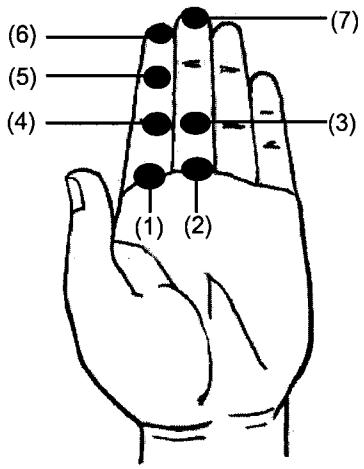


Figure 1.177. The Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

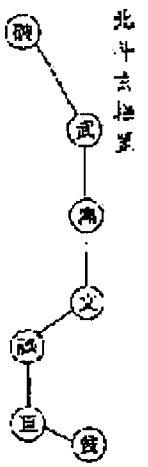


Figure 1.178. The Pacing of the "Big Dipper of the Mysterious Pivot"

used in order to invoke the Divine Tiger General, who pursued and controlled souls lost in the darkness. This stepping pattern was commonly used when performing the ritual of "Refinement and Salvation for Destroying the Darkness."

- Dipper pacing can also be performed in order to access the Nine Quarters (Nine Continents) of the Earth. In ancient times, the Nine Quarters referred to the nine distinct regions of Earth: Yong, Liang, Yan, Yang, Qing, Xu, Yu, and Ji, which surrounded the "center" kingdom of ancient China. By symbolizing the entire country while pacing the Nine Quarters, the ancient Daoist mystic was able to spiritually travel and energetically patrol all the land on the Earth.

The foundation of Daoist magic lies in the ability to transform and use supernatural powers while controlling the resulting energetic changes with the aid of supernatural forces (via the Celestial Immortals who live within the Heavens or within the Immortal Mountains). A Daoist mystic must also develop powerful supernatural abilities if he or she desires to enter the supernatural world. Pacing the Dipper was thought to be an effective "tool" in helping the Daoist priest enter into the realm of the Immortals.

PACING THE BIG DIPPER AND HAND SEALS

The Pacing the Big Dipper is usually practiced together with specific Hand Seals (refer to Figure 1.177). It is said that during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), there were over 700 kinds of Steps of the Big Dipper and Hand Seal patterns.

In spite of the huge variety of stepping patterns, there are only a few types of magical skills conjured from the Pacing the Big Dipper that are commonly used in Daoist mysticism. The most common stepping pattern used when Pacing the Big Dippers is called the "Big Dipper of the Mysterious Pivot" (Figure 1.178). In this particular stepping pattern, there are only seven Dipper stars used. The names of these stars are used as the names of each steps while pacing forward, and the names of the stars' Rulers (the controller over the stars' specific power) are used as the names of each steps while pacing back.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.), the *Tradition of the Mighty Commonwealth of Orthodox Oneness* taught the "Three-Five Big Dipper Register," which describes the skills of the Pacing of the Dippers of the East, South, West, North and Center. Later the "Skills of Pacing the Dippers of the Twenty-Eight Constellations" (Figure 1.179) and the "Five Big Dippers of the Sun and the Moon" were commonly used in the Zheng Yi traditions.

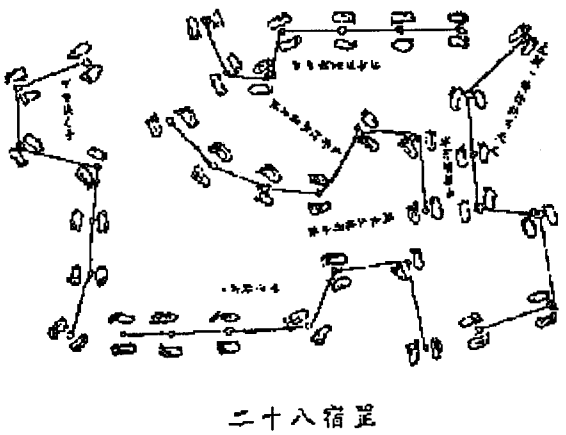


Figure 1.179. The Three-Five Big Dipper Stepping Patterns of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

Seven Star Stepping Patterns

The ancient Chinese divided the Heavenly energy of the cosmos into different classes of Yin and Yang: the Sun was seen as being the essence of Yang, the Moon as being the essence of Yin, and the Stars as being a combination of both Yin and Yang. The Stars were believed to have a great influence upon the energetic matrices of Earth and Man. The term "Stars" in ancient China referred to the visible stars in the Northern Hemisphere; namely the Big Dipper, Polaris, the five planets and the twenty-eight star constellations.

The pure aspects of these Stars were believed to form the universal patterns that are responsible for the manifestation of form and matter. Thus, the ancient Chinese also believed that everyone was born under the guardianship of the Stars. Certain Stars would have a great influence over an individual's life, determining whether he or she would be born as a human or animal, live long or die young, be rich or poor, etc.

The following stepping patterns are based on the placement of the various star constellations.

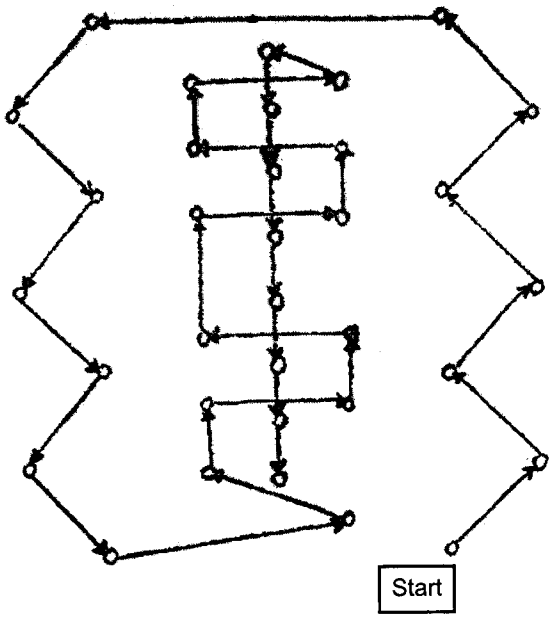


Figure 1.180. The "Big Star Stepping"

These various stepping patterns are attributed to the "star powers" of the twenty-eight celestial mansions and their movements within the Heavens.

"Big Star Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern uses the stars to summon the magical help of Celestial Immortal Ne Zha (The Fire Wheel Child). According to legend, the Celestial Immortal Ne Zha, riding on his fire wheels can travel everywhere (over rivers and seas, Heaven and hell, etc.) making his task of fighting evil much easier (Figure 1.180).

The Jade Emperor honored him and conferred upon him the title "First Leader of the 36 Immortal Warriors, the Heavenly Marshal who guards the Gates of Heaven."

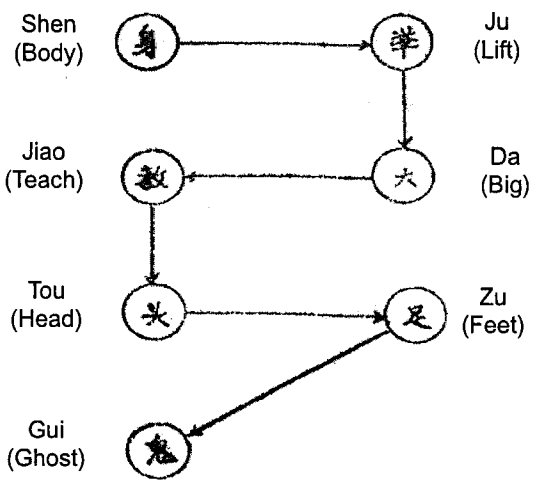


Figure 1.181. Seven Star Stepping #1: "Summoning the Immortal Ne Zha" Stepping

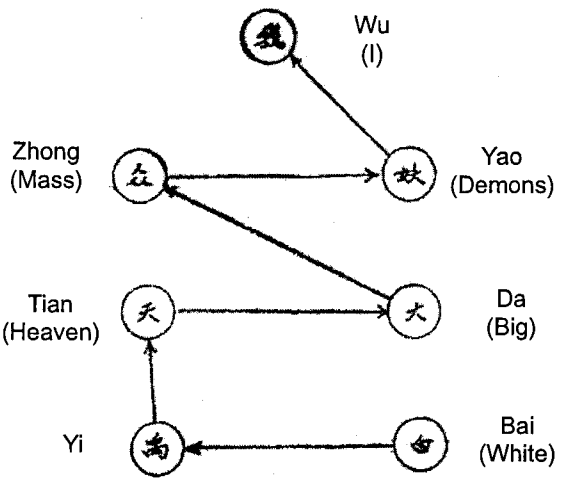


Figure 1.182. Seven Star Stepping #2: "Removing The Evils" Stepping

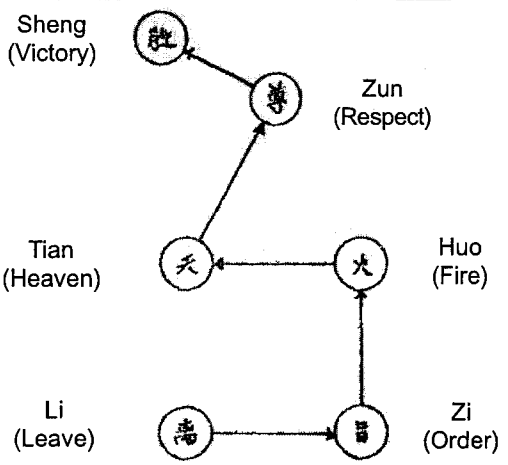


Figure 1.183. Seven Star Stepping #3: "Summoning the Magical Officers" (First Version)

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #1: "SUMMONING THE IMMORTAL NE ZHA" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern uses the stars to summon the magical help of Celestial Immortal Ne Zha (The Fire Wheel Child). According to legend, the Celestial Immortal Ne Zha, riding on his fire wheels can travel everywhere (over rivers and seas, Heaven and hell, etc.) making his task of fighting evil much easier (Figure 1.181).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"My body raises up
to offer respect to
the Big Master Teacher
Who Leads the Ghosts"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #2: "REMOVING THE EVILS" STEPPING PATTERN

This Stepping Pattern is used to capture and remove demons and evil spirits (Figure 1.182).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I summon
the White Yi
of the Great Heaven
to capture and remove
the demon hoards"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #3: "SUMMONING THE MAGICAL OFFICERS" (#1)

This Stepping Pattern is used for the purpose of summoning the magical help of the Celestial Marshal Generals and their Celestial Soldiers (Figure 1.183).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"Dispatch the order
and summon the Heavenly Fire
that Demands Respect
and Commands Victory"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #4: "SUMMONING THE MAGICAL OFFICERS" (#2)

This Stepping Pattern is used for the purpose of summoning the magical help of the Celestial Marshal Generals and their Celestial Soldiers (Figure 1.184).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"With the Fire of Thunder
and My Penetrating Shout
I cause the Heavens and Earth to Move"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #5: "SUMMONING MARSHAL YIN" STEPPING

One example of a general ritual used for summoning Celestial Marshal General Yin to Bind Evil Spirits and Demons is described as follows:

- First, the Daoist disciple transforms his body into that of a Hua Shen ("Immortal Deity"). Next the disciple gathers the energy of his Prenatal Wu Jing Shen (i.e., the spiritual energy of his Five Yin Organs) to merge with his original soul energy (Ling Shen). Both energies are combined in order to form the "true spirit body" (also known as the "Golden Luminosity" body).
- The disciple begins to circulate the spiritual energy by transforming his tissues through the alchemy of mind and respiration. As this circular process continues, the disciple will imagine the exteriorizing of the deities within (by breathing out) and the interiorizing of the Golden Luminosity (by breathing in). The disciple will continue in this manner until he transforms the his body and mind into the spiritual state of an immortal, known as the "Mysterious Lord" (Xuan Di). As the Mysterious Lord, the disciple now has the spiritual status and power to communicate with and summon Celestial Marshal General Yin (or any other celestial deity).
- Next, the disciple purifies the brush used for writing talismans and focuses his attention onto the celestial name of the deity he wishes to summon (Marshal General Yin). The disciple then performs the Seven Star Stepping Pattern for "Summoning Marshal Yin" (Figure 1.185), while saying the following incantation:

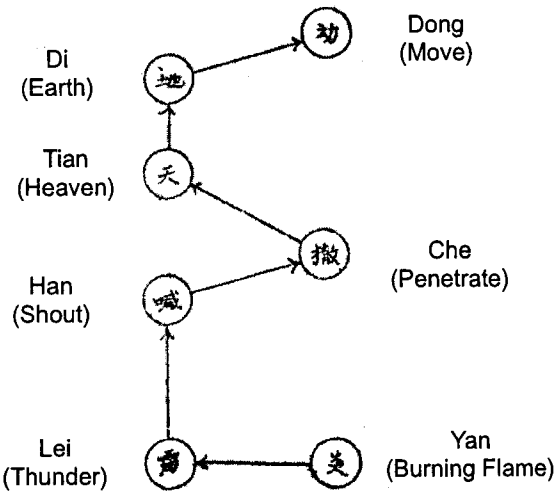


Figure 1.184. Seven Star Stepping #4: "Summoning the Magical Officers" (Second Version)

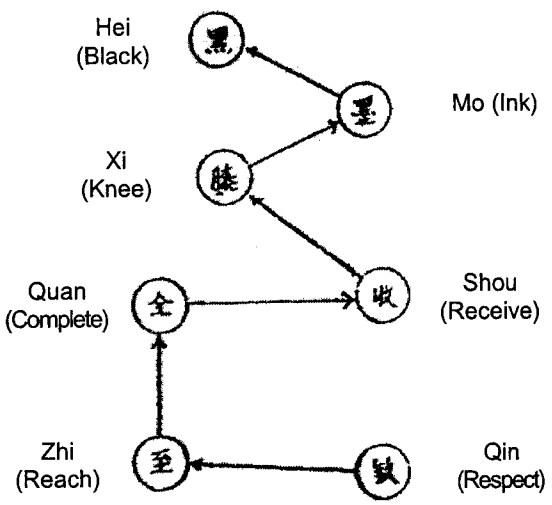


Figure 1.185. Seven Star Stepping #5: "Summonsing Martial Yin" Stepping

"With deep respect I reach
and completely receive
the Magical Power of the Black Ink"

- On a three and one-half meter blue banner (whose bottom end has been cut into five pennant-shaped ribbons and weighted with small stones), the disciple will draw a large talisman associated with Celestial Marshal Gen-

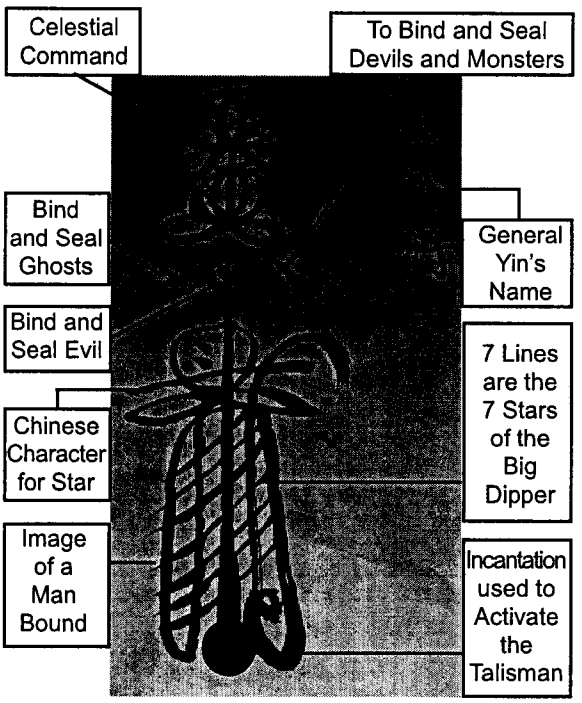


Figure 1.186. General Yin's Talisman: Used for Binding Evil Spirits and Demons

eral Yin (Figure 1.186). Marshal General Yin is considered to be the "Star God of the Center Sky," and is summoned from the "Earthly Palace of Supreme Age."

- On the bottom of the large talisman, the disciple then writes in smaller characters the specific talismans associated with several dozen deities and tens of dozens of celestial names in an effort to summon all these celestial deities to attend the ritual.
- The disciple will write each name, one after the other, on top of one another (so as to form a dense circle of black ink at the bottom of the large talisman).
- After writing these names, the disciple then writes a talisman on the ends of each of the five pennants on the bottom of the banner.
- The ceremonial master and his acolytes will then hoist the banner on the end of a 10-meter bamboo pole.
- Charged with talismans and celestial names that have been written by a disciple with spiritual power, the banner waves in the wind, and

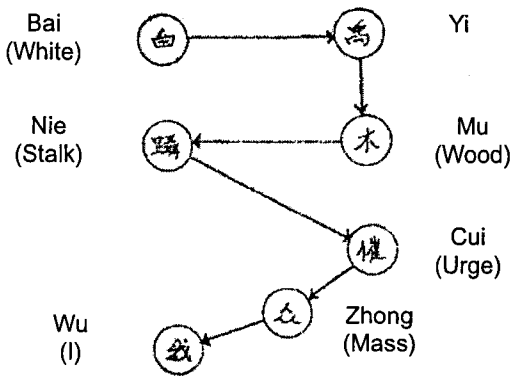


Figure 1.187. Seven Star Stepping #6: "Southern Star" Stepping

summons Celestial Marshal General Yin and the rest of the celestial deities to the altar space.

- When Celestial Marshal General Yin arrives, he ties into knots the pennants at the end of the banner. This energetically symbolizes that he has responded to the summons.
- After all five pennants are securely knotted, the banner is taken down and placed in the center of the main altar.
- Through the use of the Talismanic Brush, Breath, Hand Seal, Star Stepping, Incantation and Banner, the disciple (having become a deity) is now able to summon the celestial Marshal Generals and other deities.

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #6: "SOUTHERN STAR" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used to capture evil spirits or demons (Figure 1.187). The ancient Chinese believed that the energy of the Southern Dipper was in charge of life, while the energy of the Northern (Big) Dipper was in charge of death. While the Northern Dipper represents the realm of the Underworld, the Southern Dipper leads the skillful practitioner to eternal life. Therefore, the celestial deities of the Northern Dipper are invoked in order to help the disciple pass for registration in the Southern Dipper, where the true registers of immortality are kept.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Summon the White Yi
of the Wood Element
to secretly persuade the masses"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #7: "NORTH STAR" STEPPING

The Northern Dipper (also known as the Northern Bushel, Big Dipper, and Ursa Major) was and is the central object of important visualization techniques in Daoist mysticism (as well as being one of the main celestial divinities). It is the center and source of all things, establishing the inherent order of the universe and foundation of the world. The Dipper is seen as the pivot of all creative transformations. It is the vertical axis of the universe that is aligned with the Spleen and Yellow Court in the human body. It establishes the rhythms of the seasons, distinguishes good and evil and controls good fortune and disaster.

Most importantly, the Northern Dipper is seen as the "Gate of Access" to the Heavens. Believers must invoke its divinities to pass from death into life. The ancient Daoists believed that in order to live longer, an individual needed to pray to the Immortal of the Big Dipper to take one's name off the Death Registration.

The Dipper is the symbol and home of the Great Unity, the Daoist god "Taiyi," and is part of a triad formed between the Sun, Moon and Stars. The Northern Dipper is made up of 9 stars (2 of which are visible only to skillful practitioners), each star inhabited by a particular male divinity. In addition, each star in the Dipper has a corresponding location in the human body. For example, the first star is located in the Heart.

Moreover, the Northern Dipper has beside it a corresponding counterpart/mirror image made up of "Black stars." The spouses of the male divinities of the Northern Dipper live in these stars. This "black" constellation forms the material and spiritual soul of the Northern Dipper (Figure 1.188). In the *Bu Tiangang Jing* (Scripture on Pacing the Heavenly Guideline), stars of the Dipper are known by the following names: Yangming (Yang Brilliance), Yinjing (Yin Quintessence), Xuanming (Mysterious and Dark), Danyuan (Cinnabar Origin), Beiji (Northern Culmen), Tianguan (Heavenly Gate), and are joined by two "dark" stars that serve as the Hun and Po souls of Dipper (Fuxing and Bixing) which help form an esoteric "outer" Bushel.

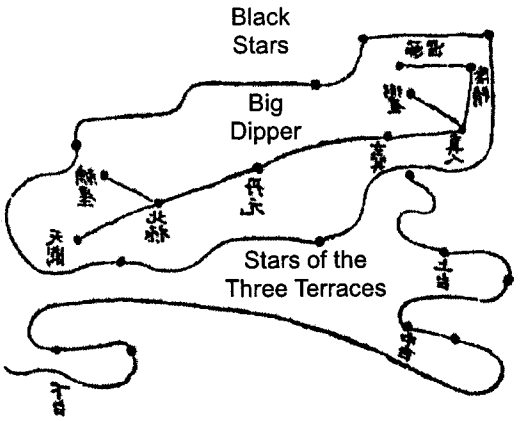


Figure 1.188. The Big Dipper, surrounded by the "Black Stars" and preceded by the "Stars of the Three Terraces"

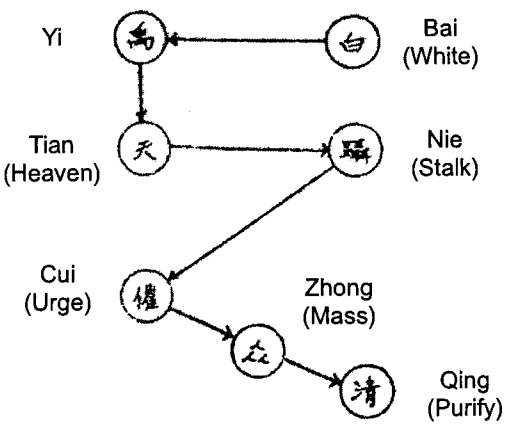


Figure 1.189. Seven Star Stepping #7: "Northern Star" Stepping

This Stepping Pattern is used to remove, evict, and capture evil spirits and demons (Figure 1.189).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The White Yi of Heaven
Secretly Persuades the Masses
to Purify their Spirit"

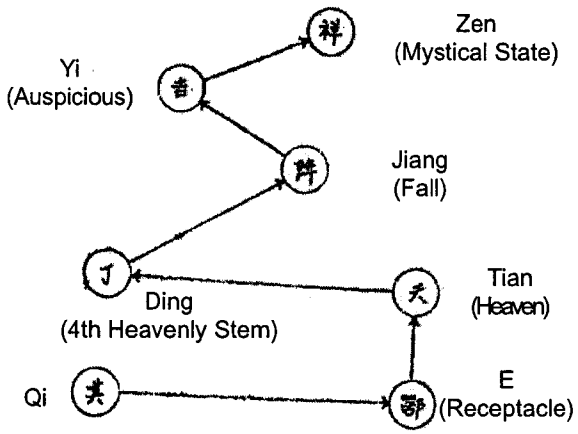


Figure 1.190. Seven Star Stepping #8: "Escorting and Sending" Stepping

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #8: "ESCORTING AND ASCENDING" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used for escorting and sending the official reports to the Heavens (Figure 1.190).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Receptacle of the Heavenly Ding Falls Auspiciously onto those in the Divine State of Mysticism"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #9: SUMMONING THE MAGIC TIGER STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used to summon the Celestial General's Magic Tiger (Figure 1.191).

The ancient Chinese considered the Tiger to be the prince of the wild mountain beasts (the four stripes on his forehead form the character "Wang," or Prince), believing that "its powerful roar stirs up the wind in the valley." It is the magical animal which signifies the Yin that calls forth the actions of the Yang, therefore tiger talismans are used to keep away disease and evil, and its images are painted on the walls of homes and temples to keep away evil spirits.

The tiger is also associated with autumn, when it comes down from the mountains into villages, and is personified by the constellation Orion, which is prominent in autumn. Immortal deities who ride on the back of tigers include:

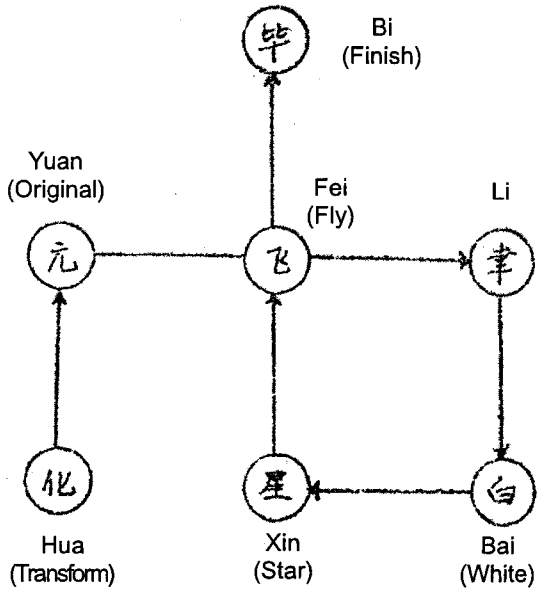


Figure 1.191. Seven Star Stepping #9: "Summoning the Magic Tiger Stepping"

Figure 1.192. Zhang Daoling, the First Celestial Master of the Zheng Yi Daoist Sect

- **Zhang Daoling:** Zhang Daoling (the First Celestial Master of the Zheng Yi Daoist sect), is depicted as riding a tiger and carrying a demon-dispelling sword as he escorts the dead to their final destination (Figure 1.192).
- **The God of Wealth:** The God of Wealth, Marshal Chao Gongming, is depicted as riding a black tiger while holding a silver ingot.
- **The Goddess of the Wind:** The Goddess of the Wind, Feng Po-po, symbolizes the elements of air and water, storms, precipitation and moisture. She is depicted as an old, wrinkled woman, sitting on the back of a tiger, riding on a path made of clouds.

The tiger represents the greatest earthly power as well as protection over human life. It chases away the "Three Disasters" (fire, thieves and ghosts). As the enemies of evil spirits, especially those who torment the dead, tigers are carved on tombs and monuments.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"Transform the Original Flying Li of the Heavenly White Star and fly to the finish"

Nine Traces of the Big Dipper

The Daoist Book of the *Flowing Drops of the Golden Lock* states that the Big Dipper was the Middle Dipper (which was a star). As the Middle Dipper descended, it became the Nine Souls (which inhabit the Nine Palaces). In order to fuse the spiritual powers of these Nine Souls, the nine traces are performed when Pacing the Dipper (these are demonstrated by following the nine patterns of the Big Dipper stars). It is important to note that the nine traces are represented by the seven stars of the Big Dipper, plus the two extra Dipper stars "Fu" and "Bi."

It is also believed that the original Steps of Yu and the pacing of the Big Dipper corresponded to the energetic and spiritual powers contained within the Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams. In ancient China, this was called "the three steps and the nine traces which construct the Kan (Water) Trigram and the Li (Fire) Trigram."

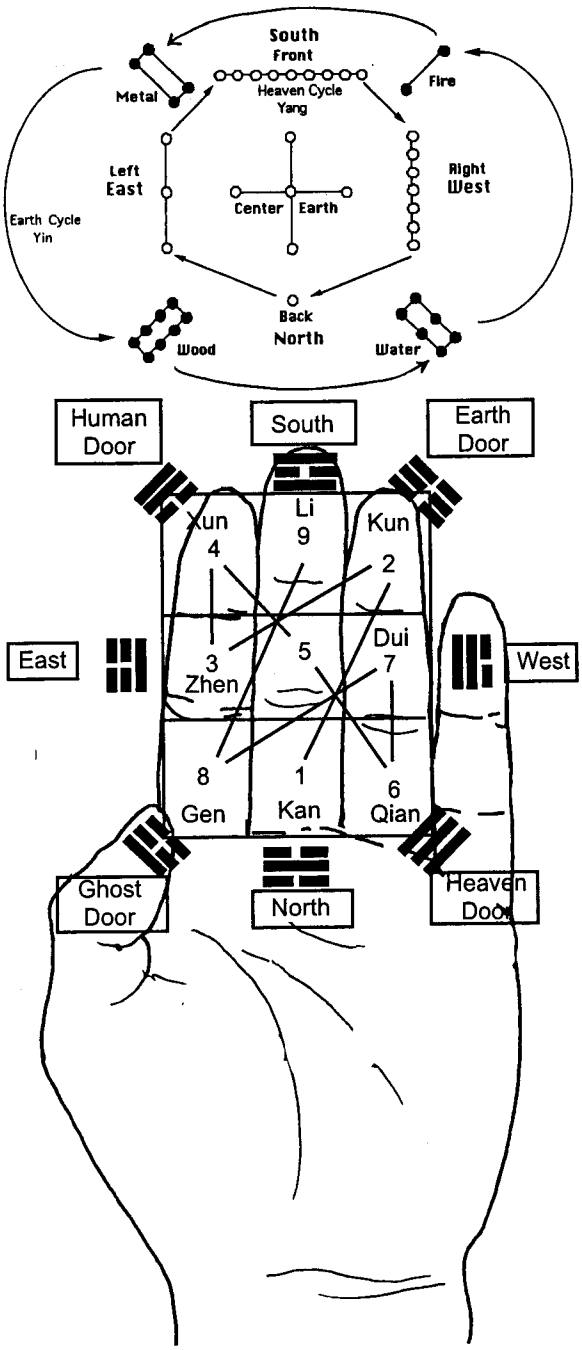


Figure 1.193. In ancient China, the Post-Heaven Bagua pattern of the "Magic Square" was superimposed on the left palm allowing the Daoist mystic the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the Bagua into his or her body.

A common diagram used as a template for stepping in the Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams, is the "Great River Chart Dipper of the Open Valley" diagram, which was originally used as the stepping pattern diagram of the Big Dipper. The seven stars of the Dippers and the two stars Fu and Bi compose this Big Dipper Diagram, and are regulated by the Post-Heaven positions of the Bagua (Eight Trigrams) listed on the "River Chart" (Figure 1.193). There are two specific types of stepping patterns displayed:

- **Kan (Water) Trigram Stepping Pattern:** This pattern is used after the Winter Solstice. At the time of the Winter Solstice, Yang energy is born, and subsequently increases its power each day. During this time period, the ritual master starts from the Kan (Water) Trigram and moves to the Li (Fire) Trigram.
- **Li (Fire) Trigram Stepping Pattern:** This pattern is used after the Summer Solstice. At the time of the Summer Solstice, Yin energy is born, and subsequently increases its power each day. During this time period, the ritual master moves from the Li (Fire) Trigram to the Kan (Water) Trigram.

Because the original three steps and nine traces of the Steps of Yu were thought to have the shape of the Big Dipper, they were associated with Pacing the Big Dipper. Later, the original "Steps of Yu" was diversified into different types of stepping patterns (i.e., the "Twelve Traces" and the "Three-Five Traces"). Since there are so many kinds of Big Dipper diagrams and patterns, new Dipper steps were constantly created and compiled based on specific ritual contents, needs and functions. In modern times, there are now many names given to these star stepping patterns

THE NINE PALACES OF HEAVEN

Each of the nine numbers listed on the "River Chart" represent one of the nine areas of the Heavens or the Nine Palace Constellations (Figure 1.194). The following is an explanation of the energetic natures of the Nine Stars, as well as their specific Elements and divinational forecasts:

1. **Tian Peng (Water Element):** This star corresponds to Kan Trigram. It energetically has a close connection to the occurrence of theft, and it is therefore considered to be an inauspicious star. When the Tian Peng star falls in one palace, people should construct dams, defence facilities, or strengthen the stronghold in order to prevent calamity from happening. It is also not a good time to travel far or conduct business (due to the potential of theft).

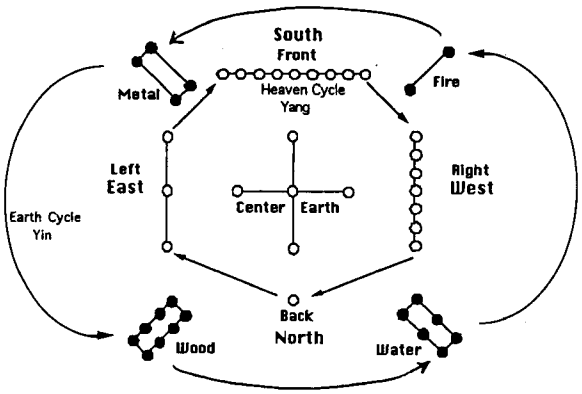


Figure 1.194. The "River Chart"

2. **Tian Rui (Earth Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with epidemic. It is sometimes called the disease star. When the Tian Rui star stays in one palace, people should receive teachings or admonishment, make friends, stay in the original place, abstain from the deployment of armed forces, not marry, and avoid quarreling, traveling, new construction, etc.
3. **Tian Cong (Wood Element):** This star is Yang, and it has a close connection with kind donations, doing kind deeds, and agricultural activities. It is considered to be an auspicious star. When Tian Cong dwells in one palace, it is considered to be a good time for military action, battle or fighting.
4. **Tian Fu (Wood Element):** This star is Yang, and it has a close connection with cultural education. It is considered to be a very auspicious star. When Tian Fu dwells in one palace, it is auspicious for traveling, business, marriage, construction, studying, and elevating one's social status, as well as for cultural and educational development.

5. **Tian Qin (Earth Element):** This star is Yang, and it is considered to be auspicious for all things because it dwells in the "Central Earth Palace" which can give rise to all.
6. **Tian Xin (Metal Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with leadership capability, scheming, treatment of disease, and military deployment. It is considered to be an auspicious star.
7. **Tian Zhu (Metal Element):** This star is Yin, and it has close connection with killings, strange things, mysterious matters, damage and destruction. It is considered to be an inauspicious star. When Tian Zhu falls in one palace, people should strengthen their garrison, train their forces, and prepare for the bad times. It is not a good time for traveling far or doing business, otherwise loss, injury and unfortunate things will happen.
8. **Tian Ren (Earth Element):** This star is Yang, and it is considered to be an auspicious star. When Tian Ren dwells in one palace, it is a good time for offering teaching to the general public, pacifying individuals, and cracking down on rebellious individuals or gangsters. It is also an auspicious time for business, marriage and social status.
9. **Tian Ying (Fire Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with outrageous behavior, heated situations, fire, and blood. It is considered to be a neutral star. When Tian Ying dwells in one palace it is good for planning and visiting high officials. However, it is not an auspicious time for making fortunes, social status possession, marriage or travel.

Incantations For The Nine Palaces of Heaven

In ancient China, the ritual master would recite specific incantations while pacing any one of the nine magical stars, pointing out the direction in which he is moving, reciting the symbolic meaning of the specific Dipper and manifesting the power of his magic skill. For example, the incantation used when pacing the Dipper after the Winter Solstice says:

"The Dipper is sublime
at the 12 two-hour periods,
Therefore I take the Big Dipper
flying over to exhibit mighty power
with Vital Breath like the clouds.

The seven stars move
to interact with the Heavens,
so that we know the changes
of good or ill luck.

Pacing the Dipper by its rhythms,
I move into the Dipper,
and through the 28 Constellations,
through the Heavenly Pass
with the changing of time.

Moving from Tianying up to Tianren,
I feel cold as if the land
has sunk down into a deep valley.

Leaning by Tianzhu and bracing Tianxin,
I ascend to Tianqin from Tianxin.
I pass by Tianfu and look at Tianchong,
going into Tianrui and out of Tianfeng.

The passage of the Dippers is open,
and the strong and weak
mutually assist each other.
Happiness and good fortune are increased
and are passed on to the descendants.

I have stayed in the darkness
for hundreds of years.
I follow your steps after the Yang.

The Dipper of the Open Valley is divine,
so that it can dispel the devils.
As a result, one can avoid the evils
at the mouth of the Dipper.

Quickly, quickly,
In accordance with
the statues and ordinances!
Act as this is my command!"

Through understanding this ancient Daoist incantation, we may see that Pacing the Big Dipper mainly symbolizes flying in the Heavens, with the supernatural function of dispelling disasters and avoiding evils. The Dipper of the Twenty-

Eight Constellations and the Five Big Dippers of the Sun and the Moon represent certain mystical areas of Heavens. The ritual master visualizes these celestial scenes while pacing the Dipper steps.

OFFERING INCENSE WITH "THE DIPPER OF BRIGHT STARS AND PEARLS" INCANTATION

Each time the Daoist priest offers incense at the Central Altar, he or she will perform the "Dipper of Bright Stars and Pearls" stepping patterns. These stepping patterns can be paced in either of two ways; through the "Eight Stepping Patterns" or through the "Three Stepping Patterns."

As the Daoist paces through these steps, and offers the incense, he or she will recite the following incantation:

**"The imperial order of Jade Clarity is simple,
with the separate images
of the Great Divine.**

**The original Dippers
are flowing and changing with the stars
and pearls over and around them.**

**Quickly, Quickly,
In accordance with the statues and
ordinances as the imperial order"**

While reciting the incantation, the ritual master visualizes the three magical realms of the Jade Clarity, Supreme Clarity, and Highest Clarity, where the Immortal Gods of the Three Pure Ones reside.

The incantation of "Pacing the Big Dipper" mentions that by burning the incense, the Daoist priest transforms the energy of normal starlight into spiritual power within the realm of the mortal world (the World of the Dead). The ancient Daoists believed that the priest could succeed in accomplishing such a supernatural task with the aid of speaking such an incantation.

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERNS

When the Eight Trigrams were arranged into a nine-chambered square pattern, with the center representing the magical "Bright Palace," it was commonly known as the "Magic Square." The ancient Chinese attached great significance to this magical pattern, as it involved manifesting endless variations of mathematical calculations that could be used to explain the energetic flows of Heaven and Earth. So influential was this magical pattern that the Imperial Palace in China was divided into a Magic Square containing nine chambers. In each appropriate chamber, sacrifices were performed in accordance with the times and seasons of nature.

The "Nine Chambers of the Emperor's Palace," (or Nine Palaces) was first introduced publicly in ancient China in the *Book of Rites*. This ancient book described each celestial palace, with its unique color and time of season. The ancient system of "Nine House Divination" (based on the celestial patterns of the Nine Palaces) and the unique patterns of energetic interactions stemming from the "Magic Square" were also introduced to the public during this time period.

Nine Palace Stepping Pattern, also known as the "Walk of Taiyi Through the Nine Palaces," is represented by eight trigrams positioned around the center of the Luo Diagram. The esoteric rituals pertaining to this "Magic Square" configuration may be seen in the Celestial Masters *Shangqing Huangshu Guodu Yi* (Initiation Rite of the Yellow Writings), which consists of twenty ritual units to be performed by a male-female pair, literally pacing the Earthly Branches, the Five Elements, and the Nine Palaces on the cosmicized body of each of the partners.

During the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), the famous Daoist poet Lu Buwei wrote, "Heaven has nine fields, Earth has nine regions, the country has nine mountains, the mountains have nine passes." The ancient Daoist Star Stepping patterns follow these nine passes, allowing the sorcerer the ability to access the most subtle realms of Heaven and Earth.

According to the ancient writings on the *Xu Zhen Tu* (the Chart of True Cultivation), Heaven, Earth and Man are energetically joined in a continuous interaction of correspondences. These subtle correspondences relate to the esoteric patterns hidden within matter, energy, and spirit. For example, the "Nine Palaces" correspond to the

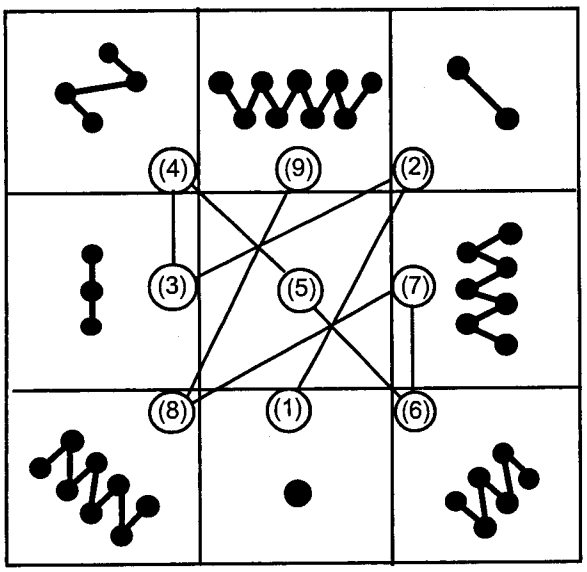


Figure 1.195. Nine Palace Stepping #1: "Magic Square Stepping"

nine energetic influences of Heaven, the "Nine Continents" correspond to the nine energetic influence of the Earth, and the "Nine Orifices" correspond to the nine energetic influences of Man.

The following Nine Palace Stepping Patterns are arranged according to specific energetic patterns unique to the Magic Square and are practiced in order to allow the Daoist disciple access into the energetic realms of the Jade Emperor's "Nine Celestial Palaces."

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #1: "MAGIC SQUARE STEPPING"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the purpose of conjuring and summoning the specific powers of celestial Immortals, Planetary Immortals, Spirit Soldiers, etc. By following the Nine Palace stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.195).

As with all of the other stepping patterns, when using the Magic Square for attacking, defending, summoning, or dispatching, the disciple will eventually transfer the energetic pattern onto his or her left hand, in order to used the right hand to hold Daoist magical "tools."

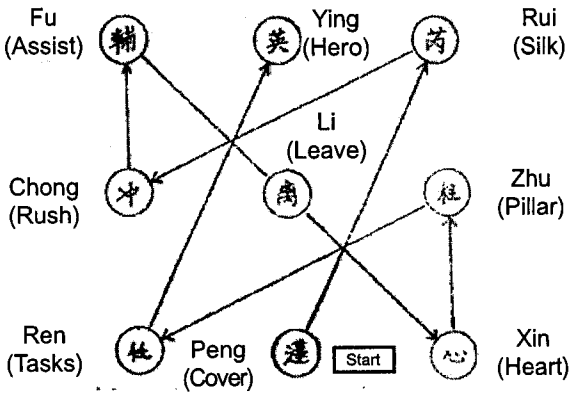


Figure 1.196. Nine Palace Stepping #2: "Hero Stepping (Nine Purple Stepping)"

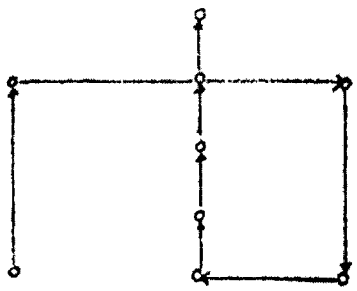


Figure 1.197. "Nine Palace Stepping"

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #2: "HERO STEPPING (NINE PURPLE STEPPING)"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Nine Palace stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.196).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"My hidden energy
flows like silk
It rushes to assist me
It leaves my stable heart and mind
allowing me to complete
a hero's task"

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #3: "SENDING THE REPORT"

This stepping pattern is used in rituals in order to send reports back to Heaven (Figure 1.197).

TWENTY-EIGHT STAR CONSTELLATIONS

In China, manuscripts uncovered from the cave monasteries of Tun Huang have included some of the oldest star maps in existence. Since the year 2000 B.C., the ancient Chinese Qigong Masters have observed and used the energetic movements of the Twenty-eight Star Constellations, flowing in 24 hour cycles and yearly cycles. The ancient Chinese also placed careful attention on the Sun and Moon, and the Five Planets with the Chinese zodiac to forecast auspicious times for matters of state and war, and to predict weather and natural disasters. Each of these energetic systems has its own cyclic pattern, as well as a direct and indirect influence on human life.

The Chinese practiced gathering energy from the Heavenly Stars, believing that the study of astrology, like alchemy, united the body's inner world with that of the outer. According to ancient divination practices, the celestial bodies exert forces and exhibit personalities that influence people and events on Earth. A person's character and destiny throughout life is based upon the positions of the planets and constellations at the exact time and place of conception and birth. These influences can be determined by mapping the positions of the twenty-eight constellations in the sky at various times.

In ancient China, the Emperor was considered to be the high priest of the Heavens, and he frequently made sacrifices to the Stars to maintain harmony with the universe. The four corners of the Emperor's palace represented the cardinal points in space (the equinoxes and solstices). To be in harmony, the Emperor and his family would move from one corner to another as the seasons changed.

In ancient China, the Heavens were divided into 28 areas matched with 28 corresponding signs, which are called the constellations as the symbols of Heaven (7 constellations in each direction). The pacing of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations therefore represents stepping within the 28 constellations, throughout the four directions of the Heavens.

STARS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT CONSTELLATIONS

In ancient China, the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations (Xiu) were commonly observed as "Star Patterns" (Xingxiang), and were considered to be the eternal abode of immortals and gods. Specifically, the gods of Prior Heaven were believed to live within the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations, at one with the eternal Dao. These gods were divided into three groups corresponding to Heaven, Earth and Man.

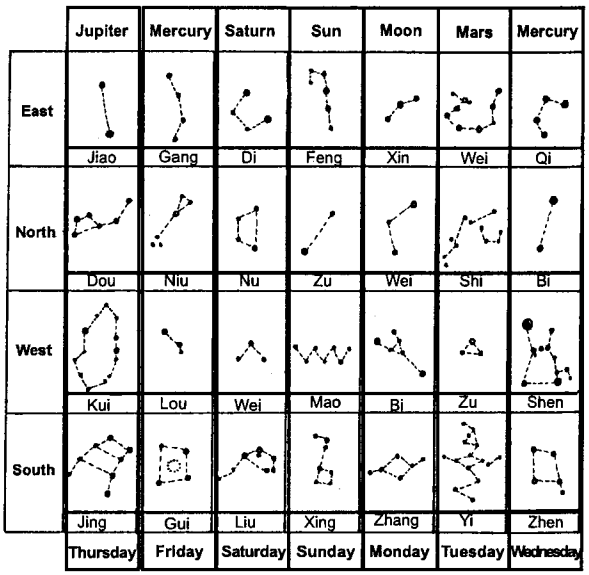


Figure 1.198. The Seven Divisions of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations Arranged According to Celestial Energies of the Five Elements and the Sun and Moon

The ancient Chinese Daoists would thus use the Twenty-eight star constellations for summoning specific gods, immortals, and spirits. Generally, the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations were categorized by Heavenly divisions, each division containing several constellations associated with one of the Five Element phases, a ruling color, and one of the Four Palaces with its associated celestial animal spirit.

Each of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellation spirits has his or her own post, unit, and garrison name. The ancient Daoists would construct a Bagua circle consisting of twenty-eight "standards" from which to conjure the spirits from the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations. A "standard" is a list drawn on silk of each of the twenty-eight star constellations' energetic Elements, colors, and animals. A description of the "Seven Celestial Divisions" of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

arranged according to Celestial Energies of the Five Elements and the Sun and Moon is described as follows (Figure 1.198):

1. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Wood Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of green/blue silk:
   - **The Jiao Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rain Dragon
   - **The Dou Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Unicorn
   - **The Kui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Wolf
   - **The Jing Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Wild Dog
2. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Metal Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of white silk:
   - **The Gang Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Dragon
   - **The Nui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Ox
   - **The Lou Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Domestic Dog
   - **The Gui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Sheep (Goat)
3. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Earth Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of golden-yellow silk:
   - **The Di Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Badger
   - **The Nu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Bat
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Ring-Neck Pheasant
   - **The Liu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Roebuck
4. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Sun;** they are drawn on standards constructed of dark, ruby-red silk:
   - **The Feng Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rabbit
   - **The Zu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rat
   - **The Mao Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rooster
   - **The Xing Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Horse
5. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Moon;** they are drawn on standards constructed of deep-blue silk:
   - **The Xin Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Fox
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Swallow
   - **The Bi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Crow
   - **The Zhang Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Stag
6. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Fire Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of purplish-red silk:
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Tiger
   - **The Shi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Pig
   - **The Zu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Monkey
   - **The Yi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Snake
7. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Water Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of black silk:
   - **The Qi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Leopard
   - **The Bi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Snail
   - **The Shen Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Ape
   - **The Zhen Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Earthworm

After constructing the Bagua circle and arranging the constellations in their proper places, the Daoist would then position him or herself in the center of the circle, acting as the coordinating general for all of the spirits summoned. It was important for the ancient Daoist to place the "great standard" (a talismanic charm needed to control the twenty-eight constellation spirits) in the center of the circle in order to command the spirit soldiers. To command and dispatch the spirit solders, the Daoist would use specific Hand Seals formed on his or her left hand, combined with the recitation of specific incantations and the drawing of talismanic charms.

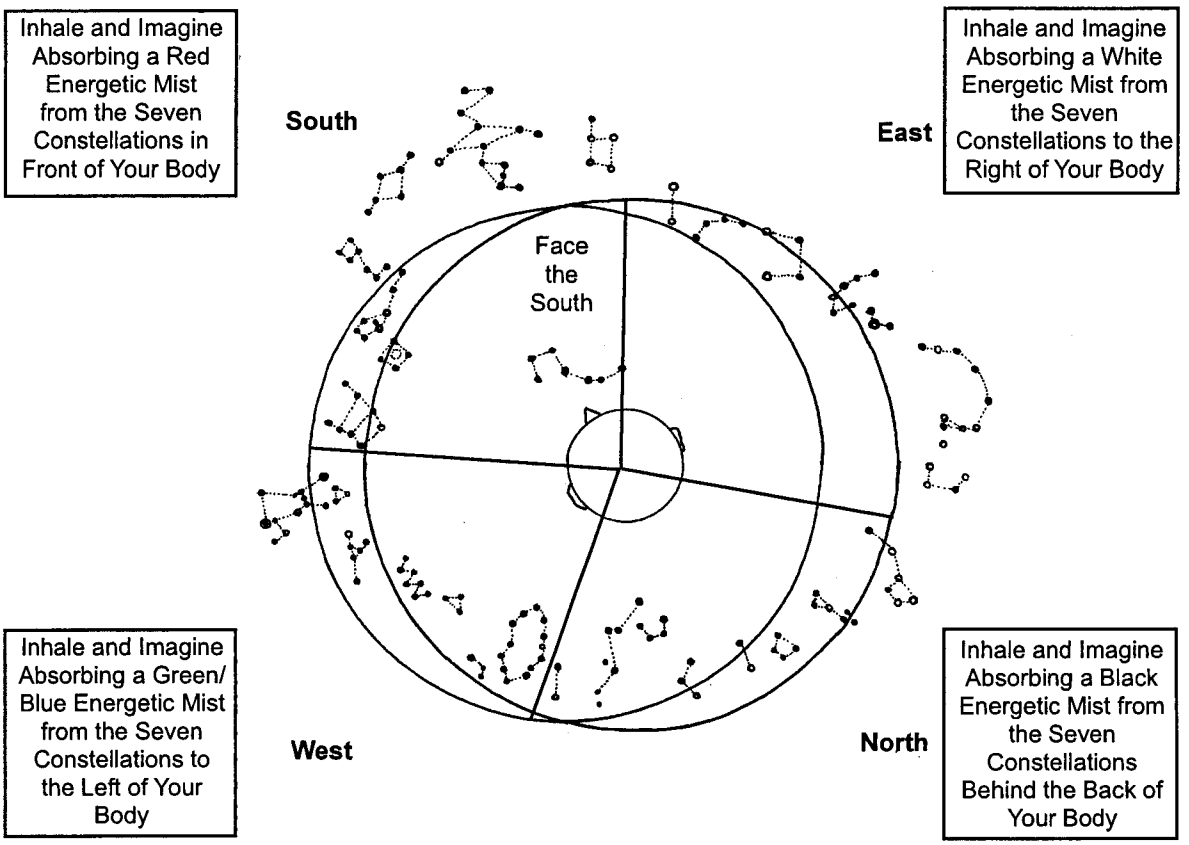


Figure 1.199. Face the direction of the North Star and Big Dipper, and try to feel the energetic nature of each of the four quadrants of Stars.

GATHERING ENERGY FROM THE TWENTY-EIGHT STAR CONSTELLATIONS

At nighttime, when the Moon is not suitable for absorbing Qi (i.e., during the new Moon), the Daoist mystic can focus on absorbing the energy of the twenty-eight star constellations into his or her body (Figure 1.199). The absorption of the star energy is used in order to strengthen the Yuan Qi of mystic's internal organs and tissues.

In ancient China, the energy of all Five Planets and Twenty-eight star constellations was traditionally drawn into a Daoist master's body via the Tian Wu Zang meditation. The Tian Wu Zang meditation allowed the master to absorb celestial energy through the five Thrusting Channels. These Channels flow through the center of the body, connecting the top of the head to the perineum, enveloping and supporting the center Taiji Pole.

The twenty-eight day star constellation cycle was also arranged externally on the Daoist master's body along the Governing and Conception Vessels. The "ecliptical" path of the Sun follows the Fire Cycle of the Microcosmic Orbit, which influences an individual's emotional, mental, and physical health.

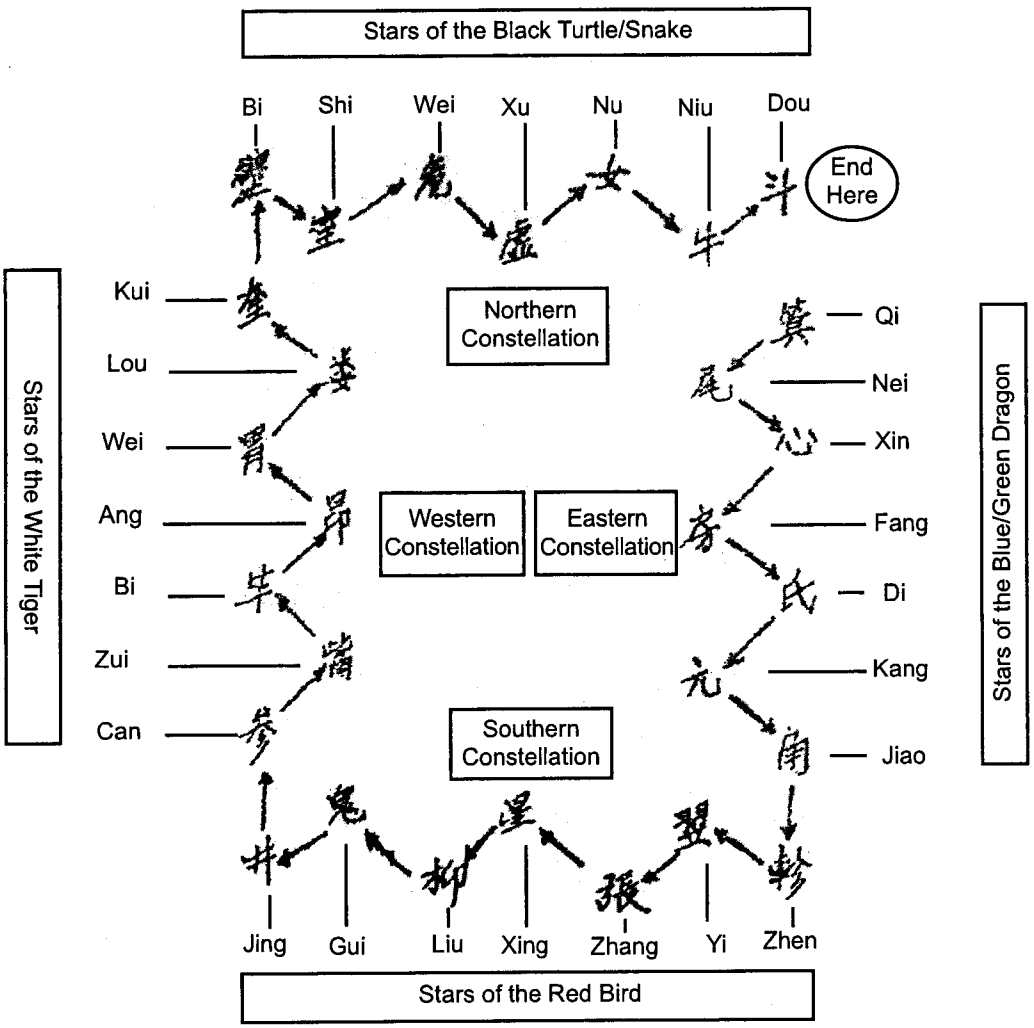


Figure 1.200. The Pacing of the "Twenty-Eight Star Constellations"

"Pacing the 28 Constellations" Stepping Pattern

The pacing of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations also symbolizes the rotation of the Dipper turning around and crossing the Ji Constellation, as it moves around the Heavens (Figure 1.200).

"Dippers of the 28 Constellations" Stepping Pattern

On the outside of this star stepping pattern are the Twenty-Eight Constellation Stars, on the inside right is the Southern Star, and on the inside left the North Dipper Star. This stepping pattern is used in ancient rituals to show respect to the Celestial Immortals and the Celestial Palace (Figure 1.201).

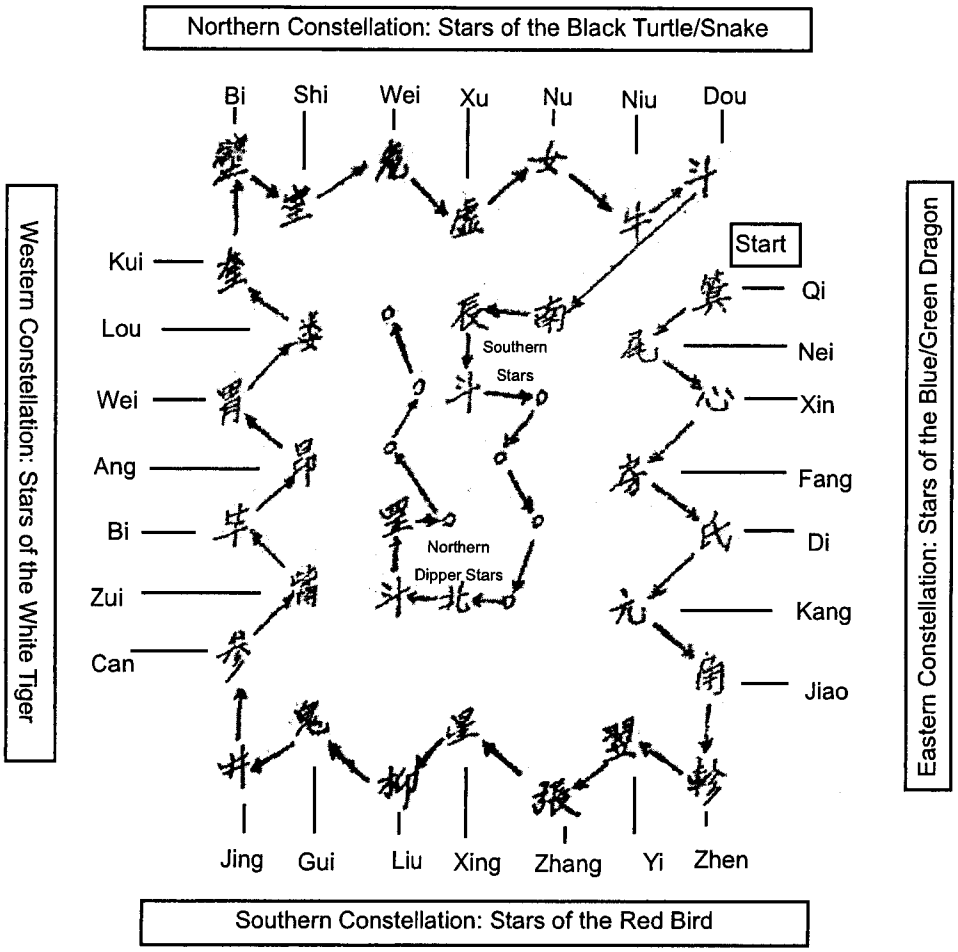


Figure 1.201. The Pacing of the "Dippers of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations"

BAGUA: EIGHT TRIGRAMS

In ancient times, the Bagua (Eight Trigrams) was the symbol originally used for observing the movements of the sun and moon. In the ancient Chinese characters for Bagua (the eight ancient Daoist energetic structures of life), the character "Ba" translates as "eight," and the character "Gua" translates as "trigram" (Figure 1.202). The character "Gua" is composed of two ideographs, on the right is the radical meaning "to observe," on the left is the radical "Gui" meaning "earth heap." The Gui (earth heap) was used in ancient times to measure the shadows in order to record ancient calendars (the ancient Chinese form of a sundial). Together, the term "Bagua" can be translated as

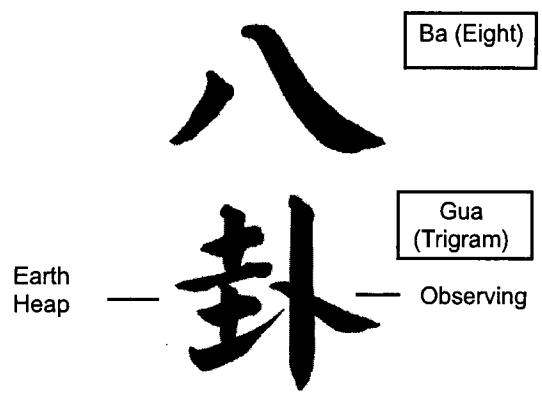


Figure 1.202. The Chinese Characters for "Bagua," The Eight Trigrams

The Eight Trigrams	Heaven Qian	Mist, Rain Dui	Fire Li	Thunder Zhen	Earth Kun	Mountain Gen	Water Kan	Wind/Air Xun
Yang and Yin	Yang	Yang	Yang	Yang	Yin	Yin	Yin	Yin
Gereral Principles	Creative	Reflective	Bright	Exciting	Receptive	Steady	Dark	Penetrating
	Activity	Weightless	Formed	Impetus	Passivity	Heaviness	Formless	Sensitivity
Principles of Nature	Immaterial	Evaporation	Solar Forces	Vitality	Material	Inertia	Lunar Forces	Assimilation
	Universal	Inorganic	Elemantary	Organic	Universal	Inorganic	Elementary	Pervasiveness
	Formless	Changeability	Heat	Mobility	Form	Resistance	Cold	Organic
	Energy	Evaporation	Incandescence	Fertilization	Matter	Inertia	Fluidity	Gaseous
	Infinite Space	Clairvoyant Observation	Penetrating Light	Growth and Power	Dense Matter	Solid Stability	Space and Movement	Perceptive Intuition

Figure 1.203. The Prenatal Bagua Trigram Powers According to the Universal Forces of Yin and Yang (System of Fu Xi)

"Eight Trigrams," and is considered a template for the basic laws of all energetic movements and transformations (Figure 1.203).

Each trigram is composed of three "yao" lines: a solid yao line (---) is considered Yang, a broken yao line (- -) is considered Yin. Each "yao" represents a basic unit of the Eight Trigrams, and has three meanings: sunlight, moonlight and the mutual projection of the sun and moon. The Yao Trigram itself is the symbol of the movement of the sun and moon.

Prenatal and Postnatal Trigrams

The unique powers of the Bagua can be divided into two separate schools or systems of thought: The Prenatal Bagua of Fu Xi, and the Postnatal Bagua of King Wen.

The Prenatal Bagua of Fu Xi

Fu Xi is believed to have lived a thousand years before King Wen, during the Age of the Five Rulers (2852 B.C.). The Bagua system of Fu Xi focuses on the fundamental principles of light and darkness, which revealed to him the polar nature of the universe (Figure 1.204). The Heavenly prin-

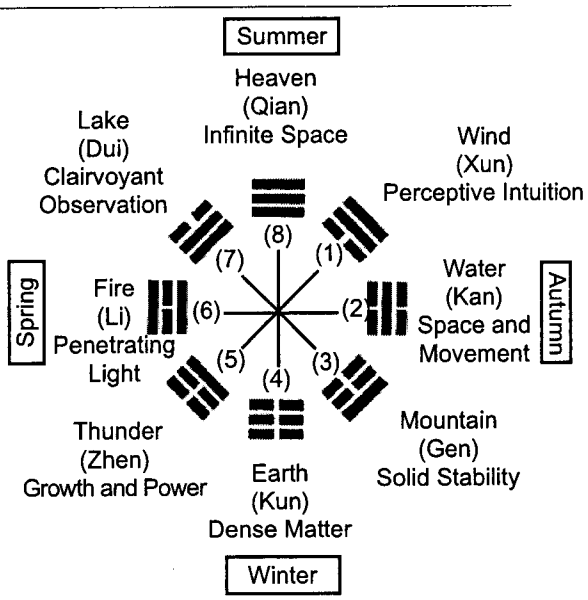


Figure 1.204. The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams (Eight Dimensions or Phases of Energy Polar Opposites): Yin (1-4) across from Yang (5-8). This Cycle of Harmony Relates to the World of Thoughts and Ideas. The Opposition of Energetic Forces is Responsible for the Creation of All Phenomena.

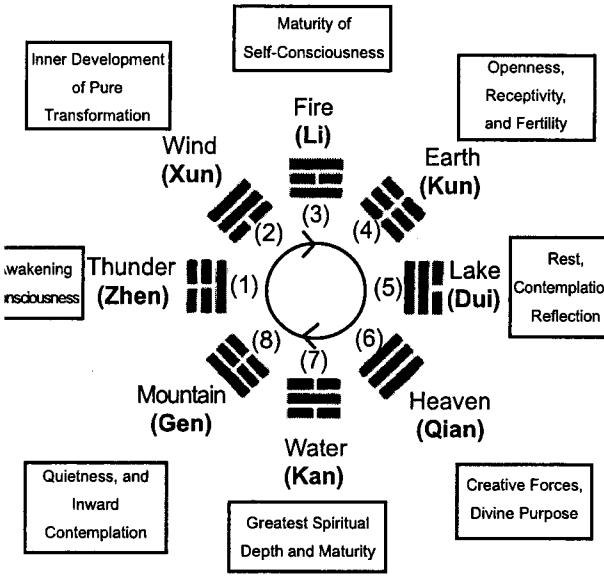


Figure 1.205. The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams: The Energetic Cycles of Forces are the External Manifestations of Divine Thought (The World of Phenomena or Senses)

ciples expressed within the system of Fu Xi reflect the multidimensional symbols which govern our life. Therefore Heaven is placed at the top of the trigram and Earth in placed at the bottom of the trigram. The specific focus of Prenatal Fu Xi Bagua is the expression of two mutually dependent powers, compensating each other, for example:

- Heaven-Earth
- Fire-Water
- Mountain-Lake
- Thunder-Wind

As energetic principles, the multidimensional powers are inseparable, although one power may temporarily predominate. In Fu Xi's Bagua system, the eight fundamental forces constantly seek to balance each other.

Postnatal Bagua of King Wen

King Wen is believed to have lived in the Zhou Dynasty (1028-221 B.C.). The Bagua system of King Wen focuses on the fundamental principles of the Earthly transformations (Figure 1.205). They are arranged according to the expression of increasing or decreasing qualities of physical life (beginning at Zhen and following a clockwise progression). The Earthly principles expressed within the system of King Wen are not only separated in time, but they are also thought of as being energetically "in sequence" around the periphery of the Bagua instead of matching powers through opposite polarity alignment. Because Fire (light and heat) and Water (dark and cold) appear as the most prominent and visible of all Earthly forces, in King Wen's Bagua configuration Fire is placed at the top of the trigram and Water in placed at the bottom.

BA GUA STEPPING PATTERNS

The following Stepping Patterns allow the Daoist disciple access into the energetic realm of the various Eight Trigram Powers.

BAGUA STEPPING #1: "THE ANCIENT RIVER CHART"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the unification of the Yin and Yang energies described within the ancient River Chart (Lo Diagram), and it contains the esoteric energetic patterns of the "Magic Square" (Figure 1.206). When walking the circular stepping pattern, the Daoist mystic would envision the Prenatal celestial energies and the Postnatal terrestrial energies combining within the energetic space of the center of the circle.

According to the historic records, in ancient China the world was believed to be made up of Nine Continents. Eight of these continents (Yong, Liang, Yan, Yang, Qing, Xu, Yu, and Ji,) surrounded the "center" kingdom of ancient China. As the Daoist mystic stood in the middle of the "Central Continent" (represented by the image of the River Chart) and fused with the interacting energies of Heaven and Earth within these eight continents (represented by the eight mountains which circle the River Chart), he or she could access an energetic portal and spirit travel to any place in the physical world.

Offering The Report

When using the circle walking method for "Offering the Report," the disciple is taught to step through each of the Eight Trigrams and focus on their various celestial powers. As the disciple steps, he or she imagines approaching the Celestial Courts. After walking the circle counter-clockwise through nine complete rotations, the disciple eventually comes to a halt by forming a "T-Stance" at the "Stars of Three Terraces," located by the Qian Trigram (North-West). The three stars of the Three Terraces were believed to be a staircase connecting Heaven to the Earth. The disciple proceeds from star to star, after having first circled around the Dipper three times (totaling nine rotations), the ultimate goal being to mount up to the Shangqing Heavens.

When walking, it is important that the disciple imagines him or herself being covered in a sealed bubble of purple mist. Once the disciple reaches the "Stars of Three Terraces," he or she "transforms their energetic form," and mounts the back of an enormous white crane (while forming the White Crane Double Hand Seal) to fly towards the Gate of Heaven and meet with the Jade Emperor. After the encounter, the disciple is to return from the Gate of Heaven by walking the circle nine times (three rotations per each Terrace) in a clockwise direction, ending at the Earth Door (located at the South-West corner of the altar).

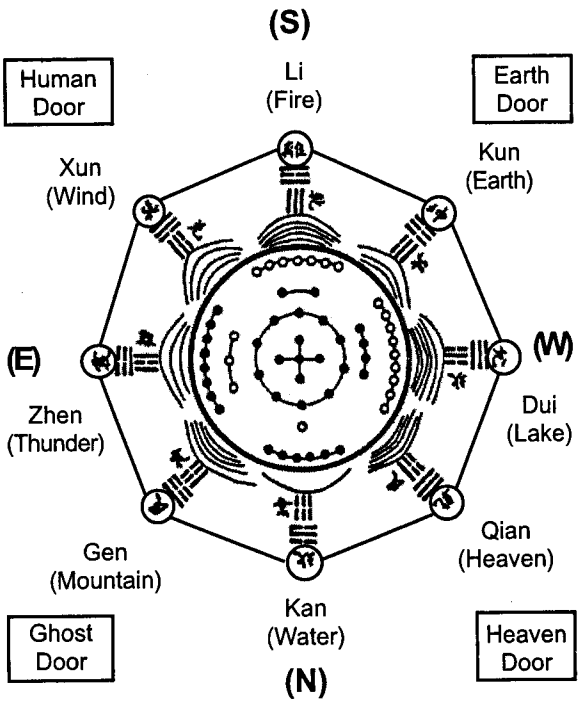


Figure 1.206. Bagua Stepping #1: "The Ancient River Chart"

BAGUA STEPPING #2: "THE YI-JING - WU XING STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the "Blending of the Three and Five" manifesting through 64 changes of the Yi Jing Divination (Figure 1.207).

When pacing the circular steps of the Yi-Jing - Wu Xing Stepping pattern, the energetic and spiritual natures of the Earthly body's Jing, Qi, Shen fuse with the celestial energies of the individual's cultivated Heavenly virtues. These combined energies then fuse with the subtle energies of the Five Elements, allowing the awareness of the physical body to dissolve into the infinite space of the spiritual realms.

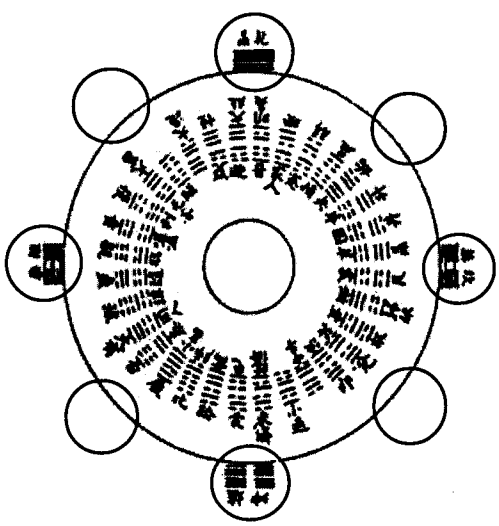


Figure 1.207. Bagua Stepping #2: "Yi Jing-Wu Xing Stepping"

Figure 1.208. Bagua Stepping #3:
"Ba Gua - Yi Jing Stepping"

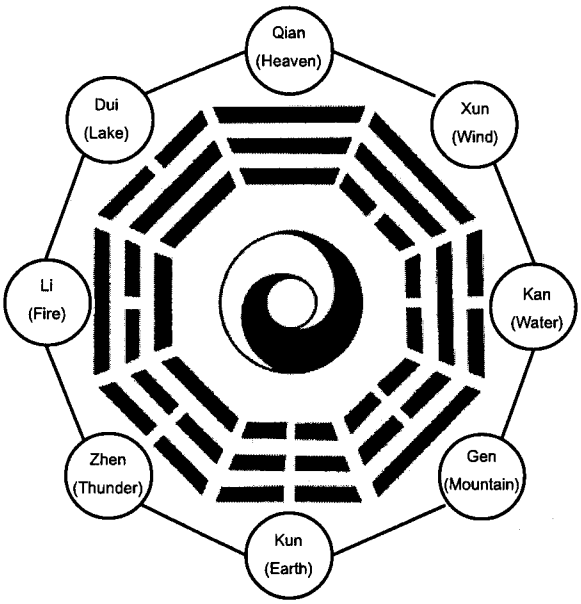


Figure 1.209. Bagua Stepping #4:
"Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

BAGUA STEPPING #3: "BA GUA - YI JING STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the blending of the "Eight Original Trigram Powers" with the powers of the "Sixty-four Hexagram Changes."

These combined energies then fuse with the subtle energies of the Five Elements, allowing the awareness of the physical body to dissolve into the more powerful spiritual realms (Figure 1.208).

When pacing the circular steps of the Ba Gua - Yi Jing Stepping pattern, the energetic and spiritual natures of the eight original trigram powers become manifested within the disciple's body, giving birth to the energetic veil through which to observe one's destiny and life purpose.

BAGUA STEPPING #4: "PRENATAL BA GUA STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams represent Eight Dimensions or phases of energy (Figure 1.209). The specific powers of the trigrams are polar opposites (Yin across from Yang). This "cycle of harmony" relates to the world of thoughts and ideas. In the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams, the opposite energetic forces are responsible for the creation of all phenomena.

The Prenatal stepping pattern is traditionally begun with circular clockwise stepping. It is practiced in the early morning, during the time of the "Ascent of Yang" (from 12:00 midnight to 12:00 noon), with the focus placed on the cultivation of the eight specific powers of the Bagua.

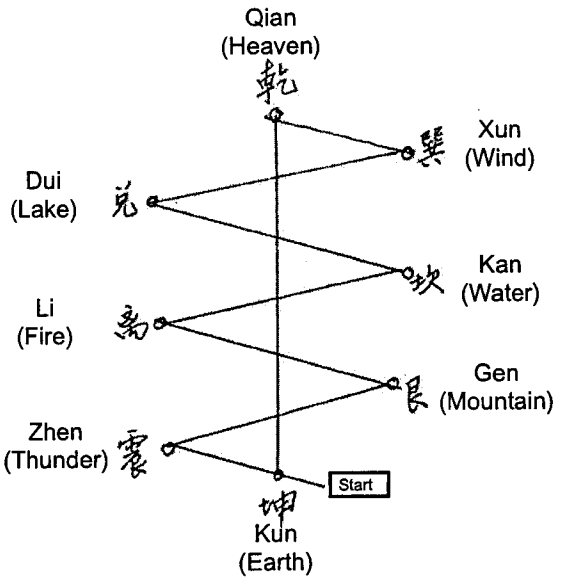


Figure 1.210. Bagua Stepping #5:
"Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

Bagua Stepping #5: "Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Prenatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.210).

Bagua Stepping #6: "Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Postnatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.211).

The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams represent the energetic cycles of the eight original powers. Their powers are the expressed as the external manifestations of Divine Thought. The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams represent the spark of life, responsible for the creation of the world of phenomena (or senses).

Bagua Stepping #7: "Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Postnatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.212).

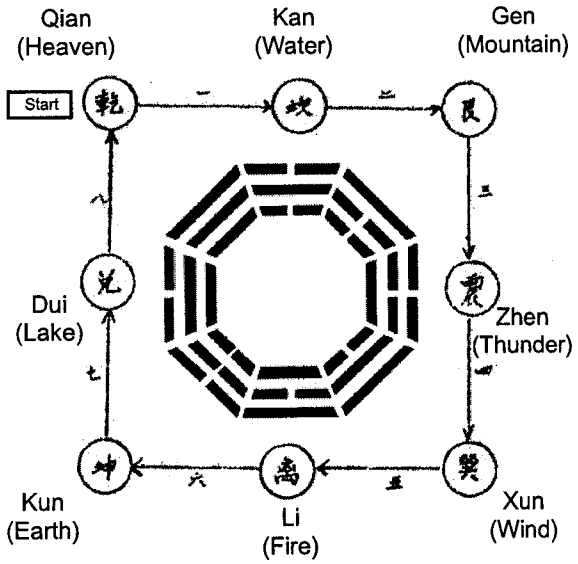


Figure 1.211. Bagua Stepping #6:
"Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

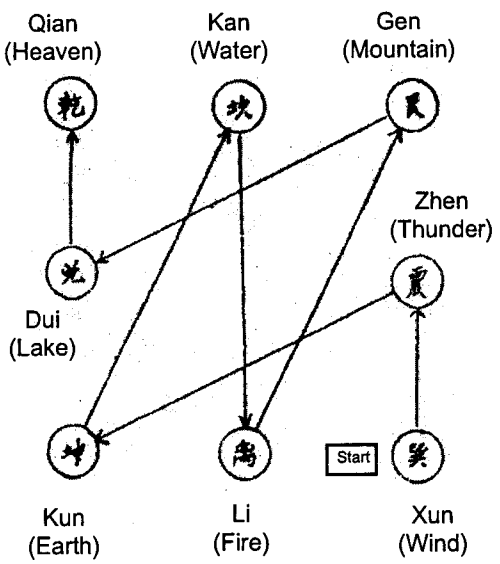


Figure 1.212. Bagua Stepping #7:
"Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

THE WU XING: FIVE ELEMENTS

In the ancient Chinese characters for Wuxing (the five energetic phenomena of life), the character "Wu" translates as "five," and the character "Xing" translates as "movement, process, manifestation, or phase" (Figure 1.213). Together, the term "Wuxing" can be translated as "Five Elements," and is considered an energetic template based on the study of five manifestations, phases or processes of Qi transformations. The Five Elements are represented by the physical, energetic and spiritual natures of the Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water Elements (Figure 1.214).

The Five Elements classify all tangible and intangible substances into five specific categories (five senses, five viscera, five postnatal emotions, five prenatal virtues, five flavors, five seasons, five directions, five phases of energetic transition, etc.).

The Five Elements can additionally be classified according to three levels of energetic manifestation and influence. These three levels pertain to the crude, subtle and ethereal states of Jing, Qi and Shen, and are described as follows:

- **The Material Components of Five Elements:** These relate to the gross material realm, and correspond to the waking state of consciousness. The material aspect of the Five Elements refers to the most dense and material forms of the Five Element natures; they affect the individual's physical body.
- **The Energetic Components of Five Elements of Energy:** These relate to the energetic realm, and correspond to the dream state of consciousness. The energetic aspect of the Five Elements refers to the subtle Five Element natures; they affect the individual's energetic body.

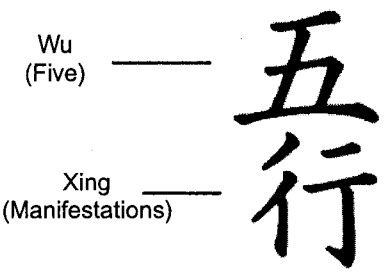


Figure 1.213. The Chinese Characters for "Wuxing," The Five Elements

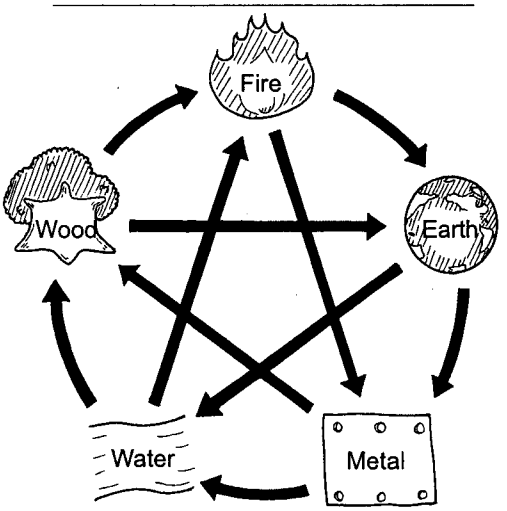


Figure 1.214. The Five Elements

- **The Spiritual Components of the Five Elements:** These relate to the spiritual realm, and correspond to the sleeping state of consciousness. The spiritual aspect of the Five Elements refers to the most subtle of the Five Element natures; they affect the individual's spirit body.

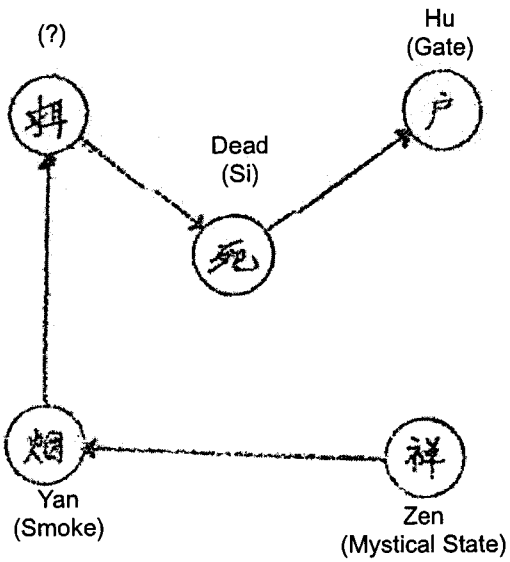


Figure 1.215. Five Element Stepping #1:
"Five Element Power Stepping #1"

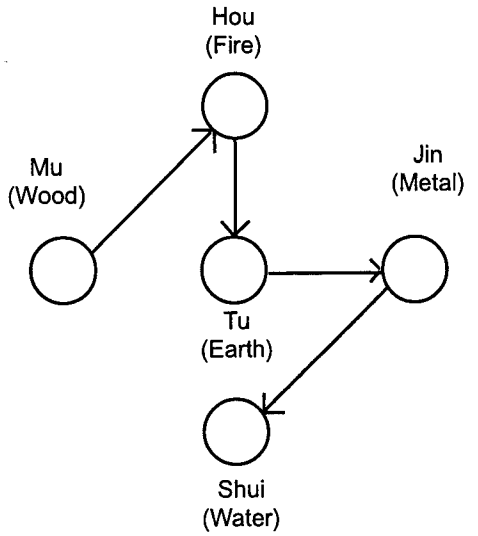


Figure 1.216. Five Element Stepping #2:
"Five Element Power Stepping #2"

Five Element Stepping #1: "Five Element Power Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to gather the Powers of the Five Elements that are stored within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Water, and Metal (Figure 1.215).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Mystical Smoke
of ___ arises
at the Gate of the Dead"

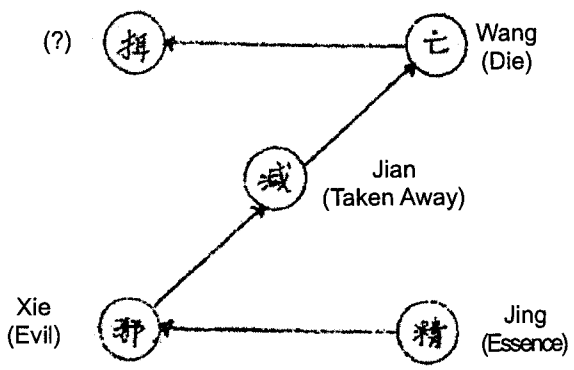


Figure 1.217. Five Element Stepping #3:
"Five Element Virtues Stepping"

The Five Element Stepping #2: "Five Element Power Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is also used to gather the Powers of the Five Elements that are stored within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Water, and Metal (Figure 1.216).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the Five Element Creative Cycle:

"Wood Creates Fire
Fire Creates Earth
Earth Creates Metal
Metal Creates Water"

The Five Element Stepping #3: "Five Element Virtues Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect, purify, and gather the energy of the Five Virtues stored within the Five Yin Organs: Heart (Peace), Liver (Compassion), Spleen (Truth), Lungs (Integrity), and Kidneys (Wisdom) (Figure 1.217).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Essence of Evil
is Taken Away
and _____ Dies"

THE FIVE ELEMENT STEPPING #4: "FIVE STAR STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect and gather the energy of the Five Prenatal Stars (the Supreme Yang, Supreme Yin, Heavenly Stars, Southern Stars, and Northern Stars) (Figure 1.218).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Pure and Serious
Follow the Cloudy Road
to Divine Illumination"

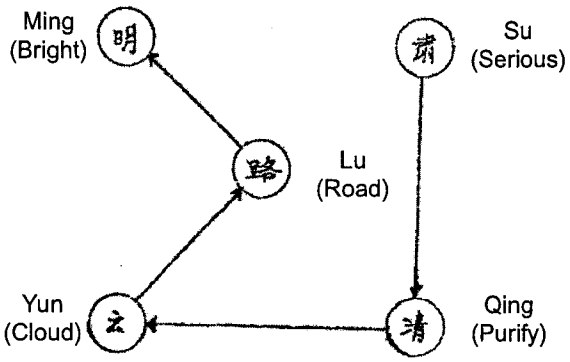


Figure 1.218. Five Element Stepping #4: "Five Star Stepping"

THE FIVE ELEMENT STEPPING #2: "FIVE SOUNDS STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect and gather the Qi of the Five Postnatal energy sound vibrations ("Xu" of the Liver, "He" of the Heart, "Hu" of the Spleen, "Si" of the Lungs, and "Chui" of the Kidneys) (Figure 1.219).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Draw Towards and Acquire
Shang Qing"

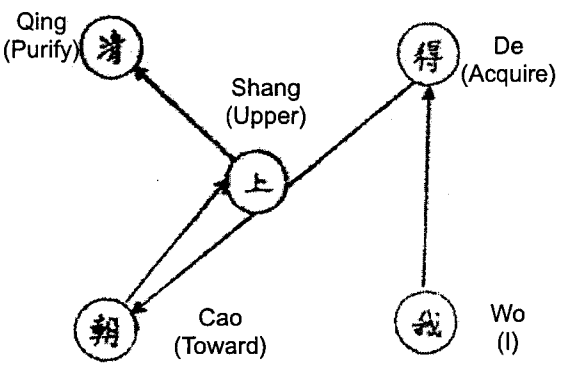


Figure 1.219. Five Element Stepping #5: "Five Sounds Stepping"

THREE PACE STEPPING PATTERNS

The following Three Pace stepping patterns (known as San Bu Gan) are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning the Celestial Martial Generals.

THREE PACE STEPPING PATTERN #1: "FA YI STEPPING (WIND AND FIRE STEPPING)"

This Stepping Pattern is known as Wind and Fire Stepping. It used to show respect to the stars, and to summon Celestial General Fa Yi (Figure 1.220).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Move the Wind
and Gather Thunder
to Release Heavenly Fire"

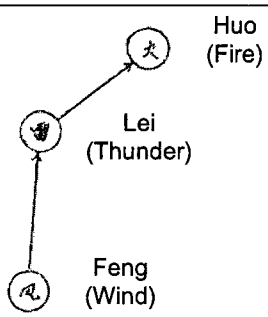


Figure 1.220. Three Pace Stepping Pattern #1 "Fa Yi Stepping (Wind and Fire Stepping)"

This is a fast magical step. After three quick steps, take the "Thunder Block" in the right hand and write the following Chinese character for "Bind" (Figure 1.221). At the same time form a left hand "Jade Incantation" Hand Seal by placing the thumb of the left hand on to the "Yi" posi-

Figure 1.221. The "Bind" Character

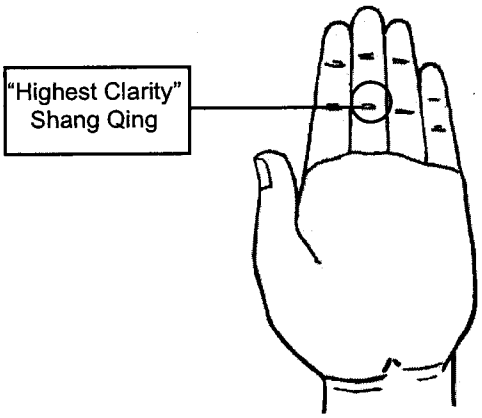


Figure 1.222. The "Jade Incantation" Hand Seal.

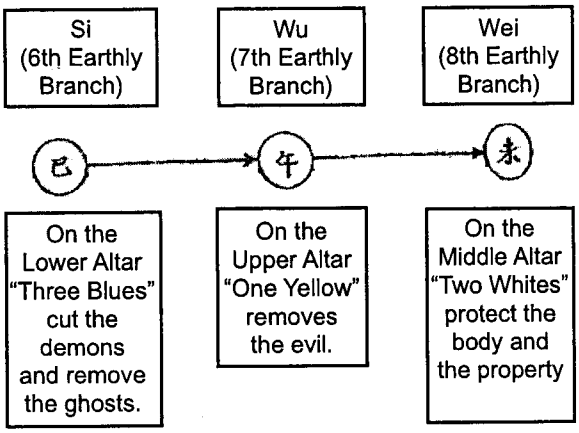


Figure 1.223. Three Stepping Pattern #2 "Three Altar Stepping"

tion (located on the second crease) of the left middle finger (Figure 1.222).

Three Pace Stepping Pattern #2: "Three Altar Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used for sending the report back to the Celestial Palace. When performing rituals, it is sometimes used as a "connecting" step, in order to link the Nine Purple Stepping with the Five Stepping patterns (Figure 1.223).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"On the Lower Altar
Three Blues
Cut the Demons and
Remove the Ghosts."
On the Upper Altar
One Yellow Removes the Evil.
On the Middle Altar
Two Whites Protect the Body
and the Property."

Summoning the Spirits of the Dead

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning or retrieving the Ethereal Soul (Hun) of the dead.

The Hun represent the body's spiritual consciousness, provide the energetic movement of the mind, and are associated with the Qi of Heaven and the Prenatal Five Element Virtues (also known as the Five Agents). Although they reside in the Liver Orb, the Hun also resonate from the Three Dantians (like a vaporous mist extending from the Liver and filling the body's three Dantians).

The Hun (Ethereal Soul) and Po (Corporeal Soul) influence the body's "Original Soul" (Yuan Shen). The ancient Chinese believe that, in the presence of a disorder (whether physical, mental, emotional or spiritual) the Hun sometimes fly away (like startled birds in a yard). This vacancy of the Hun causes the body's Corporeal Soul (Po) to either stir about thoughtlessly in the absence of effective control (clinically known as "disassociation" or commonly called "spacing out"), or to become animalistic in nature and attack or flee for the sake of survival.

Traditionally, the ancient Daoists believed that the three Hun originated from Heaven, and were considered to be a part of the spiritual aspect of an individual that can project and travel. Dreams are an example of the information gathered during the Hun's out of body travels.

The Hun store the sum total of past experiences. The expressions of the Hun are manifested through images, symbols and ideas stemming from the Divine, or through the energetic state of the Wuji. These images, symbols, and ideas are stored in the individual's mind, affecting his or her spiritual life. Without this interaction, a person's inner mental and spiritual life would become deficient in ideas, images and dreams.

The Hun spiritually and energetically respond to the energetic grids of Heaven (universal energetic fields). The stars and planets within these Heavenly grids exert an influence on the Hun, causing each individual's body to react to certain astrological configurations (full moon, new moon, equinox, solstice, etc.). An individual's positive or negative emotional reactions are sometimes based on the affinity of the vibrational rate of the Hun with the energies of a particular astrological alignment.

The Hun are classified as Yang spirits; they can be cultivated and refined. Imagination, visualization and positive affirmation in the form of prayer and incantations, meditation, and Hand Seals are traditionally used to awaken and establish an active relationship with the Three Ethereal Souls.

Upon the death of the body, the energetic spiritual essence of the Hun ascends back to Heaven. According to ancient Daoist tradition, upon death, the Hun exit the body through the Baihui at the top of the head and ascend to the Big Dipper. While at the Big Dipper, the Hun report the individual's actions, thoughts and deeds from his or her lifetime to the celestial spirits that preside over the individual's destiny. The celestial spirits will then determine the degree to which the individual had cultivated virtue during that incarnation.

In China, when an individual dies, there is a traditional ceremony performed called, "Zhao Hun" or "the calling of the Hun." This ceremony entails someone (a relative or loved one) going to the roof of the deceased individual's house and calling to the deceased person's Hun, begging it to return to its body. If the Hun do not return, then the Po will then begin their descent into the Earth and the body's tissues will start to decay.

In order to ensure that the Po stay in the body after it has been buried (and that they will not come out to annoy the living) the relatives seal all of the orifices (exits) of the body, in order to trap the Po inside. Generally, the orifices of the body are plugged with either jade or rice (depending on the deceased individual's financial status).

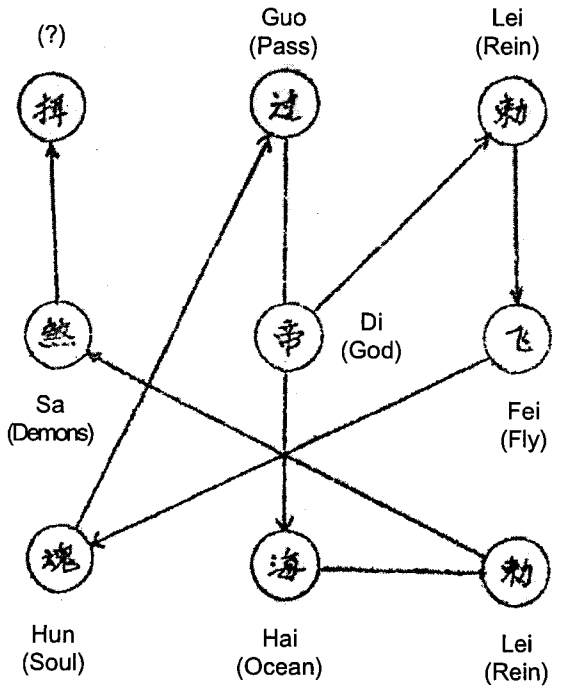


Figure 1.224. Summoning the Spirits of the Dead #1 "Gathering the Hun Stepping"

When performing a magical ritual used to hunt for a deceased individual's Hun, bring the soul out of hell, and lead it upward into Heaven, the Daoist sorcerer will traditionally repeat the following incantation:

"An Fa,
Zha Fa Feng
Pu She
Zhong You Hun"

The sorcerer will then end the incantation with:

"JI JI Ru Lu Ling"
("Quickly, Quickly - As this is Law")

"GATHERING THE HUN STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to call and gather the Hun (The Soul of the Dead) (Figure 1.224).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

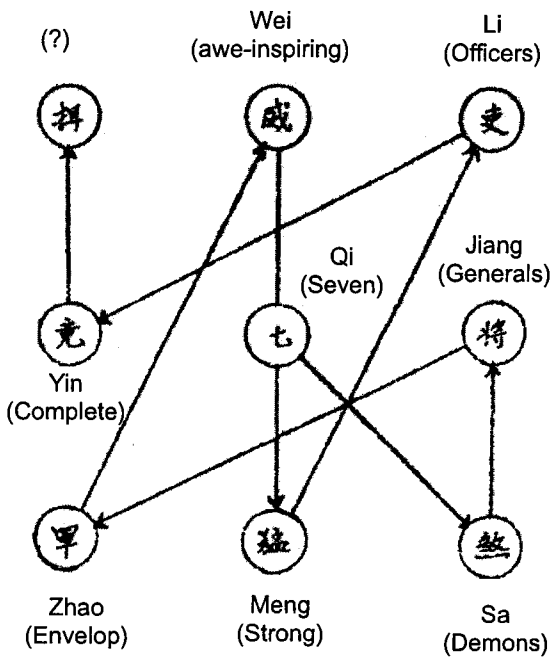


Figure 1.225. Summoning the Spirits of the Dead #2
"Gathering and Hiding the Hun Stepping"

**"God of the Heavens,
Gather to Yourself
the Flying Hun
So that it may Safely Pass
Over Your Infinite Sea
Seize Any Demon
That Seeks to Hinder its Flight"**

"Gathering and Hiding the Hun Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to gather, hide and keep the Hun (Figure 1.225).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"Seven Demon Generals,
Are Enveloped
By the Seven
Awe-inspiring Celestial Officers
Of the Complete _____"**

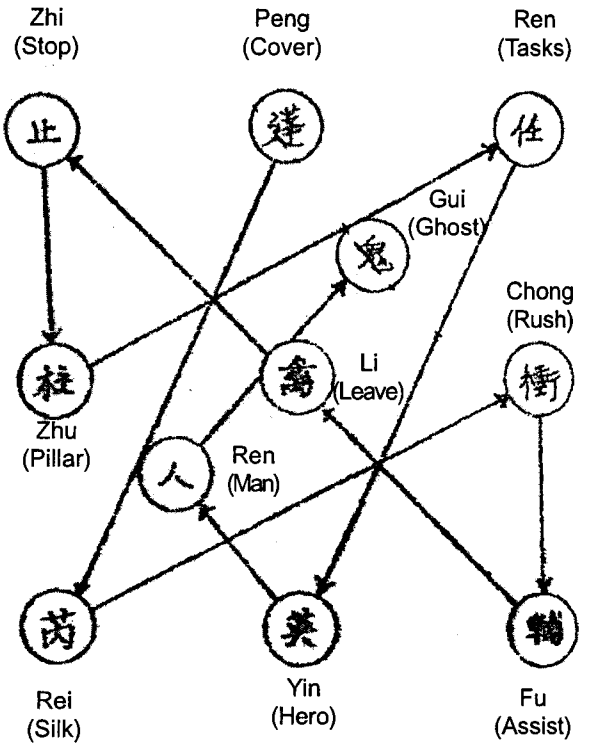


Figure 1.226.
"Summoning the Celestial Immortals
Stepping Pattern #1"

Magical Esoteric Star Stepping Patterns

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning various Celestial Immortals.

Summoning the Celestial Immortals Stepping Pattern #1

This Stepping Pattern is used to evict, remove, and control evil spirits (Figure 1.226).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"My hidden energy
flows like silk.
It rushes to assist me,
It leaves and stops
at the stable task of a hero
who has overcome his ghost"**

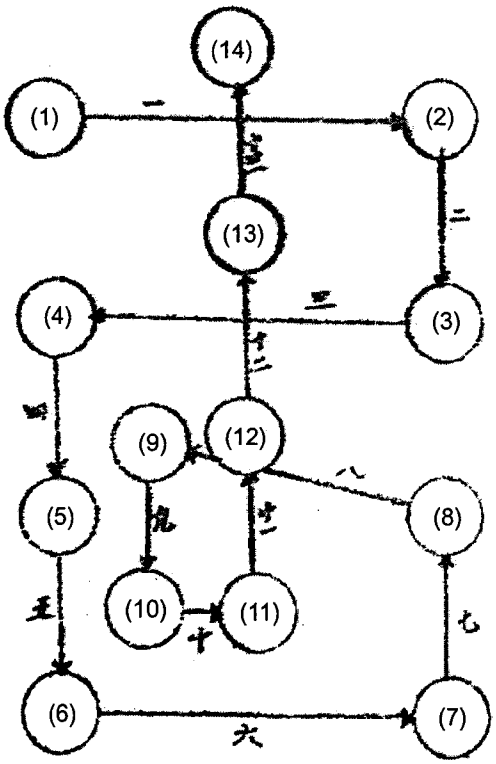


Figure 1.227.
"Summoning the Celestial Immortals
Stepping Pattern #2"

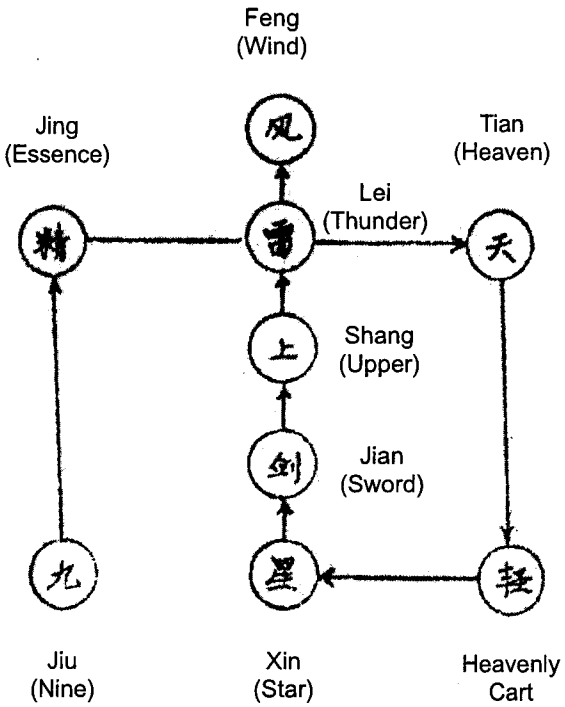


Figure 1.228. Controlling Nature
"Nine Wind Stepping"

SUMMONING THE CELESTIAL IMMORTALS STEPPING PATTERN #2

This Stepping Pattern is used to evict, remove, and control evil spirits (Figure 1.227).

SUMMONING THE CELESTIAL IMMORTALS STEPPING PATTERN #3

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning various Celestial Immortals in order to control the various Elemental powers of nature.

"NINE WIND STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to control the power of water (Figure 1.228).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"The Nine Essence Thunder,
of the Heavenly Cart Star
Brings the Immortal Sword
of the Upper Thunder Wind"**

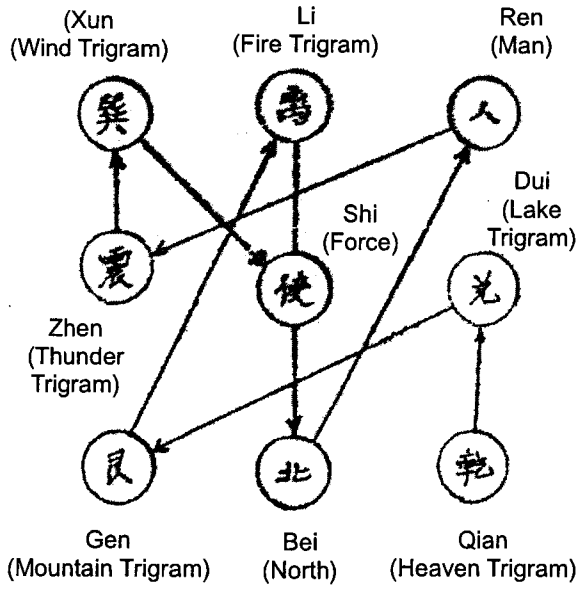


Figure 1.229.
"Celestial Master Zhang Stepping"

"Summoning Missionary Zhang Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used for summoning Celestial Master Zhang (Figure 1.229).

The first Celestial Master was the famous Daoist Master Zhang Daoling (refer back to Figure 1.188). The basic doctrines of Celestial Master Zhang concentrated on the use of the twenty-four Auspicious Alliance registers, or list of spirits, which allowed the Zheng Yi Daoists to summon, command, dispatch, or destroy demons and spirit entities. These twenty-four registers categorized spirit entities by name and description. The twenty-four registers are categorized according to 24 Daoist Monasteries located in the Cheng Du province, and were originally created and organized by Celestial Master Zhang Daoling.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"From the Heavens,
Over the Lake
and through the Mountain,
The Force of Fire
From the Northern Man
Arouses the Power
of Wind and Thunder"**

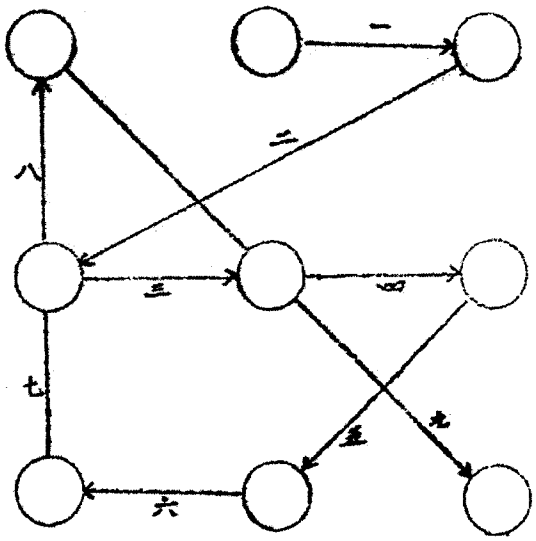


Figure 1.230. "He He
(Harmonize and Gather Stepping)"

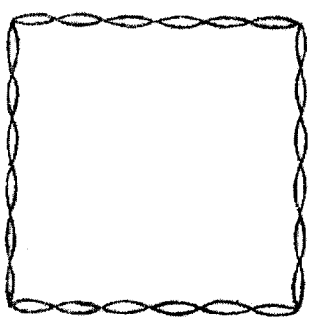


Figure 1.231. "The Intertwining Fence Stepping"

"He He (Harmonize and Gather) Stepping"

This stepping pattern is used in rituals in order to send reports back to Heaven (Figure 1.230).

"The Intertwining Fence Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to remove the filthy things and purify the altar court area. This stepping patterns is sometime known as "Pacify the Dragon and Respect the Earth" (Figure 1.231).

"THE SECOND STAR OF THE DIPPER PROTECTS THE BODY STEPPING"

This star stepping pattern is commonly used in Daoist Thunder Magic rituals and is described in the *Absorb the Riches of the Profound Text.* It includes both the Ghost Names and the Destiny Names of the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper (Figure 1.232). After performing "The Second Star of the Dipper Protects the Body" Stepping Pattern, the Daoist priest will then saying the following Five Animal Protection incantation (Figure 1.233):

"The Green Dragon protects me on the left with his bold and powerful laws.
The White Tiger commands the celestial soldiers and protects me on the right.
The magical light of the Red Sparrow is in front of me,
The mysterious Dark General (Turtle/Snake) holds the bright light behind me.

The Heavenly Generals ride about on golden wheels of fire
They dispatch their celestial soldiers who play their Heavenly drums, creating a powerful Heavenly sound.
Everyone knows of life and death, they all understand the profound chances and opportunities"

"Let the Three and Five Marshal Generals and their celestial soldiers come together with the public.
Let their sunshine and the brightness come upon us
"Quickly, quickly, do this as it is my command."

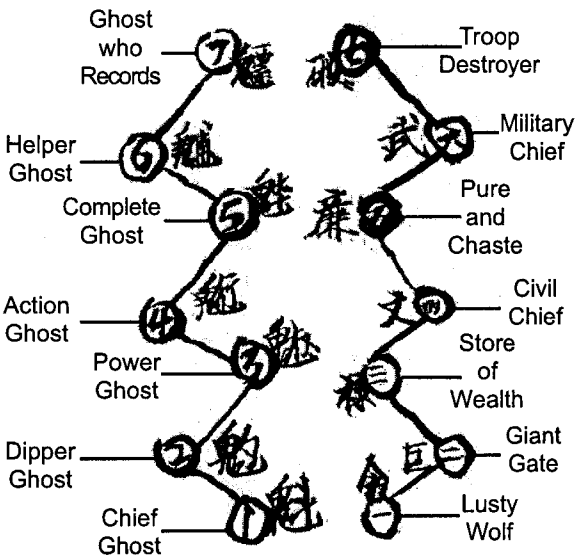


Figure 1.232. "The Second Star of the Dipper Protects the Body Stepping"

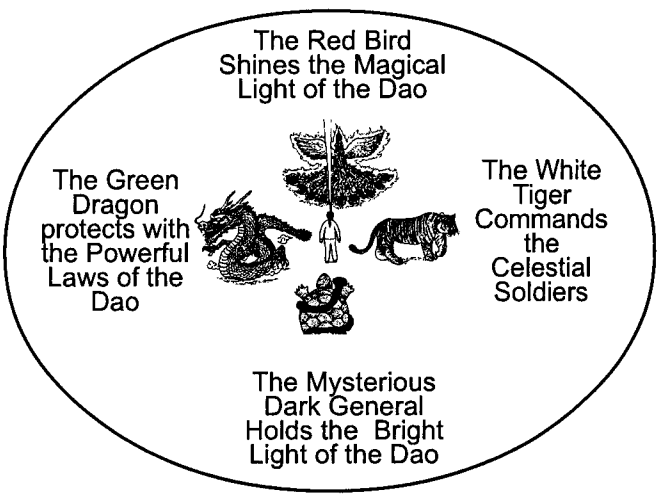


Figure 1.233. The Five Animal Protection Incantation

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- **Priest of Tian Yun Gong Zheng Yi Daoist Temple:** Temple of the Celestial Cloud, Pacific Grove, Ca.

- **Ordained Priest in Zheng Yi Daoism:** Received formal "Lu" Ordination as a Daoist Priest at the 900th Year Anniversary of the Founding of the Celestial Master's Mansion in Jiangxi Province - October 2005.

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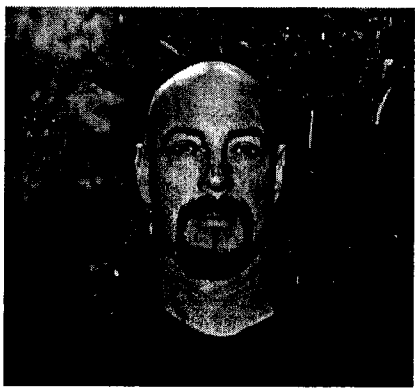
Professor Jerry Alan Johnson is internationally renowned as a Shifu (master instructor) of Chinese Wu Dang Martial Arts, Chinese Medicine and Daoist Magic, having studied for over 36 years.



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Daoist Magical Incantations, Hand Seals, and Star Stepping

Training in Daoist Magic from the Zheng Yi School of Ancient Chinese Mysticism

Written by

Professor Jerry Alan Johnson, Ph.D., D.T.C.M

80th Generation Disciple and Daoist Priest of Mao Shan (Shang Qing) Daoism,

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Disclaimer:

Ancient occult magic was never intended to replace orthodox religion, but rather to complement it in its quest for a deeper understanding of esoteric spirituality. Through the alchemy of prayer and meditation, an individual can be transformed into an enlightened or "awakened" state of awareness.

Several of the ancient meditation practices, magical techniques and Shengong exercises described herein are currently practiced within the secret societies throughout the world, including the People's Republic of China. These esoteric techniques can be very powerful and may in some cases be too mentally and physically demanding for some individuals. The readers should therefore use their own discretion or consult a priest or mental health professional before engaging in these exercises and meditations.

The rituals used for spiritual protection and energetic destruction are still as powerful today as they were when first introduced in ancient China. The secret of their timelessness lies in the fact that the personal power of the Celestial Immortals, various Spirit Entities, and Demonic Beings never changes. Therefore, the author, the International Institute of Daoist Magic, and the publishers are neither liable or responsible to any person or entity with respect to any loss or damage caused, or alleged to be caused, directly or indirectly by reading or following the instructions for any condition, ritual, incantation, Hand Seal, or interpreting information provided in this text.

This book describes traditional methods of both ancient and modern forms of Chinese Mysticism (Daoist occult magic and sorcery), and is not intended to persuade the readers in any way, shape or form to believe in or practice sorcery. Any person attempting such rituals is doing so at his or her own risk.

Additionally, sometimes Daoist exercises and meditations require special herbal formulas, as well as the regulation of the individual's diet (e.g., fasting) and living environment (solidarity). It is important to note that herbal prescriptions will vary according to the individual's constitution, condition and specific goal, and must be treated accordingly only by a doctor or herbalist qualified to prescribe Chinese medical herbs. Each state in the U.S. has their own regulations and restrictions, therefore, it is advisable for the reader to consult their own state medical board for use of proper application and liabilities of the techniques described within this text.

The Secret Trainings of Daoist Magical Incantations

Introduction to Training Daoist Magic

Born from ancient Chinese shamanism, Daoist alchemy gradually evolved to encompass all levels of human experience, the mastery of which is commonly known today as Daoist Magic. Because magic links spirit with matter, the Daoists have always used magic as part of their tradition in all cultivation, alchemy, and healing practices. Thus, it is through the understanding and application of magical practices that the Daoist sorcerers embraced the three realms of matter, energy, and spirit, seeking to unite with the Dao by gathering and manipulating the subtle energies of nature.

Through the use of magic (i.e., spirit travel, dream interpretation, controlling the weather, divination, healing, and conjuring or removing spirit entities), the ancient Daoist sorcerers were able to train the body's life-force to sense, manipulate, and control the energetic manifestations that govern within the physical world.

History of Daoist Magic

The Daoist magic commonly taught today in China, Taiwan, Vietnam, etc. originally developed from two separate branches of Chinese mysticism (Figure 1.1). The Yin branch of Daoist magic originated from ancient knowledge that was gathered and eventually written down by the philosophers of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). These

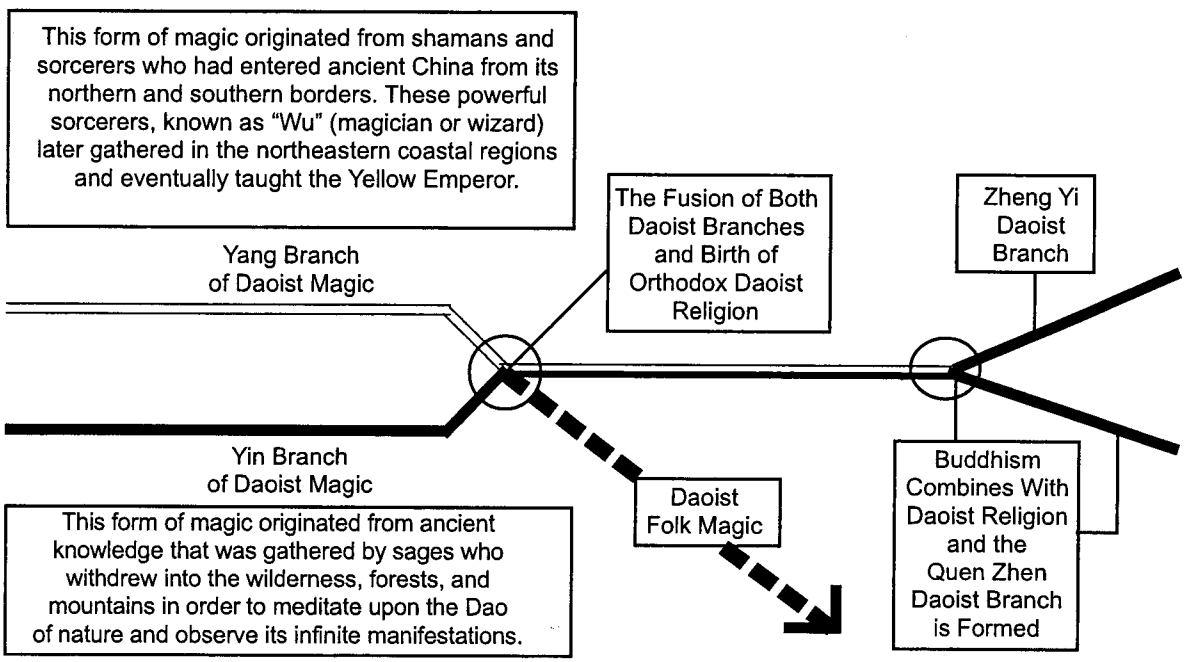


Figure 1.1. Origin of Daoist Magic

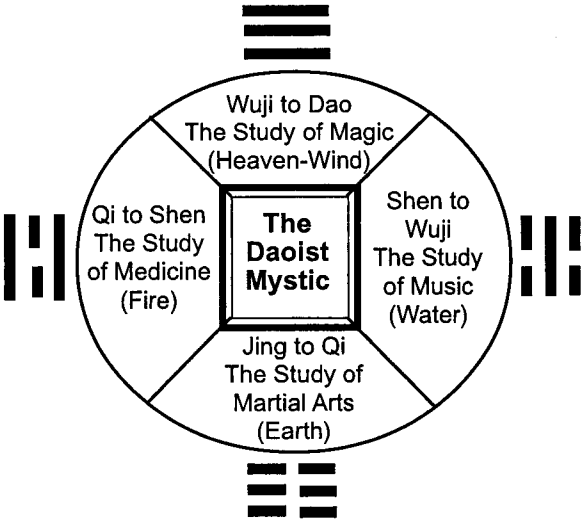


Figure 1.2. The Four Pillars of ancient Daoist sorcery

individuals withdrew into the wilderness, forests, and mountains in order to meditate upon the Dao of nature and observe its infinite manifestations. Disciples of these Daoists practices sought after a more feminine, receptive energetic knowledge, which could only arise as the fruit of a passive and yielding attitude, developed through the observation and study of nature.

The Yang branch of Daoist magic originated from shamans and sorcerers who had entered ancient China from its northern and southern borders. These individuals later gathered together and were concentrated within the northeastern coastal regions of ancient China (especially within the states of Chi and Yen). These sorcerers were eventually given the name of "Wu" (magician or wizard) and were believed to have eventually taught the Yellow Emperor.

Eventually, the two different elements of nature study and Wu sorcery combined in order to form the Daoist "religion" of later times. The Wu sorcery that was not incorporated into religious Daoism eventually became associated with the most ancient practices of Chinese folk magic, which centered around the worship of the various powers of Heaven and Shang Di (the God Above).

In these early formative stages, both science and magic were indistinguishable. Even the early "royal society" found it difficult to distinguish between science and what we now call magic. For example, up until the 16th Century, science was commonly called "Natural Magic."

Eventually, the title "Daoist Mystic," referred to an individual who had mastered the physical, energetic, and spiritual components of the esoteric alchemical practices of Martial Arts (Jing to Qi), Medicine (Qi to Shen), Music (Shen to Wuji), and Magic (Wuji to Dao). The study of each of these specific disciplines formed the Four Pillars of ancient Daoist sorcery, enabling the mystic to enter into ever deeper and more subtle spiritual realms of enlightenment (Figure 1.2).

Three Bodies, Three Breaths & Three Minds

In order to avoid the risk of losing any form of cultivated magical power or jeopardizing their ability to energetically manifest, the ancient Daoist sorcerers were taught to discipline their Three Bodies (i.e., the Physical Body, Energy Body and Spirit Body). This magical training included mastering the supernatural powers and manifestations that stemmed from the energetic and spiritual bodies surrounding their core-self (located deep inside their Taiji Pole).

This disciplined practice enabled the sorcerers to control their Three Bodies and fuse them with their Three Breaths. This physical, energetic, and spiritual fusion then become powerfully directed by their Three Minds (Figure 1.3).

Then, when the Daoist sorcerer spoke a magical incantation, it was directed by the Three Minds (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Mind), and initiated through magical Hand Seals and/or Star Stepping patterns, which were then activated through the sorcerer's Three Bodies (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Body). The energetic combination of all Three Minds and all Three Bodies was then fused with the energetic combination of all Three Breaths (i.e., Physical, Energetic, and Spiritual Breath) in order to create true magical power (Figure 1.4).

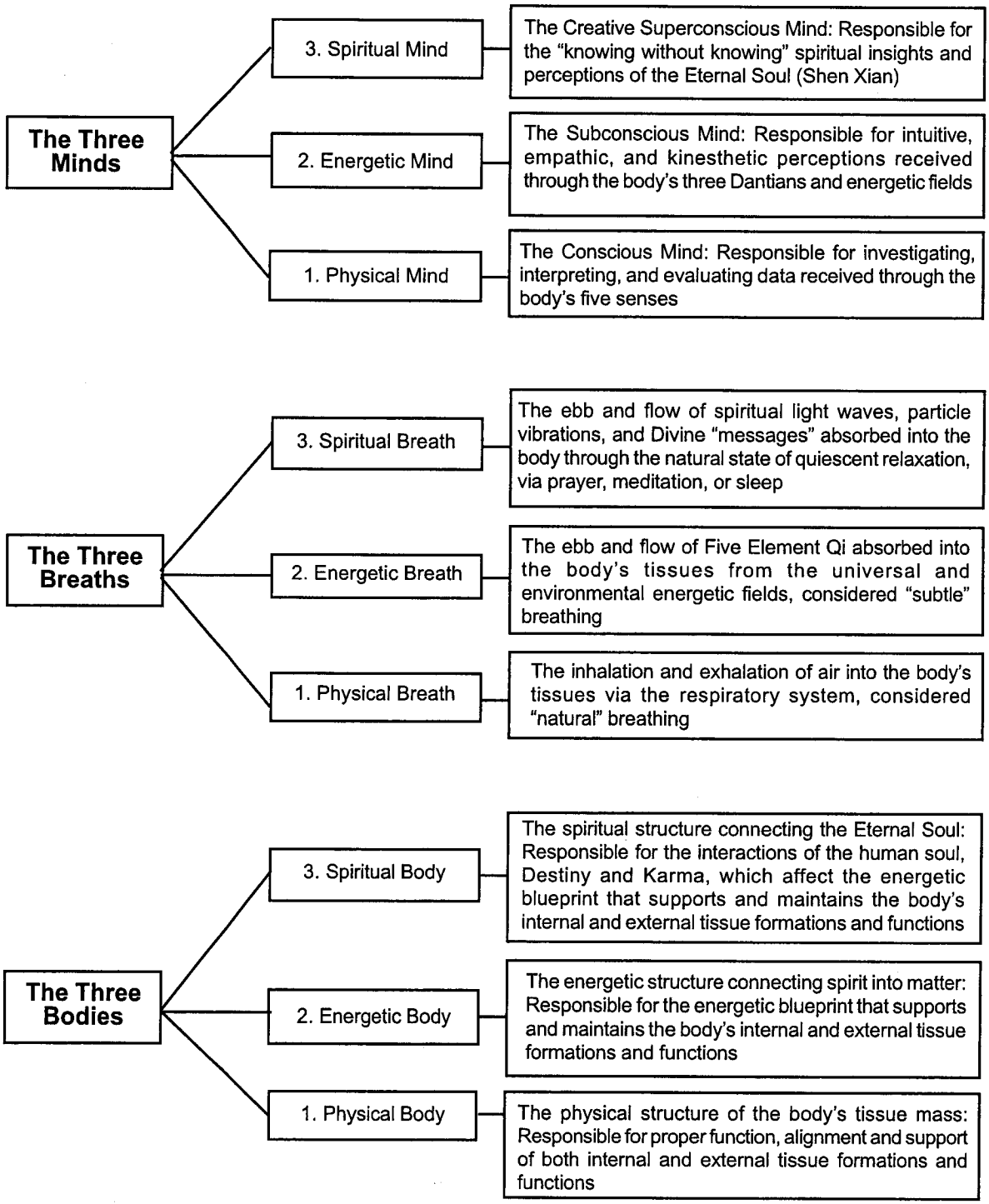


Figure 1.3. The Ancient Daoist Understanding of Internal Harmony

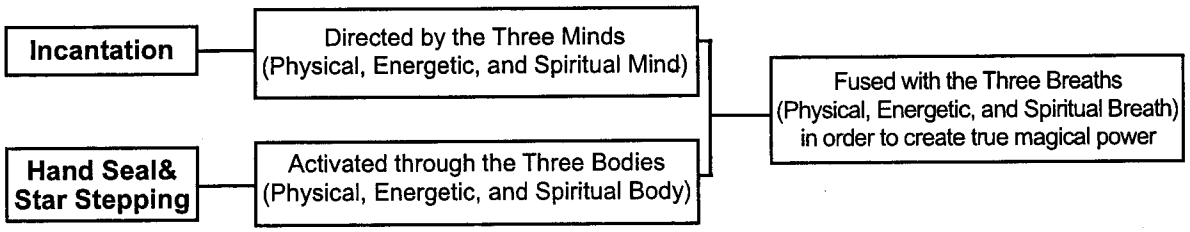


Figure 1.4. The Three Minds and Three Bodies fuse with the Three Breaths in order to create true magical power

Mind Secret, Speech Secret, & Body Secret

In ancient China, Daoist magical practices were always initiated through the combined use of three secret training known as the Mind Secret (used to train the sorcerer's Imagination, Sensation, Intention, and Attention), the Speech Secret (used to train Breath Incantations), and the Body Secret (used to train magical Hand Seals and Star Stepping). The mastery of these three disciplines gave the Daoist sorcerers the ability to enter the Three Realms (Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld) and obtain knowledge and experience that could assist then in their goal of obtaining immortality. The three secret magical practices are described as follows:

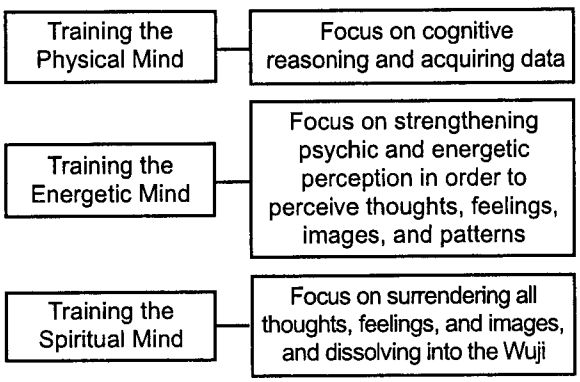


Figure 1.5. Training The Three Types of Posture

Training the Mind Secret

The ancient Daoists taught that the mind functions on three different planes, simultaneously orienting within the physical, energetic, and spiritual worlds. Together, these three mental planes make up the mind of an individual. In this way the three layers of mind encase the individual's Eternal Soul in physical, energetic and spiritual matrices. Therefore, in ancient China, training the mind was divided into three stages, training the physical mind, training the energetic mind and training the spiritual mind, described as follows (Figure 1.5):

- **Training the Physical Mind:** This type of mind training is based on training the sensory input, thoughts, and analytical patterns that direct the actions and movements of the body's physical tissues. Focus is placed on cognitive reasoning and on acquiring data.
- **Training the Energetic Mind:** This type of mind training is based on training to respond to the energetic perceptions received from the vibrational patterns which are themselves responsible for directing and influencing the Physical Mind. Focus is placed on strengthening psychic and energetic perception in order to perceive thoughts, feelings, images, and patterns.
- **Training the Spiritual Mind:** This type of mind training is based on perceiving spiritual interactions connected to the divine, affecting the Original Soul's primary life purpose. Focus is placed on surrendering all thoughts, feelings, and images and dissolving into the Wuji.

Yin and Yang Divisions of the Mind

There are two divisions of the mind (Yin and Yang), each consisting of three different levels. The Yin part of the mind belongs to the energy of the Earth and is a more body-oriented type of mind. The Yang part of the mind belongs to the energy of Heaven and is a more consciousness-oriented type of mind. The three levels of the mind are described as follows (Figure 1.6).

1. The most superficial level of the mind exists within the individual's Will (Zhi) and Intention (Yi), and represents the mind's everyday functions (i.e., cognitive thinking). The Zhi is considered the "thinking body," while the Yi is considered the "thinking mind."
2. The middle level of the mind exists within the emotional and spiritual influences of the Seven Corporeal Souls (Po) and Three Ethereal Souls (Hun), and represents the moving and active aspects of the mind (e.g., body movements, reflexes, instincts, drives, and spirit projection - when accompanied by the Yuan Shen).
3. The deepest level of the mind exists within the Prenatal foundation of the Kidney's Jing and the Heart's Shen, and represents the original and primordial energetic and spiritual form of the "Original Mind" (Yuan Shen). The "Original Mind" is manifested throughout the body via the Yin and Yang energetic natures contained within the original Prenatal Elements of Fire and Water.

These different levels of energies create the body, as well as activate the mental, emotional and spiritual transitional states of the mind. All three levels of the mind are interactive and interdependent.

Energetic Divisions of Qi	Yin	Yang
Psychophysical Divisions	Di (Earth) Body Orientation	Tian (Heaven) Consciousness Orientation
Superficial Level of the Mind (Zhi and Yi)	Zhi (Will) Kidneys Thinking Body	Yi (Intention) Spleen Thinking Mind
Middle Level of the Mind (Hun and Po)	Po Lungs Corporeal Soul	Hun Liver Ethereal Soul
Deepest Level of the Mind (Yuan Shen)	Jing (Essence) Kidneys Water Qi	Shen (Spirit) Heart Fire Qi

Figure 1.6. Mental and Emotional Transitional States of the Mind

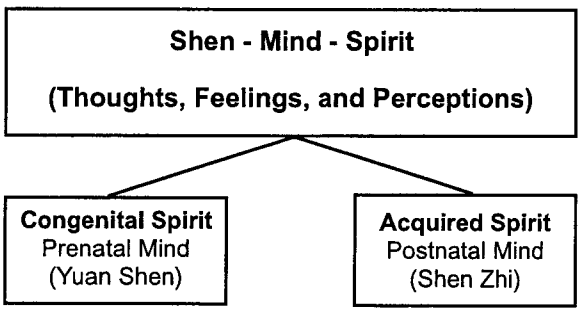


Figure 1.7. The Prenatal and Postnatal Mind

THE PRENATAL AND POSTNATAL MIND

The ancient Daoists considered the Heart the Emperor of all internal organs because it stores the individual's Shen (Spirit). The Shen was further divided into two components: the Prenatal Mind known as the Yuan Shen (the intuitive congenital spirit), and the Postnatal Mind known as the Shen Zhi (the analytical acquired spirit). These two aspects of the mind are described as follows (Figure 1.7):

- **The Prenatal Mind (Yuan Shen):** This congenital aspect of the mind is inherited from the Jing, Qi, and Shen of both parents and dominates the vital activities of all the major viscera, as well as the active functioning of the body's entire energetic organism and spiritual matrix.
- **The Postnatal Mind (Shen Zhi):** This acquired aspect of the mind is developed through interactions with people and the environment after birth. It dominates thought and interaction, and it engages in unlimited mental activity.

INTERACTIONS OF YUAN SHEN AND SHEN ZHI

The Yuan Shen (Original Mind) and Shen Zhi (Acquired Mind) are interactive and interdependent. If the Shen Zhi is active and chattering (sometimes called the "monkey mind"), it is difficult for the Yuan Shen to convey its intuitive information.

According to ancient Daoist texts on energetic alchemy, the Shen Zhi is meant to be a servant of the Yuan Shen. However, it is the nature of the unenlightened mind to allow the Shen Zhi to become extremely stubborn, developing a chronic, suspicious demeanor. If the activity of the Shen

Zhi becomes too self-involved, it can become completely independent. As the Shen Zhi strives for control it inhibits the development of the Yuan Shen, causing disbelief and suspicion to dominate the individual's mind and override most intuitive perceptions.

Regulating the Mind is therefore needed to bring harmony between the analytical (Zhi) and intuitive (Yuan) aspects of the mind. In ancient Daoism there is a saying, "the mind must be led by a master; the Yuan Shen must be that master and must lead the Heart's Shen Zhi as One Mind."

The Four Secret Powers of the Mind

In Daoist magic, "Training the Mind," refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application and fusion of four secret powers. These four secret powers are represented through the image of Four Celestial Animals: the Green Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Phoenix, and the Black Turtle/Snake (Figure 1.8). In training the Mind Secret, the Four Celestial Animals are attributed to different magical powers and states of consciousness:

- **The Green Dragon:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Heaven, the Hun, Imagination, and Yang Qi.
- **The White Tiger:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Earth, the Po, Sensation, and Yin Qi.
- **The Red Phoenix:** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Fire, the Shen, Intention, and Yang Qi.
- **The Black Turtle/Snake (Dark Warrior):** This Celestial Animal represents the powers of Water, the Zhi, Attention, and Yin Qi.

In Daoist magic, the fusion of all Four Celestial Animal powers is a prerequisite for creating the true magical power of manifestation. The magical energies of the Green Dragon and White Tiger must be combined in order to create and sustain the sorcerer's Energy Body. The magical energies of the Red Phoenix and Black Turtle/Snake must be combined in order to create and sustain the sorcerer's Spirit Body. The energies of both the Energy Body and Spirit Body must combine and fuse as one in order to create true magical power (Figure 1.9).

The Four Celestial Animals are manifestations

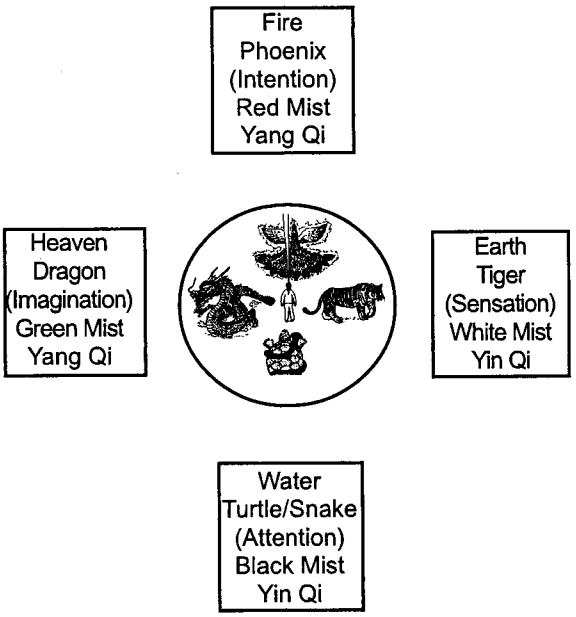


Figure 1.8. The Four Celestial Animals and their powers

of the divine energy radiating from the sorcerer's "Most Secret Name" (i.e., the sorcerer's spiritual name of power). The power of the sorcerer's Most Secret Name is used as a magical bridge in order to connect together the two realms of spirit and matter. It is imagined and kept as a Luminous Jewel, located deep inside the core center of the sorcerer's Lower Dantian, and it is utilized whenever he or she performs Breath Incantations, Magical Hand Seals, or Star Stepping patterns.

Language, Mythology and Energetic Geometry

The training of the Four Celestial Animals of the Mind Secret also involves three important magical disciplines: Language, Mythology, and Energetic Geometry. Through these three important disciplines, the Daoist sorcerer learns the secret "trigger" mechanisms needed in order to release and control powerful magic. In the context of magic, power is defined as the ability to produce a result (i.e., how long it takes to manifest something).

These three important magical disciplines are used to help focus the sorcerer's Will (Zhi). By gathering them together with Intention (Yi), the sorcerer is creating a magical universe that he or she can use to energetically effect the three realms.

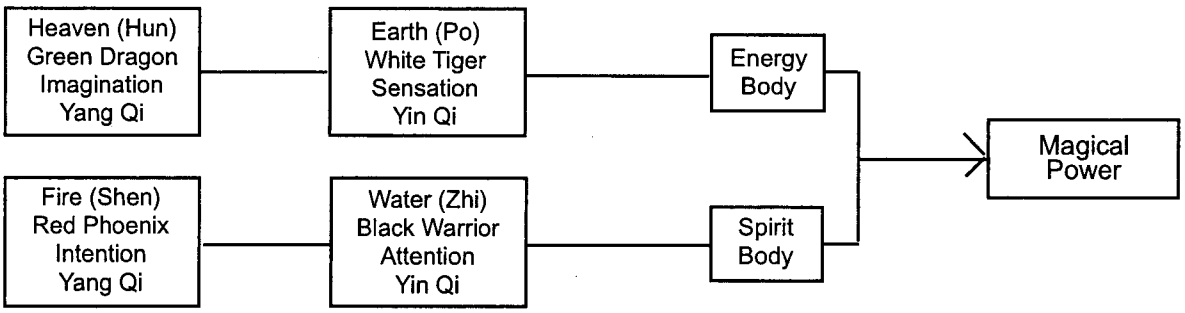


Figure 1.9. The secret powers of the Four Celestial Animals are needed to create the power of true magic

The disciplines of Language, Mythology and Energetic Geometry are defined as follows:

- **Language:** This skill encompasses the use of magical words, their pronunciations, and the methods of combining them. This discipline is externally trained through the skill of speech (verbal expression) and internally trained thought processing. It is expressed and manifested into the external world via the sorcerer's Magical Incantations.
- **Mythology:** This skill encompasses the use of the myths and legends that deal with gods, demigods, heroes, and villains surrounding people, places, and things. This discipline is energetically trained through culture and tradition. Its effect is experienced within the world of matter externally through images (energetic symbols and icons) and internally through dreams (Archetypes, Dream Travel, and visionary work). Although some mythological correspondences will remain consistent, certain energetic aspects will greatly vary depending on the sorcerer's magical tradition.
- **Energetic Geometry:** This skill encompasses the use of the sacred mathematical formulas that deals with the relative properties and measurements of solids, surfaces, lines, points, and angles. This discipline is energetically trained through vision (external sight) and is released into the world of matter externally through magical forms (i.e., Body Postures, Hand Seals, and Star Stepping) and internally through images (energetic shapes). Each of the Four Celestial Animals corresponds to one of the Four Directions. Each of the Four Directions acts as a secret door that opens onto a vast hallway of interconnected meanings (i.e., each direction corresponds to a certain time, season, polarity, planet, shape, color, sound, herb, stone, Element, number, etc.). In ancient Daoism, masters of Feng Shui and Divination were extremely skilled at recognizing the magical correspondences of Energetic Geometry.

FOUR WAYS TO AVOID LOSING MAGICAL POWER

When training esoteric magic, the ancient Daoists described four primary ways that a sorcerer could lose his or her power and weaken the ability to mentally manifest. These four ways are described as follows: Leaking Magical Power Through the Mouth, Leaking Magical Power Through Vision, Leaking Magical Power Through Geometry, and Leaking Magical Power Through Sex. Because the sorcerer's magical power can be lost through one or several of these four methods, it reveals two important things about their mental training:

- First, pertaining to each of these four methods, the sorcerer's magical power can be cultivated and conserved by certain disciplined means of magical training.
- Second, the skill of intentionally creating specific manifestations can be consciously expressed through each of these four methods.

Leaking Magical Power Through the Mouth

Magical power can leak out through the mouth via undisciplined external talking and internal thought. There are Three Filters used by

sorcerers in order to build the energetic power of speech and not lose the power of words. These three filters entail three specific questions that the sorcerer asks him or herself before speaking, described as follows:

- Is it necessary to say this, or should I remain silent?
- Is it truthful (authentic), and will it create energy in the direction of where I want to go?
- Is it kind to the listener and will it help them spiritually heal and grow, or will it close their spirit and harden their heart?

These three questions are designed to transform the sorcerer's conditioned programmed mind and alter the reactive habits of the sub-personalities working within the unconscious mind. Over time, the practice of these questions dismantles the sorcerer's masks and defense mechanisms, which are designed to mislead and deceive others for the sake of the sorcerer's ego identity. The sorcerer then has access to the infinite power of his or her divine self. As the sorcerer's Acquired Mind (Shen Zhi) eventually quiets its excessive chattering, the Original Spirit (Yuan Shen) begins to automatically take over as a spiritual observer, "truly listening to what the sorcerer is listening to."

Through mastering the Three Filters, eventually the power of the sorcerer's words become so powerful that when he or she speaks any form of magical Incantation, Spell, or Mantra, the power of the words are automatically brought into manifestation. This magical power eventually transfers over to nonverbal communication and becomes evident in the manifestations of the Magical Hand Seals and Star Stepping patterns.

Leaking Magical Power Through Vision

Magical power can leak out through vision via undisciplined external sight and internal dreams. One important technique used to assist the sorcerer in avoiding the loss of magical power through vision is to train in the skill of Visualization. Visualization is simply seeing or experiencing images within your mind. By using visualization to form a mental image, you can increase your energetic potential by a factor of ten. This type of mental training builds neuromuscular connections that allows you to develop a spiritual and energetic foundation from which to progress.

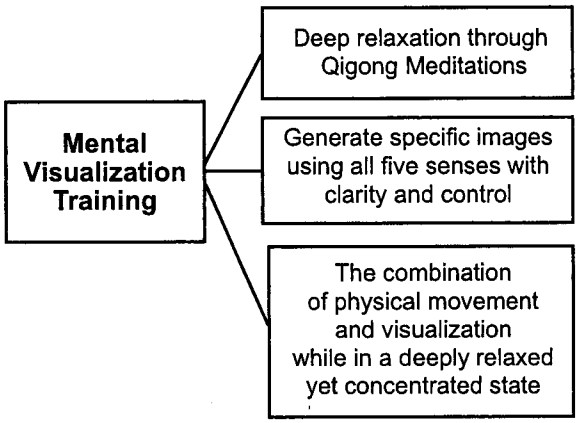


Figure 1.10. The Three Steps in Mental Visualization

There are three steps in achieving a successful visualization practice: Deep Relaxation through Qigong Meditations, Clarity of Visualization, and Physical Movement and Visualization (Figure 1.10). When practicing visualization skills, it is important to keep the following points in mind:

- **Begin External, Then Progress Internal:** Keep the image or symbol external during the initial phases of training. Then, as your perceptions become more refined, utilize the more subtle image of an internal psychic symbol.
- **Choose a Familiar Symbol:** The image or symbol that you choose for visualization practice should be easily identified by your mind (i.e., it should easily attract and hold your mind's attention).
- **Do Not Change Your Symbol:** Training every day using the same visualized symbol allows the mind to create a faster energetic patterning.
- **Picture the Image With Your Eyes Closed:** Clearly visualizing your symbol with your eyes closed allows the mind to create a faster energetic re-patterning. In order to obtain clarity of visualization and generate specific images using all five senses with clarity and control, visualize internally with your senses. When using your imagination, it is important to see, feel,

hear, taste, and smell the experience that you are creating. This should be performed to the degree that you are actually experiencing what your imagination is conjuring.

Be persistent and work towards a fullness of this internal experience. Generally, the mind will progress through five transitional stages when the sorcerer's clarity of visualization is being mastered. These five stages are described as follows:

1. **Unstable:** The mind's attention and focus constantly changes; it is unstable and wavering in both thought and feeling.
2. **Inattentive:** The mind's attention and focus becomes confused, unobservant, and inattentive to the original thought-intention.
3. **Occasionally Focused:** The mind's attention and focus begins to direct its attention, becoming occasionally focused.
4. **Focused:** The mind's attention and focus begins to gather into one spot; its attention is becoming clear and focused.
5. **Mastered:** The mind's attention and focus is completely controlled and clarity of visualization is mastered.

The sorcerer can also choose to use a combination of physical movements and visualization while in a deeply relaxed yet concentrated state. This can be accomplished by external visualization. One method of training is to imagine seeing yourself on your own mental movie screen, while analyzing and correcting your performance (movements and actions) towards a successful and powerful outcome. Visualize different types of movement patterns and interactions. During this type of active visualization training, if you detect an error in movement or action, mentally rewind and replay the event until the action or movement occurs perfectly.

Leaking Magical Power Through Geometry

Magical power can leak out through Energetic Geometry via exposure to external forms (postures) and internal images (shapes).

Leaking Magical Power Through Sex

Magical power can leak out through undisciplined sexuality via the loss of Essence (Jing), Energy (Qi) and Spirit (Shen).

TRAINING THE SPEECH SECRET

The ancient Chinese believed and taught that everything in the universe was made of sound. Sound waves not only affect matter, but also affect the consciousness as well; this is the purpose of using an Incantation in meditation or chanting. Therefore, Incantations were also used to develop such psycho-kinetic feats as weather control, teleportation, and levitation, and were also continuously chanted in order to create magical amulets or talismans used for protection against illness and evil.

In Daoist magic, Training the Speech refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application or breath and sound. When the spoken sound is released through Breath via magical incantations, a powerful spiritual interaction and energetic fusion involving the Brain (Kidney Water) and Heart (Heart Fire) occurs. It is therefore important for the sorcerer's Shen to consciously guide and direct the spoken sound, as the projected voice is a direct manifestation of the sorcerer's spirit and life-force energy.

THE THREE LEVELS OF BREATH

Through proper breath and mind control, a Daoist sorcerer is able to store Qi and Shen, similar to the way a storage battery contains electricity. Many of the powers attributed to advanced Qigong and Shengong practice are largely due to the hidden knowledge and esoteric understanding of how to utilize conserved Qi and Shen and later use it for specific purposes. The ancient Daoists understood that certain forms of breathing could enable him or her the ability to energize, empower, and increase latent psychic abilities.

In order to obtain the ultimate control and utilization of stored Qi and Shen, these ancient Chinese masters of esoteric knowledge divided the skill of breath into three levels: Training the Physical Breath, Training the Energetic Breath, and Training the Spiritual Breath. These three levels are described as follows (Figure 1.11):

- **Training the Physical Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the physical motion of the body's respiratory patterns. Focus is placed on the interaction of the Lungs, diaphragm, and abdomen.
- **Training the Energetic Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the energetic respiratory motion for ingesting and releasing the vibrational patterns of the Five Element sounds and colors.
- **Training the Spiritual Breath:** This type of breathing is based on training the spiritual respiratory motion for ingesting and releasing Divine light vibrating within the Wuji.

The Energy of The Breath (Wind)

The ancient Daoists considered the Wind (Feng) to be the first and primary element in commanding the influences of Nature upon the Earth. In nature, the energy of the moving Wind can be so gentle that it can cause subtle penetration of the body's tissues and cells. The energetic currents of the Wind flow like water, moving across the body's surface, circulating, and sometimes collecting into energetic pockets and then unpredictably moving on.

In Daoist magic, the energetic flow of the Human Wind (breath) establishes the foundation of the internal environmental climate. The energy of "Human Wind" is created by the combination of the sorcerer's Yi (Intention), Shen (Spirit), and Qi (Energy). The speed and direction of the energetic flow of the Human Wind is determined by the air flow created from high (Heart Fire) and low (Kidney Water) pressure regions.

Chinese Characters for Wind

The ancient Chinese ideograph depicting the character for Wind, "Feng," is described as follows (Figure 1.12):

- The Chinese character that depicts the ideogram for "Feng" is composed of two images: The character on the outside, "Fan," represents Wind. The character on the inside, "Chong," represents worms or insects that are being carried off by the wind. Together, both characters are used to depict the power and sudden, or violent impulses of the Wind's potential to carry something into extreme behavior.

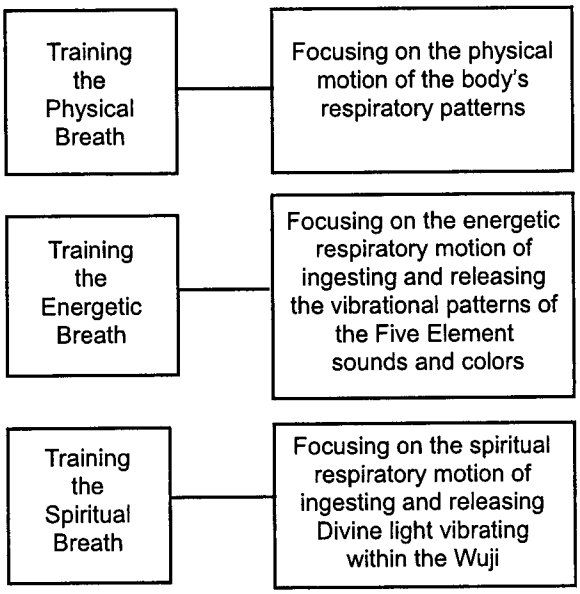


Figure 1.11. Training The Three Types of Breath

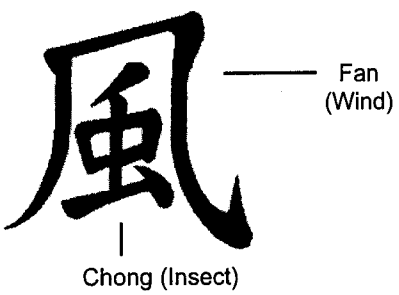


Figure 1.12. Chinese Characters for Wind "Feng"

The Wind's Effects on Matter

The ancient Daoists considered the human body to be like that of an empty stalk or "reed," capable of vibrational resonance through energetic stimulation via the body's own internal emotional "Winds," as well as the breath (Figure 1.13). When the Wind blows hard (i.e., the sorcerer's projected Qi and Shen are strong), the intended individual's body will resonate and vibrate like a reed, expressing one or several of the seven various internal emotions through the seven external orifices.

In the Daoist Magic, the penetrating property of the sorcerer's breath is used like the Wind, act-

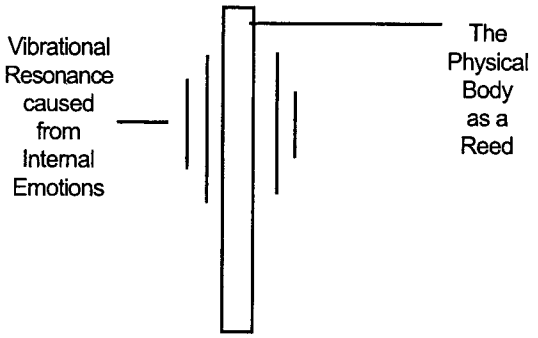


Figure 1.13. The ancient Daoists considered the human body to be like that of an empty stalk or "reed."

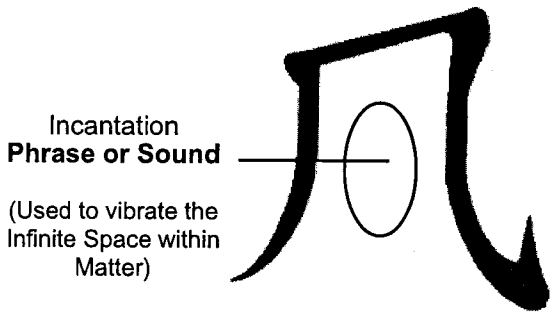


Figure 1.14. Each exhaled sound and breath acts as the Wind, carrying the sorcerer's projected thoughts and images into an individual's tissues and cells"

ing as the medium to carry the specific "Messages" and sound resonances of Breath Incantations throughout the individual's tissues. This is the foundational theory of Breath Incantations used in ancient China to invoke healing, treat disease, summon and dispatch spirit entities, and remove evil states from people, places, and things.

As the projected sound and breath penetrates a person, place, or thing, it carries with it the energetic "Messages" of the sorcerer's thoughts and intentions (Figure 1.14). The infinite space contained within the energetic matrix of the intended person, place, or thing will begin to vibrate like a reed, responding to the wind of the breath as it carries specific sounds into and through the physical structure.

Exhaling Color, Sound, and Breath

In order to maximize power, the Daoist sorcerer can also use color in combination with Breath Incantations. When directed into the tissues of an individual's body, the projected Breath Incantation will cause the internal organ's cells to vibrate. This vibration creates more space, allowing the Qi of the exhaled color to immediately fill the energetic field surrounding the cells.

Consonants and Vowels

Both consonants and vowels are necessary to form words of power. However, the vowels are the vitality of the words, whereas the consonants merely act as a template to limit and shape the Qi into a unique pattern. According to Daoist magic, vowels are Yang and represent the masculine creative force of the Dao, which embodies everything, but is itself without form. Consonants are Yin and represent the formative feminine force of the Dao, which has no inherent creativity, but enables all creation.

Consonants are considered to be Yin and correspond to matter (which is energy that has been constrained and congealed). For the most part, consonants do not have power and cannot be extended or elongated with the voice without the support of a vowel. Even those consonants that are sustainable (i.e., F, L, M, N, R, S, V, and Z) involve either compressing the lips, pressing the tongue against the teeth or palate, or tightening the throat.

Only vowels (which are considered to be Yang and correspond to spirit) have power, and can be voiced with a fully opened throat, allowing the individual to vibrate unobstructed "like a reed." Vowel sounds (which is energy that is unrestricted) can be projected with considerable power, because the column of Qi released into the environment can be energetically rooted into the Lower Dantian and spiritually directed through the Yellow Court.

Three Types of Projected Sounds

In ancient China, the physical body was considered the crucible in which the eternal elixir of life could be cultivated. It contains the life giving energy and acts like a capacitor storing and releasing different vibrational frequencies. These frequencies can be accessed and modulated through the use of Mantras.

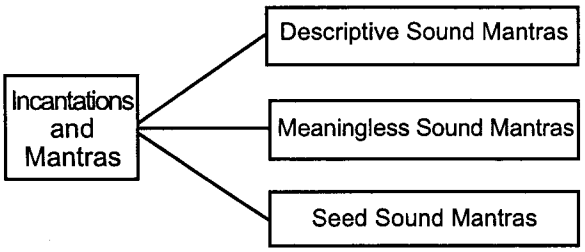


Figure 1.15. The Three Main Types of Mantras

There are three main types of Mantras used to initiate cellular vibration: Descriptive Sound, Meaningless Sound, and Seed Sound, described as follows (Figure 1.15):

- **Descriptive Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for achieving specific desired goals. They can be utilized for healing or spiritual growth.
- **Meaningless Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for stimulating and awakening specific energy centers in the individual's body. It is generally a collection of sound phrases and can be utilized for healing or spiritual growth. For example, the specific Incantations commonly used in Qigong exercises are types of meaningless sound incantations.

When "Descriptive" and "Meaningless" Incantations are employed, the body's energy will continue to accumulate until the energy is used or otherwise discharged.

- **Seed Sound:** This type of Incantation is used for stimulating, awakening, and creating a permanent "standing wave" of energy within the tissue cells of the body, or within a specific energy center in the brain. Seed Sound Incantations are sound phrases used for creating a continuous type of specific energetic effect, which eventually will become a coherent and accessible type of energy.

Projecting Sound Vibration

When resonant sound penetrates an individual's body, it causes massive chaotic vibrational patterns that disrupt the body's normal energetic flow. This energetic disruption can be used in order to soften and liquefy stagnant Qi, and this is the primary reason why patients are given healing sound therapy in Medical Qigong clinics.

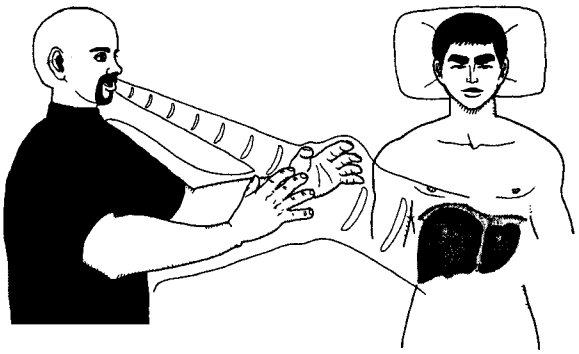


Figure 1.16. Increasing Projected Sound Resonances with Focused Imagery

Since thoughts and emotions are strongly affected by sound, the body defends itself against outside vibrational signals by anticipating and setting up signals which cancel out external sound vibrations. Our ability to filter out these recognizable sounds, while allowing us to maintain our own thoughts and emotions can become a major barrier to the effects of surface vibrational patterns. As soon as the thoughts and emotions begin to intrude on the dominant beliefs or established emotional patterns in an individual's tissues, his or her body automatically identifies the invading signal and filters it out.

While the body can defend itself against rhythmic signals, the suppressed attitudes and emotions are defenseless against the random sounds of a chaotic resonance emitted from a Daoist sorcerer because it is unpredictable. The projected sound resonations simply go past the individual's vibrational defenses and soften all thoughts and emotions in the target frequency range.

Training Sound Projection

When projecting sound, it is important for the sorcerer to visualize the sound waves penetrating and rippling through the focused item (water, solid matter, tissues, cells, etc.). This focused visualization, combined with a long exhalation during the released tone, allows for deeper penetration of the sound's resonance and is used to disperse stagnations. The following are two popular training exercises used by Daoist sorcerers for mastering the sound projection skill.

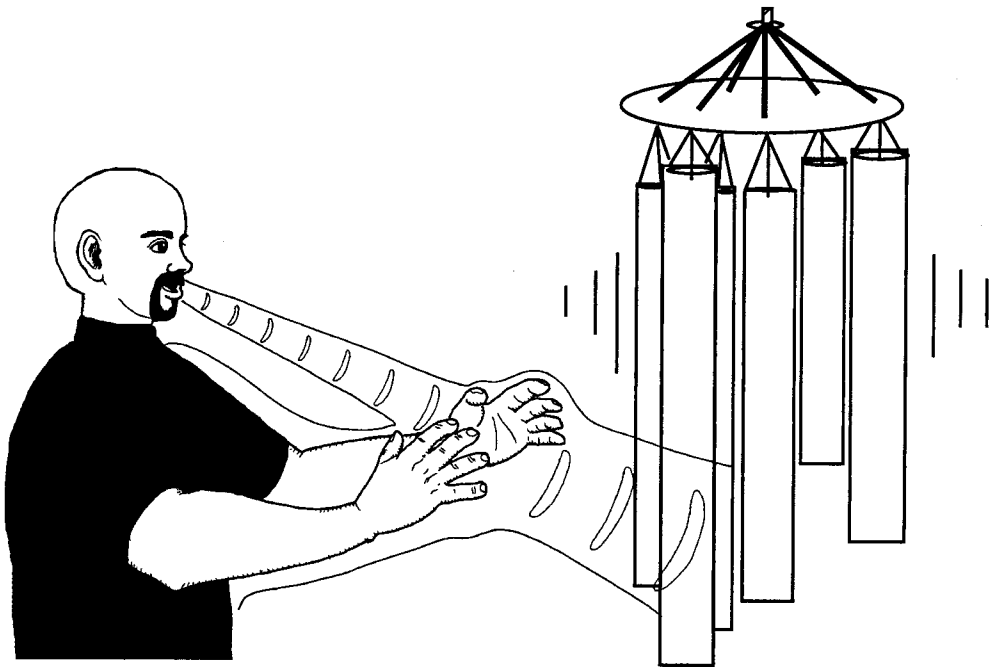


Figure 1.17. Training Sound Resonation Projection to Ring Different Bells

USING THE IMAGINATION TO INTENSIFY SOUND PROJECTION

When projecting a magical incantation via audible sound, the sorcerer can increase the intensity of the effect of the emitted sound vibration on the individual's internal organs by utilizing focused visualization. This is accomplished by sinking and rooting the mind into the internal organ area before projecting the sound, described as follows (Figure 1.16):

1. Begin by targeting a specific internal organ. Allow the mind to sink deep into the individual's tissues and imagine and feel your hands embracing the internal organ.
2. Allow your intention to fully envelop the internal organ, feel and experience its physical, energetic, and spiritual matrix.
3. Imagine holding the internal organ and begin to project sound deep into its center. Feel the internal organ vibrating from deep inside the center of the organ's tissues.
4. Imagine and feel any stagnation located within the internal organ's tissues separating, dissolving, and dispersing.
5. After emitting several sounds, immediately purge any dispersed Toxic Qi that was released from the internal organ's tissues.

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #1

In ancient China, Daoist sorcerers would sometimes train sound projection skill by directing the sound into the surface of different size bells (Figure 1.17). Each projected sound would stimulate and ring a different metal bell, causing a different tone to be released from the surface of the bell, depending on the particular tone and pitch used (high, medium, or low).

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #2

In ancient China, after a Daoist sorcerer had perfected the skills acquired from training the previous exercise, he or she would then begin to train in advanced sound projection skills. These advanced projection skills allowed the sorcerer the ability to focus the specific projected sound into the tissues or internal organ systems of the body. Each projected sound would stimulate and vibrate a different type of tissue and organ system, causing it to resonate throughout the entire body. This

allowed the Daoist sorcerer the ability to simultaneously project conscious intent into the cells and tissues of matter, affecting the individual's internal organ systems, channels, and tissues.

For example, one exercise used to practice this type of energetic sound projection was to focus on the specific tissues of the hand. To begin with, the sorcerer would focus his or her attention onto the left hand and begin to project sound, vibrating the specific tissues related to that particular internal organ. This particular Sound Projection exercise is described as follows (Figure 1.18):

- **The Skin:** Focus your attention on the skin tissue wrapping the external structure of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Shang" sound into the left hand and feel all of the external structures of the left hand's skin vibrate.
- **The Muscles:** Focus your attention on the muscle tissue existing underneath the tissue of the skin of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various muscles wrapping the internal structure of the bones and connecting to the skin of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Gong" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structure of the left hand's muscles vibrate.
- **The Tendons and Ligaments:** Focus your attention on the tendons, ligaments and inner fascia tissues existing within the various layers of skin, muscles, and bones of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various tendons, ligaments, and inner fascia tissues wrapping and extending throughout the internal structure of the bones and skin tissues of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Guo" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's tendons, ligaments and inner fascia tissues vibrate.
- **The Blood Vessels:** Focus your attention on the structures of blood vessels existing within the various layers of skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments and inner fascia of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various tubular structures of the veins and arteries wrapping and extending throughout the internal structure of the skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, and inner fascia of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Zheng" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's blood vessels vibrate.
- **The Bones:** Focus your attention on the structures of bones existing underneath the various layers of skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, inner fascia, and blood vessels of the left hand. Imagine and feel the various structures of the bones being wrapped by the internal structure of the skin, muscles, tendons, ligaments, inner fascia and blood vessels of the left hand. Using focused imagination and intention, as well as

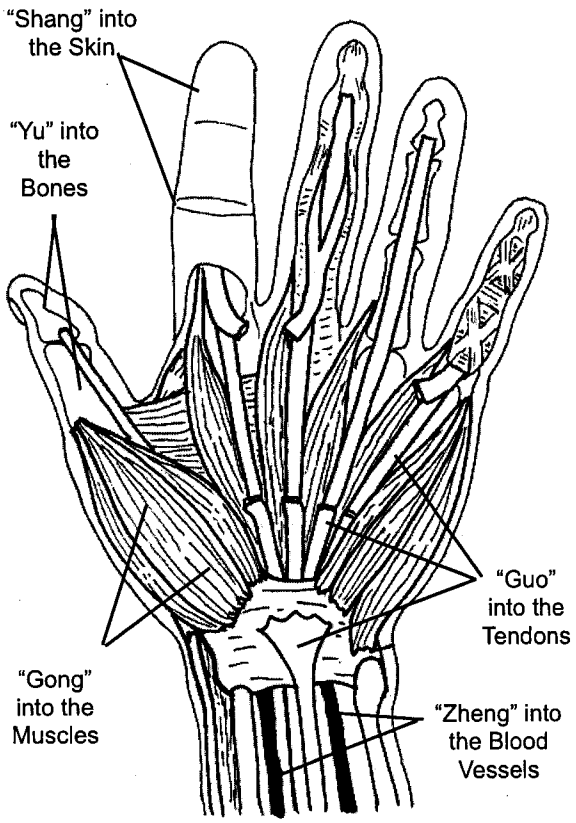


Figure 1.18. The advanced projection skills allowed the Daoist master the ability to focus the specific projected sound into the tissue systems of the body (Inspired from the original artwork of Wynn Kapit).

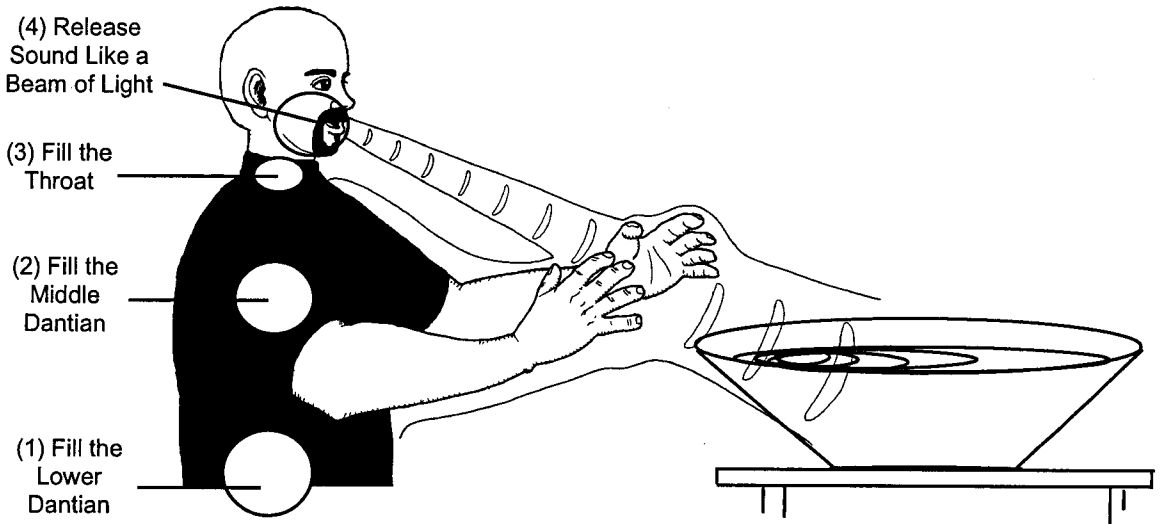


Figure 1.19. Training Sound and Breath Projection into a Bowl of Water

breath and Qi projection, exhale the "Yu" sound into the left hand and feel all of the internal structures of the left hand's bones vibrate.

SOUND PROJECTION EXERCISE #3

In ancient China, before being taught Breath Incantations, the Daoist sorcerers trained sound projection skills by focusing the projected breath and sound into a bowel of water (Figure 1.19). Each projected sound would be carried along with the sorcerer's projected intention and breath, and would create different energetic patterns on the surface of the water, depending on the particular tone and pitch used (high, medium or low).

1. Begin by gathering the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound into the Lower Dantian.
2. Allow the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound to overflow the Lower Dantian and enter into the Middle Dantian, filling the chest area completely.
3. Direct the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound to overflow the Middle Dantian and enter into the throat area.
4. From the back of the throat, release the Qi of Divine Healing Light and Sound into the water, projecting it like a beam of condensed light. Simultaneously, imagine the body melting into the Earth to increase the depth of the tone projection.
5. Alternate from a pattern of straight exhaled tone projection to a chaotic pattern of exhaled tone projection. This chaotic, staccato resonance is a dynamic approach used for breaking-up and dispersing chronic or difficult Qi, Blood, and Body Fluid stagnations.

WORDS AND MAGIC

A word is the center of an idea, just as an idea is the center of a mental image. The mind subconsciously molds itself around the prevailing mental image or attitude, and then proceeds to draw from the outer world for material from which to build in accordance to the belief. Therefore in magic, words are considered to be living beings. A word's meaning is its spirit, and its sound is its body. If you ignore either, you weaken its innate power.

The ancient Chinese worshiped the magical power of language, and the spoken word quickly became a powerful and influential part of early Daoist sorcery. The art of speaking "magic words" was once taken seriously in ancient China. The misuse of speech in general was regarded as an unfavorable display or misuse of one's mind. Spoken words are invocations of ideas, and they represent and express the formulation of specific concepts, plans, and actions. They are symbols of ideas, to be imagined, pictured, and comprehended within the mind.

The ancient Chinese believed that it was the energy inherent in spiritual words of power that established the foundations of all creation (spiritual, energetic, and physical). The energetic manifestations of the spoken word can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, or an energetic reality when spoken with true conviction and intention.

In the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), Invocations and Incantations (recited words or phrases of power) were usually performed in conjunction with secret Hand Seals (also called Mudras), magical rituals (e.g., Star Stepping and Big Dipper Pacing), or the use of Healing Talismans. All of these magical skills were used in order to increase the sorcerer's confidence in overcoming disease or combating Evil Spirits.

The proper use of words (or names) was considered extremely important to the Daoist sorcerer. In Daoist magic, a name or word is very significant. When correctly vibrated by the tongue (the Shen, or spiritual Fire of the Heart) and combined with the Will of the Kidneys, the vocalized Qi comes alive. The spoken word or name then embodies the identity, the very being, of what it signifies; and a resonance is established between the living name and the thing itself. By manipulating the name, the potential of the named thing is released upon the world, both in spiritual and energetic form. This spiritual and energetic form acts as a blueprint upon which the entire universe of space and time, energy, and matter is based.

When audibly initiating a form of suggestive influence over an individual and voicing a name or phrase out-loud (i.e., "heal"), the sorcerer's spirit (Shen) imitates the initial creative act of the Divine through the utilization of sound and breath (Qi) through intention (Yi) and will (Zhi). This is sometimes known as a "declaration." A declaration is speaking something into being that was not previously there and for which there is often little or no agreement in the surrounding environment. The power of a declaration is directly related to the integrity of the sorcerer that speaks it into being.

In ancient Daoist magic, sorcerers were taught that by speaking the proper name and magical summoning words, they could cause a spirit or deity to come forth. When used skillfully, names and words of power can summon or dispatch, attract or disperse, heal or destroy. In ancient China, powerful incantations were known to invoke the presence of supreme deities, and were used to cure the deaf and blind, give speech back to the mute, give movement back to the paralyzed, revive the dead, save lives, or banish demons.

Because of the energetic nature of the words, the intonation and rhythm of an incantation was extremely important. The proper sound and pronunciation that must be recited in the incantation were often well guarded secrets, kept by the ancient Daoist. Incantations were sometimes also used as a form of hypnotic patterning, wherein the Daoist sorcerer used language and tones lowered into a slow, melodic rhythm, in order to induce trance. The most common linguistic pattern used in this type of trance incantation was sometimes called "verbal pacing." Verbal pacing is sometimes combined with audibly stating sensory experiences (i.e., "relax," -pause- "and allow your body to sink into a quiescent state of bliss," -pause- "now feel energetic waves carrying your consciousness deeper" -pause- etc.) in order to induce altered states.

Magical Names, Words, and Phrases

There exist certain Words of Power that are able to alter the internal and external realities of those uttering them, and the power may rest in the very sounds of the words as much as their meanings. Many of such words are names, though the meanings may have been lost or forgotten. Very many magical tools require words to be inscribed upon them and/or said over them during their construction and/or use.

Knowing the complete and true name of an object, being, or process gives a sorcerer complete control over it. A name is considered to be the definition, energetic connection, and association with that item. Knowing the complete and true name of something or someone means that you have achieved a complete understanding of its or their true nature. This is why, in most ancient cultures, individuals are given "secret names," as well as "public names." It is also why the sharing of a secret name is such an act of trust (because the secret name is considered to be very close to, if not identical with, the person's true name).

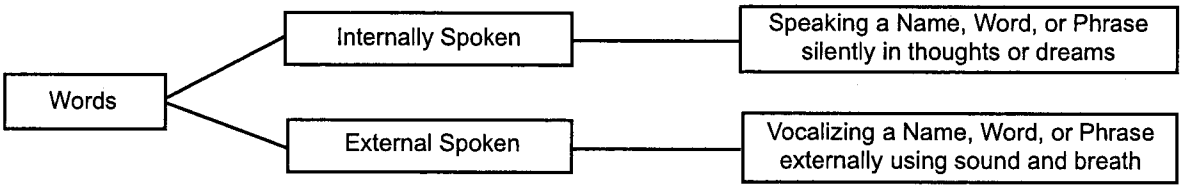


Figure 1.20. The Internally Spoken Name and the Externally Spoken Name

In ancient China, Daoist sorcerers taught that there were two important aspects of any name, word, or phrase which must be considered before using any form of incantation. They are, the Internally Spoken Name and the Externally Spoken Name, described as follows (Figure 1.20):

- **The Internally Spoken Name:** This refers to the silent internal recitation of a name, word, or phrase that occurs within your thoughts or dreams.
- **The Externally Spoken Name:** This refers to the audible expression of a name, word, or phrase when externally vocalized (i.e., whispering or speaking out loud).

Each magical system, whether Daoist, Buddhist, Indian, or Christian, has its own hidden methods of vibrating names, words, and phrases. Because these techniques are jealously guarded secrets of magical power, they are kept hidden from the public and from individuals of lower rank in every religious order. However, the universal features of languages allow us to understand commonalities in the use of the magical vibration of names, words, and phrases.

THREE TYPES OF WORDS

There are three categories of words used to formulate sentence structure and phrases, Denotative Words, Connotative Words, and Words Beyond Verse, described as follows:

- **Denotative Words:** These are words that relate to the acquired analytical mind (Shen Zhi) of the waking state. They indicate something, and are based on the critical comparisons and analytical observations of data gathered and filtered through the five senses. Denotative Words correspond to the "outer-verse," and relate to the World of Five Elements and action.

  The outer-verse (conscious day to day experiences) is eventually absorbed within the Inner-verse (the unconscious reflection of the day's experience). Therefore, it is said that a "small outer-verse" exists within the inner-verse (i.e., you think or dream about what happened during the day).
- **Connotative Words:** These are words that relate to the congenital original mind (Yuan Shen) of the dream state. They are suggestive in their meaning and convey or express ideas through metaphors based on the experiences or influences of the unconscious mind. Connotative Words correspond to the "inner-verse," and relate to the will (Zhi) and imagination (Hun).

  Because your imagination energetically creates within your mind, the magical effects of a Mantra, Spell, or Incantation can be immediately experienced and felt in the inner-verse - which then creates action within the outer-verse.
- **Words Beyond Verse:** These are words that relate to the realm of magic and are commonly expressed in Mantras, spells, and incantations. They entail magical words and sounds relating to the creation, tonification, regulation, purgation, or destruction of something.

THE POWER OF WORDS

The magical spells and incantations used in Daoist Magic are initiated in order to influence events, objects, people, and physical phenomena by mystical, paranormal, or supernatural means. The Words of Power that a Daoist sorcerer utters to accomplish such magical spells and incantations are generally rooted in ancient sounds and syllables. These magical sounds and syllables are used in order to bind or release energy.

The best-known type of magical practice is the "spell," defined as a ritualistic formula intended to bring about a specific effect. When a spell is spoken to create a positive manifestation over a

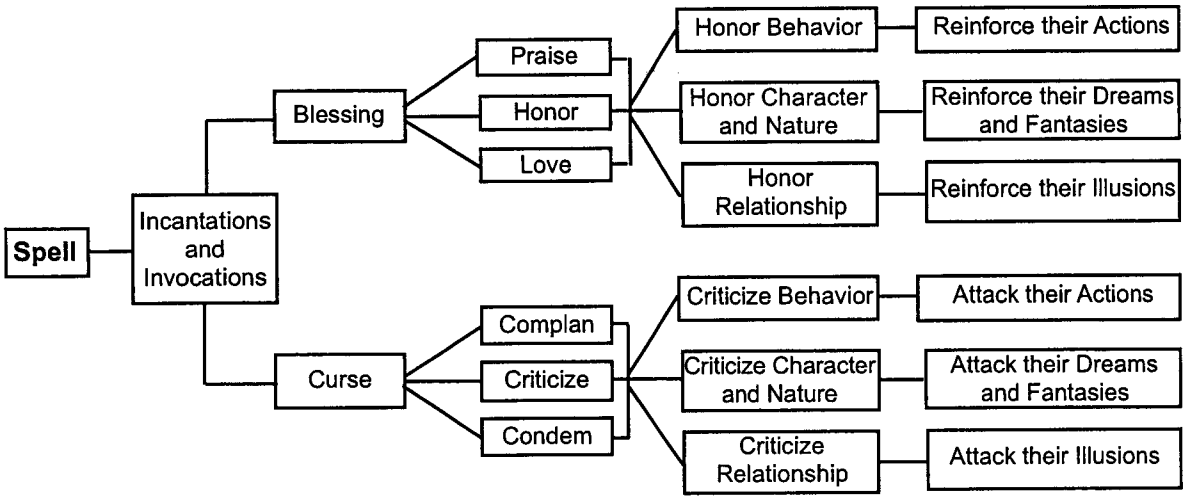


Figure 1.21. The best-known type of magical practice is the "spell," defined as a ritualistic formula intended to bring about a specific effect.

person, place or thing (i.e., invoke and/or confer praise, honor, and unconditional love), it is known as a "blessing." When a spell is spoken in order to create a negative manifestation over a person, place or thing (i.e., complain, criticize, or condemn) it is known as a "curse" (Figure 1.21).

Spells can be spoken, written, or physically constructed using a multitude of ingredients (i.e., stones, plants, talismans, etc.). The failure of a spell to work in the way that it was designed may be attributed to many causes, such as failure to follow the exact formula, general circumstances being un-conducive, or lack of magical ability.

Words of Power may be classified into five different categories that overlap in their definition and function. These five categories are: Words of Creation, Mantras and Incantations, Magical Passwords, Spells and Invocations, and Healing-Charms. Examples of each of these five intermingled categories are described as follows (Figure 1.22):

- **Words of Creation:** These are magical Words of Power that are used to bring forth creation, manifesting and materializing the sorcerer's thoughts and ideas into the world of matter.
- **Mantras:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for the purpose of affecting matter, energy, and spirit through the repetitive recitation of the secret names of various gods and supernatural beings.

Every Mantra spoken under the right circumstance creates some magical effect (either good or bad). A curse once uttered, for example, must eventually attach itself onto something (i.e., the person, place or thing that it was originally directed towards). If the curse is countered, it can be energetically turned back and directed towards the individual who originated the spell.

To the ancient Daoists, Mantras were believed "to enchain the power of the gods themselves." There was nothing that could resist their magical effect. These Words of Power were believed to be charged with the ability to provide either a blessing or a curse. At their bidding, the demons will enter a man or be cast out of him, and the only test of their efficacy is supplied by the unique powers of the Mantras themselves, since a stronger Mantra can neutralize a weaker Mantra.

The ancient Daoists believed that, in the hands of those who have the key to their true pronunciation, certain Mantras are capable of providing the sorcerer with special supernatural powers. Nothing was impossible for the sorcerers who knew how to use and apply these magical Words of Power.

One popular antidote used by a sorcerer to reverse a spell after it has begun its magical task (for example, the sorcerer suddenly develops a change

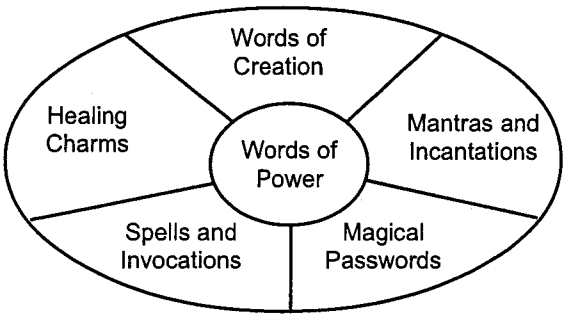


Figure 1.22. The Five Categories of Words

of heart), is to speak the Mantra backwards in order to reverse the spell. By pronouncing the same words of a spell backwards - the sorcerer can undo the energetic effects of any hastily spoken inauspicious Words of Power.

- **Magical Passwords:** These are magical "Words of Power" that are used to "open" or "close" energetic portals, and provide the sorcerer with safe passage through other spiritual dimensions (i.e., the Gates of the Underworld). In ancient China, it was believed that Daoist sorcerers could energetically constructed magical gateways, and use these Gateways in order to sojourn to every corner of the known world and beyond. It is said that because the knowledge of these magical portals could be used for both good as well as evil purposes, the Magical Passwords used in "Gatecraft" spells were jealously guarded. In certain Daoist traditions, the secret of constructing and utilizing these magical portals have become completely lost.
- **Spells and Invocations:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for conjuring up the spirits of the dead, exorcising demons, or for removing spells from off of the living.

Throughout China's ancient history, there are numerous examples of magical spells and incantations used for raising the various grades of spirits (i.e., from the ghost of a suicide to the innumerable company of demons). In each case, the effectiveness of the spell or incantation depends on the utterance of magical Words of Power (which are sometimes a combination of strange, manufactured tones).

When a Daoist sorcerer, turning to the four quarters, calls upon the names of the "Gods of the Four Directions" (Mo Li Hung, Mo Li Shou, Mo Li Chung, and Mo Li Hai), the summoned spirit gods will stand before him in human form to do his bidding. The Gods of the Four Directions can bestow onto the sorcerer the gift of invisibility, foreknowledge of the weather, knowledge of the raising and calming of storms, and the ability to understand the language of birds.

- **Healing Charms:** These are magical Words of Power that are used for healing.

NORMAL AND MAGICAL CONVERSATIONS

All conversations are based on the understanding of words, and in modern societies, speech is used to interact with others and exchange thoughts and beliefs. For the sake of simplicity, we can divide conversation into two basic categories: Normal Conversation and Magical Conversation.

In both Normal Conversation and Magical Conversation there is an exchange of information or ideas that has been constructed together based on the understanding of words, phrases, and vocabulary. The terminology, definitions, and expressions of these words specifically express the ideas of the individuals and their particular fields of expertise. These two categories can be described as follows:

- **Normal Conversation:** This category entails conversation used for Greeting and Grooming (surface conversations used in superficial greetings, and in saying good-bye), Finding Resources (conversations used for acquiring information and searching out possibilities), and Action (conversations used for making a recommendation, request, commitment, promise, or declaration).
- **Magical Conversation:** This category entails conversation used for Spells and Incantations, Invocations, Trance Induction, Healing, etc.

There is an ancient magical saying that states, "the sentences that we use are the ones we serve or live out." All sentences vary in power due to the syntax used to construct their verbal actions. In Daoist Magic, the Training the Speech Secret centers around the correct use of the magical power of words and their energetic definitions.

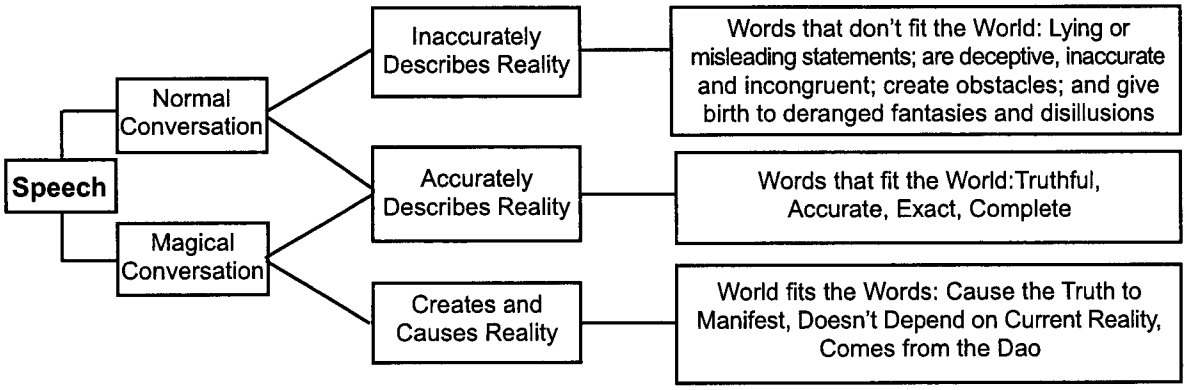


Figure 1.23. The Three Manifestations of Speech

For example, a Spell or "Invocative Phrase" is used in order to paint a "word picture" and invoke powerful feelings as well as gather energetic resources.

The Manifestations of Speech

Speech can be further divided into three levels of energetic manifestation, depending on the integrity and De (Virtue) of the individual. These three levels are, Speech That Inaccurately Describes Reality, Speech That Accurately Describes Reality, and Speech That Creates and Causes Reality, described as follows (Figure 1.23):

- **Speech That Inaccurately Describes Reality:** These are words of deception, that misuse their function of conveying the truth. In this type of speech, the words that are used are inaccurate and incongruent, and are expressed through lying or misleading statements. When used in this manner, speech creates obstacles, and gives birth to deranged fantasies and disillusions.
- **Speech That Accurately Describes Reality:** These are words of truth, that are accurate, exact, and complete in their description.
- **Speech That Creates and Causes Reality:** These magical words create. They cause the truth to manifest, and don't depend or rely on the current reality, because they come from the infinite space of the Dao.

Rhyme and Rhythm

Rhyme and rhythm are two important tools used to empower the magical incantation. In ancient China, rhymes were used as an important tool for memory, allowing the disciples to retain the secret lineage information that was passed down orally from master to student. Many of the popular rituals still practiced today in China revolve around the recitation of some of these ancient rhymed chants and magical incantations.

Rhymes act as magical correspondences that energetically turn the lines of the spell back in onto itself, increasing its magical potency in an enchanting yet orderly fashion. Rhymes can also be used to unite and bind words of power together in a tightly formed energetic net, designed to capture whatever the sorcerer directs his or her attention onto.

The rhythm of an incantation or spell is its energetic meter. The number of characters (or words) used to construct the magical rhythm and tempo of the incantation will vary, depending on the sorcerer's specific goal. The importance of an Incantation is manifested within its rhythm and overall vibration created, which is attributed to the specific magical powers contained within the sorcerer's true self. The continuous recitation of an Incantation helps to induce an altered state of consciousness and can be utilized to commune with the Divine, to achieve a state of ecstasy, to summon psychic powers for esoteric energetic practices, to exorcise spirits or demons, or for healing purposes.

The chanting of an Incantation is sometimes practiced in continual cadence (with musical modulation), which creates a specific pattern of energy and power. When sounding an Incantation, the rhythm of the tone or phrase can be released either through fast or slow repetitions:

- **Fast Release:** When an Incantation is sounded

through fast release, it can generate an incredible amount of energy. The fast release is generally chosen to overcome inertia, disrupting a pathogenic uniform pattern that has become toxic to the individual. For example, shouting "No!" at someone in order to stop their energetic and physical patterns.

- **Slow Release:** When an Incantation is sounded through slow release, it can bring about a calm state of relaxation and peace. The slow release is generally chosen to sedate an active state of energetic agitation. For example, calmly speaking "relax" to someone in order to quiet and sedate their energetic and physical patterns.

Whenever composing an incantation needed to accompany a magical Hand Seal or Star Stepping pattern, the three guidelines below should be strictly followed:

- First, do not rush through the construction of the rhyme. Consider its magical purpose and energetic function and write its "life purpose" down on paper.
- Second, when composing the rhyme, consider any and all magical correspondences and word options that could apply to augment and empower its energetic construction.
- Third, devise the most lyrical rhyme that conveys the incantation's intention and "life purpose."

Four Levels of Speech

The ancient Daoists believed that only when the Invocations or Incantations were spoken solemnly, through four levels of speech, would the vibrational essence of the magical sounds manifest and reveal their deepest secrets and powers. Each degree of speech transmits a different level of energetic "message," allowing for a deeper type of energetic manifestation. The four levels of speech are described as follows (Figure 1.24):

1. **Jing (Verbal) Speech:** This is considered the physical speech of the conscious mind. It is the expression of the "power of action," and focuses on specific activities such as past, present, or future exploits. It is the external, audible manifestation of phonemes (units of speech) that refers to, or is directed towards, physical, external sense objects through pronunciation, inflection and the melody of words. This type of speech is considered Jing (Essence) Speech, and it is released into the world through the mouth via the tongue and vocal cords.

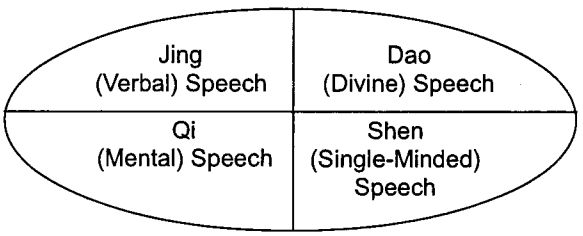


Figure 1.24. The Four Levels of Speech

2. **Qi (Mental) Speech:** This is considered the dreaming consciousness speech of the subconscious mind. It is the internal monologue and dialogue verbalized within one's mind. It is the expression of the "power of one's knowledge and wisdom." It is directed towards mental objects (objects of the inner senses) through the experiences and passions of the heart. It is considered the medium between the external verbal speech and the internal convictions of the single-minded speech. This type of speech is considered Qi (Energy) Speech, and it is released into the world through the nose via the breath.
3. **Shen (Single-Minded) Speech:** This is considered the speech of dreamless sleep, that occurs when the unconscious mind takes over. It is a perceptible but not particularized type of speech (not distinguishing between subject and object). It is the vehicle for the "power of desire and projected intentions," released through the concentration of Qi into a single-minded vision or "message." It is considered the medium between the mental speech and the divine speech. This type of speech is considered Shen (Spirit) Speech, and it is released into the world through the eyes via the spirit.
4. **Dao (Divine) Speech:** This is considered the speech of the super-conscious mind, composed of all three speeches (Jing, the speech of the conscious mind; Qi, the speech of the subconscious mind; and Shen, the speech of the unconscious mind). It is considered pure intention, expressed through the will of the Divine, flowing directly from the Wuji. It is beyond all objects,

motionless, external, internal, and peaceful. It is a speech that is telepathic, materializing directly from the individual's intuitive awareness, and it can only be perceived by those who are highly evolved spiritually.

Spoken or written words generate mental or internal dialogues which add patterned Qi to the words in order to energize the information. The Qi activates the words allowing them to become vital and "alive." The ancient Daoists believed that if you lose your ability to access the higher levels of speech, you distance yourself from the Heavenly Truth (Universal knowledge and wisdom) and Earthly Truth (Human understanding). This separation produces confusion, doubt, and cynicism, generating misconceptions and distortions of the "truth."

When treating individuals with the energetic art and skill of "Faith Projection" or "Divine Incantations," full spectrum speech (Jing, Qi, Shen, and Dao) must be utilized in order to transmit and convey all four levels of the Daoist Mystic's intention. When full spectrum speech is projected, it reaches into the four energetic receptive levels of an individual's listening ears (Jing, Qi, Shen, and Dao).

INCANTATIONS

An incantation is defined as the speaking of magical words, during a ritual (either as a hymn or prayer), in order to invoke or praise a deity, or with the intention of casting a spell on a person, place, or thing. The term derives its meaning from the Latin word "incantare," meaning "to chant (a magical spell) "upon," or "into" a person, place, or thing.

Magical Incantations are spoken spells. The ancient Daoists compared them to "a string of magical pearls." Each magical pearl (word) contains its own innate energetic form and meaning. The magical rhythm of the syllables, the repetition of certain consonants and vowels, and the rhymes that bind the ends of each line in a magical incantation reverberate the sorcerer's intention into the Three Worlds.

In all magical disciplines, incantations have certain similar qualities, for example:

- Many incantations have a strong reliance on performative language, including repetition, and formulaic composition.
- Most incantations are metrical in one of several poetic forms of the language in which they are written. Some use an unusual verse form of composition (i.e., incantations that are spoken or written in ordinary spoken language is somewhat rare).
- Almost all incantations invoke the aid of a divine or semi-divine being, or some other form of spirit entity.
- The "information packing" in an incantation is generally extremely tight. Sometimes the magical metaphors in an incantation are difficult to understand. This is because they are either designed to be deliberately meaningless, or because the sorcerer intended the metaphor to carry more semantic weight than usual.
- Many incantations contain nonsense words. These words may be mantras, "barbarous words," or strings of vowels or other non-linguistic sounds.
- Most incantations require some sort of physical action performed by the sorcerer in order for the magical power of the incantation to work. These actions may be described as part of the spell. In some instances, it is difficult to tell if the description of the actions is also to be incanted as part of the spell.

SOUND RESONANCE AND INCANTATIONS

The skill of reciting powerful Jue (Incantations or Mantras) is essential for the Hand Seals or Star Stepping to be functional in Daoist Magic. Incantations or Invocations are words charged with vibrational power. They have long been practiced as a secret esoteric tradition for conjuring and casting spells, and certain words of power were only taught to select disciples within the ancient Daoist sects.

An Incantation is a word, phrase, abstract musical tone or combination whereof that is used to emanate or initiate a spiritual and energetic message within the body's tissues. Each Incantation or Mantra has two important qualities: form and color. Similar to prayer, when an Incantation is continually chanted, it reprograms the individual's spirit, emotion, mind, and body. When spoken aloud for several minutes, an Incantation can vibrate silently in the mind and body of the individual for several

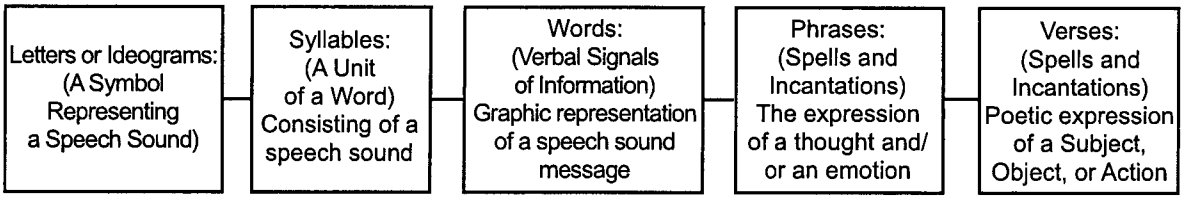


Figure 1.25. The energetic structure of a magical spell or incantation can be divided into five parts.

hours, carrying with it the imprinted message of the Incantation's vibration, image, and meaning.

Certain Incantations, when performed correctly with focused intent, are considered the manifestation of "sacred sounds," and they connect the individual with a particular deity or energy form. Other Incantations are designed to activate certain Dantians or Chakra areas and empower the sorcerer with specific energetic and spiritual powers. These types of Incantations can be sometimes harnessed in order to create or destroy. This skill was particularly used in secret Chinese internal martial arts societies.

Each Incantation contains a specific sound or collection of sounds that can vibrate the infinite space within matter, alter energetic patterns, and affect specific tissues within different parts of the body. The ancient Daoists viewed the mind as an energetic force that was not limited to only psychological interactions. All forms of creation or matter were believed to be nothing more than the manifestations of an individual's thoughts (projected consciousness) and energy. Therefore, every thought was believed to have a corresponding image or energetic form, and every image or energetic form was believed to have a corresponding vibrational tone or sound.

Through the released vibrational tones resonating from within the Incantation, the method of repetition used when sounding an Incantation aligns the sorcerer's consciousness with a particular energetic form. The repeated sound carries a specific type of energy that can be used for healing or protecting the cells, tissues, organs, body, mind, emotion or spirit of the individual.

It is important to note that certain Incantations do not have any specific comprehensive meaning (on the gross material plane). Their power is contained not within the specific words themselves, but in the sound vibration created when the Mantra is uttered verbally or when it takes form in the mind.

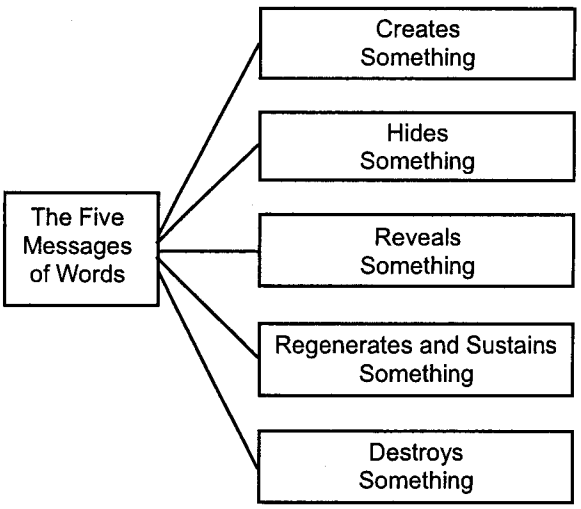


Figure 1.26. Magical Words are used as powerful verbal signals of information.

THE STRUCTURE OF A SPELL OR INCANTATION

The energetic structure of a magical spell or incantation can be divided into five parts (Letters or Ideograms, Syllables, Words, Phrases and Verses). Each of the four sections contains a specific function, described as follows (Figure 1.25):

- **Letters and Ideograms:** In magic, letters and ideograms are considered to be the powerful magical symbols of a speech sound and form the basis of all talismans. All humans are affected by these symbols, which are created and further energized by speech.
- **Syllables:** In magic, syllables are considered to be small magical units of a speech sound.
- **Words:** In magic, words are used as powerful verbal signals of information. Words express

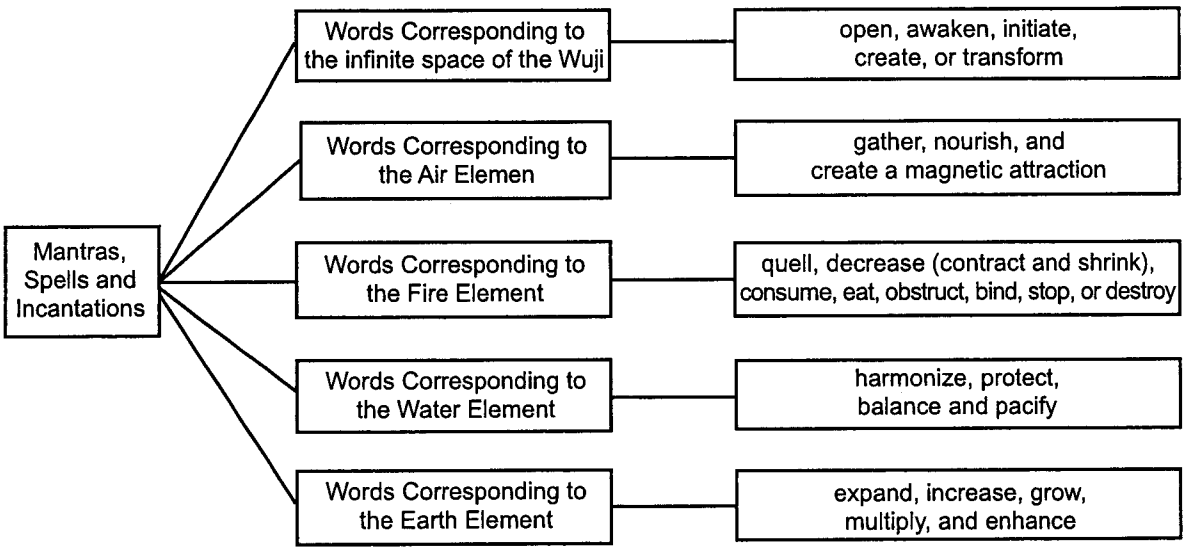


Figure 1.27. The Five Element Correspondences of Magical Phrases and Verses

the graphic representation of a speech sound message, and they are used to create, hide, reveal, regenerate and sustain, or destroy something (Figure 1.26).

- **Phrases:** In magic, phrases are used in the form of Mantras, Spells, Incantations, or Poems as the manner of expressing magical power. They consist of two or more grammatically related words that form a sense unit, expressing a thought and/or an emotional action.
- **Verses:** In magic, a verse is constructed of several phrases, and is expressed in the manner of a metrical (sometimes poetic) form of Mantra, Spell, or Incantation. The magical power of a verse is expressed through a subject, object and action.

The Five Elemental Correspondences to a Spell or Incantation

All things existing within the physical realm can be attributed to one or several Elemental correspondences. Likewise, magical incantations (i.e., Magical Phrases and Verses) can be attributed to the specific powers and energetic manifestations of Wuji, Air, Fire, Water, and Earth, and can be described as follows (Figure 1.27):

- **Wuji:** Words corresponding to the infinite space of the Wuji magically open, awaken, initiate, create, or transform a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Air:** Words corresponding to the Air Element magically gather, nourish, and create a magnetic attraction towards a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Fire:** Words corresponding to the Fire Element magically quell, decrease (contract and shrink), consume, eat, obstruct, bind, stop, or destroy a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Water:** Words corresponding to the Water Element magically harmonize, protect, balance and pacify a person, place, or things energetic existence.
- **Earth:** Words corresponding to the Earth Element magically cause something to expand, increase, grow, multiply, and enhance a person, place, or things energetic existence.

Three Main Components of an Incantation

The ancient Daoists believed that everything in life is interconnected in energetic patterns, webbed together in universal order. In order to create the esoteric power of true magic, these ancient sorcerers consciously placed their Intention (Yi) in the central moment of "Now," allowing time and space to diffuse and internal Wisdom and Will to passionately create.

Just as there are three different levels in the universe (i.e., the spiritual, the material, and the energetic consciousness that moves between them), so too are there three components to a magical spell or incantation. These three components are the Prayer, the Means, and the Intention, described as follows:

- **The Prayer:** This magical component directs the sorcerer's consciousness towards a specific deity, God, or spirit entity for assistance. All magic depends on this divine spiritual force in order for it to be effective. Where there is no life, there is no spirit, and where there is no spirit, magic is impossible. Therefore, magical incantations almost always involve a prayer, invocation, offering, or some other form of intentional connection with a deity or other spiritual being. It is important to know that the principles of magic are universal, the main changes from one religion to another are generally the names of the divinities to whom the sorcerer directs his or her prayer.
- **The Means:** This magical component is used to actively manipulate physical symbols (i.e., various objects, words, letters, Elements, Trigram patterns, Hand Seal gestures, Star Stepping patterns, etc.) in order to make the idea manifest within time and space. This energetic pattern is based on the Law of Correspondence.

  In Daoist sorcery, the Law of Correspondence relates all energetic patterns and universal connections. These magical laws characterize all things according to their energetic function, and they allow the sorcerer's magical tools, talismans, spells, and incantations to become operational and function within the material realm. They are the Means through which all magical protection and healing are initiated. For example, when practicing Mineral Magic, the sorcerer will use certain vibrant red stones in order to enhance his or her energetic connection with the Fire Element.

  The fundamental idea in using the Law of Correspondence to create an incantation is to focus on the central theme of the magical spell, while creating numerous supporting and interlinking items to feed the spell (like the many roots supporting a powerful tree). There is an ancient Daoist saying that states, *"The hub of a wheel is an empty hole, you can know it only by the spokes that surround it."* Meaning, the specific words and symbols used within an incantation to express its idea are not the archetype itself. They are simply material manifestations, facets, aspects, or forms of a transcendent idea that exists in the spirit realm, beyond space and time. Just as there is a central reason behind every note of a musical composition and every color placed within a painting, so too is there a reason behind every ingredient placed within a magical Incantation and ritual.

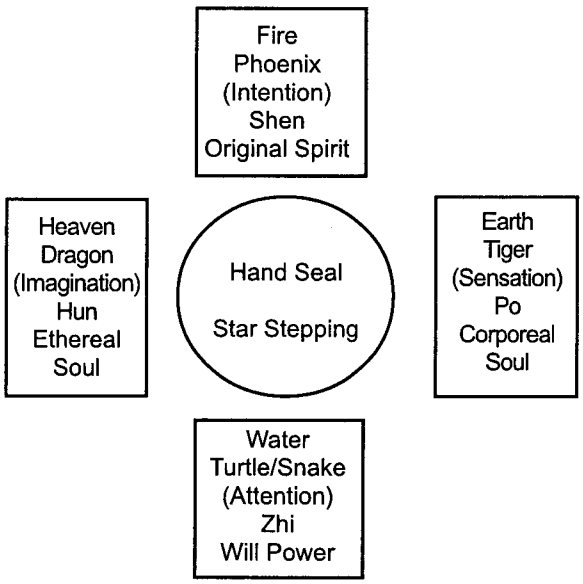


Figure 1.28. The four magical components of a sorcerer's inner nature

- **The Intention:** This magical component unites the prayer with the means. It is the sorcerer's own intention (Yi) that must be impassioned enough to gather together and focus the energetic powers of the four magical components of his or her Prenatal Inner Spirit (Figure 1.28). It is also this inflamed Intention that strongly unites spirit with matter and makes the magical patterns of the Hand Seals and Star Stepping functional. The more emotion and focused intention that is applied to an incantation, the more powerful it becomes.

In order to become successful in using Hand Seals and Star Stepping, the ancient Daoists had to not only master the art of speaking magical words or "Words of Power," but they also had to use their Intention (Yi) to master their Will (Zhi) in order to transform their thoughts and emotions (Shen) into magical energy (Ling Qi). This magical energy was then channelled outward and directed into the surrounding environment via the incantation and magical Hand Seal, affecting spirit, energy, and matter.

Five Requisites for Incantation Training

When practicing Incantations, the sorcerer normally chooses to energetically link its specific magical function with a particular Hand Seal. In ancient Daoism, there were five disciplines needed in order to achieve significant energetic manifestation using Incantations. These five disciplines are Location, Time, Number, Focus, and Control, described as follows (Figure 1.29).

- **Location:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should stay in one location and not travel about. It is also encouraged that the sorcerer face the same direction, sit in the exact same place and use the exact same posture and Hand Seal each day.
- **Time:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should determine a specific time for practice. It is encouraged that the sorcerer meditate at the exact time every day (limiting training time to no more than five minutes when first beginning). To be effective, some Incantations need to be repeated for a certain number of days (i.e. 40 days).
- **Number:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should determine the number of repetitions he or she will be sounding (24, 36, 48, 72, 96 or 108). It is also encouraged that the sorcerer practice the same number each day.
- **Focus:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should focus his or her mind, imagination, and intention on the resonant vibration of the Incantation. Most Incantations also have complex visualizations or concentration techniques that the sorcerer is required to practice along with the recitation. It is also encouraged that the sorcerer maintain a serious, reverent attitude when imprinting the Incantation with the specific Hand Seal and magical application.
- **Control:** When sounding an Incantation, the sorcerer should maintain complete control of his or her sexual organs (a woman should not perform Incantations when she is menstruating). This is to ensure that as the spiritual energy of the Incantation builds up over the course of the training, and his or her Jing (Essence) is stimulated, the sorcerer is able to guide the transformation upward into the desired energetic or spiritual manifestation.

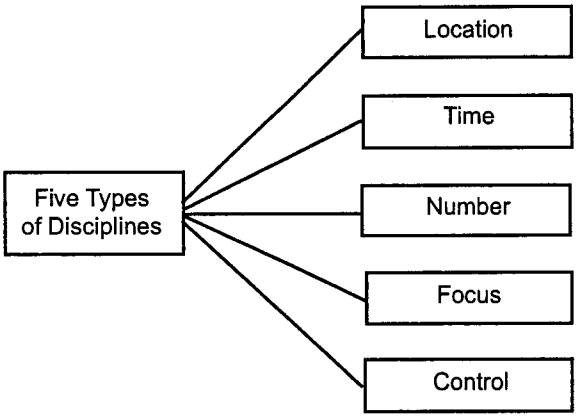


Figure 1.29. The Five Disciplines of Incantations needed in order to achieve energetic manifestation

Breath Incantations

In Daoist sorcery, it is taught that the reciting of any magical incantation must be spoken and imprinted with the sorcerer's Vital Breath (originating from the Yellow Court), and in conjunction with the visualization of the related spirits entity summoned to reinforce the spell. This way of reciting magical incantations is known as a Breath Incantation.

Breath Incantations has always been an important part of the ancient Chinese system of Magical Skills used in Daoist Sorcery. In the 24 rank registers of the *Tradition of the Mighty Commonwealth of Zheng Yi*, there is even a book called, "The Ritual of the Breath Incantation."

Because blood and breath bridge the realms of spirit and matter, they have always been perceived as powerful vehicles of magic by the ancient Dao-

ists. In fact, in ancient China, it was believed that the Vital Breath could be projected from the body, affecting people and objects to the degree that they could be energetically controlled or transformed. This energetic skill was known as "Breath Sorcery." When combined with the creative visualization of a specific deity (imagined and realized within one's mind), the Breath Sorcery would become so powerful that it could be used to restrict, control, or paralyze, and it was sometimes used to kill ghosts, evil spirits or demonic beings.

In ancient China, the famous Daoist sorcerer Zhao Ping used "Breath Sorcery" to charm streams so the degree that the water-level would suddenly drop as much as 20 feet. He was also known to use "Breath Sorcery" in order to light cooking fires on thatched roofs without setting fire to the building, prevent boiling water from scalding, and to prevent dogs from barking.

Since speech is older than writing, the use of spells and incantations is believed to be older than the uses of written charms and talismans. The energetic combination of an Incantation together with "Breath Sorcery," created an even more powerful tool known as a "Breath Incantation," which could be used to captivate and control the energy of an individual's spirit, mind, or body.

In ancient China, Daoist master Ge Hong of the Jin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.) wrote in the *Inner Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* that in certain areas within the Wu and Yue province Breath Incantations were commonly used and have been quite effective. However, according to recent archaeological discoveries, the popularity of Breath Incantations also extended to the Chu and Shu kingdoms as well. According to master Ge Hong's records, Breath Incantations were widely practiced for the use of becoming immune to contagious diseases, curing diseases, dispelling demons, reversing the flow of water, and stopping tigers, leopards, snakes and poisonous bees.

Breath Incantations are able to alter an individual's energetic and spiritual field, intrinsically connecting the one who utters the incantation with the force or concept of its power. These words, sounds or phrases are believed to have accumulated enormous power through the investment of many individuals having persistently practiced the Incantation over many thousands of years.

INTRODUCTION TO BREATH INCANTATIONS

The *Tai Yi Zheng Yi Book of Incantations for Dispelling Ghosts* states, "I have the vital breath of Heaven and Earth. As I recite the incantations, ghosts will be killed, wood will be broken, and the divine gods will fasten themselves; moreover, gold will melt, water will dry out, fire will extinguish itself, ghosts will kill themselves, ulcers will be cured, and poison will disappear. Supplications will stop, and curses will be worthless."

The ancient Daoists believed that if they recited certain incantations and mantras, celestial deities with strong magical powers would appear to them, and impart the incantation's secret meanings and esoteric powers that have been "hidden in Heaven." It was commonly taught that when a Daoist sorcerer recited certain incantations, thousands of millions of Celestial Warriors and Divine Generals would come to protect and to serve the sorcerer. As a result, throughout the various dynasties more and more incantations were added to the repertoire of Daoist mantra skills, which eventually became widely practiced.

INCANTATIONS IN RELIGIOUS DAOISM

According to the teachings of Religious Daoism, there can be no magical skills without the use of incantations. The most common incantations recited in religious Daoism are:

- Incantations for Setting Up the Altar
- Incantations for Purifying the Altar
- Incantations for Protecting the Altar
- Incantations for Protecting the Soul (when approaching the Altar)
- Incantations for Offering Petitions
- Incantations for Writing Talismans
- Incantations for Pacing the Big Dipper
- Incantations for Opening the Scriptures
- Incantations for Reading Scriptures.
- Incantations for Invoking Celestial Immortals
- Incantations for Invoking the Divine Generals
- Incantations for Invoking the Celestial Officers
- Incantations for Killing Ghosts
- Incantations for Controlling Devils and Arresting Demons

Additionally, the practice of reciting incantations have permeated into the daily life of the religious Daoists, even to the degree of reciting incantations when washing the hands, having meals, taking baths, having the hair cut, etc.

Characteristics of Daoist Incantations

Magical incantations have always been an essential part of Chinese sorcery, originating from the ancient understanding of the magic power of words. Religious Daoism inherited and further developed the use of these ancient magical incantations, and also included certain Buddhist incantations into their magical "tool-box" for use in the spirit realm.

In Daoist incantations, there are certain "magical statements" that make the spells unique (i.e., ending the statement using imperial commands) and are different in design from Buddhist incantations (which employ the names of Buddha when recited). For example, in Daoist incantations there are often such terms as "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances," "quickly, quickly, as this is Law," or "the Supreme Sovereign, quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" added to the end of the incantation. The reason for this, is because during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" was found in all imperial decrees and declarations of war. The phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" meant "to execute the orders like an imperial decree," which implied that if anyone disobeyed them, he or she will be seriously punished. Such official proclamations, used in state decrees, statutes and ordinances, were eventually adopted by the sorcerers of folk magic. Powerful witches and wizards all began incorporating the use of these imperial mandates into their magical incantations.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 B.C.-220 A.D.), witches and wizards often applied "writs for dispelling evil" when performing magical rituals to "separate humans and ghosts," and to protect themselves from being hurt by ghosts at funerals. Such magical writs usually ended with the fixed expression "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances." One simple pattern used as a magical write was "Dispel all of the spells in accordance with the statutes and ordinances."

At the end of some of the magical incantations there are such words as "act as regent," "imperial order," or "quickly" to show that the spirit entity must follow the orders of the incantation without delay. For example, when invoking the Divine Generals and Celestial Warriors to destroy evil, the Daoist sorcerer repeated the "Incantation for Opening the Flag," spoken as follows:

"The Valiant General of the Five Thunders
and The Generals of the Fire Chariots
Soar Up to the Heavens
and Down to the Earth.

Drive Thunder and Clouds
Open the Flags to Quickly Invoke
the Thousands of Divine Warriors
and Command Them Without Delay.

Quickly, Quickly,
In Accordance With
the Statutes and Ordinances"

This particular incantation addresses the Divine Generals of the Thunder Agency first, and then describes power of these great conquering generals. It also explains their duty and then opens the "Command Flag" in order to invoke them to come. It orders them to descend without delay, and ends with the fixed expression "Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!"

In order to be effective, the energetic pattern of Daoist incantations focus their content on communicating with and summoning Celestial Deities, Divine Generals, etc. For example, the incantation can be used to address the Supreme Venerable Sovereign, the Jade Emperor of the Divine Heaven, or the Celestial Master. In this way, the titles of the revered spirits are addressed directly, and are spoken in order to invoke the Divine Generals for controlling evil spirits and devils.

The reciting of the religious Daoist incantations is closely related to the Daoist Pantheon, and it is believed that even those spirits of comparatively lower spiritual ranks can be controlled by

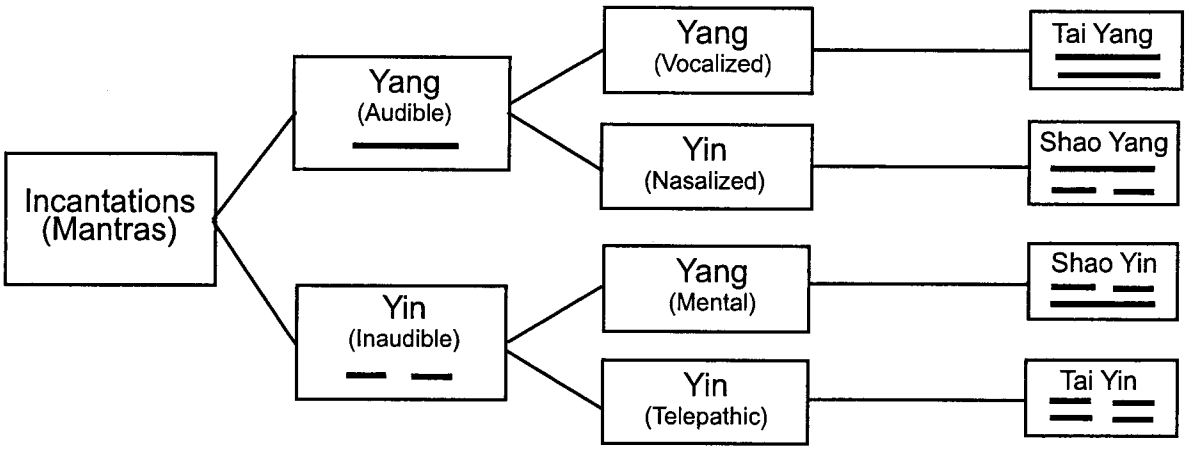


Figure 1.30. Incantation Training is Divided into Yang Sounds (Audible Toning) and Yin Sounds (Inaudible Toning)

the ritual masters, who directly address each of them by their names (this is done to show that the ritual masters has the ability to control the spirit). The incantations are orders to work these spirits, and in them the phrase "in accordance with the statutes and ordinances" is used in order to stress that these orders must be executed immediately, otherwise, the spirits will be punished.

FOUR TYPES OF BREATH INCANTATION

When practicing sound emission in the form of a Breath Incantation, the sorcerer can exhale the tone either audibly (Jing), sub-audibly (Qi), inaudibly (Shen), or "Transcended" (Wuji). The decision to use either audible, sub-audible, or inaudible Breath Incantations or to initiate transcended sound incantations will generally depend on the specific sound or phrase and the sorcerer's intended goal (Figure 1.30).

AUDIBLE (JING) INCANTATIONS

When the Audible Incantation is released through loud chanting, it creates a strong vibration within the body, at the level of Jing and Qi. However, the more subtle the sound, the deeper its effect on the individual and his or her surrounding environment.

The audible released sound (externalized) allows the individual the ability to express, in gross material force, the energetic nature of the Incantation. The audible released sound can be further divided into Yin and Yang pronunciations: Vocalized (Yang) Sound and Nasalized (Yin) Sound:

- **Vocalized Incantation Sound (Yang):** This is a spoken or vocalized Incantation, using sounds or phrases
- **Nasalized Incantation Sound (Yin):** This is an inner cranial Incantation, using individual nasalized syllables

SUB-AUDIBLE (QI) INCANTATIONS

When practicing sub-audible Incantations, the Daoist sorcerer will softly speak the audible released sound (externalized) in a whispered voice, creating a subtle vibration within the body at the Qi and Shen level. This allows the mouth to move (still forming the sound or phrase) and the breath to release the Incantation's energetic vibration.

INAUDIBLE (SHEN) INCANTATIONS

Incantations can also be internally and soundlessly toned. Silent chanting creates a subtle vibration within the body, at the level of Qi and Shen. When chanting an Incantation, there is a silent sound that proceeds the audible sound. The ancient Daoists believed that these subtle sounds comprise the energetic forces responsible for creating the Elements and allow for their ten thousand manifestations.

The inaudible released sound (internalized) allows the sorcerer the ability to initiate control over the focused item and its essence. The inaudible released sound can be further divided into Yin and Yang pronunciations: Mental (Yang) Sound and Telepathic (Yin) Sound.

- **Mentally Repeated Incantation (Yang):** This is a internal sounding Incantation, wherein the Incantation is repeated inside the sorcerer's Mind (Shen)
- **Telepathic Repeated Incantation (Yin):** This is a form of telepathic speech, in which only the sorcerer's Intention (Yi) and Willpower (Zhi) is conveyed.

The actual meditative writing of an Incantation or mantra (usually practiced through ancient Chinese calligraphy) was considered to be one of the most powerful conscious releases of energetic sound vibration. The skill of meditative Incantation writing required the ancient Daoist sorcerer to combine all three energetic approaches (Jing, Qi, and Shen) of the Incantation in order to impregnate the sound's vibrational resonance into the material substance of paper.

Transcended (Wuji) Incantations

This most secret type of Incantation is also internally and soundlessly toned. In this most advanced stage, the silent chanting creates a subtle vibration within the sorcerer's spirit body. This most subtle vibration allows the sorcerer to dissolve into the very essence of the Mantra's energetic matrix, and allows him or her to merge with the original source of sound and light. At this most subtle level, the sorcerer's Shen dissolves into the infinite space of the Wuji and fuses with the Dao.

When chanting this type of Transcended Incantation, the "listening" of the Mantra sound is experienced from the realm of existence, and total surrender in required in order to "realize and "awaken" to this type of spiritual fusion. At this stage of transcended awareness, the sorcerer will also be sending and receiving, into his or her presence, the infinite sounds of everyone who has ever spoken that specific Mantra. The ancient Daoists believed that these most subtle transcended sounds comprise the energetic forces responsible for creating the infinite space of the Wuji.

Breath Incantation Technique

The human body is "made of dust" only in the sense that our material tissues are constructed from the various elements of the Earth. The shape of our souls, however, was determined by the ex-

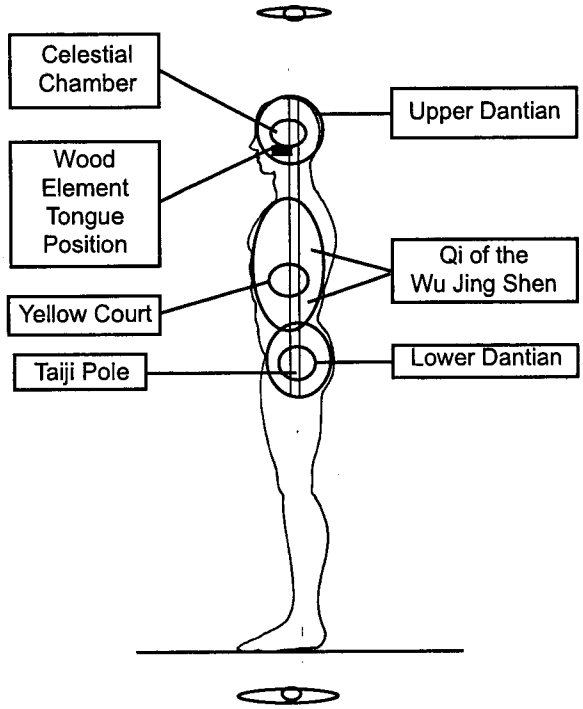


Figure 1.31. Performing Breath Incantations

pressed "Word" in the vital breath of the Divine. When expressed through Breath Incantations, "Words" have the power to affect not only the mind of the hearer, but also inanimate objects as well, particularly if they represent archetypal, astrological, or divine forces or beings.

The efficacy of Breath Incantations is greatly magnified when they are uttered by a sorcerer who has been purified by prayer and ritual practices. The ancient Daoists believed that the virtue (De) inherent in the "Word" is augmented by the personal virtue of the individual's voicing it. It is important to note that magical virtue refers to the quality of concentration and purification of the will, and has little to do with virtue in the conventional sense of propriety. In this context, De, could also be understood as having few or no open loops (incomplete tasks, communications, or relationships). This gives the sorcerer a much greater degree of frequency coherence (everything in his or her physical, energetic and spiritual bodies is in agreement); then when he or she focuses, it is

much more concentrated and directly harmonized with the Dao.

The Breath Incantations preformed by Daoist sorcerers in China utilize the ancient Four Levels of Speech techniques. These Four Levels of Speech are spoken solemnly through focused intention and assist the sorcerers in influencing or controlling the thoughts and actions of individuals by means of psychic hypnotic influence. Through the use of positive commands or thoughts, subtle insinuations can be used to reprogram the individual's chronic detrimental beliefs and initiate healing.

In order to perform the Breath Incantation technique, the Daoist sorcerer will proceed as follows:

1. After performing the "One Through Ten Meditation" and the "Three Invocations," imagine that divine healing light is flowing through your Taiji Pole into the Lower Dantian (Figure 1.31).
2. Roll both of your eyes upwards into the Celestial Chamber as you begin to draw a specific talismanic symbol on the center of your upper pallet using your tongue. The upper pallet is the position of the Wood Element and is one of the Hun's access points through the Taiji Pole into the Celestial Chamber. The tongue represents the spiritual nature of the Heart's Shen and the desired projection of the Yuan Shen (Figure 1.32).
3. Inhale the energetic powers of Heaven Qi and Earth Qi through the nose to activate the energetic nature of the talismanic symbol located at the top of the mouth, on the middle of the upper pallet (Figure 1.33).
4. Swallow and bring this combined Qi down into your Yellow Court area and mix it with the combined energetic and spiritual natures of the Wu Jing Shen (Hun from the Liver, Shen from the Heart, Yi from the Spleen, Po from the Lungs, and Zhi from the Kidneys).
5. Bring the divine healing light up from your Lower Dantian through the Taiji Pole into the Yellow Court and combine it with the Qi of the Wu Jing Shen, Talismanic energy, and breath. Once these four energies have combined, exhale them out the mouth with the intention of the projected sound or spoken word.
6. The projected sound or spoken word should include the energetic thought and spirit projection of your Jing (Verbal) Speech, Qi (Mental) Speech, Shen (Single-Minded) Speech, and Dao (Divine) Speech. This projected word should also be combined with the mystic's Hypnotic Influence (audible and thought projection), which is initiated by the voice, attitude, tone, words, mannerism, appearance, and demeanor.

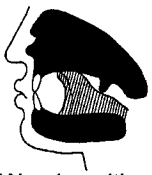
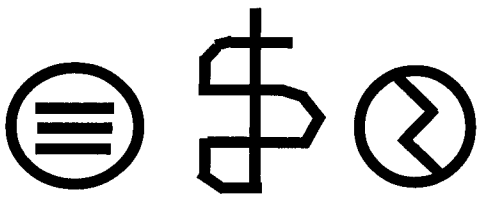


Figure 1.32. For the Wood position, which is related to the Liver, the tongue is placed on the middle of the upper palate at the center of the roof of the mouth.



Examples of Various Symbols used for Breath Incantations

Figure 1.33. The energetic nature of the talismanic symbol (drawn with the tongue at the top of the mouth) is activated by the sorcerer's thought intention. Each energetic pattern has a specific meaning and type of power, and it can be accompanied by a Mudra used to activate that power.

USING BREATH INCANTATIONS FOR PROTECTION

There is an important relationship between sound, Qi, and creation. In the act of creation, (before anything manifests), there must first be the Divine Mind in which time, space, and energy exists as one single point. This dynamic convergence creates form. This is considered by the ancient Daoist sorcerers to be the "seed of creation."

Therefore, through the vehicle of the spoken word (or sound), the fusion of breath (Qi) impregnated with mind (Shen) brings sound.

There are several ways that a Breath Incantation can be used to protect the Daoist sorcerer. Two of the more popular techniques used to energetically and spiritually protect the physically body are Single Sound Breath Incantations and Multiple Sound Breath Incantations, described as follows:

Single Sound Breath Incantation

One advanced way of spiritual protection is to fill the sorcerer's Wei Qi field with a particular divine incantation (sound or phrase), thereby allowing it to repel any and all incoming destructive negative energetic attacks. This technique especially works well against dark sorcery and psychic attacks coming from Spirit-Spell Incantations (incantations that summon and dispatch evil spirit entities to attack a victim). In ancient China, this technique was known as, "using the divine sound to combat a destructive sound."

- Begin by performing the 1-10 Meditation and Three Invocations (See Chinese Medical Qigong Therapy: Volume 3, Chapter 28). After performing the third invocation, focus the mind's attention on gathering the divine healing light into the Lower Dantian. Imagine and feel the divine light energizing your physical body, energetic body, and spiritual body. Hold this image until you feel all three bodies completely full of the divine healing light.
- Next, reconnect with the Divine and imagine creating an Energy Ball between both hands. Both hands are to be positioned facing each other, with the base of the palms roughly located at the same height as the middle of the chest, fingers pointing upwards (Figure 1.34).
- Create a talisman at the roof of the mouth with the tongue. As the tongue draws the talisman on the soft palate, begin to chant the mantra in your mind that you wish to use for generating divine power and sacred protection. It is important to have a powerful emotional connection to the specific Incantation or phrase used for spiritual protection. By emotionally focusing on the Incantation's specific energetic and spiritual powers, you ensure a powerful fusion of Qi and Shen.

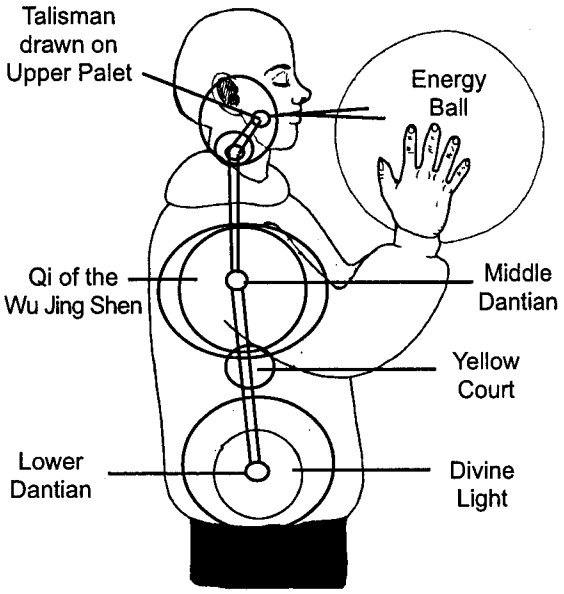


Figure 1.34. Direct the Lower Dantian Qi into the palm and imagine creating an energy ball of divine healing white light

- As you inhale, imagine divine light flowing in through the nose, stimulating and energizing the talisman (whose image is now drawn on the top of the mouth at the upper soft pallet). While continuing to inhale, imagine pulling the energetic and spiritual power of the talisman into the chest, Heart, and Middle Dantian area.
- Begin to connect and fuse the energetic and spiritual powers of the specific Incantation with the energetic and spiritual powers of the Five Yin Organs, specifically the five Prenatal virtuous energies emanating from the Wu Jing Shen (i.e., compassion from the Hun and Liver, peace and order from the Yuan Shen and Heart, integrity from the Po and Lungs, trust and truthfulness from the Yi and Spleen, willpower and wisdom from the Zhi and Kidneys).
- After combining and fusing the spiritual and energetic power of the Incantation with the spiritual and energetic power of the Wu Jing Shen and five internal organs, focus your at-

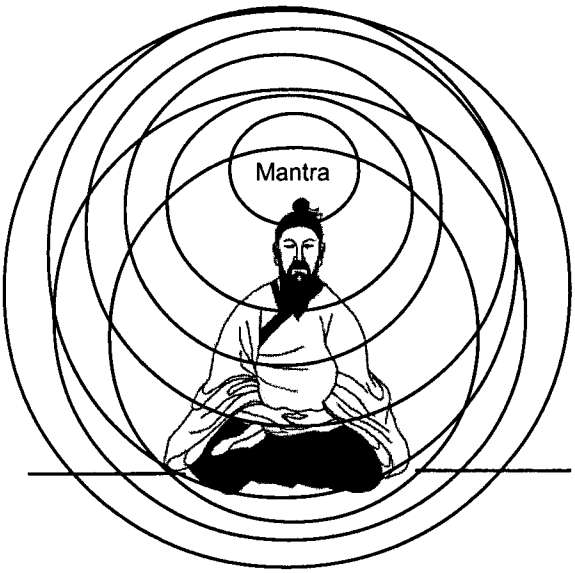


Figure 1.35. Fill the Wei Qi field with a particular Incantation and allow it to repel any incoming destructive negative energy

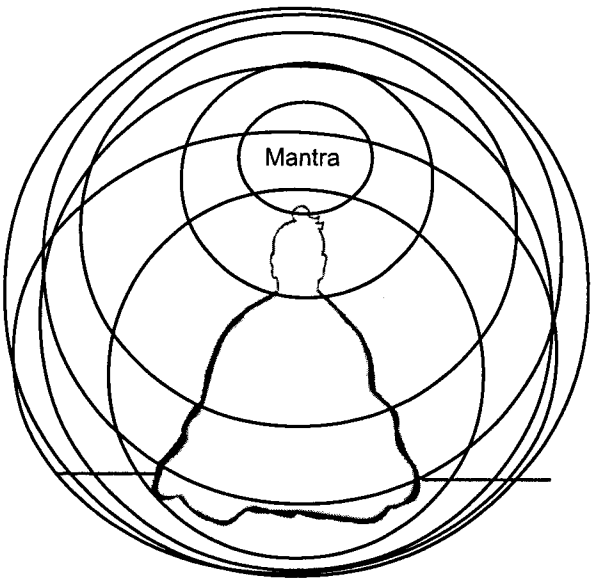


Figure 1.36. Imagine and feel the Physical, Energetic and Spiritual Bodies dissolving into the light and vibration of the Incantation, until all that inhabits the space of your three Wei Qi fields is the energetic light and sound of the divine vibration.

tention on bringing the divine light up from the Lower Dantian into the Middle Dantian. Imagine and feel all of these energetic and spiritual powers combining and fusing within the area of your Yellow Court.

- Next, bring the Qi upwards from the Yellow Court into the back of the throat, and exhale this infused spiritual energy combined with the specific Incantation phrase or sacred sound into the energy ball between your hands. Audibly or Inaudibly speak the divine sacrad sound as a Breath Incantation, and completely fill and empower the energy ball with the spiritual energy and power of the divine word.
- Focus your mind and intention on feeling the power of the Incantation vibrating between your hands. Imagine and feel the energetic and spiritual vibration becoming extremely bright and powerful. Then, raise the energy ball upwards in front of your Yintang (Third Eye area), releasing its light and power to expand outward, filling your three Wei Qi fields (Figure 1.35).
- Imagine and feel the divine light and power of the energy ball Incantation vibrating throughout your three Wei Qi fields, expanding light and sound vibration to the front, back, right, left, above, and beneath your body (protecting all six directions of space).
- Focus on your body being completely submerged and bathed in the vibrational resonance and power of this divine Incantation, until you feel the physical body slowly dissolve into this powerful energetic field of light and sound.
- Next, feel your energetic body dissolve into this energetic field. Then finally, feel your spiritual body dissolve until all that inhabits the space of your three Wei Qi fields is the energetic light and sound of the divine vibration (Figure 1.36).

MULTIPLE SOUND BREATH INCANTATION

Another variation used to counter Spirit-Spell Incantations is to encircle the divine incantation (sound or phrase) in several energetic spheres and

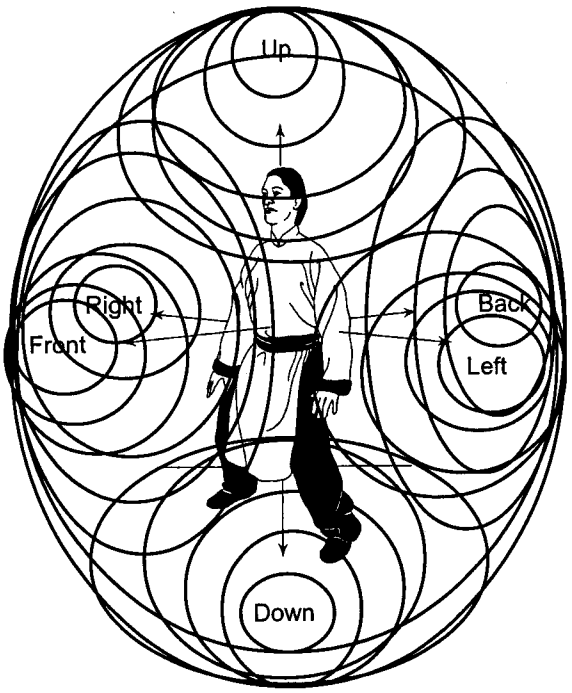


Figure 1.37. Fill the Wei Qi field with six energetic Breath Incantation orbs, allowing them to repel any incoming destructive negative energy

place them in six directions, surrounding the Daoist sorcerer's body. Each energetic orb resonates outward filling the sorcerer's Wei Qi field. Each of the energetic orbs will also resonate with the other energetic spheres, creating a multilayered reciprocal vibrational field. This multilevel energetic field allows the sorcerer the ability to be protected through the three Wei Qi fields and the six directions of space (Figure 1.37).

Imprinting with Incantations

Everything that exists in nature is a part of the energy and the consciousness that formed it. Matter can be regarded as an extension of consciousness, or as a particular form that consciousness has assumed. Therefore in order to learn to materialize (create, mold, form), or dematerialize (dissolve, disperse) Qi and Shen through Hand Seals or Star Stepping, it is important for the sorcerer to be able to create and imprint with magical words by first mastering the four primary properties of Qi. Once these are mastered, the sorcerer will then be able to excel in effecting and manipulating the energetic and spiritual levels of vibrational patterns and forms. This will enable the sorcerer to locate and materialize energy in order to strengthen deficient conditions or dematerialize energetic stagnations.

The Daoist sorcerer will use the power of words in order to energetically Create (design, manifest and bring into existence), Imprint (effect and influence), Feel (perceive, examine and ascertain), and Activate (energize, vitalize and animate its energetic function). These four energetic actions are known as the Four Functional Properties of Energy.

Four Functional Properties of Energy

When molding and forming Qi, the ancient Daoist sorcerers would utilize the four energetic actions for mastering the four primary properties of Qi: Create (Chuangzao), Feel (Ganjue), Imprint (Mingli), and Activate (Shi Huodong); described as follows (Figure 1.38):

- **Create (Chuangzao) - Forming the Energetic Blueprint:** The word "Chuangzao" translates as "to create," and it describes the Creative property of Qi. It refers to the production of the energetic form, as well as to the forces and energy associated with it. It makes life itself and the phenomena of materialization and dematerialization possible. Within the body, the Creative property of Qi is responsible for the construction, maintenance, and re-configuration of the body (i.e., electrons, cells, tissues). When materializing Qi, the Creative property of Qi is used to construct the energetic form: its shape, size, and texture (color, sound, solid, liquid, vapor or light).
- **Feel (Ganjue) - The Sensate Property of Qi:** The word "Ganjue" translates as "to feel or sense," and it describes the aspect of "feeling" the energetic quality of the created item. It is considered the manifestation of the "sensory" aspect or property of the Created Qi, and refers to the tangible feeling of the energetic form or substance, as well as the specific forces and energy associated with it (hot, cold, heavy, light, etc.).

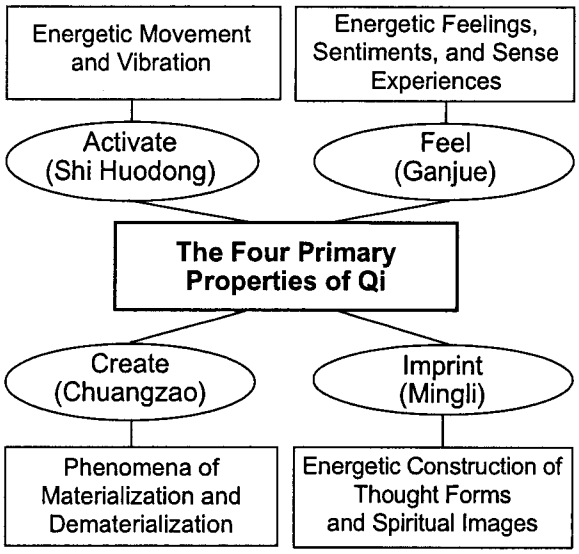


Figure 1.38. The Four Primary Properties of Qi

By mastering the Feeling aspect of Qi, the sorcerer can energetically dissolve into the Wuji and experience every cell or particle of material existence; or feel the ebb and flow of the subtle energetic fields that permeate an individual's physical body (by dissolving into the spiritual matrix that exists in-between the individual's energetic particles and cells). Ganjue makes the sorcerer's energetic feelings, sentiments, and sense experiences substantially real.

Within the body, the Feeling property of Qi makes it possible for an individual to enjoy the sensations of physical pleasure or suffer from physical pain. When materializing energy, the Feeling property of Qi allows the sorcerer to fully experience the quality of the subtle vibrations resonating within the energetic form that he or she has created. The energetic form will generally manifest through the Eight Energetic Touches (feeling hot, cold, heavy, light, expanded, contracted, vibrating, and spiralling).

- **Imprint (Mingli) - Tasking the Energetic Form:** The word "Mingli" translates as "to imprint," and it describes the energetic aspect of imprinting and spiritually "inscribing" the sorcerer's intention into the energetic form. Mingli allows the energetic form to retain specific instructions and perform required tasks. Tasking is considered a type of encoding the energetic form, and it includes all energetic and spiritual forces associated with the thoughts, emotions, and intentions that have impregnated the created object (i.e., Tonify, Purge, Regulate, protect, destroy, bind, heal, etc.).

  Imprinting makes the energetic construction of all thought forms and spiritual images possible. It is used after the sorcerer has shaped the energetic form through visualization. When recording images, it is the "Imprinting" quality of energy that helps the sorcerer to observe, memorize, and retain various shapes, sizes, and colors. Within the body, the Imprinting property of Qi makes it possible for every particle and cell of the body's tissues to become energized and strengthened, and to maintain a specific energetic structure.
- **Activate (Shi Huodong) - Awakening the Vibrational Property of Qi:** The term "Shi Huodong" translates as "to activate," and it is used as a term to describe the activity of formally "starting" the energetic and spiritual function of the Created object. The Activation of Qi makes the energetic movement and vibration possible. It is sometimes considered the awakening of the vibrational motion contained within the energetic form, as well as the specific powers (or forces of energy) associated with that awakening.

  The Activation of Qi is used as the means for transporting the sorcerer's projected energetic field. Within the body, the Activating property of Qi is responsible for all activities, both conscious (walking, physical coordinations, and eye movements) and unconscious (the energetic function of the circulatory system, respiratory system, vascular system, nervous system digestive system, etc.).

Creating, Feeling, Imprinting, and Activating Qi Meditation

The sorcerer should master the Four Primary properties of Qi by practicing Shengong exercises that use powerful visual images. When creating an "Energy Ball," for example, the sorcerer will utilize all Four primary properties of Qi, described as follows (Figure 1.39):

- **Create (Chuangzao):** The Creative property of Qi is used to construct the shape and size of the energy ball.
- **Feel (Ganjue):** The Feeling property of Qi allows the sorcerer to feel and acknowledge the energetic quality contained within the energy ball, (Hot, Cold, heavy, light, vibrating, spiralling, etc.).
- **Imprint (Mingli):** The Imprinting property of Qi allows the sorcerer the ability to impregnate the energy ball with a specific task or function (Tonify, Purge, Regulate, protect, destroy, bind, heal, etc.).
- **Activate (Shi Huodong):** The Activating property of Qi awakens the energy ball's vibrational movement, giving it life.

To assist the disciple in acquiring the skills needed for materializing Qi, the ancient Daoist masters would instruct the apprentice in "Imprinting and Feeling" Shengong meditations. The following is an example of an "Imprinting and Feeling" Shengong meditation:

1. **Create:** Begin from a seated posture, close your eyes and perform the "One Through Ten" meditation (see Chinese Medical Qigong Therapy: Volume 3, Chapter 28). Connect with the Divine and imagine pulling an energetic cord into your right palm from the Heavens. Feel the divine energetic cord mold into a powerful luminous ball. Imagine a luminous ball of white light energy molding into the size of a tennis ball. This type of imagery exercises the Creative property of Qi.
2. **Feel:** Feel the weight of luminous ball of white light energy in your hand. Feel it alive, electrical, hot, and vibrating; feel it rolling around in your palm like liquid mercury. This will train you in mastering the Feeling property of Qi.
3. **Imprint:** Now that you have created an energetic form of thought, it can be imprinted with additional messages (tasked to perform specific functions like gathering Toxic Qi or rebuilding a diseased internal organ). The energy ball can be inserted into a specific internal organ inside a patient's body for Tonification or Purgation, or it can be used for long distance healing. You can also focus your mind on a patient who is suffering from a particular illness and send this ball of white light energy to cover the patient's entire body. The greater your ability to concentrate on the formation of this thought form, the stronger its therapeutic value. This type of creative imagery exercises the Imprinting property of Qi.

   When utilizing this energetic modality for healing, it is important to realize that when divine light used to construct the energy ball, it will automatically fill the orb with healing light; this is considered the "Imprinting of the Divine's Creative property of Qi." This dynamic transformation initiated by the Divine Imprinting is necessary to alter the preexisting energetic pattern of the disease and change the patient's energetic fields.
4. **Activate:** Once the energy ball has been Created, its energetic power has been realized and felt, and its energetic form Imprinted with a specific "message," all that is left is to Activate its energetic function and give it life by giving it the mental command to begin.

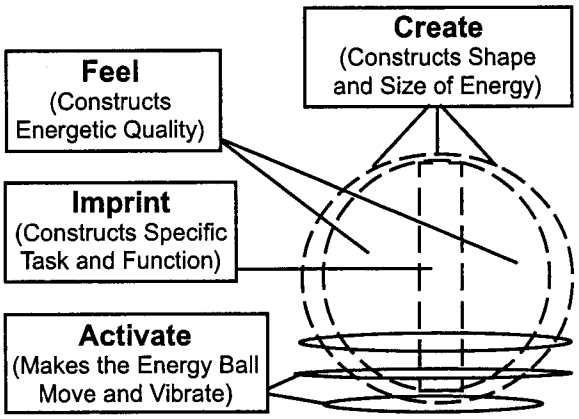


Figure 1.39. The Four Primary Properties of Qi Used to Create an Energy Ball

THOUGHTS, FEELINGS & ENERGETIC IMPRINTING

Thoughts and feelings have power; they are created through "Mind" and have shape, form, and energy. Thoughts can be felt; they have weight and color, can be expressed through different variations of light and vibration, and can be perceived or "seen" by those who posses psychic sight.

Our thoughts and feelings are energies that we project into the environment. These thought forms (projected from the conscious or subconscious) can assume a variety of shapes and colors, and differ from one another in form, energy, and power. Desires and emotions in their energetic thought forms can either be positive (as in sending a healing prayer) or negative (as in sending a curse).

The Imprinting of all Daoist Magical Hand Seals, Star Stepping, Magical Tools, etc. is accomplished through the use of the Four Functional Properties of Energy. When utilizing the Four Functional Properties of Energy, the sorcerer most consider the purpose of the formed energetic object. It is important that the sorcerer understand the exact reason for which the energetic object was created and its specific function; keeping these ideas in mind as a basis for maintaining and refining its energetic materialization.

MATERIALIZING ENERGETIC MATTER

The key to mastering energetic materialization is in the sorcerer's ability to concentrate and mold energetic matter. To materialize or dematerialize an object, the sorcerer must first construct and energetically form it within his or her mind through undisturbed, intense concentration using the Creative and Feeling properties of Qi. The object must then be infused and charged with an energetic task (i.e., to tonify or disperse) with divine light, using the Imprinting property of Qi.

When an energy ball is Activated, it is then released or projected into an individual's tissues using the Activating property of Qi. For example, when an energy ball is created for the purpose of dissolving a tumor, the reaction within the tissues (once the energy ball is inserted), is considered the manifestation of the Activating property of Qi.

Every material form has its own vibratory pattern which regulates its existence. In order to manifest or alter a specific energetic form, it is necessary for the sorcerer to adjust his or her vibrational rate to correspond with the frequency of the energetic matter. This requires the sorcerer to sometimes raise or lower his or her vibrational rate in order to resonate with the energetic form, thereby maintaining its existence after it has been materialized (or erasing its existence after it has been dematerialized).

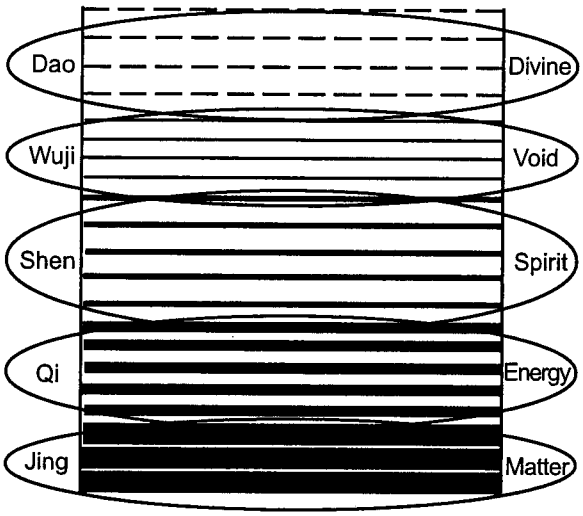


Figure 1.40. The Five Energetic Fields

- **Raising the Vibrational Rate:** Raising the vibrational rate allows the energetic field to become more subtle, faster, stronger, and brighter. To begin with, the sorcerer must first relax his or her body and mind, and place his or her Yuan Shen into the infinite space of the Wuji. This allows the sorcerer to access the center of space and time. Next the sorcerer will focus his or her intention on leading the vibrational rate of the focused item's energetic field through an ascending, prenatal progression (Jing - Qi - Shen - Wuji - Dao). This Shengong training includes enveloping the item and fusing with the gross material object, while simultaneously guiding and leading it through the various realms of matter towards the upper energetic realms of Qi, ending at the more subtle spiritual realms of Shen (Figure 1.40). Once the energetic shift is experi-

enced, the sorcerer will then begin to work according to his or her initial purpose.

- **Lowering the Vibrational Rate:** Lowering the vibrational rate allows the energetic field to become more slower, pronounced, and to take on form. To begin with, the sorcerer must first relax his or her body and mind, and place his or her Yuan Shen into the infinite space of the Wuji. This allows the sorcerer to access the center of space and time. Next the sorcerer will focus his or her intention on leading the vibrational rate of the focused items energetic field through a descending, postnatal progression (Dao - Wuji - Shen - Qi - Jing). This Shengong training includes enveloping the item and fusing it with the upper, more subtle realms of Shen, while simultaneously guiding and leading it through the various energetic fields, to the slower realms of gross matter. Once the energetic shift is experienced, the sorcerer will then begin to work according to his or her initial purpose.

Three Types of Creative Energetic Materialization

There are three types of creative energetic materialization: The Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form, The Visible but Intangible Energetic Form, and The Visible and Tangible Energetic Form (Figure 1.41).

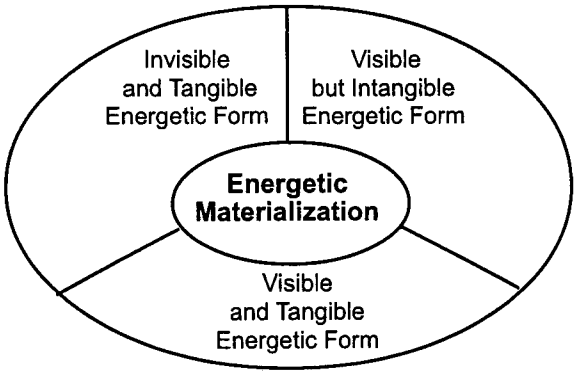


Figure 1.41. Three Types of Creative Energetic Materialization

1. **The Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization involves the construction of solid but invisible substances. It has the greatest force and potential when working within the three dimensional world of matter. This type of materialization allows the sorcerer to disperse energetic stagnations and tonify deficient conditions that would normally require several months of conventional Western medical treatment.

   In the Medical Qigong clinic, it is quite common for a patient to feel the doctor's hands moving inside his or her body, even though the doctor may be several feet away form the

patient. One example of Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form is the physical sensations felt within the patient's tissues when a Qigong doctor is using the "Invisible Needle" Technique.

Another example of Invisible and Tangible Energetic Form is experienced when a Qigong doctor purges grief from the patient's Lungs; the energetic composition of grief is invisible yet has a thick, slimy, tangible energetic form.

2. **The Visible but Intangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization has no physical power to directly affect solid objects. One example of Visible but Intangible Energetic Forms are the energetic colors and visions that manifest within an individual's aura field, as well as specific energetic forms or spiritual entities that can surround an individual's body or living space.

   Visible but Intangible Energetic Forms can sometimes be spiritual images projected by a sorcerer onto a individual's Subconscious Mind. These energetic images can be used to assist an individual in spiritual transformations and emotional growth, as well as to provide him or her with support in times of need.

   Another example of this type of materialization can be when a sorcerer is Soul Traveling (also known as astral projection). The sorcerer who is Soul Traveling can appear to someone in a ghostly form (like a mist) to give encouragement. Although the image may appear to be as solid as matter, it is possible to pass a hand completely through it.

3. **The Visible and Tangible Energetic Form:** This type of materialization is solid and visible and requires advanced training in order to master its skill.

   When Soul Traveling, for example, a sorcerer can construct and materialize the image of a visible and tangible energetic form by simply lowering the vibrational rate of his or her Energy Body to such a degree that he or she can influence and move solid objects).

ENCHANTMENT

An Enchantment (sometimes known as Bewitchment) is the state of being under the hypnotic influence of a magical charm or incantation. An enchantment of a magical spell can be attached (generally on a relatively-permanent basis) to a specific person, place, or thing, so that it alters that thing's physical, energetic, and spiritual qualities. Sorcerers are frequently depicted as being able to seduce or control an individual by means of magical enchantments.

An enchantment with negative characteristics is usually referred to as a curse. Conversely, enchantments can also be spells used to deceive people, either by directly affecting their thoughts or by using some kind of projected illusion. Other forms of negative enchantments include deceiving people into believing that they have suffered a magical transformation (e.g., an energetic/spirit induced diseased state), or that the terrifying supernatural phenomena they are observing and/or experiencing is real.

An enchantment can also be used to manifest positive characteristics. It can shape and alter an individual's self-perceptions to the degree that they view the world in a "new," positive way. When the individual awakens from the trance state, he or she will then experience a new hope in life. This practice is seen in modern hypo-therapy.

TRANCE INDUCTION

A "trance" can be defined as "being lost in a state of mystical absorption." It is the by-product of coming under the hypnotic power of an Enchantment (known as Trance Induction) created from a magical charm, spell, or Incantation.

We are surrounded by an ocean of vibrations that are simultaneously resonating in different dimensions. When an Incantation is directed towards any person, place, or thing (and constantly repeated), the process of withdrawing the mind from the senses begins. As the focus of the mind continues to be directed onto the specific point of intention, both Qi and Shen gather. Once the process of sense withdrawal is complete, the sorcerer's mind can then hold on to and envelop the item of his or her focused intention. The spiritual, energetic, and physical fields of the item can now be influence through the directed mental power of the sorcerer's cultivated Qi and Shen.

For centuries, ancient Daoists have believed that an individual could be influenced (both positively and negatively) through the utilization of a powerfully controlled Shen. This type of influence could either occur accidently, or be directly initiated through focused intention. It entails the influencing or controlling of the thoughts and actions of an individual by means of a using an audible command, or through the subtle insinuation of the desired thought. These types of suggestive and psychic influences allows the sorcerer's conscious mind to initiate an effect upon the individual's subconscious mind and can be effectively used to re-patterning beliefs and actions.

In Daoist sorcery, there are generally three forms of psychic influence used to override an individuals defensive mechanisms, reprogram their belief, and initiate new energetic patterns; Audible Suggestive Influence, Thought Suggestive Influence and Hypnotic Suggestive Influence, described as follows:

AUDIBLE SUGGESTIVE INFLUENCE

This is considered the first level of psychic influence, and it is initiated by the sorcerer's voice, attitude, tone, words, mannerism, appearance, and demeanor. The individual's mind receives and accepts as truth the sorcerer's words and affirmations, and he or she then changes specific internal patterns, acting in accordance to the degree of his or her receptivity. The verbal suggestion is often necessary in order to initiate a deep impression on the subconscious mind and cause the individual to accept the new belief pattern. This type of audible suggestive influence becomes even more powerful and gains additional influence by having the individual repeat the audible affirmations or suggestions.

Traditionally, once the individual mastered the way of vibrating names, words, or phrases of power, he or she was then taught how to employ them in the use of the "commanding voice," which allows the "speaking intention" of Audible Suggestive Influence to be effective. The "command-

ing voice" is vibrated from the Lower Dantian in a deep forceful tone (either audible or inaudible) with an open throat. It affects the mind on the subconscious level (below the level of conscious thought) and can cause individuals to immediately react without understanding why. It is for this reason (the ability to implant thoughts and commands directly into another's subconscious mind) that the power of the commanding voice is kept from the general public, and given only to those life is devoted towards the divine and healing the suffering of humanity.

When initiating an Audible Suggestive Influence, it is important that the individual receiving the energetic input maintain a receptive state of mind for the interaction to be considered successful. In order to increase the potential for success, it is important that the sorcerer to constantly monitor the recipient's receptivity. Always focus and direct the mind's attention to initiate the specific repetitions of certain keywords that positively stimulate the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind. When initiating this type of auto-suggestion, there are three primary things that the sorcerer must monitor. These three things are the Recipient's Receptivity, Focused Attention, and Repetition, described as follows:

- **The Recipient's Receptivity:** When performing any type of Audible Suggestive Influence, it is imperative that the recipient maintain a quiet, relaxed, and peacefully receptive attitude. A certain percent of the effectiveness of this type of interaction depends on the degree of receptivity in the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind.
- **Focused Attention:** The recipient should be encouraged to give the sorcerer his or her undivided attention. A certain percent of the effectiveness of this type of interaction also depends on the degree of attention given by the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind.
- **Repetition:** The recipient should be encouraged to constantly repeat the sorcerer's suggestions. The constant repetition of various phrases in the form of suggestive "keywords" fastens the new energetic and spiritual pattern firmly onto the recipient's conscious and subconscious Mind.

When initiating an Audible Suggestive Influence, it is important for the sorcerer to maintain a certain quiescent state of mind for the interaction to be considered successful. In order to increase the potential for success, it is important that the sorcerer to constantly monitor his or her own attitude, voice, and eyes, as well as express images in the form of "word pictures" in order to deepen the energetic and spiritual imprinting on the recipient's conscious and subconscious mind. These four points of attention are described as follows:

- **Attitude:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her attitude and have the recipient's best interest at heart ("people don't care what you know, until they know that you care").
- **Voice:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her voice and should be able to project feeling and sincerity into the expressed words. The sorcerer's Qi and Shen should permeate his or her tone to the degree that the recipient feels the words vibrating within their body and mind when the suggestion is being planted.

  A softly spoken Mantra that maintains a particular rhythm can also be used in order to induce a hypnotic trance.
- **Eyes:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her gaze, and should look firmly yet compassionately through the recipient, seeing into his or her center core to communicate with the recipient's Soul. The focus of the sorcerer's eyes will allow for stronger concentration of thought, holding and maintaining the recipient's attention.

  A common preliminary to hypnotic indiction is the requirement for the recipient to fix his or her attention on a particular spot above eye level (sometimes the recipient was instructed to look upward into the dark celestial pool of a starry sky). This technique quickly has the effect of tiring the eyes and inducing a sensation of relaxation and sleepiness, which can easily be transformed into trance.

Additionally, a "flat" (featureless) environment can aide the sorcerer in quickly bring-

ing a individual into a trance state due to the lace of sensory stimuli.

The fixation of the gaze, the uninteresting environment, and the rhythm of the spoken mantra synchronized with rhythmic breathing all combine to become powerful tools for hypnotic induction.

- **Word Pictures:** The sorcerer should pay attention to his or her verbal descriptions when implanting autosuggestions. It is important that the recipient feel the desired condition with a mental picture of him or her living the outcome of the projected intention (e.g., being restored back to health).

Thought Suggestive Influence

This is considered the second level of psychic influence, and it is initiated by the sorcerer's inaudible projected thought and intention. The stronger the sorcerer's Qi and Shen, the greater the result. These conscious and subconscious thought projections stemming from the sorcerer's mind can only be effective if the individual is open and receptive to the thought waves directed towards him or her. This type of thought suggestive influence becomes powerful and gains additional influence by having the sorcerer perform certain Hand Seals and magical rituals.

Hypnotic Suggestive Influence

This is considered the third level of psychic influence, and it is a combination of the first two suggestive influences. It is initiated through the sorcerer's focused Qi and Shen emission, whereby the individual is enveloped and "bathed" in a constant flow of thought intention. This type of hypnotic influence becomes even more powerful and gains additional influence over the recipient when the sorcerer performs Breath Incantations.

Hypnotic Suggestive Influence can also be used when speaking magical incantations, in order to fuse the sorcerer's mind and intention with that of a recipient. This is an energetic skill in which various repetitions of powerful incantations are initiated in the form of auto suggestions or affirmations, spoken by the sorcerer into the recipient's physical, energetic, and spiritual bodies.

In Hypnotic Suggestive Influence, the projected mental attitude of the sorcerer is energetically impressed into the individual's tissues via the sorcerer's words, attitude, tone, and demeanor. As the sorcerer begins to audibly and telepathically pour "thought intention" into the mind of the individual, a strong positive current of uplifting, strengthening and healing thought is created. The fusion of both minds (the sorcerer's and the recipient's) is directed towards a common purpose, producing a powerful conscious and subconscious healing pattern.

The "hypnotic suggestion" induced by the trance is the main tool that a sorcerer uses to reprogram the mind of an individual. A hypnotic suggestion is defined as a statement of explicit instruction given in trance to do or experience something (e.g., relax the body, feel the body sink, feel a specific area become numb, etc.).

There are four main trance states induced by "hypnotic suggestion" that an individual can experience. These four trance states are described as follows:

- **Light Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, and the individual is breathing deeply.
- **Medium Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, the head and body slump, the responses are slower, the breathing is deep, and the individual experiences a reduced awareness of their surround environment.
- **Deep Trance:** In this state of trance, the eyes are closed, the facial muscles are relaxed, the head and body slump, the responses are slower, there is a reduced awareness of the surround environment, and there is deeper abdominal breathing.
- **Somnambulism Trance:** In this state of trance, the individual experiences paralysis, loss of sensation, or catalepsy (i.e., rigidity, lack of response to stimuli, and mutism). During this trance state, the individual may experience sensations as if they are awake (similar to sleep walking). Consequently, when awakened the individual generally will not retain the hypnotic suggestion in either their conscious or unconscious memory.

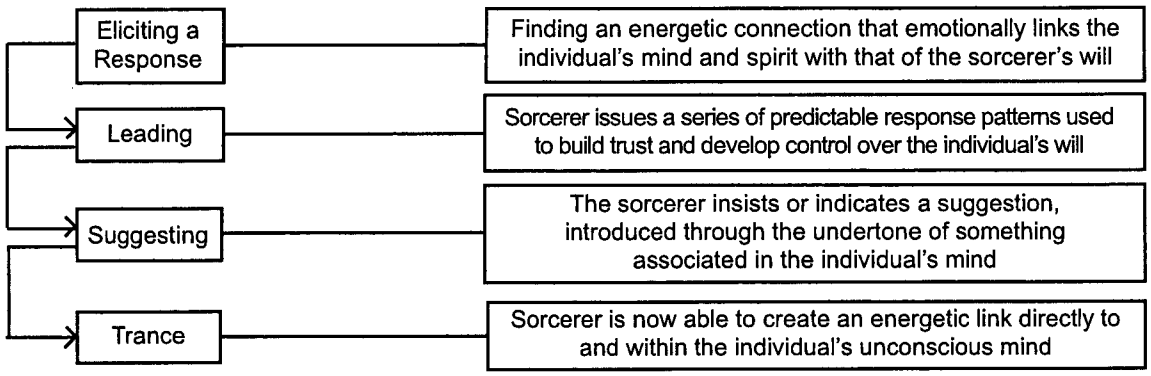


Figure 1.42. The four stages used to lead an individual into trance

The conscious mind thinks quantitatively using words, numbers, logic, and sequential thinking. The unconscious mind uses images, memories, feelings, intuitions, dreams, and abstract non-sequential thinking. At increasingly deeper levels of trance, the individual becomes more open to his or her unconscious mind and more receptive the hypnotic suggestions planted by the sorcerer's intention or contained within the magical incantation.

When you dissociate from your feelings you enter into a trance state (e.g., day-dreaming is a form of Light Trance state). In Daoist magic, the hypnotic suggestions contained within certain magical incantations are used to cause an individual to dissociate from his or her conscious mind in order to reprogram the unconscious mind. At this state, the unconscious mind can be flooded with various sensory images in order to elicit a creative experience, resulting in either a positive or negative emotional response (e.g., traveling through space, standing in the center of a beautiful field of flowers; or suddenly being surrounded by aggressive snakes, insects, fire, ghosts, etc.).

Once the individual is in a state of hypnotic trance, the sorcerer will proceed to deepen the trance state. The deeper the trance state, the more successful the "imprinting" process of the hypnotic suggestion will be on the individual's unconscious mind. These imprinted suggestions are then transformed by the individual's unconscious mind and integrated as part of their own ideas or conscious will.

FOUR STAGES USED TO INDUCE TRANCE

Psychic influence is a term used to indicate when one individual's mind is directed towards purposely influencing another. Every individual's mental state is accompanied by certain vibrations that resonate on the energetic and spiritual planes. The plane of physical vibrations arising from the human brain and nervous system has energetic counterparts that manifest through the vibrational resonance of the energetic and spiritual planes.

The effect of an individual's psychic influence is initiated through the energetic principle of "induction," which manifests on all three planes (physical, energetic and spiritual). The principle of induction is described as "that inherent quality or attribute of energy by which the manifestation of energy tends to reproduce itself in a second object by setting up a corresponding vibration, even though there is no direct contact between the two objects." For example, the vibrational manifestation of heat generated in one object tends to induce the vibrational response of heat in other objects that are within its range of induction. Likewise, the vibrational resonance of light striking another object can render it capable of additionally radiating light; and through induction, a magnet can induce magnetism into a piece of steel suspended nearby, even though the two objects do not actually touch each other. In the same way, an object which carries an electromagnetic charge can induce electricity in another object situated some distance away.

In every form or manifestation of energy, including thoughts and emotions, we can see the principle of induction operating. It is commonly held that no individual is able to influence another person through induction unless the individual being influenced already possesses within him or herself a similar thought or emotion.

A sorcerer will use four stages of induction to lead an individual into trance, Eliciting a Response, Leading, Suggesting, and Trance. Each of these four stages are described as follows (Figure 1.42):

- **Eliciting a Response:** In magic, this refers to finding an energetic connection to the individual that emotionally links their mind and spirit with the sorcerer's will. This energetic connection can either be spoken (e.g., through Mantras, Spells, or Incantations) or written (e.g., through Talismans, Icons, Symbols, etc.).

  Through eliciting a response, the sorcerer draws out something hidden from within the individual's unconscious mind. The extraction of this information can be subtle, yet it contains an important subconscious key that can be used to unlock the individual's unconscious mind.
- **Leading:** After eliciting an energetic response, the sorcerer builds on the energetic connection by leading the individual into a deeper trance state. In order to help the individual disassociate from the "normal" world of superficial relationships, the sorcerer issues a series of predictable response patterns. These energetic patterns are used to build trust in the sorcerer, and to develop control over the individual's will. For example, if the individual is sitting, the sorcerer will respond, "Now that you are sitting, you can relax yourself, and if you want - begin to feel your tissues getting heavy."
- **Suggestion:** After successfully leading the individual's Shen (thoughts and emotions), the idea is to take the individual into deeper trance states. This is accomplished through insisting or indicating a suggestion. The suggestion is introduced to the individual as the undertone of something (i.e., a feeling or recollection) associated in the individual's mind with a particular person, place, or thing. For example, "Feel the outside world slowly begin to fade away as you continue to listen to my voice."
- **Trance:** Once the individual enters into a deep trance, the sorcerer is now able to create an energetic link directly to and within the individual's unconscious mind.

TRAINING THE BODY SECRET

Training the Body refers to cultivating and releasing the magical power that can be harnessed through the proper application of the Body Posture Training (i.e., Lying, Sitting, and Standing Postures), Magical Hand Seal Training (i.e., Single and Double Hand Seal applications), and Star Stepping Training (Walking Posture applications).

In traditional Daoist magic, all Hand Seals are activated through the act of speaking incantations while secretly drawing a magical talisman with the tongue on the roof of the sorcerer's upper palate, and then exhaling the breath to "activate."

THE THREE TYPES OF POSTURE

In ancient China, training the posture was divided into three stages, training the physical posture, training the energetic posture, and training the spiritual posture, described as follows (Figure 1.43):

- **Training the Physical Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the structural integrity and alignment of the body's physical tissues. Focus is placed on the proper placement of the Bones, muscles, tendons, nervous system, internal organs and energetic systems.
- **Training the Energetic Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the energetic matrix which supports and moves the physical tissues of the body. Focus is placed on strengthening the energetic fields, cavities and energetic casings (orbs) that create and support the body's physical structure.
- **Training the Spiritual Posture:** This type of posture is based on training the normally unconscious spiritual patterns that create the blueprint for the body's energetic matrix.

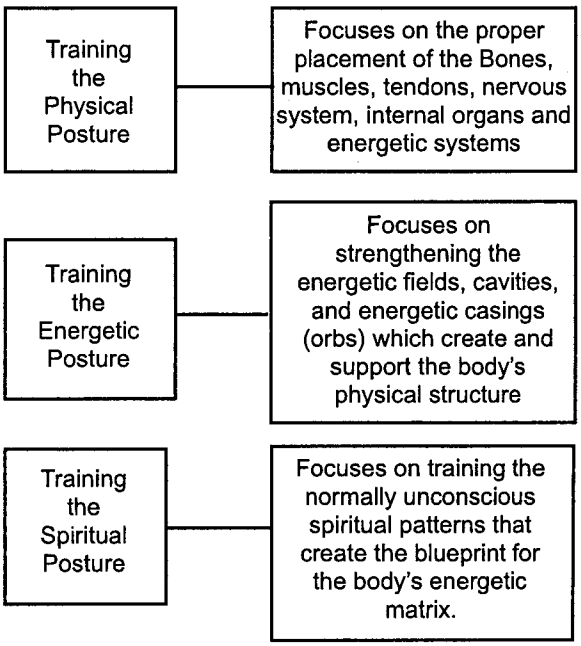


Figure 1.43. Training The Three Types of Posture

DAOIST MAGICAL HAND SEAL TRAINING

INTRODUCTION TO HAND SEALS

In Daoist magic, all Hand Seals are traditionally activated through the act of speaking incantations, while secretly drawing a magical talisman with the tongue on the roof of the sorcerer's upper palate. The Hand Seal represents the physical activation of "Earth" magic, energy internally moving from Essence (Jing) to Energy (Qi); the drawing of a magical talisman on the roof of the upper palate represents the spiritual activation of "Heaven" magic, energy moving from the Spirit (Shen) to the infinite space of the Dao (Wuji); and the exhaled Breath Incantation represents the energetic activation of "Man" magic, wherein the combined energies of Heaven and Earth move from internal thoughts, feelings, and intentions to external manifestation.

Because the Heart houses the Eternal Soul (located within the Taiji Pole), it contains the major energy field of the body. The secondary energy fields responsible for moving the body's energy are located within the hands and head. Therefore the heart (Man), hands (Earth) and head (Heaven) are all incorporated when constructing and implementing magical Hand Seals.

The energetic skill of the Hand Seal was one of the most secret of the Daoist esoteric practices of ancient China. They were respected as the key to the true magic which existed between the energetic and spiritual realms of Earth and Heaven. There are twelve types of alchemical transformations created from the proper magical application of Daoist Hand Seals:

1. **Purification:** These Hand Seals were used to remove toxic Qi and Shen
2. **Regulation:** These Hand Seals were used to balance and stabilize Yin and Yang
3. **Tonification:** These Hand Seals were used to Energize and strengthen Qi and Shen
4. **Rooting:** These Hand Seals were used to ground the body's Qi and Shen
5. **Meditation:** These Hand Seals were used to quiet the body's Qi and Shen, allowing the mystic to enter into the infinite space of the Wuji.
6. **Worship:** These Hand Seals were used to help the mystic energetically and spiritually connect with the Dao.
7. **Summon:** These Hand Seals were used to demanding or requesting the presence or service of a spirit entity
8. **Protection:** These Hand Seals were used to defend and ward-off harmful Qi and Shen, as well as evil spirits
9. **Binding:** These Hand Seals were used to stop, envelop, bind and restrain evil spirits
10. **Attacking:** These Hand Seals were used to striking, defeating and destroying evil spirits
11. **Imprisoning:** These Hand Seals were used to detain and confine evil spirits
12. **Sealing:** These Hand Seals were used to initiate energetic "closure" to a magical ritual

When applying any form of magical Hand Seal, in order for the energetic application to become effective, the Hand Seal must be activated through Breath Incantation. The magical incantation (directed by the Three Minds) must be applied with the proper Hand Seal (activated through the Three Bodies), and both powers of Mind and Body must fuse with the Ling Shen (Magical Spirit) of the Three Breaths in order to work (refer back to Figure 1.4).

TYPES OF HAND SEALS

Ancient Chinese sorcerers often used the finger gestures of specific Hand Seals in order to represent the energetic and spiritual functions of the universe, the mysteries of nature, the positions of space and the changes of time. According to the ancient *Book of Secret Correspondence*, "while making the various finger gestures of esoteric Hand Seals, the Daoist disciple feels the energetic form of the universe and knows that the transformations of all things are under his control. The contracted scene of the universe is visible on his hand."

The Daoist Hand Seals (called "Shou Jue") and Buddhist Mudras (called "Shou Yin") have been used in personal and communal rituals since the Southern Dynasty Period (420-588 A.D.) for the pur-

poses of exorcism, controlling spiritual entities, and healing diseases.

A Hand Seal or "Mudra" (Mudra is the Sanskrit word for "Seal" or "Gesture") is a specific hand posture used to form a specific symbol which serves to empower and enhance energetic and spiritual interactions and transformations. The primary meaning of a "Seal" implies stamping, marking, impressing or imprinting the engraving of a sign, image or text. Hand Seals were commonly used by both the ancient Daoist and Buddhist Qigong masters (Figure 1.44).

There are three types of magical hand seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist ceremonies: Fa Jue (Law Seals), Dou Jue (Star Seals), and Shen Jue (Spirit Seals). The skill of the Hand Seal also involves the use of both Single-Handed Finger Gestures (Dan Jue) and Double-Handed Finger Gestures (Shuang Jue).

The Zheng Yi Daoist systems have collected and used at least 70 different types of magical Hand Seals. Some of these magical seals include the famous Left and Right Thunder Block Hand Seal, the Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal, the Binding Collar Double Hand Seal, the Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal, etc.

Beginning students were generally taught simple Single and Double-Handed Seals first. This allowed the student to focus his or her mind's intention on manifesting and controlling specific forms of energetic and spiritual states.

Once the Daoist student had mastered gathering, embodying and projecting the elemental realms of the Bagua powers, he or she was then allowed to progress further into the more advanced Single and Double-Handed Hand Seals.

Specific Functions of the Hand Seals

The Single Hand Seal was commonly used in developing certain energetic powers, and for spiritual exorcisms. When performing spiritual exorcisms and other forms of Daoist rituals, the Single Hand Seals were generally created with the Daoist's left hand, while his or her right hand was used in order to conjure and control specific spirit deities (Figure 1.45).

The energetic finger formations of specific Hand Seals were used in combination with fo-

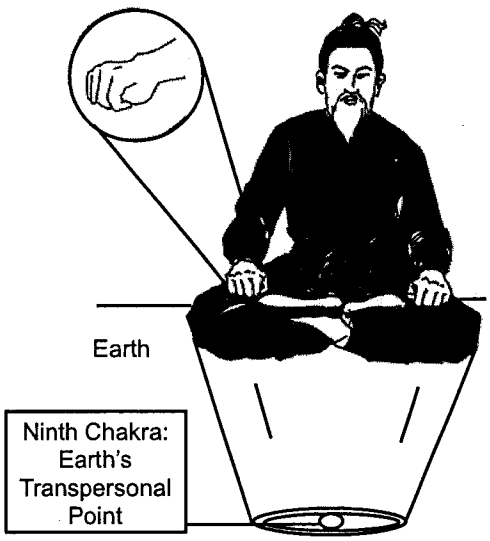


Figure 1.44. Ancient Daoist Single Hand Seal (One Handed Earth Mudras) used for Rooting the body's energetic field into the Ninth Chakra: the Earth's Transpersonal Point located under the ground.

As the left hand forms the magical Hand Seal, the energetic movement and action of the right sleeve "fan" creates the Auspicious Qi.

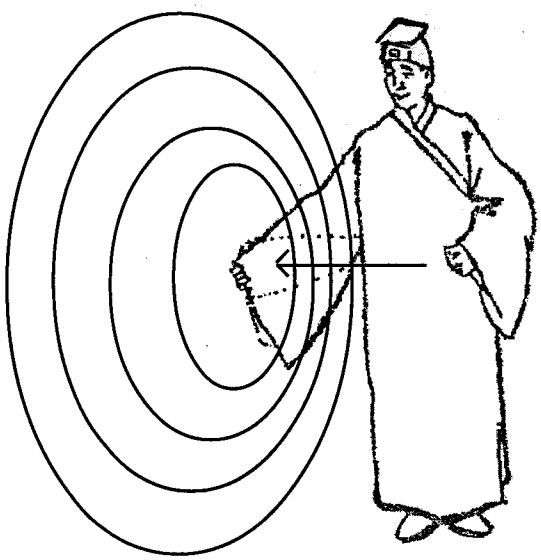


Figure 1.45. In the "Three Fans Technique," the "Second Fan" moves towards the right in order to create the "Auspicious Qi."

cused intention and were sometimes combined with incantations in order to receive and transmit ancient shamanistic energetic skills.

Hand Seals were also associated with protection from disasters. The Daoist classic *Tianhuang Zhidao Taiqing Yuce* (the Jade Volume of Great Clarity on the Utmost Way of the Heavenly Sovereign), compiled in the early Ming Dynasty (in 1444 A.D.) with a preface by the royal Ming prince Zhu Quan, states, "Hand Seals (Twist Signs) are used to communicate with the perfected Dao; summon protective celestial generals; control, exorcise, or destroy demons and malicious spirits; and affect the healing of disease."

The use of pseudo-Sanskrit seed words or phrases, and the complicated two-handed Hand Seals became very popular among the Daoists during the Tang (618-907 A.D.) and early Song Dynasties (960-1279 A.D.). Many of the energetic practices of Tantric Buddhism were integrated in the rapidly developing "Thunder Magic" techniques popularized by the Mao Shan Daoists during the mid-Song period in China.

The skill needed for the "divination of thunder" was already well established in ancient China by the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). During this time period, the ancient Daoist magicians were famous for their ability to summon thunder, rain and lightning. It is believed that the "Thunder Magic" techniques were developed by the ancient Mao Shan Daoists in order to harness both the benevolent and destructive power of thunder, thereby acquiring the ability to access and utilize the power of Heavenly Fire (lightning) needed to counter the effects of black magic, expel demons and destroy demons; the power of Heavenly Water (rain) was used to bring relief in times of drought.

When performing the various Single and Double Hand Seals, it is important for the Daoist disciple to pay strict attention to the flexibility of his or her wrist and fingers. All of the joints of the bones of the wrists and fingers should rotate smoothly, and the finger transitional movements of the various Hand Seals should be evenly connected. The mind should be focused on imagining and feeling the body's internal Qi creating or embodying the specific power and force of the energetic form that the Hand Seal represents. It is also important that, within this divine state of mind, the disciple take advantage of the infinite power placed at his or her disposal and therefore use the various Hand Seals with complete confidence and belief in the outcome.

Traditionally, a Daoists priest will make the appropriate finger gestures of specific Hand Seals, when he or she is performing the following rituals:

- Reading Daoist scriptures
- Reciting Incantations
- Pacing the Big Dipper
- Setting up the Altars
- Invoking the Celestial Martial Generals
- Practicing Vital Breath Incantations
- Arresting evil spirits
- Curing Illnesses
- Praying for Happiness
- Offering Sacrifices to Avoid Disasters
- Offering Sacrifices to Dispel Evil Spirits

The ancient Daoist text, *The Supreme Essential Secret of General Perfection to Help the Empire and Save the People* says that the disciples must make the finger gestures of specific Hand Seals when they "walk, inquire about illnesses, harness devils, enter temples, cross rivers, go into mountains and write talismans."

Since ancient times, the secret finger gestures used in making esoteric Daoist Hand Seals has been passed down together with the art of Breath Incantations. In the course of development and refinement, the ancient Daoists often changed and corrected the original finger gestures of certain Hand Seals, so that the finger gestures expanded into a comprehensive magical system.

Combining Hand Seals and Incantations

From a Daoist perspective, the ancient Chinese skill of spell-recitation is complex and multidimensional. However, when treating disease, there is nothing better than using an "Energetic Seal." Energetic Seals were used in ancient China to imprint the specific energy of a deity's spiritual power onto the Breath Incantation.

The main focus on utilizing the energetic power of a seal lies is in combining visualizations with breath incantations, spirit projection and proper timing. The ancient Daoist ritual of exorcistic Energetic Seal imprinting was generally practiced as an oral tradition, passed from master to disciple. It is said that the ancient Daoist master Fan Li practised this method "causing mountains to crumble, rivers and seas to flow backwards, Spirit-demons to tremble with fear and thunderclaps to resound."

Both Quiescent and Dynamic Postural training utilizes various hand postures designed to stimulate and increase the body's physical, energetic and spiritual potential. In ancient times, both Daoist and Buddhist mystics would sometimes combine the various Hand Seals with incantations (Mantras) in order to empower their intention, focus, and direction of Qi. Every specific Hand Seal had its own sound formula that required the master to combine physical practices relating to posture, breath and mind (i.e., pulling up on the anal sphincter while inhaling, clapping the teeth, swallowing saliva, spitting, etc.) with the energetic and spiritual practices of prayer and incantation (i.e., chanting a specific tone, reciting a prayer, using a specific incantation while exhaling, inhaling specific types of Heavenly and Earthly Qi powers, etc.).

Daoist Hand Seals are based on a theoretical construction of Yin and Yang, wherein the left hand is considered Yang and pure, and dominates the hand postures. Buddhist Mudras, however, originate from the Indian culture, which is predominantly right handed, therefore in the Buddhist system the right hand is seen as pure and dominates the hand Mudra postures.

Esoteric Study and Training

If the Hand Seals or incantations are not performed correctly, then the disciple will not receive the response that he or she is seeking (e.g., the ability to command the Thunder Martial Generals and their officers to apprehend demons or evil spirits). Therefore, when a disciple performs the Fa Jue Hand Seals (the Hand Seals that invoke the power of the Law), he or she should understand all of the symbolic meanings that each seal represents in the spiritual realm as well as within the Celestial Immortal World. If the disciple does not understand the secret meanings of each Fa Jue Hand Seal, he or she will not be able to access the hidden power that lays concealed within the body's own energetic and spiritual realms, and will also be unable to summon the Thunder Martial Generals to defeat, capture, control or destroy demons and evil spirits.

When starting to perform the various Hand Seals, the disciple must take advantage of his or her cultivated Jing, Qi and Shen, and fuse both the internal and external energetic fields in order to access the spirit realm of the Immortal World and make it respond to his or her own personal will (internal thoughts and desires). All of the "disciples of immortality" in the Zheng Yi Heavenly Masters Mansion are taught to pay strict attention to this advice and to not take the study of the three various schools of Hand Seals for granted. Traditionally, each disciple is not allowed to perform any of the Hand Seals and incantations without first completely understanding and mastering the external and internal influences of each Hand Seal and its particular energetic and spiritual potential.

The combination of Hand Seals and Breath Incantations is the key to connecting the mind and spirit with the movements of the hands; this allows the Shen (mind and heart) to converge with the movements of the human form in order to gather the ancestral spirits (Prenatal Wujingshen) into the body.

According to ancient Daoist records, the magical power of certain hand seal incantations was maximized during the time when the Pole Star (located in the center of the Heavens) was directly aligned with the Moon when it was positioned in the West. However, some of these most powerful secret Hand Seals used to create miraculous acts of transformation were not passed along from master to disciple, and therefore certain esoteric "secrets of Heavens" were lost.

Double Handed Seals

The purpose for using Double-Handed Hand Seals is to allow the Daoist mystic's body (Jing), energy (Qi), and mind (Shen) to combine and be directed towards one purposeful goal. In ancient China, Daoist mystics would commonly use the Double-Handed Bagua (Eight Trigram) Hand Seals in order to summon the powers of specific elements.

Forming the Ba Gua Hand Seals

The ancient Daoists understood that from the Wuji, the Dao creates Yin and Yang, which in turn give birth to four phases of universal energy (Greater Yang, Lesser Yang, Greater Yin and Lesser Yin). The four phases of universal energy give birth to the eight natural forces of the Bagua (Heaven, Thunder, Water, Mountain, Earth, Wind, Fire and Lake). These four phases also form the energetic basis of the prenatal and postnatal transformations, manifested in the form of eight energetic actions (known as the Bagua Trigrams). These eight energetic patterns are therefore symbolized by combinations of Yin and Yang lines (Yao). Traditionally, a Yin line is represented as a broken line (- -), and a Yang line is represented as a solid line (---). A Yao Trigram is composed of three lines, constructed with either Yin Yaos, Yang Yaos, or a combination of both Yin and Yang Yaos (Figure 1.46). These eight prenatal and postnatal energetic actions act as a template for all creation and can be further combined in order to form the ever-changing energetic patterns of the 64 Hexagrams of the Yi-Jing (Figure 1.47).

In ancient China, Daoist Mystics would summon the powers of specific Elements through connecting their fingers in various patterns in order to form Hand Seals in accordance with the energetic principles of the Eight Trigrams. Accessing the Eight Trigram power was initiated through connecting the fingers of both hands in various patterns in order to form Hand Seals in accordance with the energetic principles of the Bagua. The Double-Handed Bagua (Eight Trigram) Hand Seals are formed through the corresponding Yin and Yang configurations of the fingers.

The ancient Daoists believed that each energetic pattern would "open a gateway" to the

Figure 1.46. Yin and Yang Yao Trigram

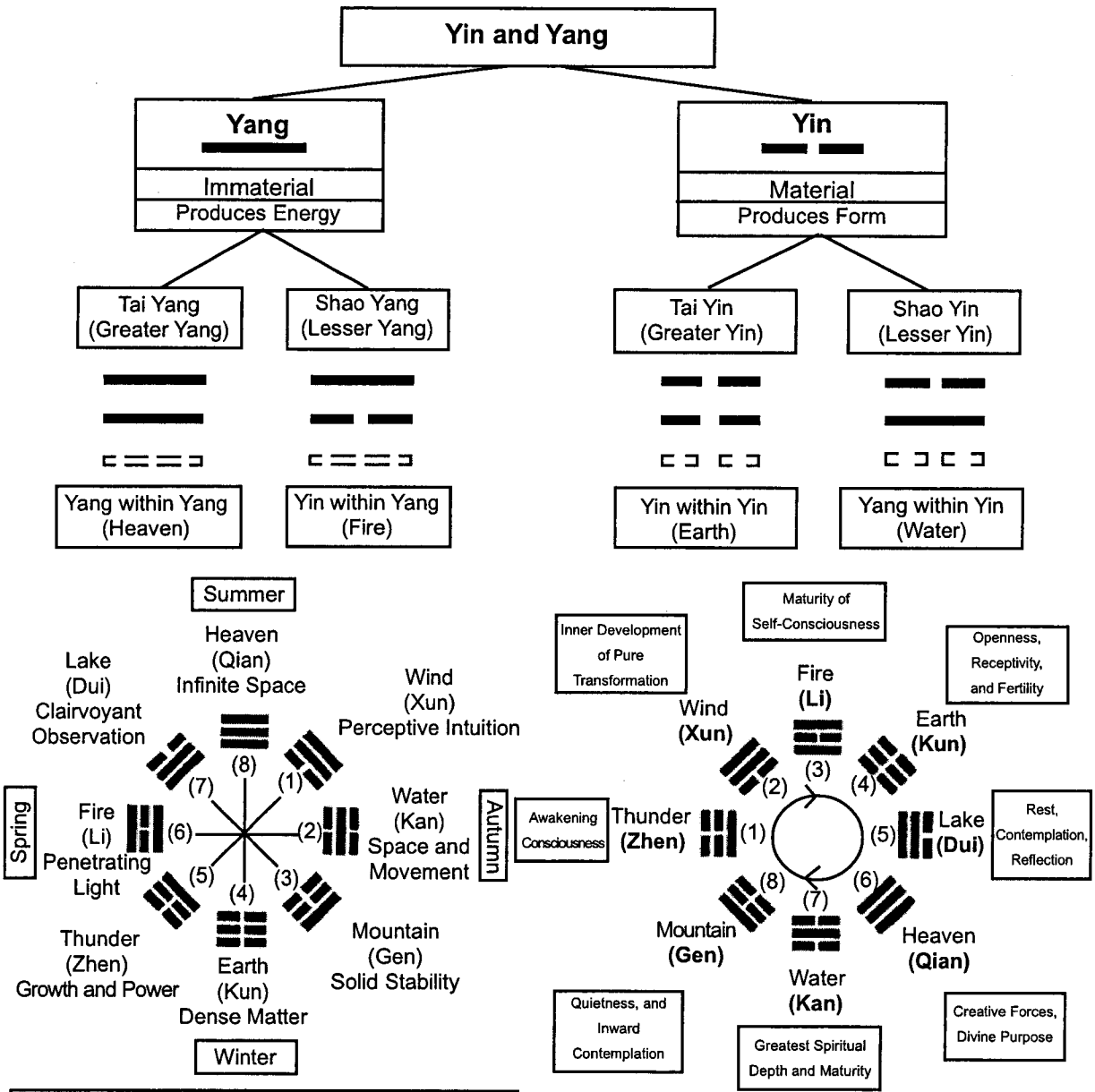
Trigram Element's energetic nature and allow an individual to absorb, manipulate, or control the Element's energetic and spiritual nature. The Bagua Trigrams can be organized and arranged according to either the Prenatal System of Fu Xi or the Postnatal System of King Wen Wang.

The Ancient Daoist Hand Seals used to access and control the energetic natures of the Ancient Five Elements is an extremely well guarded secret. The purpose for secrecy is due to the ability of controlling both the creative and destructive forces of these Elements. When combined with the colorful images and vibrational resonances of ancient Daoist Invocations (Mantras), these ancient Daoist Hand Seals can be used to initiate a powerful influence on the environmental energetic fields.

Eight Trigram Double-Hand Seals used for Yi-Jing Divination

The ancient Daoist Mystics also used the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams for Yi-Jing divination. This skill required the Daoist Mystic to dissolve his or her energetic and spiritual matrix into the infinite space of the Wuji while deep in a meditative state. Specific Hand Seals were used for assisting the Daoist Mystic in entering into the state of "No-Mind." This state of being an impartial, passive observer (non-judgemental) was needed for the divination to be effective.

1. To begin, start from a sitting posture, with both hands resting on the lap directly in front of your Lower Dantian. After performing the "One Through Ten" meditation and "Three Invocations" (in order to create a sacred training space), the divination practice begins. First relax, then concentrate and imagine dissolving into the infinite space of the Wuji, established within the "center of space" and "center of time."



The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams
Eight Dimensions or Phases of Energy
Polar Opposites: Yin (1-4) across from Yang (5-8).
This Cycle of Harmony Relates to the World of Thoughts and Ideas. The Opposite Energetic Forces are Responsible for the Creation of All Phenomena.

The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams
The Energetic Cycles of Forces are the External Manifestations of Divine Thought Starting with Zhen (1) - The Spark of Life (The World of Phenomena or Senses)

Figure 1.47. The Ancient Daoist Concept of Yin and Yang Expressing the Four Phases of Universal Energy and Manifesting Through the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams (Pre-Five Element Theory).

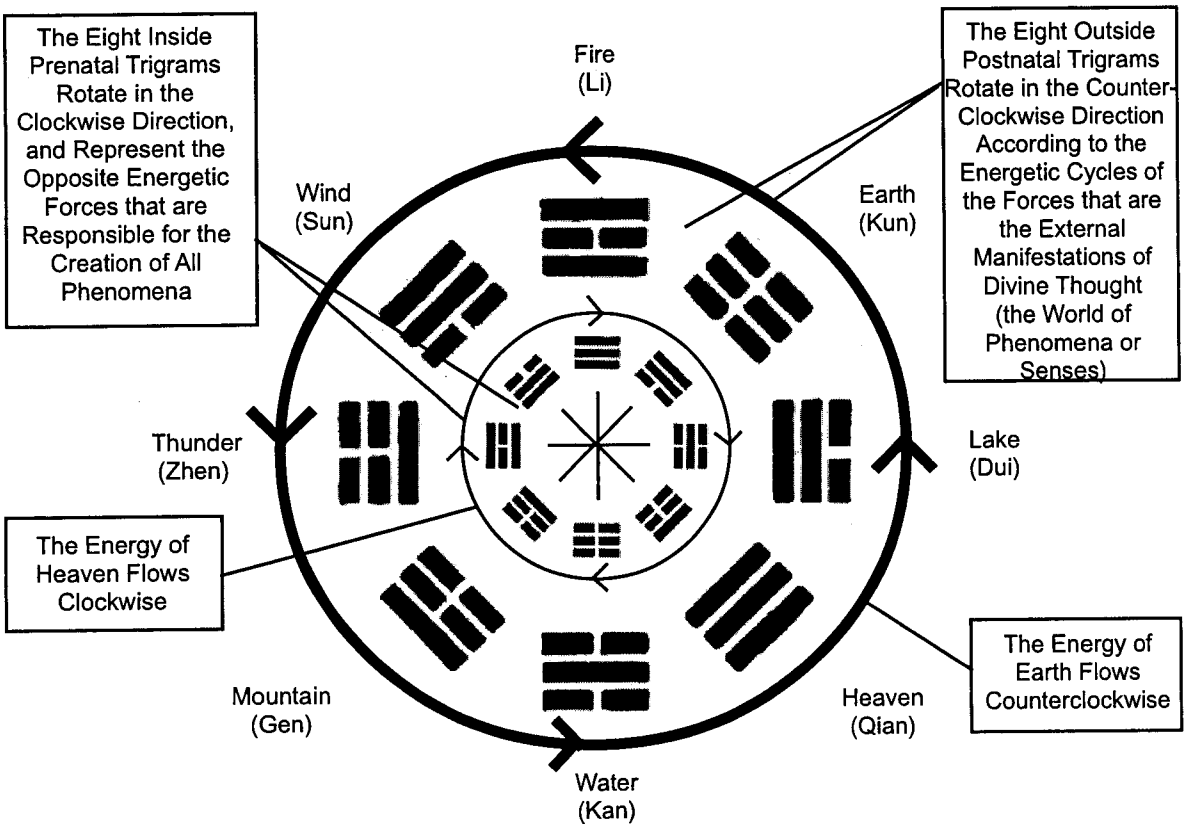


Figure 1.48. The Ancient Chinese Yi-Jing Hologram Structure of the Eight Trigrams in relationship to the Sixty-Four Hexagrams

While experiencing the energetic field and infinite space of the Wuji, completely surround your physical, energetic and spiritual body with the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigram formations (which will eventually combine to form the sixty-four hexagrams of the Yi-Jing). First surrounds your body with the energetic fields of the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams. Once the power of this energetic field is acknowledged, honored, and experienced, then surround the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams with an outside energetic field of the Postnatal Bagua Trigrams. (Figure 1.48).

2. Then begin to spin both Bagua Trigrams according to the following patterns:
   - The Prenatal Trigrams, located in the inside of the circle, spin in a clockwise direction. This represents the Prenatal creative cycle of Heaven's Yang energetic field.
   - The Postnatal Trigrams, located on the outside of the circle, spin in a counterclockwise direction. This represents the Postnatal cycle of Earth's Yin energetic field (Figure 1.49).
3. As both circles continue to spin, join only the tips of the thumbs and the tips of the little fingers (the middle six fingers are not allowed to touch, but simply face each other) and imagine forming a bright energetic circle. This energetic circle represents the infinite space of the Wuji. Once an "Energy Ball" has formed between the palms, then allow the energy to build, creating a brilliant white light orb. The connected thumbs on top of the circle represent the Qi of Heaven, the connected little fingers on the bottom of the circle represent the Qi of Earth (Figure 1.50).
4. Next begin to focus and concentrate on the specific question or purpose for the divina-

tion. While spinning, the outside and inside circles of the Prenatal and Postnatal Bagua Trigrams will slowly begin to stop their movements and begin to form a Hexagram (containing six Yaos). The Hexagram is constructed of three Yaos from the inner Prenatal Bagua Trigram circle combined with three Yaos from the outer Postnatal Bagua Trigram circle.

5. After observing the Hexagram, end the meditation and consult the Yi-Jing's book of commentaries for the proper interpretation of his or her reading.

EIGHT TRIGRAM DOUBLE-HAND SEALS FOR GATHERING POWER

To control the powers of the Eight Elements, the ancient Daoist Mystics used the Eight Trigram Hand Seals in order to create energetic portals or spiritual doorways into the infinite void of the Wuji. Before using the Double-Hand Seals to gather and control these specific powers, the Daoist Mystic must first change his or her relationship to each Element's fundamental characteristic. This understanding must be experienced on all three levels (physical, energetic and spiritual). Then, when practicing the exact meditation used for entering into the energetic and spiritual fields of each Element, the Daoist Mystic uses the proper Hand Seal for creating and controlling the Element's specific nature.

The following ancient Daoist Hand Seals are used to effectively conjure and control the ancient elements active within the Eight Trigrams. However, due to the innate dangers involved, the specific Incantations that are used to accompany the Hand Seals in conjuring and controlling the ancient elements must only be obtained through the careful guidance of a qualified master.

1. To begin the meditation used for summoning and controlling the power of the ancient Daoist Bagua Trigrams, start from a sitting posture, with both hands resting on the lap directly in front of your Lower Dantian. Then perform the "One Through Ten" meditation and "Three Invocations" in order to create a sacred training space in which to practice.

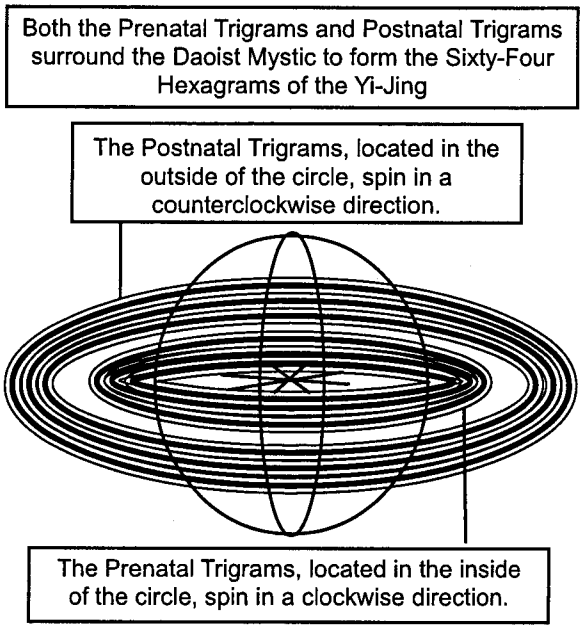


Figure 1.49. The Cycles of Heavenly and Earthly Energetic Forces Expressed Through the Bagua Trigrams Represent the External Energetic Manifestations of Divine Thought

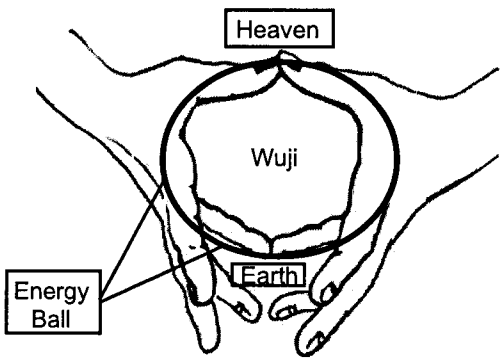


Figure 1.50. Bagua "Energy Ball" Hand Position

Relax, concentrate and imagine existing within the "center of space" and the "center of time."

While experiencing the energetic field and infinite space of the Wuji, completely surround your physical, energetic and spiritual body with an energetic field of divine light.

2. Next, join the tips of the thumbs and the tips of the little fingers and imagine forming an energetic circle. The middle six fingers are not

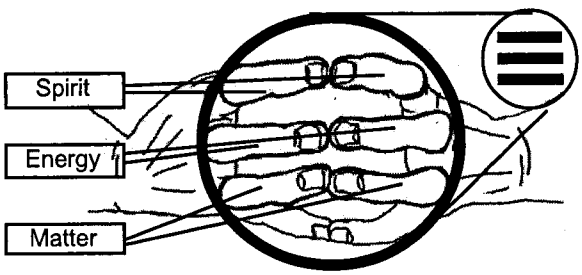


Figure 151. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Qian (Complete Yang, Heaven, Sky, Creativity, Strength and Power, Activity, Immaterial, Universal, Formless, Energy, Infinite Space). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to increase personal power by fusing energetic powers of all three Treasures (Heaven, Earth and Man) into his or her body. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the Sun, Moon and Star constellations

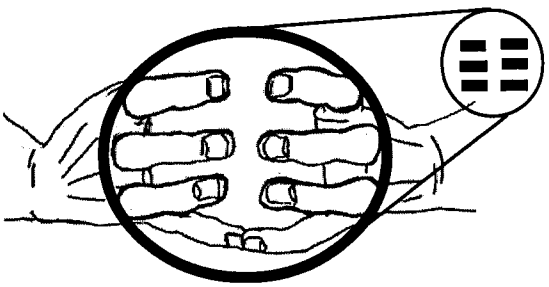


Figure 1.52. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kun (Complete Yin, Earth, Yielding, Receptive, Passivity, Material, Universal, Form, Dense Matter). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create density and solid mass. Because it is constructed with three Yin Yaos, this Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining a deeper state of receptivity. The Kun Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Earth Element

allowed to touch, but simply face each other. Once an "Energy Ball" has formed between the palms, allow energy to build, creating a brilliant white light orb. The connected thumbs on top of the circle represent the Qi of Heaven, the connected little fingers on the bottom of the circle represent the Qi of Earth (refer back to Figure 1.50).

3. Each of the eight configurations can be developed and formed through the combined effort of the middle six fingers, depending on the specific needs of the individual. After a significant amount of energy has accumulated between the palms, then arrange the middle six fingers to form the intended Bagua Trigram. By touching and connecting the middle six fingers, it is possible to create any of the various Bagua Trigram formations and initiate the energetic fields of these various powers. Each specific configuration acts as a template for conjuring, creating, absorbing or generating energy, described as follows:

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Qian (Heaven, Sky, Creativity, Strength and Power):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to increase personal power by fusing energetic powers of all three Treasures (Heaven, Earth and Man) into his or her body. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the Sun, Moon and Star constellations (Figure 1.51).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kun (Earth, Yielding, Receptive and Dense):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create density and solid mass. Because it is constructed with three Yin Yaos, this Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining a deeper state of receptivity. The Kun Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Earth Element (Figure 1.52).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Zhen (Thunder, Movement and Growth):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather and control thunder and lightning, as well as to create earthquakes. This Trigram is also used to facilitate spiritual growth (Figure 1.53).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Sun (Wind and Air, Penetrating and Sensitivity):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather or create Wind in order to bring or remove clouds, rain, snow, hail and tornados. The Sun

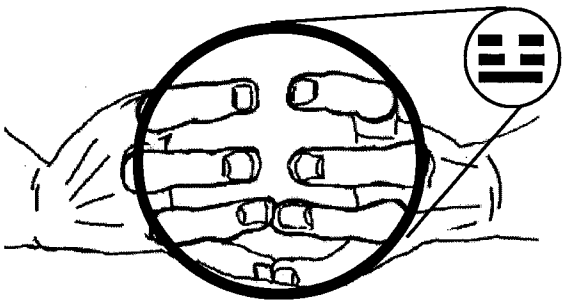


Figure 1.53. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Zhen (Strong Yang, Thunder, Exciting, Impetus, Vitality, Organic, Movement, Fertilization, Growth and Power). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather and control thunder and lightning, as well as to create earthquakes. This Trigram is also used to facilitate spiritual growth

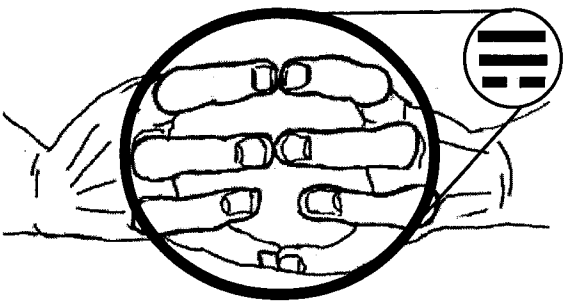


Figure 1.54. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Sun (Strong Yin, Wind and Air, Penetrating, Sensitivity, Assimilation, Pervasiveness, Organic, Gaseous, Perceptive Intuition). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to gather or create Wind in order to bring or remove clouds, rain, snow, hail and tornados. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Wind/Air Element

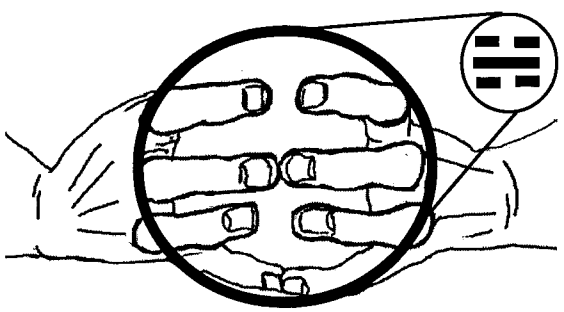


Figure 1.55. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kan (Middle Yang, Water, Dark, Formless, Lunar Forces, Elementary, Cold, Fluid, Space and Movement). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create coldness and darkness (in order to enter into the "shadow world"). This Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining an evasive state of formlessness. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Water Element

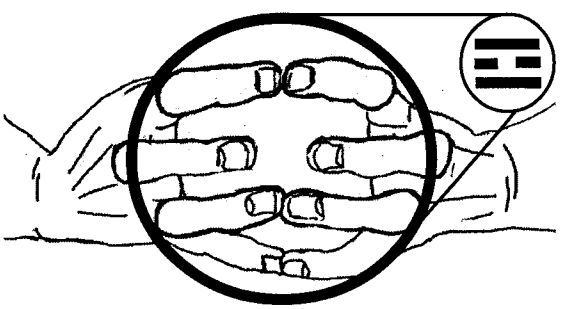


Figure 1.56. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Li (Middle Yin, Fire, Bright, Formed, Solar Forces, Elementary, Heat, Incandescence, Penetrating Light). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create fire, heat and light. The Li Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Fire Element

Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Wind/Air Element (Figure 1.54).

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Kan (Water, Formless Fluid and Coldness):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create coldness and darkness (in order to enter into the "shadow world"). This Trigram is also used to assist the sorcerer in obtaining an evasive state of formlessness. The Kan Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Water Element (Figure 1.55).
- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Li (Fire, Heat and Light):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create fire, heat and light. The Li Trigram is considered to be the primary Hand Seal used for connecting with the energetic realm of the Fire Element (Figure 1.56).

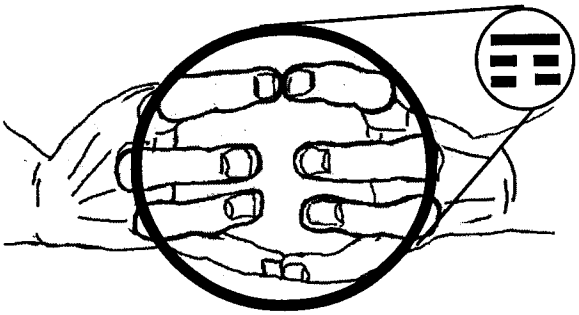


Figure 1.57. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Gen (Lesser Yang, Mountain, Tranquil and Quiescent, Steady, Heaviness, Inertia, Inorganic, Resistance, Solid Stability). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create stillness and peace of mind. This Trigram is also used to facilitate deeper states of spiritual quiescence

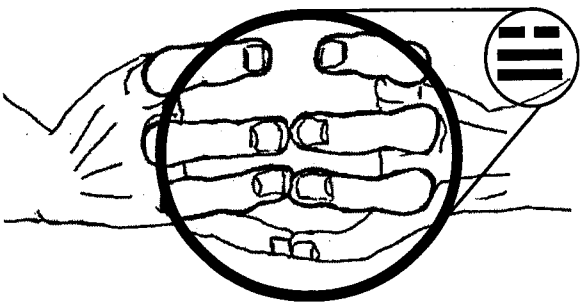


Figure 1.58. Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Dui (Lesser Yin, Lake, Mist, or Rain, Reflective, Weightless, Evaporation, Inorganic, Changeability, Clairvoyant Observation). This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create or gather mist, fog or rain. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the mist or fog in order to observe people and places

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Gen (Mountain, Solid, Tranquil and Quiescent):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create stillness and peace of mind. This Trigram is also used to facilitate deeper states of spiritual quiescence (Figure 1.57).

- **Ancient Daoist Hand Seal for Dui (Mist or Rain, Reflection and Observation):** This Hand Seal is used by the Daoist Sorcerer to create or gather mist, fog or rain. This Trigram is also used to dissolve into the infinite space of the mist or fog in order to observe people and places (Figure 1.58).

THREE DANTIAN DOUBLE HAND SEALS

These Double Hand Seals require the Daoist sorcerer to use the energetic finger combinations of both hands in order to stimulate the Three Dantians. In these particular Mudras, both hands are united to form a powerful energetically focused union, similar to two streams combining to form a mighty river. The following are examples of popular Double-Handed Mudras used to energize, stimulate and focus energy into each of the Three Dantians.

STIMULATING THE LOWER DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Lower Dantian and is normally practiced for the transformational stage of changing the Kidney Jing into Kidney Qi, and filling the Sea of Marrow. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also known to increase the individual's intellect, willpower, bravery, determination and courage (Figure 1.59).

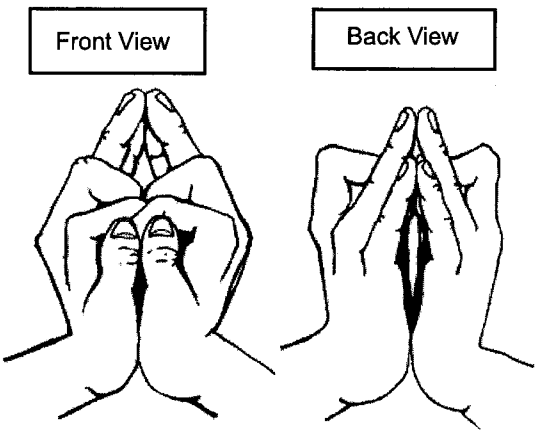


Figure 1.59. Lower Dantian Hand Position

STIMULATING THE MIDDLE DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Middle Dantian, and is traditionally practiced in order to stimulate the transformation of Qi to Shen occurring within the inner chambers of the Yellow Court and Middle Dantian. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also known to increase the energy to the individual's Lungs, Heart and thymus gland, and is sometimes known as the "Lotus Flower" Hand Seal (Figure 1.60).

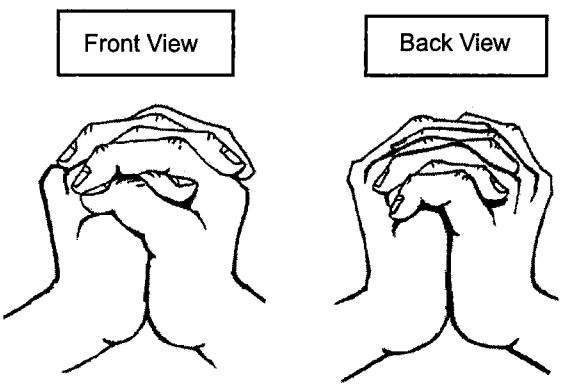


Figure 1.60. Middle Dantian Hand Position

STIMULATING THE UPPER DANTIAN:

This Double-Handed Mudra is traditionally practiced in either a sitting or standing posture. This specific hand posture is used to stimulate the individual's Upper Dantian, and is traditionally practiced in order to stimulate the transformation of Shen to Wuji. This energetic stimulation and transformation is also used to develop the student's Yintang (Third Eye), and to increase his or her psychic abilities (Figure 1.61).

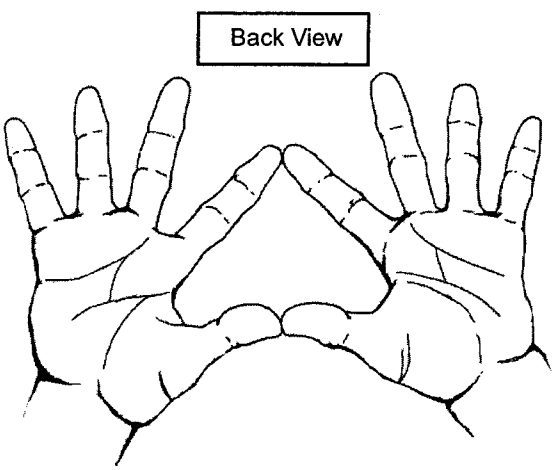
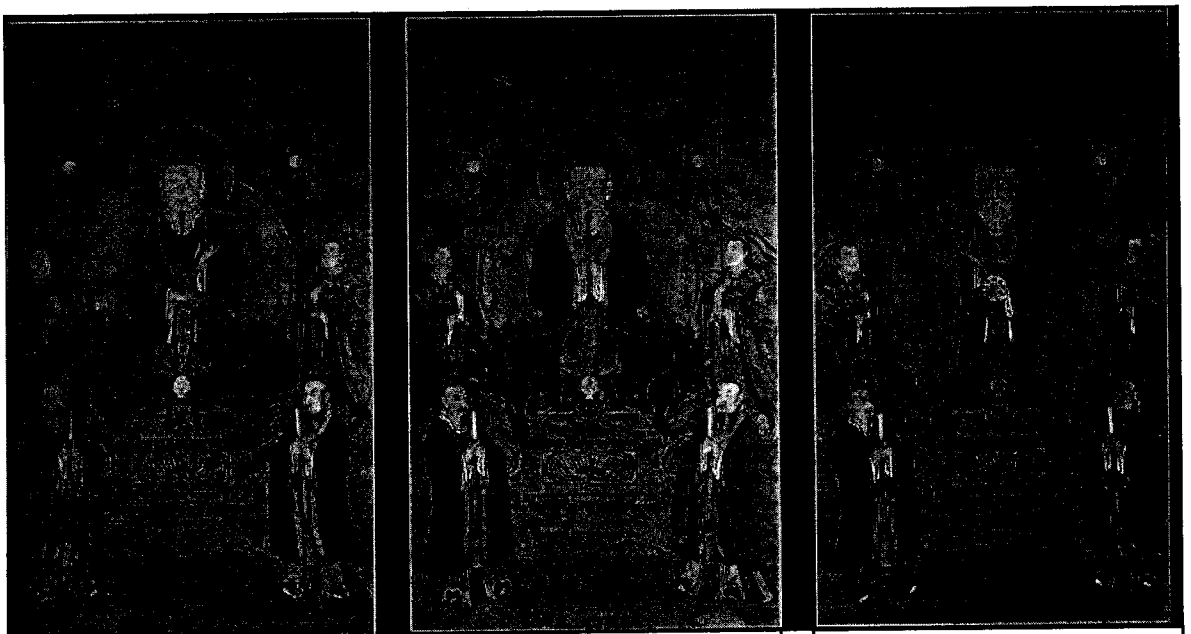


Figure 1.61. Upper Dantian Hand Position



Highest Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
Numinous Treasure Dominates)
the second phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to be the
Guardian of Magical Writings

Jade Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
Primordial Begining)
Dominates the first phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to be the
Ruler of Heaven and Earth

Supreme Purity
(The Celestial Worthy of
the Dao and Its Virtue)
Dominates the third phase
of the creation of cosmos.
He is considered to
Reveal Secret Daoist Teaching

Figure 1.62. "Three Pure Ones"

Hand Seals and Rituals

There are certain Hand Seals that are used in the Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for communing with the three major types of Celestial Immortals: The Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven, The Patriarchs (sometimes called Missionaries) and The Celestial Generals. There are also specific Animal Hand Seals and Magical Instrument Hand Seals that are used for invocation of the various Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven.

Hand Seals related to the Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven

The finger gestures used in these Hand Seals are sometimes related to the worship of or communion with the three Daoist immortal gods, known as the "Three Pure Ones" (Figure 1.62). According to ancient Daoism, the Three Pure Ones (Highest Purity, also known as the Highest Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure; Jade Purity, also known as the Jade Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning; and Supreme Purity, also known as the Supreme Emperor or the Celestial Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue) are emanations of the Dao, and they rule over the highest three celestial realms. Connection to these upper celestial realms is initiated via the utilization of either the Jade Emperor Hand Seal, Highest Emperor Hand Seal, or Supreme Emperor Hand Seals. These magical Hand Seals are formed when the Daoist priest offers ritual "Report" petitions, commands the Celestial Martial Generals and their horses, and when commanding the "God of Plague" (the Emperor of the North). These Three Immortal Gods also represent the three different Zheng Yi Daoist branches and their powers. The corresponding Hand Seals are described as follows (Figure 1.63):

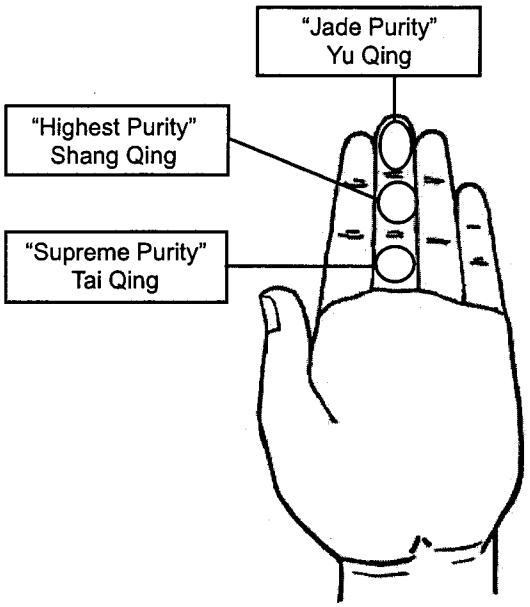


Figure 1.63. The "Three Pure Ones" Hand Seals.

Figure 1.64. The Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper

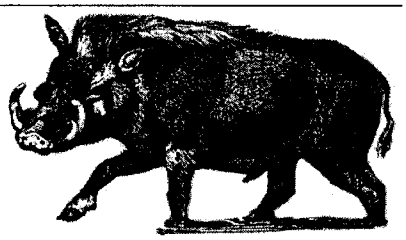


Figure 1.65. The divine animal that draws the carriage of the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper is named the "Horned Pig"

- **Yu Qing (Jade Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is applied at the last (third) joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Jade Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses. The pinching of the nail on the middle finger is also used when inquiring of illnesses.
- **Shang Qing (Highest Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is generally applied at the second joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Highest Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses.
- **Tai Qing (Supreme Purity) Hand Seal:** This finger gesture is applied at the first joint of the middle finger in order to invoke Supreme Clarity Celestial Soldiers (spirit warriors) and their horses.

ANIMAL HAND SEALS

Sometimes the Hand Seals related to the Perfected Immortals of Anterior Heaven are not directly called by the celestial names of the deities, but are instead represented by the images of their celestial animals (e.g., horses, cranes, tigers, dragons, lions, pigs, frogs, etc.) or magical instruments (e.g., immortal swords, golden bridges, golden lights, jade rings, etc.). For example, during the "Refinement and Salvation" ritual, when the Supreme Oneness Lord of Heaven is invited to descend to the altar, the ritual master forms the finger gestures of the Lion Double Hand Seal. As the two palms are crossed, the thumb of the left hand folds while the other nine fingers remain straight. These extended fingers represent nine horses for the Supreme Oneness Lord of Heaven to ride to the altar.

There are also various finger gestures used for symbolizing the spiritual power of the Big Dipper descending to the Earth and energetically covering (or filling) the body of the disciple. For example, the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper often sits on a lotus (Figure 1.64), and the divine animal that draws her carriage is named the "Horned Pig" (Figure 1.65). Therefore, Hand Seals

that form the images of either a lotus or of a pig are used to welcome the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper and invite her to descend to the altar (Figure 1.66). These specific Hand Seals can be used in rituals of worship, protection or healing by forming the Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal, the Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal, or the Big Pigs Head Double Hand Seal.

Magical Instrument Hand Seals

Sometimes the Hand Seals relate to magical instruments (e.g., immortal swords, golden bridges, golden lights, jade rings, etc.). For example, certain finger gestures, such as the Tiger Hand Seal and the Ghost Hand Seal are both named after evil spirits. Other types of finger gestures such as the Hand Seals used for Dispelling Ghosts, Controlling Ghosts, and for Controlling Thunder are named after their specific function and the purpose of the ritual. And the finger gesture of the Fork (Trident) Hand Seal, the Immortal Sword Hand Seal, and the Golden Bridge Hand Seal, are named after the divine instruments that are held by the ritual master or the specific energetic methods that he uses when conducting the rituals.

There are also other finger gestures which symbolize the various Hand Seals of the Sun Sovereign, the Moon Sovereign and the Dippers of the Five Directions. The number of Hand Seals used for controlling various objects and summoning immortals is difficult to calculate, as there are so many types of magical skills used in Daoist mysticism for refinement, cultivation, salvation, spreading the divine Vital Breath, curing illness, dispelling evil, inviting or invoking spirits, controlling ghosts, and praying to avoid disasters.

Hand Seals and the Martial Generals

There are so many Celestial Generals in Daoism that the Hand Seals representing the Martial Generals are the most numerous of all the various types of finger gestures. Also complicating things, is the fact that different Daoist sects prefer to use different Celestial Generals when practicing their magical skills.

The most important of the Patriarch finger gestures are the Celestial Master Hand Seals, which represent the descending of the Celestial

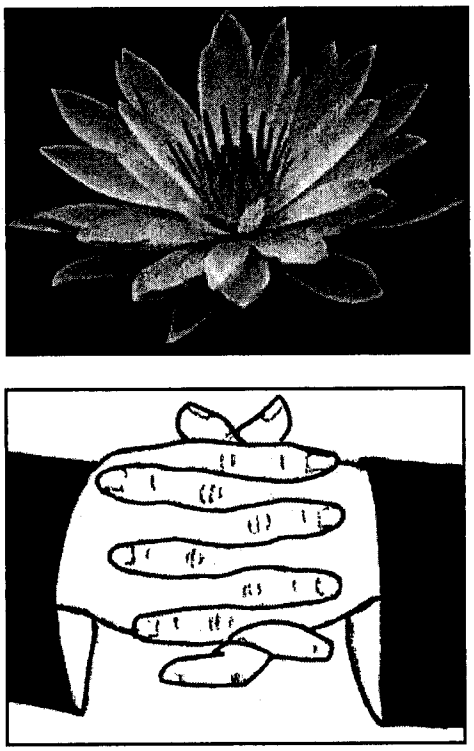


Figure 1.66. The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal

Master or the founder of a specific sect. When using these Hand Seals, the ritual master visualizes himself as the Celestial Master commanding the Celestial Soldiers to dispel the evil spirits.

The most important Hand Seals used to summon the Celestial Martial Generals are as follows:

- **The Supreme Commander Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the Commanders of the Thunder Agency.
- **The Heavenly Warrior Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the powerful Celestial Soldiers of Heaven.
- **The Inspector Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the Inspectors of the Warriors and their Horses, and is used in order to control the Celestial Soldiers.
- **The Celestial Officer Hand Seal:** This Hand Seal is used for summoning the celestial officers who invoke the divine ones responsible for managing the files.

DAOIST ESOTERIC DOUBLE-HAND SEALS

The following is a description of the most common Double Hand Seals used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi sect) from Long Hu Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.
- Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing sect) from Mao Shan, located in the Jiangsu Province.
- Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo sect) from Ge Zao Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.

These particular Double Hand Seals can be divided into three main categories according to their magical uses: Hand Seals used for Worship, Hand Seals used for Summoning, and Hand Seals used for Attacking and Defending.

HAND SEALS USED FOR WORSHIP

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the alchemy of Worship. The primary goal is one of energetic and spiritual transformation brought about through prayer and meditation.

- **The Golden Dragon Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship (Figure 1.67). It energetically represents the fusion of the combined energies of Yin (the two fingers of the right hand) and Yang (the three fingers of the left hand).
- **The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents the shining golden light of the spirit body, and is used to connect the human body to the spirit (immortal) body in large ceremonies (Figure 1.68).
- **The Golden Bridge Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents two Yin and Yang Golden Hooks that are combined together in order to fuse the celestial energies of the Pre-

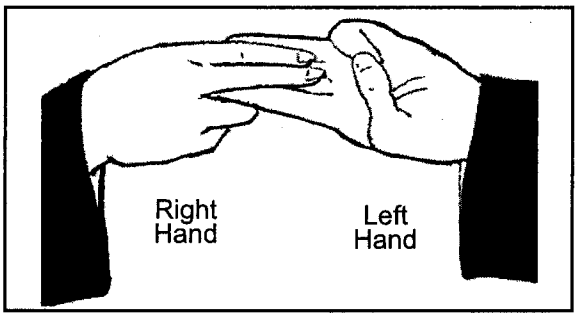


Figure 1.67. The Golden Dragon Double Hand Seal

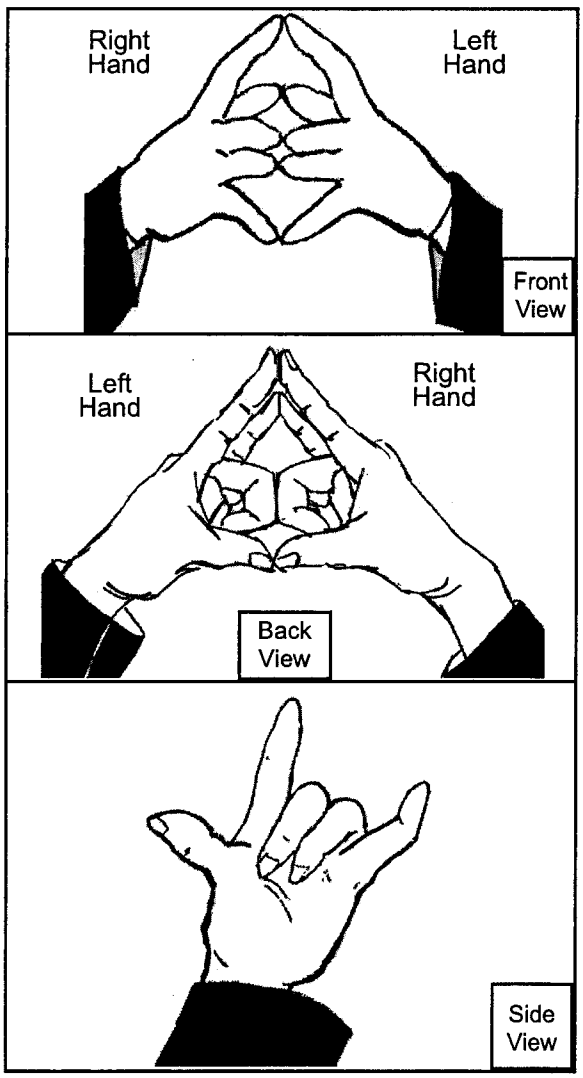


Figure 1.68. The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal

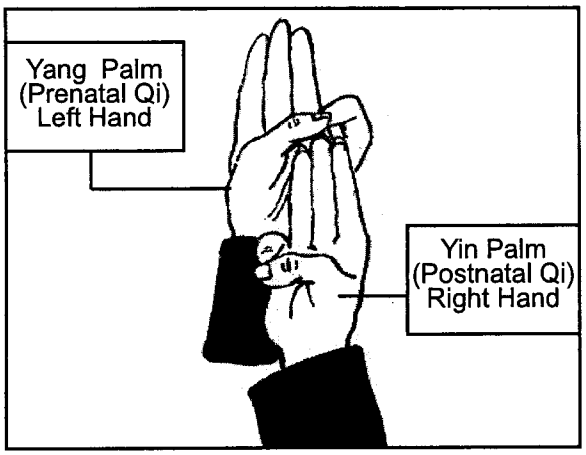


Figure 1.69. The Golden Bridge Double Hand Seal

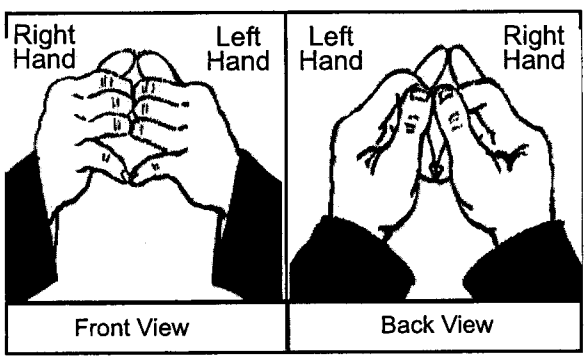


Figure 1.70. The Small Golden Light Double Hand Seal

natal Qi (represented by the left Yang palm) and Postnatal Qi (represented by the right Yin palm). This energetic fusion magically creates a Golden Bridge that the Daoist mystic uses to cross over from the material realm into the celestial realm (Figure 1.69).

- **The Small Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It energetically represents the shining golden light of the spirit body, and is used in small ceremonies in order to connect the physical body to the spirit (immortal) body (Figure 1.70).
- **The Small Pig Pass Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes the pathway that the immortals use to travel to Heaven, and it is energetically used to open the esoteric spiritual pathway into the Wuji (Figure 1.71).

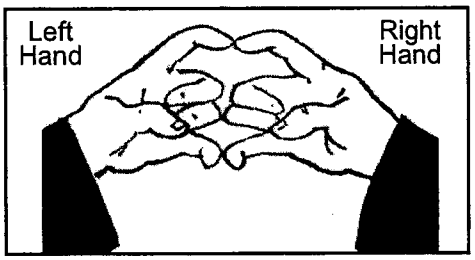


Figure 1.71. The Small Pig Pass Double Hand Seal

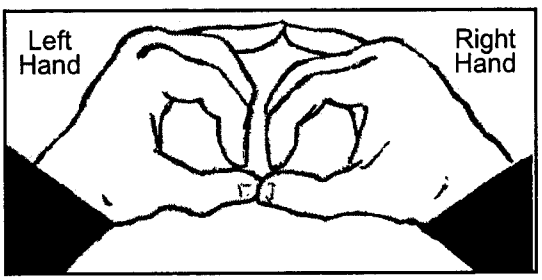


Figure 1.72. The Double Jade Ring Double Hand Seal

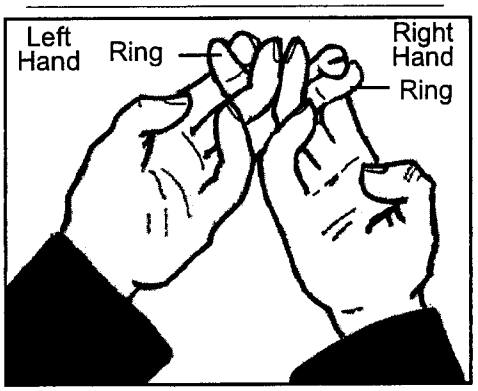


Figure 1.73. The White Crane Double Hand Seal

- **The Double Jade Ring Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the Qi of the Ancestral Master's Palace, and it is energetically used to change an individual's fate to become an immortal (Figure 1.72).
- **The White Crane Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the immortal crane and is energetically used to cross the spiritual waters of the afterlife. The Daoist sorcerer travels to the celestial realm while riding on the back of the crane (Figure 1.73).

HAND SEALS USED FOR SUMMONING

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Summoning. The primary goal of Summoning is that of demanding or requesting the presence or service of one of the five types of Immortals (Ghost Immortals, Human Immortals, Earth Immortals, Spiritual Immortals or Celestial Immortals).

- **The Double Star Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically represents the prebirth Palace of Dou Mu (Figure 1.74), and is used when human beings of the mundane world need the help from Mother Dou Mu. Dou Mu is the Mother of the seven stars of the Big Dipper (refer back to Figure 1.64). She is generally depicted with three eyes in each of her four faces (one in each major direction). She has four arms on each side of her body. Two of her hands are held together, palm to palm, while the other six hold a sun, moon, bell, golden seal, bow, and halberd. Dou Mu is regarded as holding a very senior position in the Daoist hierarchy, and she is credited with the ability to save people from many types of evil and trouble. Her birthday is celebrated on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month.
- **The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It represents the magical Lotus Flower, and is energetically used to send signals and contact Mother Dou Mu (Figure 1.75).
- **The Heavenly Mother's Palace Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the seal of Dou Mu Palace, and is energetically used for seeking approval of the Celestial Court (Figure 1.76).
- **The Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to invite Mother Dou Mu to sit on the throne of the altar (Figure 1.77).
- **The Big Pig's Head Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the immortal beast ("Horned Pig:" refer back to Figure 1.65) of Mother Dou Mu,

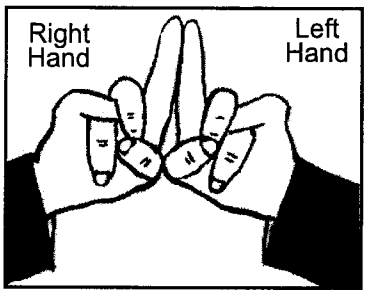


Figure 1.74. The Double Star Double Hand Seal

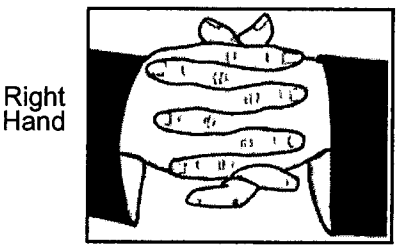


Figure 1.75. The Lotus Flower Double Hand Seal

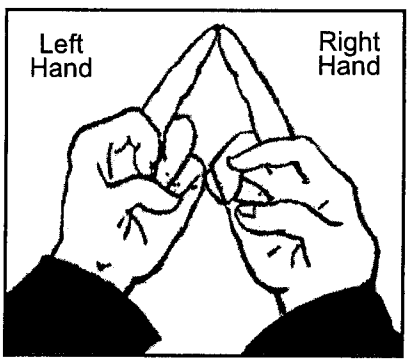


Figure 1.76. The Heavenly Mother's Palace Double Hand Seal

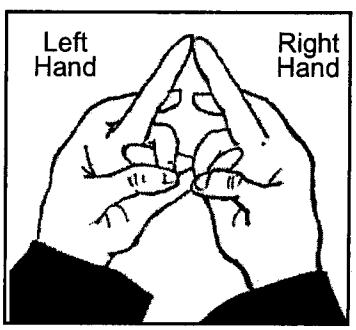


Figure 1.77. The Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal

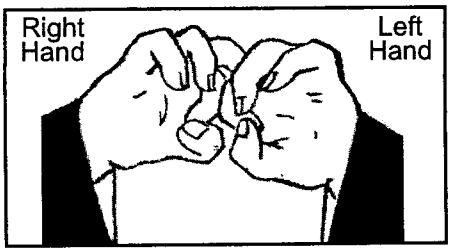


Figure 1.78. The Big Pigs Head Double Hand Seal

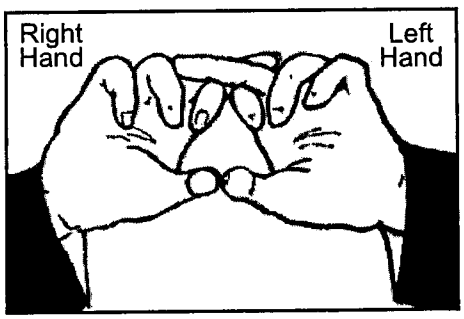


Figure 1.79. The Lions Incantation Double Hand Seal

and is energetically used to Summon the animal down into the human world (Figure 1.78).

- **The Lion's Incantation Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically symbolizes one of Mother Dou Mu's celestial animals (Figure 1.79).
- **The Elephant's Trunk Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically symbolizes the trunk of the elephant, and represents one of Mother Dou Mu's celestial animals (Figure 1.80).
- **The Welcoming The Immortals Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to welcome the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.81).
- **The Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the Treasury Seat of the immortals, and is energetically used to welcome celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.82).
- **The Summoning the Immortals Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is a energetically used as a signal for Summoning and gathering the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.83).

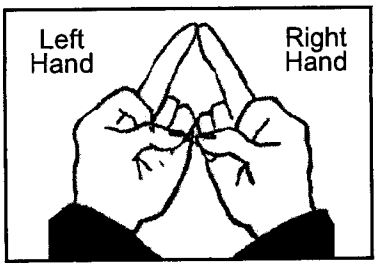


Figure 1.80. The Elephant Trunk Double Hand Seal

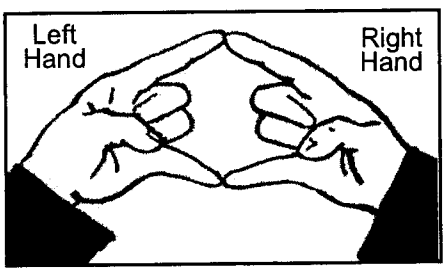


Figure 1.81. The Welcoming The Immortals Double Hand Seal

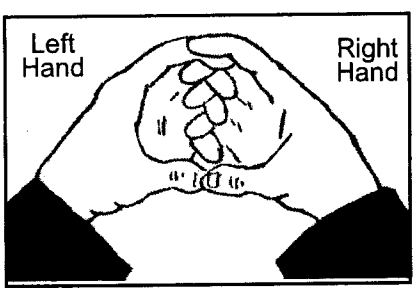


Figure 1.82. The Lotus Treasury Seat Double Hand Seal

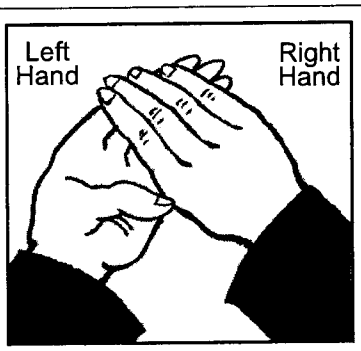


Figure 1.83. The Summonsing the Immortals Double Hand Seal

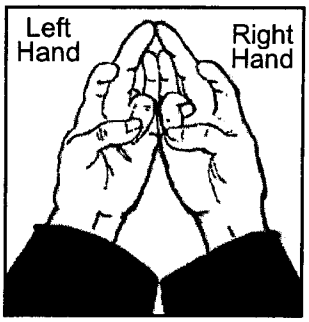


Figure 1.84. The He He (Gathering and Harmonizing) Double Hand Seal

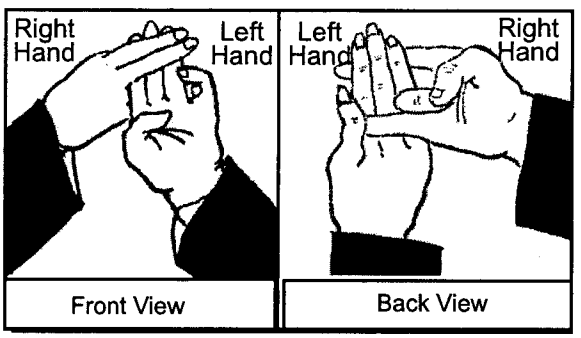


Figure 1.85. The Big Golden Command Block Double Hand Seal

- **The He He (Gathering and Harmonizing) Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used for gathering celestial powers by Summoning and gathering the Immortal Martial Generals to the altar (Figure 1.84).
- **The Big Golden Command Block Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to Summon the Immortal Martial Generals to the altar (Figure 1.85).
- **The Immortal Whirlwind Double Hand Seal (Front):** This Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the rolling of a magical whirlwind, spiraling in energetic circles like a wheel. It is energetically used for quickly sending messages to the celestial mansion (Figure 1.86).
- **The Summoning Clouds Double Hand Seal:** This Mao Shan Double Hand Seal is used for Summoning clouds in order to bring rain. It

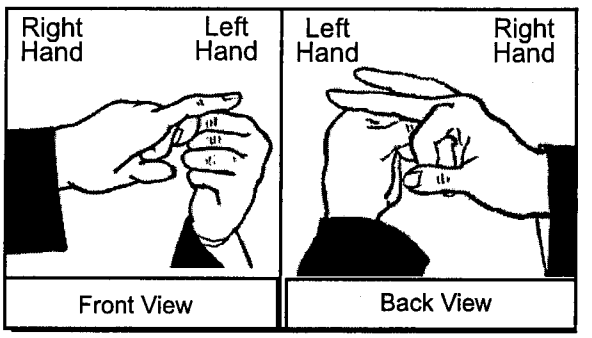


Figure 1.86. The Immortal Whirlwind Double Hand Seal

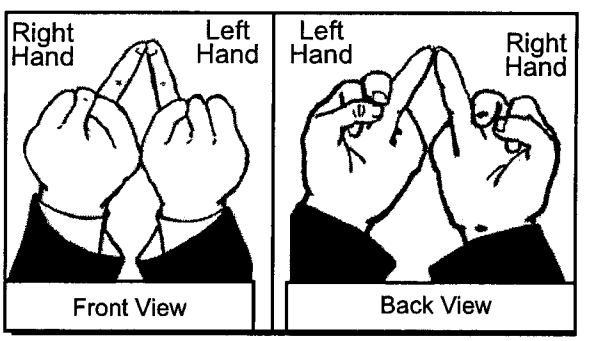


Figure 1.87. The Summoning Clouds Double Hand Seal

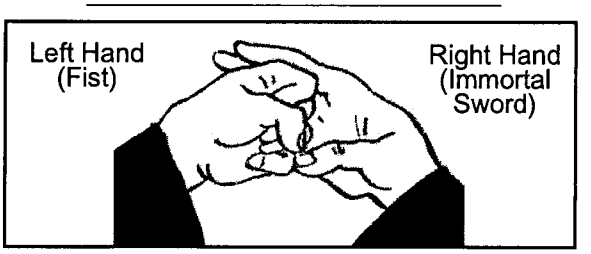


Figure 1.88. The "An Da" Double Hand Seal

represents the image of a wild mountain and a field (Figure 1.87).

- **The "An Da" Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for ending the Summoning Ritual. The left fist represents the celestial energy of the Sun, the right Immortal Sword represents the celestial energy of the Moon (Figure 1.88). The An Da Double Hand Seal is generally used before or after speaking magical incantations (i.e., the magical incantation is energetically shouted quickly followed immediately with the "An Da" Double Hand Seal to offer a form of energetic completion).

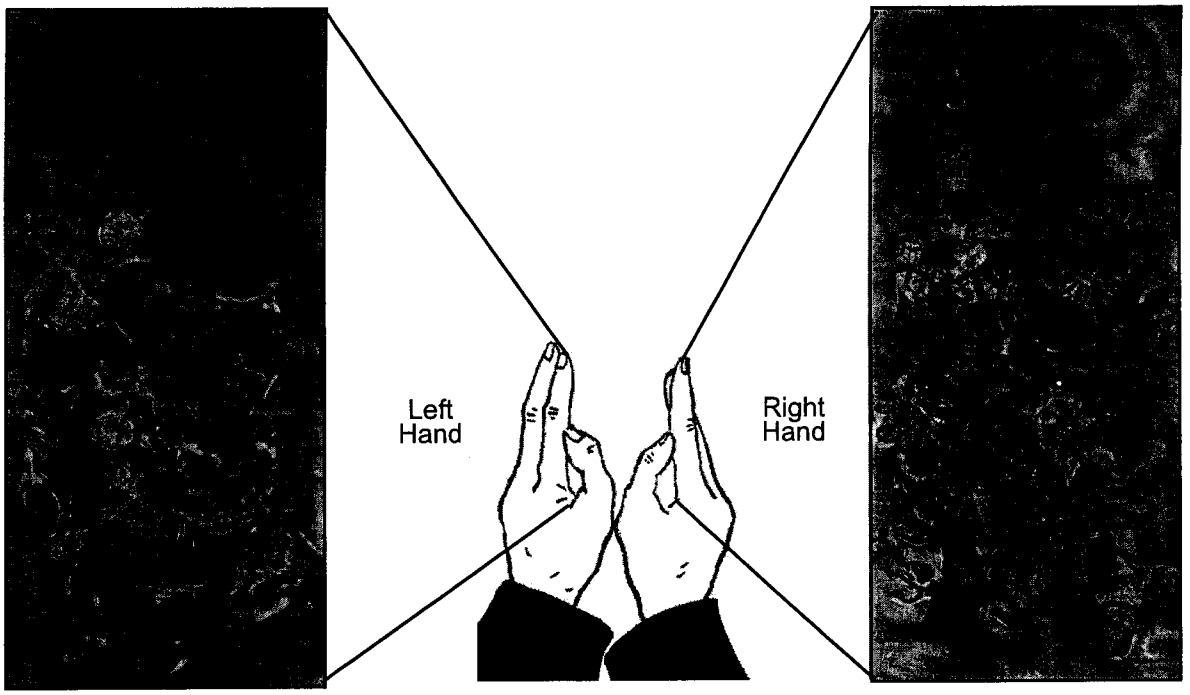


Figure 1.89. The Left and Right Eight Immortal Guards Double Hand Seal

Hand Seals Used For Attacking and Defending

The following Double Hand Seals are used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Attacking and Defending. These skills are commonly incorporated in esoteric Daoist rituals used for exorcism (removing evil spirits from a person, place or thing).

The training involved in the energetic and spiritual art of Attacking and Defending is divided into six primary stages: Protection, Obstruction, Attacking, Binding, Imprisoning, and Sealing. These six stages are described as follows:

Protection

The energetic goal of Protection Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide for the safety for the disciple's person (self, family, loved ones, etc.), place (house, worship area, etc.) or things (items of significance and importance).

- **The Left and Right Eight Immortal Guards Double Hand Seals:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes the eight Heavenly Martial Generals, and is energetically used for the protection of people, places and things (Figure 1.89).

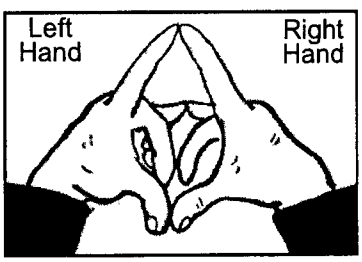


Figure 1.90. The Double Tiny Light Double Hand Seal

- **The Double Tiny Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to represent the electrical light that illuminates within the energetic particles contained within the field of Yin and Yang (which envelops the infinite space of the Wuji). It is used for protection by creating a shining golden light that purifies, illuminates, and shines divine light over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.90).

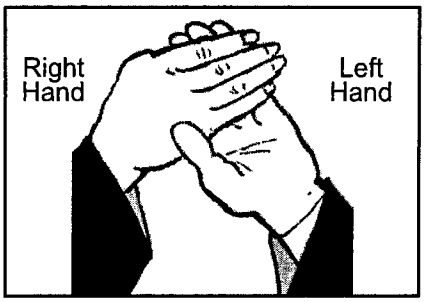


Figure 1.91. The Copper Tent Double Hand Seal

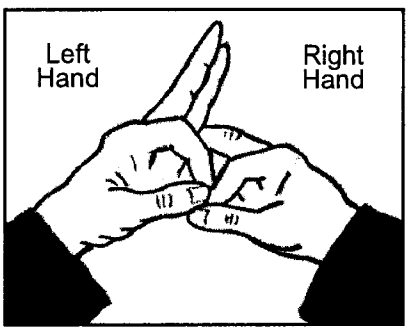


Figure 1.92. The Knife Mountain Double Hand Seal

OBSTRUCTION

The energetic goal of Obstruction Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to stop or inhibit a evil spirit or demonic entity from further antagonistic actions.

- **The Copper Tent Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a tent, and is energetically used to create a protective covering over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.91).
- **The Knife Mountain Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represent a mountain covered with sharp knives and spears. It is used as an energetic barrier to block and stop (or cut off) the pathway of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.92).
- **The Sword Trees Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. This double-handed Hand Seal represents 10,000 magical immortal swords.

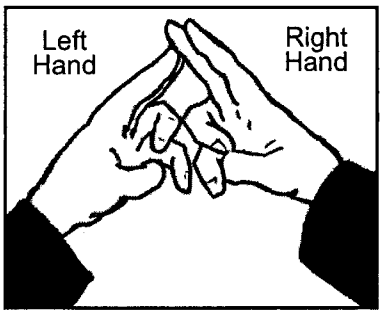


Figure 1.93. The Sword Trees Double Hand Seal

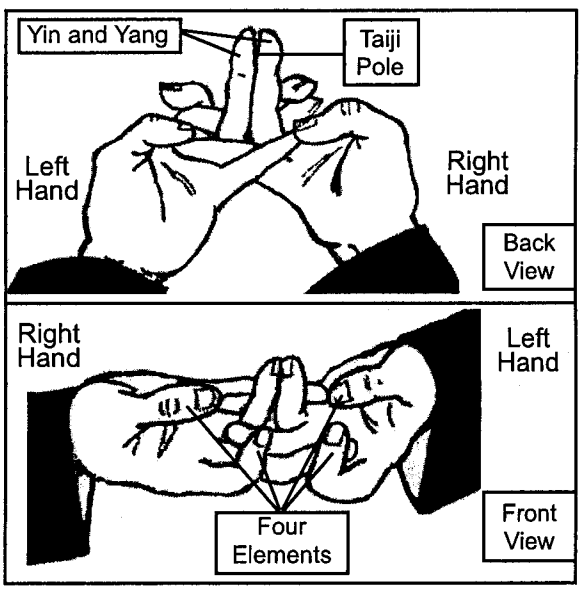


Figure 1.94. The Mount Tai Double Hand Seal

It is used as an energetic barrier to block and stop (or cut off) the pathway of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.93).

- **The Mount Tai Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. This double Hand Seal represents the energetic power of a huge and imposing mountain. It is used as an energetic barrier to block, cover, squash and stop (or cut off) the pathway or movement of people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.94).

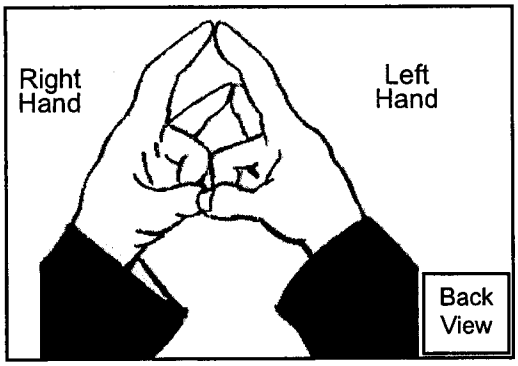


Figure 1.95. The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal

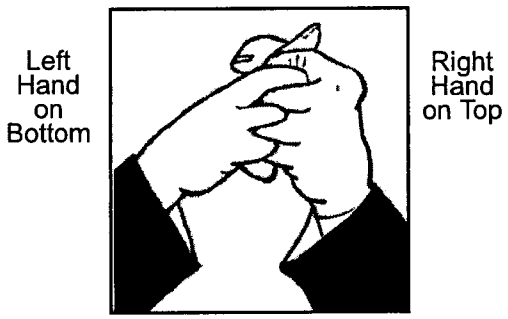


Figure 1.96. The Magical Gun Double Hand Seal

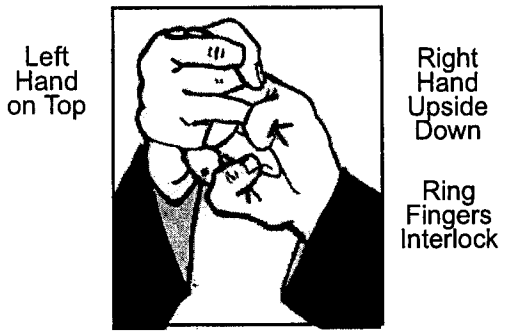


Figure 1.97. The Magical Cannon Double Hand Seal

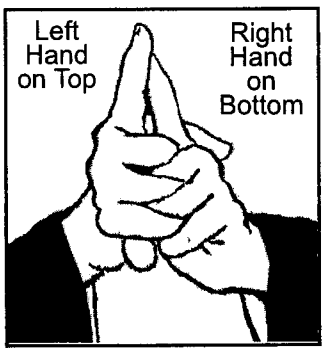


Figure 1.98. Two Dragons Pierce the Mountain Double Hand Seal

ATTACKING

The energetic goal of Attacking Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to initiate a direct attack onto the spirit entity, whereby its energetic form will be captured, defeated, or destroyed.

- **The Big Golden Light Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. Although this Double Hand Seal can also be used for Worship (see Figure 1.68), it can also be used for attacking and paralyzing (or freezing) spirit entities when combined with a specific Incantation (Figure 1.95).
- **The Magical Gun Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the blasting power of an ancient Chinese fire weapon (similar to that of a gun). It is energetically used as a fierce attack, and is similar to an energetic punch. It is usually energetically released by stomping the back foot, punching towards the intended enemy and shouting a specific incantation or mantra (Figure 1.96).
- **The Magical Cannon Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the explosive power of an ancient Chinese fire weapon. It is energetically used for a fierce attack, and is similar to an energetic bomb. It is usually energetically released by stomping the back foot, punching towards the intended enemy, and shouting a specific incantation or mantra (Figure 1.97).
- **Two Dragons Pierce the Mountain Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically penetrate through mountains or into the depths of the Earth. It is used to energetically cut through, chase-after and catch evil spirits (Figure 1.98).

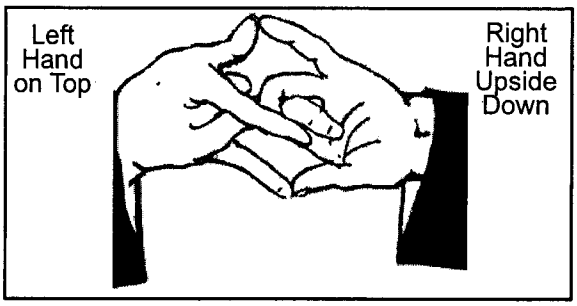


Figure 1.99. The Twisting and Binding Double Hand Seal

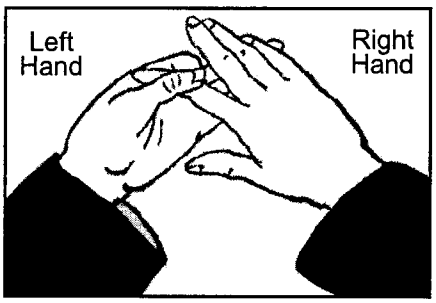


Figure 1.100. The Binding Collar Double Hand Seal

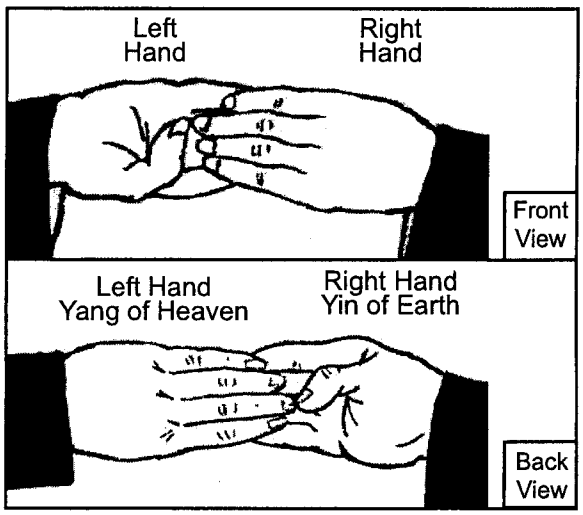


Figure 1.101. Heaven and Earth Net Double Hand Seal

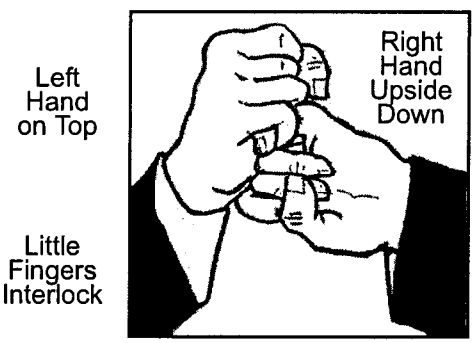


Figure 1.102. The Stone Weighted Scale Double Hand Seal

BINDING

The energetic goal of Binding Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to envelop, enclose, and restrain an evil spirit. "Binding" can also be used to keep someone from doing something - almost like putting an energetic wall between them and the chosen thing. This is a very restrictive form of magic, and is never to be taken lightly. A "Binding" spell can be very powerful and long lasting.

- **The Twisting and Binding Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It causes the surrounding energetic fields to envelop and twist around the spirit entity like bamboo reeds, and is energetically used for binding people, places and things, especially spirit entities and ghosts (Figure 1.99).
- **The Binding Collar Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the shackling of a secure steel collar around a prisoners neck, and is used for binding and restraining people, places, and things, especially evil spirits and ghosts (Figure 1.100).
- **The Heaven and Earth Net Double Hand Seal (Front):** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents a huge net that is extended between the Yang of Heaven and the Yin of Earth, used to ensnare people, animals, or evil spirits (Figure 1.101).
- **The Stone Weighted Scale Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the stone that is attached to the end of an ancient Chinese scale. It is energetically used to envelope, bind and block people, animals or evil spirits (Figure 1.102).

Figure 1.103. The Copper Fence Double Hand Seal

IMPRISONING

The energetic goal of Imprisoning Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to energetically detain and confine an evil spirit.

- **The Copper Fence Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a prisoner's cage, and it is energetically used to detain and confine people, places, things, and evil spirits (Figure 1.103). The only difference between the Copper Tent and the Copper Fence Double Hand Seal is the extension of the thumb and angle of the fingers (see Figure 1.91).
- **The Pit Incantation Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a pit used to capture defeated demons, and it is energetically used to incarcerate people, demons and evil spirits (Figure 1.104).

SEALING

The energetic goal of Sealing Double Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide the final energetic sealing needed after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area.

- **The Magical Lock Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the sealing and confining some person, place or thing with a magical lock (Figure 1.105). It is sometimes energetically used after binding an evil spirit in order to contain and imprison its energetic form (e.g., sealing after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area).
- **The Magical Seal Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending (Figure 1.106). It represents the combined energies of Yin and Yang converging onto one specific item (e.g., a person, place, or thing). It is sometimes energetically used after binding an evil spirit in order to contain and imprison its energetic form (e.g., sealing after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area).

When creating a powerful spiritual talisman or an energetic "tool," this Double Hand Seal can also be used for the construction of both the energetic "Opening" (before the initial imprinting) and the energetic "Closing" (e.g., sealing after the incantation is imprinted its function and purpose).

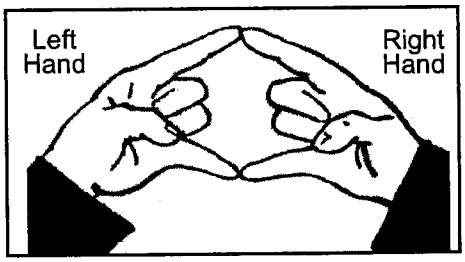


Figure 1.104. The Pit Incantation Double Hand Seal

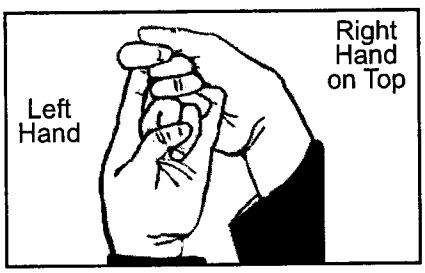


Figure 1.105. The Magical Lock Double Hand Seal

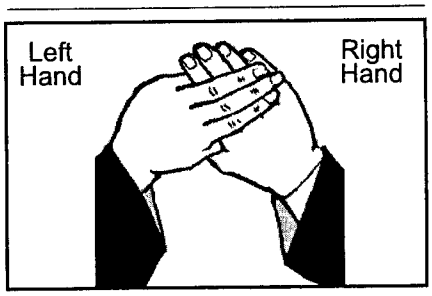


Figure 1.106. The Magical Seal Double Hand Seal

SINGLE HAND SEALS

Every specific Hand Seal has its own particular sound formula (incantation) that combines the use of ingesting specific types of Heaven Qi and Earth Qi powers. The Daoist mystic chants a specific incantation, employs a specific Hand Seal and then exhales to activate the supernatural powers.

Generally, Double Hand Seals were taught first in order to help the Daoist Mystic focus his or her concentration onto a specific object, deity, thought form or Eight Trigram power. After the individual became proficient in gathering and controlling the thought form or Trigram power with both hands, then Single Hand Seals were introduced. The purpose of Single Hand Seals being to use the left hand in order to summon spirits and gain control of specific powers, while the right hand was used to embody, command, task and dispatch the supernatural power.

The Daoist master's energetic hand seal can be used to force any member of the numerous demonic population to appear in visible form. With a seal in the left hand and a sword in the right the Daoist master is fully equipped to summon, question, and interrogate whatever demon he wishes.

DAOIST SINGLE-HAND SEALS

In Daoist magic, certain points on the left palm or specific areas on the joints of the fingers of the left hand are used in order to cultivate, gather and control specific energies and spiritual powers. Each of the finger joints symbolizes and corresponds to one of the specific energetic powers of The Five Elements, Five Planets, Five Directions, Five Yin Organ Spiritual Energies, Eight Trigrams, Seven Stars of the Big Dipper, Twelve Earthly Branches and Twelve Organ Channels. Therefore, when a Daoist mystic pinches a certain finger position, it symbolizes that he or she is accessing and controlling the energetic and spiritual powers through the utilization of one of the following Hand Seals:

- **The Five Element Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within either the energetic realms of the infinite space of the Wuji, Air/Wind, Fire, Water, and Earth; or through the energetic power and manifestations contained within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water.
- **The Five Planet Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within energetic celestial powers of Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury.
- **The Five Directions Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within celestial and terrestrial energetic powers of the five directions (Front, Back, Left, Right and Center).
- **The Wu Jing Shen Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the Five Virtues of Compassion, Order, Integrity, Trust and Wisdom.
- **The Eight Trigram Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the eight powers of Heaven, Mist/Rain, Thunder, Mountain, Earth, Water, Fire and Wind/Air.
- **The Seven Stars of the Big Dipper Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the Big Dipper, manifesting through the seven star celestial powers of influence (Lusty Wolf, Giant Gate, Store of Wealth, Civil Chief, Pure and Chaste, Military Chief and Troop Destroyer).
- **The Twelve Earthly Branches Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within the specific powers of the Twelve Earthly Branches (Yin, Wu, Xu, Hai, Mao, Wei, Shen, Zi, Chun, Si, You and Chou).
- **The Twelve Organ/Channel Hand Seals:** These Hand Seals allow the mystic to gather, cultivate and utilize the Qi contained within body's twelve primary internal organ channels (the Jing, Qi and Shen of the Liver - Gall Bladder, Heart - Small Intestine, Spleen - Stomach, Lungs - Large Intestine, Kidneys - Urinary Bladder, and Pericardium - Triple Burner Channels).

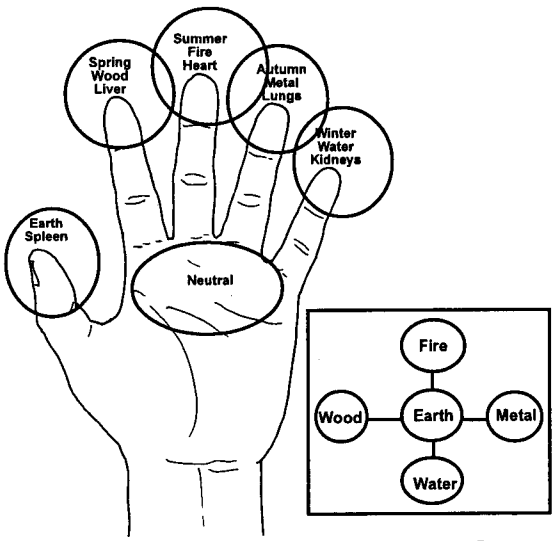


Figure 1.107. The Five Element Organ Energy Pattern was used to access the energy of the Wu Jing Shen (Five Essence Spirits contained within the Five Yin Organs). The ancient Daoist would use his or her left hand in order to absorb the organ Qi and Shen into the Lower Dantian or body's energetic field. This arrangement was also used to control the Ancient Five Elements.

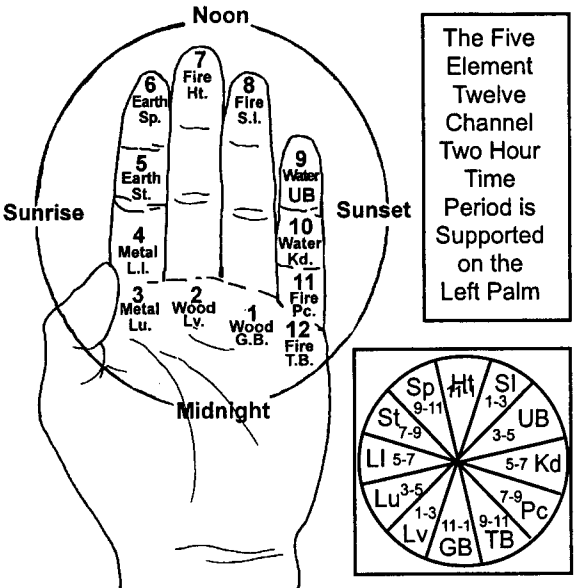


Figure 1.108. The Five Element - Twelve Channel Two Hour Time Period. The left palm is used for gathering and absorbing the 12 Channel energies of the Five Yin Organs. As the individual's thumb touches the specific areas on the fingers, the energy is gathered into the Lower Dantian and released out from the right palm.

Five Element Organ Pattern

In ancient China, the following hand chart of the Five Element Organ Pattern was used to access the energy of the Prenatal Wu Jing Shen (Original Five Essence Spirits) contained within the Five Yin Organs. This particular Daoist Hand Seal system was originally taught only to advanced disciples. When applying its energetic function to internal cultivation, the disciple would use his or her thumb to touch each individual finger in order to connect with the specific Element power. Likewise, the neutral position, located at the base of the fingers allowed the disciple to connect with the Earth Element (Figure 1.107).

The ancient Daoist would use the left hand in order to absorb the intended organ's Qi and Shen into the Lower Dantian or into the body's surrounding energetic field. The energy could then be released out the Daoist's body via the right palm. This energetic transformation was also used to control the Five Elements.

The left palm could also be used for gathering and absorbing the twelve channel energies of the Five Yin Organs. As the disciple's left thumb touched the specific areas on the fingers or palm, the energy was gathered into the Lower Dantian and then released out of the body via the disciple's right palm (Figure 1.108).

Daoist Three Dantians Single Hand Seals

In ancient Daoism, the single Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Energy, or Dantian energies. The following descriptions are of Single Hand Seals used in two separate branches of Daoist Mysticism:

Mao Shan Hand Seals (Zheng Yi Branch)

In the Highest Purity sect of Daoism, from the Zheng Yi tradition, the thumb represents the celestial powers of the Heaven, while the little finger represents the terrestrial powers of the Earth (as explained in the Eight Trigram Double-Hand Seals for Gathering Power, Figure 1.109). When combined (the thumb touches the little finger), the body's energy is regulated within the center Taiji Pole and the Three Dantians are balanced.

Traditionally, the ancient Mao Shan Daoist used a left handed Hand Seal that portrayed the

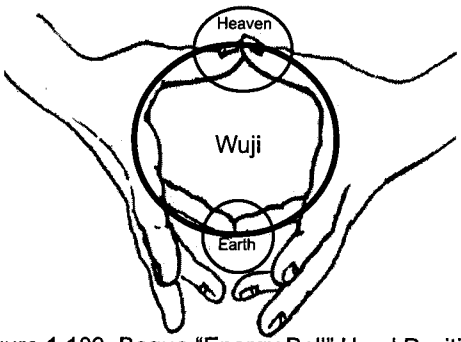


Figure 1.109. Bagua "Energy Ball" Hand Position

ideogram "Shan" (Figure 1.110). The magical image of the mountain was used in order to access and stimulate the internal Seas of Qi contained within the Three Dantians.

When cultivating internal power, the ancient Mao Shan sorcerers would train to access the magical powers of Heaven and Earth by blending these energies within their Three Dantians. This form of magical cultivation was initiated by energetically blending the Yang of Heaven (i.e., the descending celestial energy of the Green Dragon, represented by the sorcerer's "Imagination") and the Yin of Earth (i.e., the ascending terrestrial energy of the White Tiger, represented by the physical feelings of the energetic "Sensations"). The magical Hand Seals and their secret access points used by the ancient Mao Shan sorcerers to activate each Dantian is described as follows:

- **The Lower Dantian:** When training to transform Jing to Qi in the Lower Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the second crease (down from the top) of the ring finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Lower Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and into the Lower Dantian. The sorcerer would place his or her tongue on the Fire position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the hard palate at the front of the upper palate behind the teeth and gum line - Figure 1.111) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the front of the body into

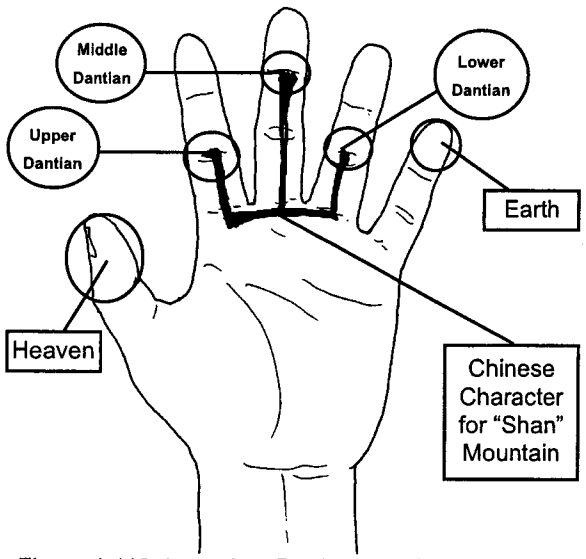


Figure 1.110. In ancient Daoism, the Single-handed Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Dantian Energy (an example of Mao-Shan Daoist training from the Zheng Yi tradition)

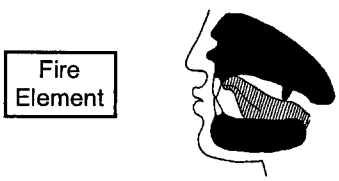


Figure 1.111. The Fire tongue position used for activating the Lower Dantian

the Lower Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Lower Dantian.

- **The Middle Dantian:** When transforming Qi to Shen in the Middle Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the first crease (down from the top) of the middle finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Middle Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and spine into the back of the heart at the Middle Dantian area. The sorcerer would place his or

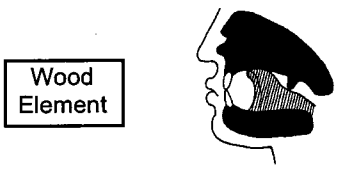


Figure 1.112. The Wood tongue position used for activating the Middle Dantian

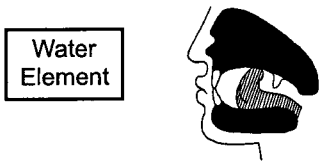


Figure 1.113. The Water tongue position used for activating the Upper Dantian

her tongue on the Wood position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the hard palate, at the middle of the upper palate at the center of the roof of the mouth - Figure 1.112) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the front of the body into the Middle Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Middle Dantian.

- **The Upper Dantian:** When transforming Shen to the infinite space of the Wuji via the Upper Dantian, the Daoist sorcerer would press the second crease (down from the top) of the first (index) finger on his or her left hand. While pressing the Upper Dantian point, the sorcerer would also pull up on his or her lower perineum and the centers of both feet in order to draw Earth Qi (the energy of the Earthly White Tiger) up the legs and spine into the back of the head at the base of the Upper Dantian. The sorcerer would place his or her tongue on the Water position (this requires that the tongue be placed on the soft palate at the back of the upper palate - Figure 1.113) and inhale the energy of the Heavenly Green Dragon down the top of the head into the Upper Dantian. As the Green Dragon (imagination) and White Tiger (sensation) began to "play," the energetic sensation of heat and vibration would be created within the Upper Dantian.

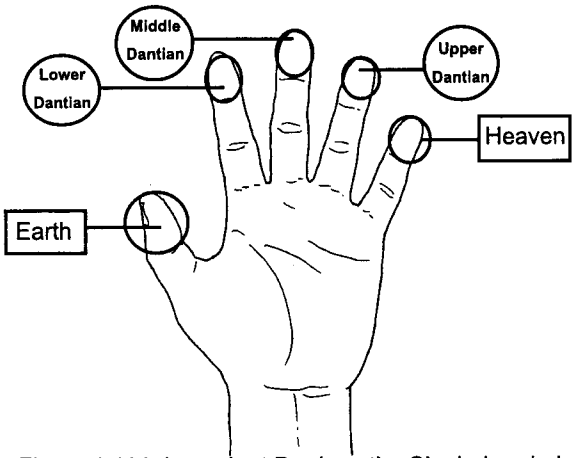


Figure 1.114. In ancient Daoism, the Single-handed Hand Seals were commonly used to access and command the body's internal Seas of Dantian Energy (an example of Wu Dang Shan Daoist training from the Quen Zhen tradition)

When performing these meditations, all the Daoist sorcerer needed to do was simply connect his or her thumb with each of the Dantian's access points, place the tongue in the secret Dantian position, and simultaneously draw the Qi of Heaven and Earth into the respected Dantian area in order begin energetic cultivation.

Wu Dang Shan Hand Seals (Quen Zhen Branch)

In the Pole Star sect of Daoism, from the Quen Zhen tradition, the thumb and little finger positions used to represent the power of the Heavens and Earth are reversed. In this particular Daoist system, the thumb represents the terrestrial powers of the Earth, while the little finger represents the celestial powers of the Heaven. When combined (the thumb touches the little finger), the body's energy is regulated within the center Taiji Pole and the Three Dantians are balanced.

When cultivating internal power, the ancient Wudang masters used the first (index) finger to represent the access point of the Lower Dantian; the middle finger to represent the access point of the Middle Dantian; and the ring finger to represent the access point of the Upper Dantian. When meditating, all the Daoist master needed to do was simply connect his or her thumb with each Dantian's access point in order to tap into its cultivated power (Figure 1.114).

BAGUA SINGLE HAND SEALS

In ancient China, after a Daoist Mystic learned how to control the energy of the Bagua through Double Handed Hand Seals, he or she would transfer the eight energetic powers of the Bagua to their left palm. The progression from using double hands to a single hand allowed the Daoist Mystics the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the specific Bagua into their body with their left hand, while extending and emitting the Qi with the right hand.

Hidden within the construction of the Bagua Trigram formation are the energetic patterns of the Nine Palaces (also known as the Magic Square). The ancient Daoist would use his or her left palm as a medium for conjuring the energetic structure of the Magic Square formation and "opening the gate to the supernatural world." After the Spirit Gate was opened, the Daoist mystic would initiate a specific incantation for conjuring the supernatural powers released from the Celestial Elements or Eight Trigrams. This was initiated by placing either the thumb or fingers of the left hand onto the specific Trigram location. Combined with a specific incantation, the supernatural powers of the Trigram could then be activated and summoned.

As the ancient Daoist performed the specific ritual for spiritual incantation, pacing through positions of the Nine Palaces of Heaven, he or she could use the same numeral sequence on the left palm as the Magic Square patterns by tracing the "magic steps of Yu" with the left thumb (Figure 1.115).

The Nine Palaces are arranged in an eight direction box formation with an additional number in the center. Each palace position is assigned a number, a specific color and a star (one of the seven stars of the Big Dipper, the extra star and the North Star). Each star is associated with a specific Prenatal energy flow related to one of the original Extraordinary Vessels and one of the Nine Chambers located in each one of the Three Dantians. The numbers and their correspondences are described as follows:

1. **The Trigram Kan:** This point is located at the base of the middle finger. Kan is assigned to the number 1 and its color is white.

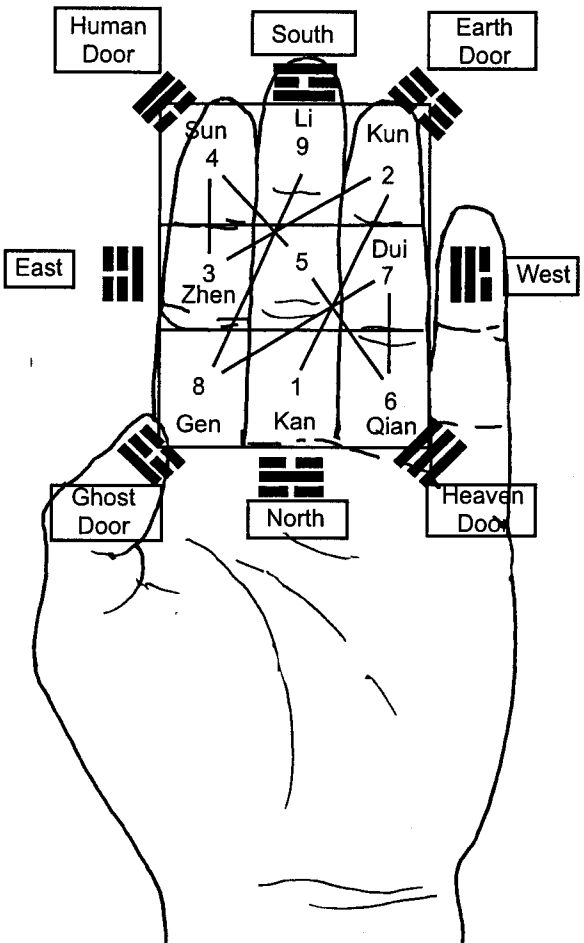


Figure 1.115. In ancient China, the PostnatalHeavenly Bagua pattern of the "Magic Square" was superimposed on the left palm allowing Daoist mystics the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the Bagua into the body, while extending and emitting the gathered Qi with his or her right palm.

2. **The Trigram Kun:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the ring finger. Kun is assigned to the number 2 and its color is black.
3. **The Trigram Zhen:** This point is located on the second digit of the index finger. Zhen is assigned to the number 3 and its color green/blue.
4. **The Trigram Sun:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the index finger. Sun is assigned to the number 4 and its color is blue.
5. **The Bright Hall (Ming Tang):** This point is located on the center digit of the middle finger. The Ming Tang (Bright Hall) is associated

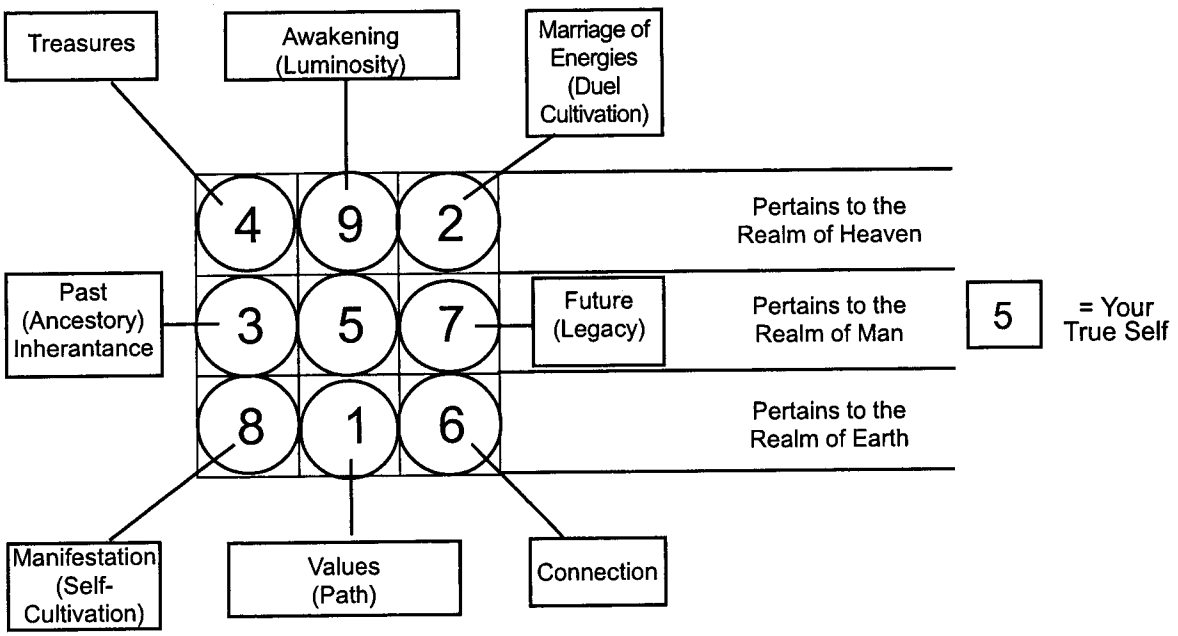


Figure 1.116. In Ancient China, the numbers of the Magic Square also related to the Three Realms of Heaven, Man, and Earth, and were used for Divination.

with the Taiji Pole and the middle space of the Magic Square; the Ming Tang is assigned to the number 5 and its color is yellow.

6. **The Trigram Qian:** This point is located at the base of the middle finger. Qian is assigned to the number 6 and its color is white.
7. **The Trigram Dui:** This point is located on the second digit of the ring finger. Dui is assigned to the number 7 and its color is red.
8. **The Trigram Gen:** This point is located at the base of the index finger. Gen is assigned to the number 8 and its color is white.
9. **The Trigram Li:** This point is located on the first superior digit of the middle finger. Li is assigned to the number 9 and its color purple.

It should be noted that the middle number "5" does not correspond to a Trigram because it is the unifying number placed in the center to represent balanced internal energy.

MAGIC SQUARE AND DIVINATION

In ancient China, the specific numbers of the Magic Square could also relate to the energetic manifestations that occur within the three realms of Heaven, Earth and Man. Because of this, the ancient Daoists sometimes used the Magic Square for Divination described as follows (Figure 1.116):

- While meditating, form a "Heaven and Earth" standing posture (Figure 1.117).
- Imagine a cord of divine light descending from the Heavens and penetrating the center

Imagine a cord of divine light descending from the Heavens and penetrating the center of the left palm

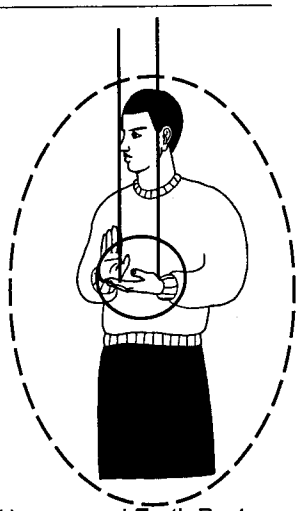


Figure 1.117. Heaven and Earth Posture

of the lower left palm creating the energetic pattern of the Magic Square previously described (refer back to Figure 1.116). The left palm (Magic Squares) should be placed horizontally in front of your Yellow Court (fingers pointing towards the right). This energetic position relates to the power of Earth.

- Next, with your right hand, form the Thunder Bolt Hand Seal (Figure 1.118) above the Magic Square, at the Heart and Middle Dantian area. This energetic position relates to the power of Heaven. The right hand's index finger should point towards the left direction, while the little finger should point downward into the numbers of the Magic Square positioned inside the left palm.
- Focus your mind's intention on a specific individual and perform magical Invocations over the Magic Square according to the specific intention of the divination. Begin to ask specific questions related to that individual's past, present or future while spiralling the Qi downward in a descending clockwise direction (moving from Heaven to Earth) using the tip of the Thunder Bolt Hand Seal (i.e. the little finger of the right hand).

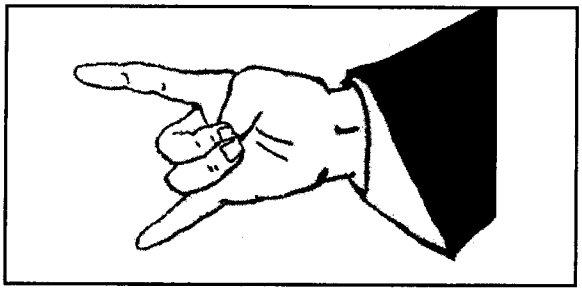


Figure 1.118. In this Thunder Fist Hand Seal, the thumb touches the base of the ring finger and roots the Lung Qi and the Po.

EARTHLY BRANCHES AND DAOIST ALCHEMY

The ancient Daoists viewed the body as a small and complete universe unto itself and understood that the internal organs are influenced by the celestial movements of the sun, moon, planets and stars. The Governing and Conception Vessels in particular are influenced by these Heavenly cycles (Figure 1.119).

In ancient China, the day was divided into twelve separate time divisions. Each time division encompassed two hours of the day and was named after one of the Twelve Earthly Branches. The ancient Daoists discovered that the body's Qi and Blood mirror the Earth's seasonal ebb and flow, rising and falling like the lunar tides.

Each time period in the Twelve Earthly Branches system is regarded as having a specific influence on each of the twelve gates of the body's chakra system. The rhythmic variations of the waxing and waning of Qi and Blood are associated with the waxing and waning of Yin and Yang energy, and with the circulation of Qi along the Microcosmic Orbit (Fire) cycle.

Each of the Twelve Chakra Gates relates to one of the Twelve Earthly Branches following the Fire Cycle of the Microcosmic Orbit. These twelve chakra gates extend their energy outward.

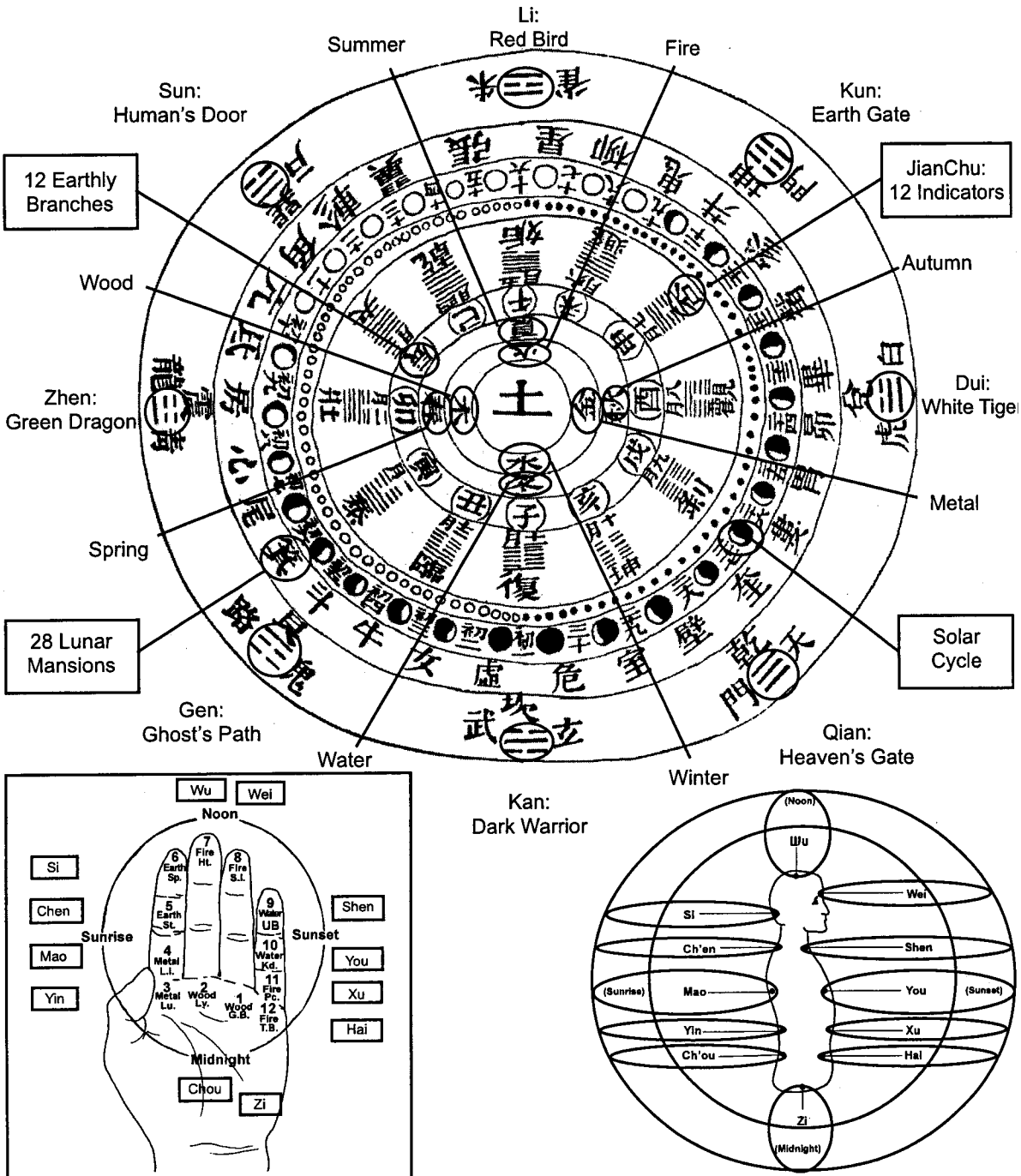


Figure 1.119. The Movement of the Body's Qi as Depicted by the Ancient Chinese "Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy" Chart. The Twelve Earthly Branch Relation with the Microcosmic Orbit: the main channels of the back and front of the body correspond to the ecliptic path of the sun. These twelve special energy points are associated with the Twelve Chakra Gates.

MAO SHAN HAND SEALS USED FOR HEALING OR PROTECTION

In the ancient Mao Shan Daoist monasteries, Hand Seals were used for bringing Qi from a specific internal organ or celestial direction into a vessel of water for healing (Figure 1.120). This Hand Seal technique is then followed with a specific Breath Incantation. If a Daoist mystic wishes to gather Heavenly Qi from which to strengthen the Liver, he or she will repeat the following Breath Incantation

"Dong fang wuji fei tian shen
wang su jiang Gan Qi yu wu sui zhong."

Which translates as "Eastern Palace infinite flying heavenly god, quickly bring down the Liver Qi into my water - do this as it is law."

The Incantation is then sealed by shouting "An Da" while simultaneously forming the An Da Double Hand Seal (Figure 1.121).

- **The "An Da" Double Hand Seal:** This Double Hand Seal is used for ending the Summoning Ritual. The left fist represents the celestial energy of the Sun, the right Immortal Sword represents the celestial energy of the Moon (Figure 1.105). The An Da Double hand Seal is generally used before or after speaking magical incantations (i.e., the magical incantation is energetically shouted quickly followed immediately with the "An Da" Double Hand Seal to offer a form of energetic completion).

The Breath Incantation is changed according to the Daoist Mystic's needs, substituting the specific Palace and the specific internal organ Qi. Each of the palaces also has corresponding times, Ele-

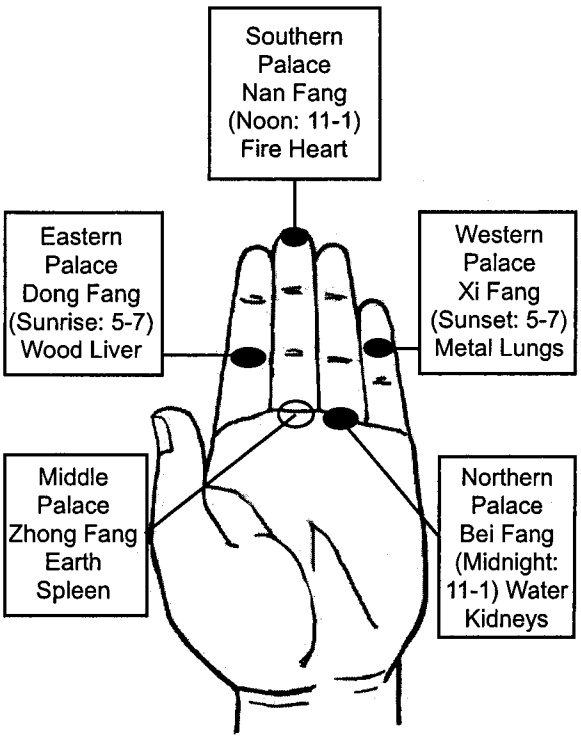


Figure 1.120. Hand Seal pattern used for bringing Qi from a specific Organ and direction into a glass of water for healing.

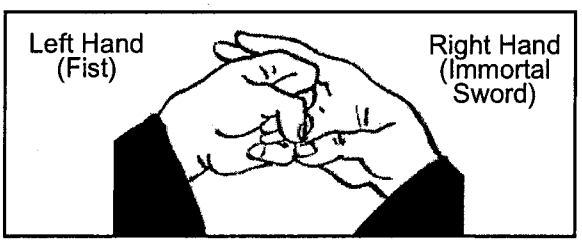


Figure 1.121. The "An Da" Double Hand Seal

Palace	Time	Element	Organ	Alter Gift	Immortal
Eastern Palace: *Dong Fang*	5-7 P.M. Sunrise	Wood Element	Liver *Gan*	Incense: *Xiang*	Green/Blue Immortal
Southern Palace: *Nan Fang*	11-1 Noon	Fire Element	Heart *Xin*	Light: *Deng* (Candles)	Red Immortal
Western Palace: *Xi Fang*	5-7 A.M. Sunset	Metal Element	Lungs *Fei*	Flowers: *Hua*	White Immortal
Northern Palace: *Bei Fang*	11-1 Midnight	Water Element	Kidneys *Shen*	Water: *Shui*	Black Immortal
Middle Palace: *Zhong Fang*		Earth Element	Spleen *Pi*	Fruit: *Gua*	Yellow Immortal

Figure 1.122. Chart of Daoist Five Palaces Corrspondence

ments of control, organ energies, altar gifts, and governing immortals (Figure 1.122).

Seven Stars of the Big Dipper #1 Single Hand Seals

In ancient Daoism Mysticism, the advanced Single Hand Seals (Mudras) were sometimes used to access the power of one of the seven specific stars of the Big Dipper. The following is one esoteric version of accessing the hidden power of the Seven Big Dipper Stars (Figure 1.123):

1. **The Gui Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located at the second segment of the index finger.
2. **The Gou Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the first segment of the index finger.
3. **The Fan Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the first segment of the middle finger.
4. **The Shou Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the third digit of the middle finger.
5. **The Bi Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the second digit of the ring finger.
6. **The Pu Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the second digit of the little finger.
7. **The Piao Star:** The access point for gathering and cultivating the magical energy of this star is located on the third digit of the little finger.

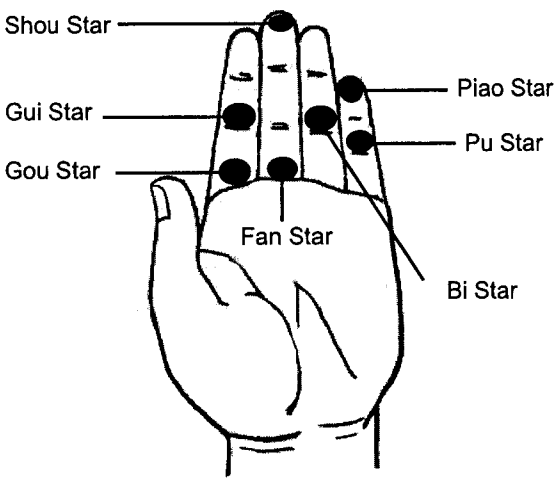


Figure 1.123. The Seven Stars of the Big Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

Seven Stars Pattern of the Northern Dipper Single Hand Seals

Certain advanced Single Hand Seals were sometimes used to access the combined power of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper by performing specific stepping rituals. In the advanced training, these esoteric stepping rituals could be performed on the Daoist mystic's left hand. The above is one version of a Northern Big Dipper

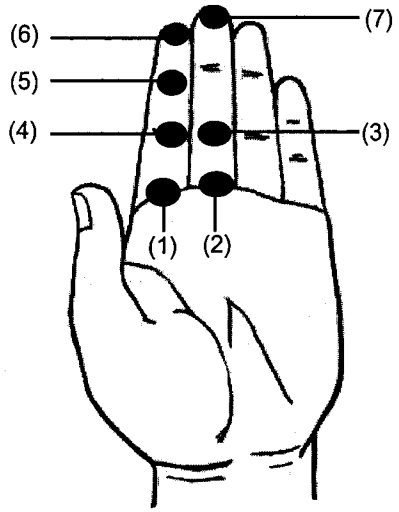


Figure 1.124. The Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

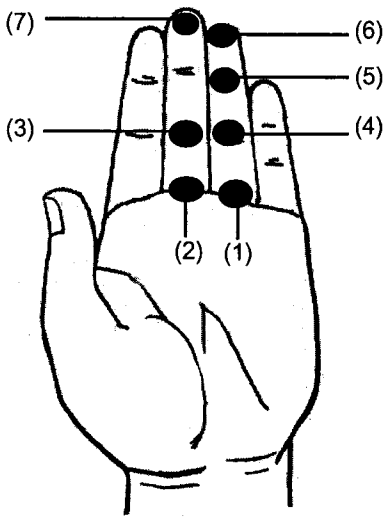


Figure 1.125. The Seven Stars of the Southern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand

Seven Star Stepping Pattern initiated on the Daoist mystic's left hand (Figure 1.124).

SEVEN STARS PATTERN OF THE SOUTHERN DIPPER SINGLE HAND SEALS

Certain advanced Single Hand Seals (Mudras) were sometimes used to access the combined power of the seven stars of the Southern Dipper by performing stepping rituals. In advanced training, these esoteric stepping rituals could be performed on the left hand of the Daoist mystic. The above is one version of a Southern Dipper Seven Star Stepping Pattern initiated on the Daoist mystic's left hand (Figure 1.125).

THE "FIVE THUNDERS EXPLODE" HAND SEAL

When performing Thunder Magic, the Daoist sorcerer will draw the Five Thunder Mountains on the center of his or her left palm, while reciting a magical incantation used to gather the power of the guardians of the Five Sacred Mountains. The sorcerer will draw five circles around the center of a "Thunder" character and speak the following incantation to call and dispatch the Five Thunder Generals from the Five Thunder Mountains (Figure 1.126):

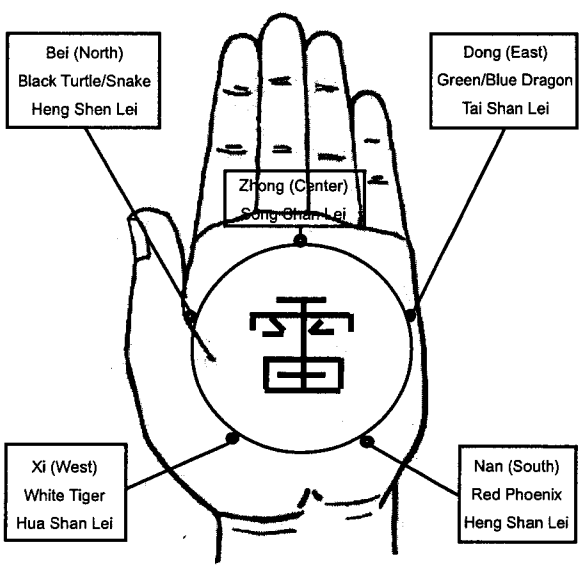


Figure 1.126. Draw the Chinese character for Thunder on the center of your palm with your Sword Fingers Hand Seal. Next, draw the Five Thunder Mountains and circle the mountains while reciting the Incantation.

"Dong Qi Tai Shan Lei
(The Eastern Energy of the Tai Shan Thunder);
Nan Qi Heng Shan Lei
(The Southern Energy of the Heng Shan Thunder);
Xi Qi Hua Shan Lei
(The Western Energy of the Hua Shan Thunder);
Bei Qi Heng Shan Lei
(The Northern Energy of the Heng Shan Thunder);
Zhong Qi Song Shan Lei
(The Center Energy of the Song Shan Thunder)"

Daoist Esoteric Single Hand Seals

The following is a description of the most common Single Hand Seals used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi sect) from Long Hu Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.
- Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing sect) from Mao Shan, located in the Jiangsu Province.
- Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo sect) from Ge Zao Shan, located in the Jiangxi Province.

These particular Single Hand Seals can be divided into three main categories according to their magical uses: Hand Seals used for Worship, Hand Seals used for Summoning, and Hand Seals used for Attacking and Defending.

Single Hand Seals Used For Worship

The following is a list of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the alchemy of Worship. The primary goal is one of energetic and spiritual transformation, brought about through prayer and meditation.

- **The White Crane Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is energetically used to show respect to the celestial immortals. The last three fingers symbolize an offering of three incense to the celestial immortals (Figure 1.127). The first finger and thumb represent the eternal circle and the infinite space of the Wuji through which to access the Di (Divine or God).
- **The Willow Branch Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes the Willow Branch and is energetically used in rituals to purify the water at the altar, or to dip into the altar cup to flick holy water onto specific items for purification (Figure 1.128).

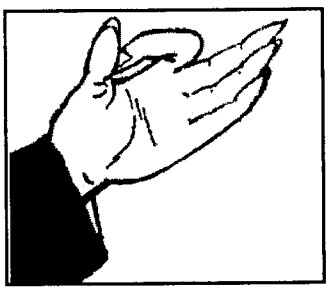


Figure 1.127. The White Crane Single Hand Seal

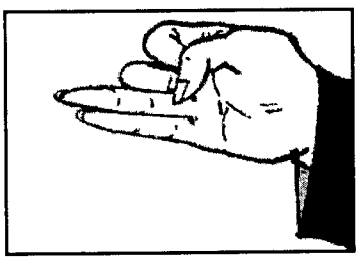


Figure 1.128. The Willow Branch Single Hand Seal

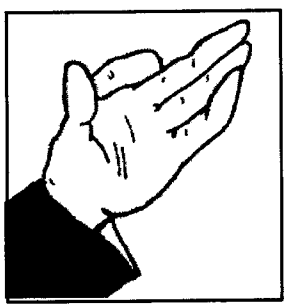


Figure 1.129. The Tiny Light Single Hand Seal

- **The Tiny Light Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is used to represent the electrical light that illuminates within the energetic particles contained within the field of Yin and Yang (which envelops the infinite space of the Wuji). It is energetically used for protection by purifying, illuminating and shinning divine light over a person, place or thing (Figure 1.129).
- **The Trident Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It symbolizes three prongs and is energetically used to support the purified water cup on the altar during purification rituals, and is sometimes used

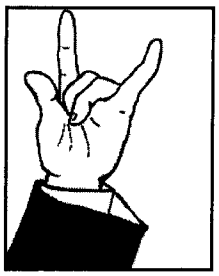


Figure 1.130. The Trident Single Hand Seal

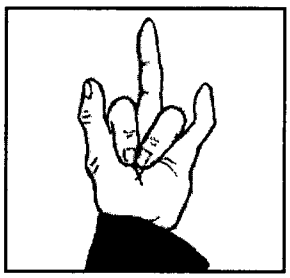


Figure 1.131. The Magical Toad Single Hand Seal

for holding or support other altar tools (Figure 1.130).

- **The Magical Toad Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents an image of the immortal three legged toad from the Moon Palace, and is energetically used to bring about the fragrant smell of the celestial world into the realm of the human world (Figure 1.131).
- **The Jade Ring Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is used to energetically represent a magical bracelet of the Celestial Mother Dou Mu, and used to show respect to the Palace of Dou Mu (the Mother of the seven stars of the Big Dipper). She is generally depicted as having three eyes in each of her four faces (one facing each of the four major direction). She has eight arms (four arms on each side of her body). Two of her hands are held together, palm to palm, while the other six hold a Sun, Moon, bell, golden seal, bow and halberd. Dou Mu is regarded as a senior Daoist immortal and is credited with the ability to save people from many types of evil and trouble (Figure 1.132).

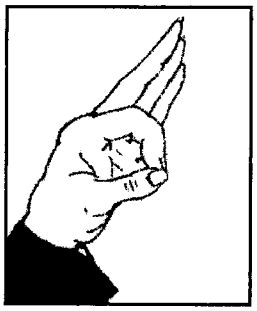


Figure 1.132. The Jade Ring Single Hand Seal

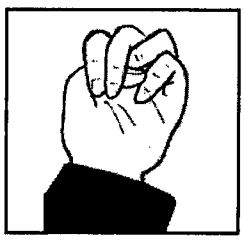


Figure 1.133. The Magical Root Single Hand Seal

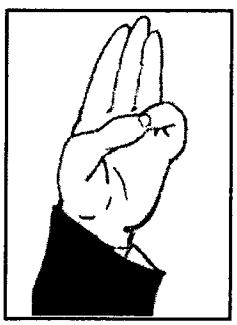


Figure 1.134. The Two Lotus Joining Single Hand Seal

- **The Magical Root Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It represents the fusion of Qi and Shen, and is the energetic and spiritual foundation used to send reports to Mother Dou Mu in order to request for auspicious times (Figure 1.133).
- **The Two Lotus Joining Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Worship. It is energetically used to invite Wang Mu Niang Niang (Mother of the Heavenly Emperor), welcome her to the altar and offer her respect as she appears (Figure 1.134).

Single Hand Seals Used For Summoning

The following is a description of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Summoning. The primary goal of Summoning is that of demanding or requesting the presence or service of one of the five types of Immortals (Ghost Immortals, Human Immortals, Earth Immortals, Spiritual Immortals and Celestial Immortals).

- **The Gathering The Hun Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is used in rituals to energetically gather the soul of the dead (Hun) to the altar (Figure 1.135).
- **The Flying Hun Crosses the Sea Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes flying over the ocean, and is energetically used for gathering the soul of the dead and bringing it back to the altar area (Figure 1.136).
- **The Golden Lotus Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It energetically represents the Golden Lotus Flower where the Great Ancestral Master will show his appearance (Figure 1.137).
- **The Small Gold Metal Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used as a "Grand Order" (or command) for the Great Ancestral Master to come and protect you by terrifying and defeating evil spirits (Figure 1.138).
- **The Single Star Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal for Summoning. It energetically represents the Dan Dou (Single Star) and is used to request that Mother Dou Mu command or Summon the Heavenly Court to dispatch the Celestial Generals (Figure 1.139).
- **The Small Pig's Head Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It resembles a small pig's head and is energetically used in small ceremonies to summon the "Horned Pig" of Mother Dou Mu down into the human world (Figure 1.140).
- **The Jade Left Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbol-

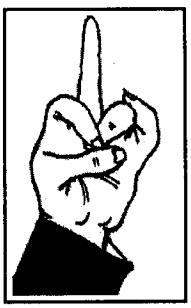


Figure 1.135. The Gathering The Hun Single Hand Seal

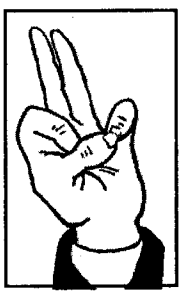


Figure 1.136. The Flying Hun Crosses the Sea Single Hand Seal

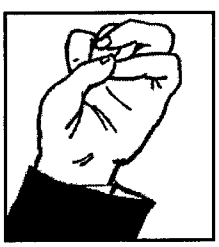


Figure 1.137. The Golden Lotus Single Hand Seal

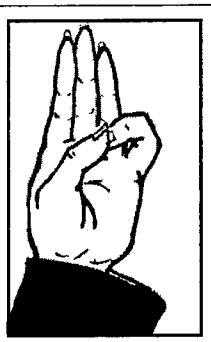


Figure 1.138. The Small Gold Metal Single Hand Seal

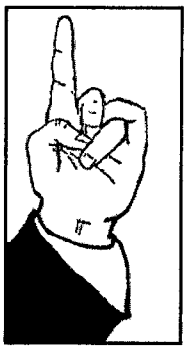


Figure 1.139. The Single Star Single Hand Seal

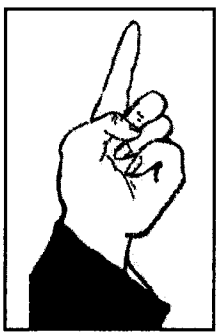


Figure 1.140. The Small Pig's Head Single Hand Seal

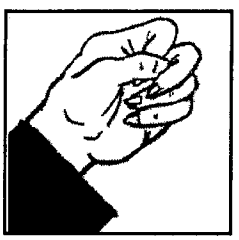


Figure 1.141. The Jade Left Single Hand Seal

izes the celestial Jade Palace and is energetically used to gather the celestial immortals to the altar (Figure 1.141).

- **The Four Heavenly Immortal Generals Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It symbolizes the bringing the four Thunder Martial Generals to your side and is energetically used for protection (Figure 1.142).
- **The Magic Tiger Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It represents the Martial Generals' Magical Tiger and is energetically used to summon the General's Magical Tiger to the altar (Figure 1.143).
- **The Blue-Green Spirit Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Summoning. It is energetically used to represent the celestial post from which Martial General Wen Qiong will rein in his Celestial Horse (Figure 1.144).

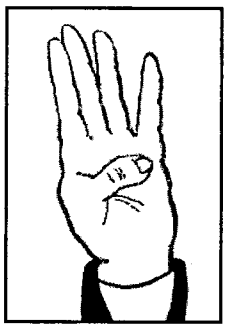


Figure 1.142. The Four Heavenly Immortal Generals Single Hand Seal

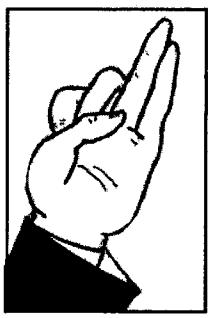


Figure 1.143. The Magic Tiger Single Hand Seal

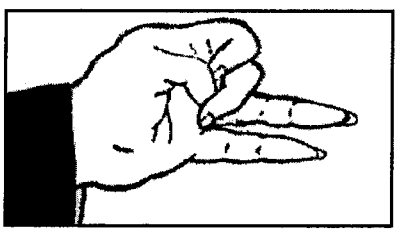


Figure 1.144. The Blue Green Spirit Single Hand Seal

Single Hand Seals Used For Attacking and Defending

The following is a list of popular Single Hand Seals used in Zheng Yi Daoist rituals for the energetic and spiritual purpose of Attacking and Defending. These skills are commonly incorporated in esoteric Daoist rituals used for exorcism (removing evil spirits from a person, place, or thing).

The training involved in the energetic and spiritual art of Attacking and Defending is divided into six primary stages: Protection, Obstruction, Attacking, Catching, Imprisoning and Sealing. These six stages are described as follows:

- **Protection:** The energetic goal of Protection Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide for the safety of the disciple's person (self, family, loved ones, etc.), place (house, worship area, etc.) or things (items of significance and importance).
- **Obstruction:** The energetic goal of Obstruction Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to stop or inhibit a evil spirit or demonic entity from further antagonistic actions.
- **Attacking:** The energetic goal of Attacking Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to initiate a direct attack onto the spirit entity, whereby its energetic form will be captured, defeated, or destroyed.
- **Binding:** The energetic goal of Binding Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to envelop, bind, and restrain an evil spirit.
- **Imprisoning:** The energetic goal of Imprisoning Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to energetically detain and confine an evil spirit.
- **Sealing:** The energetic goal of Sealing Single Hand Seals is to create an energetic field strong enough to provide the final energetic sealing needed after the incantation has imprisoned the evil spirit into a confined area.

Protection

- **The Magic Scissors Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the celestial scissors of the eternal law of the Dao and is energetically used to cut and separate the good from the energetic "cords" attached to the body via evil (dark) people, places or things (Figure 1.145).

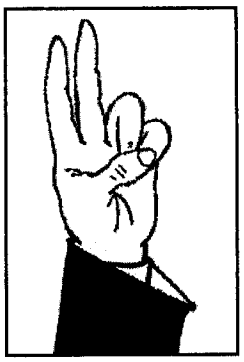


Figure 1.145. The Magic Scissors Single Hand Seal

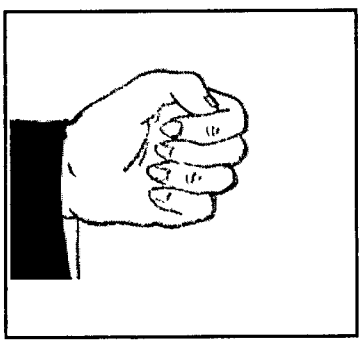


Figure 1.146. The "Sai Nian" Single Hand Seal

Obstruction

- **The "Sai Nian" Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It symbolizes a cork or stopper and is energetically used to block or stop the energetic leakages that occur from holes in an individual's Wei Qi (Aura) field. These energetic holes cause the individual life-force to become vulnerable to being stolen via people, places or things (energetic parasites). The Sai Nian Hand Seal is also used for obstructing psychic attacks and chasing away evil spirits (Figure 1.146).

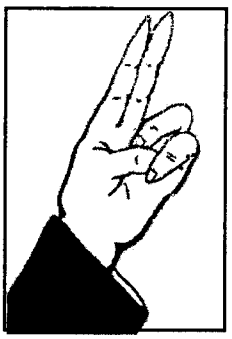


Figure 1.147. The Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal

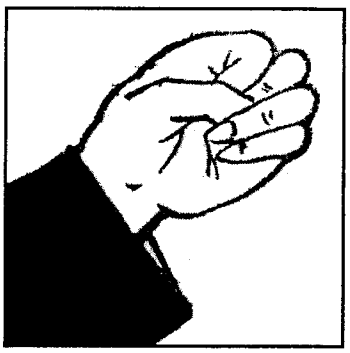


Figure 1.148. The Left Thunder Block Single Hand Seal

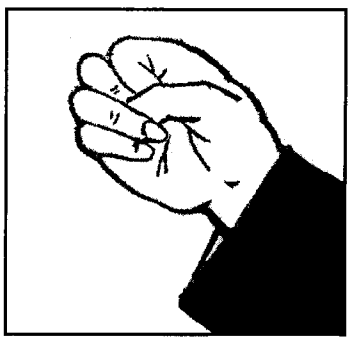


Figure 1.149. The Right Thunder Block Single Hand Seal

ATTACKING

- **The Immortal Sword Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent the magical power of the Immortal Sword. The magical power released form this Single Hand Seal is energetically used to draw talismans and esoteric characters for protection, defence or attack. It is also commonly used for cutting and defeating evil spirits and demons (Figure 1.147).
- **The Left Thunder Block Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the power of Heavenly Thunder and is energetically used to terrify, attack and kill evil spirits (Figure 1.148).

  When forming the Left Thunder Block fist, the left thumb touches the base of the second (ring) finger before the last two fingers lock and seal the energy of the palm. The thumb is placed on the Gall Bladder Channel (Wood Element) access point (see Figure 1.108), and the Qian (Heaven) Trigram (see Figure 1.115) which allows the Daoist priest's Hun the ability to access the celestial energetic power of the lightning bolts that have been stored within the priest's Gall Bladder during the Thunder Magic rituals (used for gathering the celestial energy of thunder during the first storms of Spring).

  When using both the Left and Right Thunder Blocks (Lei Jue) to "attack and bind the evil with the sound of Thunder" the ancient Daoist teachings state that the disciples "eyes become like lightning and the voice becomes like thunder" when he or she stomps, shouts and releases the power of the celestial thunder.
- **The Right Thunder Block Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the power of Heavenly Thunder and is energetically used to terrify, attack and kill evil spirits (Figure 1.149).

  When forming the Right Thunder Block fist, certain Daoist schools will place the right thumb onto the base of the first (little) finger before the last two fingers lock and seal the energy of the palm. The thumb is placed on the Triple Burner Channel (Fire Element) access point (see Figure 1.114), which allows the Daoist priest the ability to access the energetic

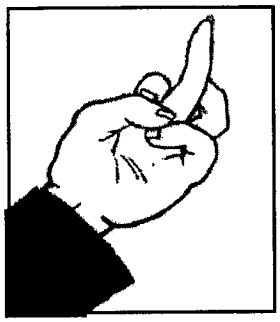


Figure 1.150. The Mount Tai Single Hand Seal

power of the fire and light that have been stored within the priest's Taiji Pole during the Thunder Magic rituals (used for gathering the celestial energy of thunder during the first storms of Spring).

- **The Mount Tai Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent picking up Mount Tai, lifting it 10,000 Zhuang (miles) in the air and then slamming it down hard on top of evil spirits and ghosts in order to energetically crush them (Figure 1.150).
- **The Purple Star Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically represents the Shi Wei (Purple Star) of the Heavens. Energetically, its power is so immense that is used to place on top of fierce ghosts and evil spirits in order to dissolve them like acid (Figure 1.151).
- **The Demanding Knife Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the magical knife (Dao Tao) and is energetically used for chopping demons, cutting evil and destroying ghosts (Figure 1.152).
- **The Ghost Beating Stick Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents the immortal stick used for beating demons and is energetically used to beat the evil spirits into submission (Figure 1.153).

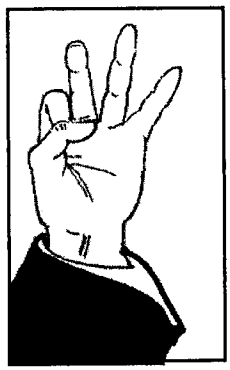


Figure 1.151. The Purple Star Single Hand Seal

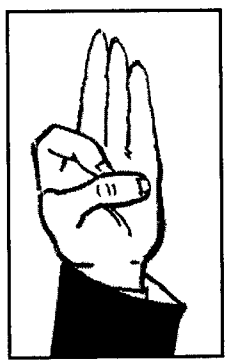


Figure 1.152. The Demanding Knife Single Hand Seal

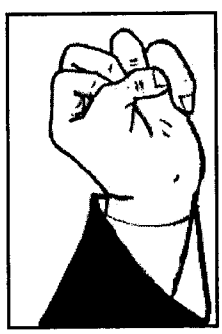


Figure 1.153. The Ghost Beating Stick Single Hand Seal

Figure 1.154. The Medical Fork Single Hand Seal

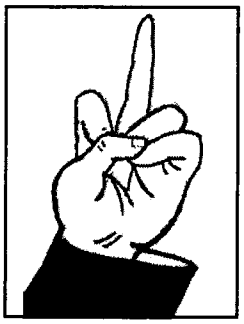


Figure 1.155. The Magic Needle Single Hand Seal

CATCHING

- **The Medical Fork Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It energetically symbolizes a fatal poisonous weapon that is used to stop and kill evil things. This hand seal is commonly used in order to entice and bring spirit entities out of hiding into the "light," to then be paralyzed (or frozen) before beginning an exorcistic inquisition (Figure 1.154).
- **The Magic Needle Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It represents an immortal's needle, which has magical powers, and it is energetically used to chase, search and penetrate evil spirits and ghosts (Figure 1.155).
- **The Single Dragon that Pierces the Mountain Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically penetrate through mountains and into the depths of the Earth. It is used to energetically cut through, chase-after and catch evil spirits (Figure 1.156).

Figure 1.156. The Single Dragon that Pierces the Mountain Single Hand Seal

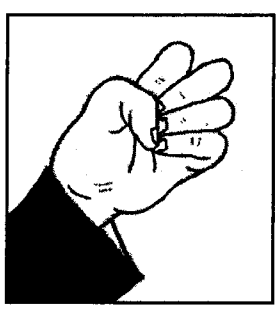


Figure 1.157. The Five Blacks Single Hand Seal

SEALING

- **The Five Blacks Single Hand Seal:** This Single Hand Seal is used for Attacking and Defending. It is used to energetically represent the final seal (black cover), meaning to place a powerful energetic cover over a pit once it is closed (Figure 1.157). It is energetically used as the final or finishing technique for binding of an evil spirit inside a pit or cave (as in the final imprisoning of a demonic entity).

DAOIST MAGICAL STAR STEPPING PATTERNS

CYCLES OF THE STARS

To the ancient Daoists, the days of greatest importance (according to their calendar of magical events) was not assigned to a traditional month and day, but the specific day and hour on which a certain astronomical event took place. This knowledge of the Heavens required the sorcerer to be completely aware of the most subtle energetic movements that transpire within his or her environment, completely in tuned with the energetic movements of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Stars.

The ancient Chinese divided Heavenly energy into different classes of Yin and Yang: the Sun was seen as being the essence of Yang, the Moon as being the essence of Yin, and the Stars as being a combination of both Yin and Yang. The Stars were believed to have a great influence upon the energetic matrices of Earth and Man. The term "Stars" in ancient China, referred to the visible stars in the Northern Hemisphere; namely the Big Dipper, Polaris, the five planets, and the twenty-eight star constellations.

The Chinese ideograph for star, "Xing," is composed of two characters (Figure 1.158). On the top is the character "Ri" meaning "Sun;" on the bottom is the character "Sheng" meaning "to give birth to." It depicts the purest embodiment of refined matter which ascended into the Heavens and crystallized into Stars.

The ancient Chinese believed that stars and planets were energetically Yang, born from the Original (Yuan) Qi of Heaven and were considered to be the condensation of Fire, while the Milky Way was considered to be the condensation of Water. The ancient Chinese name for Milky Way is "Tianchong," meaning "Highway of Heaven."

The pure aspects of these stars were believed to form the universal patterns that are responsible for the manifestation of form and matter. Thus, the ancient Chinese also believed that everyone was born under the guardianship of the stars. Certain stars would have a great influence over an individual's life, determining whether he or she would be born as a human or animal, live long or die young, be rich or poor, etc.

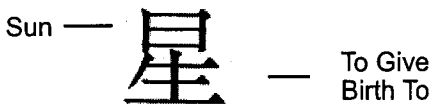


Figure 1.158. In Ancient Chinese Ideograph for the word "Star"

The ancient Daoists believed that the energetic matrix of the Spirit Body was composed of certain energetic substances that were common with, and peculiar to, the stars. These energetic substances constantly created and activated stellar manifestations within the body's energetic fields. These stellar manifestations expressed themselves within the spiritual sheath that enveloped an individual's spiritual, energetic, and physical bodies. Once an individual had awakened to the esoteric stellar power that was contained within their energetic field, they could successfully accelerate the formation of their Spirit Body, and free themselves from the realm of matter.

In an individual's everyday life, it was believed that all actions under Heaven would unavoidably incur consequences. How an individual thinks and acts was reported by the man's or woman's Yuan Shen to the stars that govern longevity and destiny, and years of life were subtracted for bad deeds performed. If the celestial vapor was eventually taken from the individual (i.e., due to misuse of life-force energy), then the terrestrial vapor contained within the individual's Spirit Body would slowly suffocate his or her life-force energy and death would follow.

HISTORY OF DAOIST STAR STEPPING

The ancient Daoist discovered that performing a ritual or speaking an incantation in a natural power spot (i.e., a place in the Earth where energy naturally accumulates) would tremendously enhance the magical power of the ritual and dramatically increase its energetic potency. This was one of the primary reasons why the skill of Feng Shui was so important to the ancient Daoists.

These energetic centers of the Earth were considered to be areas where matter intersects with spirit. They represented "cracks" in visible matter, that allowed the hidden spiritual energy to shine through. Once the power spot was discovered, the sorcerer could then use the energetic field of his or her own body to additionally increase the magical power of that area. This was initiated during a magical ritual by performing esoteric dance, chanting, or Star Stepping.

Daoist Star Stepping began in ancient China, when the shaman sorcerers would dance certain ritualistic steps in order to open the Celestial Gate and contact the various immortals living within the spirit world. These stepping patterns allowed the ancient Daoists to summon a spiritual entity from another plane of existence, causing it to manifest as a visible entity in either the energetic plane or the physical plane. These shuffling trance -like movements are variously known as "the Dance of the Wu," "the Steps of Yu," "Steps of the Big Dipper," or "Daoist Star Stepping."

In modern times, the ritual master (Fa Shi), wearing cloud shoes, imagines the diagram of the Big Dipper on ground, in front of the central altar, covering about ten square feet. The magical diagram of the Big Dipper symbolizes the nine levels of Heaven (sometimes called the "Nine Heavens").

Generally accompanied by Daoist music, the ritual master continues to visualize the Nine Heavens while performing the "Steps of the Big Dipper." This star stepping pattern is performed to correspond with the positions of the Dipper Stars and the 28 Constellations, and is utilized in conjunction with the magical diagrams of the Nine Palaces and the Eight Trigrams. The ancient Daoists believed that through the various stepping rituals, the spirit soul (Hun) of the priest could accomplish the following:

- **Spirit Travel:** To the ancient Daoists, the Northern Dipper was a celestial bridge that existed between Heaven and Earth. It was the path of celestial travel, the gateway to the Underworld, and the field of creative transformation. The sorcerer could therefore ascend into the Nine Heavens and deliver petitions ("reports") to the Celestial Immortals.
- **Controlling:** The Big Dipper was also used as a form of protective power, keeping the sorcerer safe from all manner of demonic influence that were sure to become attracted to the sorcerer's occult studies and rituals. The sorcerer could therefore receive various powers to control the energetic realms of nature, as well as to control the various actions of evil spirits and demons.
- **Destroying:** The sorcerer could invoke the magical power of Thunder in order to destroy the energetic and physical realms of people, places and things (specifically an evil spirit or demon).

THE GATE OF HEAVEN

In ancient China, it was traditionally believed that the Celestial Gate (or Gate of Heaven) was the energetic portal that an individual's soul entered into at the time of death, thus leading the deceased into another dimension. This magical gate could also be accessed and opened by an experienced Daoist sorcerer.

The Gate of Heaven is believed to be an actual spiritual "place," that exists as a physical location, and as a magical event. It can be accessed through the tail of the Big Dipper which serves as a "pointer," informing the sorcerer of the exact location from which to orient his or her magical rituals.

For example, during the evenings of the winter months (i.e. November), the Big Dipper seems to hanging "upside down" from its tail. It is during this time period, when the magical powers Heaven naturally descend upon the Earth, that the "Lu" Ordination is performed for the Zheng Yi Daoist priesthood, held in the Celestial Master's Mansion of Lung Hu Shan.

The ancient Daoist sorcerers would perform the magical Steps of Yu (also known as the "Steps of the Big Dipper") in order to open the Gate of Heaven. This magical ritual is based on the esoteric concept that "in order to create an invisible phenomenon, a sorcerer must first create its visible counterpart (i.e., constructing a magical circle and altar); and in order to create a visible phenomenon, a sorcerer must first create its invisible counterpart (i.e., casting the spell and reciting the incantations needed to open the energetic gate)."

The Three Gods of the Gate of Heaven

When performing the Steps of Yu, and attempting to enter into the Gates of Heaven, there are three Celestial Gods that preside over the Gate of the Northern Dipper in Mao Shan Daoism. These three gods are collectively known as the "Three-in-One," and are sometimes describes as the Male (the White Tiger), the Female, and the Great One (the Primordial King Ying Er, Ruler of the Gate of Life). The Great One is also sometimes known as "the King of the Yellow Court."

In certain Daoist sects, the Three-in-One gods are sometimes represented as the manifestations of Jing (Essence), Qi (Energy), and Shen (Spirit). Other Daoist sects equate them to the psychic energies of the subconscious, conscious, and superconscious mind. Still other Daoists express the Three-in-One as the gods of the Three Dantians ("Three Cinnabar Fields").

These three separate, yet related powers are susceptible to the prayers and invocations of the Daoist sorcerers. They are viewed as the primordial gods of creation, representing the subtle forces and influences that modern society has all but forgotten.

Incantation Used for Causing the Spirit to Leave the Physical Body

Before beginning the Steps of Yu, the Daoist sorcerer would normally say the "Chu Shen Zhou" ("Bring the Spirit Out of the Body") magical incantation. This magical incantation was recited when offering prayers and supplications to the Jade Emperor. This incantation was not only used to receive permission to enter the celestial realm, but it also prepared the sorcerer's Spirit for the long journey into the stars. The "Chu Shen Zhou" magical incantation is described as follows:

"Yuan Wo Shen Shen Chu Wo Shen Xing.
Ling Wo Long Shen Shang Da Di Ting.
Ji Ji Ru Lu Ling"

"Allow my Spirit to come out of my body.
Command my True Spirit to reach
the Jade Court.
Quickly - As this is Law"

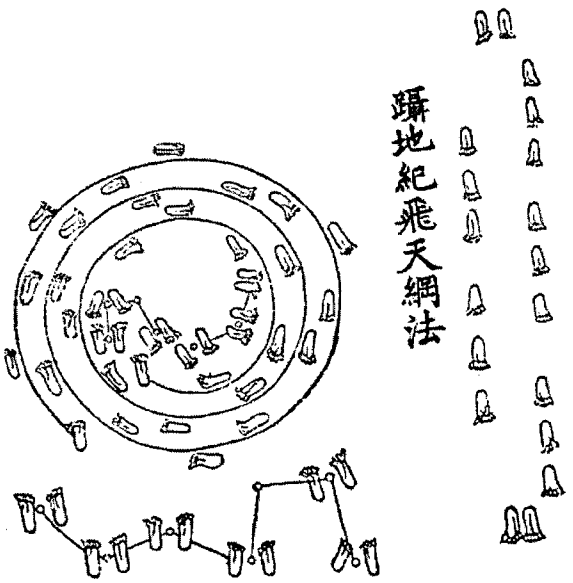


Figure 1.159. The "Steps of Wu," is used for invocation. This pattern, originally used to demonstrate the energetic and spiritual union of Heaven and Earth, shows the combined circular "Tread" pattern of "Terrestrial Regulation" and the Big Dipper "Flight" pattern of "Celestial Rules."

Incantation Used for Returning the Spirit Back into the Physical Body

After completing the Steps of Yu, the Daoist sorcerer would normally say the "Ru Shen Zhou" ("Bring the Spirit Back into the Body") magical incantation. This magical incantation was recited after completing the ritual, and before dispersing the celestial deities. The "Ru Shen Zhou" magical incantation is described as follows:

"Yuan Wo Shen Shen Ru Wo Shen Xing.
Ling Wo Zhu Shi Bao Wo Chang Sheng.
Yi Ru Sheng Qi Jun Lu Ling."

"Allow my Spirit to return to my body."
"Command my spirit to live in this world
and protect my long life.
As this is the command
of General Sheng Qi Jun."

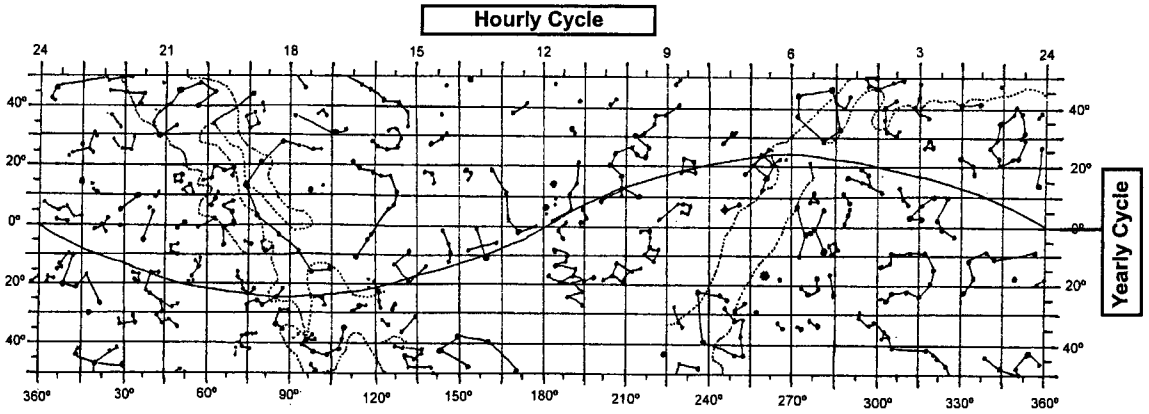


Figure 1.160. The Pathway of the Earth Through the Twenty-Eight Constellations. The positioning of the stars is considered to be the spiritual and energetic matrix (celestial diagram) of certain areas of the Heavens

THE STEPS OF YU

To the ancient Chinese, the Steps of Yu (also known as the "Paces of Yu") represented access to a magical "star gate." In ancient China, each of the seven stars of the Big Dipper related to one of seven magical gates, and also corresponded to one of the seven planets (Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn).

It is generally believed that the "Steps of the Big Dipper" stepping pattern was originally developed from the "Steps of Yu" (Figure 1.159). According to the *Magical Utterances* written by Yang Xiong of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220A.D.), "Because he often scaled high mountains and forded deep streams, when Emperor Yu had finished harnessing the water and the land, he suffered from a foot disease and would therefore walk with a limp." According to this source, the "Steps of the Big Dipper" are a result of the imitation of Emperor Yu's way of walking.

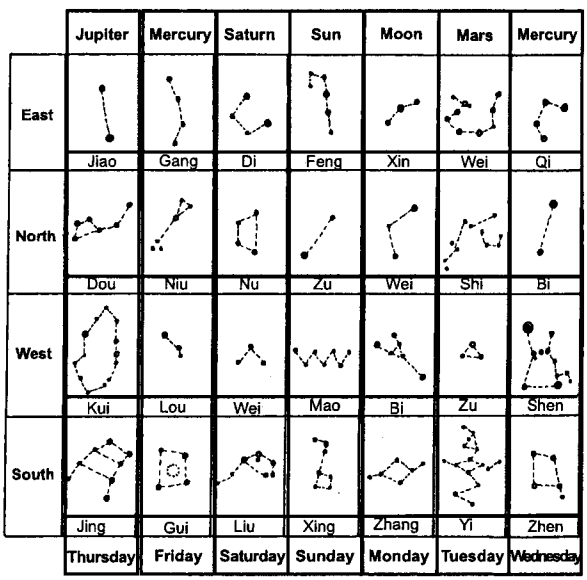


Figure 1.161. The Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

However, the actual "Steps of Yu" appeared quite early in China's ancient history and also incorporated the ancient art of Breath Incantation. According to the *Inner Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* and the *Book of Original Changes of the Pervasive Divine Eight Emperors*, "After Emperor Yu had harnessed the water and the land, he observed a huge bird along the ocean that had mastered Breath Incantations. The bird walked in a strange manner, and its steps could turn huge stones upside down. Emperor Yu studied the bird's stepping pattern and transformed the bird's strange way of walking into an effective method of acquiring magical skill." Therefore, the stepping pattern was called the "Steps of Yu," after its founder.

It is also said that Yu spent three years learning Breath Incantations and later used the magical power of Breath Incantations to match the star stepping patterns. The positioning of the stars is considered to be the spiritual and energetic matrix (celestial diagram) of certain areas of the Heavens (Figure 1.160 and Figure 1.161). Therefore, as his feet stepped within the celestial patterns of the Nine Dipper stars, Emperor Yu used Hand Seals and Breath Incantations to absorb the energetic and spiritual powers of the various stars.

Ancient Star Stepping Rituals

When practicing the Steps of Yu or any star stepping pattern, the sorcerer will follow certain magical protocols used for preparation and application. Each Daoist school will vary in its unique approach to performing the magical star stepping patterns.

Because some Daoist priests have reportedly been "instantly struck dead" by inadvertently "miss-stepping" during magical star stepping rituals, it is advised to adhere to the following list of precautions and advice used by many Daoist sorcerers when performing the ancient star stepping rituals. These esoteric practices were designed to assist the sorcerer in developing a powerful Spirit Body, capable of safely making the celestial voyage into the stars:

- Before beginning, the sorcerer must first prepare him or herself by performing "cleansing and purifying" rituals (bathing and fasting). These preparation rituals generally last three days, and sometimes require sexual abstinence, fasting, and the consumption of magical elixirs or Holy Waters (depending on the specific needs and functions of the magical ceremony).
- It is advised to first double-lock the ritual or meditation room before performing the magical rite. This helps insure complete privacy and avoids distractions.
- Certain rituals must take place at midnight, the hour when the Yang Qi begins to rise (11:00 pm - 1:00 am). Therefore, be aware of the specific time of year, month, day, and hour that the magical rite must take place (e.g., magical rituals are regularly performed during the solstices and equinoxes).
- The sorcerer will make sure that statues of a male and female celestial immortal has been placed in plain view on the altar. Any pair of deities representing the duel energies of Yang and Yin is suitable, however, they should represent a combination of Power and Spirituality (i.e., your greatest spiritual strength, combined with your most noblest aspirations). Care must be taken to invoke the celestial powers of both of these deities when performing this specific magical Star Stepping magical.
- Begin by creating a three ring Magical Circle for protection.
- Then, after the red altar candles and incense has been lit, the sorcerer should immediately grind and knock his or her teeth 36 times. This particular teeth knocking practice is used in order to stimulate the Kidneys, awaken the Yang Qi, and protect the sorcerer's body from ingesting Hou Qi (turbid or toxic energy).
- After knocking the teeth, the sorcerer will place his or her tongue in the Wood Element position. The Wood Element Tongue position is related to the spiritual energy of sorcerer's Hun. Connecting the tongue in this manner is a popular technique used by the ancient Daoist sorcerers for connecting with the Taiji Pole and releasing the spirit. It requires that the tongue be placed on the middle of the upper hard palate, at the center of the roof of the mouth (Figure 1.162).

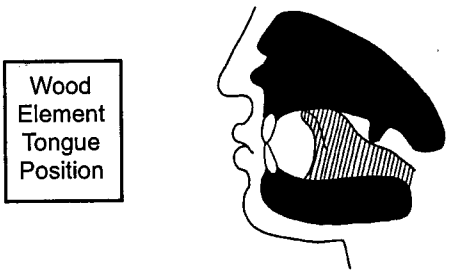


Figure 1.162. The Wood Element Tongue position is related to the spiritual energy of sorcerer's Hun.

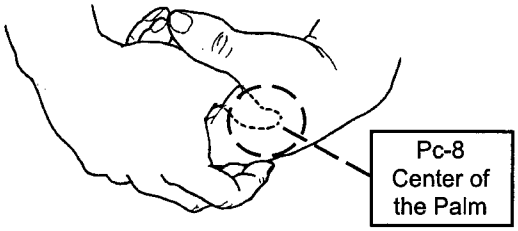


Figure 1.163. The Proper Hand Position

- After gathering Earth Qi into the Lower Dantian, the sorcerer will form the Yin and Yang Hand Seal. This particular Hand Seal is used to develop a strong electromagnetic charge in the sorcerer's Lower and Middle Dantians, and is naturally utilized by the mystic's body to balance the Yin and Yang currents (Figure 1.163).
- Next, the sorcerer will inhale, and with a slow concentrated breath, lead the Qi from the Lower Dantian to the Middle Dantian and heart area. It is important to keep the energy gathered and focused in the heart area, while the hands continue to rise upward towards the Yin Tang (Third Eye) area.
- The sorcerer will now imagine the Celestial God Tai Shang Lao Jun (Figure 1.164) hovering above his or her head, as a Divine ball of illuminating light, radiating powerful celestial light into his or her body (from the crown). Once the sorcerer experiences the illuminating light sensation, he or she will say the following "Mantra of Intention" three to seven times. Once the Mantra is completed, the sorcerer's mind should be completely empty:

"Tai Shang Si Bei
Wu Liang Du Ren."

"Divine Presence, fill me with compassion, so that I may help others without restraint."

- After the "Mantra of Intention" is spoken, the sorcerer will slowly lower his or her hands. While the hands are descending from the Yin Tang (Third Eye) area, the sorcerer will continue to imagine the energy from the Celestial Deity Tai Shang Lao Jun descending into his or her body, fusing with the energy of the heart. The fused energy of Heaven (i.e., the Divine light) and Earth (i.e., the Heart's Shen) will continue descending the body, along with the hands, until it reaches the Lower Dantian. When the combined energies reach the Lower Dantian, imagine and feel the energy immediately transform into steam, and fill the extremities with energy and power.

Figure 1.164. The Celestial God Tai Shang Lao Jun (also known as Lord Lao or Laozi)

- After completing the Mantra of Intention, the sorcerer will then summon the magical powers of the Celestial Yin and Yang, as well as the Four Celestial Animals of the Four Directions and offer burnt incense to these deities.
- Then, while facing East (i.e., the Green Dragon), the sorcerer will close his or her eyes and visualize the seven stars of the Big Dipper descending on top of his or her body (with the celestial handle of the Big Dipper pointing towards the Eastern direction). Daoist star stepping rituals require the sorcerer to protect his or her body by arranging the magical power of the seven stars in specific configurations in or around the body (see The Stars of the Big Dipper).
- The sorcerer will now turn his or her eyes "inward," and begin to visualizes and experience surrounding and transforming the entire cen-

ter core (i.e., energetic area surrounding the Taiji Pole) into the reflective image of a magic mirror.

- Next, the eight magical powers of the Bagua are then invoked and visualized surrounding each of the sorcerer's Three Dantians. Each of the three realms (spirit, energy, and matter) of the eight magical powers represent the Twenty-Four Perfected Immortals. The celestial powers of the Twenty-Four Perfected Immortals will energetically combine and begin to illuminate the sorcerer's three bodies (physical, energetic, and spiritual).
- The powerful illumination created from the eight magical powers of the Bagua is then reflected outward via the image of the Magic Mirror surrounding the sorcerer's center core. At this point, the locked meditation room will now become completely filled with the radiating celestial light emanating from the sorcerer's body.
- The Five Pure Lights that surround the sorcerer's Eternal Soul will now emerge from his or her Taiji Pole and heart area as five "Illuminating Pearls." These five magical orbs will additionally shine their powerful lights and further illuminate the four corners of the meditation room and the central space of the Magic Circle.
- At this moment, the radiating spiritual light poring from the sorcerer's center core begins to lift the sorcerer's spirit body out of his or her physical body, towards the Heavens.
- In the incense smoke above the altar, the sorcerer will eventually see the First Gate open. After the password is presented, the sorcerer's spirit body can begin to enter into the celestial realm and begin its journey among the stars.
- Now is the time when the sorcerer will perform the magical Star Stepping patterns required in the ritual. This experience should feel like rising on a ladder of light, and strolling among the seven stars of the Northern Dipper.

Ancient Stepping Patterns

The following are examples of the primary magical stepping patterns used in the various Zheng Yi sects of Daoist mysticism. The Zheng Yi sect is composed of three main branches of ancient Daoist magic, which are energetically united in what is known as the "Three Mountains Drop of Blood Alliance." Each drop of blood represents one of the following Zheng Yi branches, each located in the South-Eastern part of China:

- **Celestial Master Daoism (Tian Shi Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Long Hu Shan (Dragon Tiger Mountain), in the Jiangxi Province.
- **Highest Purity Daoism (Shang Qing Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Mao Shan (Mao Mountain), in the Jiangsu Province.
- **Magical Treasure Daoism (Ling Bo Sect):** This Zheng Yi system is located in Ge Zao Shan, in the Jiangxi Province.

Daoist Stepping patterns can be divided into several categories according to their magical uses. The most popular are: Big Dipper Stepping, Seven Star Stepping, Nine Palace Stepping, Twenty-Eight Star Constellation Stepping, Bagua (Eight Trigram) Stepping, Five Element Stepping, Three Stepping Patterns, and the Magical Esoteric Star Stepping Patterns, are described as follows.

Introduction to the Big Dipper

Much of what has been written in ancient China about the magical powers of the Big Dipper was preserved in the classic Daoist works on alchemy originating from the Mao Shan (Shang Qing) Daoist school during the Jin Dynasty period (265 - 420 A.D.). Shang Qing translates as "Highest Clarity," and refers to the "Nine Heavens" of ancient Daoist cosmology. The term "Nine Heavens" refers to the seven stars of the Big Dipper plus the two invisible stars, Fu and Bi. The Nine Heavens was sometimes called the "Abode of the Great One," who was believed to be the "Father of the Dao," and was older than the Heavens and Earth.

The Big Dipper (also known as The Emperor's Chariot or The Celestial Gate) was considered to be the "place of origin and of return." It was accepted as a magical gate by the ancient Daoists and was

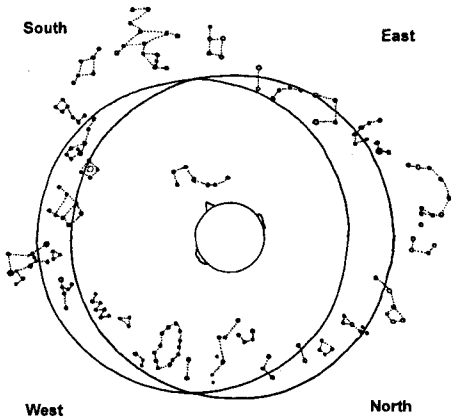


Figure 1.165. Facing the direction of the North Star and Big Dipper at night allowed the ancient Daoists the ability to accurately tell time.

Figure 1.166. Dou Mu, The Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper

used as the passageway into Heaven. According to the ancient Daoists, the Northern Ladle (Big Dipper) was the Chariot of the Celestial Emperor, who was believed to ride around the Celestial Pole Star continually overseeing his earthly kingdom. According to Mao Shan Daoist tradition, the Celestial Pole Star can only be approached through Seven Gates of the Big Dipper, which represents the highest attainment possible for earthly beings, hence the name Shang Qing, "Highest Clarity."

Since they associated it with Death, Enlightenment, Soul Travel, and the worship of the Celestial Immortals, the ancient Mao Shan Daoists continually worshipped and invoked the magical powers of the Big Dipper. While the Sun, Moon, and Five Planets were used as a kind of "cosmic timetable," effective as a means of foretelling the Macrocosmic changes within the Heavens and Earth or for predicting future events, the Big Dipper served another purpose entirely. It was used as a means through which the Daoist sorcerer could enter into the supernatural realm.

In ancient times, it was believed that the Heavens revolved around the Earth. This is one reason why the ancient Daoists believed the Big Dipper to be circumpolar (i.e., constantly circulating the North Star and never appearing below the horizon). Because it appears to rotate once around the North Star every twenty-four hours, the ancient Chinese were able to tell time from the position of the Dipper at night, give or take a few (four) minutes (Figure 1.165).

In Daoist cosmology, the Sun corresponds to the Middle Dantian, the Heart and the Element of Fire, the Moon corresponds to the Lower Dantian, the Kidneys and the Element of Water, and the Big Dipper corresponds to the Yellow Court, the Spleen, and the Element of Earth.

In some ancient Daoist sects, the Big Dipper is viewed as a female deity Dou Mu (the Immortal Mother of the Stars of The Dipper), and she is considered to be the "Governor of the Pavilion of Heavenly Treasure." She is said to have the most "brilliant eyes of all the Heavens." She, along with the Stars of the Dipper as her terrestrial spirit, and water celestial spirit, is in charge of life (Figure 1.166).

In the ancient Chinese Daoist book of the *Fundamental Destiny, Life-Prolonging Heart Scripture of the Great Sagely Primordial Sovereign of the Supreme Mysterious and Numinous Big Dipper,* it is written that, "with her great merit of medicine and healing, the Big Dipper manages and harmonizes the Five Elements, regulates the Yin and Yang Vital Breaths, dissolves stagnations and eliminates dark and Evil Qi. Under her mercy, those individuals who miss their time of salvation may redeem themselves. She is also in charge of the safety of

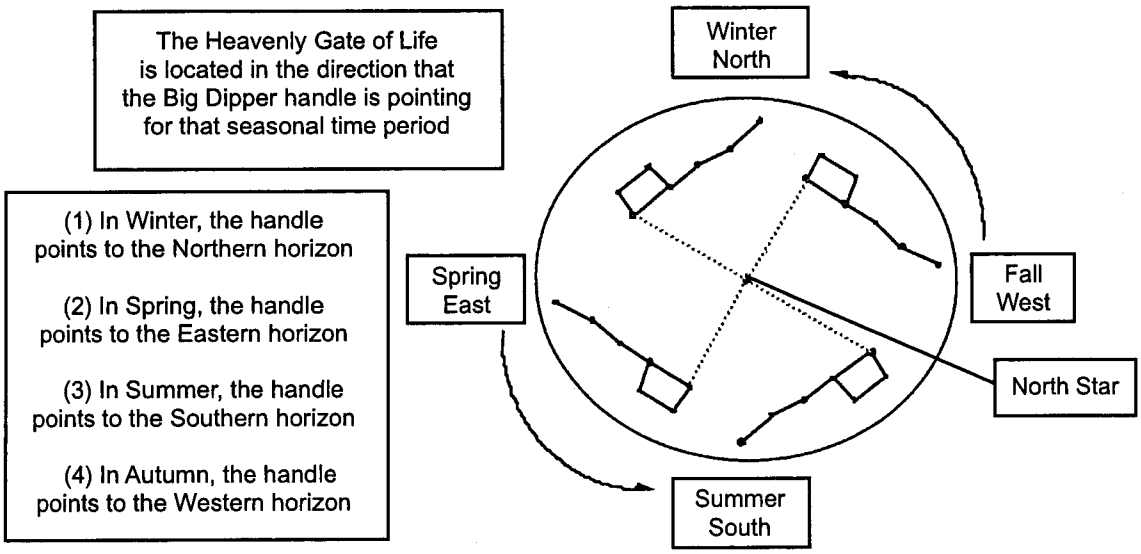


Figure 1.167. In Ancient China, the Handle of the Big Dipper was used to Determine the Season (The North Star was always positioned in the center of the diagram).

pregnancy and birth, as well as the healing of diseases. Seated on her throne, the Immortal Mother of the Big Dipper peacefully cultivates divine perfection, refines celestial and terrestrial spirits, concentrates the Vital Breath with an empty mind and enters the Mystery of Mysteries. Breathing the numinous Wind, gathering the purple Wuji energy, she has attained the mysterious and numinous Sublime Dao, and releases infinite subtle rays, penetrating the Pool of Essence."

Angle of the Big Dipper

In ancient Chinese mysticism, the Big Dipper represents the foundational base for the "Gate of Access," which is considered the spiritual passageway between life and death. Through this gate the individual may obtain knowledge and insight concerning past, present, and future events. The ancient Daoists believed that the Heavenly Gate of Destiny or Life (Mingmen of Heaven) is located in the direction that the handle of the Big Dipper is pointing. In ancient China, the tip of the Big Dipper handle was sometimes called the "horse," because it leads the novice (the rider) to the Heavenly Gate of Destiny. The location of the Heavenly Gate of Destiny indicates the directions from which prayers and blessings are to be initiated, and exorcisms performed. It is also considered the place from which the soul of a deceased person can escape from the underworld.

As the Earth orbits the Sun, the angle at which the Big Dipper can be viewed changes on a daily, monthly, and yearly basis (Figure 1.167). These changing angles correspond to the different cycles of the Moon as they are arranged in the Twelve Earthly Branches, and repeat themselves after completing an orbit (360° rotation of twelve Moon cycles). These twelve lunar cycles determine the twelve seasonal periods (Figure 1.168). The beginning part of each month marks the beginning of the seasonal periods of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the beginning of the energy cycle of that month.

When the Big Dipper points to a specific direction in accordance to the "lunar month," a practitioner can face the direction that the handle is pointing to invigorate internal energy. The Big Dipper is related to the energetic transformations of germinating, beginning, and growing.

Spiritual Power of the Big Dipper

The ancient Daoists believed that the Gate of Life/Destiny indicates the directions from which prayer is to be initiated and is also the place through

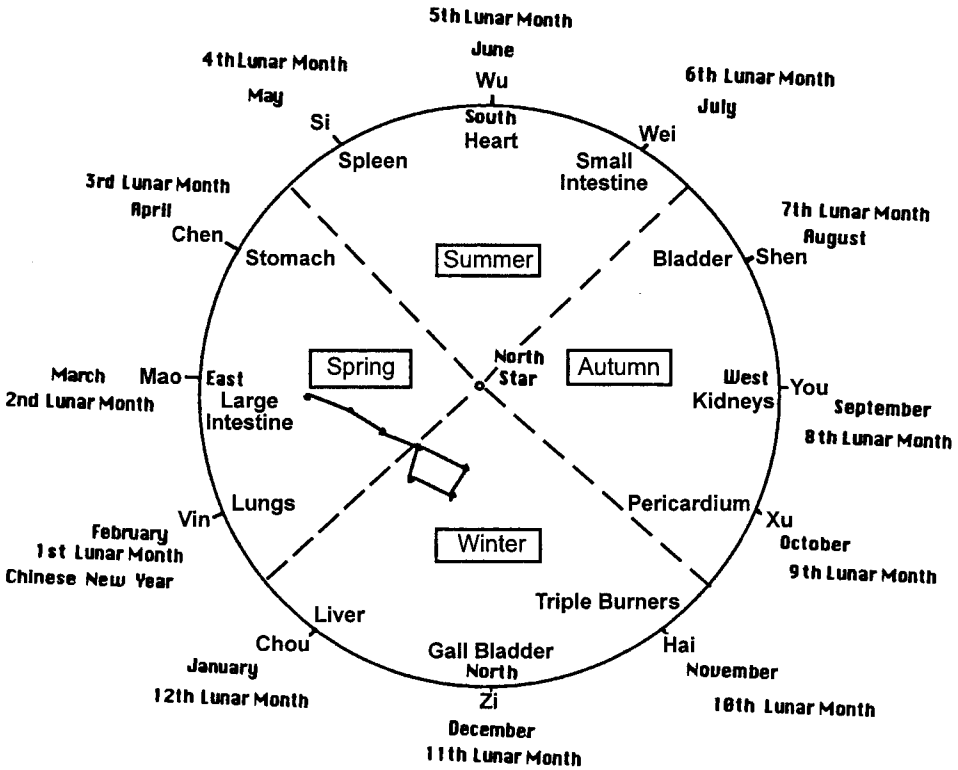


Figure 1.168. The beginning of the seasonal periods of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the twelve Moon cycles is determined by the angle of the Big Dipper.

which the soul of a deceased individual could escape the underworld. The Gate of Life/Destiny is found in different locations during the various times of the year (Figure 1.169 through Figure 1.172).

Because the Gate of Life/Destiny is located at the exact point of the tip of the handle of the Pole Star constellation, it also indicates the precise directions from which the Daoist Mystic would gather his or her celestial energy in the form of Thunder Magic cultivation.

Furthermore, the ancient Daoists also believed that the Stars of the Big Dipper move in the center of the Heavens and look down to control the four directions, four seasons and Five Elements. In ancient times, there were three specific kinds of spiritual practice centered around the Stars of the Big Dipper, described as follows:

1. The first consists of invoking its power for protection by having the celestial stars surround and cover the body with divine light.
2. The second consists of ascending into it in order to access the infinite knowledge contained within the realm of Big Dipper.
3. The third involves gathering the star's essence or star cream into the body to energize the Nine Chambers of the Three Dantians.

In ancient China, the Big Dipper was considered the bridge between the energies of the Sun, the Moon, and the source of "10,000 things." According to the *Seven Slips of a Cloudy Satchel*, "the Nine Stars are the luminous root of the Nine Heavens, the bright bridge of the Sun and Moon, and the ancestral abyss of all things." The Sun and Moon are together considered to create a bipolar energy field, whereas the Big Dipper is considered unipolar. The Sun corresponds to the Heart and Fire energy, which is related to the front area of the body. The Moon corresponds to the Kidneys and Water energy, which is related to the back area of the body. The Big Dipper corresponds to

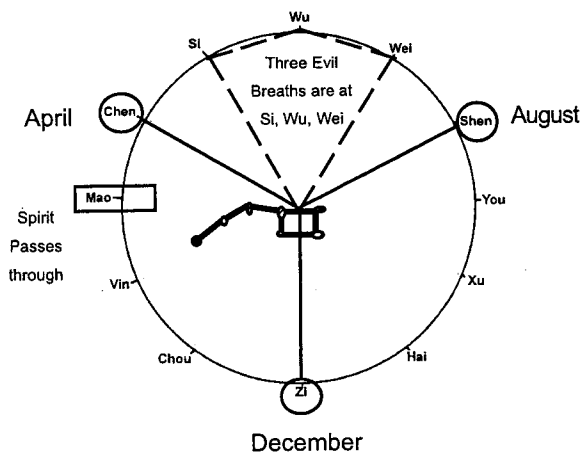


Figure 1.169. In the Shen, Zi, and Chen months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Middle Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Yin and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/ Destiny through Mao. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Si, Wu, and Wei.

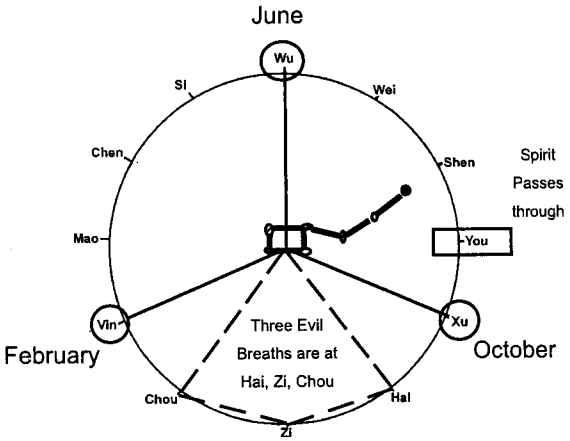


Figure 1.170. In the Yin, Wu, and Xu months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Supreme Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Shen and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/Destiny through Yu. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Hai, Zi, and Chou.

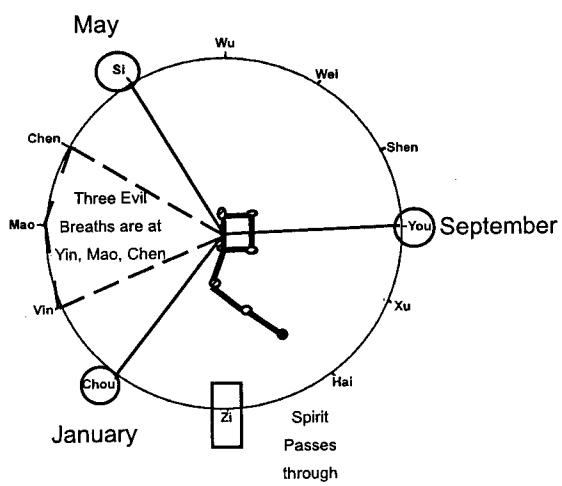


Figure 1.171. In the Si, You, and Chou months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Lower Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Hai and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/ Destiny through Zi. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Yin, Mao, and Chen.

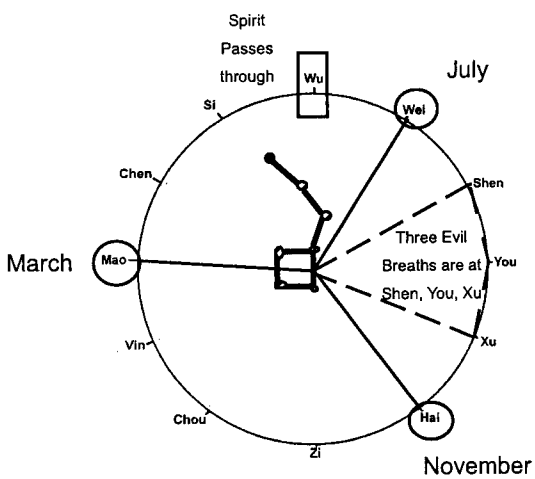


Figure 1.172. In the Hai, Mao, and Wei months (known in Daoist Mysticism as the months of the Upper Original) the tip of the Big Dipper handle points to Si and the Spirit passes through the Gate of Life/Destiny through Wu. The Three Evil Breaths located at the open top of the Dipper are at Shen, You, and Xu.

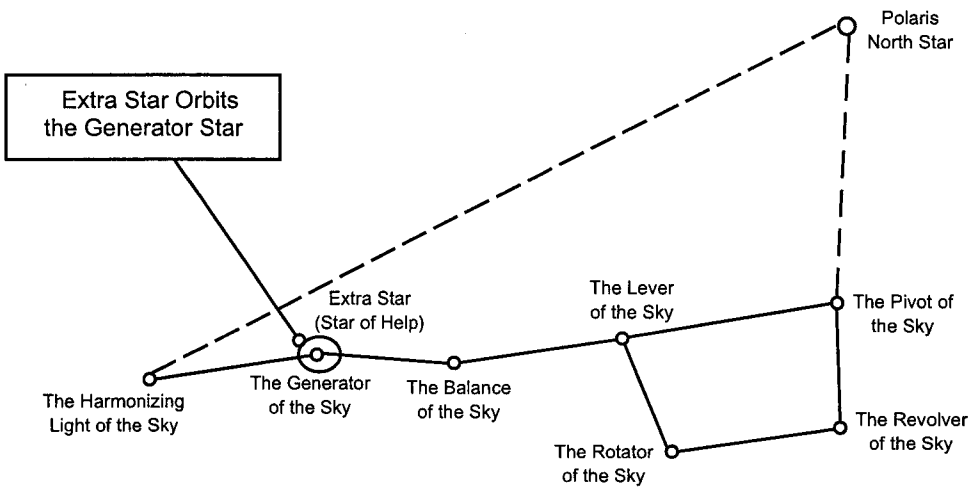


Figure 1.173. The Big Dipper is considered a reservoir of heavenly energy, collecting Qi from all of the other stars and constellations as it moves through the sky.

the Spleen and the center Earth Element, which is related to the Taiji Pole.

The energy from the Stars of the Big Dipper can also be used to balance the body's Five Agents (stored within the body's Five Yin Organs) and can be arranged internally to enhance perception of space and time. The Seven Po are also said to relate to the seven Stars of the Big Dipper.

THE STARS OF THE BIG DIPPER

The "Steps of Yu" enacted a Daoist sorcerer's magical journey from star to star through the various realms of the Northern Dipper. This sacred journey began with the "First Star" (located on the outer lip of the bowl of the Dipper), and continued to the last star, ending at the Celestial Gate (located on the very end of the handle).

The ancient Chinese believed that each person was born under the protection of one of the spirits who reside in each star of the Big Dipper. When pacing the "Steps of Yu," the sorcerer would therefore stop at each star and invoke the spirit's magical name, using the appropriate Words of Power in order to open each magical Seal. The ancient Daoists believed that there was a energetic memory encoded and contained within this magical ritual, allowing the Words of Power to automatically trigger and open the energetic portal of each star's celestial Gate.

As this encoded memory begins to awaken the deepest layers of the sorcerer's unconscious mind, it eventually works its way upward into his or her consciousness. Once the conscious mind experiences this spiritual awakening, the sorcerer's Spirit Body begins to conform itself around this encoded memory. At that moment of recognition, the sorcerer's Yang Body begins to absorb and envelop itself in the energetic material of the stars. Then, the sorcerer's Yang Body along with his or her consciousness begins to separate itself from its attachment to the dense energetic form of the Yin Body, and Soul Travel is manifested.

The names of the Big Dipper stars and their planetary correspondences are described as follows (Figure 1.173):

- **The First Star in known as the "Clarity of Yang:"** It is the star located at the lip of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Pivot of the Sky." In the ritual of "Walking the Dipper," the sorcerer begins at the midnight hour, starting at the "Clarity of Yang," when the Yang energy begins to rise.

  This star is also known as "The Gate of the Moon," and it represents entry into the spirit realm. When working specifically with just the "Clarity of Yang" star as a magical portal, the altar should face the North. It is also important

that the magical Seal used to open the celestial gate be engraved onto a silver talisman, during one of the three days of the Full Moon, and that no sunlight ever be permitted to shine onto this Seal. The incense used to access the spirit realm of the First Star is Camphor.

- **The Second Star in known as the "Essence of Yin:"** It is the star located at the outer bottom edge of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Revolver of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Mercury."
- **The Third Star in known as the "True One:"** It is the star located directly on the "floor" of the Dipper's bowl, just before the star known as the Underworld, and it is sometimes called "The Rotator of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Venus."
- **The Fourth Star in known as the "Underworld:"** It is the star located at the outer edge of the Dipper's bowl, and it is sometimes called "The Lever of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of the Sun." It is considered to be the energetic portal to the "land of the Midnight Sun," and was sometimes known by the name "Mysterious Darkness" and "Black Obscurity."
- **The Fifth Star in known as the "Red One:"** It is the star located on the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Balance of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Mars."
- **The Sixth Star in known as the "Northern Bridge:"** It is the star located on the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Generator of the Sky." This star is also known as the "Gate of Jupiter." The Northern Bridge leads directly to the Celestial Gate. It also contains an "invisible" star that orbits the Northern Bridge.
- **The Seventh Star in known as the "Celestial Gate:"** It is the star located on the tip of the Dipper's panhandle, and it is sometimes called "The Harmonizing Light of the Sky." The Celestial Gate provides the Daoist sorcerer with the final entrance to the celestial realms. This star is also known as the "Gate of Saturn."

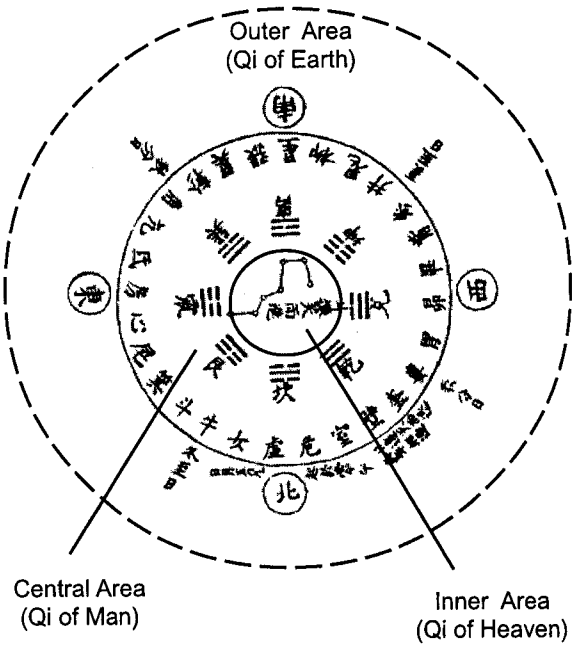


Figure 1.174. The ancient Daoists would sometimes use the energy of the Big Dipper for invoking its powerful protection.

Using the Dipper Stars for Protection

One method used in ancient China for invoking the powerful protection of the Big Dipper energy is for the individual to cover him or herself with the Stars of the Big Dipper. This was accomplished by first surrounding the body's outer energetic field with the four primary directions of the Earth Qi, then surrounding the central internal organs and energetic fields with the energy of the Postnatal Eight Trigrams.

Next, visualize the Big Dipper Stars descending from the Heavens and arranging themselves in a specific order around the center Taiji Pole of the body's core (Figure 1.174). After the inner core has been filled with the celestial power emanating from the Big Dipper Stars, the individual can be further protected by arranging the Stars in four specific ways:

- Shining above the individual's head, saturating through his or her entire body
- In front of or behind the doctor's body and radiating through his or her tissues

- Vibrating the nine chambers within the individual's Three Dantians
- As a celestial receptacle, with the bowl of the Dipper in the Lower Dantian in order to receive celestial light and the handle along the spine to strengthen one's destiny and virtue

The doctor imagines placing the stars of the Big Dipper into the center of his or her body. The Stars' energetic function is to govern the front, back, right, and left of the body, thus regulating the individual's Yin and Yang energy. The Stars' energetic function can also be used for absorbing energy from the four seasons into the individual's body.

Usually, meditations dealing with gathering energy from the Sun and Moon are followed by meditations involving the Big Dipper to further stimulate and energize the body's energetic fields. The Stars of the Big Dipper are also considered to be responsible for opening the seven orifices of the embryo's body, and for giving the embryo life. These stars also correspond to the Nine Chambers in the Three Dantians and the seven primary chakras.

The ancient Zheng Yi Daoists also believed that the Nine Emperors of the Dao Body (Heavenly Emperor, Purple Subtlety, Lusty Wolf, Giant Gate, Store of Wealth, Civil Chief, Pure and Chaste, Military Chief, and Troop Destroyer) were connected to the Nine Stellar Sovereigns of the Big Dipper.

THE NINE DARK STARS OF THE BIG DIPPER

The ancient Daoists also believed in the existence of certain "anti-stars," stars that could not be seen with the eyes but existed as counterparts to the visible stars. They therefore positioned the existence of these invisible Dipper stars around the location of the visible stars.

Just as there were invisible stars forming and invisible Dipper, so are there invisible planets forming an invisible solar system. The magical rituals employed by the ancient Daoists to summon the forces of these stars also work to summon the invisible forces into the sorcerer's own body.

According to ancient Daoist texts, the nine stars of the Big Dipper constellations are doubled in number by virtue of their association with a

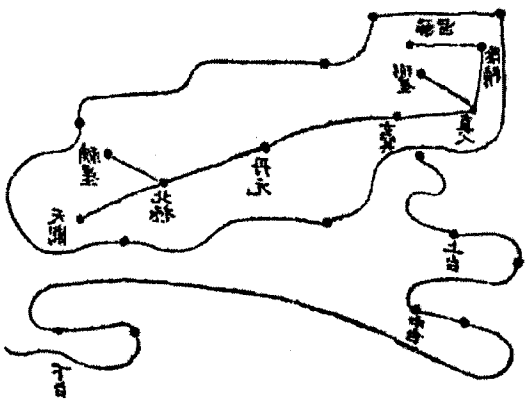


Figure 1.175. The Big Dipper, surrounded by the Dark Stars and Preceded by the Three Terraces

group of nine dark stars, which cast a "black light," or "light that does not shine." This is a type of sacred darkness floating around the North Pole. The black light is also associated with the "floating darkness" where nothing external or internal can be seen.

These nine dark stars are actually the stars of the celestial Hun and Po, or Ling Ming (Magical Light) wherein female deities known as the "Nine Empresses of the Great Yin" dwell (Figure 1.175). The Nine Empresses of the Great Yin are associated with the condition of *Wu Wei*, in which the forces of nature are gathered and hidden. They were also believed to assist the Daoist adept in the art of advanced physical, energetic, and spiritual transformation.

In ancient times, the Daoist adepts would direct the focus of their prayers and meditations toward these nine female deities in order to acquire the power of invisibility. Some of their names include, "She Who Hides by Transformation and Escapes into the Origin," "She Who Hides Her Traces and Disperses Her True Form," and "She Who Changes Her Body and Transforms Her Brilliance."

Within the physical body, these nine dark stars correspond and dwell within the Ming Tang of the Upper Dantian, while the nine visible stars of the Big Dipper correspond and dwell within the Heart and Middle Dantian.

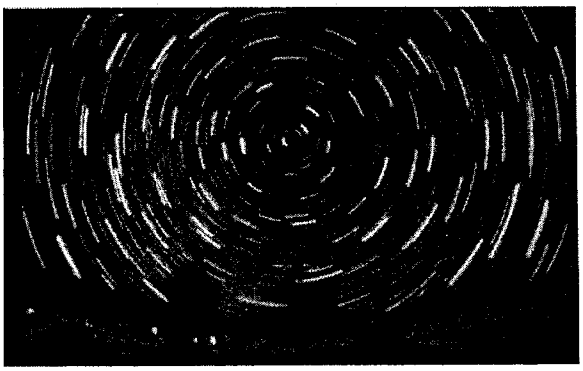


Figure 1.176. The ancient Daoist believed that the Pole Star was the absolute center of the Heavens. Pictured here (through time-lapse photography) the stars seem to trace concentric circles around the Pole Star.

The Pole Star and the Big Dipper

In 3000 B.C., the Celestial North Pole pointed to the star Thuban, in the constellation known as "Draco," or the Dragon. Draconis was considered to be the most important constellation at that time, and it seemed to pivot around the Heavens via one of its own stars, Thuban (also known as Alpha Draconis). Over time, the gradual change from Draconis to the Great Bear (Big Dipper) signified a energetic shift that occurred on the planet many centuries ago.

Currently, the Celestial North Pole corresponds to an area in space very close to the star known as Polaris (the North Star). According to ancient Daoist texts, the Pole Star (North Star) is the absolute center of the Heavens (Figure 1.176). It was further believed that the Pole Star axis, stemming from the North Star, traveled downward from the center of Heaven to connect with the Earth's center core through the North and South poles. The North pole was regarded as the peak (or Baihui) of the Earth, and was believed to be comprised of seven Stars, composing a fifth realm (differentiated from the Four Directions of Heaven).

The energies of each of the four directional animals and their seven constellations moved around the Earth's central Pole to create the Five Element changes in weather. If the weather changes progressed in their expected order, they were considered normal; however, if the weather transition occurred either earlier, later, stronger, or weaker than expected, it was considered to be an environmental Evil Qi.

Therefore, the ancient Chinese believed that one could predict the changes of weather by studying the interrelationships between the Five Elements and the cycles of the Sun, Moon, the Pole Star, the Five Planets, and the Twenty-Eight Constellations.

Big Dipper Stepping Patterns

The Big Dipper is also called the "Celestial Matrix" and the "Earthly Pattern." Therefore, the basic function of Pacing the Dippers is to symbolize leaving the Earth and crossing over the "Nine Quarters" of the Nine Heavens, patrolling the universe, and flying over the realm of the Immortals. Once the priest has entered into the celestial realm, he or she can receive assistance in prohibiting evil things, and controlling evil spirits. The Steps of Yu and the Pacing of the Big Dippers also had the additional function of creating supernatural powers, and enhancing the ability to prohibit and control spirit entities.

Within the course of their development, the specific functions of the stepping patterns became specialized. Some of the stepping patterns were mainly practiced in order to allow the mystic the ability to fly over the Nine Heavens, others were specifically used to control the spirits. For example:

- The pacing of the Dipper for "Destroying Hell and Invoking Thunder," was used as a skill in Thunder Magic. The stepping pattern was believed to be able to remove the Yin Vital Breath from the body and allow the disciple to be able to discharge Yang spiritual power (causing the frightening sound of thunder to be heard).
- Pacing the "Dipper of Spirit Possession" as a exorcistic skill for "Summoning and Interrogating Spirits" caused the spirit to attach itself to a specified children medium or other designated individual.
- The "Pacing The Numinous Dipper of the Divine Tiger of the Life-invoking Roar" was

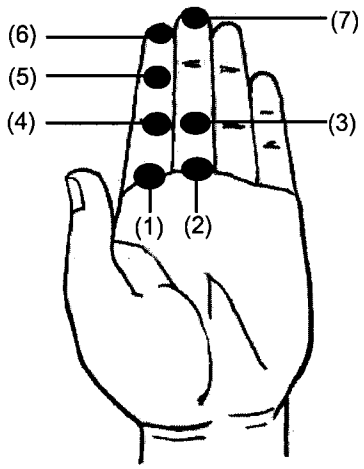


Figure 1.177. The Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper can be accessed through the mystic's left hand.

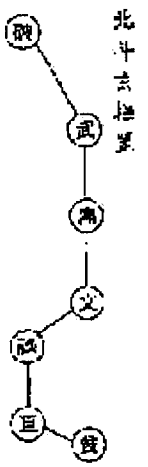


Figure 1.178. The Pacing of the "Big Dipper of the Mysterious Pivot"

used in order to invoke the Divine Tiger General, who pursued and controlled souls lost in the darkness. This stepping pattern was commonly used when performing the ritual of "Refinement and Salvation for Destroying the Darkness."

- Dipper pacing can also be performed in order to access the Nine Quarters (Nine Continents) of the Earth. In ancient times, the Nine Quarters referred to the nine distinct regions of Earth: Yong, Liang, Yan, Yang, Qing, Xu, Yu, and Ji, which surrounded the "center" kingdom of ancient China. By symbolizing the entire country while pacing the Nine Quarters, the ancient Daoist mystic was able to spiritually travel and energetically patrol all the land on the Earth.

The foundation of Daoist magic lies in the ability to transform and use supernatural powers while controlling the resulting energetic changes with the aid of supernatural forces (via the Celestial Immortals who live within the Heavens or within the Immortal Mountains). A Daoist mystic must also develop powerful supernatural abilities if he or she desires to enter the supernatural world. Pacing the Dipper was thought to be an effective "tool" in helping the Daoist priest enter into the realm of the Immortals.

PACING THE BIG DIPPER AND HAND SEALS

The Pacing the Big Dipper is usually practiced together with specific Hand Seals (refer to Figure 1.177). It is said that during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), there were over 700 kinds of Steps of the Big Dipper and Hand Seal patterns.

In spite of the huge variety of stepping patterns, there are only a few types of magical skills conjured from the Pacing the Big Dipper that are commonly used in Daoist mysticism. The most common stepping pattern used when Pacing the Big Dippers is called the "Big Dipper of the Mysterious Pivot" (Figure 1.178). In this particular stepping pattern, there are only seven Dipper stars used. The names of these stars are used as the names of each steps while pacing forward, and the names of the stars' Rulers (the controller over the stars' specific power) are used as the names of each steps while pacing back.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.), the *Tradition of the Mighty Commonwealth of Orthodox Oneness* taught the "Three-Five Big Dipper Register," which describes the skills of the Pacing of the Dippers of the East, South, West, North and Center. Later the "Skills of Pacing the Dippers of the Twenty-Eight Constellations" (Figure 1.179) and the "Five Big Dippers of the Sun and the Moon" were commonly used in the Zheng Yi traditions.

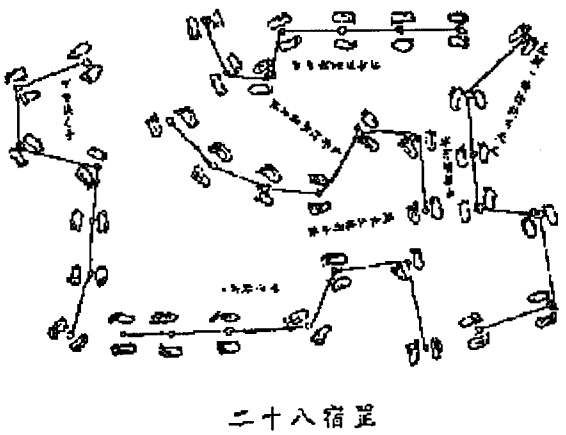


Figure 1.179. The Three-Five Big Dipper Stepping Patterns of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

Seven Star Stepping Patterns

The ancient Chinese divided the Heavenly energy of the cosmos into different classes of Yin and Yang: the Sun was seen as being the essence of Yang, the Moon as being the essence of Yin, and the Stars as being a combination of both Yin and Yang. The Stars were believed to have a great influence upon the energetic matrices of Earth and Man. The term "Stars" in ancient China referred to the visible stars in the Northern Hemisphere; namely the Big Dipper, Polaris, the five planets and the twenty-eight star constellations.

The pure aspects of these Stars were believed to form the universal patterns that are responsible for the manifestation of form and matter. Thus, the ancient Chinese also believed that everyone was born under the guardianship of the Stars. Certain Stars would have a great influence over an individual's life, determining whether he or she would be born as a human or animal, live long or die young, be rich or poor, etc.

The following stepping patterns are based on the placement of the various star constellations.

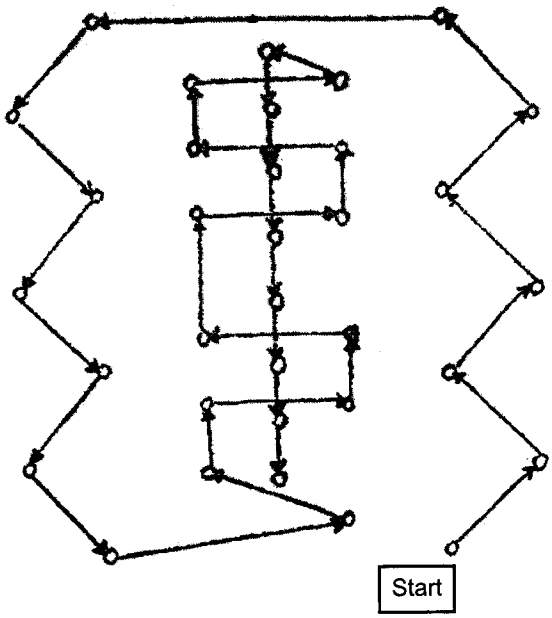


Figure 1.180. The "Big Star Stepping"

These various stepping patterns are attributed to the "star powers" of the twenty-eight celestial mansions and their movements within the Heavens.

"Big Star Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern uses the stars to summon the magical help of Celestial Immortal Ne Zha (The Fire Wheel Child). According to legend, the Celestial Immortal Ne Zha, riding on his fire wheels can travel everywhere (over rivers and seas, Heaven and hell, etc.) making his task of fighting evil much easier (Figure 1.180).

The Jade Emperor honored him and conferred upon him the title "First Leader of the 36 Immortal Warriors, the Heavenly Marshal who guards the Gates of Heaven."

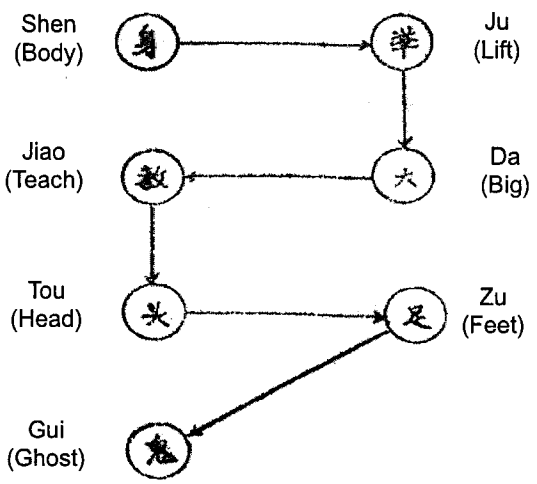


Figure 1.181. Seven Star Stepping #1: "Summoning the Immortal Ne Zha" Stepping

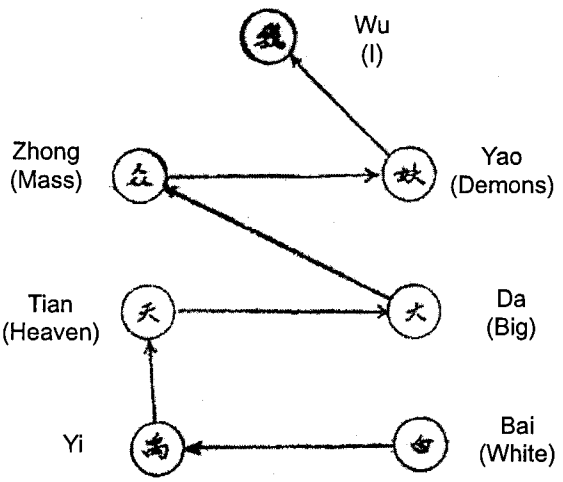


Figure 1.182. Seven Star Stepping #2: "Removing The Evils" Stepping

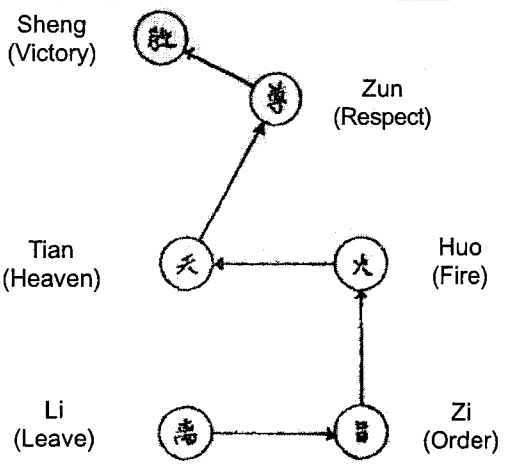


Figure 1.183. Seven Star Stepping #3: "Summoning the Magical Officers" (First Version)

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #1: "SUMMONING THE IMMORTAL NE ZHA" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern uses the stars to summon the magical help of Celestial Immortal Ne Zha (The Fire Wheel Child). According to legend, the Celestial Immortal Ne Zha, riding on his fire wheels can travel everywhere (over rivers and seas, Heaven and hell, etc.) making his task of fighting evil much easier (Figure 1.181).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"My body raises up
to offer respect to
the Big Master Teacher
Who Leads the Ghosts"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #2: "REMOVING THE EVILS" STEPPING PATTERN

This Stepping Pattern is used to capture and remove demons and evil spirits (Figure 1.182).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I summon
the White Yi
of the Great Heaven
to capture and remove
the demon hoards"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #3: "SUMMONING THE MAGICAL OFFICERS" (#1)

This Stepping Pattern is used for the purpose of summoning the magical help of the Celestial Marshal Generals and their Celestial Soldiers (Figure 1.183).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"Dispatch the order
and summon the Heavenly Fire
that Demands Respect
and Commands Victory"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #4: "SUMMONING THE MAGICAL OFFICERS" (#2)

This Stepping Pattern is used for the purpose of summoning the magical help of the Celestial Marshal Generals and their Celestial Soldiers (Figure 1.184).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"With the Fire of Thunder
and My Penetrating Shout
I cause the Heavens and Earth to Move"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #5: "SUMMONING MARSHAL YIN" STEPPING

One example of a general ritual used for summoning Celestial Marshal General Yin to Bind Evil Spirits and Demons is described as follows:

- First, the Daoist disciple transforms his body into that of a Hua Shen ("Immortal Deity"). Next the disciple gathers the energy of his Prenatal Wu Jing Shen (i.e., the spiritual energy of his Five Yin Organs) to merge with his original soul energy (Ling Shen). Both energies are combined in order to form the "true spirit body" (also known as the "Golden Luminosity" body).
- The disciple begins to circulate the spiritual energy by transforming his tissues through the alchemy of mind and respiration. As this circular process continues, the disciple will imagine the exteriorizing of the deities within (by breathing out) and the interiorizing of the Golden Luminosity (by breathing in). The disciple will continue in this manner until he transforms the his body and mind into the spiritual state of an immortal, known as the "Mysterious Lord" (Xuan Di). As the Mysterious Lord, the disciple now has the spiritual status and power to communicate with and summon Celestial Marshal General Yin (or any other celestial deity).
- Next, the disciple purifies the brush used for writing talismans and focuses his attention onto the celestial name of the deity he wishes to summon (Marshal General Yin). The disciple then performs the Seven Star Stepping Pattern for "Summoning Marshal Yin" (Figure 1.185), while saying the following incantation:

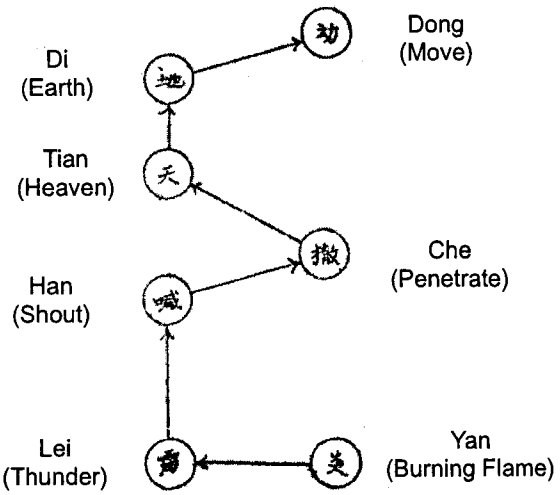


Figure 1.184. Seven Star Stepping #4: "Summoning the Magical Officers" (Second Version)

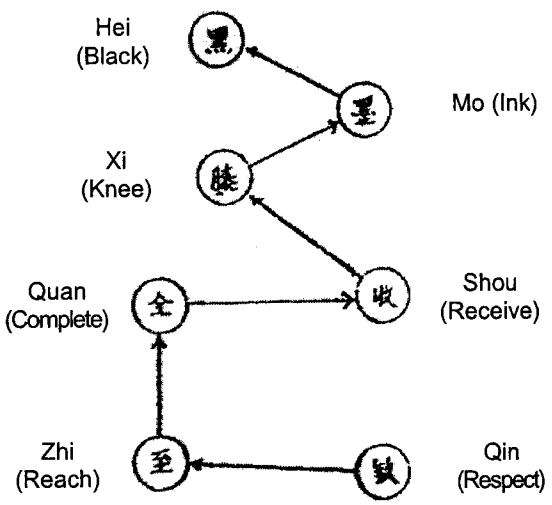


Figure 1.185. Seven Star Stepping #5: "Summonsing Martial Yin" Stepping

"With deep respect I reach
and completely receive
the Magical Power of the Black Ink"

- On a three and one-half meter blue banner (whose bottom end has been cut into five pennant-shaped ribbons and weighted with small stones), the disciple will draw a large talisman associated with Celestial Marshal Gen-

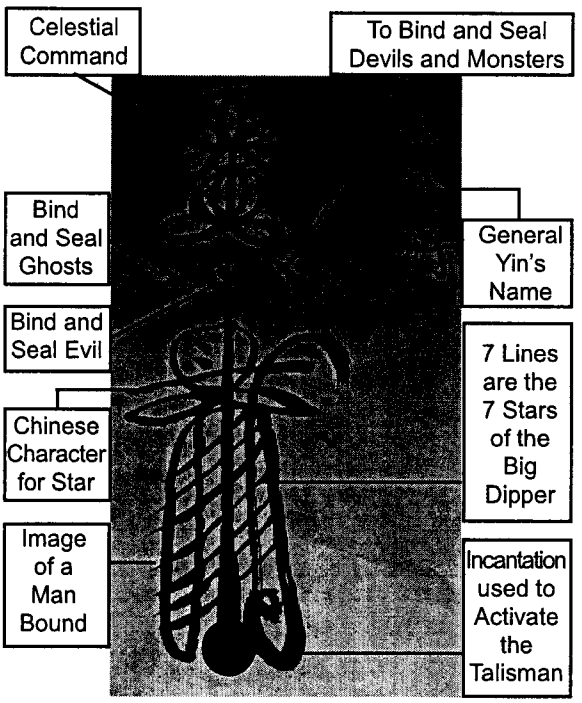


Figure 1.186. General Yin's Talisman: Used for Binding Evil Spirits and Demons

eral Yin (Figure 1.186). Marshal General Yin is considered to be the "Star God of the Center Sky," and is summoned from the "Earthly Palace of Supreme Age."

- On the bottom of the large talisman, the disciple then writes in smaller characters the specific talismans associated with several dozen deities and tens of dozens of celestial names in an effort to summon all these celestial deities to attend the ritual.
- The disciple will write each name, one after the other, on top of one another (so as to form a dense circle of black ink at the bottom of the large talisman).
- After writing these names, the disciple then writes a talisman on the ends of each of the five pennants on the bottom of the banner.
- The ceremonial master and his acolytes will then hoist the banner on the end of a 10-meter bamboo pole.
- Charged with talismans and celestial names that have been written by a disciple with spiritual power, the banner waves in the wind, and

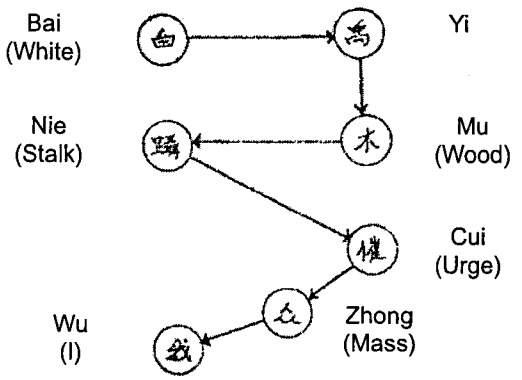


Figure 1.187. Seven Star Stepping #6: "Southern Star" Stepping

summons Celestial Marshal General Yin and the rest of the celestial deities to the altar space.

- When Celestial Marshal General Yin arrives, he ties into knots the pennants at the end of the banner. This energetically symbolizes that he has responded to the summons.
- After all five pennants are securely knotted, the banner is taken down and placed in the center of the main altar.
- Through the use of the Talismanic Brush, Breath, Hand Seal, Star Stepping, Incantation and Banner, the disciple (having become a deity) is now able to summon the celestial Marshal Generals and other deities.

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #6: "SOUTHERN STAR" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used to capture evil spirits or demons (Figure 1.187). The ancient Chinese believed that the energy of the Southern Dipper was in charge of life, while the energy of the Northern (Big) Dipper was in charge of death. While the Northern Dipper represents the realm of the Underworld, the Southern Dipper leads the skillful practitioner to eternal life. Therefore, the celestial deities of the Northern Dipper are invoked in order to help the disciple pass for registration in the Southern Dipper, where the true registers of immortality are kept.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Summon the White Yi
of the Wood Element
to secretly persuade the masses"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #7: "NORTH STAR" STEPPING

The Northern Dipper (also known as the Northern Bushel, Big Dipper, and Ursa Major) was and is the central object of important visualization techniques in Daoist mysticism (as well as being one of the main celestial divinities). It is the center and source of all things, establishing the inherent order of the universe and foundation of the world. The Dipper is seen as the pivot of all creative transformations. It is the vertical axis of the universe that is aligned with the Spleen and Yellow Court in the human body. It establishes the rhythms of the seasons, distinguishes good and evil and controls good fortune and disaster.

Most importantly, the Northern Dipper is seen as the "Gate of Access" to the Heavens. Believers must invoke its divinities to pass from death into life. The ancient Daoists believed that in order to live longer, an individual needed to pray to the Immortal of the Big Dipper to take one's name off the Death Registration.

The Dipper is the symbol and home of the Great Unity, the Daoist god "Taiyi," and is part of a triad formed between the Sun, Moon and Stars. The Northern Dipper is made up of 9 stars (2 of which are visible only to skillful practitioners), each star inhabited by a particular male divinity. In addition, each star in the Dipper has a corresponding location in the human body. For example, the first star is located in the Heart.

Moreover, the Northern Dipper has beside it a corresponding counterpart/mirror image made up of "Black stars." The spouses of the male divinities of the Northern Dipper live in these stars. This "black" constellation forms the material and spiritual soul of the Northern Dipper (Figure 1.188). In the *Bu Tiangang Jing* (Scripture on Pacing the Heavenly Guideline), stars of the Dipper are known by the following names: Yangming (Yang Brilliance), Yinjing (Yin Quintessence), Xuanming (Mysterious and Dark), Danyuan (Cinnabar Origin), Beiji (Northern Culmen), Tianguan (Heavenly Gate), and are joined by two "dark" stars that serve as the Hun and Po souls of Dipper (Fuxing and Bixing) which help form an esoteric "outer" Bushel.

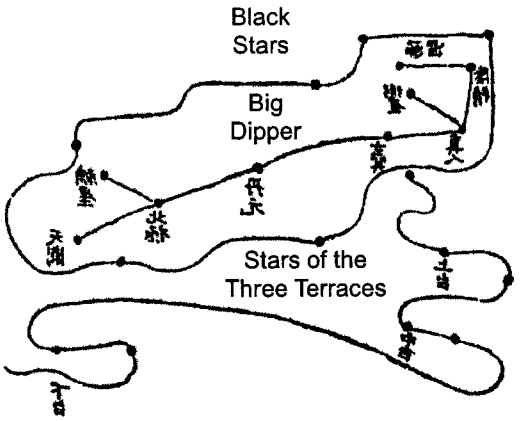


Figure 1.188. The Big Dipper, surrounded by the "Black Stars" and preceded by the "Stars of the Three Terraces"

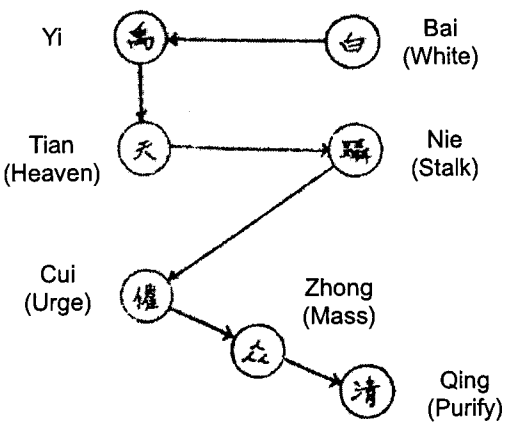


Figure 1.189. Seven Star Stepping #7: "Northern Star" Stepping

This Stepping Pattern is used to remove, evict, and capture evil spirits and demons (Figure 1.189).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The White Yi of Heaven
Secretly Persuades the Masses
to Purify their Spirit"

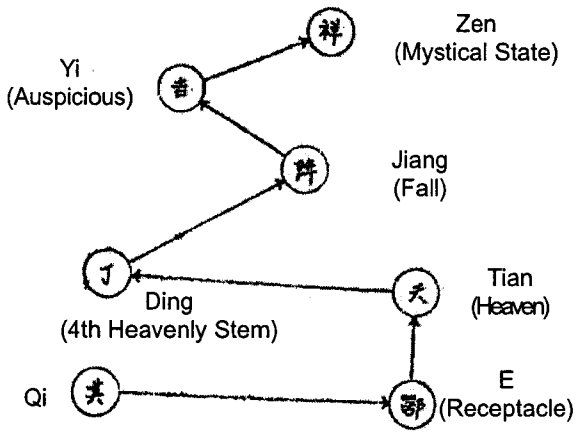


Figure 1.190. Seven Star Stepping #8: "Escorting and Sending" Stepping

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #8: "ESCORTING AND ASCENDING" STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used for escorting and sending the official reports to the Heavens (Figure 1.190).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Receptacle of the Heavenly Ding Falls Auspiciously onto those in the Divine State of Mysticism"

SEVEN STAR STEPPING #9: SUMMONING THE MAGIC TIGER STEPPING

This Stepping Pattern is used to summon the Celestial General's Magic Tiger (Figure 1.191).

The ancient Chinese considered the Tiger to be the prince of the wild mountain beasts (the four stripes on his forehead form the character "Wang," or Prince), believing that "its powerful roar stirs up the wind in the valley." It is the magical animal which signifies the Yin that calls forth the actions of the Yang, therefore tiger talismans are used to keep away disease and evil, and its images are painted on the walls of homes and temples to keep away evil spirits.

The tiger is also associated with autumn, when it comes down from the mountains into villages, and is personified by the constellation Orion, which is prominent in autumn. Immortal deities who ride on the back of tigers include:

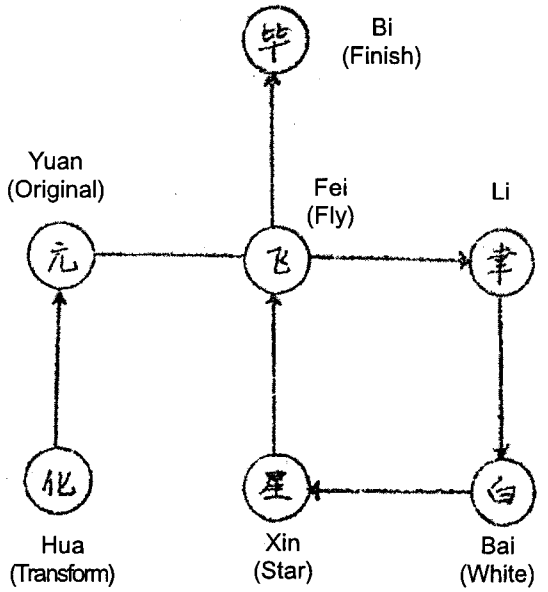


Figure 1.191. Seven Star Stepping #9: "Summoning the Magic Tiger Stepping"

Figure 1.192. Zhang Daoling, the First Celestial Master of the Zheng Yi Daoist Sect

- **Zhang Daoling:** Zhang Daoling (the First Celestial Master of the Zheng Yi Daoist sect), is depicted as riding a tiger and carrying a demon-dispelling sword as he escorts the dead to their final destination (Figure 1.192).
- **The God of Wealth:** The God of Wealth, Marshal Chao Gongming, is depicted as riding a black tiger while holding a silver ingot.
- **The Goddess of the Wind:** The Goddess of the Wind, Feng Po-po, symbolizes the elements of air and water, storms, precipitation and moisture. She is depicted as an old, wrinkled woman, sitting on the back of a tiger, riding on a path made of clouds.

The tiger represents the greatest earthly power as well as protection over human life. It chases away the "Three Disasters" (fire, thieves and ghosts). As the enemies of evil spirits, especially those who torment the dead, tigers are carved on tombs and monuments.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"Transform the Original Flying Li of the Heavenly White Star and fly to the finish"

Nine Traces of the Big Dipper

The Daoist Book of the *Flowing Drops of the Golden Lock* states that the Big Dipper was the Middle Dipper (which was a star). As the Middle Dipper descended, it became the Nine Souls (which inhabit the Nine Palaces). In order to fuse the spiritual powers of these Nine Souls, the nine traces are performed when Pacing the Dipper (these are demonstrated by following the nine patterns of the Big Dipper stars). It is important to note that the nine traces are represented by the seven stars of the Big Dipper, plus the two extra Dipper stars "Fu" and "Bi."

It is also believed that the original Steps of Yu and the pacing of the Big Dipper corresponded to the energetic and spiritual powers contained within the Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams. In ancient China, this was called "the three steps and the nine traces which construct the Kan (Water) Trigram and the Li (Fire) Trigram."

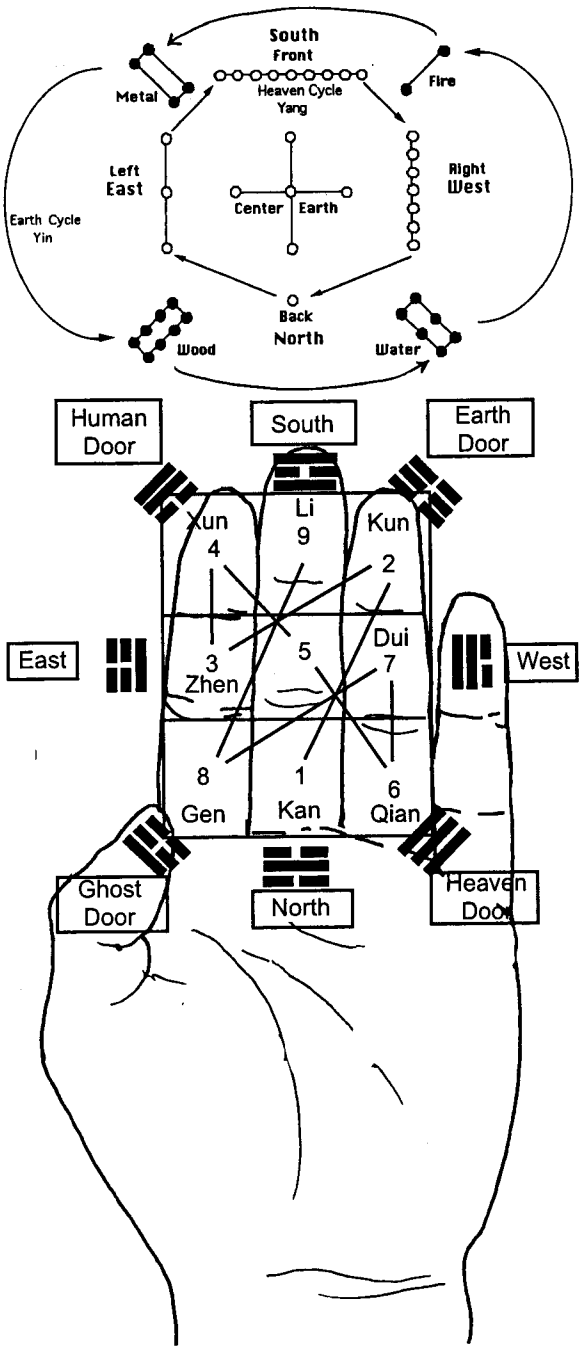


Figure 1.193. In ancient China, the Post-Heaven Bagua pattern of the "Magic Square" was superimposed on the left palm allowing the Daoist mystic the ability to summon and gather the energetic and spiritual powers of the Bagua into his or her body.

A common diagram used as a template for stepping in the Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams, is the "Great River Chart Dipper of the Open Valley" diagram, which was originally used as the stepping pattern diagram of the Big Dipper. The seven stars of the Dippers and the two stars Fu and Bi compose this Big Dipper Diagram, and are regulated by the Post-Heaven positions of the Bagua (Eight Trigrams) listed on the "River Chart" (Figure 1.193). There are two specific types of stepping patterns displayed:

- **Kan (Water) Trigram Stepping Pattern:** This pattern is used after the Winter Solstice. At the time of the Winter Solstice, Yang energy is born, and subsequently increases its power each day. During this time period, the ritual master starts from the Kan (Water) Trigram and moves to the Li (Fire) Trigram.
- **Li (Fire) Trigram Stepping Pattern:** This pattern is used after the Summer Solstice. At the time of the Summer Solstice, Yin energy is born, and subsequently increases its power each day. During this time period, the ritual master moves from the Li (Fire) Trigram to the Kan (Water) Trigram.

Because the original three steps and nine traces of the Steps of Yu were thought to have the shape of the Big Dipper, they were associated with Pacing the Big Dipper. Later, the original "Steps of Yu" was diversified into different types of stepping patterns (i.e., the "Twelve Traces" and the "Three-Five Traces"). Since there are so many kinds of Big Dipper diagrams and patterns, new Dipper steps were constantly created and compiled based on specific ritual contents, needs and functions. In modern times, there are now many names given to these star stepping patterns

THE NINE PALACES OF HEAVEN

Each of the nine numbers listed on the "River Chart" represent one of the nine areas of the Heavens or the Nine Palace Constellations (Figure 1.194). The following is an explanation of the energetic natures of the Nine Stars, as well as their specific Elements and divinational forecasts:

1. **Tian Peng (Water Element):** This star corresponds to Kan Trigram. It energetically has a close connection to the occurrence of theft, and it is therefore considered to be an inauspicious star. When the Tian Peng star falls in one palace, people should construct dams, defence facilities, or strengthen the stronghold in order to prevent calamity from happening. It is also not a good time to travel far or conduct business (due to the potential of theft).

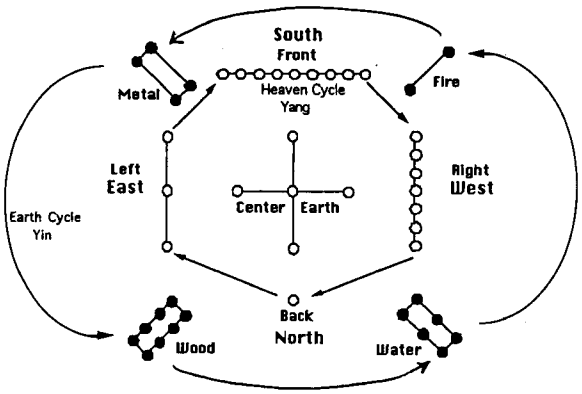


Figure 1.194. The "River Chart"

2. **Tian Rui (Earth Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with epidemic. It is sometimes called the disease star. When the Tian Rui star stays in one palace, people should receive teachings or admonishment, make friends, stay in the original place, abstain from the deployment of armed forces, not marry, and avoid quarreling, traveling, new construction, etc.
3. **Tian Cong (Wood Element):** This star is Yang, and it has a close connection with kind donations, doing kind deeds, and agricultural activities. It is considered to be an auspicious star. When Tian Cong dwells in one palace, it is considered to be a good time for military action, battle or fighting.
4. **Tian Fu (Wood Element):** This star is Yang, and it has a close connection with cultural education. It is considered to be a very auspicious star. When Tian Fu dwells in one palace, it is auspicious for traveling, business, marriage, construction, studying, and elevating one's social status, as well as for cultural and educational development.

5. **Tian Qin (Earth Element):** This star is Yang, and it is considered to be auspicious for all things because it dwells in the "Central Earth Palace" which can give rise to all.
6. **Tian Xin (Metal Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with leadership capability, scheming, treatment of disease, and military deployment. It is considered to be an auspicious star.
7. **Tian Zhu (Metal Element):** This star is Yin, and it has close connection with killings, strange things, mysterious matters, damage and destruction. It is considered to be an inauspicious star. When Tian Zhu falls in one palace, people should strengthen their garrison, train their forces, and prepare for the bad times. It is not a good time for traveling far or doing business, otherwise loss, injury and unfortunate things will happen.
8. **Tian Ren (Earth Element):** This star is Yang, and it is considered to be an auspicious star. When Tian Ren dwells in one palace, it is a good time for offering teaching to the general public, pacifying individuals, and cracking down on rebellious individuals or gangsters. It is also an auspicious time for business, marriage and social status.
9. **Tian Ying (Fire Element):** This star is Yin, and it has a close connection with outrageous behavior, heated situations, fire, and blood. It is considered to be a neutral star. When Tian Ying dwells in one palace it is good for planning and visiting high officials. However, it is not an auspicious time for making fortunes, social status possession, marriage or travel.

Incantations For The Nine Palaces of Heaven

In ancient China, the ritual master would recite specific incantations while pacing any one of the nine magical stars, pointing out the direction in which he is moving, reciting the symbolic meaning of the specific Dipper and manifesting the power of his magic skill. For example, the incantation used when pacing the Dipper after the Winter Solstice says:

"The Dipper is sublime
at the 12 two-hour periods,
Therefore I take the Big Dipper
flying over to exhibit mighty power
with Vital Breath like the clouds.

The seven stars move
to interact with the Heavens,
so that we know the changes
of good or ill luck.

Pacing the Dipper by its rhythms,
I move into the Dipper,
and through the 28 Constellations,
through the Heavenly Pass
with the changing of time.

Moving from Tianying up to Tianren,
I feel cold as if the land
has sunk down into a deep valley.

Leaning by Tianzhu and bracing Tianxin,
I ascend to Tianqin from Tianxin.
I pass by Tianfu and look at Tianchong,
going into Tianrui and out of Tianfeng.

The passage of the Dippers is open,
and the strong and weak
mutually assist each other.
Happiness and good fortune are increased
and are passed on to the descendants.

I have stayed in the darkness
for hundreds of years.
I follow your steps after the Yang.

The Dipper of the Open Valley is divine,
so that it can dispel the devils.
As a result, one can avoid the evils
at the mouth of the Dipper.

Quickly, quickly,
In accordance with
the statues and ordinances!
Act as this is my command!"

Through understanding this ancient Daoist incantation, we may see that Pacing the Big Dipper mainly symbolizes flying in the Heavens, with the supernatural function of dispelling disasters and avoiding evils. The Dipper of the Twenty-

Eight Constellations and the Five Big Dippers of the Sun and the Moon represent certain mystical areas of Heavens. The ritual master visualizes these celestial scenes while pacing the Dipper steps.

OFFERING INCENSE WITH "THE DIPPER OF BRIGHT STARS AND PEARLS" INCANTATION

Each time the Daoist priest offers incense at the Central Altar, he or she will perform the "Dipper of Bright Stars and Pearls" stepping patterns. These stepping patterns can be paced in either of two ways; through the "Eight Stepping Patterns" or through the "Three Stepping Patterns."

As the Daoist paces through these steps, and offers the incense, he or she will recite the following incantation:

**"The imperial order of Jade Clarity is simple,
with the separate images
of the Great Divine.**

**The original Dippers
are flowing and changing with the stars
and pearls over and around them.**

**Quickly, Quickly,
In accordance with the statues and
ordinances as the imperial order"**

While reciting the incantation, the ritual master visualizes the three magical realms of the Jade Clarity, Supreme Clarity, and Highest Clarity, where the Immortal Gods of the Three Pure Ones reside.

The incantation of "Pacing the Big Dipper" mentions that by burning the incense, the Daoist priest transforms the energy of normal starlight into spiritual power within the realm of the mortal world (the World of the Dead). The ancient Daoists believed that the priest could succeed in accomplishing such a supernatural task with the aid of speaking such an incantation.

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERNS

When the Eight Trigrams were arranged into a nine-chambered square pattern, with the center representing the magical "Bright Palace," it was commonly known as the "Magic Square." The ancient Chinese attached great significance to this magical pattern, as it involved manifesting endless variations of mathematical calculations that could be used to explain the energetic flows of Heaven and Earth. So influential was this magical pattern that the Imperial Palace in China was divided into a Magic Square containing nine chambers. In each appropriate chamber, sacrifices were performed in accordance with the times and seasons of nature.

The "Nine Chambers of the Emperor's Palace," (or Nine Palaces) was first introduced publicly in ancient China in the *Book of Rites*. This ancient book described each celestial palace, with its unique color and time of season. The ancient system of "Nine House Divination" (based on the celestial patterns of the Nine Palaces) and the unique patterns of energetic interactions stemming from the "Magic Square" were also introduced to the public during this time period.

Nine Palace Stepping Pattern, also known as the "Walk of Taiyi Through the Nine Palaces," is represented by eight trigrams positioned around the center of the Luo Diagram. The esoteric rituals pertaining to this "Magic Square" configuration may be seen in the Celestial Masters *Shangqing Huangshu Guodu Yi* (Initiation Rite of the Yellow Writings), which consists of twenty ritual units to be performed by a male-female pair, literally pacing the Earthly Branches, the Five Elements, and the Nine Palaces on the cosmicized body of each of the partners.

During the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), the famous Daoist poet Lu Buwei wrote, "Heaven has nine fields, Earth has nine regions, the country has nine mountains, the mountains have nine passes." The ancient Daoist Star Stepping patterns follow these nine passes, allowing the sorcerer the ability to access the most subtle realms of Heaven and Earth.

According to the ancient writings on the *Xu Zhen Tu* (the Chart of True Cultivation), Heaven, Earth and Man are energetically joined in a continuous interaction of correspondences. These subtle correspondences relate to the esoteric patterns hidden within matter, energy, and spirit. For example, the "Nine Palaces" correspond to the

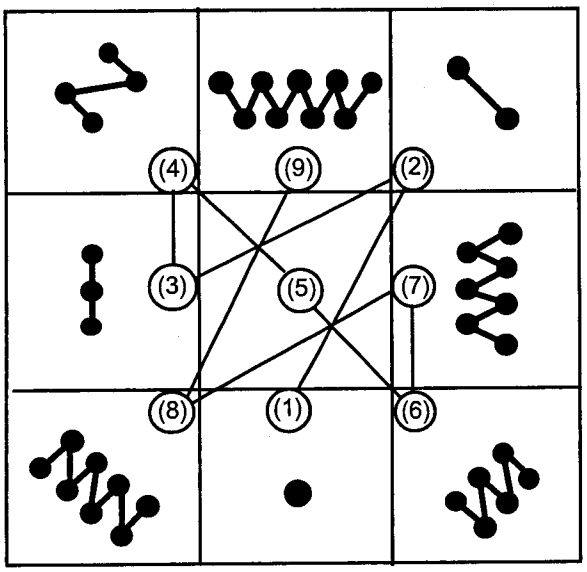


Figure 1.195. Nine Palace Stepping #1: "Magic Square Stepping"

nine energetic influences of Heaven, the "Nine Continents" correspond to the nine energetic influence of the Earth, and the "Nine Orifices" correspond to the nine energetic influences of Man.

The following Nine Palace Stepping Patterns are arranged according to specific energetic patterns unique to the Magic Square and are practiced in order to allow the Daoist disciple access into the energetic realms of the Jade Emperor's "Nine Celestial Palaces."

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #1: "MAGIC SQUARE STEPPING"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the purpose of conjuring and summoning the specific powers of celestial Immortals, Planetary Immortals, Spirit Soldiers, etc. By following the Nine Palace stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.195).

As with all of the other stepping patterns, when using the Magic Square for attacking, defending, summoning, or dispatching, the disciple will eventually transfer the energetic pattern onto his or her left hand, in order to used the right hand to hold Daoist magical "tools."

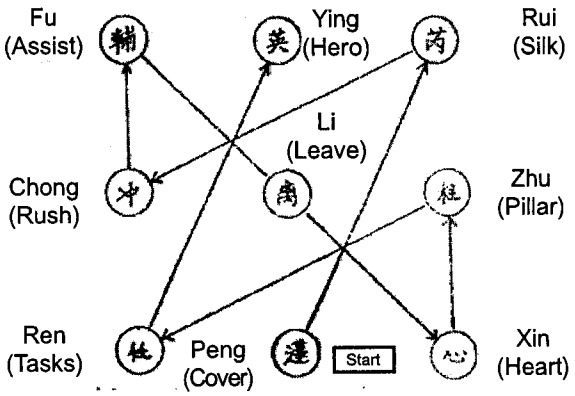


Figure 1.196. Nine Palace Stepping #2: "Hero Stepping (Nine Purple Stepping)"

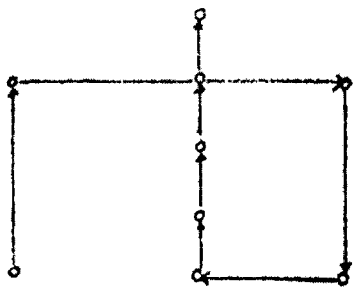


Figure 1.197. "Nine Palace Stepping"

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #2: "HERO STEPPING (NINE PURPLE STEPPING)"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Nine Palace stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.196).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"My hidden energy
flows like silk
It rushes to assist me
It leaves my stable heart and mind
allowing me to complete
a hero's task"

NINE PALACE STEPPING PATTERN #3: "SENDING THE REPORT"

This stepping pattern is used in rituals in order to send reports back to Heaven (Figure 1.197).

TWENTY-EIGHT STAR CONSTELLATIONS

In China, manuscripts uncovered from the cave monasteries of Tun Huang have included some of the oldest star maps in existence. Since the year 2000 B.C., the ancient Chinese Qigong Masters have observed and used the energetic movements of the Twenty-eight Star Constellations, flowing in 24 hour cycles and yearly cycles. The ancient Chinese also placed careful attention on the Sun and Moon, and the Five Planets with the Chinese zodiac to forecast auspicious times for matters of state and war, and to predict weather and natural disasters. Each of these energetic systems has its own cyclic pattern, as well as a direct and indirect influence on human life.

The Chinese practiced gathering energy from the Heavenly Stars, believing that the study of astrology, like alchemy, united the body's inner world with that of the outer. According to ancient divination practices, the celestial bodies exert forces and exhibit personalities that influence people and events on Earth. A person's character and destiny throughout life is based upon the positions of the planets and constellations at the exact time and place of conception and birth. These influences can be determined by mapping the positions of the twenty-eight constellations in the sky at various times.

In ancient China, the Emperor was considered to be the high priest of the Heavens, and he frequently made sacrifices to the Stars to maintain harmony with the universe. The four corners of the Emperor's palace represented the cardinal points in space (the equinoxes and solstices). To be in harmony, the Emperor and his family would move from one corner to another as the seasons changed.

In ancient China, the Heavens were divided into 28 areas matched with 28 corresponding signs, which are called the constellations as the symbols of Heaven (7 constellations in each direction). The pacing of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations therefore represents stepping within the 28 constellations, throughout the four directions of the Heavens.

STARS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT CONSTELLATIONS

In ancient China, the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations (Xiu) were commonly observed as "Star Patterns" (Xingxiang), and were considered to be the eternal abode of immortals and gods. Specifically, the gods of Prior Heaven were believed to live within the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations, at one with the eternal Dao. These gods were divided into three groups corresponding to Heaven, Earth and Man.

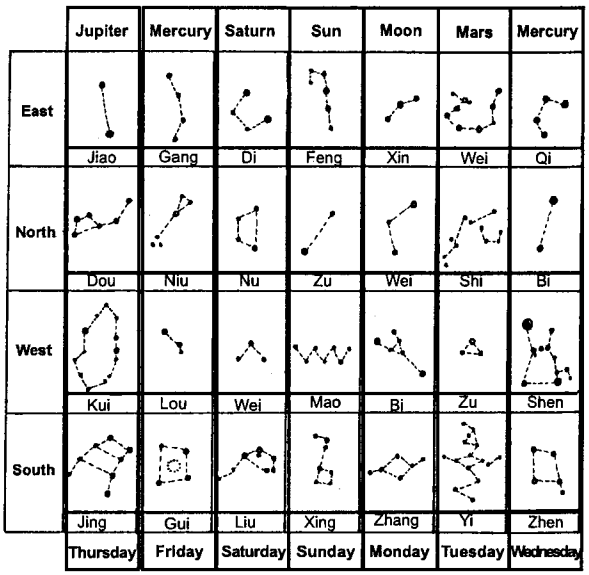


Figure 1.198. The Seven Divisions of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations Arranged According to Celestial Energies of the Five Elements and the Sun and Moon

The ancient Chinese Daoists would thus use the Twenty-eight star constellations for summoning specific gods, immortals, and spirits. Generally, the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations were categorized by Heavenly divisions, each division containing several constellations associated with one of the Five Element phases, a ruling color, and one of the Four Palaces with its associated celestial animal spirit.

Each of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellation spirits has his or her own post, unit, and garrison name. The ancient Daoists would construct a Bagua circle consisting of twenty-eight "standards" from which to conjure the spirits from the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations. A "standard" is a list drawn on silk of each of the twenty-eight star constellations' energetic Elements, colors, and animals. A description of the "Seven Celestial Divisions" of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations

arranged according to Celestial Energies of the Five Elements and the Sun and Moon is described as follows (Figure 1.198):

1. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Wood Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of green/blue silk:
   - **The Jiao Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rain Dragon
   - **The Dou Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Unicorn
   - **The Kui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Wolf
   - **The Jing Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Wild Dog
2. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Metal Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of white silk:
   - **The Gang Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Dragon
   - **The Nui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Ox
   - **The Lou Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Domestic Dog
   - **The Gui Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Sheep (Goat)
3. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Earth Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of golden-yellow silk:
   - **The Di Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Badger
   - **The Nu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Bat
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Ring-Neck Pheasant
   - **The Liu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Roebuck
4. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Sun;** they are drawn on standards constructed of dark, ruby-red silk:
   - **The Feng Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rabbit
   - **The Zu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rat
   - **The Mao Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Rooster
   - **The Xing Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Horse
5. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Moon;** they are drawn on standards constructed of deep-blue silk:
   - **The Xin Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Fox
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Swallow
   - **The Bi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Crow
   - **The Zhang Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Stag
6. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Fire Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of purplish-red silk:
   - **The Wei Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Tiger
   - **The Shi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Pig
   - **The Zu Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Monkey
   - **The Yi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Snake
7. **These star constellation spirits are subservient to the Water Element;** they are drawn on standards constructed of black silk:
   - **The Qi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Leopard
   - **The Bi Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of a Snail
   - **The Shen Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Ape
   - **The Zhen Constellation:** with the spiritual animal form of an Earthworm

After constructing the Bagua circle and arranging the constellations in their proper places, the Daoist would then position him or herself in the center of the circle, acting as the coordinating general for all of the spirits summoned. It was important for the ancient Daoist to place the "great standard" (a talismanic charm needed to control the twenty-eight constellation spirits) in the center of the circle in order to command the spirit soldiers. To command and dispatch the spirit solders, the Daoist would use specific Hand Seals formed on his or her left hand, combined with the recitation of specific incantations and the drawing of talismanic charms.

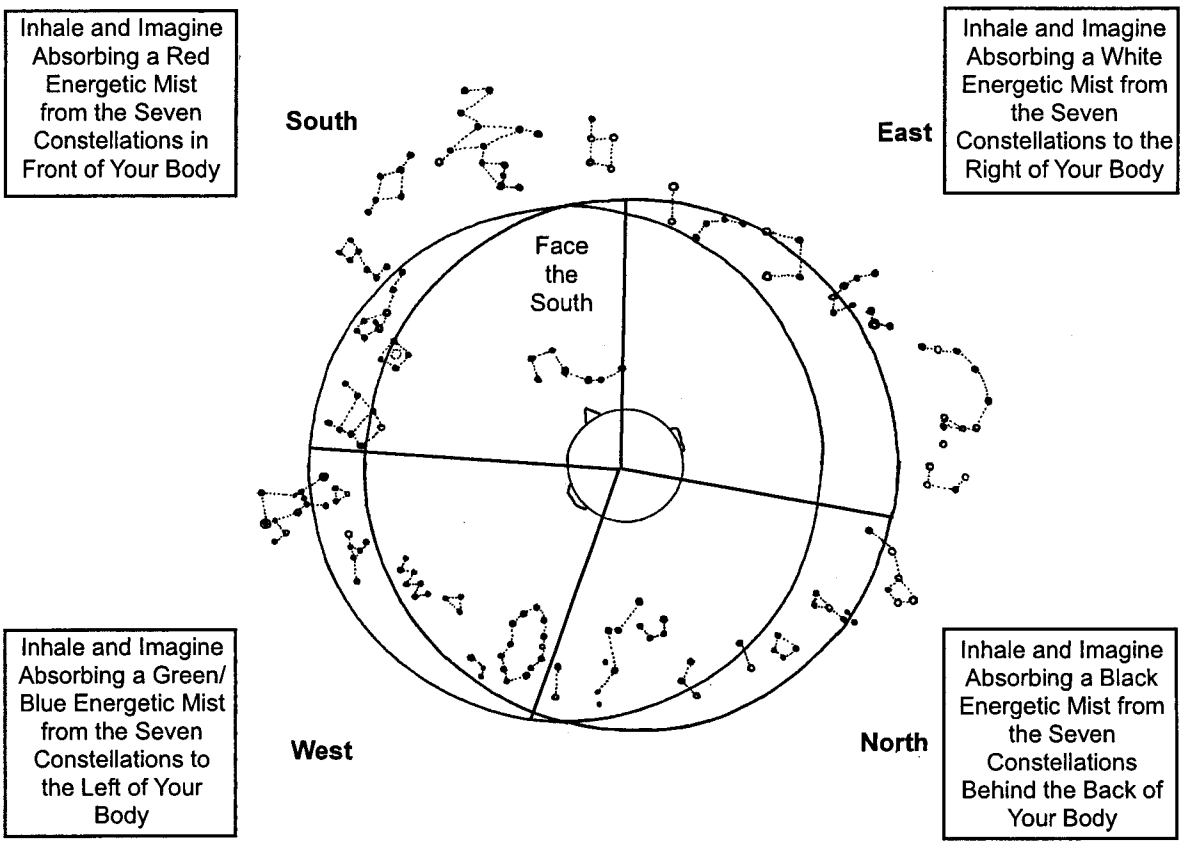


Figure 1.199. Face the direction of the North Star and Big Dipper, and try to feel the energetic nature of each of the four quadrants of Stars.

GATHERING ENERGY FROM THE TWENTY-EIGHT STAR CONSTELLATIONS

At nighttime, when the Moon is not suitable for absorbing Qi (i.e., during the new Moon), the Daoist mystic can focus on absorbing the energy of the twenty-eight star constellations into his or her body (Figure 1.199). The absorption of the star energy is used in order to strengthen the Yuan Qi of mystic's internal organs and tissues.

In ancient China, the energy of all Five Planets and Twenty-eight star constellations was traditionally drawn into a Daoist master's body via the Tian Wu Zang meditation. The Tian Wu Zang meditation allowed the master to absorb celestial energy through the five Thrusting Channels. These Channels flow through the center of the body, connecting the top of the head to the perineum, enveloping and supporting the center Taiji Pole.

The twenty-eight day star constellation cycle was also arranged externally on the Daoist master's body along the Governing and Conception Vessels. The "ecliptical" path of the Sun follows the Fire Cycle of the Microcosmic Orbit, which influences an individual's emotional, mental, and physical health.

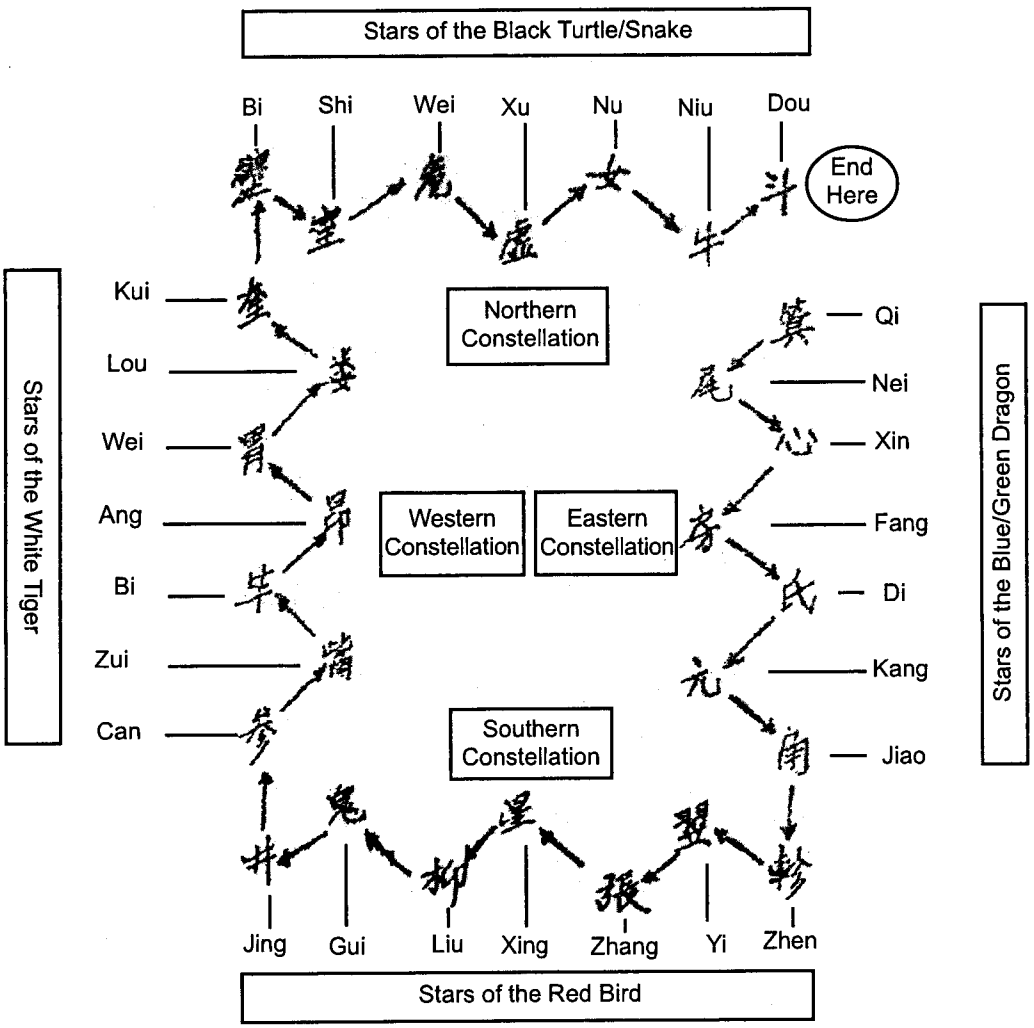


Figure 1.200. The Pacing of the "Twenty-Eight Star Constellations"

"Pacing the 28 Constellations" Stepping Pattern

The pacing of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations also symbolizes the rotation of the Dipper turning around and crossing the Ji Constellation, as it moves around the Heavens (Figure 1.200).

"Dippers of the 28 Constellations" Stepping Pattern

On the outside of this star stepping pattern are the Twenty-Eight Constellation Stars, on the inside right is the Southern Star, and on the inside left the North Dipper Star. This stepping pattern is used in ancient rituals to show respect to the Celestial Immortals and the Celestial Palace (Figure 1.201).

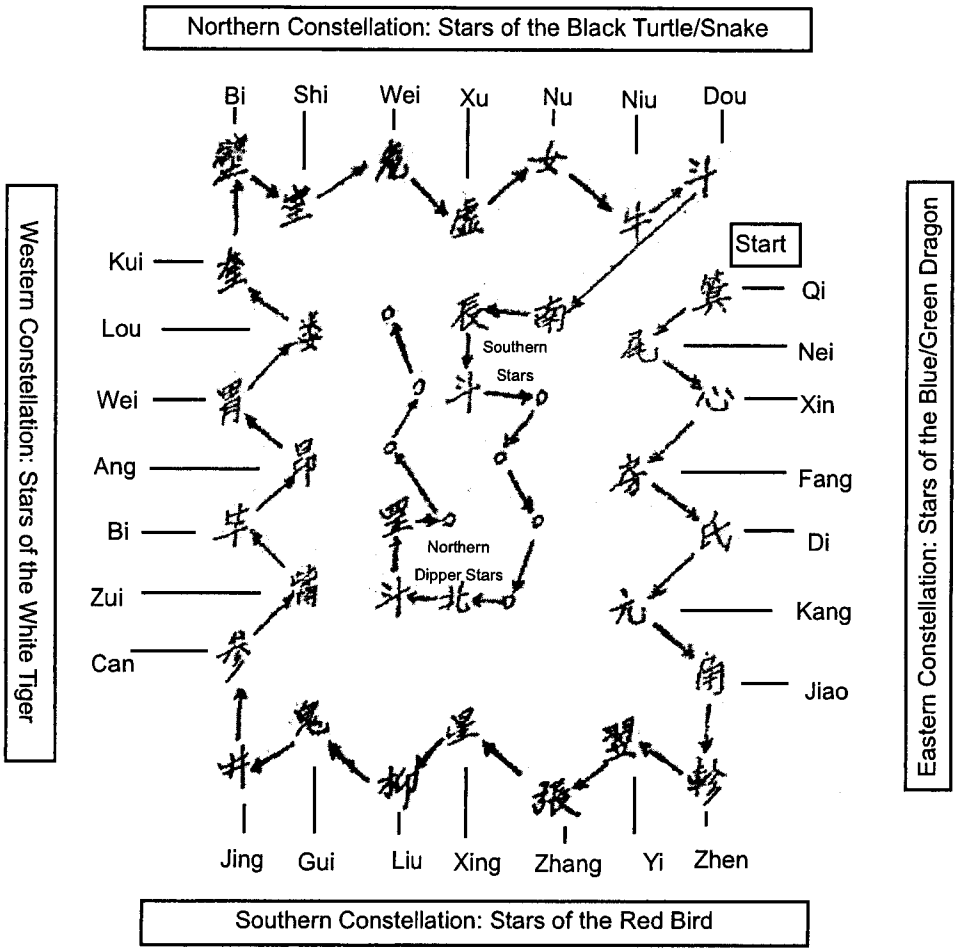


Figure 1.201. The Pacing of the "Dippers of the Twenty-Eight Star Constellations"

BAGUA: EIGHT TRIGRAMS

In ancient times, the Bagua (Eight Trigrams) was the symbol originally used for observing the movements of the sun and moon. In the ancient Chinese characters for Bagua (the eight ancient Daoist energetic structures of life), the character "Ba" translates as "eight," and the character "Gua" translates as "trigram" (Figure 1.202). The character "Gua" is composed of two ideographs, on the right is the radical meaning "to observe," on the left is the radical "Gui" meaning "earth heap." The Gui (earth heap) was used in ancient times to measure the shadows in order to record ancient calendars (the ancient Chinese form of a sundial). Together, the term "Bagua" can be translated as

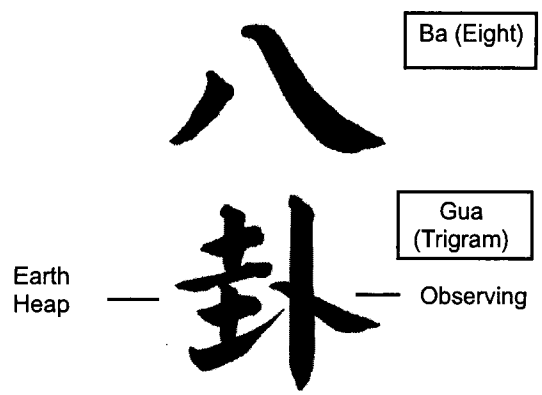


Figure 1.202. The Chinese Characters for "Bagua," The Eight Trigrams

The Eight Trigrams	Heaven Qian	Mist, Rain Dui	Fire Li	Thunder Zhen	Earth Kun	Mountain Gen	Water Kan	Wind/Air Xun
Yang and Yin	Yang	Yang	Yang	Yang	Yin	Yin	Yin	Yin
Gereral Principles	Creative	Reflective	Bright	Exciting	Receptive	Steady	Dark	Penetrating
	Activity	Weightless	Formed	Impetus	Passivity	Heaviness	Formless	Sensitivity
Principles of Nature	Immaterial	Evaporation	Solar Forces	Vitality	Material	Inertia	Lunar Forces	Assimilation
	Universal	Inorganic	Elemantary	Organic	Universal	Inorganic	Elementary	Pervasiveness
	Formless	Changeability	Heat	Mobility	Form	Resistance	Cold	Organic
	Energy	Evaporation	Incandescence	Fertilization	Matter	Inertia	Fluidity	Gaseous
	Infinite Space	Clairvoyant Observation	Penetrating Light	Growth and Power	Dense Matter	Solid Stability	Space and Movement	Perceptive Intuition

Figure 1.203. The Prenatal Bagua Trigram Powers According to the Universal Forces of Yin and Yang (System of Fu Xi)

"Eight Trigrams," and is considered a template for the basic laws of all energetic movements and transformations (Figure 1.203).

Each trigram is composed of three "yao" lines: a solid yao line (---) is considered Yang, a broken yao line (- -) is considered Yin. Each "yao" represents a basic unit of the Eight Trigrams, and has three meanings: sunlight, moonlight and the mutual projection of the sun and moon. The Yao Trigram itself is the symbol of the movement of the sun and moon.

Prenatal and Postnatal Trigrams

The unique powers of the Bagua can be divided into two separate schools or systems of thought: The Prenatal Bagua of Fu Xi, and the Postnatal Bagua of King Wen.

The Prenatal Bagua of Fu Xi

Fu Xi is believed to have lived a thousand years before King Wen, during the Age of the Five Rulers (2852 B.C.). The Bagua system of Fu Xi focuses on the fundamental principles of light and darkness, which revealed to him the polar nature of the universe (Figure 1.204). The Heavenly prin-

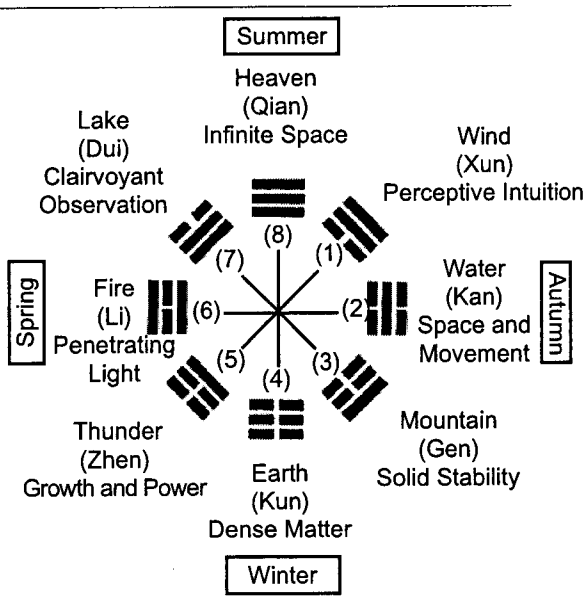


Figure 1.204. The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams (Eight Dimensions or Phases of Energy Polar Opposites): Yin (1-4) across from Yang (5-8). This Cycle of Harmony Relates to the World of Thoughts and Ideas. The Opposition of Energetic Forces is Responsible for the Creation of All Phenomena.

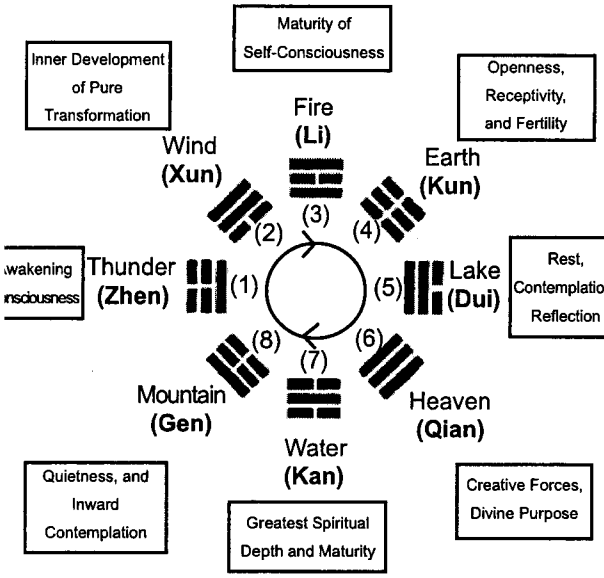


Figure 1.205. The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams: The Energetic Cycles of Forces are the External Manifestations of Divine Thought (The World of Phenomena or Senses)

ciples expressed within the system of Fu Xi reflect the multidimensional symbols which govern our life. Therefore Heaven is placed at the top of the trigram and Earth in placed at the bottom of the trigram. The specific focus of Prenatal Fu Xi Bagua is the expression of two mutually dependent powers, compensating each other, for example:

- Heaven-Earth
- Fire-Water
- Mountain-Lake
- Thunder-Wind

As energetic principles, the multidimensional powers are inseparable, although one power may temporarily predominate. In Fu Xi's Bagua system, the eight fundamental forces constantly seek to balance each other.

Postnatal Bagua of King Wen

King Wen is believed to have lived in the Zhou Dynasty (1028-221 B.C.). The Bagua system of King Wen focuses on the fundamental principles of the Earthly transformations (Figure 1.205). They are arranged according to the expression of increasing or decreasing qualities of physical life (beginning at Zhen and following a clockwise progression). The Earthly principles expressed within the system of King Wen are not only separated in time, but they are also thought of as being energetically "in sequence" around the periphery of the Bagua instead of matching powers through opposite polarity alignment. Because Fire (light and heat) and Water (dark and cold) appear as the most prominent and visible of all Earthly forces, in King Wen's Bagua configuration Fire is placed at the top of the trigram and Water in placed at the bottom.

BA GUA STEPPING PATTERNS

The following Stepping Patterns allow the Daoist disciple access into the energetic realm of the various Eight Trigram Powers.

BAGUA STEPPING #1: "THE ANCIENT RIVER CHART"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the unification of the Yin and Yang energies described within the ancient River Chart (Lo Diagram), and it contains the esoteric energetic patterns of the "Magic Square" (Figure 1.206). When walking the circular stepping pattern, the Daoist mystic would envision the Prenatal celestial energies and the Postnatal terrestrial energies combining within the energetic space of the center of the circle.

According to the historic records, in ancient China the world was believed to be made up of Nine Continents. Eight of these continents (Yong, Liang, Yan, Yang, Qing, Xu, Yu, and Ji,) surrounded the "center" kingdom of ancient China. As the Daoist mystic stood in the middle of the "Central Continent" (represented by the image of the River Chart) and fused with the interacting energies of Heaven and Earth within these eight continents (represented by the eight mountains which circle the River Chart), he or she could access an energetic portal and spirit travel to any place in the physical world.

Offering The Report

When using the circle walking method for "Offering the Report," the disciple is taught to step through each of the Eight Trigrams and focus on their various celestial powers. As the disciple steps, he or she imagines approaching the Celestial Courts. After walking the circle counter-clockwise through nine complete rotations, the disciple eventually comes to a halt by forming a "T-Stance" at the "Stars of Three Terraces," located by the Qian Trigram (North-West). The three stars of the Three Terraces were believed to be a staircase connecting Heaven to the Earth. The disciple proceeds from star to star, after having first circled around the Dipper three times (totaling nine rotations), the ultimate goal being to mount up to the Shangqing Heavens.

When walking, it is important that the disciple imagines him or herself being covered in a sealed bubble of purple mist. Once the disciple reaches the "Stars of Three Terraces," he or she "transforms their energetic form," and mounts the back of an enormous white crane (while forming the White Crane Double Hand Seal) to fly towards the Gate of Heaven and meet with the Jade Emperor. After the encounter, the disciple is to return from the Gate of Heaven by walking the circle nine times (three rotations per each Terrace) in a clockwise direction, ending at the Earth Door (located at the South-West corner of the altar).

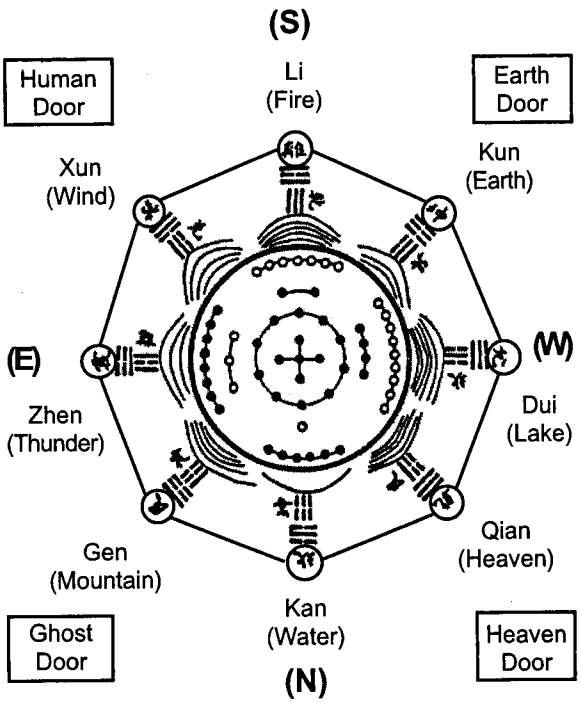


Figure 1.206. Bagua Stepping #1: "The Ancient River Chart"

BAGUA STEPPING #2: "THE YI-JING - WU XING STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the "Blending of the Three and Five" manifesting through 64 changes of the Yi Jing Divination (Figure 1.207).

When pacing the circular steps of the Yi-Jing - Wu Xing Stepping pattern, the energetic and spiritual natures of the Earthly body's Jing, Qi, Shen fuse with the celestial energies of the individual's cultivated Heavenly virtues. These combined energies then fuse with the subtle energies of the Five Elements, allowing the awareness of the physical body to dissolve into the infinite space of the spiritual realms.

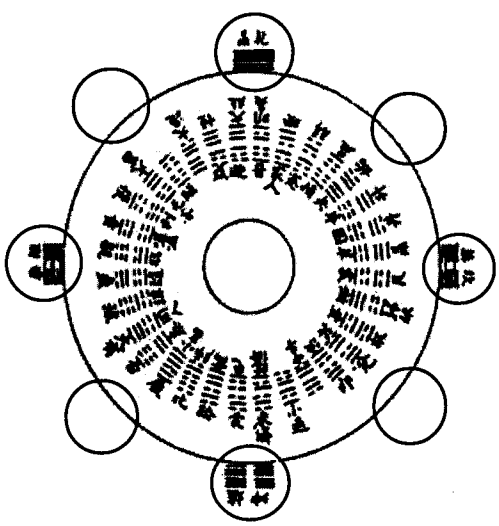


Figure 1.207. Bagua Stepping #2: "Yi Jing-Wu Xing Stepping"

Figure 1.208. Bagua Stepping #3:
"Ba Gua - Yi Jing Stepping"

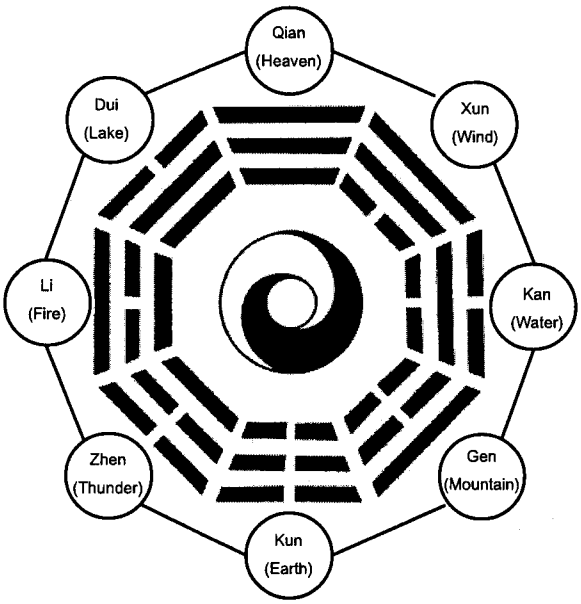


Figure 1.209. Bagua Stepping #4:
"Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

BAGUA STEPPING #3: "BA GUA - YI JING STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. It represents the blending of the "Eight Original Trigram Powers" with the powers of the "Sixty-four Hexagram Changes."

These combined energies then fuse with the subtle energies of the Five Elements, allowing the awareness of the physical body to dissolve into the more powerful spiritual realms (Figure 1.208).

When pacing the circular steps of the Ba Gua - Yi Jing Stepping pattern, the energetic and spiritual natures of the eight original trigram powers become manifested within the disciple's body, giving birth to the energetic veil through which to observe one's destiny and life purpose.

BAGUA STEPPING #4: "PRENATAL BA GUA STEPPING"

This circular stepping pattern is used both in Daoist alchemic cultivation, and in summoning rituals. The Prenatal Bagua Trigrams represent Eight Dimensions or phases of energy (Figure 1.209). The specific powers of the trigrams are polar opposites (Yin across from Yang). This "cycle of harmony" relates to the world of thoughts and ideas. In the Prenatal Bagua Trigrams, the opposite energetic forces are responsible for the creation of all phenomena.

The Prenatal stepping pattern is traditionally begun with circular clockwise stepping. It is practiced in the early morning, during the time of the "Ascent of Yang" (from 12:00 midnight to 12:00 noon), with the focus placed on the cultivation of the eight specific powers of the Bagua.

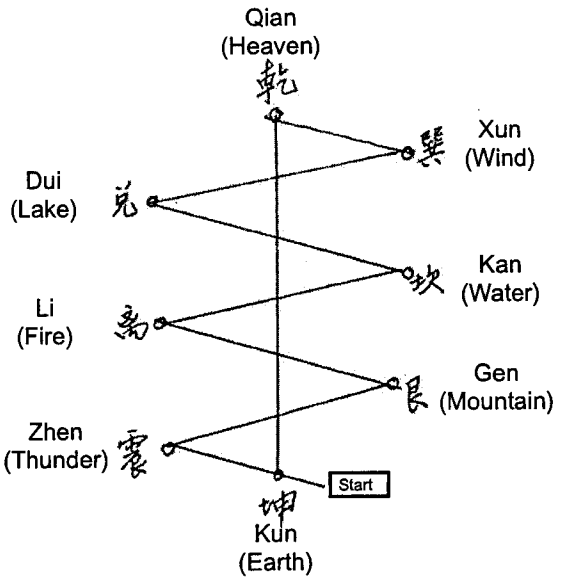


Figure 1.210. Bagua Stepping #5:
"Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

Bagua Stepping #5: "Prenatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Prenatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.210).

Bagua Stepping #6: "Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Postnatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.211).

The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams represent the energetic cycles of the eight original powers. Their powers are the expressed as the external manifestations of Divine Thought. The Postnatal Bagua Trigrams represent the spark of life, responsible for the creation of the world of phenomena (or senses).

Bagua Stepping #7: "Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

This stepping pattern is traditionally used in Daoist rituals for the specific purpose of sending a "Report" back to the Heaven. By following the Postnatal Bagua stepping patterns, the disciple can progress into the most subtle realm of the celestial world (Figure 1.212).

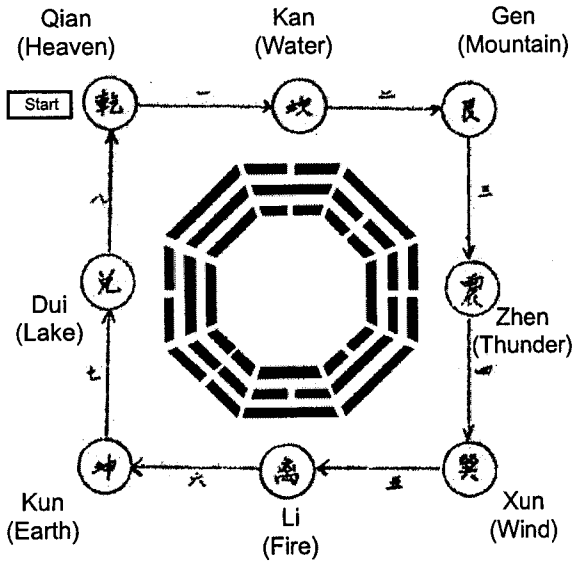


Figure 1.211. Bagua Stepping #6:
"Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

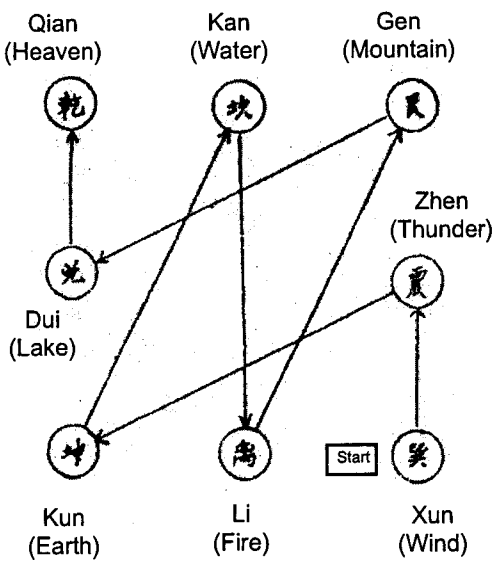


Figure 1.212. Bagua Stepping #7:
"Postnatal Bagua Stepping"

THE WU XING: FIVE ELEMENTS

In the ancient Chinese characters for Wuxing (the five energetic phenomena of life), the character "Wu" translates as "five," and the character "Xing" translates as "movement, process, manifestation, or phase" (Figure 1.213). Together, the term "Wuxing" can be translated as "Five Elements," and is considered an energetic template based on the study of five manifestations, phases or processes of Qi transformations. The Five Elements are represented by the physical, energetic and spiritual natures of the Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water Elements (Figure 1.214).

The Five Elements classify all tangible and intangible substances into five specific categories (five senses, five viscera, five postnatal emotions, five prenatal virtues, five flavors, five seasons, five directions, five phases of energetic transition, etc.).

The Five Elements can additionally be classified according to three levels of energetic manifestation and influence. These three levels pertain to the crude, subtle and ethereal states of Jing, Qi and Shen, and are described as follows:

- **The Material Components of Five Elements:** These relate to the gross material realm, and correspond to the waking state of consciousness. The material aspect of the Five Elements refers to the most dense and material forms of the Five Element natures; they affect the individual's physical body.
- **The Energetic Components of Five Elements of Energy:** These relate to the energetic realm, and correspond to the dream state of consciousness. The energetic aspect of the Five Elements refers to the subtle Five Element natures; they affect the individual's energetic body.

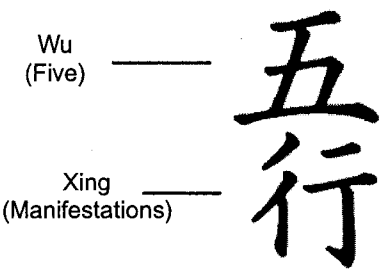


Figure 1.213. The Chinese Characters for "Wuxing," The Five Elements

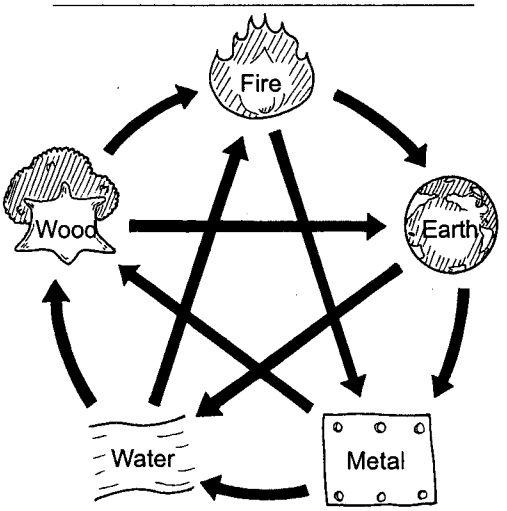


Figure 1.214. The Five Elements

- **The Spiritual Components of the Five Elements:** These relate to the spiritual realm, and correspond to the sleeping state of consciousness. The spiritual aspect of the Five Elements refers to the most subtle of the Five Element natures; they affect the individual's spirit body.

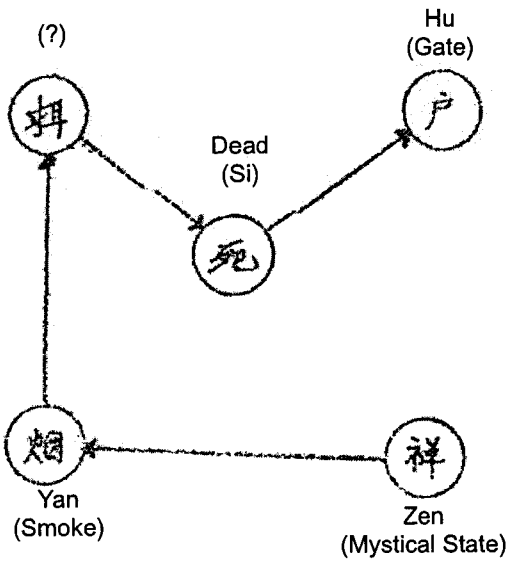


Figure 1.215. Five Element Stepping #1:
"Five Element Power Stepping #1"

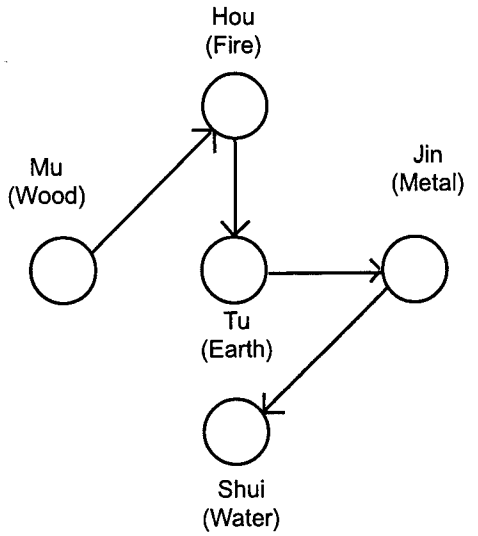


Figure 1.216. Five Element Stepping #2:
"Five Element Power Stepping #2"

Five Element Stepping #1: "Five Element Power Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to gather the Powers of the Five Elements that are stored within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Water, and Metal (Figure 1.215).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Mystical Smoke
of ___ arises
at the Gate of the Dead"

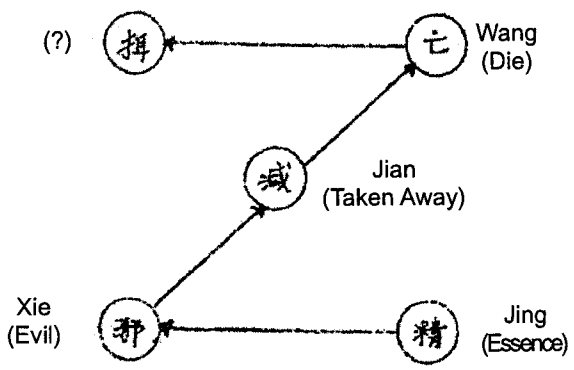


Figure 1.217. Five Element Stepping #3:
"Five Element Virtues Stepping"

The Five Element Stepping #2: "Five Element Power Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is also used to gather the Powers of the Five Elements that are stored within the Elements of Wood, Fire, Earth, Water, and Metal (Figure 1.216).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the Five Element Creative Cycle:

"Wood Creates Fire
Fire Creates Earth
Earth Creates Metal
Metal Creates Water"

The Five Element Stepping #3: "Five Element Virtues Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect, purify, and gather the energy of the Five Virtues stored within the Five Yin Organs: Heart (Peace), Liver (Compassion), Spleen (Truth), Lungs (Integrity), and Kidneys (Wisdom) (Figure 1.217).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Essence of Evil
is Taken Away
and _____ Dies"

THE FIVE ELEMENT STEPPING #4: "FIVE STAR STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect and gather the energy of the Five Prenatal Stars (the Supreme Yang, Supreme Yin, Heavenly Stars, Southern Stars, and Northern Stars) (Figure 1.218).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"The Pure and Serious
Follow the Cloudy Road
to Divine Illumination"

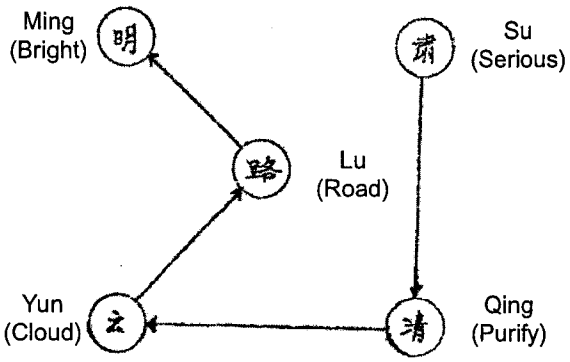


Figure 1.218. Five Element Stepping #4: "Five Star Stepping"

THE FIVE ELEMENT STEPPING #2: "FIVE SOUNDS STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to respect and gather the Qi of the Five Postnatal energy sound vibrations ("Xu" of the Liver, "He" of the Heart, "Hu" of the Spleen, "Si" of the Lungs, and "Chui" of the Kidneys) (Figure 1.219).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Draw Towards and Acquire
Shang Qing"

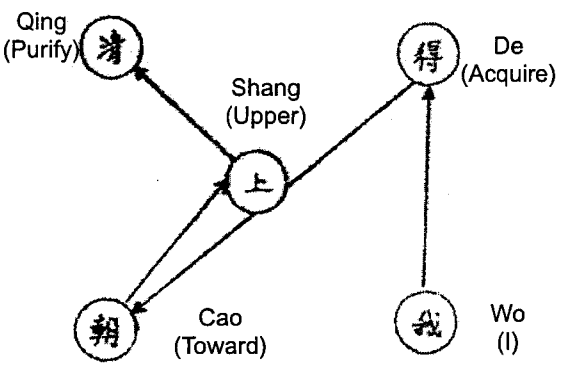


Figure 1.219. Five Element Stepping #5: "Five Sounds Stepping"

THREE PACE STEPPING PATTERNS

The following Three Pace stepping patterns (known as San Bu Gan) are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning the Celestial Martial Generals.

THREE PACE STEPPING PATTERN #1: "FA YI STEPPING (WIND AND FIRE STEPPING)"

This Stepping Pattern is known as Wind and Fire Stepping. It used to show respect to the stars, and to summon Celestial General Fa Yi (Figure 1.220).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"I Move the Wind
and Gather Thunder
to Release Heavenly Fire"

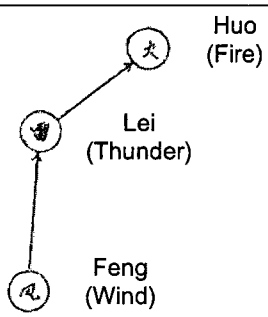


Figure 1.220. Three Pace Stepping Pattern #1 "Fa Yi Stepping (Wind and Fire Stepping)"

This is a fast magical step. After three quick steps, take the "Thunder Block" in the right hand and write the following Chinese character for "Bind" (Figure 1.221). At the same time form a left hand "Jade Incantation" Hand Seal by placing the thumb of the left hand on to the "Yi" posi-

Figure 1.221. The "Bind" Character

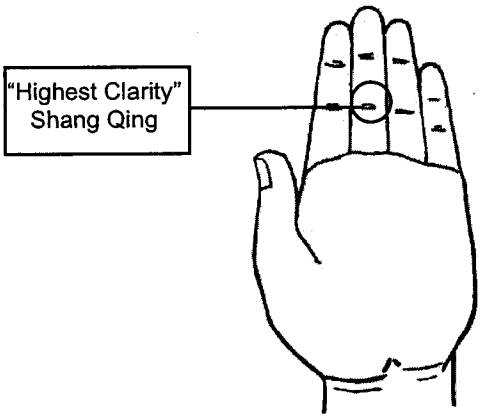


Figure 1.222. The "Jade Incantation" Hand Seal.

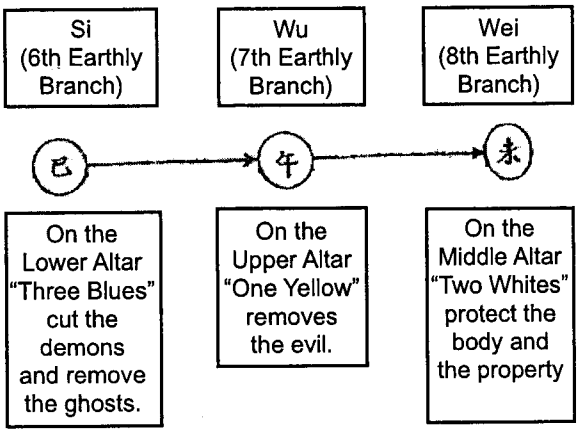


Figure 1.223. Three Stepping Pattern #2 "Three Altar Stepping"

tion (located on the second crease) of the left middle finger (Figure 1.222).

Three Pace Stepping Pattern #2: "Three Altar Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used for sending the report back to the Celestial Palace. When performing rituals, it is sometimes used as a "connecting" step, in order to link the Nine Purple Stepping with the Five Stepping patterns (Figure 1.223).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

"On the Lower Altar
Three Blues
Cut the Demons and
Remove the Ghosts."
On the Upper Altar
One Yellow Removes the Evil.
On the Middle Altar
Two Whites Protect the Body
and the Property."

Summoning the Spirits of the Dead

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning or retrieving the Ethereal Soul (Hun) of the dead.

The Hun represent the body's spiritual consciousness, provide the energetic movement of the mind, and are associated with the Qi of Heaven and the Prenatal Five Element Virtues (also known as the Five Agents). Although they reside in the Liver Orb, the Hun also resonate from the Three Dantians (like a vaporous mist extending from the Liver and filling the body's three Dantians).

The Hun (Ethereal Soul) and Po (Corporeal Soul) influence the body's "Original Soul" (Yuan Shen). The ancient Chinese believe that, in the presence of a disorder (whether physical, mental, emotional or spiritual) the Hun sometimes fly away (like startled birds in a yard). This vacancy of the Hun causes the body's Corporeal Soul (Po) to either stir about thoughtlessly in the absence of effective control (clinically known as "disassociation" or commonly called "spacing out"), or to become animalistic in nature and attack or flee for the sake of survival.

Traditionally, the ancient Daoists believed that the three Hun originated from Heaven, and were considered to be a part of the spiritual aspect of an individual that can project and travel. Dreams are an example of the information gathered during the Hun's out of body travels.

The Hun store the sum total of past experiences. The expressions of the Hun are manifested through images, symbols and ideas stemming from the Divine, or through the energetic state of the Wuji. These images, symbols, and ideas are stored in the individual's mind, affecting his or her spiritual life. Without this interaction, a person's inner mental and spiritual life would become deficient in ideas, images and dreams.

The Hun spiritually and energetically respond to the energetic grids of Heaven (universal energetic fields). The stars and planets within these Heavenly grids exert an influence on the Hun, causing each individual's body to react to certain astrological configurations (full moon, new moon, equinox, solstice, etc.). An individual's positive or negative emotional reactions are sometimes based on the affinity of the vibrational rate of the Hun with the energies of a particular astrological alignment.

The Hun are classified as Yang spirits; they can be cultivated and refined. Imagination, visualization and positive affirmation in the form of prayer and incantations, meditation, and Hand Seals are traditionally used to awaken and establish an active relationship with the Three Ethereal Souls.

Upon the death of the body, the energetic spiritual essence of the Hun ascends back to Heaven. According to ancient Daoist tradition, upon death, the Hun exit the body through the Baihui at the top of the head and ascend to the Big Dipper. While at the Big Dipper, the Hun report the individual's actions, thoughts and deeds from his or her lifetime to the celestial spirits that preside over the individual's destiny. The celestial spirits will then determine the degree to which the individual had cultivated virtue during that incarnation.

In China, when an individual dies, there is a traditional ceremony performed called, "Zhao Hun" or "the calling of the Hun." This ceremony entails someone (a relative or loved one) going to the roof of the deceased individual's house and calling to the deceased person's Hun, begging it to return to its body. If the Hun do not return, then the Po will then begin their descent into the Earth and the body's tissues will start to decay.

In order to ensure that the Po stay in the body after it has been buried (and that they will not come out to annoy the living) the relatives seal all of the orifices (exits) of the body, in order to trap the Po inside. Generally, the orifices of the body are plugged with either jade or rice (depending on the deceased individual's financial status).

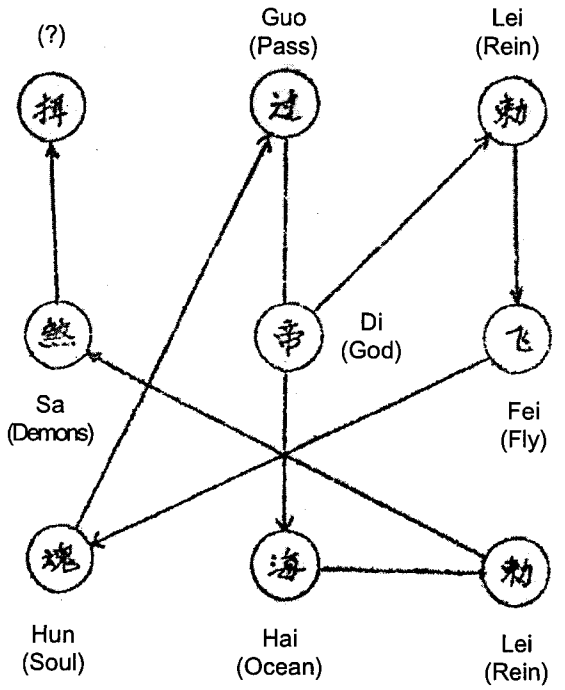


Figure 1.224. Summoning the Spirits of the Dead #1 "Gathering the Hun Stepping"

When performing a magical ritual used to hunt for a deceased individual's Hun, bring the soul out of hell, and lead it upward into Heaven, the Daoist sorcerer will traditionally repeat the following incantation:

"An Fa,
Zha Fa Feng
Pu She
Zhong You Hun"

The sorcerer will then end the incantation with:

"JI JI Ru Lu Ling"
("Quickly, Quickly - As this is Law")

"GATHERING THE HUN STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to call and gather the Hun (The Soul of the Dead) (Figure 1.224).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

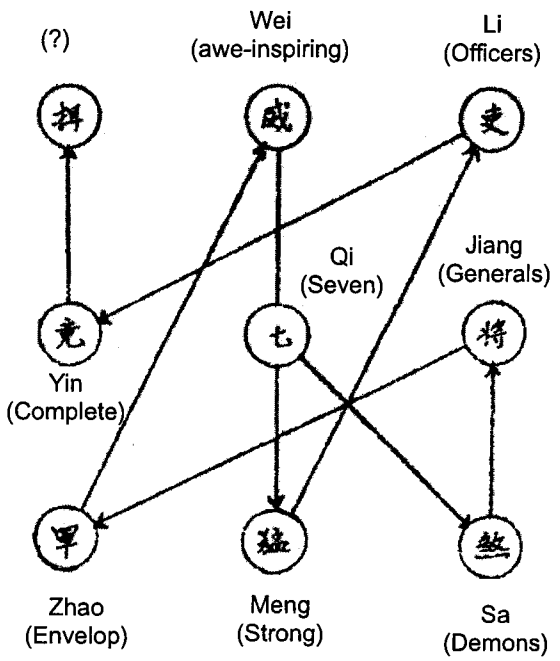


Figure 1.225. Summoning the Spirits of the Dead #2
"Gathering and Hiding the Hun Stepping"

**"God of the Heavens,
Gather to Yourself
the Flying Hun
So that it may Safely Pass
Over Your Infinite Sea
Seize Any Demon
That Seeks to Hinder its Flight"**

"Gathering and Hiding the Hun Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to gather, hide and keep the Hun (Figure 1.225).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"Seven Demon Generals,
Are Enveloped
By the Seven
Awe-inspiring Celestial Officers
Of the Complete _____"**

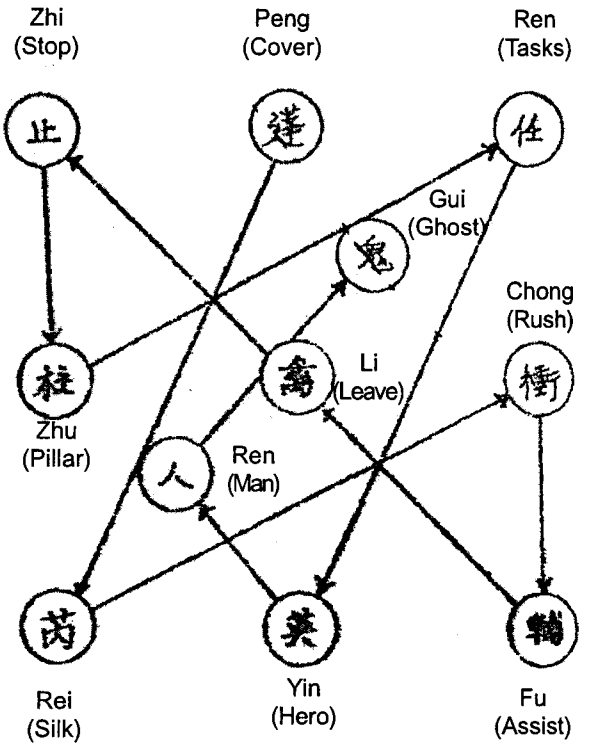


Figure 1.226.
"Summoning the Celestial Immortals
Stepping Pattern #1"

Magical Esoteric Star Stepping Patterns

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning various Celestial Immortals.

Summoning the Celestial Immortals Stepping Pattern #1

This Stepping Pattern is used to evict, remove, and control evil spirits (Figure 1.226).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"My hidden energy
flows like silk.
It rushes to assist me,
It leaves and stops
at the stable task of a hero
who has overcome his ghost"**

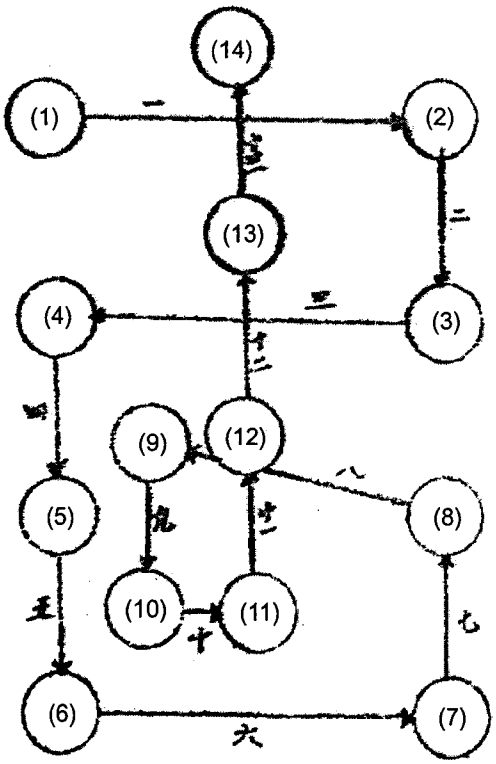


Figure 1.227.
"Summoning the Celestial Immortals
Stepping Pattern #2"

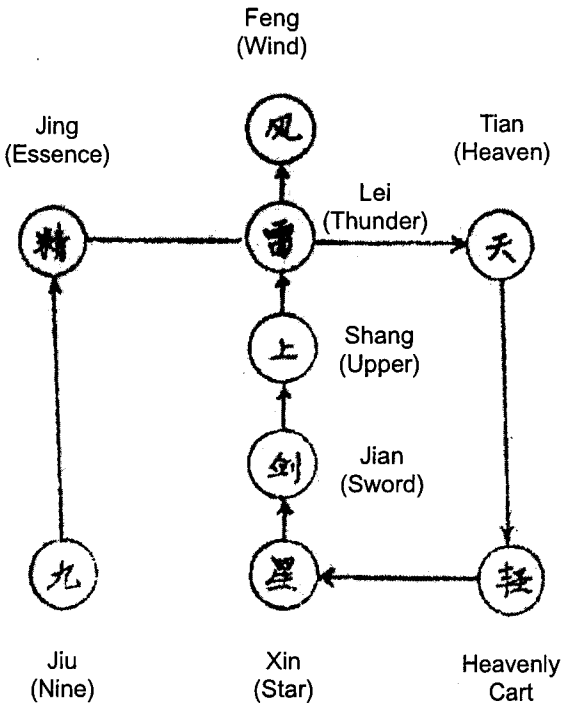


Figure 1.228. Controlling Nature
"Nine Wind Stepping"

SUMMONING THE CELESTIAL IMMORTALS STEPPING PATTERN #2

This Stepping Pattern is used to evict, remove, and control evil spirits (Figure 1.227).

SUMMONING THE CELESTIAL IMMORTALS STEPPING PATTERN #3

The following stepping patterns are commonly used in Zheng Yi rituals for summoning various Celestial Immortals in order to control the various Elemental powers of nature.

"NINE WIND STEPPING"

This Stepping Pattern is used to control the power of water (Figure 1.228).

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"The Nine Essence Thunder,
of the Heavenly Cart Star
Brings the Immortal Sword
of the Upper Thunder Wind"**

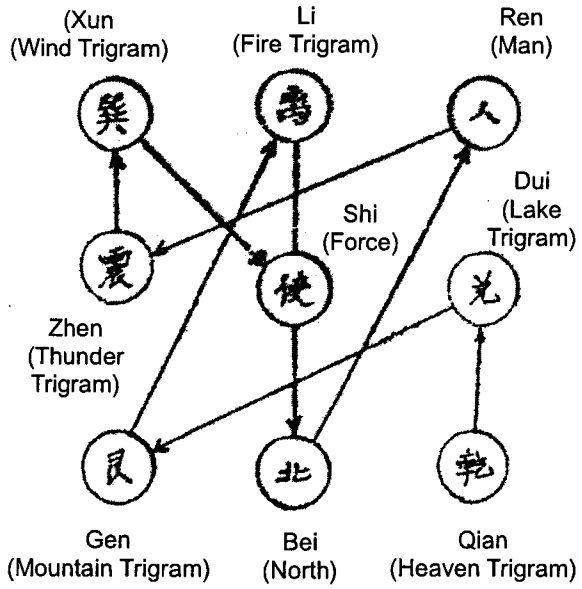


Figure 1.229.
"Celestial Master Zhang Stepping"

"Summoning Missionary Zhang Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used for summoning Celestial Master Zhang (Figure 1.229).

The first Celestial Master was the famous Daoist Master Zhang Daoling (refer back to Figure 1.188). The basic doctrines of Celestial Master Zhang concentrated on the use of the twenty-four Auspicious Alliance registers, or list of spirits, which allowed the Zheng Yi Daoists to summon, command, dispatch, or destroy demons and spirit entities. These twenty-four registers categorized spirit entities by name and description. The twenty-four registers are categorized according to 24 Daoist Monasteries located in the Cheng Du province, and were originally created and organized by Celestial Master Zhang Daoling.

This stepping pattern is performed while reciting the following incantation:

**"From the Heavens,
Over the Lake
and through the Mountain,
The Force of Fire
From the Northern Man
Arouses the Power
of Wind and Thunder"**

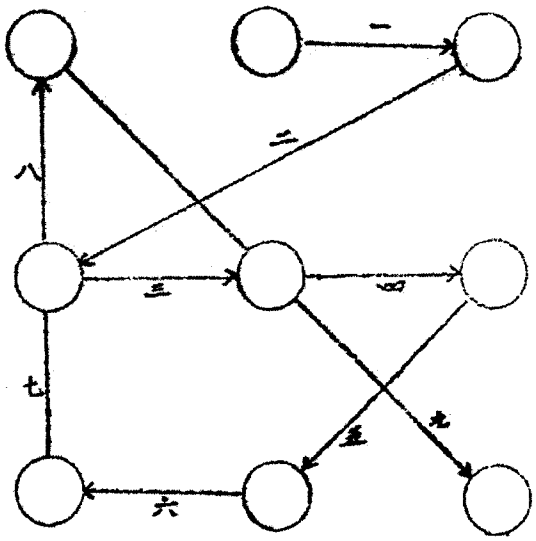


Figure 1.230. "He He
(Harmonize and Gather Stepping)"

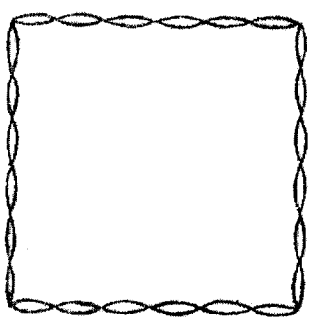


Figure 1.231. "The Intertwining Fence Stepping"

"He He (Harmonize and Gather) Stepping"

This stepping pattern is used in rituals in order to send reports back to Heaven (Figure 1.230).

"The Intertwining Fence Stepping"

This Stepping Pattern is used to remove the filthy things and purify the altar court area. This stepping patterns is sometime known as "Pacify the Dragon and Respect the Earth" (Figure 1.231).

"THE SECOND STAR OF THE DIPPER PROTECTS THE BODY STEPPING"

This star stepping pattern is commonly used in Daoist Thunder Magic rituals and is described in the *Absorb the Riches of the Profound Text.* It includes both the Ghost Names and the Destiny Names of the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper (Figure 1.232). After performing "The Second Star of the Dipper Protects the Body" Stepping Pattern, the Daoist priest will then saying the following Five Animal Protection incantation (Figure 1.233):

"The Green Dragon protects me on the left with his bold and powerful laws.
The White Tiger commands the celestial soldiers and protects me on the right.
The magical light of the Red Sparrow is in front of me,
The mysterious Dark General (Turtle/Snake) holds the bright light behind me.

The Heavenly Generals ride about on golden wheels of fire
They dispatch their celestial soldiers who play their Heavenly drums, creating a powerful Heavenly sound.
Everyone knows of life and death, they all understand the profound chances and opportunities"

"Let the Three and Five Marshal Generals and their celestial soldiers come together with the public.
Let their sunshine and the brightness come upon us
"Quickly, quickly, do this as it is my command."

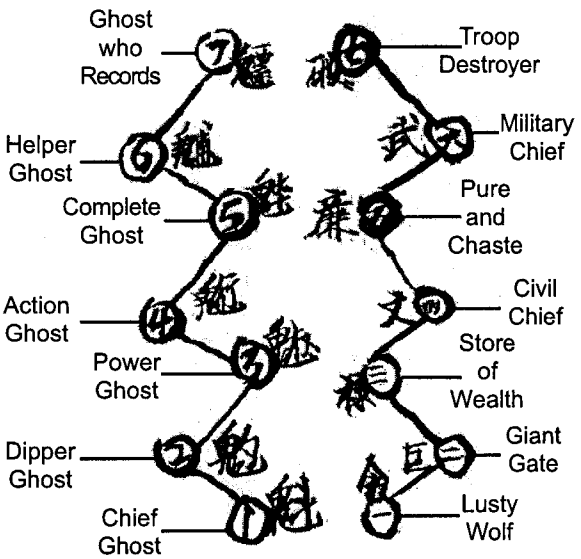


Figure 1.232. "The Second Star of the Dipper Protects the Body Stepping"

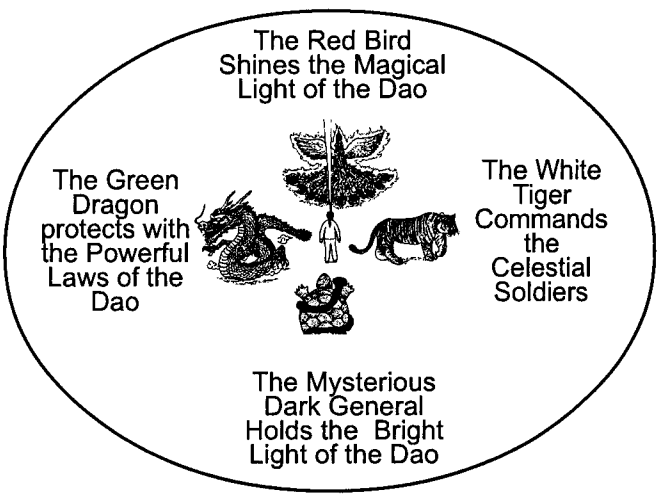


Figure 1.233. The Five Animal Protection Incantation

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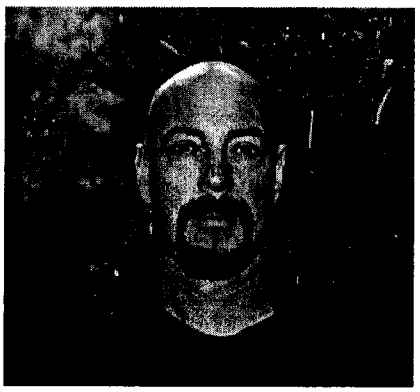

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The Intermediate Worlds of Angels

Islamic Representations of Celestial Beings in Transcultural Contexts

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Stefan Leder
Hans-Peter Pökel

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Beiruter Texte und Studien 114

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Paleo-Muslim Angels and Other Preternatural Beings

Aziz Al-Azmeh (Vienna/Budapest)

In addressing the topic of Paleo-Muslim preternatural beings, it will be useful to consider a number of prefatory points relating to sources and to Paleo-Islam before turning to the highly complex related questions of Paleo-Muslim divinity and angelology. Paleo-Islam is a historiographical category, elaborated further below, that is concerned with the configuration and dynamics of those events, social and political trends, and doctrinal and ritual developments and options that relate to the history of Muhammadan and immediately post-Muhammadan Arabia. This category is intended to describe, in relation to rough chronological termini, a dynamic that was later to crystallise into forms that we now recognise as Islamic. Framing the subject in terms of this category will allay the impression that beginnings can be described in light of outcomes, or that outcomes were an inevitable flowering of these Paleo-Muslim seeds, conceived in a linear manner.[1] My preliminary observations also relate to Paleo-Muslim preternatural beings prior to the crystallisation of what ultimately became the monotheistic Muslim divinity and His related regime of the preternatural. I use the term 'preternatural' rather than 'supernatural' because, since the nineteenth century, the latter term has come to imply a sharp-edged division between two completely distinct realms that would have been inconceivable in Paleo-Muslim times. During this period, the natural world and the preternatural realm constituted a continuum and were distinguished only in the sense that the one was visible and the other largely invisible, although even the latter could become visible in rare flashes of appearance.

Sources

Sources for the Paleo-Muslim period, covering Muḥammad's lifetime, the decades preceding it during the Ḥijāz period, and the years immediately following his death, are often portrayed as impossible to use, entirely misleading, or as being so forbiddingly impenetrable that they have little evidentiary value. However, if we pay closer attention to this material we can see that these prevailing views are a matter of attitude rather than of fact. Indeed, such views can only be sustained by appealing to a methodological postulate that is no longer credible

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1 See Aziz Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014, 41-42, 358-368 and at Index; in shorter compass, Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Paleo-Islam: Transfigurations of Late Antique Religion," in: *A Companion to Religion in Late Antiquity*, Josef Lössl and Nicholas J. Baker, eds., Oxford: Wiley Blackwell 2018, 348-354.

and which stipulates criteria of documentation and verification that are generally unattainable. These criteria have their origins in an unworkable, idealistic historiographic model of the perfect and neutral document that is able to speak for itself. This model arose out of the epistemological innocence of the more simplistic versions of nineteenth-century positivism and has been deployed polemically, and often naively, in relation to studies of the Paleo-Muslim period, rather than in a constructive manner. One research trend that has its roots in this despairing attitude is the cognitive nihilism associated with hyper-sceptical historiography, which has become commonplace and fairly orthodox in certain academic milieux. Another trend, captive to an even older misconception concerning historical methodology perpetuates, protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, *faute de mieux* the basic conceptual and technical apparatus of a medieval practice of historical verification, indulging in seemingly endless parsing of *isnāds* despite an awareness that a mirage might be chased thereby, and also despite the paucity of results expected and announced so far.

Rather than celebrating, regretting, or seeking to measure and calibrate *a priori* this alleged inaccessibility to history, and the near-impossibility of convincing historical reconstruction, this essay will proceed in an affirmative mode and on the assumption that much of the history of our period is, in fact, accessible. The underlying contention is that historians are by vocation trained to handle and interpret different types of sources, including those that are difficult. There is much that we can learn from our surviving fragments about the ancient Ḥijāzī Arabs and their religion. Much can be reconstructed of the way in which, in the first third of the seventh century, the taxonomy of the preternatural, including angels, was reconfigured. This period can be accessed by forensically reconstructing it from Arabic literary sources such as the Qurʾān, from sources in other languages, and from material evidence available in the epigraphic and archaeological records, and in ancient Qurʾānic manuscripts.

The use of an alert eye, primed by both curiosity and methodological and conceptual reflexivity, and attuned to comparativism, seems the appropriate way to read through the narrative motifs of epic, legend, patterning, myth, partiality, and other encrustations upon the individual *akhbār* that serve as the 'elementary particles' of historical transmission. Such an approach gives rise to a highly complex picture of the emergence of a new religion and of the social arrangements and dynamics associated with it. Making it possible to rethink this historical period with an accent on its complexity will serve to reset the ground-rules of the discussion by suggesting new areas for research, by reinterpreting well-known facts in the light of new perspectives, and, crucially, by the forensic reconstruction of a history from its traces.[2]

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[2] For the foregoing paragraphs, see Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Islam and the Arabs in Late Antiquity. A Critique of Approaches to Arabic Sources*, Berlin: Gerlach Press 2014; Robert Hoyland, "The

Perspectives

Since the goal of this chapter is to ask fresh questions, explore new thematic areas, and reset the research agenda, a second preliminary point is especially pertinent. This is that the standard and habitual narrative which takes Paleo-Islam and its Qurʾān as almost natural outgrowths of previous monotheisms, a view that has been made to appear self-evident to the monotheistic self-representation of the history of monotheism, is far too simplistic. This narrative allows for little more than token gestures towards the crucial immediate context of Arab polytheism and its perspective on the divine and the preternatural. It tends to place undue emphasis on breaks with this perspective, despite the recognition of a series of ritual continuities and the identification of certain modes of expression with the earliest Qurʾānic verses. Further, this monotheistic genealogy is generally expressed in terms of the Qurʾānic text, a way of conceiving the history of religions which sees them primarily as texts that beget other texts.

I maintain, by contrast, that although these textual genealogies did come to be constructed exegetically as the new religion was elaborated under the Umayyads and the Abbasids, it would be anachronistic to ascribe to them a foundational and causative effect in the earlier, Paleo-Muslim and Muḥammadan period. At this time, they were yet to become co-constitutive of the new religion, although they were fragmentarily evident in its articulation. Nevertheless, it is true that a monotheistic construction of a typological pre-history of Muḥammad's religion can be found in the Qurʾān fragmentarily. The crucial point being made here is the emphasising of the distinction between the symbolic and genealogical, on the one hand, and the efficiently causal, on the other.[3]

The perspectival resetting I advocate views the emergence of the new religion as taking place not so much through doxography as through religious practice. This practice includes mythical elaboration and cultic practice at concrete points

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Content and Context of Early Arabic Inscriptions," in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 21 (1997), 77-102; Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69 (2006), 395-416. With the emphasis on the pertinence of non-Arab sources and witnesses, it is interesting to note that the one work that has used these systematically alongside epigraphic and other material remains Robert Hoyland, *In God's Path. The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015, passim. He offers a narrative that introduces interesting and pertinent detailed material which tends to be in agreement with the general outline (as well as crucial detail) of what occurs in the much derided Arabic narrative sources. For elaborations on forensic analysis in history and law and medical diagnostics, see Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths and Historical Method*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1992, 96-104.

3 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam,* 76-77, 89-90, 279-280, 306-307, and passim for monotheism, and 271-272, 316-317, 489-497 for the Qurʾān. The present essay is primarily derived from points developed in this book, sustained by the references there cited and discussed. Some additional reference will be made to additional material or material that broadens the span of analysis in a meaningful way.

of application, with an emphasis on primary, devotional, forms of practice over secondary, theological or mythographic, elaborations, and with a view to noting dynamics of change and variability. The Qurʾān, the major 'fossil' of Paleo-Islam, does encompass theologemes and mythologemes, but it does so in a form and with an intension that was still evolving when the texts were set down. These theologemes and mythologemes would have been received in different ways by different audiences and constituencies, a point that is often missed in the assumption of unitary meanings of and audiences for the various Qurʾānic enunciations. The ascription to the Qurʾān of the kind of *Leittheologie* that Protestant and Protestant-influenced scholarship finds in scripture is anachronistic and unjustifiable.

This model of interpretation, stressing process over fixity in the Paleo-Muslim period, can be taken as a leitmotif for the approach to Paleo-Muslim material proposed here. The assumption that Allāh's rapid emergence to a position of primacy and exclusivity in the Paleo-Muslim context was an almost natural and self-explanatory occurrence, and that so too was the corresponding incidence of the standard monotheistic conception of angels, has been very resilient and arises from ancient monotheistic traditions about the naturalness and primeval character of monotheism.[4] The invocation, *tout court*, of Judaism or Christianity or, in the absence of sufficiently convincing support for either, of the exotic and alluring, but equally evasive, Judaeo-Christianity, is a not uncommon complement to this assumption.[5]

The assumption of self-evidence needs to be relaxed if we are to unfetter the historical gaze and enable it to seek out a verisimilar account of the emergence of Allāh and the host of preternatural beings that arrived alongside Him, including beings called angels. What is discernible in the Paleo-Muslim period, as we shall see, is a great degree of fluidity in the classification of preternatural beings, with Paleo-Islam developing in a direction that ultimately differentiated angels generically. This development gave angels greater definition and subordinated them to the new deity just as He was being reconfigured as transcendent and began to absorb the class of divinity entirely into Himself. By relaxing the traditional assumptions of self-evidence, we are able to explore what might follow from the proposal that the Arab transition to monotheism was neither natural, self-explanatory, nor inevitable, but, rather, a non-linear process with a specific dynamic that can be reconstituted and described.

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4 See, for instance, Jeremy Schott's illuminating discussion in "Heresiology as Universal History in Epiphanius' *Panarion*," in: *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 10 (2007), 546-563; Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 53, 279-280.

5 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 248-275, 279-315.

Paleo-Islam

The condition of dynamic mutability that lies behind the Ḥijāzī Arab transition to monotheism finds expression in the historiographic category of Paleo-Islam, which designates both a period and a perspective, and which provides the chronological and thematic parameters of this essay. This term is used in preference to 'Islam' without qualification, to 'early Islam', and to 'primitive Islam'. The use of the term expresses a preference for precision and discrimination over categorical reductionism, for names as category nominatives are neither neutral nor insignificant but tend rather to function in an associative manner. Names, when used with little discrimination, can convey broad conceptual networks by association, implying specific semantic fields and shades that generally have the commonplace purchase of clichés and carry a high ideological load.

The historiographical category of 'Paleo-Islam' is able to assist us in a number of ways as we attempt to reset the terms in which the 'unfurling' of the Ḥijāz occurred during the first half of the seventh century, alongside the emergence of a new religion, the eventual triumph of the Umayyads, and their stepping into the shoes of their imperial predecessors. The category guards against the automatic ascription of causality to priority in time, such as the proposal that the Qurʾān gave rise, ineluctably and in a linear manner, to what we call classical Islamic beliefs, practices, polities. On the contrary, our new approach contends that Muḥammad's horizons were limited by the circumstances of his time and place, and that the elementary religion of Muḥammad would most likely either have waned or become an obscure western Arabian sect had it not been for the fact of empire. The notion of Paleo-Islam serves to facilitate a perspective which regards conceptions of the divine, and of the preternatural more generally, as well as associated cultic practices, as undergoing a process of change the end of which was not inherent in its beginning. It is intended to avert ascriptions of inevitability or of the inherence of consequences in precedents, thus restoring to history its proper dynamics.

Paleo-Islam is a socio-religious and political phenomenon, the name of a historical period, and a perspective from which to approach historical interpretation. In scriptural and doctrinal terms, it refers to an emergent condition, prior to theological and exegetical elaboration in cumulative durable forms and including the pre-exegetical Qurʾān, and prior to durable imperial crystallisation. This condition necessitates reading the Qurʾān and ritual practices against the immediate background of their inception and in terms of how they would have been performed at the concrete points of occurrence. Paleo-Islam was an evolving constellation of elements and a scattering of credal, mythical, and devotional elements motivated by social and political processes, with each element being received differently by different constituencies of address, influence, enmity, alliance, and so forth.

Gods, cults, and religions

In order to understand Arab polytheism and the way in which it was reconstituted into the new monotheistic religion of Muḥammad, it is important to recognise that religion as an historical fact is sustained by social constituencies and by forms of authority and control. It is especially important to study religious practice at the concrete points of its application. With regard to Arab polytheism, it is crucial to understand the way in which worship was organised by **cultic associations** which also typically doubled as socio-political alliances and provided the framework for arrangements concerning territorial access and control over trade and natural resources.[6] Thus, each of the Ḥums (Quraysh, Thaqīf, Kalb, Māzin, sections of Hawāzin, and in general sections thereof dwelling along the routes between Mecca and Yemen, routes north-east of Mecca to al-Ḥīra, and on the road to Syria), the Ṭuls (Yemenites and sections from Iyād, ʿAkk), and the Ḥilla (comprising distant groups: Tamīm [except for the Yurbūʿ section, who were Ḥums], sections of Māzin, Rabīʿa, Asad, Ṭayy, and Qays ʿAylān except for Thaqīf) performed pilgrimages at the federated sanctuary of Mecca. Each group and subgroup indicated the specific constituency of a treaty-based alliance that formed cultic associations with discernible social geographies. Such associations might be compared in some respects to what the Swiss were later to call *Eidgenossenschaften*.

This association of cult and alliance was to be the tried and tested model for the erection of the Paleo-Muslim movement. Federal sanctuaries with which Arabs were associated abounded in Hellenistic and late antique times, as, for instance, at Manbij (Hierapolis) in northern Syria, Rāmat al-Khalīl (Mamre) near Hebron in Palestine, and Jabal Ithlib at al-ʿUlā to the north of Ḥijāz. Recent excavations have yielded further interesting results.[7] It is not sufficiently appreciated that the religions carried by social constituencies were distinguished from one another not so much by differences in doctrine as by the significance placed on distinct cultic times, such as the schedule of pilgrimages and associated markets of the *ḥajj* (of the Ḥilla and the Ṭuls), which took place in autumn (either Dhū l-Ḥijja, Muḥarram or Ṣafar al-awwal: the timing was uncertain, and the names of months were not always constant, intercalation having an effect on both), and the *ʿumra* (of the Ḥums), which took place in the spring month of Rajab. Pilgrimage itineraries within the larger Meccan area overlapped in part but were distinct in other ways, with Muḥammad eventually carrying out an amalgamation that initially lacked universal assent, and removing the mandatory sacrifices that had previously been essential offerings to the various deities wor-

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6 For the following: Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 183-203. For local west Arabian calendars and intercalation: Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 138-139, 191-196, 332-333.

7 François Villeneuve and Zeidoun Al-Muhaisen, "Dharih and Tannur, Sanctuaries of Central Nabatea," in: *Petra Rediscovered: The Lost City of the Nabatean Kingdom*, Glenn Markow, ed., New York: Abrams 2003, 82-100.

shipped by the Arabs. The associated calendars that codified the rhythms of worship, trade, and transhumance were political institutions of social time. Intercalations were more than just technical adjustments for coordinating solar and lunar temporal reckonings. Rather, they represented the outcomes of negotiation and alliance, or were dictated by a party that had gained the upper hand in a conflict.[8] When intercalation was abrogated by Muḥammad once and for all, the move bore all the marks of a stroke of political genius. In one move, he successfully severed the connection between the cultic calendar and the rhythms of social and economic life that depended upon the seasons. The mastery of time now belonged to Muḥammad's new political and cultic association, the *umma* that acted under his own command.[9]

Within this system of religion, it mattered little what god was the object of worship, since many deities were worshipped by multiple constituencies and none had a stable or constant personality that was distinct from a specific ritual occasion. The deities that were worshipped were connected to particular places and ritual occasions but were, for all intents and purposes, interchangeable. Rudolf Otto's statement, presumably building on Wellhausen, that these Arabian gods were no more than local noumena and variable demonstrative pronouns is certainly overstated, and is far more applicable to the nameless *jinn* than to named gods.[10] However, the overstatement is simply representative of one end of the spectrum of possibilities that describes practical conceptions of preternatural beings at the points of their concrete application. For the gods of the polytheistic Arabs in late antiquity were defined by the coincidence of cult – that is, worship and sacrifice or other votive offering, given at a particular place and at specific or otherwise extraordinary times – and name, epithet, or epiclesis.[11] The situation here is not unlike that which obtained for other polytheistic religions that have been studied in greater detail. And, like these other religions, Arab polytheism contained no imperative divine unicity rather than multiplicity, and tended towards devotional atomisation without recourse to mythical or theological repertoires at the points of

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8 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 193-196. See also François De Blois, "Qurʾan 9:37 and CIH547," in: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34 (2004), 101-104. Needless to say, such arrangements were not unique to Arabia: see now also Antonio C. Panaino, "Pre-Islamic Iranian Calendrical Systems in the Context of Iranian Religious and Scientific History," in: *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, D. T. Potts, ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, 957-958. The recent review of the material by Hideyuki Ioh, "The Calendar of pre-Islamic Mecca," in: *Arabica* 61 (2014), 471-513, remains largely uncritical and assumes a homogeneity and regularity which are not justifiable. See now the broad sweep of detail in Christian Robin, "Die Kalender der Araber vor dem Islam," in: *Denkraum Spätantike. Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran*, Nora Schmidt, Nora Katharina Schmid and Angelika Neuwirth, eds., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2016, 299-386.

9 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 332-333.

10 Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*, Munich: Beck 1997, 149.

11 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 164-183, 204-223.

practical cultic application.[12] It was *savoir-faire* rather than *savoir-penser*,[13] and its divinities might just as well be namelessly identified with the locations of their worship as given any other nominative identity,[14] as we can see in the example of Dhū l-Khalaṣa south-east of al-Ṭāʾif, worshipped by Khathʿam, Daws, Bajila, and Azd al-Sarāt. Theologies and mythologies including pantheons of twelve or nine or seven divinities are secondary elaborations arising from social and cultural processes distinct from those of worship.[15] Ultimately, a religion was a specific form of sacrifice performed at specific places and times by a specific constituency; such was, indeed, the meaning of the word *dīn*.[16] If Hubal and the god at Dhū l-Khalaṣa (who received no blood sacrifices) were distinguished by their specific function of cleromancy, this did not mean that they were not all-purpose gods as well. Polytheism is aggregative and syncretising, and we have indications for a turnover in the roster of the divine. These changes often involved the importation of new divinities or their representations, according to the vagaries of political control and opportunities of communication,[17] with the importation of Hubal and of his idol standing out as a famous example in Arab tradition. The turnover of the divine was correlated with the emergence, or attempted emergence, of centres of territorial control, such as the failed attempt by B. Baghīḍ to set up a competitor to the Meccan *ḥaram*.[18]

The only shared item of **belief** among Arab polytheists was in the efficacy of deities, an item held not as a confession but, rather, rendered in ritual action. It is this that explains the centrality of rites rather than any considerations of faith in this tradition. Rites are a combination of bodily gestures and words pronounced in set sequences of two verbal packages: invocation, thanksgiving, and praise, on the one hand; supplication, promise, and propitiation, on the other. The performance of rites was usually followed by sacrifice, and all these elements

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12 See Pierre Brulé, "Le langage des épiclèses dans le polythéisme hellénique (l'exemple de quelques divinités féminines). Quelques pistes de recherché," in: *Kernos* 11 (1998), 15, 18-19; Robert Parker, "The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithets," in: *Opuscula Atheniensia* 28 (2003), 173, 182; Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 49-64.

13 M. Linder and John Scheid, "Quand croire c'est faire. Le problème de la croyance dans la Rome antique", in: *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 38/81 (1993), 48-50.

14 François Villeneuve, "La résistance des cultes bétyliques d'Arabie face au monothéisme: de Paul à Barsauma à Muhammad," in: *Le problème de la christianisation du monde antique*, Hervé Inglebert, Sylvain Destephen and Bruno Dumézil, eds., Paris: Picard 2011, 223-224.

15 Cf. Ian Rutherford, "Canonizing the Pantheon: the Dodekatheon in Greek Religion and Its Origins," in: *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations*, Jan N. Bremmer and Andrew Erskine, eds., (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 5), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2010, 47-48.

16 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 204-205 and 205 fn. 247. See now also Reinhard Schulze, *Der Koran und die Genealogie des Islam*, Basel: Schwabe 2015, 302, with reference to the same poetic evidence, ʿAmr b. Qamīʾa's line: *innī arā dīnī yuwāfiqu dīnahumu / idhā ansakū afrāʿahū wa dhabīḥahū*.

17 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 180-181, 215-220.

18 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 130.

were generally performed at set ritual times, in locations that were specially consecrated, and by specific constituencies: cultic associations or what Wellhausen called *Schlachtgemeinschaft*.[19] Priestly functions, including sacrifice and the leadership of pilgrimage processions, were social and political functions carried out by designated individuals at set times and places.

Gods and other preternatural beings

It has been suggested that Paleo-Muslim divinity emerged within a polytheistic setting, a development which also involved a recasting of the taxonomy of the preternatural. This development saw the angels particularised and constituted as a specific category of the preternatural that was disentangled from the *jinn* and from polytheistic deities. In the fullness of time, this development led to the creation of an elaborate angelology cast along familiar monotheistic lines, although this later construction was only fragmentarily present in Paleo-Muslim times.[20]

But this disentanglement was not complete or constant. As in the period prior to Paleo-Islam, and still to some extent continuing during the Paleo-Muslim period as expressed in the Qurʾān, the boundaries between various named types of preternatural actors were unstable. Deities, *jinn*, and angels tended to shade into each other in terms of their functions. When the Qurʾān asserts that unbelievers conceived the *jinn* as partners to Allāh (Q 6:100), the implication is that *jinn* may have been worshipped, a polemical overstatement of the fact that they had been propitiated in ways that were not dissimilar to the way in which deities were propitiated.[21] A further implication of this is that the taxonomic classes under which deities and the *jinn* were classified were not entirely distinct from one another. Further, when the Qurʾān states that unbelievers did not really worship angels but worshipped the *jinn* instead (Q 34:41), this amounts to a Qurʾānic *jinnification* of deities that might have been designated as angels, or that the Paleo-Muslims came to designate as angels rather than as gods. Similarly, when the Qurʾān castigates those who elevated angels to the status of deities (Q 3:80, 34:40), this appears to be a taxonomic manipulation of a classificatory indeterminacy that was operative in Arab polytheism. This indeterminacy was also related to the disparagement of belief in female angels (Q 17:40, 43:19, 53:27) and to the removal of the angelic – in fact, the generally preternatural – nature of the three famous female deities, Allāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt. The context for this last

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19 Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums. Gesammelt und erläutert*, Berlin: De Gruyter 1961, 117.

20 For the ultimate picture culled from prophetic traditions and other Muslim elaborations, see Stephen Burge, *Angels in Islam: Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī's al-Ḥabāʾik fi akhbār al-malāʾik*, London: Routledge 2012.

21 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 210-211.

move might well reflect Muḥammad's divine diplomacy at the point in time when these figures were designated as Allāh's daughters.[22]

Clearly, whether a preternatural being was *ilāh*, *jinnī*, or *malak/malʾak* was a matter of unstable naming conventions or, perhaps, of sociolects, and not the result of the kind of theology with its related ontology that was to come in the course of time,[23] reflected in the cumulative moves of Paleo-Islam from henotheism and monolatry to monotheism, a move reflected in the chronological flow of the Qurʾān.[24] This is unsurprising, given the polyvalent and polyonymous nature of polytheistic deities, and the rapid turnover of the divine in the Ḥijāz. In many ways, this development of Paleo-Islam paralleled the disengagement in the early history of Christianity of *daimones* from the realm of indeterminate divinity that they had long shared with *theoi*, and their consequent relegation to a status of preternatural malignancy that was substantively distinct from the status of God.

This phenomenon is also unsurprising when we consider the continuum between visible and invisible nature, or nature and the preternatural, and the porosity of the boundaries between them. Polytheistic divinities inhabited and animated special locations and objects, including cult objects.[25] Famously, the *jinn* were capable of materialisation and could take on a variety of visible forms, including acting as doubles to humans. Transmogrification was not infrequently noted by Paleo-Muslims and polytheistic Arabs, be it that of the *jinn* or of Gabriel. Similarly, both polytheists and Paleo-Muslims mention the appearance of mysterious persons in confusing guises, including the possible confusion over the appearances of Muḥammad and Diḥya al-Kalbī and Abū Fukayha. This can be compared to the ways in which Aphthartodocetism and the Qurʾān conceived of the likeness, the formal double or *eidolon*, of Christ on the cross as a transfer of forms – the person crucified was not Christ, but something like him. Again, we can also note, this time with reference to a transfer of substances, the aetiological and euhemeristic interpretations of certain deities, such as Isāf and Nāʾila, ancestral deities of Quraysh from regions near the Red Sea who were said to have been petrified for having profaned the sacred Meccan enclave.[26] Anthropologically, epiphany, like transfiguration, is itself an instance of transmogrification, and the receipt of divine inspiration also involves an act of transmogrification, regardless of the precise route through which this inspiration was transmitted.

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22 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 325-326.

23 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 293-295, 326-327.

24 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 283, 306-326.

25 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 164-183, 204-248. Compare the discussion of animation by Cyril Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 56, 59-61.

26 For some of this Arabian lore: al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1965-68, vol. 1, 297-299, 308-309; vol. 6, 196.

The being that presented itself to Muḥammad *ʿalā qābi qawsayni aw adnā* in order to deliver inspiration, described in a famous vision of Sūrat al-najm (Q 53:5-10), is likely to have been Muḥammad's deity – the deity who 'descends', according to the Qurʾān, but who dwells above the seven heavens, and who is yet present in the black stone at Mecca, is of this type.[27]

The relationship between Allāh and His preternatural subordinates needs to be seen in the light of the metastasis, partibility, and polymorphy of the divine, and the continuum between the visible and the invisible. This applies all the more once He has eliminated other competing deities and has assumed the exclusive right to the generic title of divinity, predicating divinity of Himself alone and absorbing all the functions that had previously been attributed to a range of divine figures. Allāh allocates to Himself both common and uncommon divine epithets and, crucially, the epiclesis of invocation *Allāhumma*, used previously for the invocation of all deities. He declares Himself the sole recipient of the attribute and epithet of unicity. These epithets had previously been generic and were applicable to a variety of divinities in cultic moments, as was the case with polytheistic invocations that used the epithet 'one'.[28] The Qurʾān, intriguingly, sometimes associates, and thus perhaps conflates, both sympathetically and by synecdoche, the Lord, Rabb, and the angels. This is done almost indiscriminately during the Meccan period, with the Qurʾān speaking of God and the angel (in the singular) coming forth in formation, *ṣaffan ṣaffan* (Q 89:22) – perhaps, but not necessarily, implying multiplicity in a manner that Arabic grammar would recognise as *mufrad bi-ṣīghat al-jamʿ*. Indeed, one needs to bear in mind the possibilities of thinking of the linguistic usage in Arabic of the singular to designate a plurality, and the plural to designate a singularity.

The precise way in which this conjunction of multiplicity occurred is not entirely clear. What matters is the connection between the divinity and His various instantiations and the strong implication of convertibility that is reminiscent of transmogrification. The Qurʾān speaks of the arrival of 'the angels … or your Lord, or Signs from your Lord' (Q 6:158). It speaks of a visitation during sleep (*ṭāfa ʿalayhum ṭāʾifun*) from or of your Lord (*min rabbika* – Q 68:19), although in what form is left unclear.

It is important to note the frequent conjunction in the Qurʾān between angels and the Spirit. However, there is no suggestion anywhere in the Qurʾān that they were not distinct, or that the Spirit denoted Gabriel, as was later to become the prevalent exegetical gloss upon the very late Qurʾān's gloss (at Q 2:97-8) on its

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27 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 346-357.

28 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 228-230, 305-306, 326-327. See also the textual study of Darina Staudt, *Der eine und einzige Gott. Monotheistische Formeln im Urchristentum und ihre Vorgeschichte bei Griechen und Juden*, (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, 80), Göttingen: Vandenoeck & Ruprecht 2012, 58-70, 312-321.

own earlier statements, which has remained with us down to the present day.[29] What we have here is a situation in which it is often difficult to disengage God from His messenger in a categorical manner, in a way that is reminiscent of, but not necessarily directly inspired by, the Biblical *mal'ak Yahweh* that is, at times, indistinguishable from Yahweh Himself.[30] All are active in situations in which God emits tangible energy by epiphanic display. This phenomenon belongs to a world in which the categories of the natural and preternatural are not ontologically distinct – God and Spirit, single and multiple, share this, that they are instances of God's kratophanic energy, by which the Qurʾān swears *al-ṣāffāt* and *al-zājirāt* (Q 37:1-2), as it swears by the stars and by a variety of other beings, both natural and preternatural.[31]

God instantiates His being as Spirit and as angel by a *glissando* of energy in different manifestations, a *glissando*, it needs to be noted, played across *our* categories of ontological classification, not those of seventh-century Arabia. The instantiations discussed here are corporeal, incorporeal, and subtle. The latter, commonly characteristic of the *jinn*, is both corporeal and incorporeal, straddling the visible and the invisible and inhabiting both, the distinction between the two being virtually meaningless to Arabians of the seventh century. This setting was well noted by St Augustine (354-430), who asserted in his exposition of Psalm 103 that the word 'angel' is the name of an office rather than a nature.[32] Angelicalness designates a function and betokens a presence beyond the specific instance of any particular angel. It manifests those operations of God that can be, and have been, personified and individualised, all the while designating God himself by virtue of His command. This manifestation can appear, as it does in the Old Testament, as a pillar of cloud or a pillar of fire.[33]

A systematic tally of the ways in which the notion of Spirit is used in the Qurʾān reveals a variety of senses, each of which is associated with a different stage of Muḥammad's ministry.[34] God blows His Spirit into the clay from which Adam

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29 Much later, by a reinvention or by the silent persistence of a motif and of a distinction, the Spirit, *al-Rūḥ*, is depicted in al-Qazwīnī's thirteenth-century cosmography as a separate angel, and indeed one of very exalted and particular status, some of his powers related by etymological association with his name, every breath of his becoming a soul; see: al-Qazwīnī: *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt*, ed. Fārūq Saʿd, Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda 1977, 90.

30 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 323.

31 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 186, 326, 418, 439-440.

32 This view is a standard component of Catholic dogma: *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, London: Burns and Oates 1994, § 329.

33 See the especially fine analysis of Thomas Hobbes, whose extraordinary exegetical gifts are not noted often enough: *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, 274-276. For an analogous situation, cf. R. L. Gordon, "The Real and the Imaginary: Production and Religion in the Graeco-Roman World", in: *Art History* 2 (1979), 8-9, 12, 20.

34 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 343-346.

was created. He blows His Spirit into Mary's parthenogenetic body. The Spirit is a mysterious matter of (*min amr*) God (Q 16:2, 17:87, 40:15) and is 'of' Him, *minhu* (Q 58:22). It creates by animation and the magical precipitation of effect, by contiguity or at a distance; it brings succour to His worshippers, and, crucially, brings forth inspiration and revelation. Other senses of the Spirit in the Qurʾān notwithstanding, we clearly have here a concept which conveys the transmission of divine substance by means of sublime energy, indeed the transmogrification of the former into the latter. This spirit straddles materiality and spirituality, the one serving as the double of the other, a conductive capacity which incorporates and transcends the less ample preternatural energies of the *jinn* and of the betylic Lords.

The Spirit, *rūḥ*, is a term the connotations of which evolved along with the history of the Qurʾān. It may also be regarded from the perspective of categorical uncertainty and ontological mutability discussed above. The Spirit's identification with Gabriel was only a late Qurʾānic personification of divine agency, simplifying categorisation and clearing out indeterminacy as it emphasises the divine transcendence that was connected with the older mythemetic repertoire of monotheistic religions. There are many passages from various periods that mention angels and the Spirit together (Q 70:4, 78:38, 97:4). The angels 'bring down' the Spirit (Q 16:1). Both might, like *malʾak Yahweh*, be transient manifestations of God's energy, with a character that is fundamentally *jinnic*. The spirit may indeed become an angel in jinnic, transmogrifying aspect, as was the case with the Spirit sent to Mary, which appeared to her in human form (Q 19:7). The Holy Spirit brings forth Signs (Q 16:102), helps Jesus (Q 2:87, 253, 5:110), and God sends forth a Spirit from or of His Command (Q 16:2). The differentiation between Spirit and Command is not always clear, their categorical separation being introduced furtively, as the latter acquired the sense of a more literal, direct command by a distinct and intransitive deity in chronologically later parts of the Qurʾān.

Categorical distinctions in later passages are clearer; when the angels and the Spirit appear as a serried host, they speak only with the permission of al-Raḥmān (Q 78:38). But the two beings are distinct. The Spirit is clearly *of* God, sometimes figured angelically, and is often His metonymical personification. The Spirit, as both term and being, could productively be interpreted in the context of a magical conceptual infrastructure upon which the philosophical notion of hypostasis was based, a conceptual infrastructure that might underlie it mytho-poetically; it might be sublimated philosophically as hypostasis if conceived as a functional differentiation within divine activity. This tallies with the notion of 'procession' in the Nicene Creed, which has the Holy Spirit proceed from both Father and Son. The relationship is epiphanic. The Spirit is often a substantive projection of God, a numenous energy, and, as often in cases of epiphany, is subtended by an assumption of the indeterminate consistency of substance, allowing for associations with transmogrification and transfiguration. Like the Word in John 1:1, for instance, which 'was with God' and 'was God', the prepositions relating God and Spirit in

the Qurʾān betoken a metonymical and allegorical slippage of the referent in a play of identity and separation, in all cases indicating unity and continuity of action, readily prone to personification.

The continuity between God and "the Spirit of Him", God and His Word, is conceived almost materially, just as transmogrification is understood materially, in terms of a plasticity of both substance and form, as a change of form and a diminution of plenitude. Between *al-rūḥ al-amīn* and *al-rasūl al-amīn*, the latter applying equally to God's angel and to Muḥammad as well, is an agreement of attributes. Without implying that there might have been an identification between Muḥammad and Gabriel, it can be noted again that we are dealing here with an *imaginaire* in which boundaries between nature and the preternatural were not firm, and in which transmogrification was familiar to Paleo-Muslims.

Like the spirit blown into the clay out of which Adam was fashioned, and the spirit blown into Mary's body whence Jesus came, the Spirit – and, by displacement, angels and other transfigurations of the divine as well – represents a translocation of divine presence, a dramatisation of contiguous magic acting across the scale of being.

Paleo-Muslim angels

Already in Paleo-Muslim circles there was a germ of the later categorical differentiation between angels and the Spirit, with the suggestion that individuation and personification might be possible. Angels are potentially at a distance from God, while the Spirit is continuous with Him, despite the possibility of the one shading into the other. This shading was later neutralised, with the reinterpretation of the Spirit as angelic and of angels as messengers, guards, servitors, worshippers, and, broadly, as agents of divine action. Angels came to be seen as intermediaries who carried out the commands of a divine being that both transcended them and created them. This relationship between higher and lower beings was part of the package of changes that transposed Allāh into the register of monotheism and the sort of cosmocratic and cosmogenic transcendence which had, by then, become the standard model in monotheistic territories ambient with Arabia. The ontological demotion and reconfiguration of angelicalness was, at the same time, correlated with the demotion of polytheistic deities to the status of phantasms.[35]

It is difficult to interpret the status and the substance of angels in a definitive way, given the categorical indeterminacy sketched above, and doubtless Muḥammad's various constituencies understood them differently. A full investigation of this very interesting issue would need to form part of a wider project to provide a historical-anthropological description of the complex, and at times obscure, Paleo-Muslim mythical landscape. We cannot assume that this landscape was uni-

[35] Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 315-327.

form or see it as predetermined by its eventual evolution into the fully developed scheme of Muslim angelology. Nevertheless, it is possible to sketch briefly the image of angels as depicted in the Qurʾān, which was to become an important component in the later islamising elaboration of monotheistic angels.[36]

Much of the time, angels appear as generic creatures, lacking individuality and indistinct from each other, although functional and individualising elements are sometimes added to this generic appearance. Thunder, after whom Q 13 is named, praises God (Q 13:13), who commands natural forces. Gabriel is mentioned three times in very late Qurʾānic texts. On one of these occasions, he is depicted as bringing inspiration to Muḥammad's heart (Q 2:97), taking over the communicative functions of the spirit in an emergent regime of categorical separation between God and God's manifestations, now ontologically separated from him and acting as His messengers or satraps. Gabriel appears again together with Michael without qualification, along with messengers (*rusul*) and unnamed angels (Q 2:98). On another occasion, Gabriel appears in connection with Muḥammad's domestic affairs (Q 66:4). Mālik – if the reading is correct -- is called upon in vain by people in Hell who ask for his help (Q 43:77). Hārūt and Mārūt (Q 2:102), both obscure beings who were involved in magic, are sent with disorder and discord (*fitna*). That these two preternatural creatures were called angels rather than daemons or *jinn* probably came about by default as a result of the lack of elaborate categorical boundaries and likely reflects the looser Arab usage of 'angel' discussed above.

Angels take people away when the hour of their death arrives (Q 4:97) and are also appointed as the guardians of hell (Q 74:31). In addition to such commissions, angels minister to Him in two primary capacities. First, they act as scribes who register the deeds of men. Second, they serve as His host, carrying and surrounding His Throne in serried ranks (Q 39:75, 40:7), and guarding the gates of the heavens (Q 37:1-10, 54:11). They dwell in celestial heights, called *al-malāʾ al-aʿlā* by some or *ʿIlliyūn* by others, where they minister to God's wishes, on a royalist model of command. Angels, presciently predicting the lot of humankind, are also depicted as counselling God against designating Adam as His vicar on earth (Q 2:30).

Groups of angels are sent to assist Muḥammad and his companions in battle (Q 3:123f., 8:9, 9:26), in hosts of 300,000 and 500,000 (Q 3:123-125), sometimes visible to the humans involved and sometimes invisible (Q 9:26). At Q 33:9 God chastises unbelievers by dispatching furious winds – a ubiquitous motif in the Qurʾān – along with invisible soldiers. These soldiers serve to personify the force of the winds, often associated by the Arabs of the time with *jinn* – it is interesting to note here the comparable view that the Valkyries personified the Aurora Borealis. It is possible that the winds and the soldiers might stand metonymically

36 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 338-339, 342-345.

for each other and that both might, with some mythological plausibility, be interpreted as angelic extensions of the divine. God also obliterated the people of Lot by bombarding them with deadly pellets that rained down from the sky. This account is given without further explication but one possible interpretation is to see this as an example of angelic action (Q 15:72). The Battle of the Elephant was also won by the raining down of deadly pellets from the sky. These were dropped by avian creatures (Q 15:74, 105:4) and angels have often been associated with birds.[37]

One would expect that, as the categorical differentiation of angels from gods and other preternatural beings found its complement in their creaturely status, this differentiation would have been consolidated by mythematic elements acting to confirm the generic specificity of their nature. While angels are described as winged creatures (Q 35:1) and, on occasion, are defined in functional terms and individuated from one another, we have little further indication of their nature and substance.

The natures of the other categories of preternatural beings, by contrast, were much more clearly defined as they were differentiated in line with the evolving taxonomy of the preternatural. The *jinn* were beings of fire (Q 55:15), and indeed of a very Arabian fire, the scourging wind of *samūm* (Q 15:27). Satan declares himself to have been created of fire, superior to the clay that was Adam's substance (Q 7:13, 38:76). His appearance in the Qurʾān is far more individuated than that of the angels and his character is better rounded and drawn more clearly, although he does sometimes occur generically as well, in the plural or sub-categorised as *ʿifrīt* and *mārid* (Q 27:39, 37:7).[38] Both types of Satanic manifestation, the individual and the generic, were to be elaborated later into a profuse Muslim demonology that paralleled angelology and grew in tandem with the older *jinnology*.

Yet Satan's nature is itself an indication of the uncertain boundaries and categories of the Paleo-Muslim preternatural. Devils may well be the functionally opposed mirrors of angels. But as an obnoxious, fallen, and accursed angel, Satan must surely once have been forged from the same conceptual substance.

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37 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 248, 325.

38 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 340-341.

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TAO MAGIC

The Chinese Art of the Occult

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Talisman for seeking office. In the performance of all kinds of duties, it will combine peace with good fortune. (*Tao-tsang* 668–3 : 29b)

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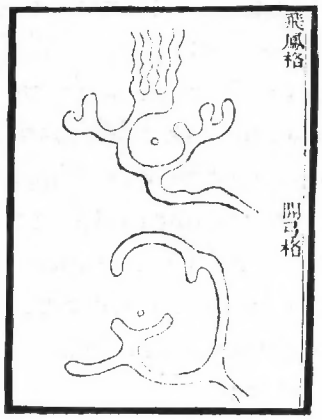
Introduction

This selection of Taoist magic diagrams, talismans and charms represents an aspect of Chinese art virtually unknown in the West. Art historians – even Eastern art historians – have largely ignored them, concerning themselves primarily with problems of artistic technique rather than meaning, the question of 'how' rather than 'why'. Yet Taoist calligraphy, as I shall be showing, has been of first importance in China since earliest times, both as an artistic carrier of spiritual truths, and as the one means of communication with the spirits.

Taoist graphic art was first and foremost a practical magic, enabling man to communicate with the spirit world and influence the workings of the invisible forces of nature for his own benefit. It was geared to his everyday needs, concerned with the changes of season and weather essential for planting, harvesting, and building. On another level of daily life, the diagrams and talismans were intended to cure sickness, bless marriage, ease childbirth, protect the household from fire, get rid of pestilence and misfortune, guard against calamities. In short, they were to make the daily life of the people easier. Later in the text we shall be looking at the different ways in which these magic diagrams have been made and used, throughout the centuries.

On a deeper philosophical level, the diagrams may be understood as embodying the concepts of Taoist philosophy. They are to help us harmonize the sexual polarities, the *yin* and *yang*, within ourselves, and to place us in harmony with the turbulent energies that act upon our lives and the universe. At the most profound level of all, they point the way to the core of Chinese mysticism. We can intuit the truth that reality is not a succession of separate moments, or an infinite number of separate 'things', but a seamless web of eternal change, like the currents of a river, or clouds blown by the wind; that 'being' and 'non-being' are complementary, just as the fretted stones which we see depicted in the diagrams are given their shape by erosion, and the surrounding silence gives music its form. In the visual arts of China, empty space is as important as line. The final goal of the Taoist mystic is to penetrate beyond ordinary 'reality' to reach to an awareness of

< See p. 114, fig. 21



Geomancy patterns known as 'The Flying Male Phoenix' (above) and 'Drawing the Bow' (below). (From Chiang P'ing-chien, *Shui-lung ching* 3:10a. 1744 ed.)

the ultimate tranquillity, that which is beyond time and change, the Great Ultimate, the Whole, the 'mystery beyond all mysteries', called by the Chinese the Tao.

Artistically, the diagrams represent some of the most fascinating examples of Chinese abstract art to develop outside the imperial mainstream, which is what we know as 'Chinese art' today. They are as much a part of the legacy of Chinese art as the celebrated Shang and Chou ritual bronzes and jades, Han and T'ang pottery tomb figurines, Sung academic paintings and calligraphic scrolls, or Ming and Ch'ing dynasty ceramics.

We can see their influence in the symbolic abstraction of these other visual arts. We can also clearly observe their traces in the techniques of various Taoist schools and secret societies which operated all over China from the Han period onwards. These include astrology, palmistry, physiognomy, geomancy, alchemy, herbal medicine, acupuncture, and the arts of movement (t'ai-chi chüan and kung-fu).

The secrecy that has surrounded Taoist teaching arises partly from the taboo on the sacred – the mystic communication has to be protected from the eyes of the uninitiated or irreverent – and partly from the historical need to protect the various cults from official hostility. Even today, talismans have been refused to non-Taoist, non-Chinese enquirers.

The Secret Sources

The present selection of Taoist magic diagrams, talismans and charms has been taken from the most esoteric of the 1,464 works preserved in the *Tao-tsang*, the 1436 (early Ming dynasty) edition of the Taoist canon, and other Ming and Ch'ing dynasty manuals. The *Tao-tsang*, first published about AD 1190, was originally an even larger collection before its burning was ordered by Kublai Khan of the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty in 1281.

In its present (early Ming) form the collection consists of seven different sections ('caves') with various supplements, containing more than fifty million characters of text and several thousand diagrams. Supplementary diagrams were added in the Ming period, but the vast majority of those printed are ancient canonical forms, belonging to a tradition of occult art over two thousand years old, the roots of which go back to shamanistic practices in the second and first millennia BC.

The shaman is a person who has acquired techniques which enable him to contact the spirit world, and, specifically, to summon spirits. His power and prestige largely depend on the number of spirits he can

voluntarily incarnate in himself and thereby control. He may be aided by songs, dances, drums and, frequently, narcotics.

There was a limited tradition of these practices in Taoism, particularly in South China, but more frequently Taoist magic used talismans and charms which became impersonal repositories of power. They were impersonal in the sense that, once the talismanic calligraphy had been completed by the Taoist priest, who would usually reproduce a canonical prototype, all his spiritual power was immediately *transferred* to the talisman. It was then used by the individual as a kind of ritual object to retain his direct contact with the spirit.

A profound belief in the spiritual powers of calligraphy was very probably already present even in the formative period of Chinese civilization (i.e. during the first millennium BC), and was largely responsible for the survival of the Chinese ideographic script. For it is significant that, despite several attempts at reform, the Chinese civilization has always shown reluctance to adopt an alphabetic script.

In order to protect the talismanic 'mystery' a number of beautiful secret scripts were evolved by Taoism; how they arose and in what way they differ from ordinary calligraphy, we shall see later in the introduction, when we look at the magic power of calligraphy.

The diagrams as they appear today were the work of a wide range of artists, including illiterate villagers, recluses and hermit-scholars, as well as Taoist exorcist-priests, faith-healers, and sorcerers. Most of them are anonymous, for the powerful talismanic forms are rarely attributed to particular individuals, and the legendary attributions of the Taoist canon must be treated with reservation.

In their original form, these diagrams were the most perishable visual art products of China. Some of these mystic diagrams were originally drawn in the dust with a wooden stick or a finger, others (after Han times) on paper to be burnt as 'paper-money' offerings to the forces of the supernatural. These notes of 'paper-money' were reproduced many thousands of times in the course of a single generation, only to be used for a single day in a given hour of the magic rite. The highly perishable material of which they were made was itself a constant reminder of the cardinal Taoist teaching: the principle of Eternal Change which governs the whole universe. Indeed, most of them have disappeared along with the voices of the famous ancient singers and the movements of celebrated Sui and T'ang dynasty dancers. Yet, they have not been completely lost. Outstanding examples have survived in Taoist canonical sources, and even today are being copied closely. A number are to be found among the illustrations of this book.

Talisman of the Messenger of the Nine Heavens, who can cure epidemics. It depicts a shaman performing a ritual fire-dance. (*Tao-tsang* 1203–224:16b)

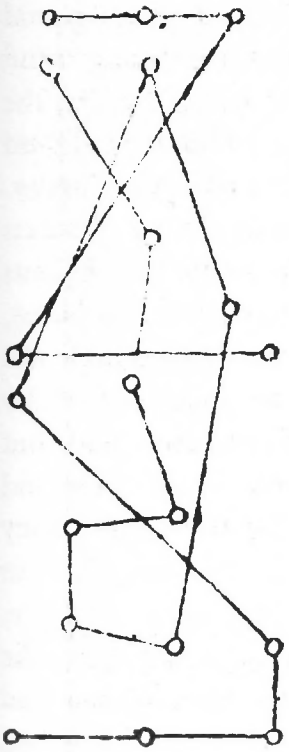
of time since before 1000 BC. A measurement of both days and years, it is formed by revolving a cycle of ten characters, representing the Ten Heavenly Stems, with one of twelve, representing the Twelve Earthly Branches. The ten Heavenly characters are: *chia*, *i*, *ping*, *ting*, *wu*, *chi*, *keng*, *hsin*, *jen* and *kuei*. The twelve Earthly characters are: *tzu*, *ch'ou*, *yin*, *mao*, *ch'en*, *ssu*, *wu*, *wei*, *shen*, *yu*, *hsü* and *hai*. The duodenary system has also been used on its own to designate the twelve months and the twelve double hours of the day, starting at 11 p.m. In addition, there is a number for each person determined by the characters drawn from the cycles marking the year, month, day, and hour of his birth. Taoist occult theory correlates these two sets of characters with the workings of the Five Elements, colours, seasons, etc.

The following passage from the *Pao-p'u tzu*, a Taoist work of about AD 300, explains this concept:

> When the *Ling-pao ching* speaks of *protective days*, it means a continuation of the Twelve Earthly Branches and the Ten Heavenly Stems in which the first element begets the second. Days *chia-wu* (no. 31 of the 60-cycle) and *i-ssu* (no. 42) are examples of this. *Chia* is Wood, and *wu* is Fire; *i* too is Wood, and *ssu* Fire, Fire being born of Wood. When it speaks of *proper days*, it means combinations where the second element begets the first. *Jen-shen* (no. 9) and *kuei-yu* (no. 10) are examples of this. *Jen* is Water, and *shen* is Metal; *kuei* is Water, and *yu* is Metal, Water being born of Metal. By *constraining days* it means combinations where the first element conquers the second. *Wu-tzu* (no. 25) and *chi-hai* (no. 36) are examples of this. *Wu* is Earth, and *tzu* is Water; *chi* too is Earth, and *hai* Water, and according to the theory of the Five Elements, Earth conquers Water. By *attacking days* it means combinations where the second element conquers the first; *chia-shen* (no. 21) and *i-yu* (no. 22) are examples of this. *Chia* is Wood, and *shen* is Metal, *i* too is Wood and *yu* Metal, Metal conquers Wood. From these examples one can deduce the rest.

The notes to the talismans which follow contain frequent references to this cyclic system, which is by no means as complicated in its practical application as it appears in the passage quoted above. For example, if a given year, month, day or hour is linked with the element Water, this signifies that a good deal of rain may be expected during the period, while a dominant element of Fire would indicate a hot spell and also an increased risk of fire breaking out. The choice of lucky and unlucky days, which features so prominently in Chinese divination and farmers' almanacs, is only one of the practical extensions of this *yin-yang* and Five Elements theory.

Yin-yang numerical system, as shown in the table above, also played a prominent part in Taoist magic. As we shall see, a large
3–5 number of talismans were used in sets of threes, fives, nines, etc.
6–10 Among these, the sets of fives were considered particularly powerful



Magic talisman to bring happiness and good fortune, depicting two constellations (*yin* and *yang*) interlocked in acrobatic sexual union. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–25:2b)

because they acted on the Five-Element space-time factor of the cosmos with associated symbolism of colour, smell, taste, sound, etc. Inspired by the philosophical doctrine of the Five Elements, popular Taoist spiritualism showed itself remarkably practical again: the multiperceptual contact with the spirit world opened up additional channels of communication with the spirits, making use of all the senses of the human body.

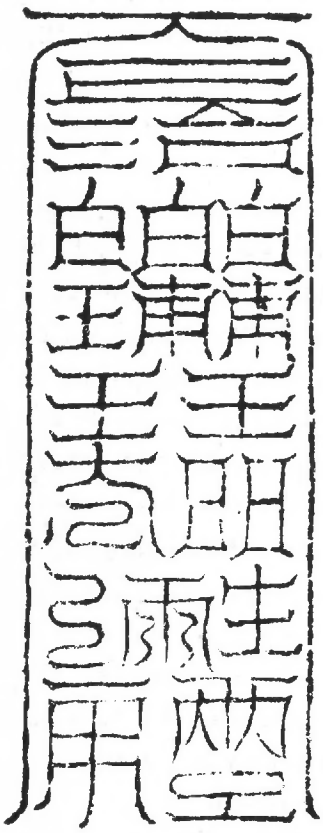
Of the heavenly bodies, the radiant Sun represents *yang* and the silver Moon, *yin*. To reinforce *yang*, Taoist magic prescribed sun-bathing in the nude for men, who were instructed to hold a talisman (a secret character for sun written in the *yang* colour, red, on green paper). Moon-bathing in the nude was prescribed for women to reinforce their *yin*, and they too were to hold a talisman (a secret character for the moon written in the *yin* colour, black, on yellow paper). Constellations too, according to the principle of the harmonious (*yin-yang*) unity of heaven and earth, guided and influenced changes on earth. Hence their frequent appearance in talismanic graphic compositions and secret diagrams. They are often represented symbolically as convoluted stones and rock-formations.

Vital Breath

Ch'i, the Vital Spirit, fills the world of the Taoist. It is the Cosmic Spirit which vitalizes and infuses all things, giving energy to man, life to nature, movement to water, growth to plants. It is exhaled by the mountains, where the spirits live, as clouds and mist and, therefore, the undulating movement of clouds, mist, or air filled with smoke rising from burning incense, is a characteristic mystic representation

31–4 of *ch'i* in Taoist art. As the Universal Force or Eternal Energy, it is at the centre of Taoist breathing exercises, which also involve the art of smelling and the use of incense. In occult diagrams it is the reason for the preference for asymmetrical design. The *Pao-p'u tzu* states: 'Man exists in *ch'i*, and *ch'i* is within man himself. From Heaven and Earth to all kinds of creation, there is nothing which would not require *ch'i* to stay alive. The man who knows how to circulate his *ch'i* maintains his own person and also banishes evils that might harm him.' The same source mentions a method of casting spells by simply rendering breath (*ch'i*) more abundant. The Taoist Chao Ping used to charm streams by breath so that the water-level dropped as much as twenty feet. Using the same technique, he would light a cooking-fire on thatched roofs without setting light to the dwelling, render boiling water harmless for scalding and prevent dogs from barking.

Taoist mystics also conceived of *ch'i* as the invisible underground currents of the earth. Geomancy (*feng-shui* in Chinese, meaning 'wind and water') was born out of this concept. It was concerned with the art of fixing the sites of houses for the living and tombs for the dead in mystic harmony with the local currents of *ch'i*, the Cosmic Energy. Traditionally, if houses and tombs were not correctly sited, evil effects were likely to befall the inhabitants of the houses and the descendants of the dead, whereas a good siting would bring them happiness, prosperity and longevity. The forces and nature of the invisible *ch'i* currents, known also as 'dragon's veins', were determined not only by mountains and hills (*yang*), and valleys and watercourses (*yin*), but also by the movements of the heavenly bodies from hour to hour and day to day all round the year. The *yin* and *yang* aspects of geomancy currents were also identified with the Tiger and the Dragon, which in turn represented the western and eastern quarters of Heaven. As a rule, a three-fifths *yang* and two-fifths *yin* balance was thought to be the most favourable. A magnetic compass marked with trigrams and hexagrams of the *I-ching*, as well as with the sexagenary cycle of stems and branches, aided the complex reckoning for the selection of the suitable site. Compass references have been indicated in the notes on some of the talismans illustrated later in the book.



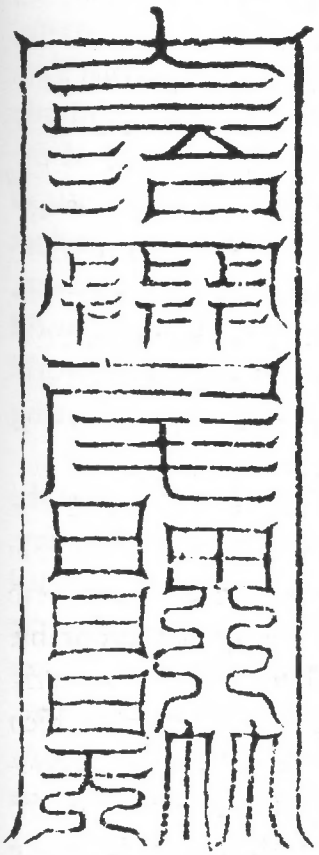
Talisman of the Great *Yin*. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–271 : 28b)

But *ch'i* also meant sexual energy. The *yin-yang* theory held that the sex organs were a major vehicle of the primary forces of the universe, and looked upon sexual intercourse as an act charged with Cosmic Energy. The schematic symbol of *yin* and *yang* is a circle divided into two equal parts by a curving line, with the lower, or female half dark, and the upper, or male half light. The Earth, woman, and the vulva are all *yin*. Heaven, man, and the penis are all *yang*. The union of these opposites leads symbolically to the harmony of the universe. This also means that it is possible to believe that Heaven and Earth consummate their relation each time a man and a woman perform the sexual act. The prolongation of this act, therefore, becomes a magic ritual. Hence the frequent references, both symbolic and explicit, to the union of the opposite sexes in Taoist magic rites, according to which there were lucky and unlucky days for intercourse, favourable and unfavourable directions and positions in which to lie, etc. There was also an early Taoist ritual known as the 'deliverance from guilt' ceremony which took place on the nights of the new moon and the full moon. It consisted of a ritual dance, the 'coiling of the dragon and playing of the tiger', which ended in successive sexual unions in the assembly. It was censured in a pre-T'ang Buddhist document on the grounds that 'men and women have sexual intercourse in an improper way as they make

no distinction between nobility and commoners' – a piece of contemporary social criticism which testifies to the egalitarian nature of Chinese Taoist magic.

Bodily yin-yang *and Alchemy*

Man's own body is also governed by the principle of the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*), *yin-yang* and the Five Elements. Traditionally, when *yin* and *yang* were formed out of the primordial chaos, *yang*, being light, went up to form Heaven, while *yin*, being heavy, descended to form the Earth. This idea is repeated in the composition of the human body, with the head as Heaven and the feet as Earth. There is a spirit in each part of the body corresponding to the structure of the universe. The five organs have their ruling spirits, the upper parts of the body contain the *yang* spirits of Heaven, and the lower parts accommmodate the *yin* spirits of Earth. At birth we are filled with the primordial *yang* and, as we grow, this *yang* waxes until, on maturity, it reaches its peak. But *yin* is also present and, as life goes on, *yin* increases and *yang* gradually flows away. When the balance of *yin* and *yang* is no longer effective, we die. Our breath, spirit, and seminal essence are all dissipated. But for the Taoist death is not a separation of the body and spirit as we conceive of it in the West. It is rather a separation of the *yin* and the *yang* elements of man.



Talisman of the Great *Yang*. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–271:28a)

Concepts of Taoist internal alchemy also appear in talismanic magic. As we have just seen, the human body was considered to be endowed by Heaven and Earth with the two life-constituents, *yin* and *yang*. They are symbolized by the trigrams *k'an* and *li* respectively. *K'an* and *li* are also the active manifestations of *ch'ien* (representing Heaven) and *k'un* (representing Earth), thus symbolizing their influences. In alchemical terms, *ch'ien* and *k'un* also represent the furnace (the 'subtle fire' of the body) and the crucible (the centres in the body where energy is transformed), while *k'an* and *li* are the ingredients combining in the crucible to form the elixir of life. Trigrams *k'an* and *li* also stand for the sacred union of *ch'ien* and *k'un*, and that of *yin* and *yang*. This union is said to be the magic union of the solar and lunar influences, for in the *I-ching*, *k'an* and *li* represent the moon and sun.

These were the chief principles governing Taoist thinking, and the main purpose of the magic rites and ritual activities of popular Taoism, with its use of talismans and charms, was to win the blessing associated with *yang* and suppress the dark forces of *yin*.

Finally, in accordance with the ancient principle of Taoist inner alchemy, certain post-Han Taoist cults stressed the idea of giving

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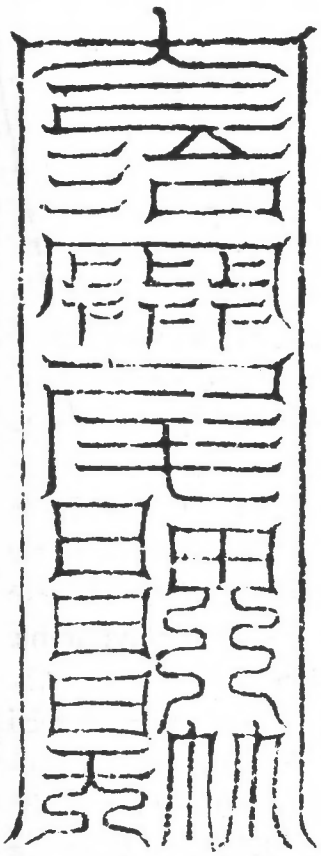

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Finally, in accordance with the ancient principle of Taoist inner alchemy, certain post-Han Taoist cults stressed the idea of giving

Talisman of the Ruler of the South, to assist in refining spiritual energy, and by Taoist Inner Alchemy, to achieve immortality. The design incorporates a gourd-shaped crucible with *lien* – 'to smelt' or 'to refine' – beneath. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–29:6b)

birth to a new man within oneself, instead of producing offspring externally. This 'infant' represented the immortal soul which was finally externalized when the soul left the mortal body and joined the spirit world. This inward concentration of life-forces, aided by talismanic magic, is symbolized by the image of the flaming 'pearl,' a frequent talismanic graphic component, representing the offspring of the union of *k'an* and *li*, the human and cosmic Energies enveloped in the fire of transformation.

The Spirit World

During the centuries of the Han and post-Han periods (i.e. from the second century BC onwards), popular Taoism began to develop a large pantheon of the spirit world which numbered tens of thousands by the end of the Ch'ing period. Both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images, representing gods, spirits and demons, appear in this pantheon. They are drawn from ancient Chinese nature-worship, local hero-cults and ancestor-worship, and are so numerous that it would be impossible to list them all. The gods are divided into two categories: those of the Prior Heavens, and those of the Posterior Heavens. At the top of the hierarchy are the gods of the constellations, i.e. the Prior Heavens, the abode of the transcendent and eternal Tao. The Prior Heavens are exempt from changes and represent the mystic sources of life, primordial breath, and blessing in the world of the Posterior Heavens. The gods commonly worshipped by Taoists as patron spirits are those of the Posterior Heavens, where change does take place. They are divided into three groups: those of the Heaven, those of the world of nature and man, and those of the underworld hidden beneath the oceans. These three sections of the visible world are governed by the change of seasons and the continuously revolving complementary interaction of *yin* and *yang*.

The highest of the Taoist divinities are the Three Pure Ones of the Prior Heavens. These are the so-called Primordial Heavenly Worthy, Elder Lord of the Heaven, controlling the past; the Precious Spiritual Heavenly Worthy, Ling-pao, Lord of the Earth, also known as the Jade Emperor, controlling the present; and the Precious Divine Heavenly Worthy, Tao-te, Lord of Man, also known as Lord Lao, controlling the future. They reside in the three highest of the heavenly realms. The Three Pure Ones, lords of Heaven, Earth and Man are also lords of the head, the chest and the belly in man, corresponding also to primordial breath, spirit, and seminal essence.

Of even greater antiquity than the Three Pure Ones are the Five

Primordial Spirits, who also dwell in the Prior Heavens, but are summoned to Earth during rituals. These are the five spirit-emperors: Fu Hsi for the East, Shen Nung for the South, Huang-ti for the Centre, Shao-hao for the West, and Chüan-hsü for the North. They are accompanied by their assistants or spirit-ministers, and are closely connected with the workings of *yin-yang* and the Five Elements, as well as with the animals and star-spirits symbolizing the Five Directions. The five great mountain peaks of China are considered to be the special repositories of these spirits of the Five Directions, and are thus symbolically treated as sources of the Five Elements. For example, Hua-shan is the dwelling place of the spirits in the west, and the source of Metal.

6–10

All other spirits who rule the visible world (like the Three Star-gods of Happiness, Prosperity and Longevity, or the Kitchen God) watch over men's good and evil deeds and report them to the heavenly rulers for reward or punishment. In popular Taoism, the highest spirits commanding *yang* influences are resident in Heaven and provide life and blessing. The demons of the underworld are the spirits of men who have died violent deaths or committed suicide, or orphan souls lacking ancestor's tablet or offspring. These bring misfortune, sickness and calamity to mankind. Good spirits, on the other hand, are invariably those of virtuous men and women who worked on behalf of mankind (e.g. as healers) during their lives, and who have become local cult figures after death so that their power and good influence should continue to operate. But in this Taoist spirit world 'bribery' exists as well as the power of accumulated 'merit': demons and spirits were symbolically given talismanic 'paper money', just as the mandarins of imperial China were offered bribes in return for their favour or influence. Clearly this is an indication of the effect of China's mandarin society on the Taoist system – the use of burnt offerings to spirits predates the use of actual paper money by over two thousand years. As a rule, gods worshipped at seasonal festivals and rites were only summoned at other times in the case of great disasters or calamities.

In folk religion and in magic rites contact was primarily with the lower level of the spirit world: the *shen* spirits and the *kuei* demons. According to *yin-yang* theory, before death the *yang* part of a man's soul is *hun*, and after death, it is *shen*. The *yin* part of the soul before death is *p'o*, and after death, it is *kuei*. Thus the *yin* part of the soul after death is usually associated with demons and evil. The *kuei* may also be the harmful spirit of a man who has not been properly returned to earth in burial; a person, for instance, who has died by drowning. In

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many cases, people who have died violent deaths have *kuei* and not *shen* spirits. In Chinese mythology, they appear to seek vengeance on mankind for their unfortunate position. In some parts of China, however, they are regarded as patrons of gamblers and prostitutes.

According to Taoist beliefs, the *yin* soul is divided into seven and is connected with the emotions, while the *yang* soul is divided into three and is responsible for human virtues. These emotions and virtues also correspond to the Five Elements, Seasons, Directions, etc., as shown in the chart above (*p.* 11). Thus man's relation to this many-layered spirit world of the popular Taoist pantheon, which already numbered several hundred in Han times, was further complicated by the contribution of later Taoist teachings, mostly of sectarian nature, in the fields of geomancy, alchemy, medicine, etc. As a result, the Taoist vocabulary of the period acquired fresh connotations, and the visual arts developed new dimensions of occult symbolism. These included the esoteric significance of the unity of the round Heaven and the square Earth; nature worship, from sacred mountains to indoor dwarf plants; the intentionally vague concept of *ch'i*, Cosmic Energy, and its careful preservation in the body through Taoist self-cultivation, breathing exercises and prolonged sexual intercourse. Thus the vocabulary of Taoist occult art was founded on the concept of multi-perceptual communication with the spirit forces of the universe, from which grew the notion that the arts should appeal simultaneously to sight, hearing, taste and feel, and should include movement, a principle alien to Western art traditions, in which any particular art is expected to appeal to two of the senses simultaneously at most.

fig. 4

The Magic Power of Calligraphy

The magic power of talismans derived, as we have seen, from the fact that, according to Taoist belief, they were *permanently* inhabited by spirits. Thus men were able to communicate directly with spirits by means of these talismans without the participation of a medium. The talismans themselves acted as mediums, and were to be treated with the greatest respect, veneration, and secrecy. The interdependence of the Taoist spirit world with the material world made the use of talismans much more significant than it would be to Western spiritualists, since spirits were believed to play a commanding role throughout the whole universe, and not merely in a realm of ghosts and supernatural beings. Moreover, talismans constituted the basic essentials for individual Taoist religious practice and worship, as well as for communal rites.

Talismans for Summoning Spirits by Ornamental Beauty, to be written on blue paper in red, and burnt as offerings. The set of three in rounded (*yin*) style of calligraphy (on the right) are to be used 'on *yang* day(s) to have intercourse with the *Yang* Spirits'. The set of three in the squarish (*yang*) style of calligraphy (on the left) are to be used 'on *yin* day(s) to have intercourse with the *Yin* Spirits'. (*Tao-tsang* 221–1 : 26a)

Spoken charms and spells predated written and painted talismans in China as in other parts of the world. The composition of the Chinese character *shou*, meaning 'invocation of spirits', shows two 'mouth' graphs at the top and a magic wand underneath, strongly suggesting the participation of two people, one presumably a medium, engaged in the task of invoking the spirits. Under shamanistic influence, mediums seem to have played a very significant part in the mystic experiences of Chinese Taoists during the Han period and before. And talismans of particular power were believed to have been composed by those Taoist mystics who were able to communicate directly with the spirits.

Contemporary Han and post-Han sources invariably emphasize the unusual graphology of protective charms and spells received by the mystics from the spirits. They refer to various 'cloud scripts', archaic script forms, and commonly unrecognizable forms of script and graphic compositions charged with magic power which were secretly handed down by the early Taoist mystics. Some of these were written on peach-wood plaques, such as the Weapon-Averter seal talismans of the Chou period, measuring 6 by 3 inches, written in five colours, and placed on gates and doors during the month of midsummer. Others, like the post-Han Five-Colour Talisman, which guarded against pestilence and all kinds of illness, were inscribed on paper or silk of various colours. Yet others were written on gold or jade tablets. In addition to black ink, red cinnabar was used for the calligraphy. The Red Spirit Talisman, for instance, which was worn on the body primarily to guard against death or wounding in battle, consisted of drawing in red cinnabar on vertical strips of yellow paper.

The size of the written character or characters varied considerably: some, like the Enter-Mountain Amulets attributed to Lao-chün to protect travellers in mountainous regions, were inscribed in specially large characters to fill the whole oblong plaque or paper strip. Others only had one or two characters written on them: the 'Emperor of the North', for instance, which afforded protection against crocodiles and insects, as well as winds and waves. Some combined a word of command or request with semi-abstract representations of spirit mountains, constellations, or elements of thunder and lightning (to frighten demons). Others consisted of amulets about two inches square, carved from the pith of jujube and inscribed only with archaic seal-script characters: the Lao Tan Amulet, for example, which protected against tigers, i.e. symbolically against the influence of the *yin* (female) element. More commonly, however, the talismans were oblong strips

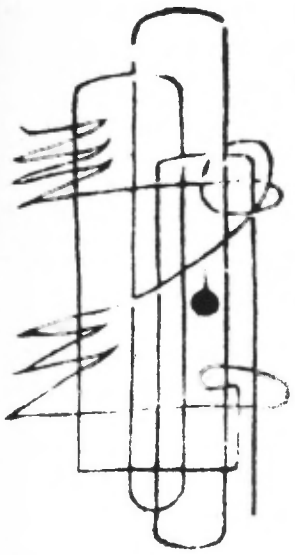
with written characters descending in a single or combined vertical form, rather than spreading horizontally. The strong esoteric influence of this strip-format is indicated by the fact that it has survived intact in the format of both Chinese and Japanese hanging paintings, particularly landscapes, in later centuries.

Originating from, and inhabited by spirits, these compositions were treated with the utmost reverence. To receive their favour, one had to perform a brief personal introduction to them by name, bow to them at least twice and, if necessary, pronounce the prescribed incantation. When this ceremony had been performed, the talismans would be placed in garments, on doors or gates, or burned to provide protection. In the latter case, the ashes might or might not be consumed, according to the prescribed ritual. Although the talisman was traditionally produced for the layman by an initiated Taoist priest, the priest was not required, except in the case of specially prescribed cures or exorcism, to communicate with the spirit world. On the other hand, certain highly powerful talismanic formulae were transmitted by Taoist mystics from generation to generation in utmost secrecy. Many of the examples illustrated in this book belong to this class.

In a description of the contemporary use of talismans, the *Pao-p'u tzu* (*c.* AD 300) lists several forms much used at the time. Among these were some to be written in red cinnabar and worn by travellers in mountains and forests; others to be fastened on doors, corners, pillars and beams, and set up at important road-junctions and public spots; others 'to reduce to subjection'; and finally, the Charm of Universal Peace attributed to the founding figure of philosophical Taoism, Lao-tzu (sixth century BC).

The uninitiated were of course unable to read these talismans and charms. The *Pao-p'u tzu* complains that no layman could detect the errors in them although some were suspect, and various Taoist sources of later centuries ascribed the inefficacity of talismans to the use of mutilated versions or faulty copies. The increasing use of calligraphic magic talismans by the fifth century could not prevent the decline of old talismanic graphic traditions: indeed, it opened avenues for fresh visual interpretations, culminating in the flowering of Taoist art of the Sung period.

Magic diagrams, talismans and charms required a secret language for their expression, a symbolism outside the scope of the ordinary graphic vocabulary of Chinese writing and painting. For this purpose, popular Taoism was able to draw upon the unlimited resources of the Chinese inventive genius. But in order to find unorthodox calligraphic expression, or to modify existing forms for occult use, the artist had to



Talisman to bring assistance from the Supreme Jade Sovereign. In red on white paper, to be burned with an incantation of 36 characters. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–34:2b)

solve an almost insuperable problem. The rules governing the use of the sensitive Chinese writing brush, one of the most ingenious inventions of Chinese civilization, were rather inflexible. Strictly speaking, there was only one way of writing a Chinese character correctly. The rules of the brush were admittedly more flexible for painting and for the so-called 'free' calligraphic exercises, in which the character was sometimes modified out of recognition. To fulfil his function, the occult artist had to stay either partly or completely outside the traditional conventions of Chinese calligraphy which, for example, did not accommodate waves and curving lines, or circular forms in script. Hence the emphasis on these in 'free' calligraphic exercises. Sometimes, of course, the writer was an illiterate folk-artist, and therefore already outside the tradition, so that his contribution to the vocabulary of unorthodox expression was fortuitously non-conformist.

The Mystic Graphic Arts

Taoist philosophy has been called at the same time scientific and mystical. And this applies equally to the magic art of Taoist talismanic composition. But the graphic styles of the diagrams clearly reveal two categories of inspiration: some display an acquaintance with brushed calligraphy, or incorporate elements of it; others simply do not show any relation to, or influence from, the conventional technique. In the second category we find imitations of wood-carving and needle-
69 work techniques at one end of the spectrum, and, at the other, the
22 blood-stained impressions left upon the paper by the cut tongue of the medium. These bloody marks represent the words of the spirit, and the utterances of spells by the medium. It is also an example of the creation of new talismans by means of the mediumistic practices of the Spirit Cloud (*shen-hsiao*) Sect of Taoism, which dates back to the Hsüan-ho reign period (AD 1119–26) of the Northern Sung dynasty. These practices have survived until the present day in Hong Kong and Taiwan. M. Saso, in his *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, has an illustration of a half-naked medium cutting himself with a sword while in trance, and carrying on his back a talisman dipped in blood.

The variety of occult graphic compositions is enormous, ranging from the spontaneity of trance-drawings to the meticulous draughtsmanship of pseudo-scientific diagrams and magic charts. However, the technique of execution remains uniformly unsophisticated, lacking the subtle texture strokes of academic painters. But the Northern Sung School and the School of Literati (*wen-jen*) of the Yüan period accepted some of the principles inherent in Taoist

graphic art, together with its mystic values, and thus from the Sung period onwards, inspired calligraphers and painters were generally regarded as people able to communicate with the spirits. As a result, the spiritual cult of calligraphy (and painting) long venerated by Taoists, became firmly established beyond the boundaries of talismanic graphics.

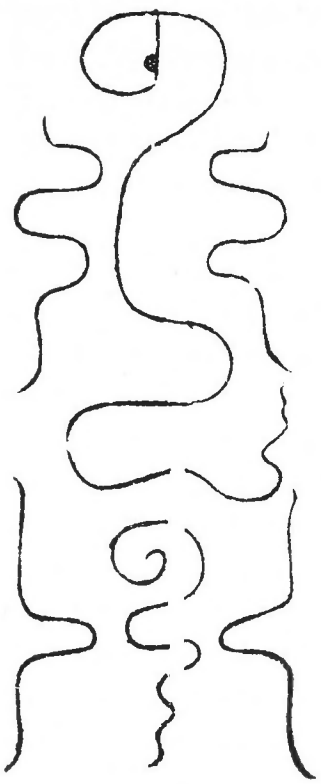
Furthermore, talismanic calligraphy included other means of symbolic contacts with the powers of the supernatural: first and foremost, the elements of magic dance. As an art of movement, dance symbolized the principle of change. The magic dance of the legendary limping Emperor Yü is often referred to in talismanic compositions. These movements which were taught to Yü by heavenly spirits to give him command over the spirits of nature, originally represented a kind of hopping dance that Taoist shaman sorcerers often performed while in trance. But the Taoists were primarily concerned with the magic power of calligraphy, and considered its effectiveness to lie above all in the line traced by the sorcerer's feet in dance, a line which reproduces a vortex, a spiral of magic, frequently reinforced by constellations.

fig. 18

What are the chief merits of this Taoist graphic art?

First of all, we find that it provided the foundation for a high level of abstraction in Chinese art as a whole, creating forms of a primarily graphic nature for the basic concepts of Taoist teachings, which were metaphysical, rather than ethical, embodying such concepts as Change, Movement, and Energy. Ancient China's lack of epic traditions ensured a fertile soil for this abstract symbolism. It penetrated artistic life beyond the visual, influencing the arts of movement, for instance, and music. As Taoist graphic art recognized no lines of demarcation between the real and the imaginary, it could appeal equally to all, from the philosophically minded to the least sophisticated, although at very different levels. The active use of the imagination in interpreting abstraction was the cardinal point in this type of Taoist art, and still survives in many areas of Chinese art and literature. In traditional Chinese opera, for instance, the almost bare stage is traditionally filled in by the imagination of the spectator.

In addition, Taoist occult artists developed the basic grammar of a superbly rich artistic language designed to symbolize and embody continuity of form (i.e. material reality) in space (i.e. imagination). Through observation of rolling clouds and mist, undulating waves, rising vapour and smoke – the most intangible of all phenomena – they established linear representations for Change, Movement, and Energy. The basic grammar of this artistic language constituted a unique form



Talisman for purifying the body, to be burned with an incantation of 37 characters which can be rendered as follows: 'The Spirit of Uncleanness is already dissipated, exhausted in the three places to be guarded [i.e. ears, eyes and mouth]. The turbid torrent has been cleansed by the Golden Tower and the Illuminated Royal Apartments. Go high above to contact the Primordial Lord, the Twenty-four True Ones, all in the form of Divine Spirits, to ascend mysteriously from the darkness. Without delay, as the True Order commands.' (*Tao-tsang* 217–30: 22a)

of rhythmic linearity, uniting the perceptible – the pulse beat of the human body – with the invisible ether of breath and spirits. This Taoist-inspired abstract linearity is already to be seen in the decorative arts of the late Chou period: in bronzes during the sixth and third centuries BC; in the lacquer of the Chang-sha type of the third century BC; and in silk and painted pottery designs of the Han period.

Curving lines which at first allowed man to contact the spirit world, later took on the opposite function in popular occult art: namely they were the one way to outwit evil spirits who can move only in a straight line!

This graphic art of the occult also helped, in a typically Taoist fashion, to establish the significance of 'no statement' which enables one to make a statement. It created the mystic as well as the artistic framework to blend 'statement' with calligraphic 'emptiness' in the true complementary manner of the magic interaction of *yin* and *yang*. Thus 'emptiness', or 'no statement', becomes a statement in this art; a mystic statement, skillfully representing the elements of uncertainty in real life, the vagueness of destiny, or the obscurity of the future. The musical pause, the momentary stillness in dance, or the enclosed emptiness in calligraphic composition or painting, all become an inseparable part of the whole, just as the negative *yin* or the positive *yang* alone cannot form a complete interlocking symbol of the two, representing the Great Ultimate.

Taoist graphic art also produced a system of symbolic multiplicity which went well beyond the ordinary limits of the visual arts. This repertoire of symbolism had a metaphysical significance which was applied alike to Heaven, Earth, and mankind. It sought to unite men and spirits into a single state in emulation of the perfect harmony of *yin* and *yang*, or of Heaven and Earth. Thus we find that the cavities of rock-formations also symbolize stars, which in turn represent lanterns. Similarly, the footpath marked out on the Taoist pilgrim's guide-map to the sacred mountains becomes a magic line on the chart to find the spirits. On another level, the 'sound' of blue jade lends its 'colour' to the sky, and phallic diagrams become 'Heavenly Cures'. To make matters still more complicated, the world of imperial China was also incorporated into the Taoist system when, for example, the term for summoning spirits, 'induce to come', took on the additional mandarin meaning: 'by imperial order'.

39,40

The Taoist practice of using intimidatingly vivid colours, however, was never taken up by the academicians of Chinese fine art. Such colours, which were also used in the related art of paper-cuts, directly reflected the colour consciousness of the *yin-yang* world of symbolism,

besides expressing the inherent desire of the Taoist occult to create a different art, suitable for communication with the spirits. Talismanic colours and colour-combinations – characteristically Chinese reds, yellows, greens, and blues – contributed to the splendour of popular
fig. 66 Taoist festivals in the decoration of streamers, banners, kites, lanterns, brooms, baskets, parasols and fans, all of which were employed in Taoist magic rites. Of these, brooms were traditionally regarded by the shamans as magic implements to sweep away evil spirits. The long shapes of the streamers and strip-banners indicated talismans with their inscriptions and symbolic designs. And their movements in the wind, which would cause them to show or hide their inscriptions or designs with each gust, symbolized the uncertainty and suddenness of man's contact with the spirits. Similarly, the flash of the ancient bronze mirrors, which was supposed to signify lightning and thunder, also represented this moment of spiritual contact, although these magic phenomena were later reinterpreted according to popular occult tradition as no more than functions of exorcism. Some Taoist sects, however, remained very much aware of the concept of the momentary spiritual experience, vision, insight or inspiration, and brought it into the foreground to meet the challenge of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in Sung times. Occult Taoism nevertheless did not prove sufficiently flexible to make much of the Buddhist concept of Enlightenment: its followers turned instead to the world of metamorphosis familiar to the West in the form of Chinese ghost stories, and placed increasing emphasis on the concept of immortality.

To return to the ritual objects used in Taoist popular festivals and communal rites, the flickering lights (*yang* element) of lanterns were to guide the spirits to the altars during seasonal rites at night (the *yin* period). The colourful parasols provided shade (*yin* element) against the burning sun, thus regulating its *yang* influence. The movement of fans brought currents of *ch'i*, Vital Energy; while baskets of flowers provided the various scents – another *yin-yang* 'regulator' in man's communication with the spirit world. Spoken charms, spells, and chants combined with talismans to give multiperceptual contacts with the spirits over and above the visual art of calligraphy.

Making Talismans

In order to assess the early popular Taoist concept of talismans, one should note that the Chinese word for talisman, *fu*, originally designated written tallies or contracts. In Han times, talismanic charms attributed to the inventor of magic charms, Chang Tao-ling (first

Consultation of a magic diagram. (Early 17th-century illustration from the *Shui-hu ch'üan t'u*)

Consultation of the magic formations of yarrow sticks. (Early 17th-century illustration from the *Shui-hu ch'üan t'u*)

century AD), also known as Chang T'ien-shih or Heavenly Master Chang, the legendary founder of the Heavenly Master Sect, represented a kind of contract made with the spirits. As such, they were looked upon as important documents of contract to be carried on the body to provide permanent protection. They guaranteed command over the spirits whenever it might be required. This popular Taoist belief, indeed, prevailed alongside the more profound mysticism of philosophical Taoism for centuries. The use of 'protective contract' talismans appears to have been universal, but popular Taoism favoured the use of specific talismans as well. In fact, the ever-increasing variety of printed talismans from the Sung period onwards proves their immense popularity. Even up to the present day, an estimated two million talismanic New Year prints are marketed in China annually.

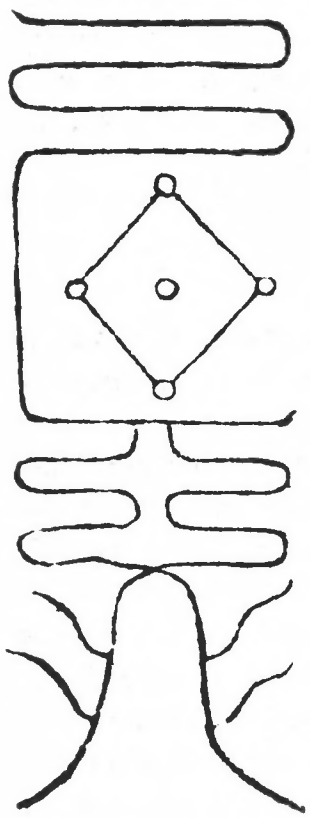
There are over three thousand basic talismans preserved in the monumental compendium of the Taoist canon, with several hundred other magic diagrams and charts. These examples provide ample material to enable us to analyse the art of making talismans as well as their underlying graphic principles.

As we have seen, the use of talismans was governed by the *yin-yang* Five Elements theory, the complex doctrine which taught that men were able to influence the processes of the universe by their *participation* through magic (as opposed to the teaching of religious acceptance of Confucianism and, to a large extent, Buddhism). In the course of the centuries following the Han period, this system acquired lavish accretions from folk art and festivals, to such an extent that, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it became practically impossible for the uninitiated to observe the outward signs of it correctly. In fact, outsiders were hardly aware of the complex esoteric preparations which preceded the performance of Taoist occult rites. Only recently have reliable accounts been published for the first time. These provide fascinating information on the precise timing of Taoist occult rites, including the making of talismans. For example, after the day and hour of the ceremony had been determined by an astrologer in accordance with the temple's geomancy and the nature of the festival, a list was drawn up of those people whose presence would be inauspicious to the occasion. This was because their eight characters (i.e. the cyclic double characters for year, month, day, and hour of birth) would clash with the elements governing the auspiciousness of the chosen day. In fact, their presence would not only be an expression of disrespect, it might also incur the actual hostility of the spirits.

In talisman-making, the timing was equally important. Talismans of Chung Kuei, for example, the popular devil-catcher whose cult

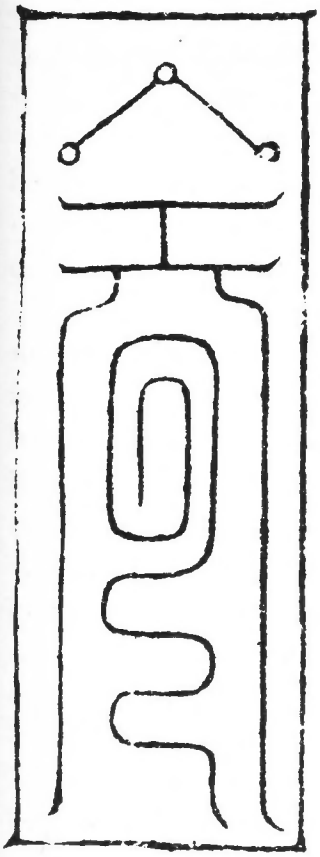
goes back to T'ang times, had to be composed not only on the day of his festival – the Fifth Day of the Fifth Moon – but preferably during the *wu* hour of that day, i.e. between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

Among a host of similar examples we may single out the practice of making medicinal talismans by Taoist doctors (known as *chu-yu-ko*). The treatment of an illness included chanting the name of a particular healing spirit while tracing the charm or talisman on paper. The ashes of this paper, mixed with the appropriate 'carrier' drug, was believed to be efficacious whether swallowed or used externally. The doctor had to be familiar with the spirits of all the thirteen branches of Taoist medicine (namely, the greater veins, winds, arrestives, external infections, swellings, mouth and teeth, eyes, ears and nose, obstetrics, external injuries, external wounds caused by metal weapons, acupuncture, and pediatrics), as well as their related diseases, principal curative areas, and appropriate charms. In addition, he was required to observe specific geomantic codes for establishing his surgery. This had to be spacious and far away from the kitchen and living quarters of the house. In the centre stood the altar for the spirit of the Yellow Emperor with his image hanging above it. To the left was a second altar for healing spirits, whose names were written in ink on red paper, and to the right was the altar of Lao-tzu. Before all three were containers with offerings of ripe fruit and flowers. The most important feature, however, was a low square table specially installed to hold the implements necessary for writing charms. On it would be laid out secret Taoist talismanic writings, papers of various colours, brushes, cinnabar, ink, and clean water.



Talisman to vitalize the Five Viscera. (13th century, *Tao-tsang* 1204–42:31a)

The procedure in the treatment of the sick was as follows: after the patient had told the Taoist doctor his symptoms, he was led to the image of the Yellow Emperor where he (or his representatives) burnt incense and bowed formally four times. The doctor then recited the water incantation, the cinnabar incantation, the ink incantation, the brush incantation, the paper incantation, the incantation for writing the selected charm and, finally, the incantation to summon the spirits of the appropriate branches of Taoist medicine involved in the case. After this, the doctor painted the charm, at the same time silently repeating the Yellow Emperor's chant for healing. When he had finished, he wrote the two characters *chih ling*, meaning 'induced to come' or 'by imperial order', on the top of the paper and placed it on the altar. Then having sprinkled three drops of water on the 'Summon the Spirits' charm, he took a mouthful of water and sprayed it over the talisman he had just painted. After making the healing spirit incantation, he rose, clicked his teeth three times to mark a pause, bowed



Talisman to prolong life. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–271 : 27b)

formally, picked up the talisman and retired. Finally, he wrapped the talisman in white paper and gave it to the patient with instructions on how to burn it (i.e. how to send it to the spirits) and what additional drugs to take. The patient would then take the talisman home in his left (*yang*) hand.

Equally elaborate was the procedure for making the magic peach-wood wands used in trance-drawings. In this type of talismanic composition (more often found in South China), the drawing was traced on a thin layer of sand or rice spread on a table. The medium sometimes took the wand in both hands or, alternatively, allowed one hand to be held by a person wanting to establish contact with the spirits and record the talismanic message. The drawing might later be transferred to paper, particularly if the diagram was proved to be sufficiently powerful. The peach-wood was usually cut from a twig growing on the east side of the tree, since the peach was associated with the immortal paradise of the Queen Mother of the West, and this arrangement therefore symbolized the union of East and West. On the side opposite the twig, characters meaning 'Spirit of the Clouds' (*yin*) would be cut in the bark of the tree. As implements of automatic writing, these wands were regarded as especially powerful and were frequently used in exorcism, as were peach-wood calligraphic swords. According to popular Taoist belief, the instruments used for writing talismans and charms were themselves so powerful that they were capable of defeating not only ghosts and evil spirits, but also hostile animals and men.

Talismanic Language

Five basic colours were traditionally used in paper charms and talismans for, since spirits moved in all five directions, a suitable colour or combination of colours was needed to control them. Yellow represented the Centre, blue the East, red the South, white the West, and black the North. Of these, red was especially important in that it also symbolized blood, the life-force, and was considered to have supreme magic power. Red talismanic paper protected the whole family from pestilence and ills. The belief that red brought good fortune and long life is indicated by the extensive use of red cinnabar in Taoist alchemy in perpetual search for the elixir of life. The prevalence of cinnabar-red carved lacquers in popular Taoist magic art can also be linked to the magic powers of red, since they are frequently adorned with benevolent talismanic inscriptions. In view of the auspicious meaning of red, it is easy to understand the popular appeal of this colour when it

Exorcist charm to be used against the noxious influences of the Black Tiger of the Mountains and the Black Fog. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–37:2b)

Talisman to protect the body, composed of the character *sheng* – 'life'. (*Tao-tsang* 1203–226:3a)

became the symbol of a political movement in China, as was the case with the Chinese Communist Party. Again, one can better understand Red Guard demands in recent years that red should be the 'Go' colour at traffic lights, instead of green.

The widespread Chinese superstition about destroying any kind of paper is certainly connected with the talismanic use of paper in Taoist occult practices. For paper has always been a relatively cheap and easily available material in all parts of China.

Talismanic language required, first and foremost, a visual statement of the unity of Heaven above and Earth below, and this was expressed in the verticality of the composition, whatever the differences of detail. In early Taoist symbolism, thin lines represented Heaven and thick lines Earth. In later centuries, a rounded style of calligraphy was used to indicate *yin*, no doubt deriving from the clouds which represented that aspect. On the other hand, a squarish style of calligraphy indicated *yang*, referring presumably to hard, angular rock-formations. Therefore, the ancient Chinese symbolism of the round Heaven and square Earth did not apply to talismanic graphics. On the contrary, the rounded, soft style was *yin*, the hard, squarish style, *yang*.

Dots, either connected by straight lines or not, represented stars and constellations. In combined compositions, these appear in the upper, celestial half of the talisman. Such visual references to the stars are frequently to be found in charms against demons, for celestial deities were powerful destroyers of spectres as well as dispensers of felicity. Hence, too, the visual reference to constellations in terms of cavities of rock-formations, re-emphasizing the unity of Heaven and Earth. In other instances, constellation dots outline human figures and convey a bizarre, almost futuristic mood of expression, as we can see in the Armour of Man talisman of Sung or Yüan date, where the image is strangely reminiscent of a twentieth-century spaceman.

Ascending and descending lines found in various types of talismanic calligraphy are another reference to the invisible lines of contact between celestial spirits above and terrestrial beings below. This concept of linear contact is very close to the shamanistic symbol of the Tree (*axis mundi*) which was said to be the home of the spirits permitting ascent to the various heavens or descent to our world. The lines occur with surprising regularity in all kinds of talismans. When broken, they resemble the shape of the Chinese character for 'bow', and this has resulted in another false interpretation by the uninitiated of later centuries, who taught that the character had been incorporated into the talismans because the bow was a weapon especially feared by evil spirits.

The vortex, or spiral of the ancient Taoist Cosmic Energy, which is the dominant sign of the celestial upper half of the talismanic compositions in some of the most ancient charms preserved in the *Pao-p'u tzu*, was later believed to symbolize thunder and lightning – a result of the growing influence of a great variety of thunder-and-lightning gods invented by popular Taoism in post-Han times.

Since talismans and charms were believed to produce whatever condition they expressed, Taoists invented a great variety of them, in
70, 72–3 particular, characters which express the blessings of *shou* (longevity),
74 and *fu* (happiness). Archaic and fanciful talismanic representations were produced for them in a hundred different forms, and used by way of decoration on all sorts of objects from lacquer to silk embroidery. Written characters denoting felicity, and therefore producing it, likewise appeared regularly in charms on the grounds that they frustrated evil. Talismans also contained threats and commands directed at evil spirits. Among these, we find the character *sha* (to murder) with great regularity. Another powerful character for charm-writing is *cheng*, which denotes the Order of the Universe, before which all evil influences must disappear. It is frequently accompanied by *chih*, also meaning 'order', so that the charm enjoins good behaviour on evil spirits in accordance with the Order. By no means less powerful and frequent are the characters for Sun and Moon, which are often combined to form the character *ming*, meaning light – a devil-destroying power with *huo*, fire.

A very prominent position in talismanic graphics was held by *ting*, the fourth of the ten Heavenly characters, which represents South and, therefore, the devil-destroying element of Fire. In the sexagenary cycle *ting* recurs six times to perform its exorcising function, hence *ting* is written six times in some talismans. A similar part is played by *chia*, the first of the ten Heavenly characters, which represent East where the devil-destroying Sun rises.

Talismans were of course inscribed with the names of benefactor and protector spirits. But even more extensive was the use of the rough drawings supposed to be portraits of gods. Frequently in frag-
81 mentary form, with only an arm or leg indicated, their magic effect was regarded as even stronger. When such talismans and charms were burned, the demons were believed to be most satisfactorily roasted, tortured, and killed. For such important talismans, the gods were
64, 65 specially chosen from among Generals of the Celestial Armies.

Sentences in ordinary Chinese writing dedicated to gods and spirits to station themselves on certain spots to protect people feature in a good number of talismans. Among these, one finds commands like,

'Planet Jupiter take station here', 'Li Kuang shoot your arrows this way', or 'This is to order the Dark Lady of the Nine Heavens to stop murderous influences'.

The Taoist Vision

Taoist magic offered man an inner vision to help him communicate with the various spirits that inhabit the body. But since the body is a microcosm, all these interior spirits are also spirits of the exterior world. By the use of talismanic calligraphy, the Taoist is able to extract the cosmic emblems from within, and project them around himself as if forming a meditative mandala – his personal image of the universe, with himself at the centre. This image is sometimes reduced in talismanic magic to a mere circle representing the Whole, the Great
82 Ultimate, the ultimate substance of Tao: emptiness. It is in perfect equilibrium, and nothing can harm it. It takes no initiative, to produce either happiness or disaster.

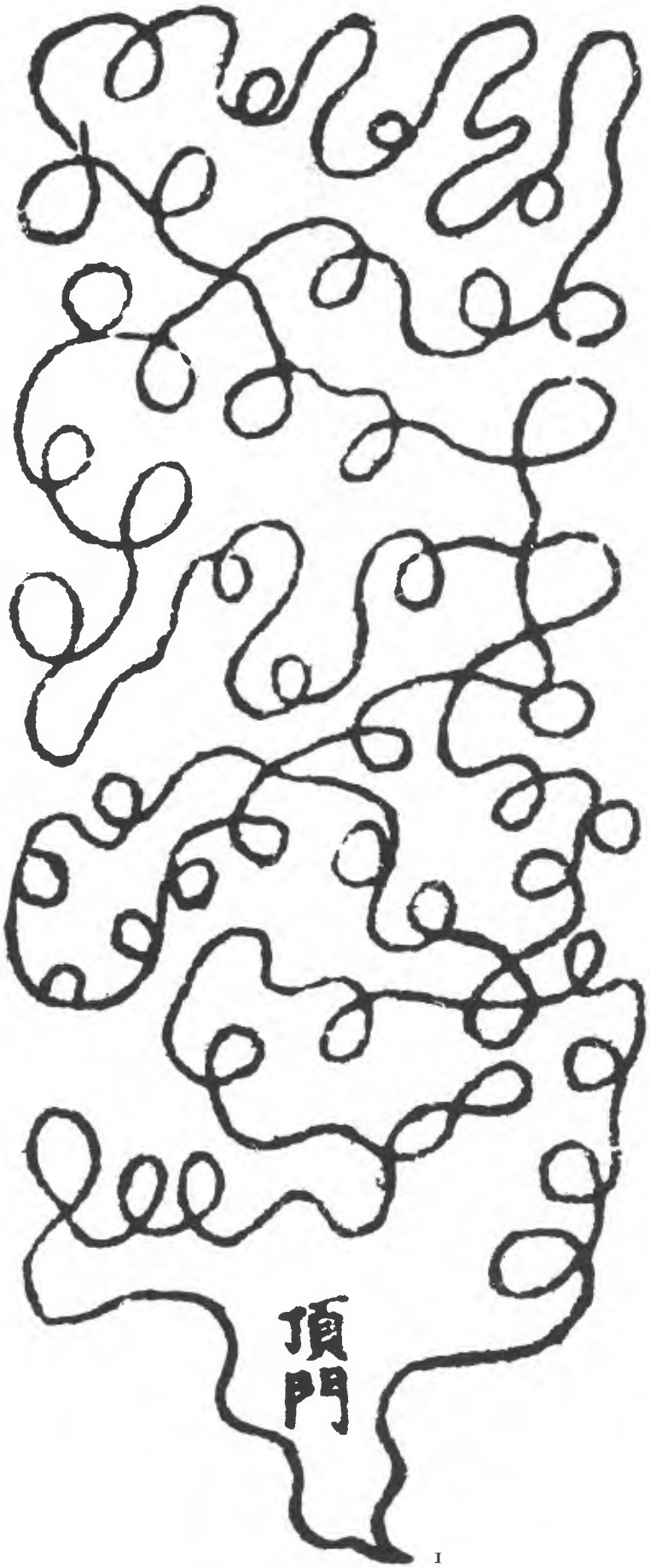
The spirit of philosophical Taoism remains the most important mystic ingredient in the occult use of talismans. This idea is best summed up in the words of an eighth-century Taoist source, the *Kuan-yin tzu*:

> Being is Non-Being and Non-Being is Being; if you know this, you can control the spirits and demons. The Real is Empty and the Empty is Real; if you know this, you can see the stars even at dawn. . . . If you unite yourself with all things, you can go unharmed through water and fire. . . . Only those who have the Tao can perform these acts. Better still not to perform them, though able to perform them.

Indeed, talismanic magic was all this in essence. In practice, it provided the link between popular Taoism and Taoist philosophical mysticism. In the application of occult ideas, it harmonized sectarian views and teachings without necessarily discrediting any of them, or creating rivalries. Talismanic magic art encompassed the symbolism of the noise of the fire-crackers in popular spirit festivals as it did the silence of the Taoist hermit's meditation, recognizing both as ways of spiritual communication. Thus meditational inactivity existed happily alongside the vigorous dance movements within this frameless and endless system of multiperceptual symbolism, in which even time and space could be dissolved. For the true mastery of this magic art the understanding of Tao is needed: the understanding of the process of change, the harmonization of experiences, spiritual and human alike, which in the final analysis cannot be encompassed by a single act of will.

The Plates

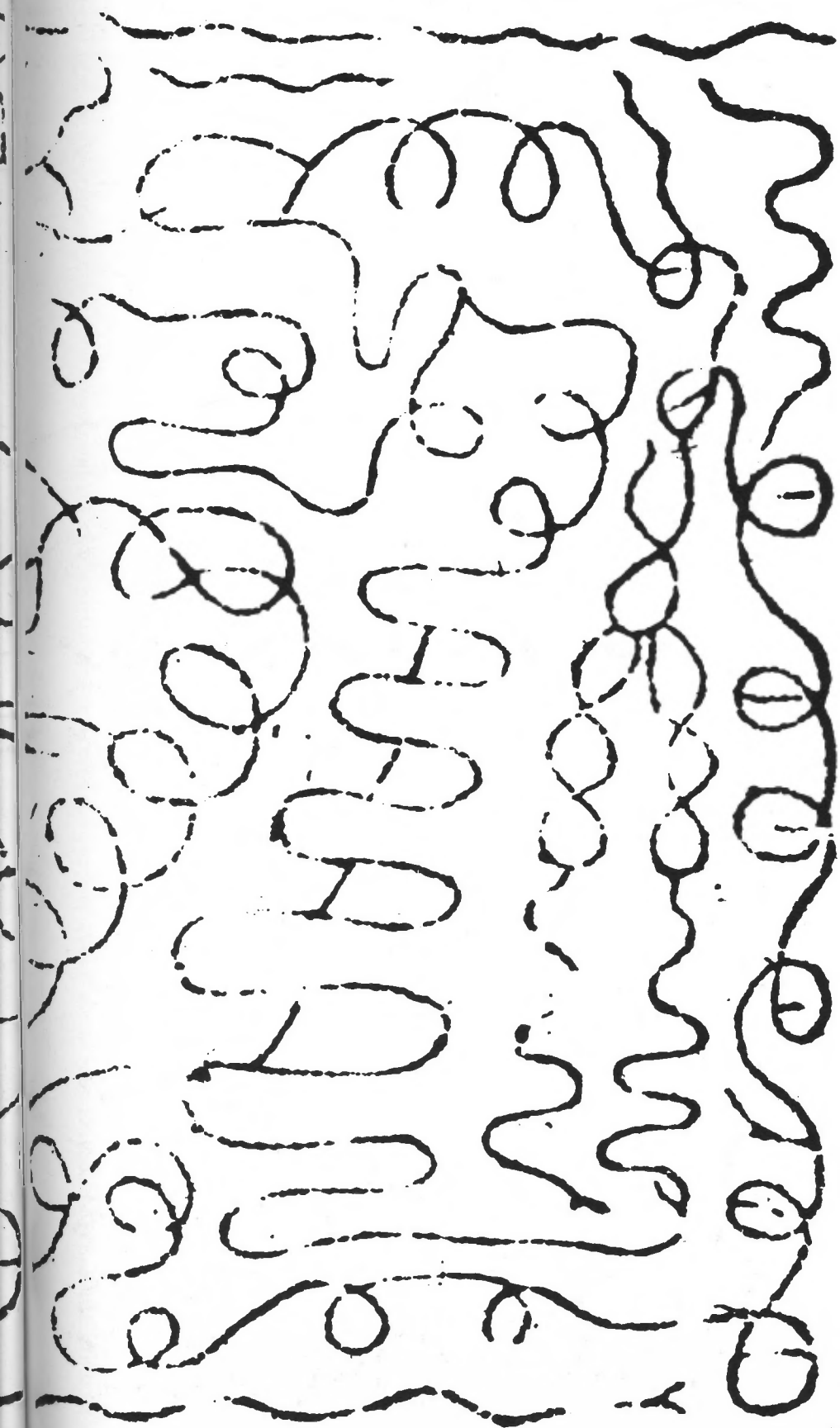
陰陽慶會元炁之相



青始寶靈

歌之圖

碧落空



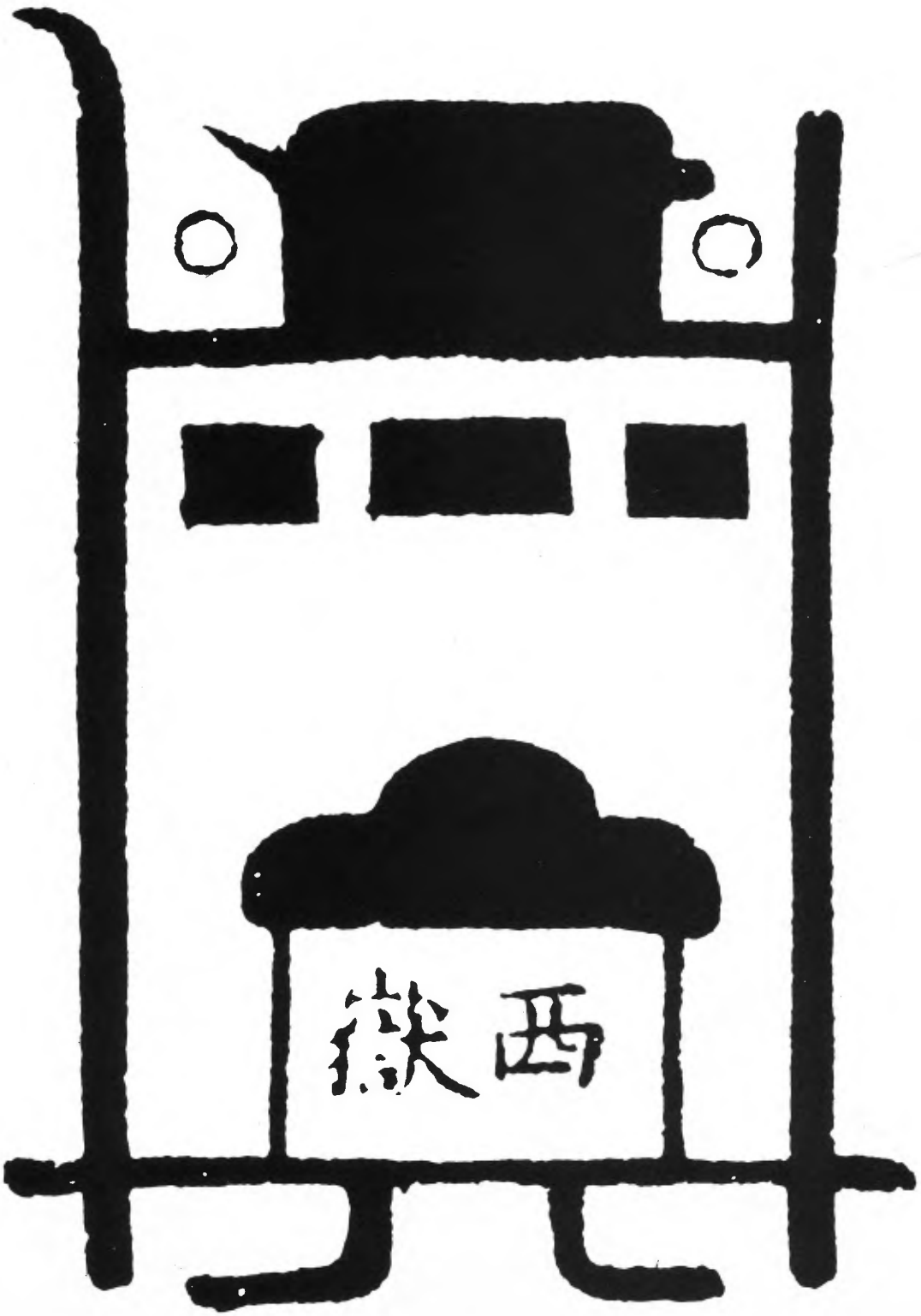
大浮黎土

5

東嶽真形符

南嶽真形符

西獄真形符



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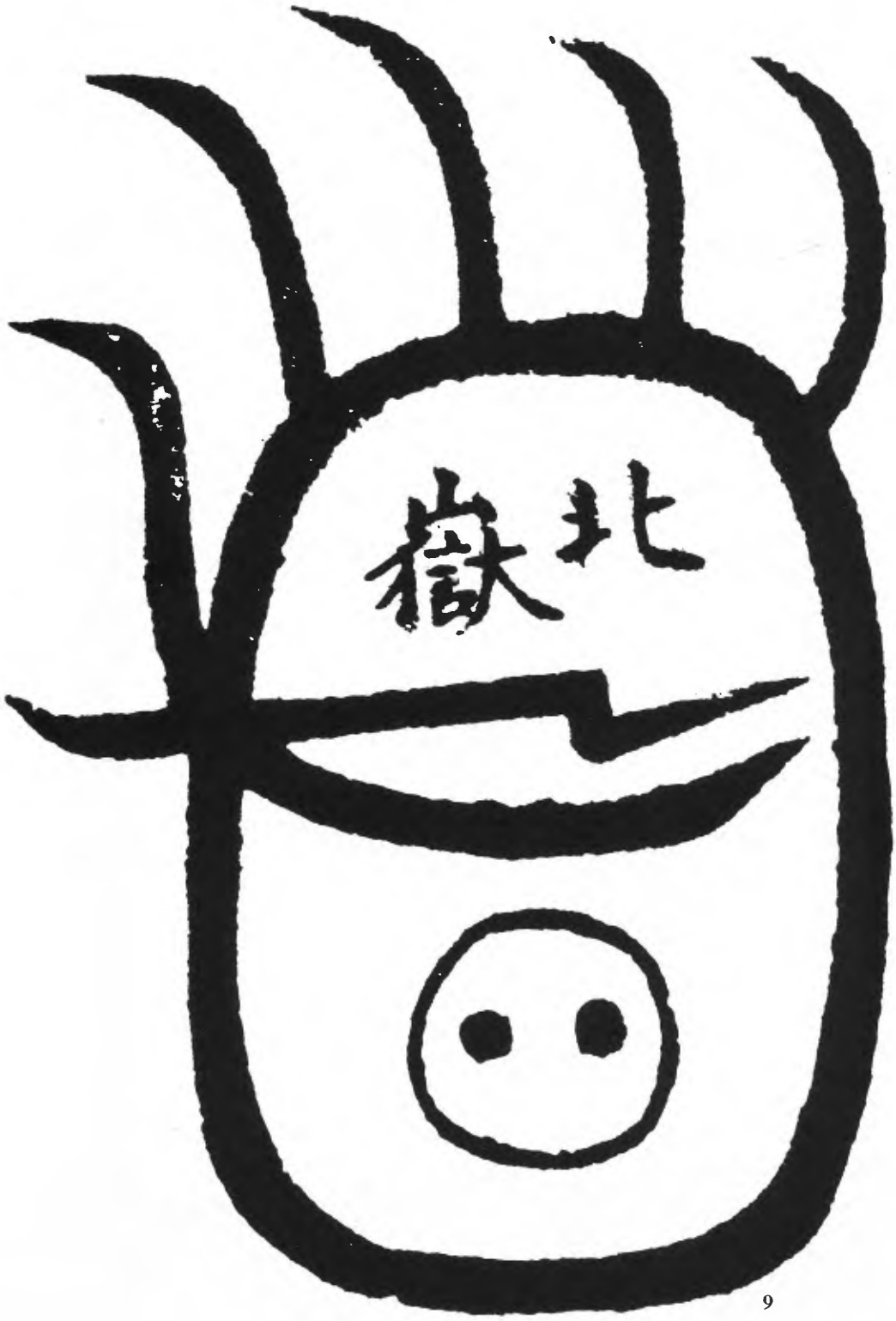
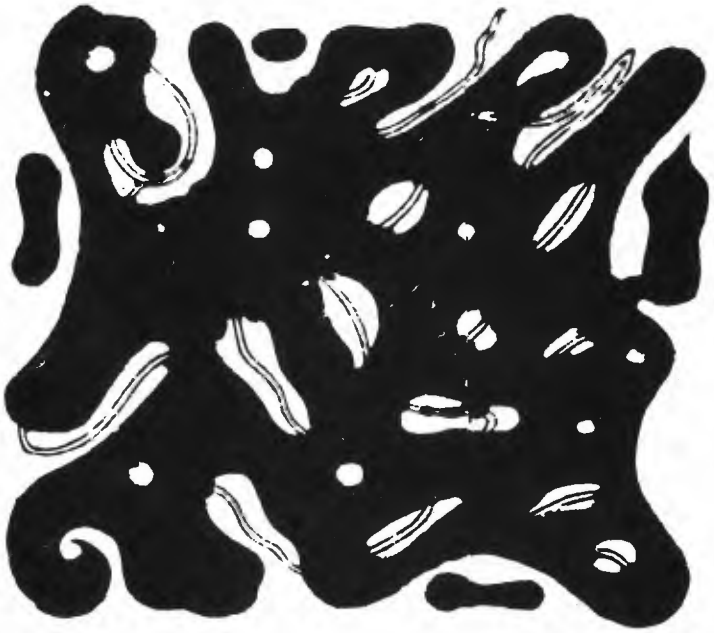


中嶽真形符

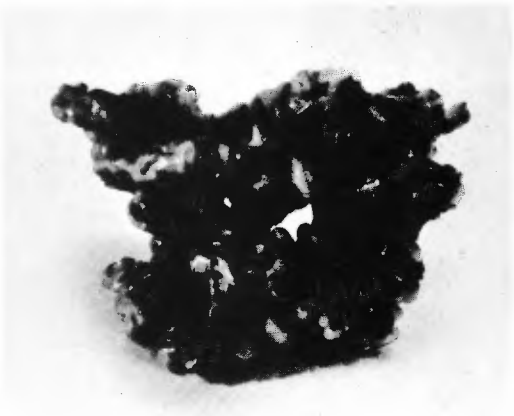
北冬

北嶽常山真形圖

東春



東嶽泰山真形圖



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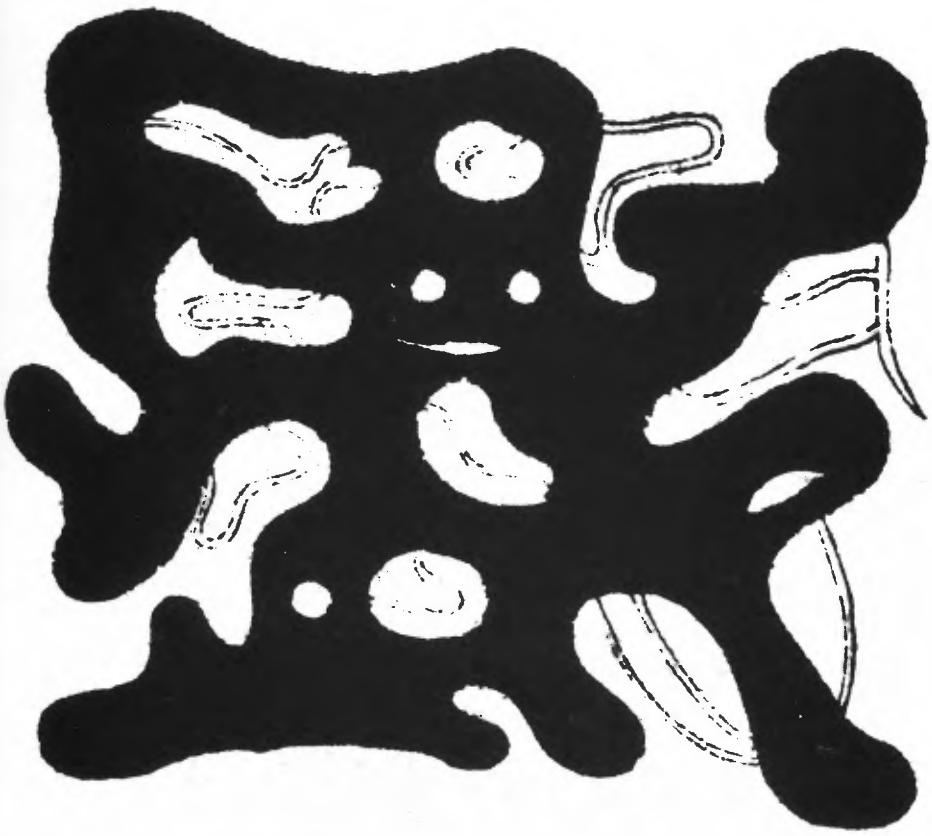

15

青城山一名天國山

東

西

北

普掠

火車

溟泠

鑊湯

浩氣鳥精

Plates 18–30

As testimony to human anxiety, Taoist magic is much concerned with immortality, or at any rate with the desire for a long and sexually active life. The life-giving talismans of Ling-pao, 'Spiritual Heavenly Worthy', Lord of Earth, represent some of the most powerful charms in this group, all of which are executed in a characteristically bold and heavy graphic style. These life-giving talismans seem to have been used in many different ways, including even in burial ceremonies (plate 19), but they all relate to a spiritual power which was closely connected with the ancient cult of the Earth Spirit. Birds (later more specifically cranes) represent longevity in occult tradition, hence their frequent appearance in talismans, often in shorthand form, for instance as bird-heads. These are the forerunners of the mystic Bird Script of talismans of later periods.

18 Talisman of the Armour of Earth. Eight *t'ien* (Heaven) characters surround a *kuei* character. *Kuei* spirits are the *yin* part of the soul after death, associated with demons or evil, or the souls of men who have not been properly returned to the earth in burial. (*Tao-tsang* 853:16b)

19 Bold Taoist talismanic calligraphy symbolizing Earth combined with 'constellation holes', i.e. Heaven. It was reputedly engraved on stone on the outer coffin of Duke T'eng of the Han period, *c.* 200 BC. (The earliest reference to this inscription is by a writer in the 6th century. Reproduced from the *Hui-t'ang che-chi*, 7b, late 14th century)

20, 21 Four magic formulae to ward off evil (*yin*) influences are combined in the design of this wooden stand, and also in the brushed composition which can be read from any of the four directions. It incorporates the characters for Heaven, Earth, Fire and Metal. (Stand, Ch'ing dynasty, 18th century; diagram, Sung date, *Tao-tsang* 543–38:18a)

22 Talisman to vitalize the tongue. Such diagrams in heavy calligraphy are an 'improved' version of the blood-stained impressions formerly made on the paper by the cut tongue of the medium. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463–268:1b)

23 Talisman to vitalize the tongue. It is to be used under the sign of the third branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches, with corresponding symbolic animal Tiger, zodiacal sign Gemini, hours 3–5 a.m., and point of compass East-North-East. It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the purple clouds of the Centre of Heaven. It is painted in cinnabar-red on a yellow ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41:20a–b)

24 Talisman of the Bird Mountain of the Supreme Taoist, where Vital Energy gives life to the spirits. It is reputed to have the power to grant immortality. (Probably from the period of the Six Dynasties, *Tao-tsang* 431:5a)

25 Jade Talisman symbolizing ascending *yang*, with the Dragon of the East and the Fire Bird of the South. A talisman to prolong active life and increase sexual energy. (Period of the Sixth Dynasties)

26 Talisman in brushed technique, used to establish contact with spirits and/or to bring about Unity. Like the talisman in *pl. 23*, to be used under the sign of the third branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches. It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the precious radiance of the Centre of Heaven. Painted in cinnabar-red on a yellow ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41:17a–b)

27 Talisman to vitalize the kidneys (kidneys symbolizing the female sex organs). The two shapes suggest a pair of female dancers with *yin* receptacles (i.e. the female sex organs) emphasized. To be used under the sign of the first branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches, with corresponding symbolic animal Rat, zodiacal sign Aries, hours 11 p.m. to 1 a.m., and point of compass North. It represents the Vital Energy of the dark clouds of the North. Black on a white ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41:18b)

28 Talisman to vitalize the eyes. To be used under the sign of the fourth branch (with corresponding symbolic animal Hare, zodiacal sign Cancer, hours 5–7 a.m., point of compass East), and tenth branch (i.e. Cock, Capricorn, 5–7 p.m., West) of the Twelve Earthly Branches, representing the Vital Energy of the radiance of the Sun and Moon. Blue on a white ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41:19a)

29 Talisman to vitalize the brain. To be used under the sign of the Centre, i.e. Earth, representing the Vital Energy of the precious radiance of the Upper Heaven. Red on a white ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463; reproduced here from *Tao-tsang* 543–41:22b)

30 Talisman to vitalize the blood. The design appears to represent a coiled snake. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 463–268:2b)

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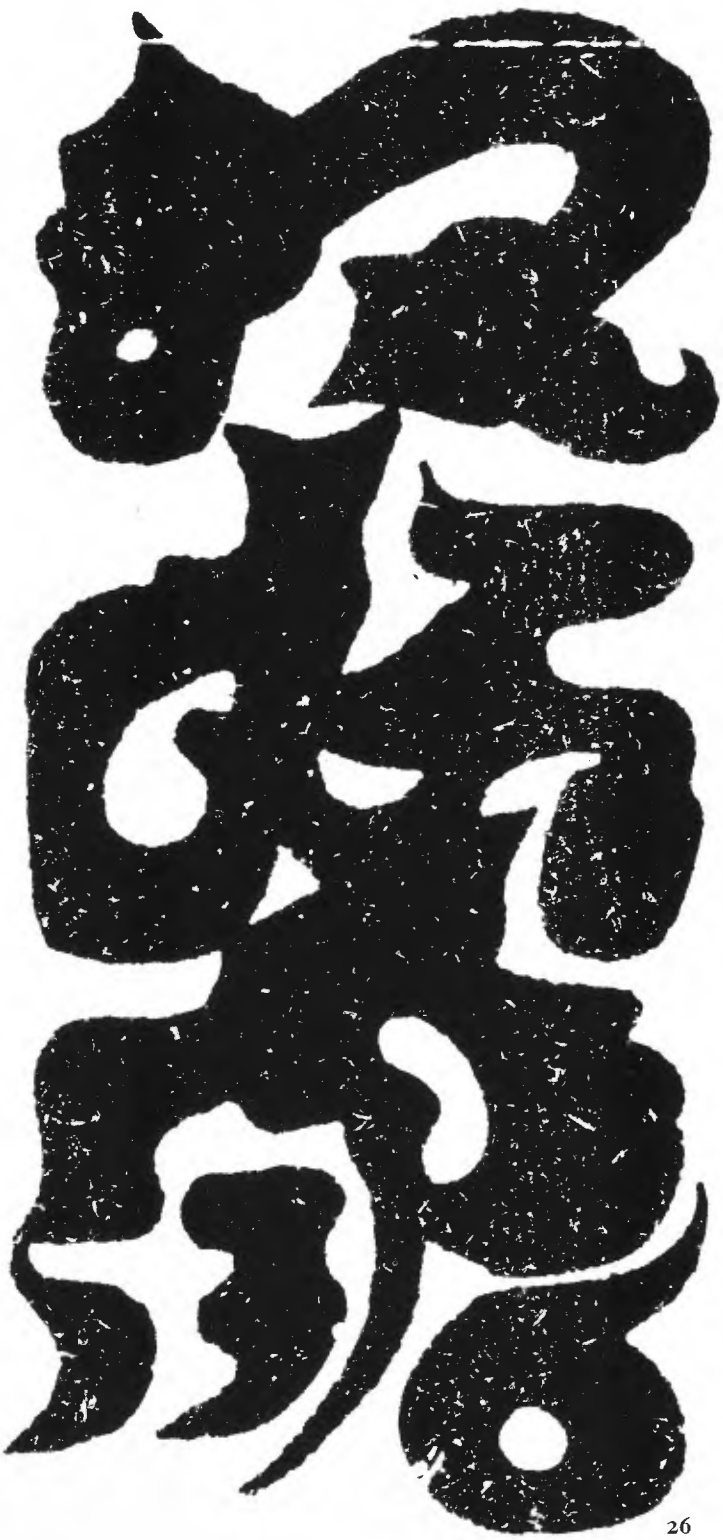

生結符

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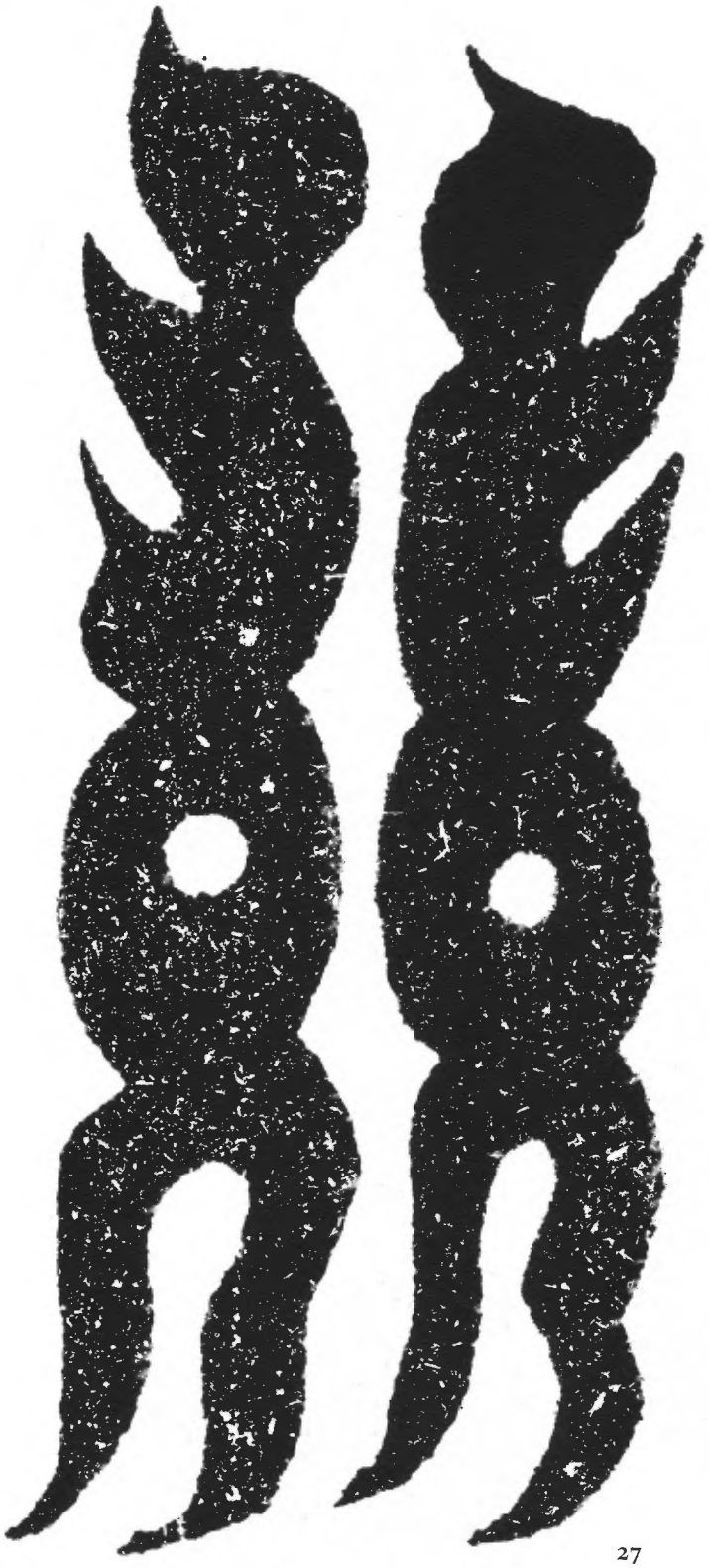
七烝黄地丹書



生腎符

子文北方黑雷之孫白地鬼書

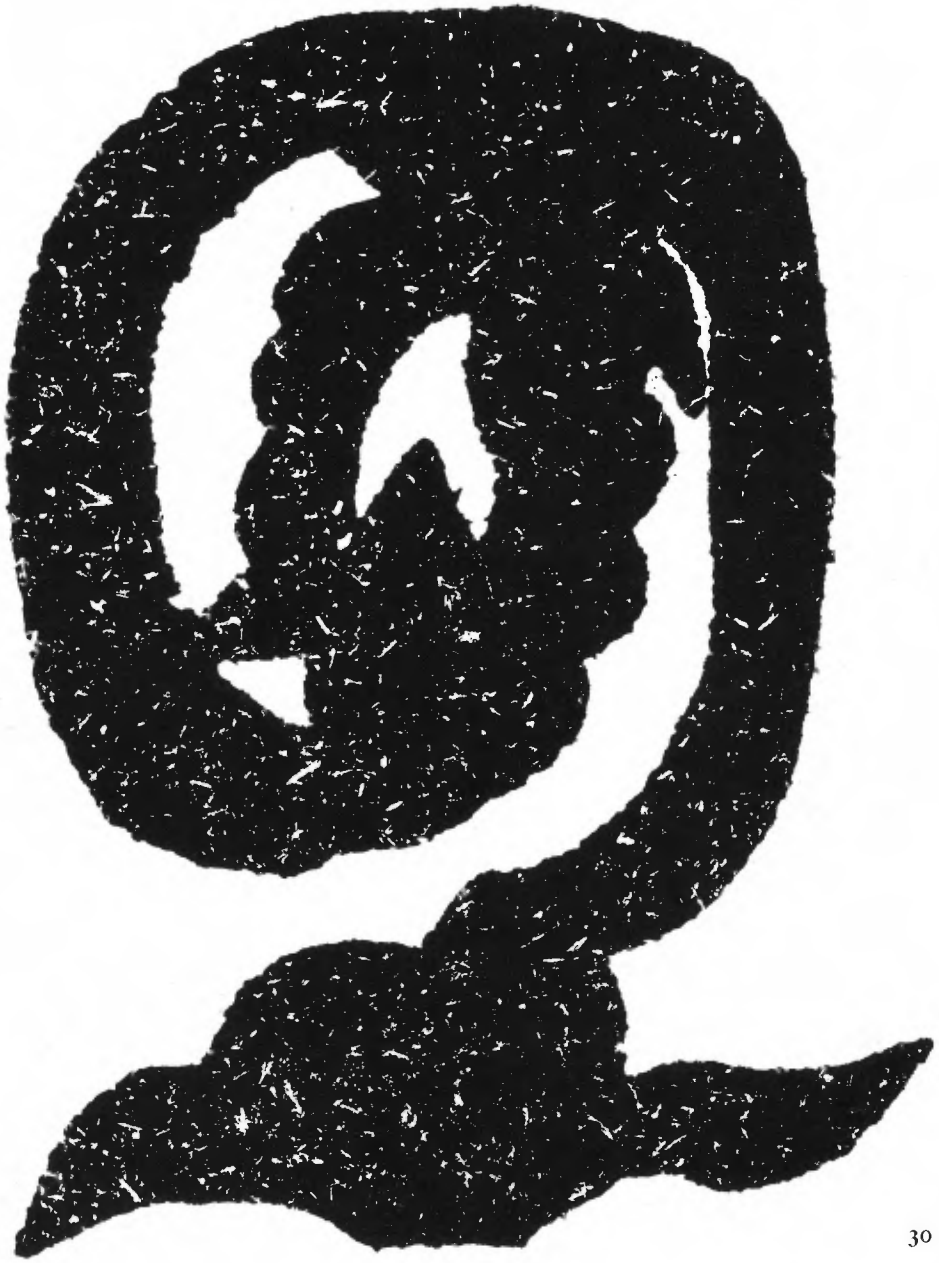
生目符

卯酉大日月光
烏白地青書

畫七

生腦符

中文上天寶光之烈白地赤書



血符

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Plates 31–41

*The movement of air, and the rising smoke of incense and burnt paper talismans, represent ceaseless change and cosmic energy (*ch'i*) – the all-pervading force in Taoist magic. These highly abstract compositions have a characteristically thin and refined linearity. Their lines can be broken (*yin*) or continuous (*yang*), rounded (*yin*) or angular (*yang*), or a combination of both (plate 36). Although they are of widely different esoteric functions, ranging from charms for summoning spirits (plate 31) to medicinal talismans (plate 40), they are all related to Heaven, the* yang *partner of the* yin *Earth. This linear talismanic graphic style had a marked influence on the free calligraphic exercises of conventional Chinese art. The majority of them, however, were not originally painted with the brush. Most of them are derived from magic drawings by mediums on sand- or rice-tables.*

31 Spirit-invoking esoteric diagrams formed by lines of blue and red. The diagram on the right invokes: 'the Immortals of the Great Paradise, the Supreme Heaven, the Five Sacred Mountains, the Four Great Rivers [Yangtze, Yellow River, Huai and Chi], the Twelve Sources of Rivers, and the Five Internal Organs [kidneys, heart, lungs, liver, spleen].' The diagram on the left invokes: 'the Super-Immortals of the Great Paradise and Supreme Heaven, the Feathered and Flying Divine Immortals and Fragrance-spreading Strong Men, each to represent the strength of 3,000 men.' (*Tao-tsang* 1367:15b)

32, 33 The eighth and twelfth of the Twelve Field-Marshal Talismans, by means of which Vital Energy (*ch'i*) stimulates the gall and heart respectively. The pattern suggests the rising smoke of incense. White on a blue ground, and white on red, respectively. (*Tao-tsang* 216–62:9b; 216–62:10b)

34 Talisman of the Charcoal-stove, based on the patterns of rising smoke. One of a set of eight diagrams to free souls from the Eight Tortures of the Earthly Prison (i.e. the charcoal-stove, the iron couch, the pile of knife-blades, the hollow bronze pillar with furnace inside, the boiling cauldron, the iron wheel, saw and ice). The text reads: 'By the will of this Ling-pao Talisman, liberate the dead on behalf of [so-and-so], get them out of the Earthly Prison of the Charcoal-stove, so they can ride on this light and live according to the principles of human kind . . .' (*Tao-tsang* 216–51:15b)

35 Talisman to purify the mind, to be burned using an incantation of 37 characters which may be translated as follows: 'Spirit of the Divine Ruler of the Red Palace, Energy of burnt offerings, follow the light and fly to purify. Come to the cottage-wall of the Taoist so that weariness has no place in his mind. Under the peaceful morning sky the sweet dew sets quickly to form red jasper. Follow without delay the commands of the True Order.' (*Tao-tsang* 217–30:22b)

36 Old Master's Talisman to rid dwellings of evil spirits and cure epidemics, in combined round and square calligraphy. One of a set of seven, this charm is to be used only in the eastern quarters of the house. The others in the set are specified for the southern, western and northern quarters, and those to be placed on the bed, the stove and behind the house. (*Tao-tsang* 217–24:16a)

37 Talisman to vitalize the lungs, in rounded (*yin*) calligraphy. To be used under the sign of the tenth branch of the Twelve Earthly Branches (corresponding to Cock, Capricorn, 5–7 p.m., West). It represents the Vital Energy (*ch'i*) of the yellow clouds of the Centre of Heaven. Painted in white on a black ground. Attributed to Ling-pao. (In an early 12th-century work by Lin Ling-su, *Tao-tsang* 543–41:21b; also reproduced *Tao-tsang* 463)

38 Jade Talisman of Supreme Ruler One of the Great Cave, in rounded (*yin*) calligraphy. It embodies 'the turbid torrent of the whirlpool of the female essence', and 'offers a magic formula to ward off evil influences'. (*Tao-tsang* 7–2:21b)

39 Talisman of the Heavenly Cure, made in 1974 at the Chinese New Year. This type of mystic 'paper money' is known as 'white gold' in Singapore today. (Red ink and eight-trigram seal-impression on yellow. From a Chinese Taoist temple in Bukit Timah, Singapore)

40 Talisman of the Heavenly (*yang*) Cure for women (*yin*), with erect penis (*yang*) under a constellation. The penis carries a brushed character meaning 'induced to come'. The character also means 'by imperial order'. The curative diagram is based on the concept of illness (excess of *yin* influence) being cured by re-establishing the right balance between *yin* and *yang* through sexual intercourse. (*Tao-tsang* 217–16:6b)

41 Natural rock-formation in Hong Kong, a place of pilgrimage for Taoist women. All-night lantern festivals take place here, connected with the talismanic cult of the Heavenly Cure.

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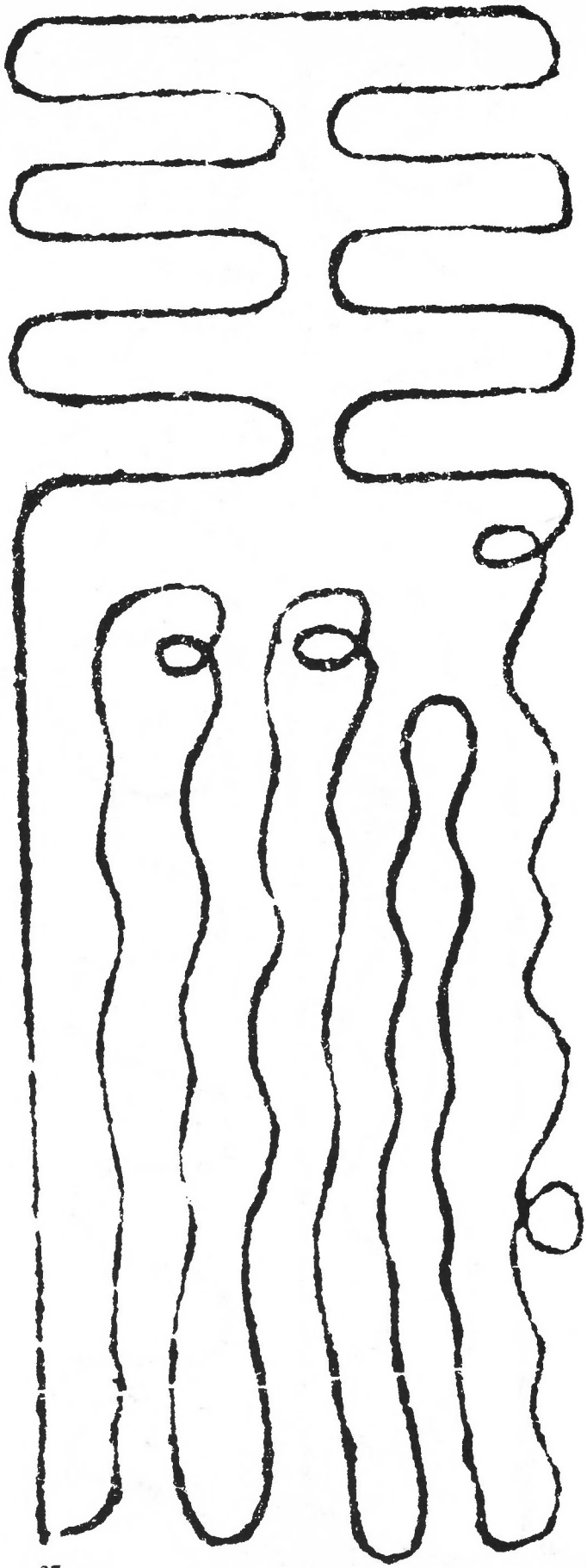

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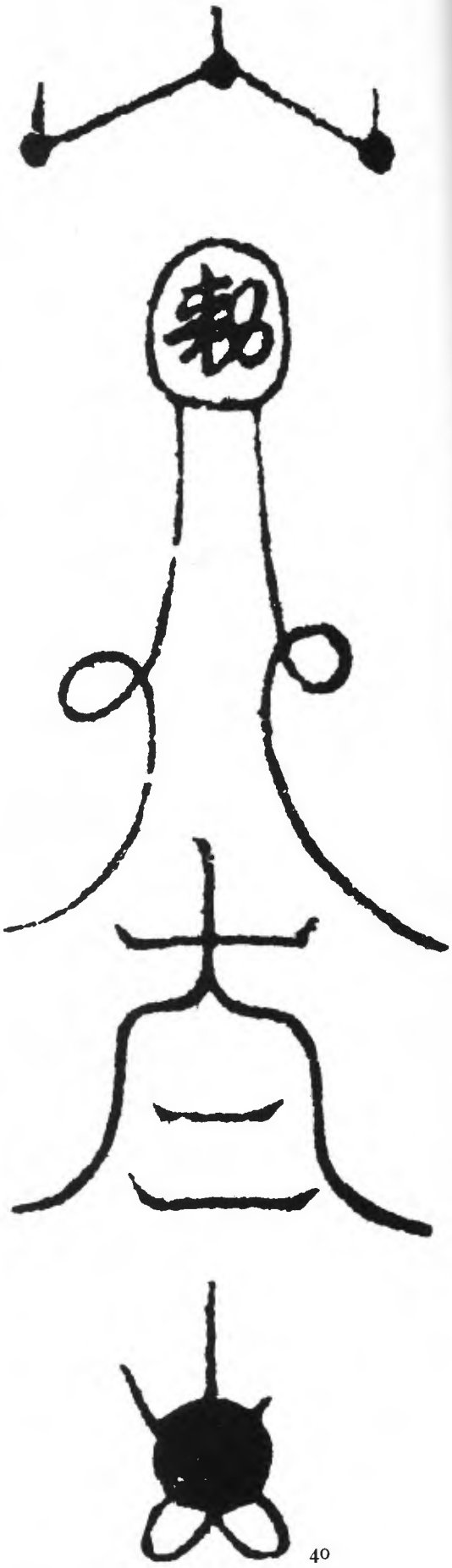

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Plates 42–55

Cloud formations were associated with the movement of spirits, which were believed to dwell in mist, emerging suddenly to manifest themselves before human beings. A purple flash, or clouds of five colours, frequently marked such supernatural events. But these spiritual contacts too could be controlled by the magic power of calligraphy, and the various cloud-motifs employed in Taoist graphics serve this very purpose. Thus a variety of superbly linear and vapoury 'Cloud Script' forms derive their shapes and therefore their magic power from cloud formations. They are believed to have special powers to enable man to communicate with the spirit world, hence their extensive use in talismanic graphic art. Cloud formations, with or without constellations, also provide the model for the magic art of movement (plate 42), and even geomancy (plate 46). Sound was believed to penetrate this mysterious cloudy spirit world, so that talismans were often used in combination with spoken charms, incantations, and chants. The musical scores accompanying diagrams (plate 49) are written in a style resembling magic Cloud Script calligraphy.

42 Cloud Dance performed in mirror-image formation. The three pairs of female dancers represent the living, with the leg-movements of the *t'ai-chi ch'üan* exercises ('riding of the Heavenly Horse'), while their arm-movements symbolically reach out to invoke the spirits, in harmony with the Inner Alchemy. The Cloud Dance links microcosm and macrocosm, man with the spirit world. (Rubbing from a stone-engraving on an early T'ang tomb, excavated 1973–4)

43 'Flight of the Phoenix' around an imaginary ball of fire, i.e. the sun, an act of magic symbolically inviting the union of *yin* and *yang*, performed by acrobatic dancers of the Peking Opera. This movement expresses the same theme as the magic diagram shown on the facing page

44 Magic diagram of the interaction of the *yang* element of the fiery sun and flying *yin* rain-clouds. (Cinnabar-red and black ink. From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

45 Diagram to prevent great rainfall and wind. The cinnabar-red sun collects black clouds in a fashion reminiscent of the geomancy pattern shown on the facing page. (From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

46 Geomancy pattern known as 'The Flowing Spirits collect Water', indicating increased *yang* influence of the spirits which absorbs *yin* water and thus prevents rain. (From the geomancy manual of Chiang P'ing-chien, *Shui-ling ching* 1:35b, 1744 ed.)

47 Diagram for making rain, based on the seven-star constellation of the Great Dipper with a bird-headed cloud formation, symbolizing 'the bursting of clouds and rain', a metaphor for orgasm. In this esoteric context, sexual intercourse was believed to produce actual rainfall. Black ink. (From a 19th-century Taoist weather-manual)

48 Diagram of movement, based on the seven-star constellation of the Great Dipper, symbolizing, as the title states, 'the intercourse between Heaven (*yang*) and Earth (*yin*), in the footsteps method of the Great Yü (legendary emperor of the Hsia dynasty). These seven steps (the first and last footprints are not counted) also represent a ritual dance combined with sexual intercourse of man (*yang*) and woman (*yin*), at three different stages, indicated in the diagram by horizontal lines. (From an AD 1116 source, *Tao-tsang* 1210–8: 5a)

49 The waterfall – 'Mountain-peak Cloud Falls' – is made up of musical scores of hymns to the Immortals. These are recorded in the 'Sound of Jade' style of mystic calligraphy. (*Sleeping Dragon Mountain Scroll*, detail, attributed to Li Kung-lin, 1040–1106, of the Northern Sung dynasty)

50 The vertical linearity of the rock-face behind these musicians incorporates graphic elements of the 'Sound of Jade' style of calligraphy in musical scores of hymns to the Immortals. (*Te-hua* porcelain, early 17th century, Ming dynasty)

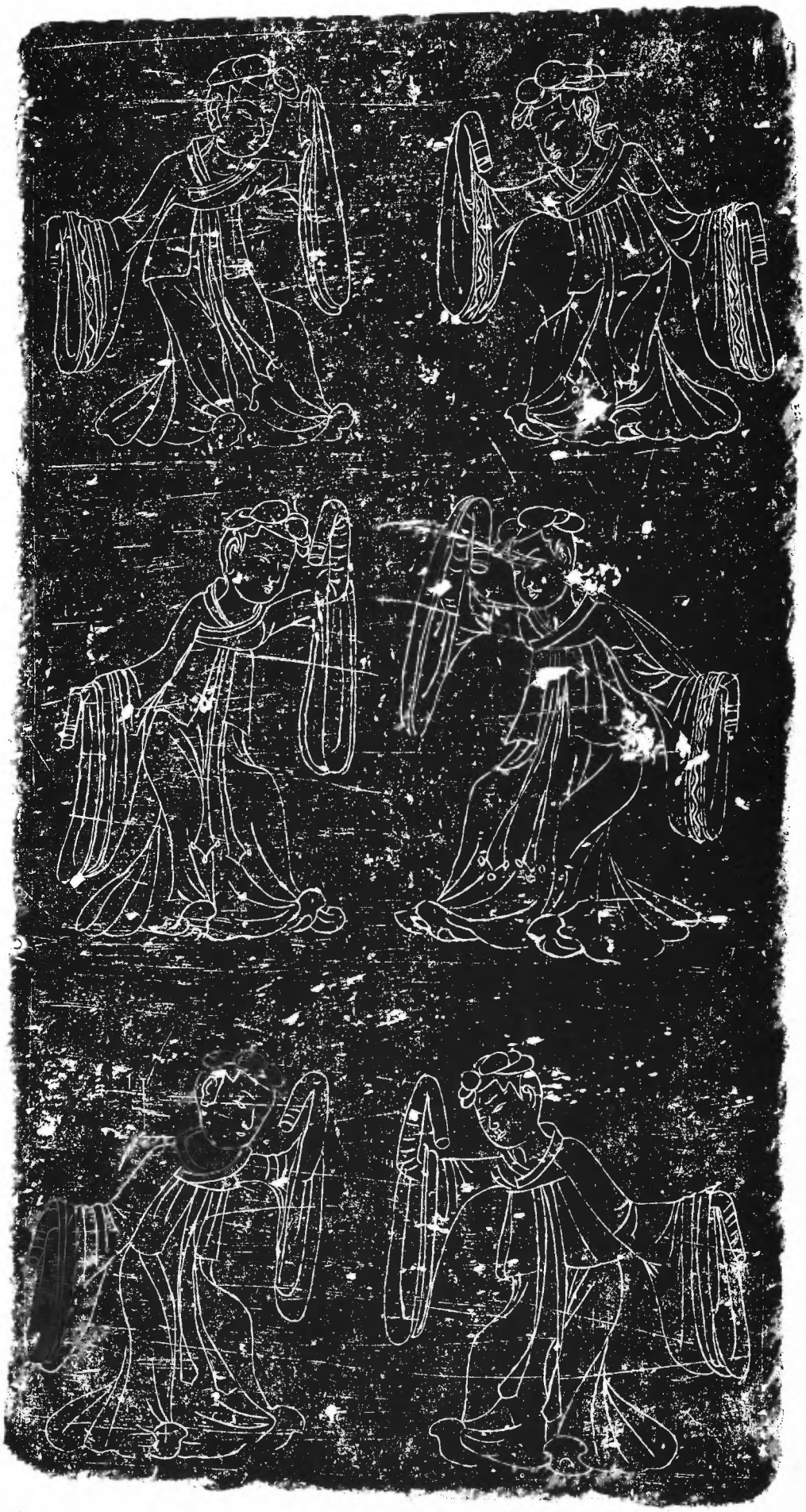
51 Taoist musical scores, relating to the mystic 'Sound of Jade'. (Collection of hymns to the Immortals, *Tao-tsang* 602–1: 9a)

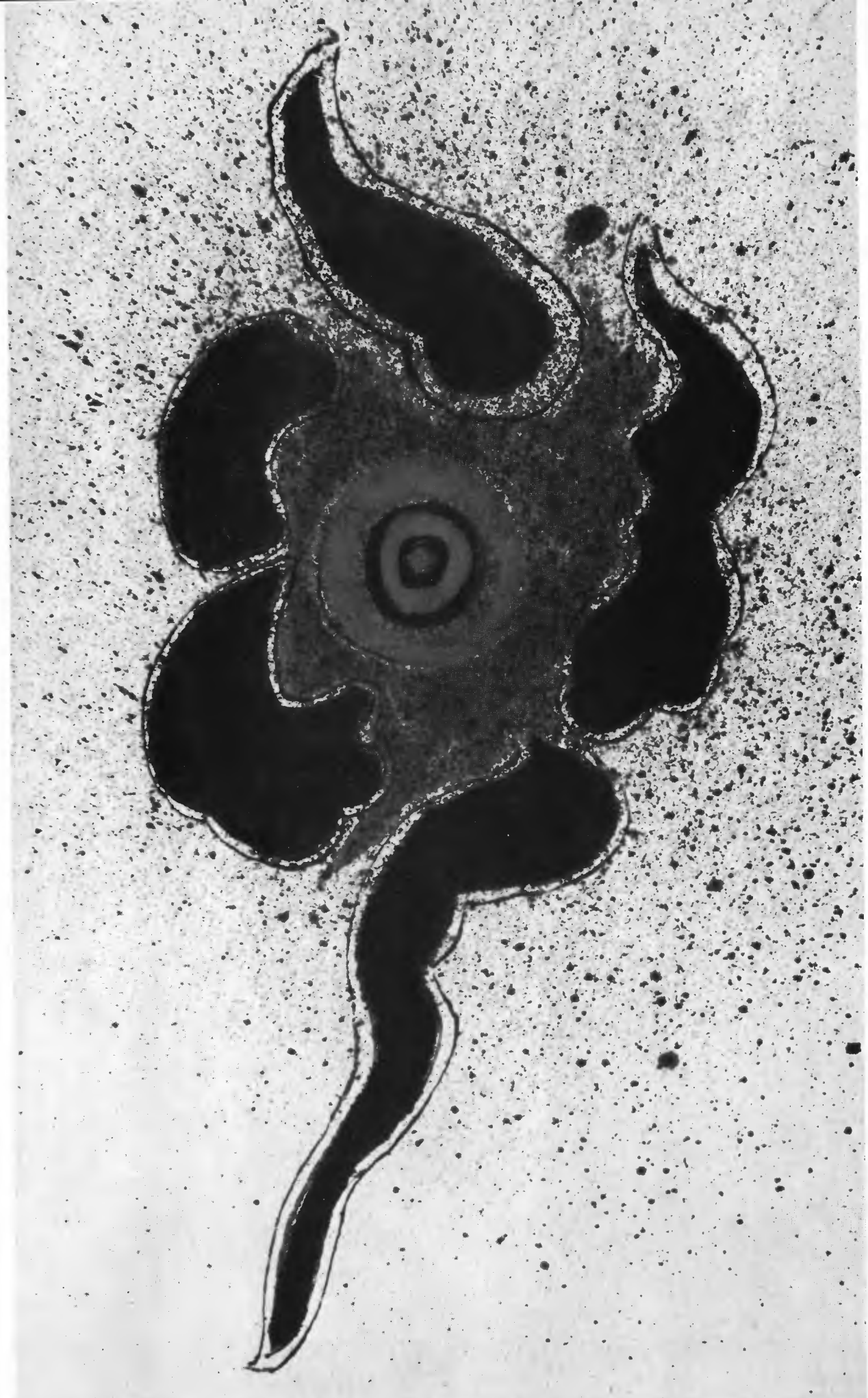
52 Calligraphic exercise entitled 'Sound'. The character is executed by the contemporary Chinese artist Chiang Yee (who lives in New York) in the 'Sound of Jade' style of mystic script. (Shown at one-man exhibition Hong Kong 1972)

53 The Taoist Cloud Script (*yin*) employed as decoration on a brush-holder of phallic or rock (*yang*) shape. (T'ien-ch'i period, 1621–7, Ming dynasty)

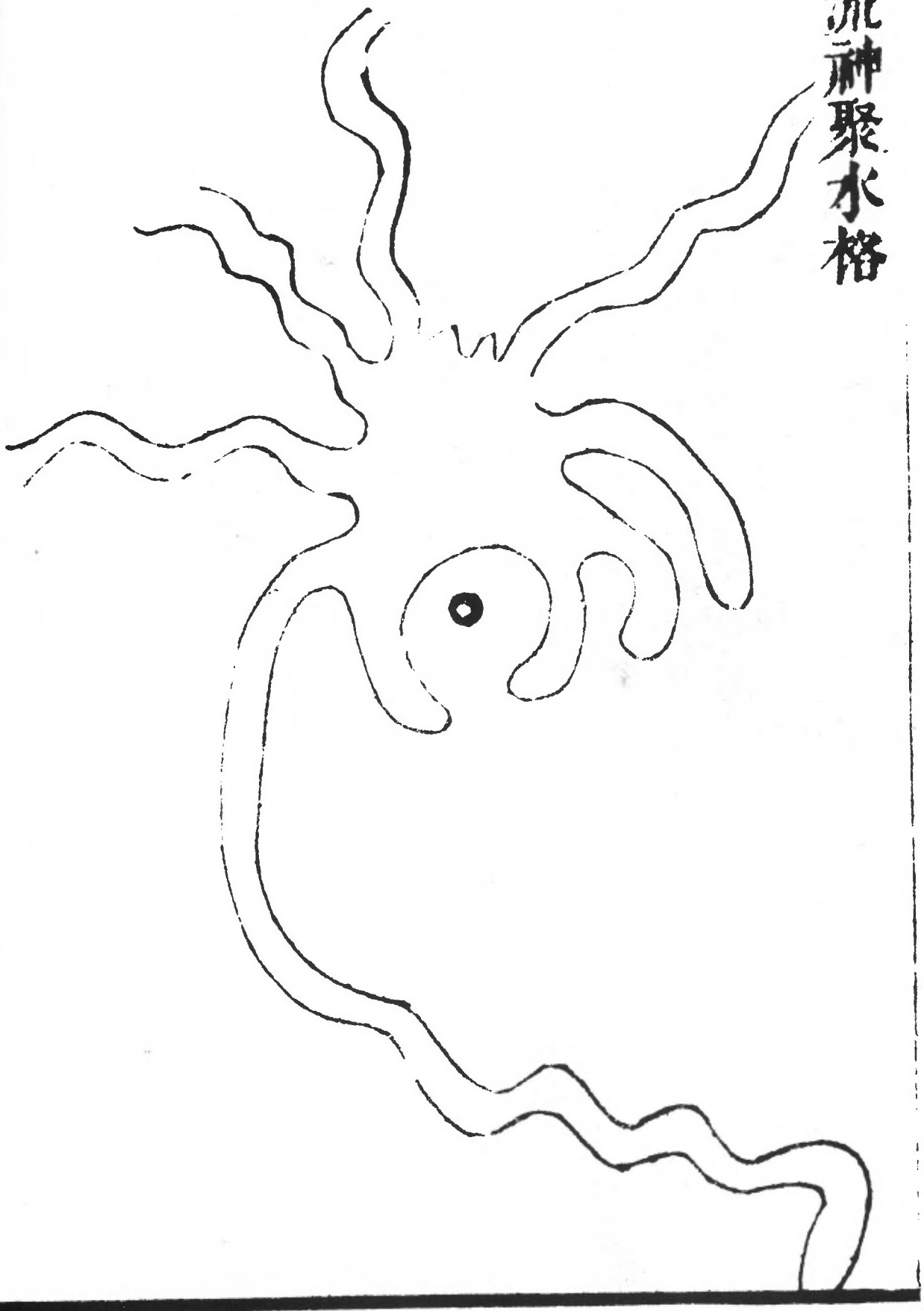
54 An early 4th-century version of Cloud Script which seems still to retain talismanic graphic elements: the elongated strip-format of talismans dominates this style. Cloud Script was used to emphasize the unity of *yin* (clouds, mist etc.) and *yang* (Heaven). The standard forms of the Chinese characters are printed below. (*Tao-tsang* 78:33b–34a)

55 Text of *Primordial Tao*, an esoteric essay, written in Cloud Script characters with the standard forms of Chinese characters above. (Sung period, *Tao-tsang* 220–3: 12b–13a)

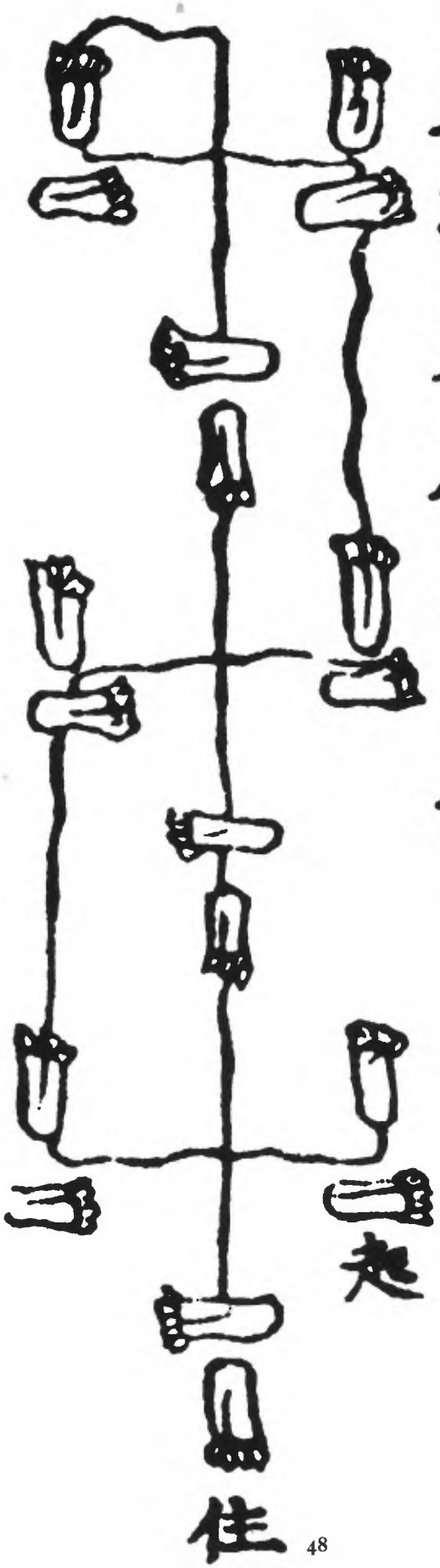


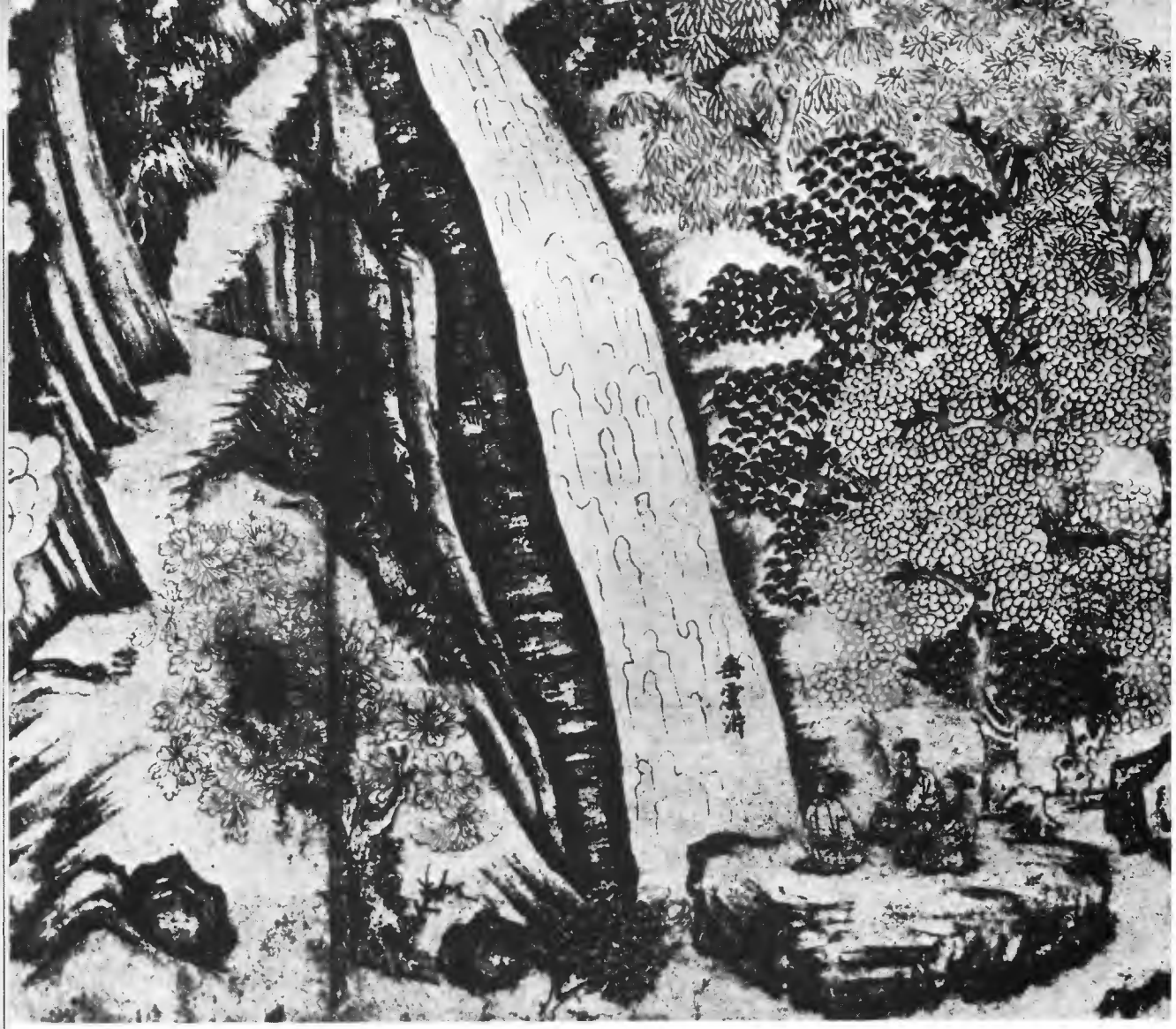


流神聚水格



天地交泰禹步法





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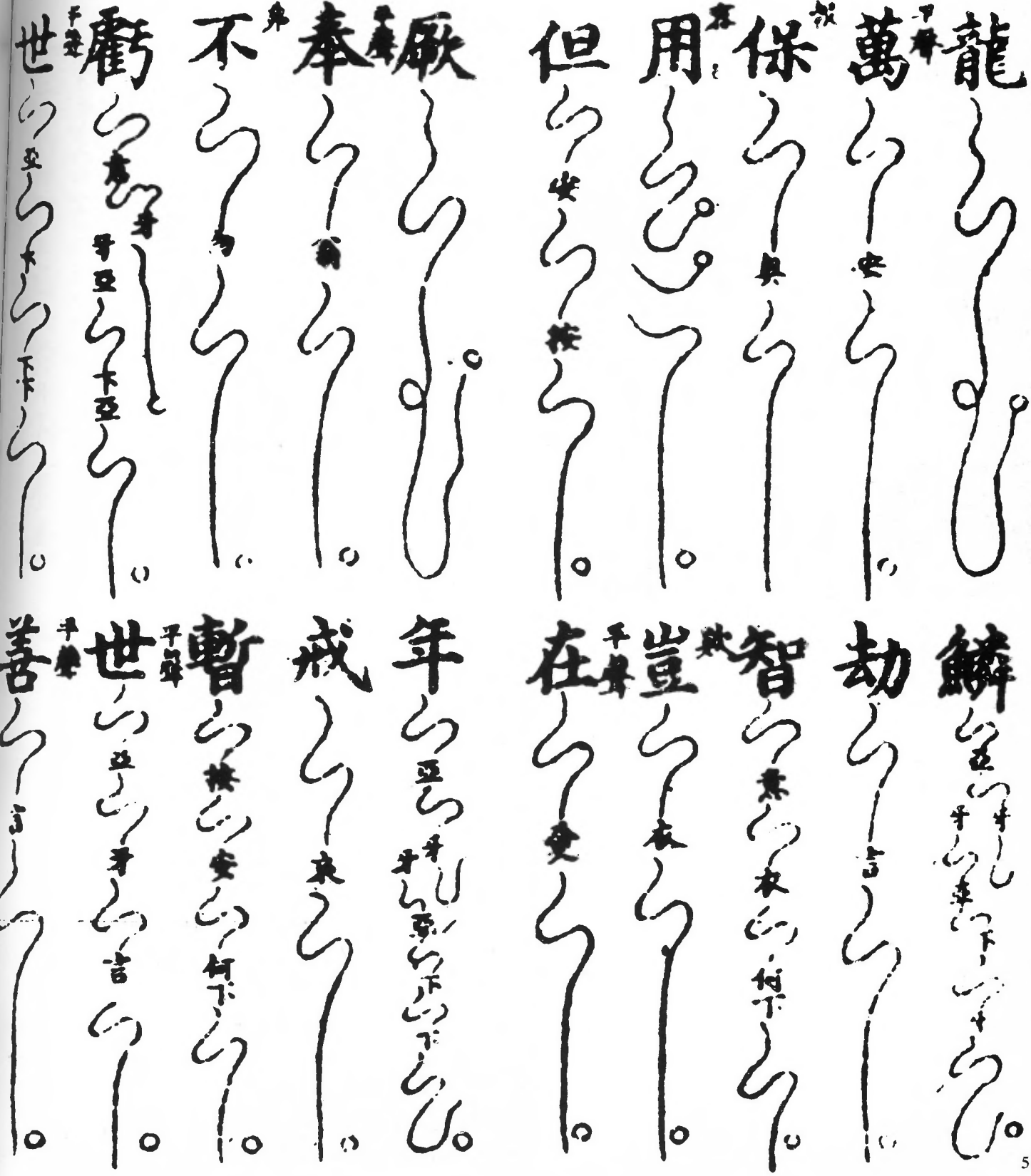
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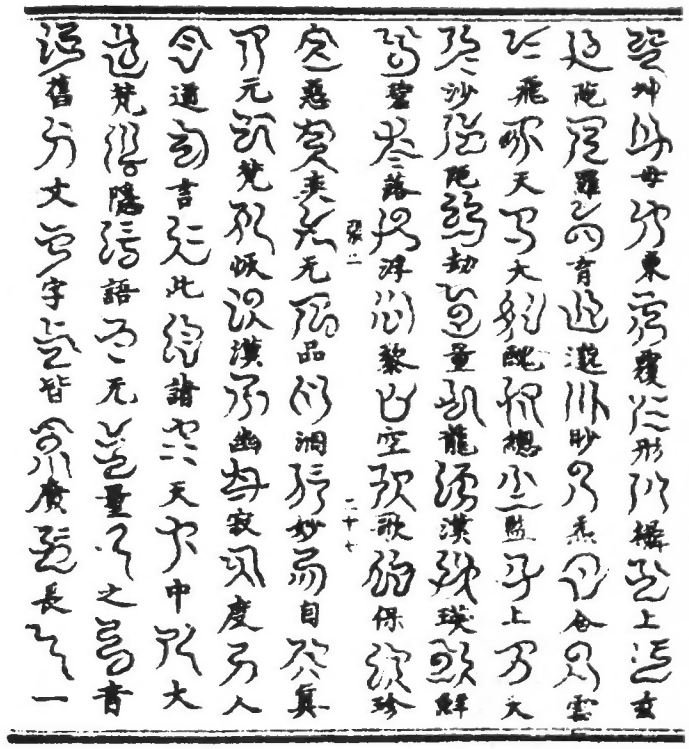

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Plates 56–63

Invisible geomancy currents and their mysterious patterns form a special group among Taoist occult graphic diagrams. The purpose of these diagrams was to prevent danger and calamities, and to suggest locations which would enable one to avoid confrontation with spirits rather than to invoke them, so to that extent they differ from other talismans. The patterns included various 'scientific' observations of the invisible magnetic, wind, and underground-water currents of the Earth, relating them to the visible aspects of the location or landscape. As graphic diagrams they are powerful tools of sympathetic magic, enabling one to bring about many kinds of desirable changes. Their occult application is virtually unlimited. This is indicated by the titles of these geomancy patterns (as given in the captions below), many of which have sexual connotations. Representational art makes full use of these forms (plate 57). These ideas were also employed with the utmost precision in the anatomical theory of yin *and* yang *diseases in traditional Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture. They provide the concepts for the location of acupuncture meridians and spots to be stimulated 'to evoke' – as one would invoke spirits – either* yang *tonification or* yin *sedation, according to the prescribed intensity of stimulation of the affected areas and nerves. Names given to the body's hollows, and blood and breath conveyances, frequently suggest geomantic parallels.*

56 Geomancy patterns. The diagram above is entitled: 'A Beautiful Woman offering Flowers' (sexual reference is intended). The diagram below: 'The Pincers of a Centipede'. (From the geomancy manual of Chiang P'ing-chien, the *Shui-lung ching* 3:12a, 1744 ed.)

57 The 'One', the 'Great Ultimate', *t'ai-chi*, expressed in sexual terms as the magic union of *yin* and *yang*. The lovers are in the Taoist 'Hovering Butterflies' posture, the eleventh of the Thirty Heaven and Earth Postures. (Porcelain, mid-18th century, Ch'ing dynasty)

58 Geomancy pattern of the 'Great Ultimate' (*t'ai-chi*), represented as the union of interlocked *yin* and *yang*. (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3:11b, 1744 ed.)

59 Geomancy makes its appearance in a military handbook on explosives, dated 1662. Placed on a trigram *ch'ien* (*yang*), with legs apart, the female (*yin*) receives a phallic candle to produce an 'explosion', i.e. to produce orgasm. (From *Wu-lüeh chih* by Mao Yüan-i, 1662; recently reproduced in a Maoist article relating to guerilla warfare, by Lin Hsien-chou in *Wen-wu* 1973, entitled: *Invention of automatic devices: bombs, land mines and limpet mines in ancient China*)

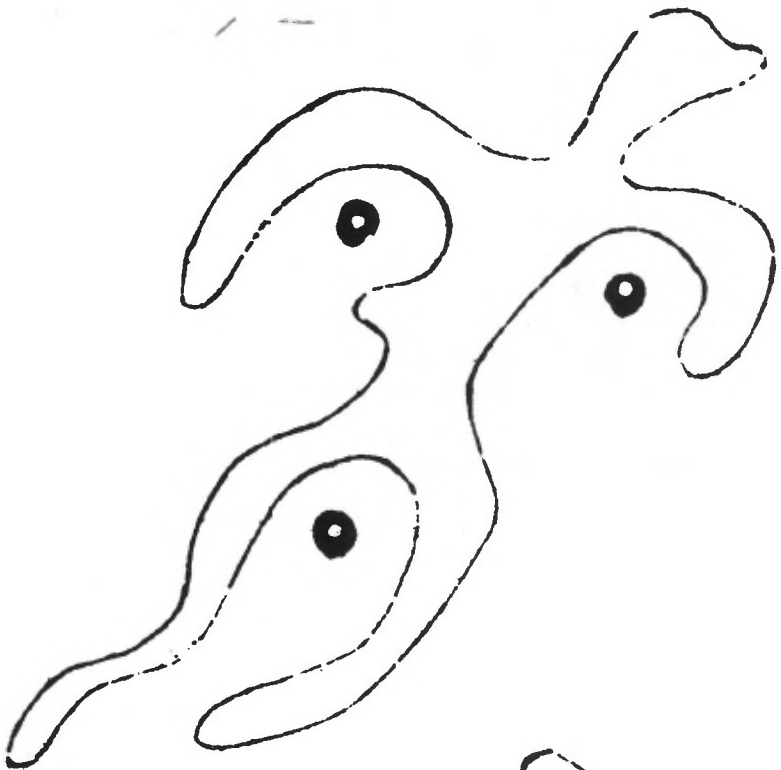
60 The composition of this scene of lovers in a garden is reminiscent of the geomancy pattern known as 'A Lake peacefully Gathering Pebbles' – a Taoist metaphor for sexual intercourse. (Blue and white porcelain sleeve vase, Transitional period, *c.* 1640–60)

61 Geomancy pattern known as 'A Lake peacefully Gathering Pebbles'. (From the *Shui-lung ching* 1:53b)

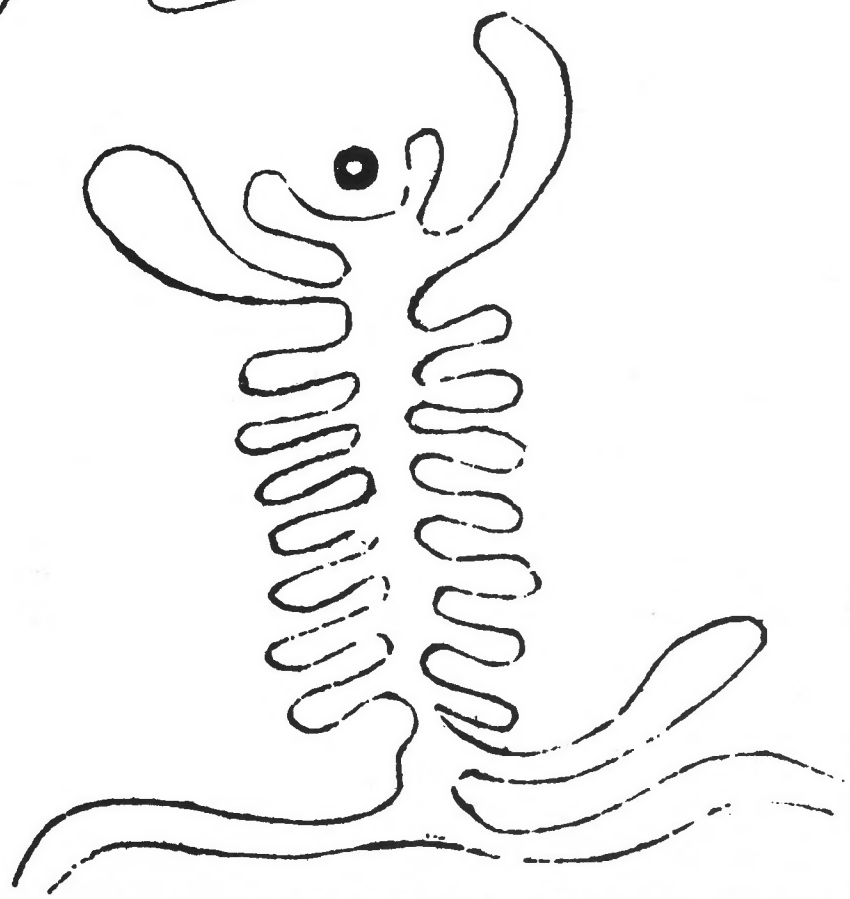
62 Geomancy patterns known as 'A Boat Sailing with the Wind' (above), and 'Harbouring in a Cave with Bent Bow' (below). The title of the second has military as well as sexual connotations. (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3:16a, 1744 ed.)

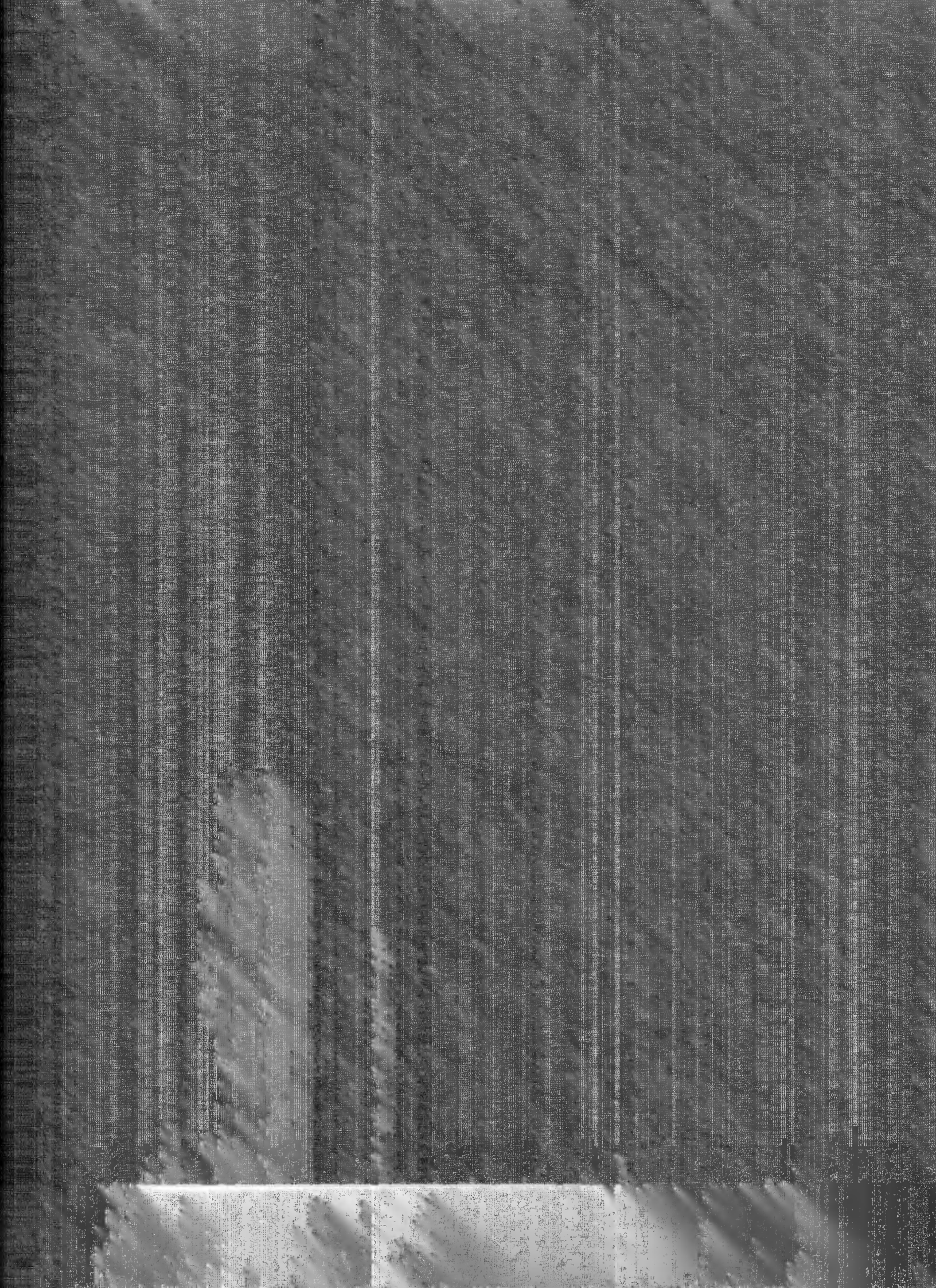
63 Geomancy patterns known as 'An Immortal's Hands plucking the Lute (above), and 'The Left and Right Hands of an Immortal'. (From the *Shui-lung ching* 3:9b, 1744 ed.)

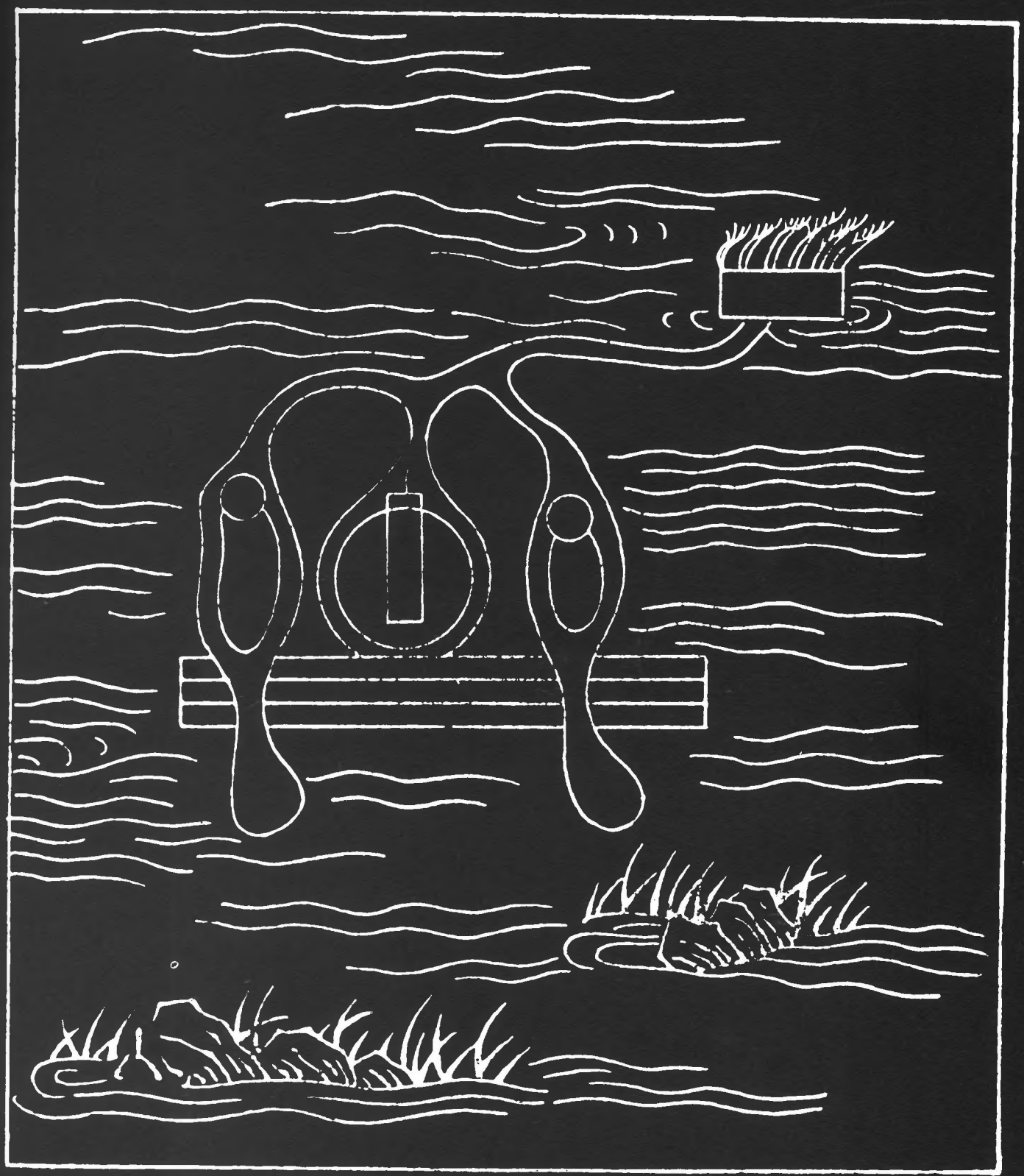
美女獻花格



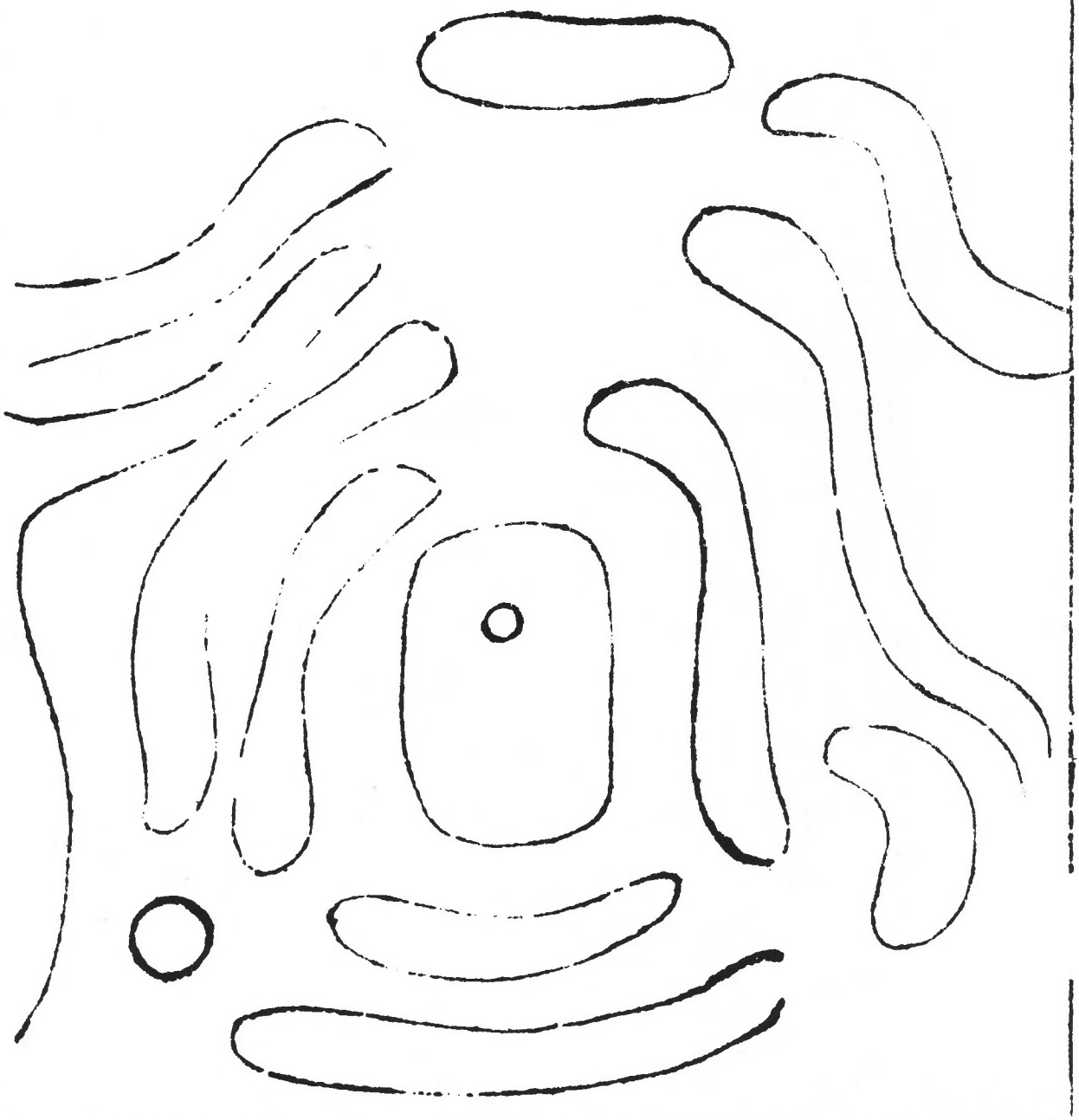
蜈蚣鉗格



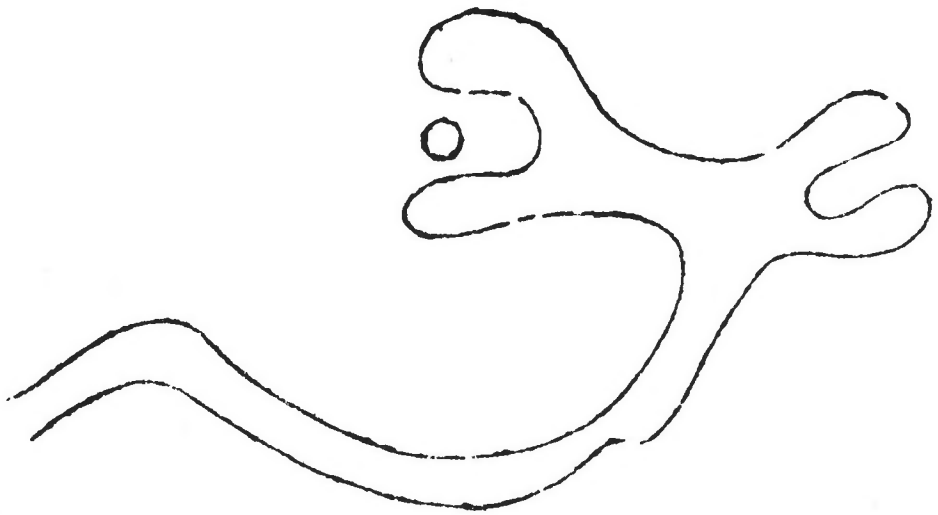




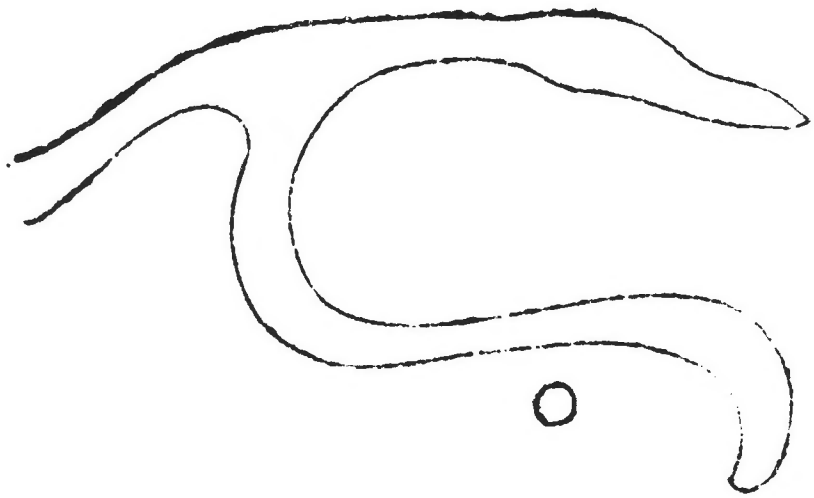
湖蕩聚砂格



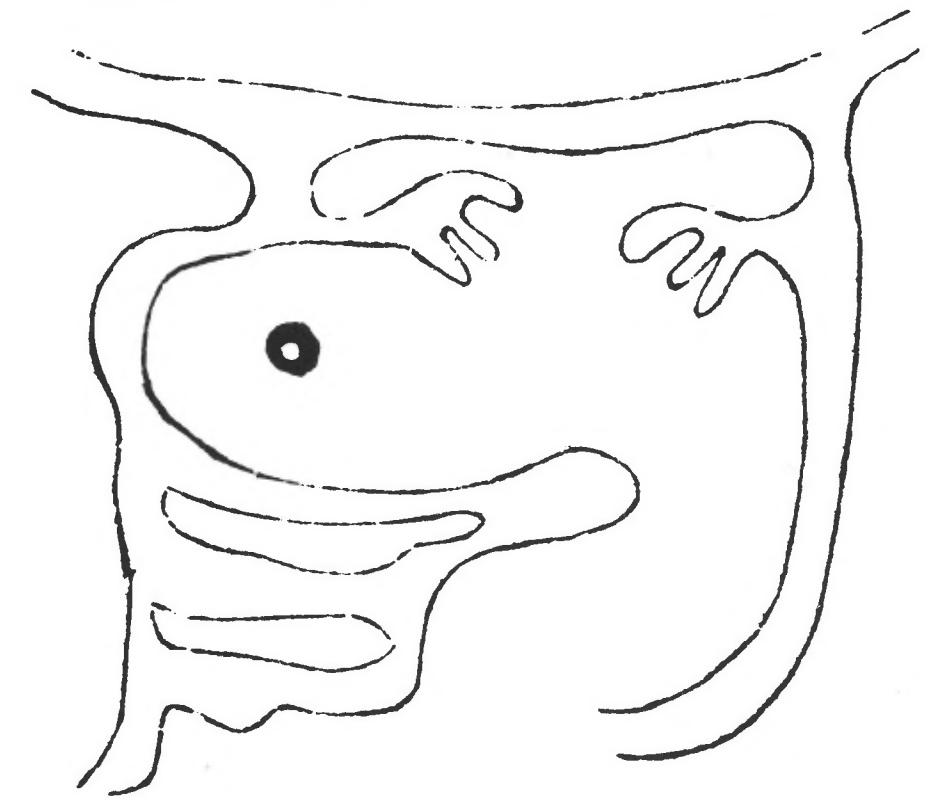
順風船格



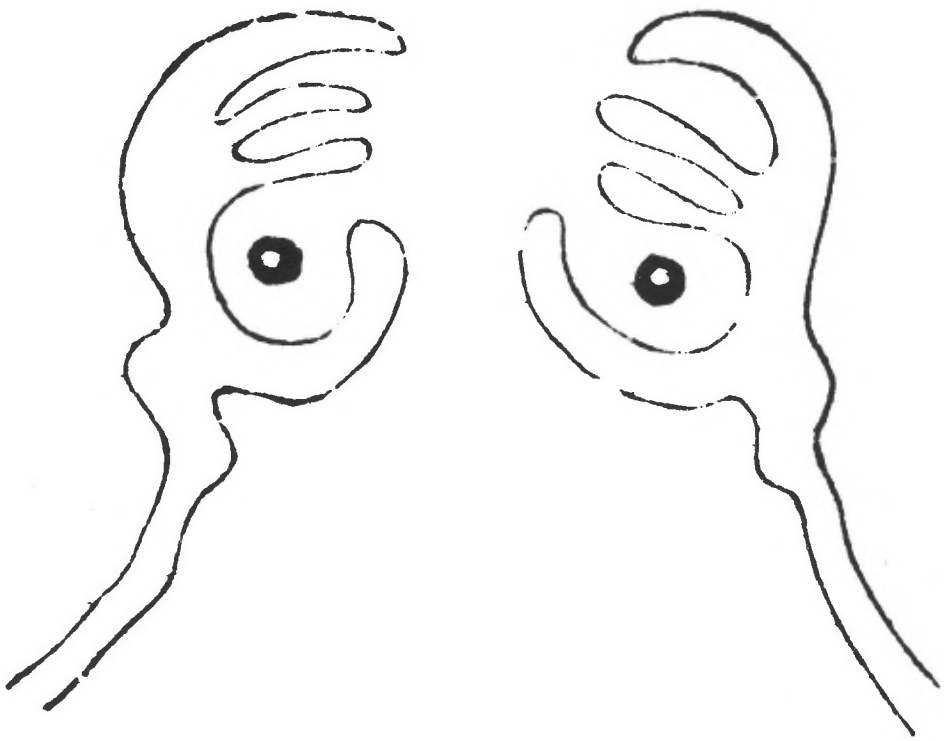
彎弓抱穴格



仙掌撫琴格



左右仙掌格



Plates 64–81

The magic ingredients of Taoist occult art were provided by their calligraphic components, some pictorial, others abstract, as well as by their general design. Extensive commentaries in the Tao-tsang *explain the components' significance, though mostly in characteristically laconic terms. For instance, in the Taoist canonical analysis of the magic components of the Jade Talisman (platē 66), the sequence of twenty diagrams reveals the order of the magic rites, and reflects the 'Journey of the Soul', guided by stars in heaven and by lanterns on earth. Charms containing characters for 'longevity', 'happiness', and 'good luck', executed in a variety of graphic styles (plates 73, 74) also form an important component group. They too are believed to work by virtue of sympathetic magic. Less common pictorial elements are human heads, legs and arms, which were supposed to confer exceptional power on composite talismans. These members are identified with the spirit figures of the popular Taoist pantheon. Some are executed with almost childish simplicity (plate 81), others skilfully incorporate magic characters of great complexity (plate 77).*

64, 65 Talismans of the fifteenth and twenty-fourth of the thirty-six Generals who act as Informers of Heaven, with both pictorial and abstract calligraphic components. Extensively used as 'paper money' for bribing spirits. (From an early 12th-century work, *Tao-tsang* 463–273 : 7b, 9b)

66 Analysis of the twenty components of the Jade Talisman (plate 67), from the Taoist Canon. According to the Chinese captions, these are (reading vertically and from the left): (1) the Eight Daybreaks which control the Wild Beasts; (2) the music of Emperor Shun which pacifies the subtle spirits; (3) the Nine Districts; (4) defects and melancholy; (5) Flying Creatures above the Spirits; (6) Close-netting and the Pure Region; (7) Fragrant and Beautiful; (8) the Empty Turn; (9) to pour a libation of Water; (10) the Yellow Flower[s]; (11) Period of Dark and Light; (12) the Master of the Spirits; (13) to open the Temple; (14) to prolong and yield; (15) the Cinnabar Hall; (16) the Four Directions; (17) the Six Rules; (18) the Thirteen Doors; (19) the Receiving of the Majestic Four Vital Spirits (*ch'i*); and (20) to pass by those who guard the Four Doors. This sequence seems to indicate the stages of an unknown ritual, while the magic ingredients of each diagram reveal multiperceptual contacts with the Yellow Spirit. (*Tao-tsang* 216–69 : 19b–20a)

67 The Jade Talisman, addressed to the Yellow Spirit, the powerful spirit of Earth and Centre. The third of a set of five (one for each of the Five Elements). (*Tao-tsang* 216 : 20a-b; based on the form attributed to Emperor Hui-tsung, 1101–26, of the Northern Sung dynasty: *Tao-tsang* 144–3 : 13b–14a)

68 Script is used as magic on many objects. Here the stem of a plant is twisted into the auspicious character *shou* – 'longevity'. (Blue and white porcelain bowl, Wan-li period, 1573–1619, Ming dynasty)

69 Sole surviving example of a secret Taoist script known as the 'Brilliant Jade Character' script. It gives a version of the first 48 (of 64) hexagrams of the *I-ching*. The script was used in talismans to refer to cycles of change, based on the trigrams of the *I-ching*. The style suggests the influence of embroidery. (In a work of AD 1115, *Tao-tsang* 463–262 : 30a)

70 *Shou* – 'long life' – at the centre of a dragon-and-cloud design representing the union of Heaven and Earth. The talismanic power of the *shou* character was believed to be so powerful that an object inscribed with it would certainly prolong the owner's life. Such objects were popular as birthday presents. (Carved red and black lacquer box-lid, Chia-ching period, 1522–66)

71 Belief in the magic power of calligraphy continues today in China. Chairman Mao's portrait is flanked in procession by double *hsi* ('happiness') characters, traditional Taoist talismans. The colour-scheme, red and green, is also Taoist, symbolizing the perfect harmony of Heaven and Earth. (Hopei Province, 1968)

72 Free brushed, 'grass' calligraphic form of the character *shou* – 'long life' – executed in the manner of a Taoist magic diagram. Signed by the 85-year-old Yeh Chih with the seal of the artist. (Rubbing dated 1st day of the 1st moon of 1863. Ch'ing dynasty)

73 The One Hundred Talismanic Forms of the character *shou* – 'long life'. (After De Groot)

74 The One Hundred Talismanic Forms of the character *fu* – 'happiness'. (After De Groot)

75 Talisman to repel demons, representing the devil-catching Chung Kuei. (19th-century stone rubbing)

76 Talismanic picture of the Taoist God of Literature, K'uei-hsing, made from two brushed characters forming his name. He stands on a third character, *ao*, the name of a giant turtle said to support the Earth. (Undated stone-rubbing; painted Ma Te-chao)

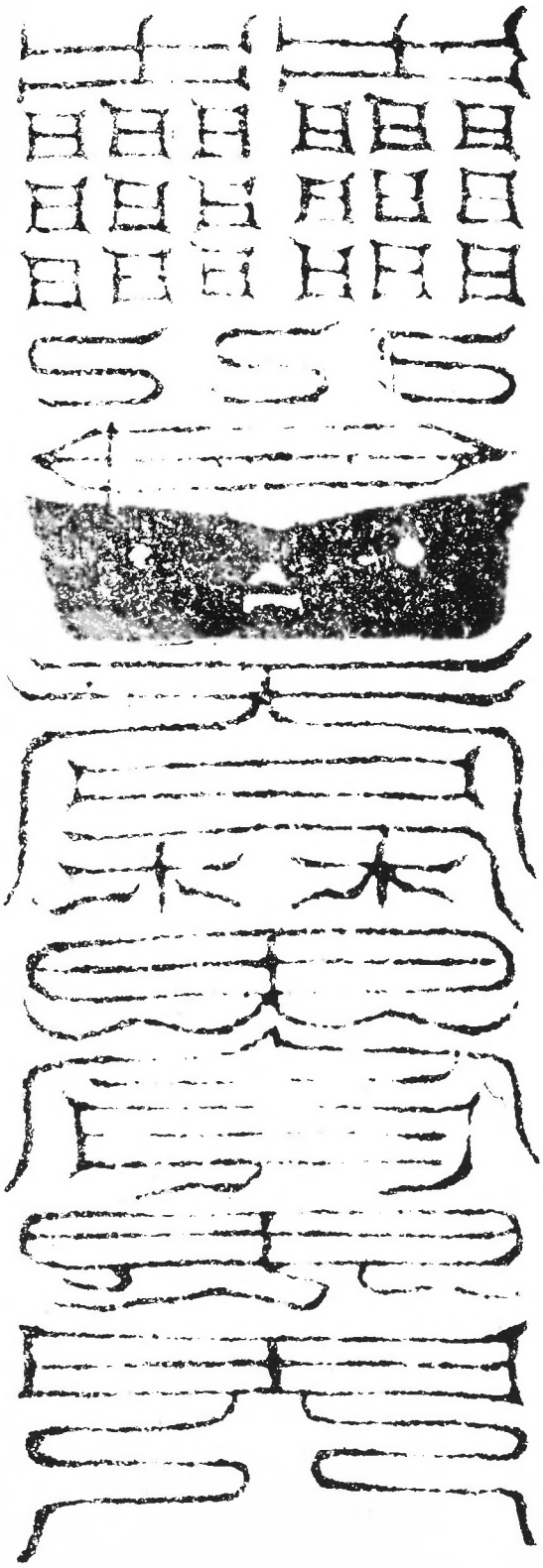
77 The seven characters of this calligraphic picture read: 'Tao penetrates Heaven and Earth and has qualities beyond Form'. They also depict the Star-god of Longevity. The rubbing is of an engraving said to be based on the Ho-t'u and Lo-shu diagrams (see p. 10). (Undated composition by Yüan Shen, painted by Tung Ts'e-san and engraved by Liu Kao-kuei)

78 Lanterns arranged as the characters *ch'ih yen sheng*, meaning 'to prolong life by imperial order'. A life-preserving talisman based on festive lantern-displays. *Ch'ih* ('by imperial order') has 49 lanterns, *yen* ('to prolong') 36, and *sheng* ('life') 24. As sources of light (*yang*), lanterns were supposed to help prolong active life. (From a 13th-century work, *Tao-tsang* 1210–9 : 15a)

79 Talisman for seeking employment. (From a Taoist work of unknown date, *Tao-tsang* 668–3 : 28a)

80 Talisman of the Armour of Man. The figure is reinforced with constellation dots. (Third of a set of three, probably Sung or Yüan in date, *c.* 1300, *Tao-tsang* 853 : 16b)

81 Talisman of the Heavenly Messenger, with coiled body representing the Twenty-eight Constellations to aid brightness (*yang*) and protect the body, and legs to walk in coils on Earth (*yin*) to seize and destroy evil spirits, who can only move in a straight line. (*Tao-tsang* 217–21 : 7a)



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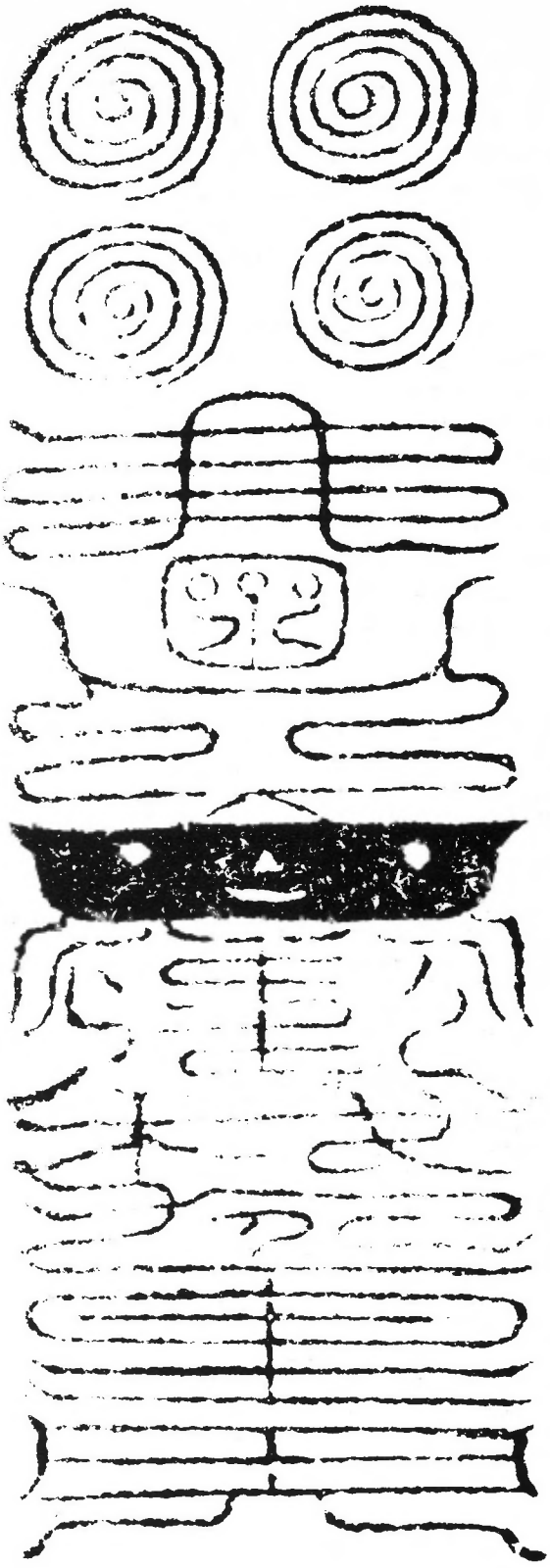

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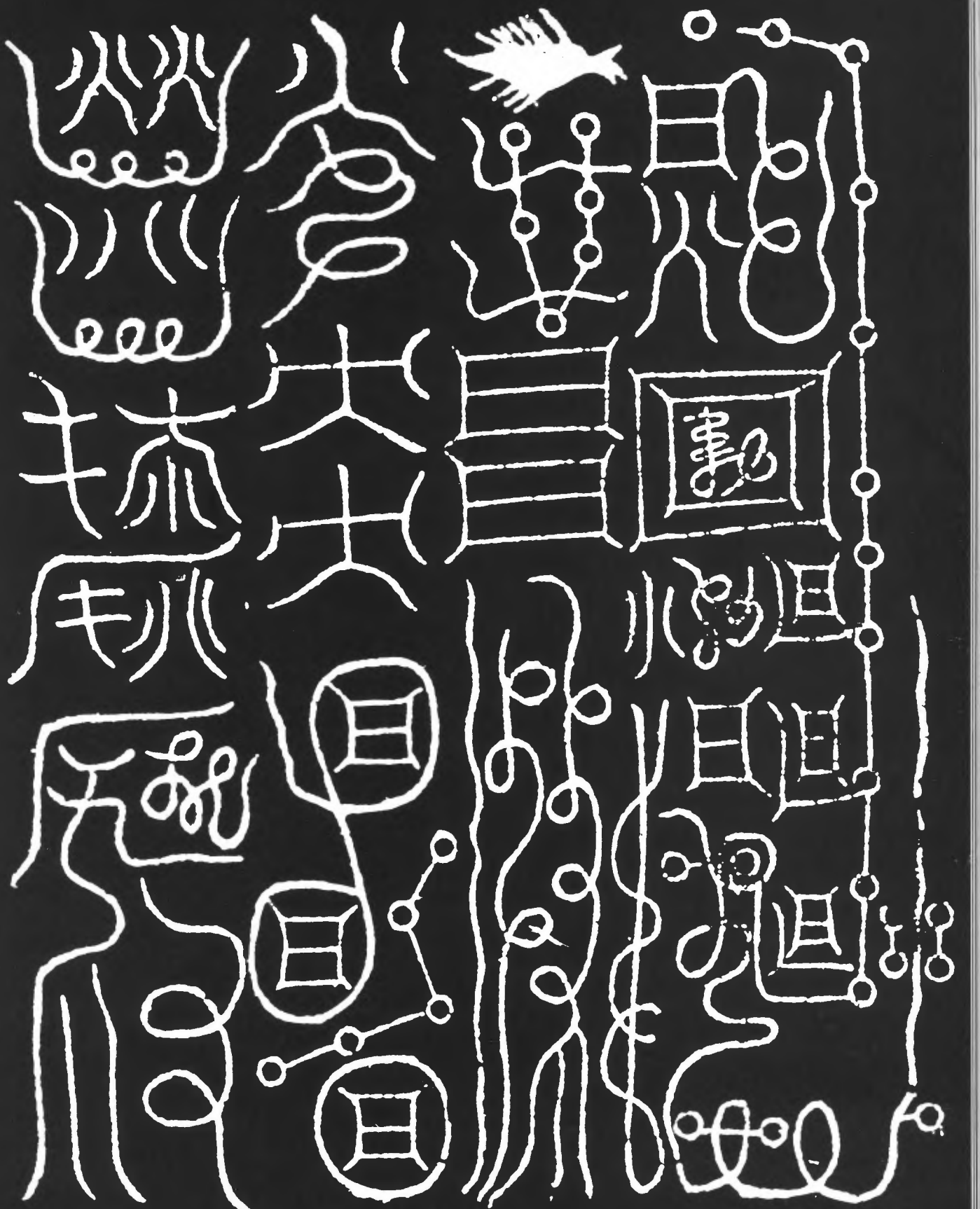

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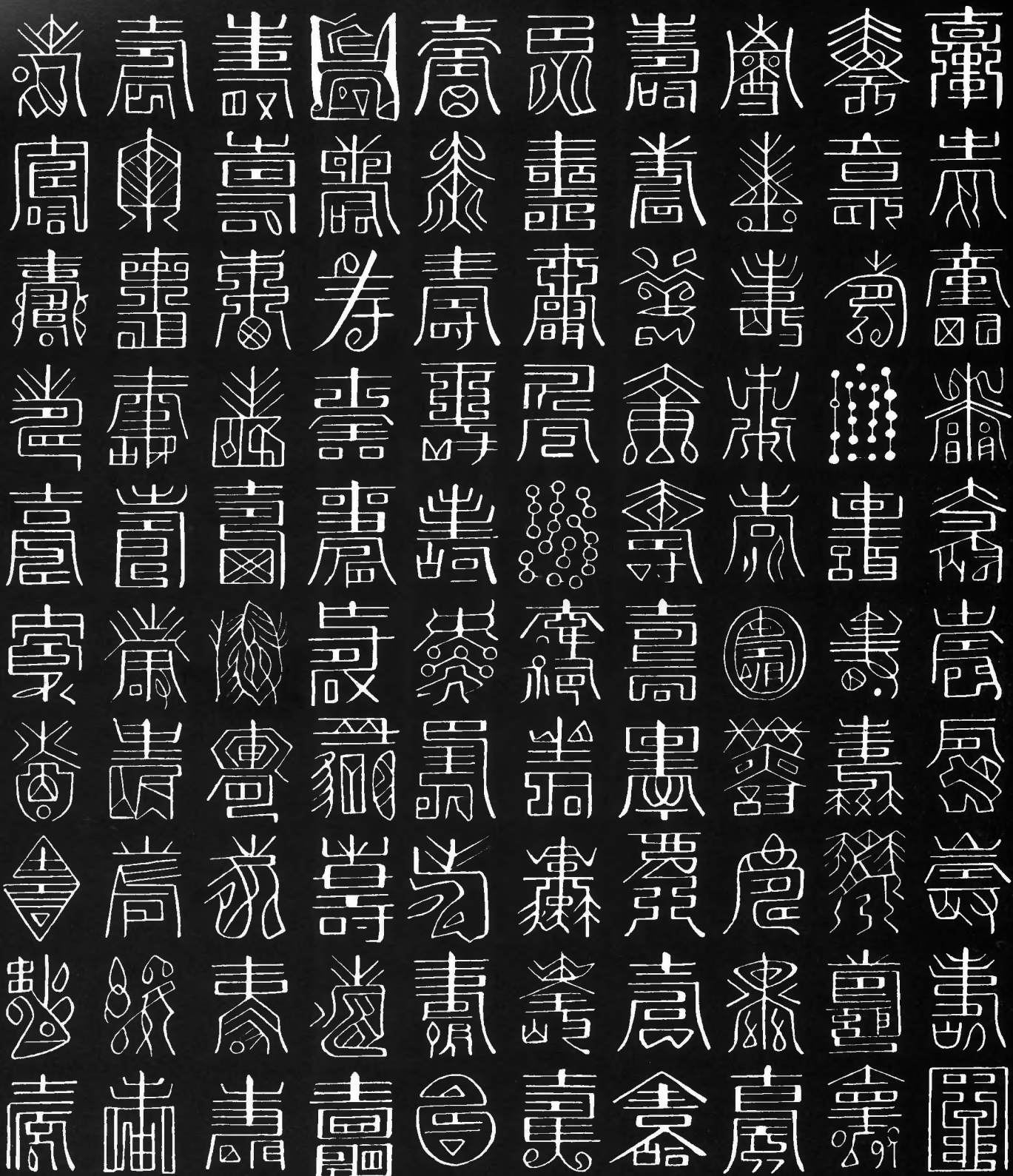
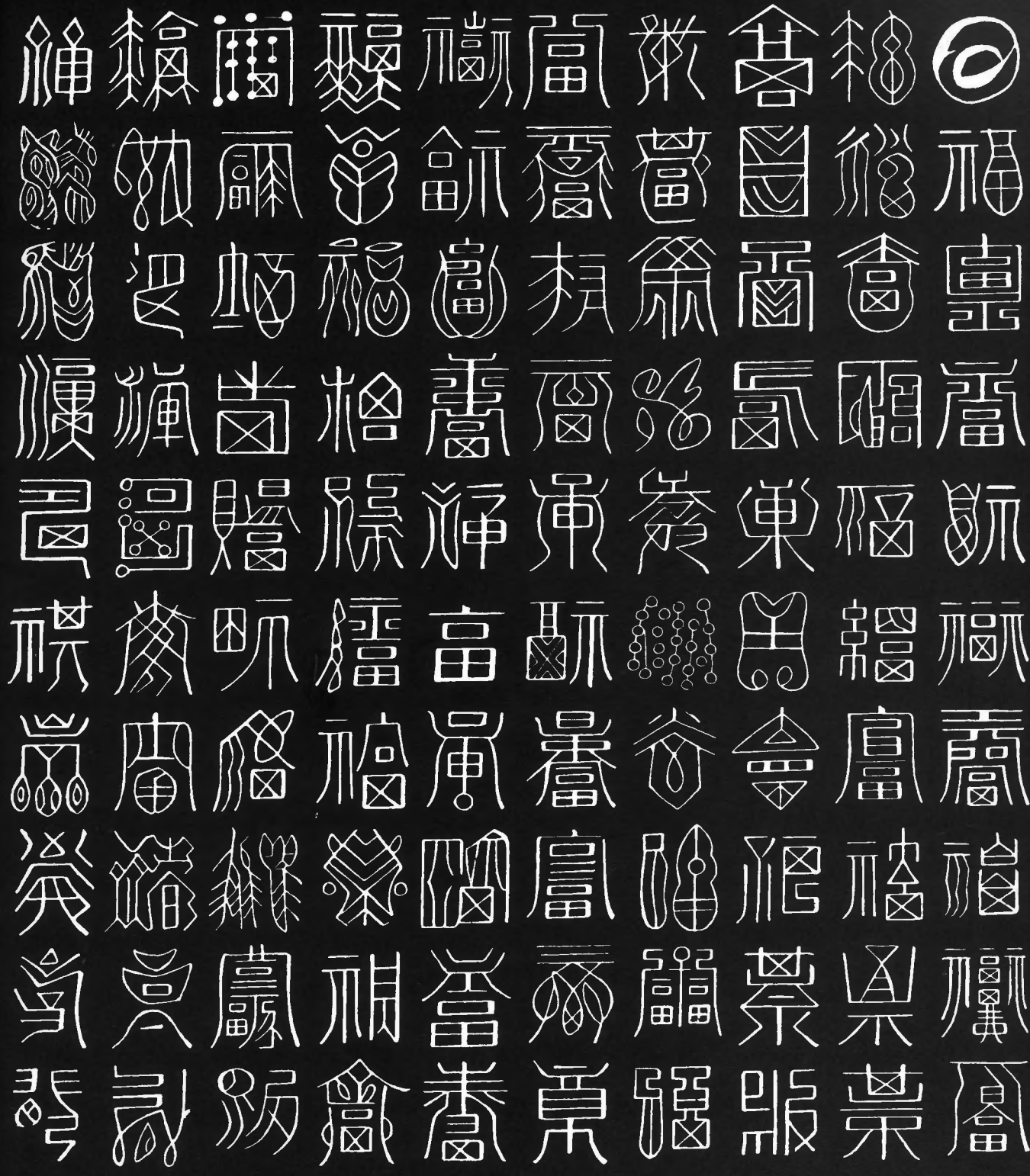
同治癸亥正月元日
八十五叟葉志詵





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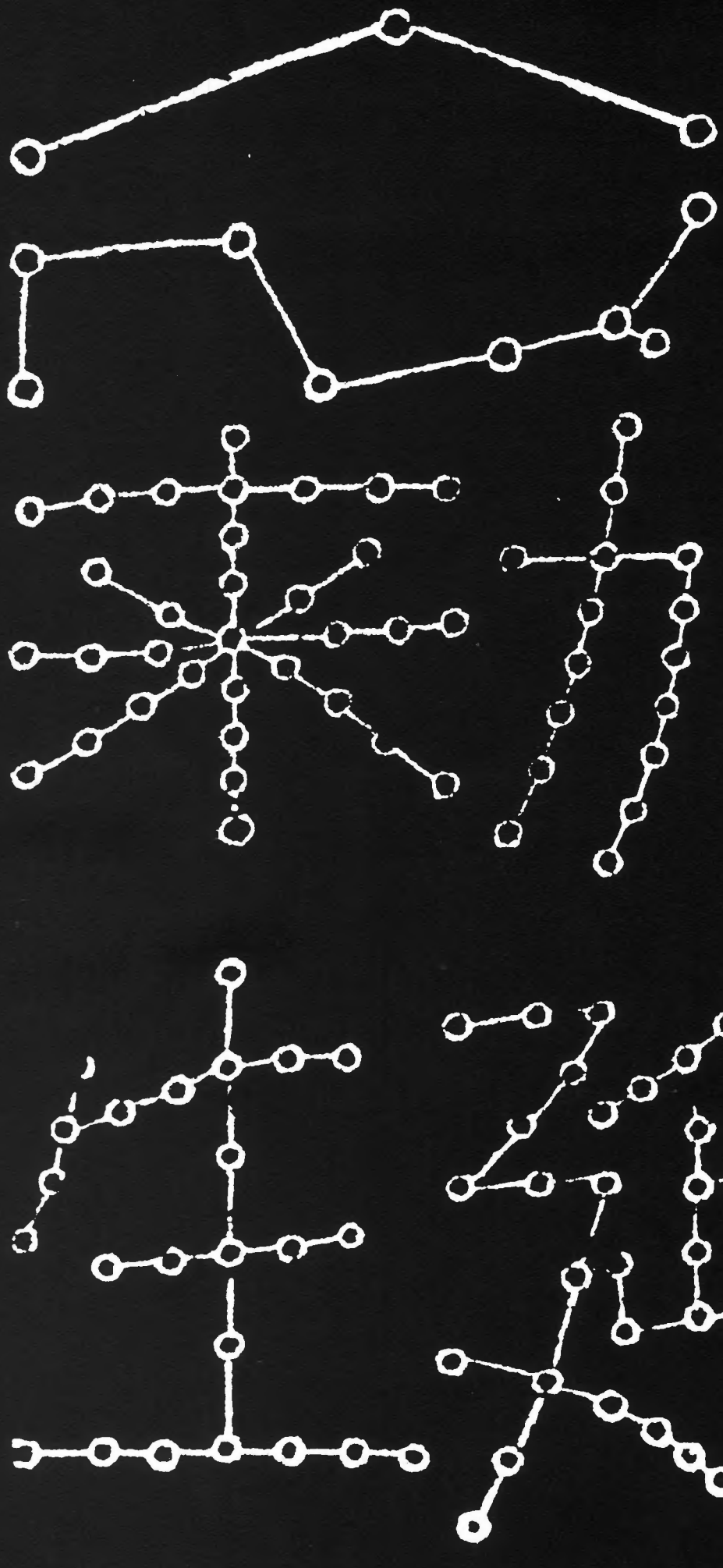
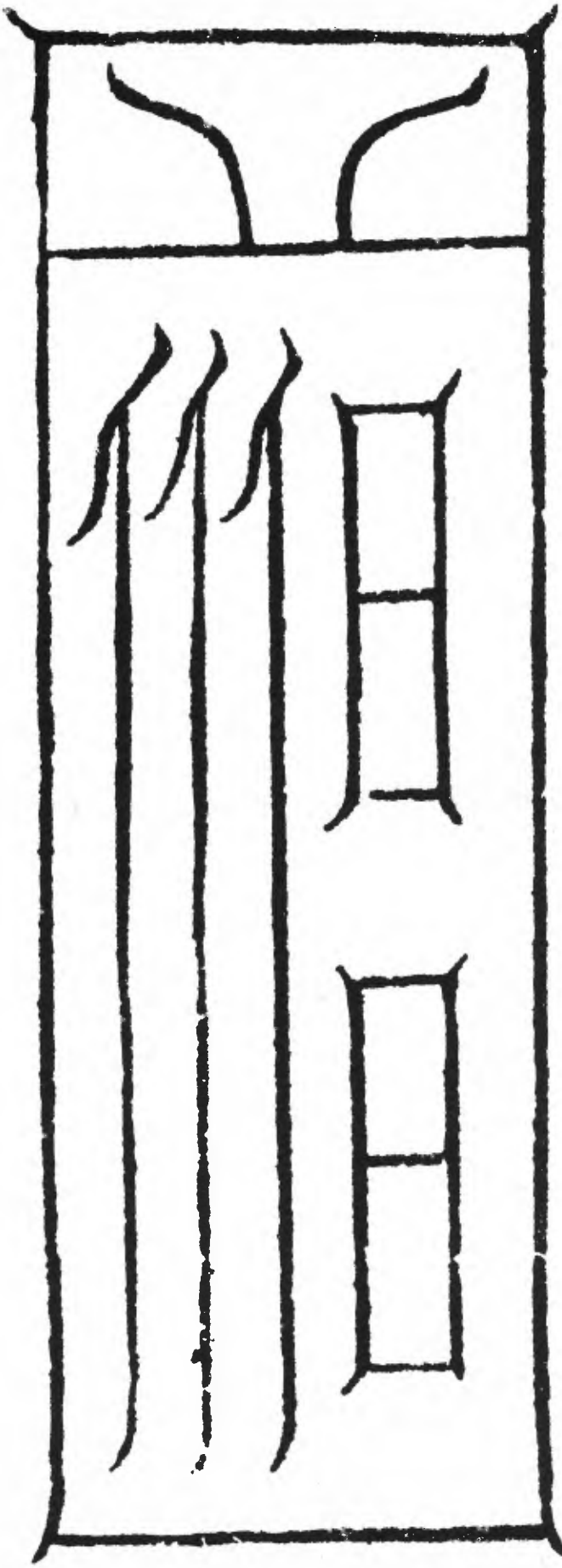
河洛七安文體壽星圖碑
壽星圖云道通天地
有形外
借破無極俾爾單厚引
比道特
介眉壽子
子孫
松
栢之茂董
子右醇自
今伊始歲
其有
翰林苑檢討
席梧貴題
龍門
僧
普棟
源
董萊三圖筆
劉高桂鐫石

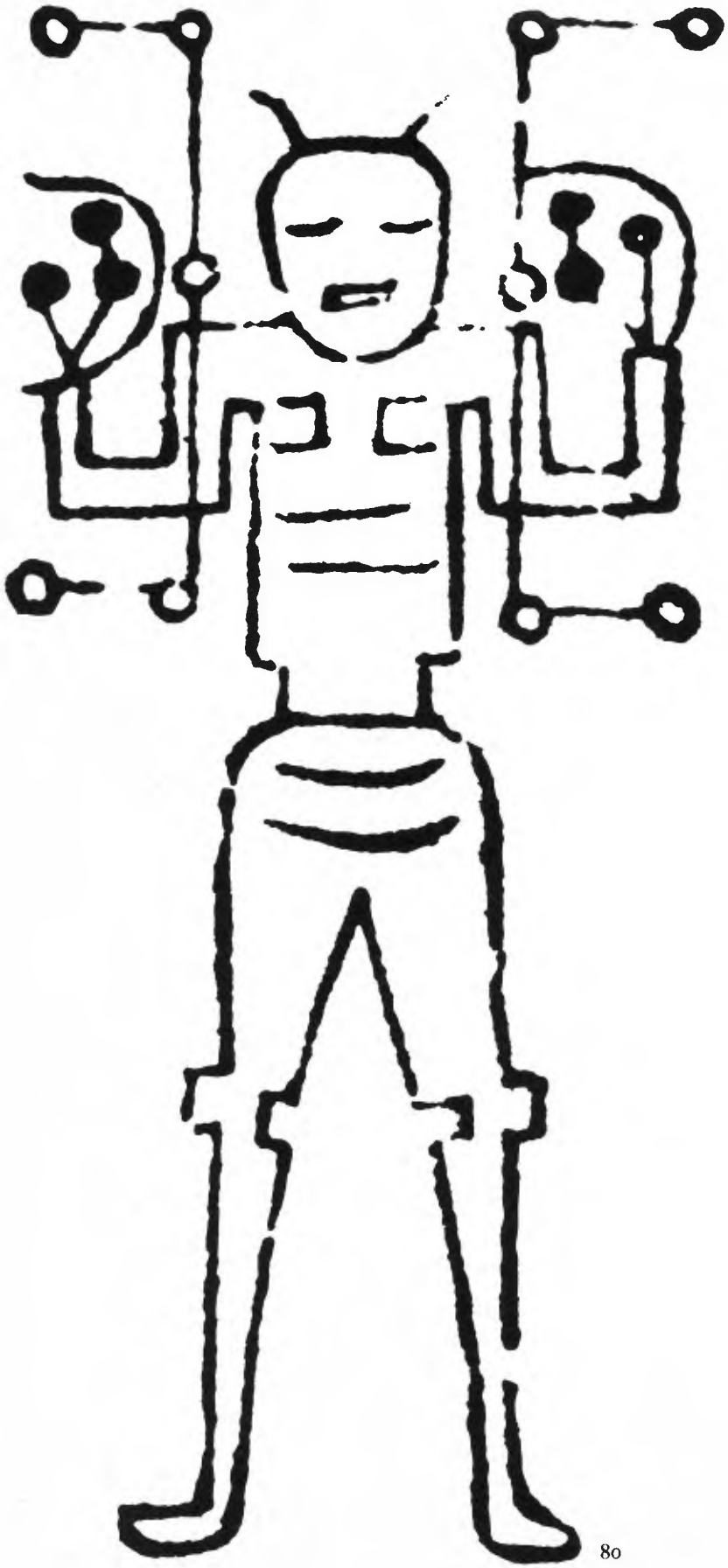


圖四

求官符



人甲符



諸將符

天地人神
立汝之精

行遶天下
收捉鬼神

上天下地無所不經急
急收押入鬼心神君

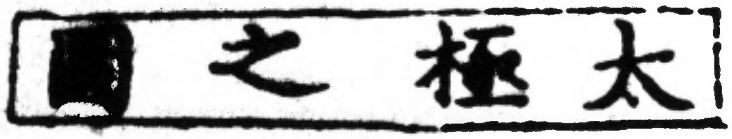
二十八宿
助明護身

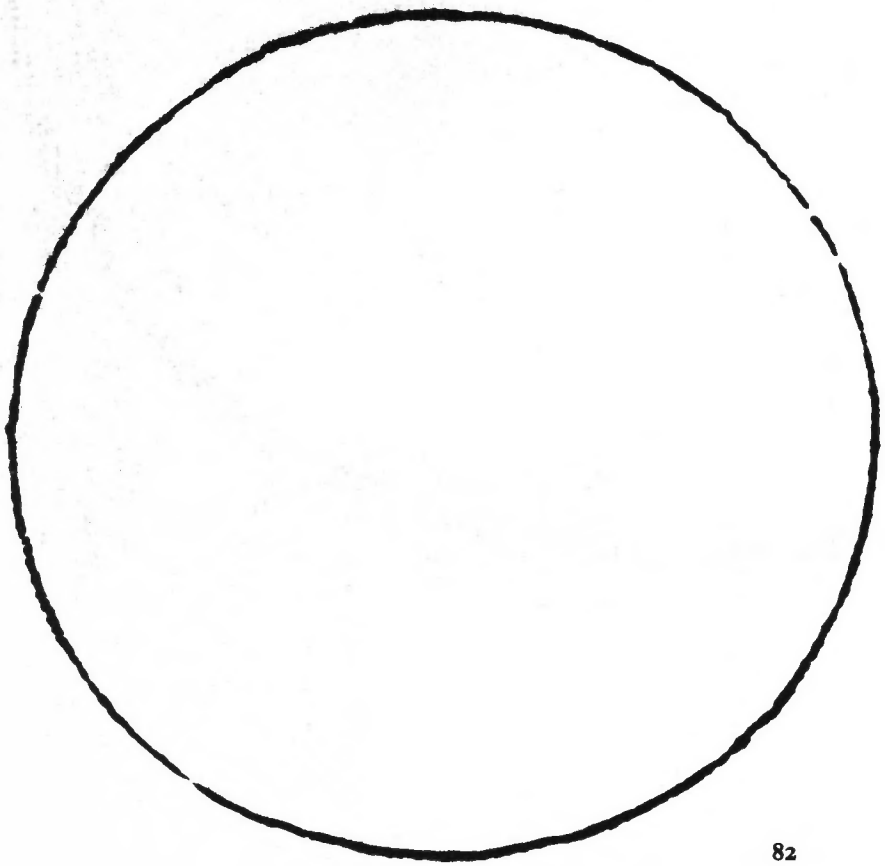
Plates 82–83

*In Taoist magic art the circle combines simplicity with perfection, emptiness with fullness; it harmonized the visible with the invisible, the linear with cyclic manifestations of Change and Movement. Here it represents both the mystic and philosophical power of talismans (plate 83) and 'the One', the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*) (plate 82).*

82 Diagram of the Great Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*). (Yüan period, *Tao-tsang* 159–1:3b)

83 The 'Diagram of the Talisman' (*fu*). (11th c., Sung period. *Tao-tsang* 1210–5:5b)





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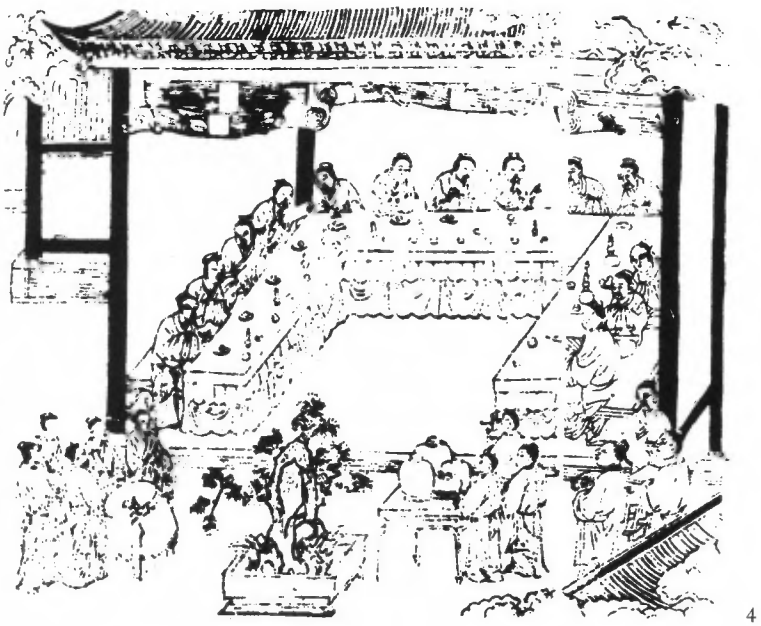

4

Meditational diagrams and talismans

1 (Facing page) One of the Eight Pure Ones shown as a Taoist priest at an altar holding a phallic (*yang*) audience tablet in both hands, in a floating boat-shaped craft of rolling clouds. (*Tao-tsang* 426–3b)

2 The True Jade Talisman of the Ornamental Turn of the Moon. According to the caption the Moon represents the Five Elements. (*Tao-tsang* 217–18:5a)

3 The Beautiful Inner View of Brightness, Clearness and Splendour, depicting a meditating Taoist hermit on the right and a magic diagram on the left. The incantation to accompany the diagram may be translated as follows: 'The view spreads over Heaven [*yang*] and Lake [*yin*], Metal [West] and Water [North], in a semi-circle. To light the dark night, I and the Dark Pearl [the Moon in its last quarter] drink and drift [together]. The bright, thick liquid [of wine, *yin*] and its fragrance penetrate my spiritual body. After repeated true unions [with *yin*], I shall ride over the land and soar to the skies.' (*Tao-tsang* 218–1:12b–13a)

4 Nature-worship séance in an open pavilion, with a band of musicians left, potted dwarf-tree and miniature rock-formation centre, and sacrificial food and wine offered by Taoist priests right. (From a Sung dynasty work, *Tao-tsang* 437–2:15b–16a)

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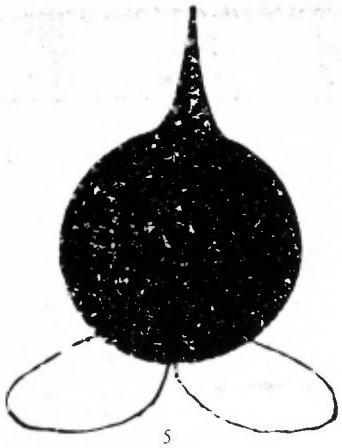

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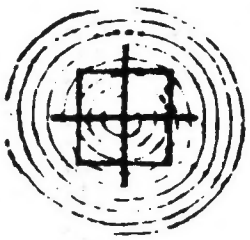

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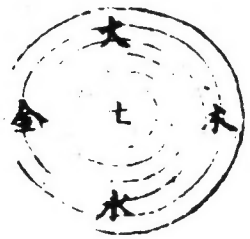

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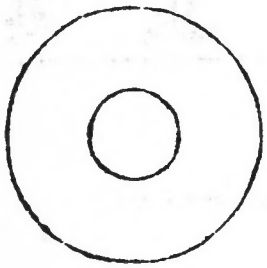

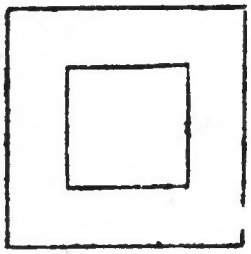

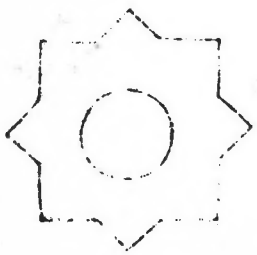

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5 Magic diagram of the combination of the Five Element and Heaven and Earth diagrams. (*Tao-tsang* 217–24:24b)

6 Magic diagram of the round Heaven and square Earth. (*Tao-tsang* 217–24:24b)

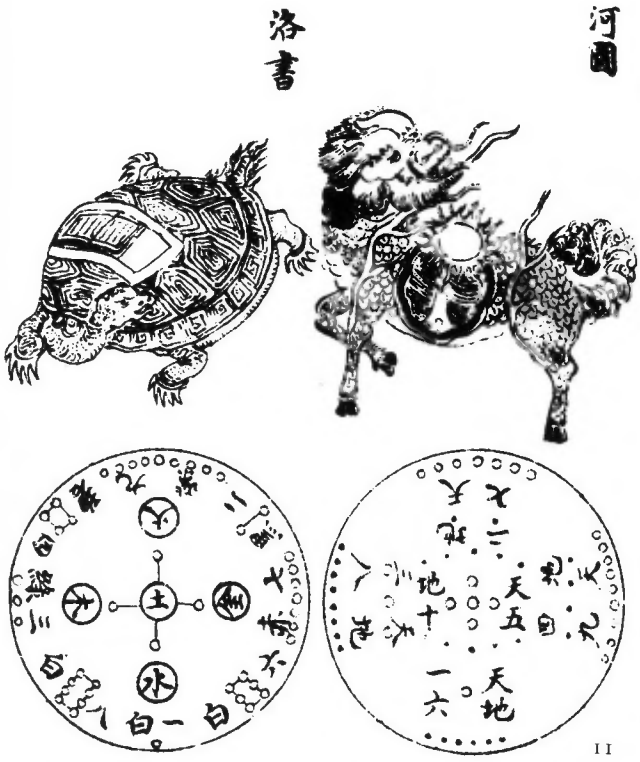
7 South-oriented diagram of the Five Elements: Fire (and South) top, Earth centre, Water below; Metal left and Wood right. (*Tao-tsang* 217–24:25a)

8 Black Talisman in the shape appropriate to the Element Water with Cloud Script calligraphy. (*Tao-tsang* 853–17b)

9 Talismanic forms of *pi* discs appropriate to (top to bottom) Mountain (and Heaven) in blue; Earth in yellow; Water in black. (*Tao-tsang* 543–28:6a)

10 Diagram of the Three Sub-divisions of the Universe: Heaven, Mankind and Earth. (From the *I-hsiang t'u-shou wai-p'ien* by Chang-li of the Yüan period, *Tao-tsang* 159–1:4a)

10



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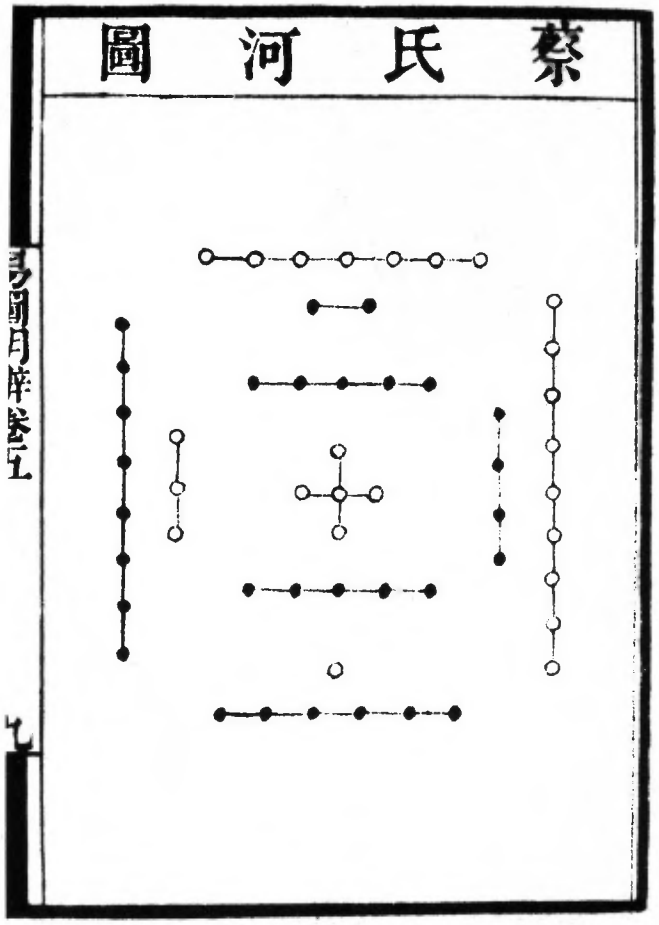

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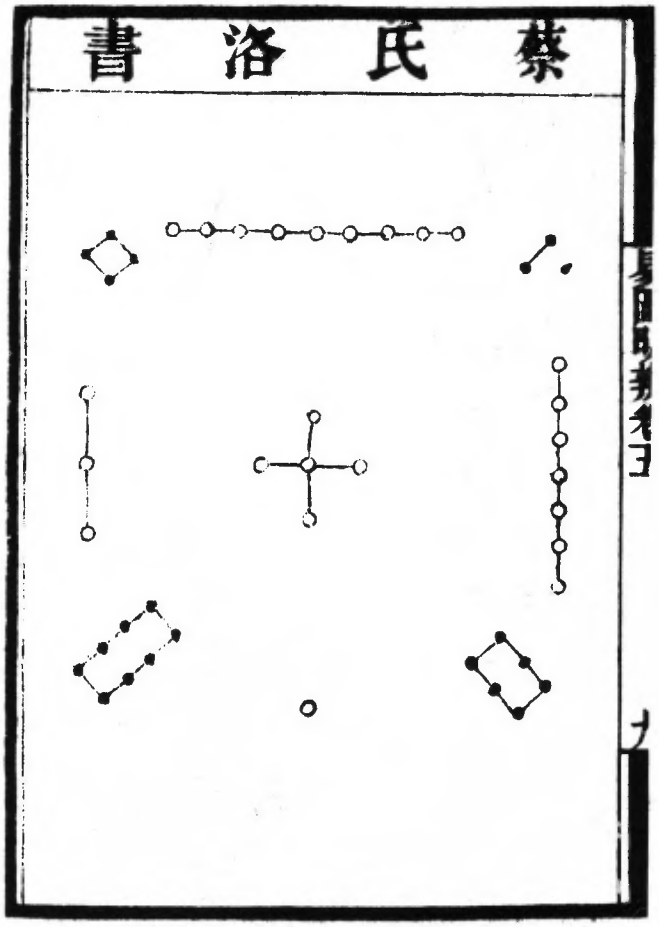
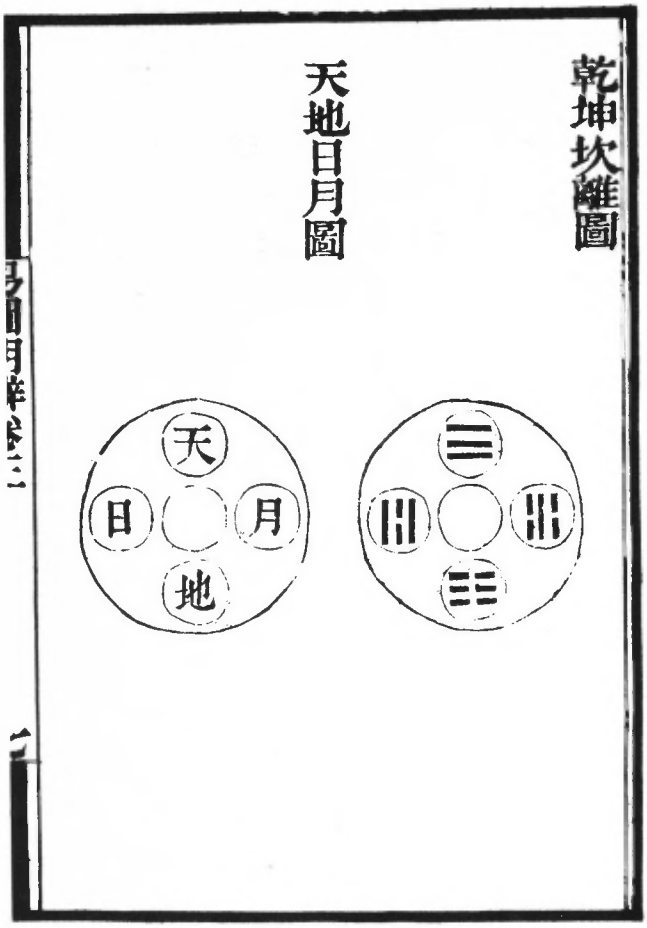


13

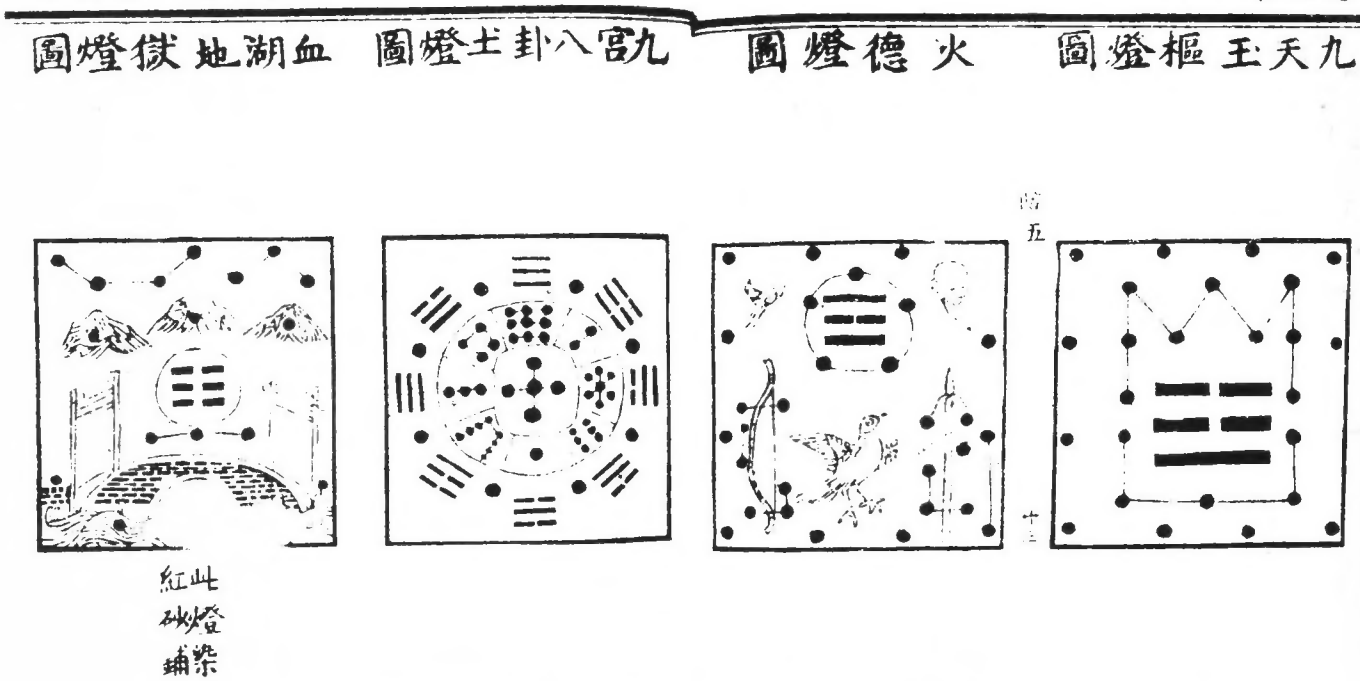
11 Diagrams of the legendary Taoist Ho-t'u associated with the Dragon-horse (right), and the Lo-shu associated with the Tortoise (left), showing magic arrangements of odd and even numbers within a circle. (From the *Ch'i-men* 5a, late 17th century)

12, 13 Diagrams of the legendary Taoist Ho-t'u (top) and Lo-shu, magic charts of odd and even numbers in rectangular arrangements according to the interpretation of Ts'ai Yüan-ting of the Sung period. (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 5:9b, 9a)

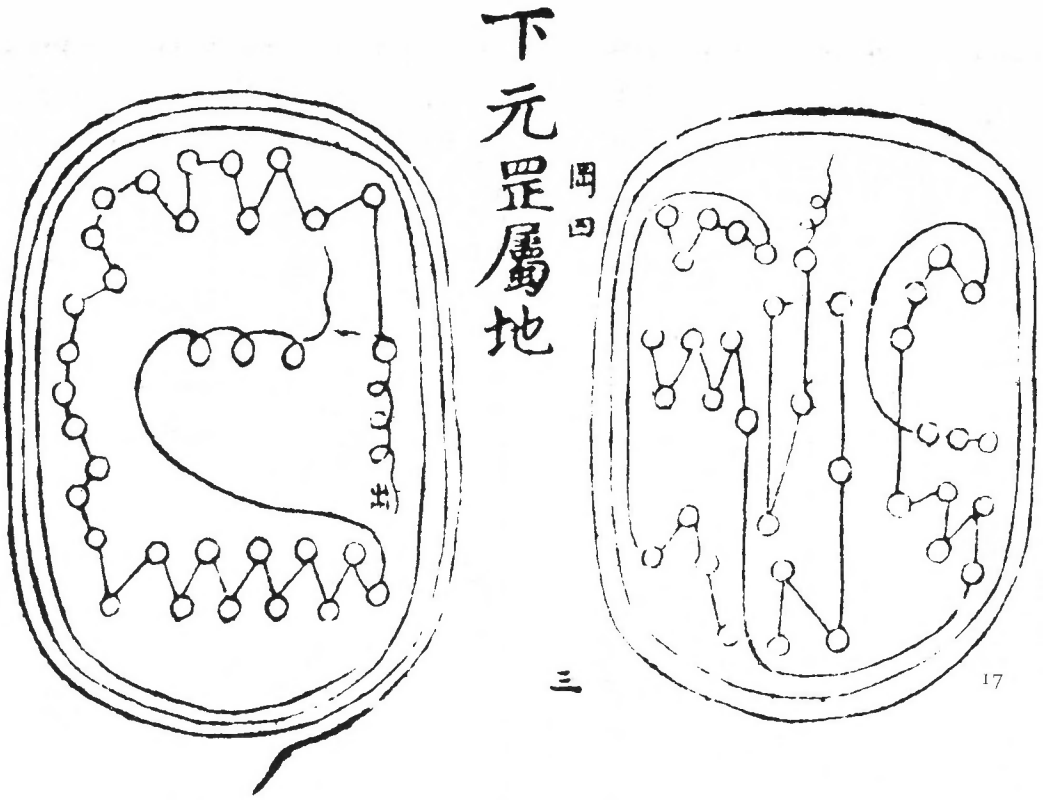


14 Two magic diagrams symbolizing the universal power of Change. On the left: Heaven (top), Earth (below), Sun (left), and Moon (right). On the right: trigrams *ch'ien*, *k'un*, *li*, and *k'an*. (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 3:7a)

15 The Eight Trigrams of King Wen, with South and trigram *li* (representing Sun) at top, North with trigram *k'an* (representing Moon) at bottom. (From a 1706 work by Hu Wei, the *I-t'u ming-pien* 8:6b)

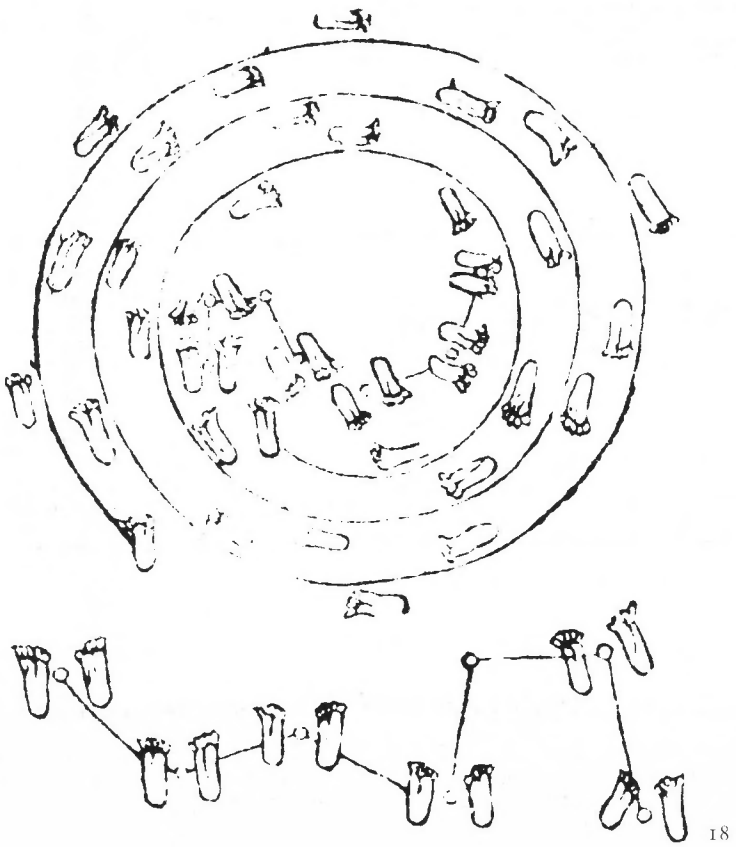


16 Magic diagrams of lanterns to guide spirits, composed of constellations and trigrams. From left to right: (i) the Jade Pivot of the Nine Heavens, (ii) the Power of Fire, (iii) the Eight Trigrams of the Nine Palaces, (iv) the Hell of the Blood Lake ('with red pebbles spread over the bridge'). (*Tao-tsang* 1460–5:28b–29a)



17 Two talismans to secure the orderly influence of the Five Elements, with magic constellations relating to mankind (on the right) and Earth (on the left). Two of a set of three relating to Heaven, Mankind, and Earth. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–19:3b)

18 Mystic diagram showing the combined Tread-pattern of Terrestrial Regulations and the Flight-pattern of Celestial Rules, to emphasize the magic union of Earth (*yin*) and Heaven (*yang*). In sets of foot-prints, symbolic of a ritual dance, Earth is represented by a mystic spiral of three complete turns, Heaven, by the constellation of the Great Bear, which is also repeated in the centre of the terrestrial spiral. A *yin-yang* regulator diagram of universal magic power. (Late 13th century, *Tao-tsang* 1210–8:3b)



19

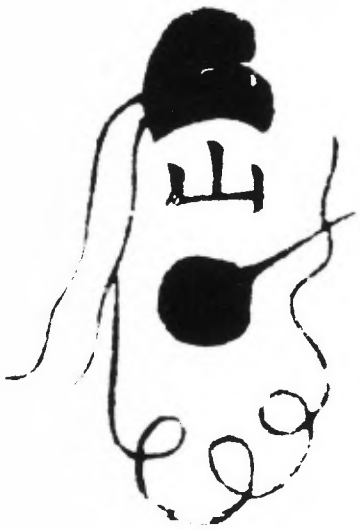
Charms for summoning spirits

19 Exorcist charm of the Supreme Heavenly Ruler of the South Pole, with special power to create law and order among evil spirits. (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–40:22b)

20 Talisman to protect the body in mountainous regions. The character *shan* – 'mountain' – forms part of the composition. This talisman is to induce the help of the Supreme Heavenly Ruler of the North Pole against baleful influence. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–38:2b)

21 Talisman for the Brief Spiritual Encounter Altar, to establish contact with the Spirits of Earth and Wind with the aid of the Spirits of the Five Emperors. To be burnt in front of the altar with an incantation of eight words. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–39:25a)

22 Exorcist charm of the Heavenly Messenger, who enforces law and order among the spirits and terminates the baleful influences of evil spirits. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–36:7b)



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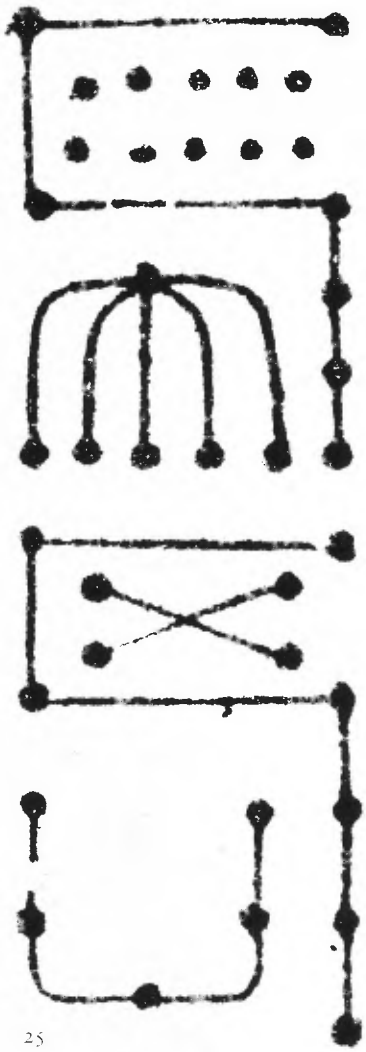
23 Exorcist charm of the Five-Thunder Messenger who has special power to regulate rain and sunshine. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–40:14b)

24 Exorcist charm of a Heavenly Messenger riding a Dragon, to be used against the evil influences of Darkness (*yin*), with a 38-word incantation. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 217–25:4a)



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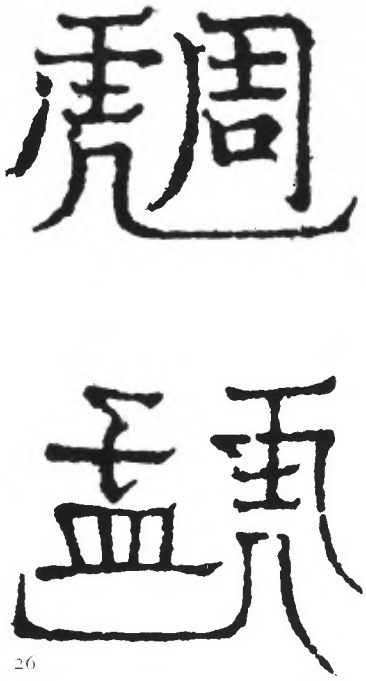
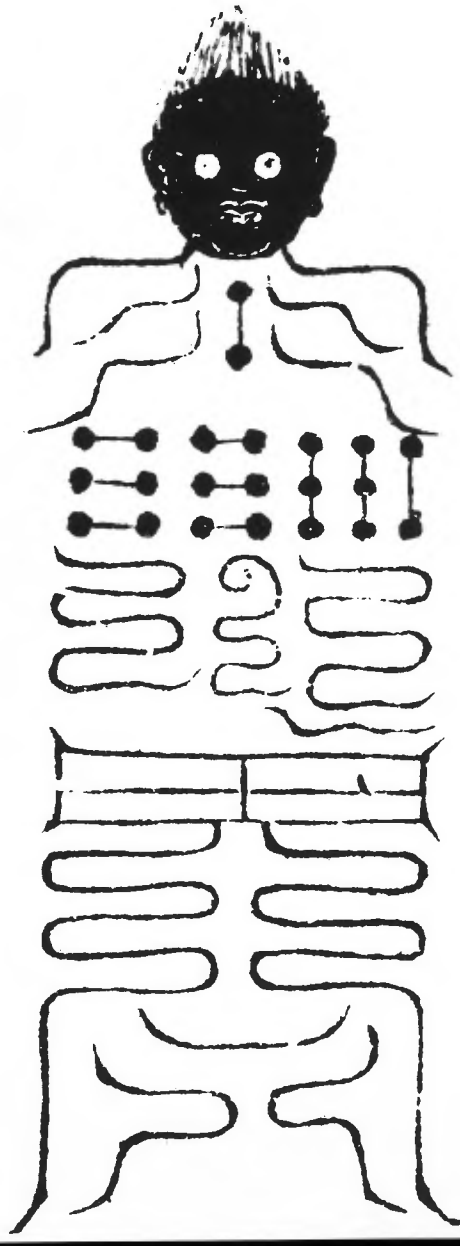


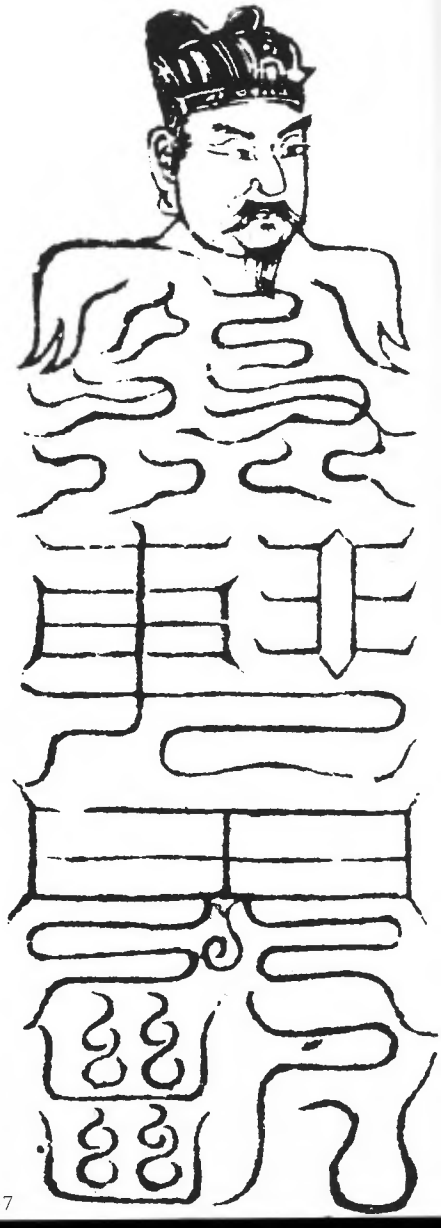
26

Preventive talismans

25 These two combined talismans bring good fortune if they are drawn on the wall when flie bees fly into your house. The diagram is based constellation dots. (*Tao-tsang* 668–2:11b, a sect concerned with talismans for creating supernat events)

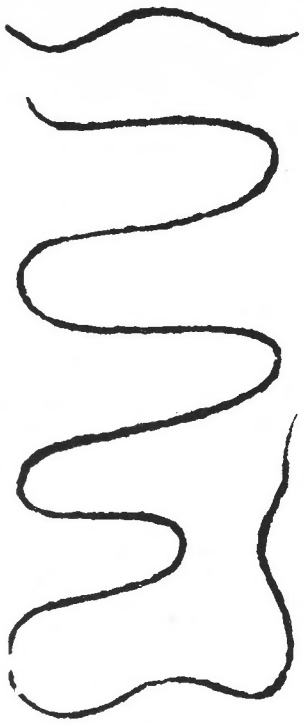
26 A pair of magic taboo characters (in mirro image) incorporating the 'tiger' root, and thus mysterious spirit of the tiger. They are to be us jointly to call home the soul of one who has di away from home. (*Tao-tsang* 217–17:10b)





27

27 Talismans to nullify the effects of cursing. Two of a set of five, one for each of the Five Directions. The talismans combine popular images of the Directional Supreme Rulers with magic diagrams that form their bodies. The White Supreme Ruler of the West is on the right and the Black Supreme Ruler of the North on the left. (*Tao-tsang* 217–10:6a)



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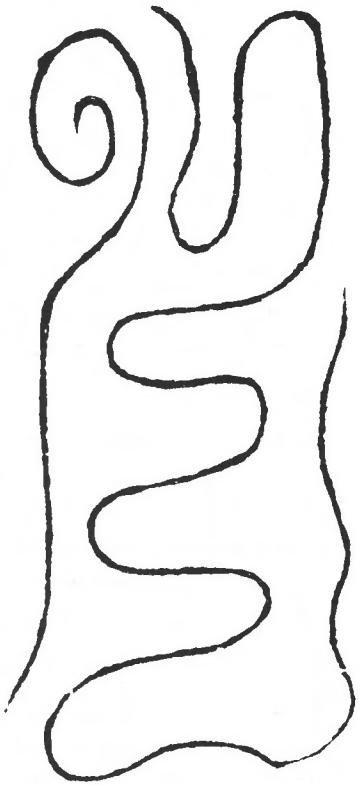

29

28 Talisman to scatter clouds. (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–41 : 30a)

29 Talisman to stop rain. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–41 : 30b)

30 A set of five magic diagrams: (i) to stop rain, (ii) to raise wind, (iii) to raise thunder (to strike those who are guilty of secret evils), (iv) to raise hail (to punish the evil), (v) to stop fog. (From the '*Secret methods of eminent spirits of purity and mystery*', *Ch'ing-wei shen-lieh pi-fa*, *Tao-tsang* 219–1 : 19b, a work of unknown authorship and date)

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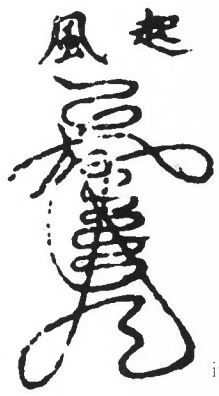

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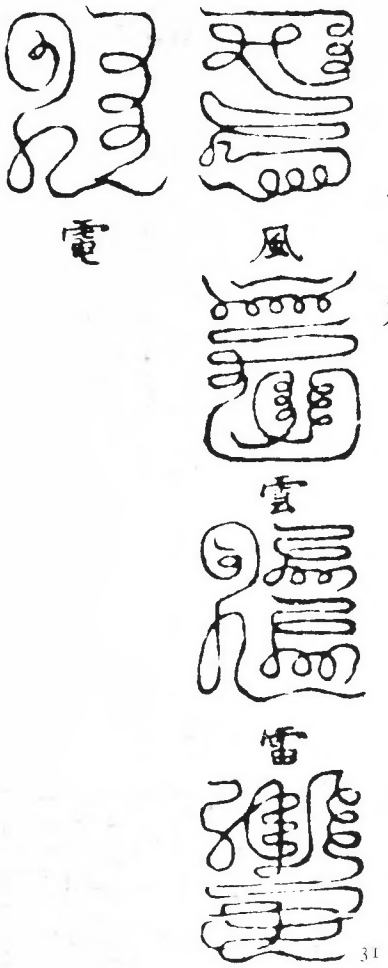

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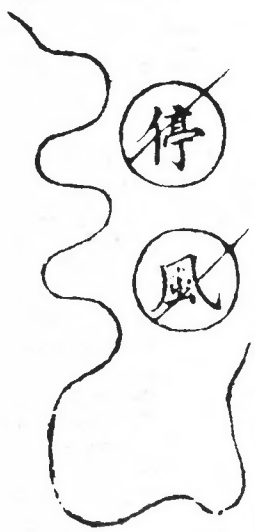


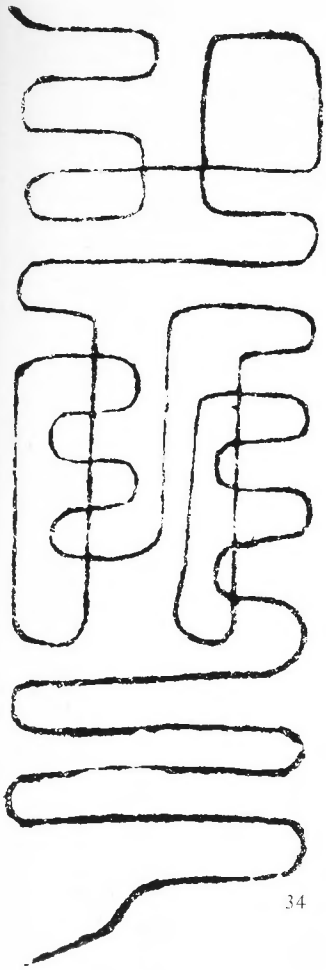
32

31 Five characters for occult use: wind, clouds, thunder, rain, and lightning (reading from top right). (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–40:18b)

32 Talisman to stop wind. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–41:30b)

33 Talisman of the Jade Lady to repel *yang* influences. The talisman depicts the back (i.e. shadowed side) of a standing woman, thus doubly emphasizing the presence of *yin* essence in the composition. (Brushed calligraphic technique, *Tao-tsang* 217–21:5b)

33



34

Protective talismans

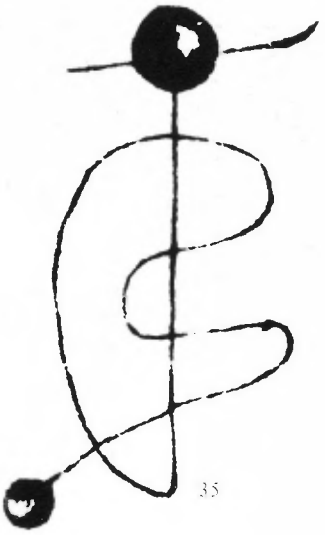
34 Charm to protect against loss of voice. The centre part of the composition represents the lungs. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–267:6a)

35 Bird-headed talisman to protect the body and secure longevity. (From an undated Taoist work on exorcism, *Tao-tsang* 1152–43:9a)

36 Talisman to destroy evil influences and noxious spirits. The character *sheng* – 'life' – is mounted on a horse and penetrates through the character *sha* – 'to strike dead by evil influences'. (*Tao-tsang* 1152–35:10b)

37 Charm to protect all six kinds of domestic animals (i.e. oxen, sheep or goats, horses, pigs, dogs and fowls). (*Tao-tsang* 463–272:14b)

38 Talisman to protect status and salary. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272:13a)



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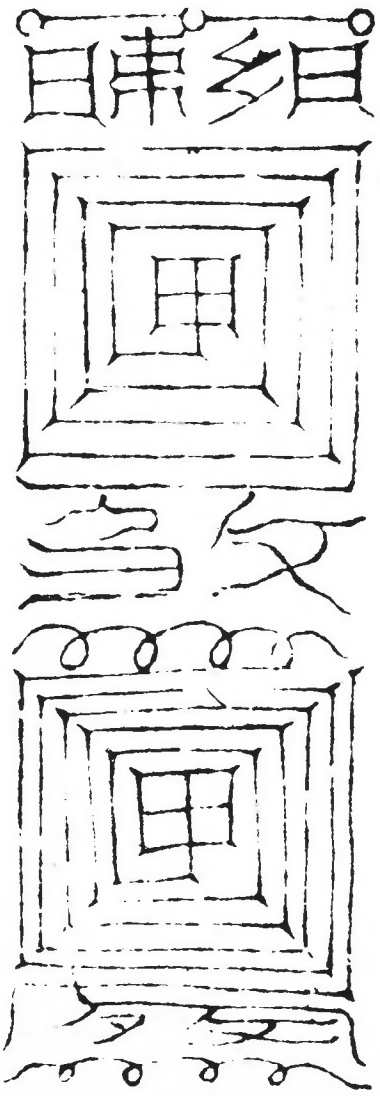

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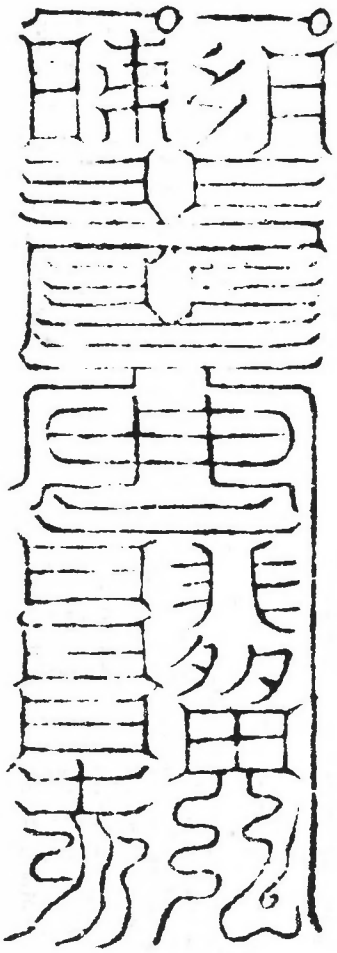

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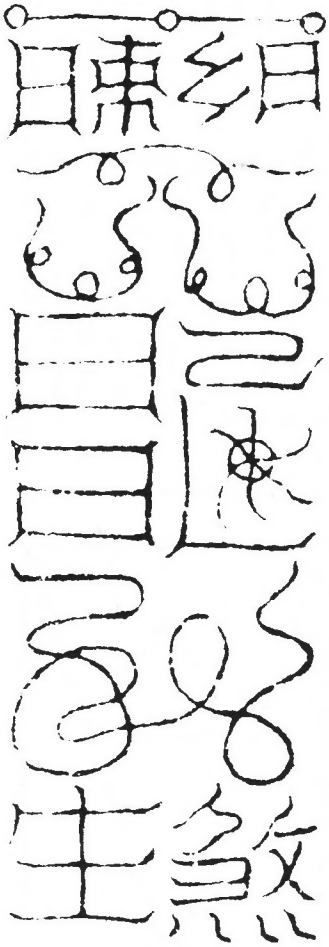

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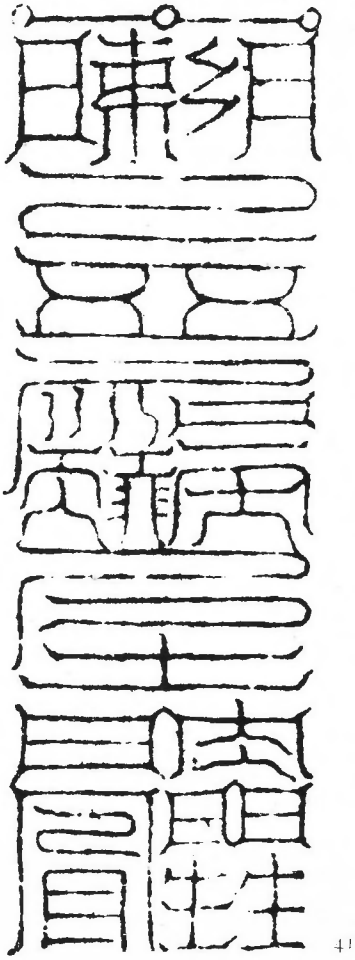
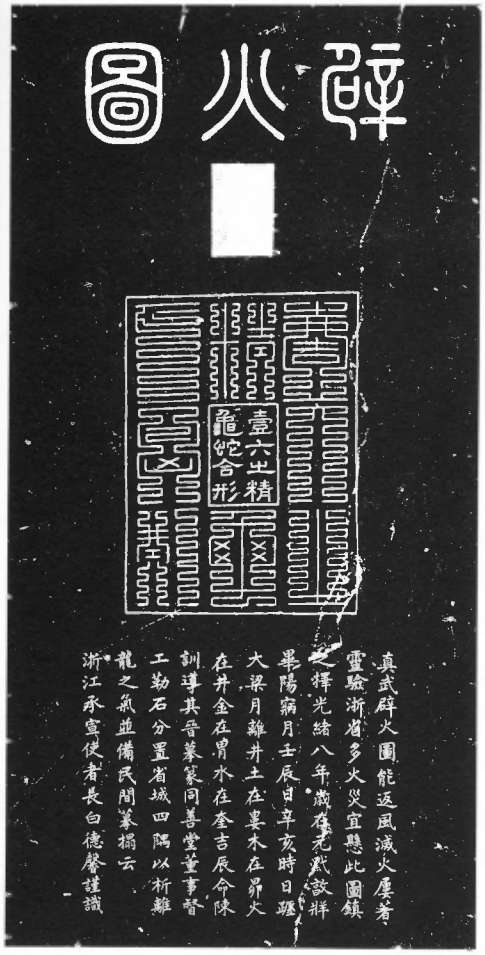


41

39 Talisman to ward off male visitors and guests. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–272:12b)

40 Charm to ward off robbers and thieves. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272:15a)

41 Talisman to protect against wrangling. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272:12b)



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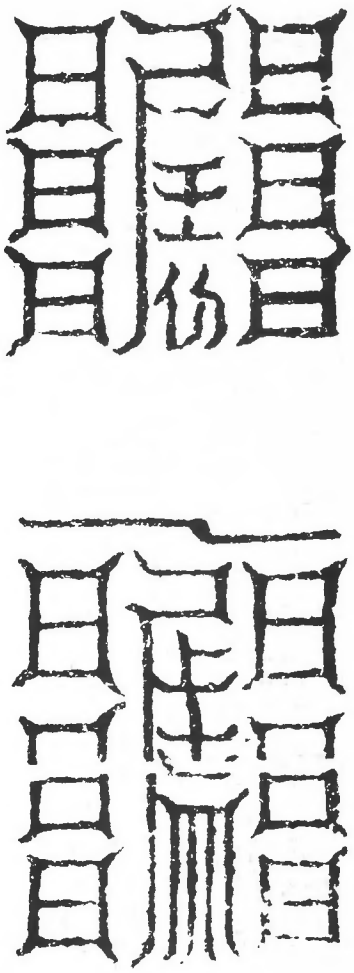

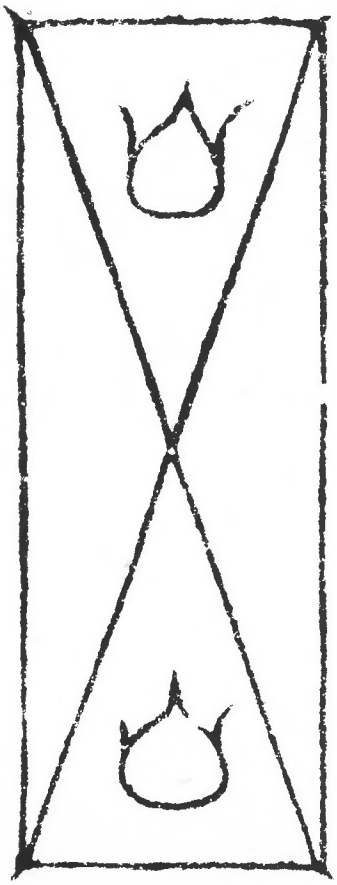

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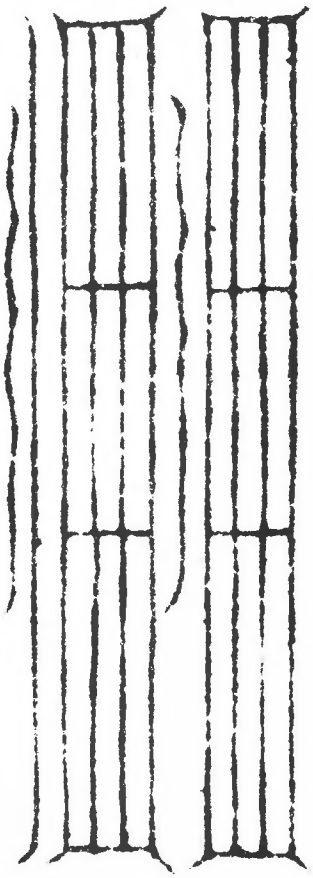
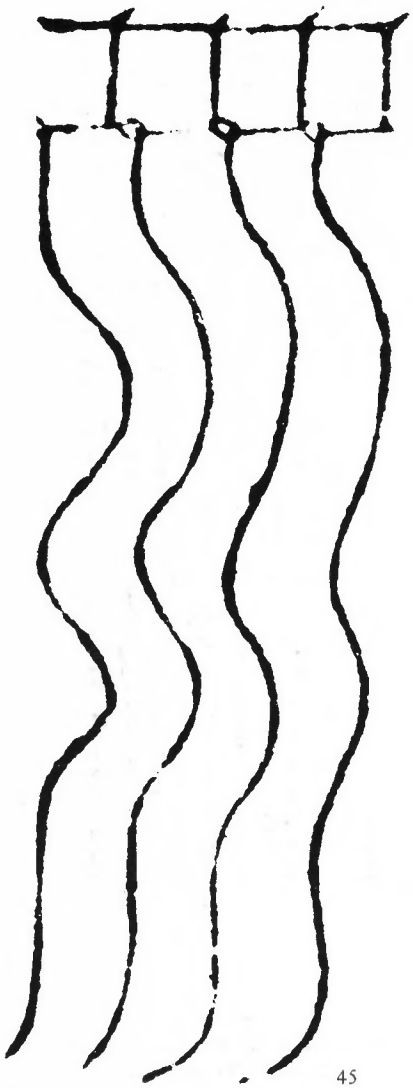


42 Diagram dated 1882 for warding off fire (centre) with a note: 'The Black Warrior's [Chen Wu's] Diagram for warding off fire possesses the property of repelling unpropitious winds and extinguishing fires and has on numerous occasions shown its miraculous power. The Province of Chekiang suffers greatly from fire: this may be avoided by hanging up a copy of this diagram [in your home]. I, Te Hsing, Prefect of Chekiang from the Mountain of Eternal Snow [in Manchuria], selected 9 p.m. on the 6th day of the 3rd moon of the 8th year of Kuang-hsü [AD 1882], the Year Star then being in the Dark, the Sign of the Month being in Pi [19th zodiacal constellation with the corresponding sign Moon], the Sun on its orbit having attained its nadir, and the Moon being in Ching [22nd zodiacal constellation], Saturn [Earth] in that of Lou [16th zodiacal constellation], Jupiter [Wood] in that of Mao [18th zodiacal constellation], Mars [Fire] in that of Ching [22nd zodical constellation], Venus [Metal] in that of Wei [17th zodiacal constellation], and Mercury [Water] in that of Kuei [15th zodiacal constellation]; as being an auspicious period in which to copy the Diagram. I accordingly instructed Chen Chi-chin, Sub-Director of Studies, to copy it, and assisted by the Director of the Hall of Authentic Texts, to supervise the engraving of it in stone, to be set up in the four corners of the cities of the Province to dispel malignant geomantic influences and to enable the people to procure rubbings.'

43 Two charms to protect against ghosts. (*Tao-tsang* 558–1:35b)

44 Two charms to protect the body from evil. (*Tao-tsang* 668–2:24a)



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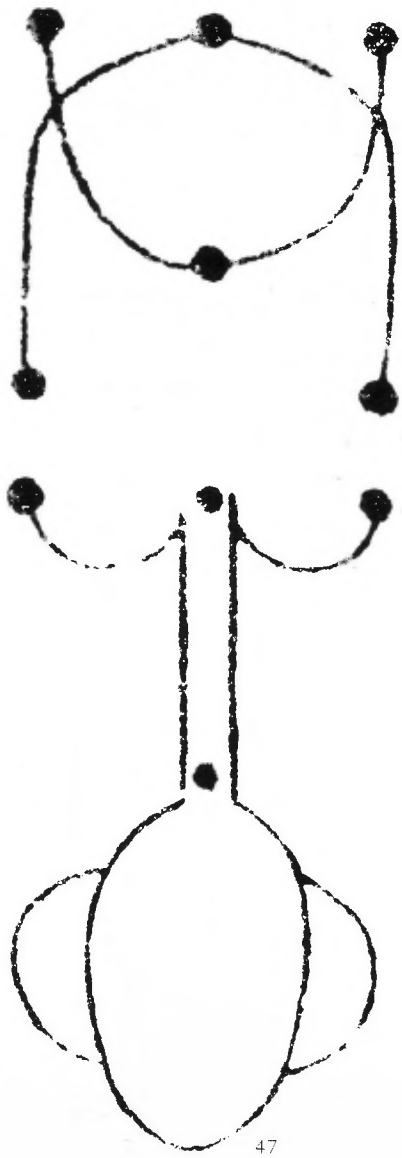
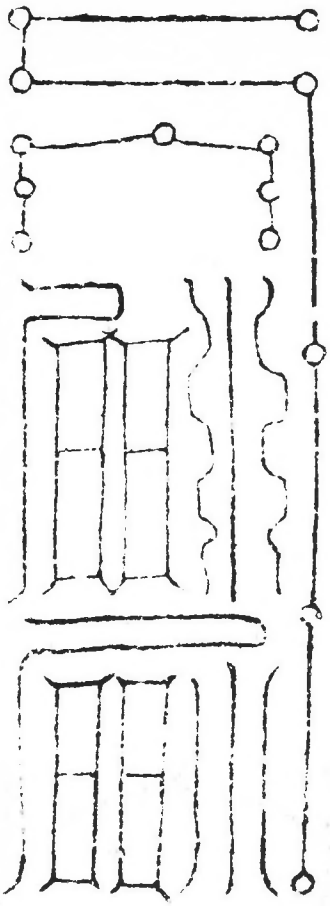


47

45 Good luck charm to give prolonged life; to be worn on belts. The design imitates a shamanistic belt. (From a Taoist work of unknown date, *Tao-tsang* 668–3 : 2a)

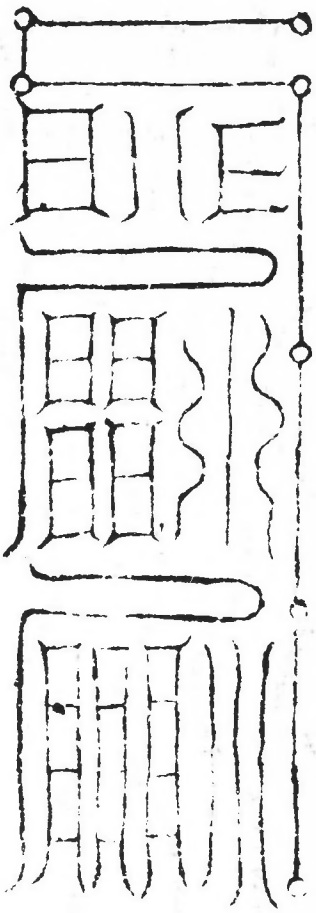
46 Charm to ease childbirth, incorporating the character *sheng* meaning 'to be born', 'life' and 'living'. (*Tao-tsang* 668–3 : 25b)

47 Charm to comfort the unborn child in the womb, incorporating constellation dots. (*Tao-tsang* 668–3 : 21b)



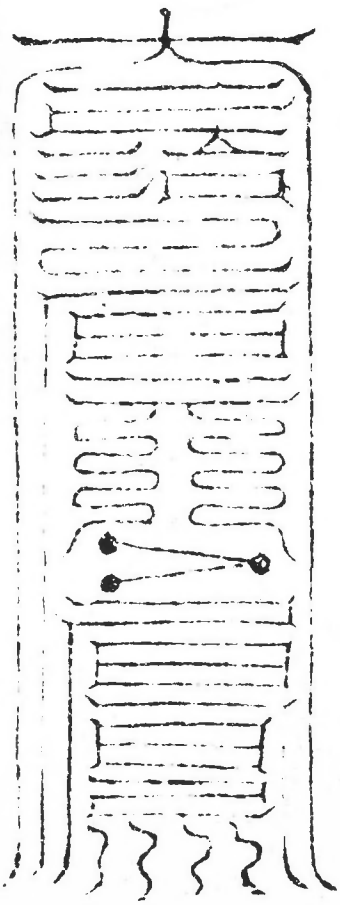
48

48 Talisman of the North. (Early 12th century, *Tao-tsang* 463–272:24b)



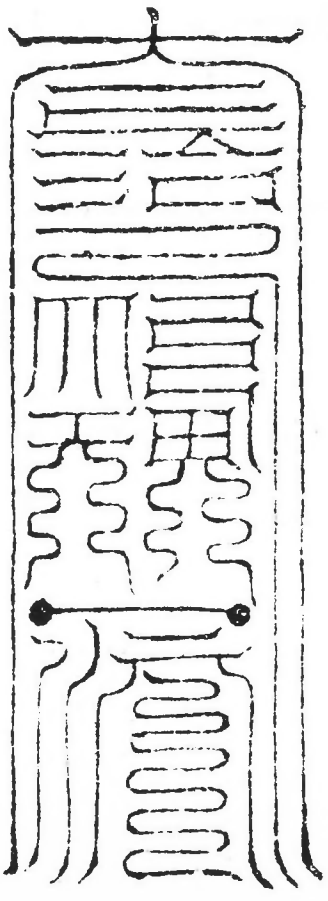
49

49 Talisman of the South. (*Tao-tsang* 463–272:24a)



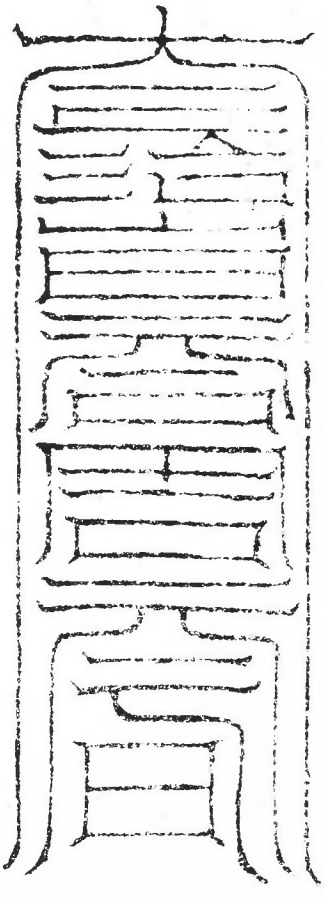
50

50 Talisman of the Planet Mercury, the Star of Element Water. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271:29b)



51

51 Talisman of the Planet Venus, the Star of Element Metal. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271:29a)



52

52 Talisman of the Planet Jupiter, the Star of Element Wood. (*Tao-tsang* 463–271:28b)

Curative talismans

53 Talisman to set a fractured skull. (*Tao-tsang* 543–35:14b)

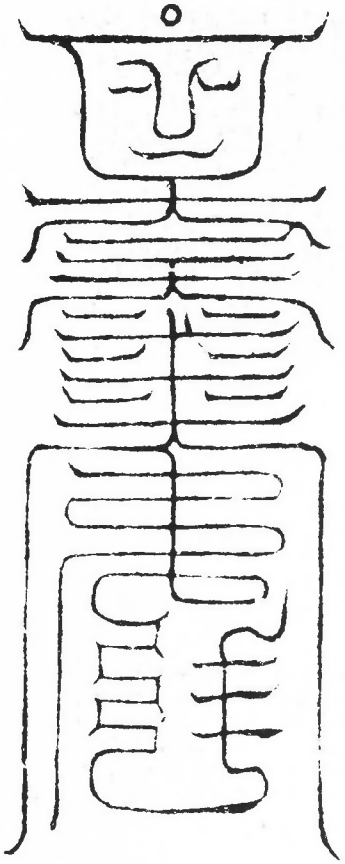
54 Charm to remove all diseases. (Early 12th-century, *Tao-tsang* 463–272:14b)

55 Charm to set a fractured foot. (*Tao-tsang* 463–267:5b)

56 Charm to improve vision. (*Tao-tsang* 463–267:5b)

57 Charm against vomiting. (*Tao-tsang* 463–267:6b)

58 Charm to remove deafness. (*Tao-tsang* 463–267:6b)



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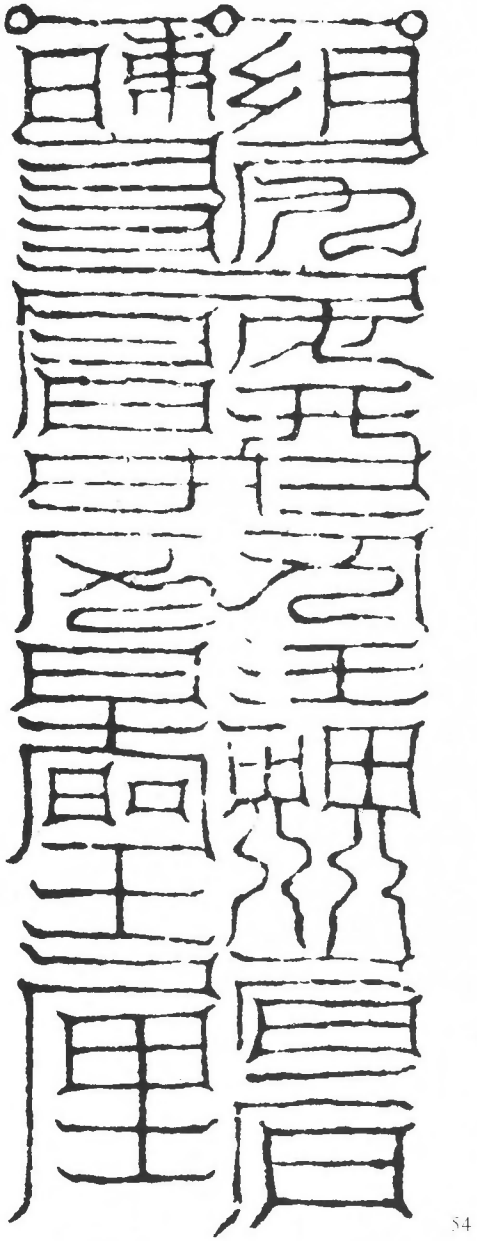

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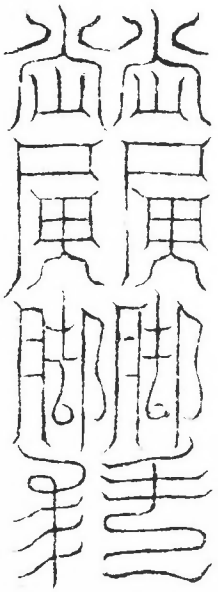

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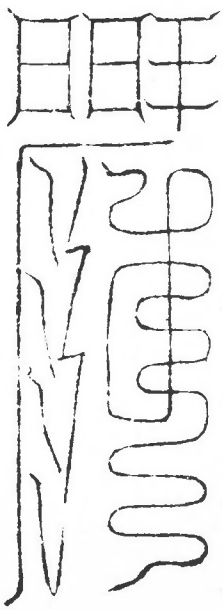

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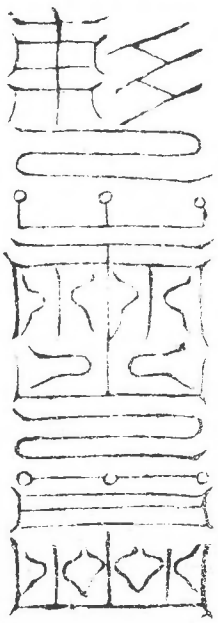

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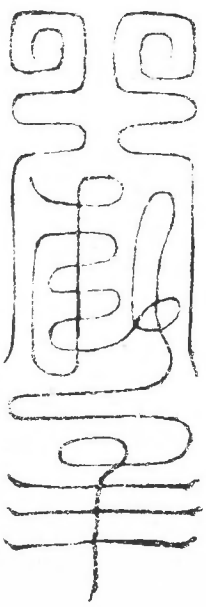

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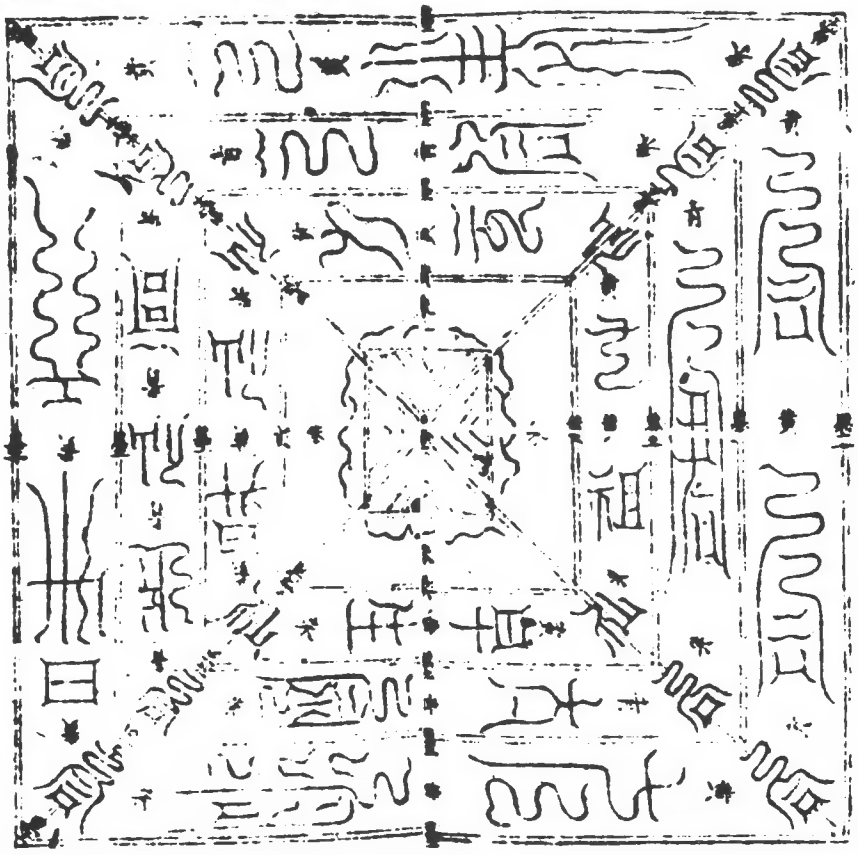


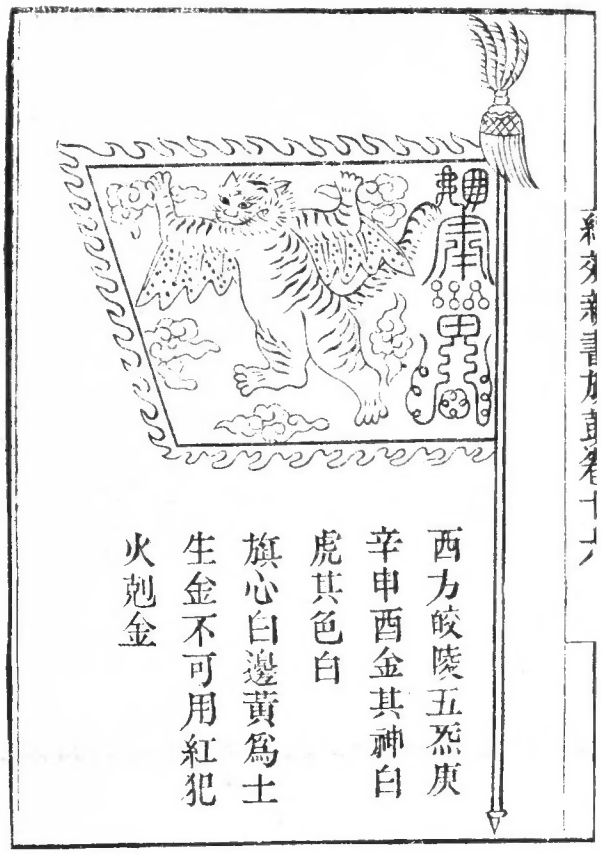
61

Implements of magic

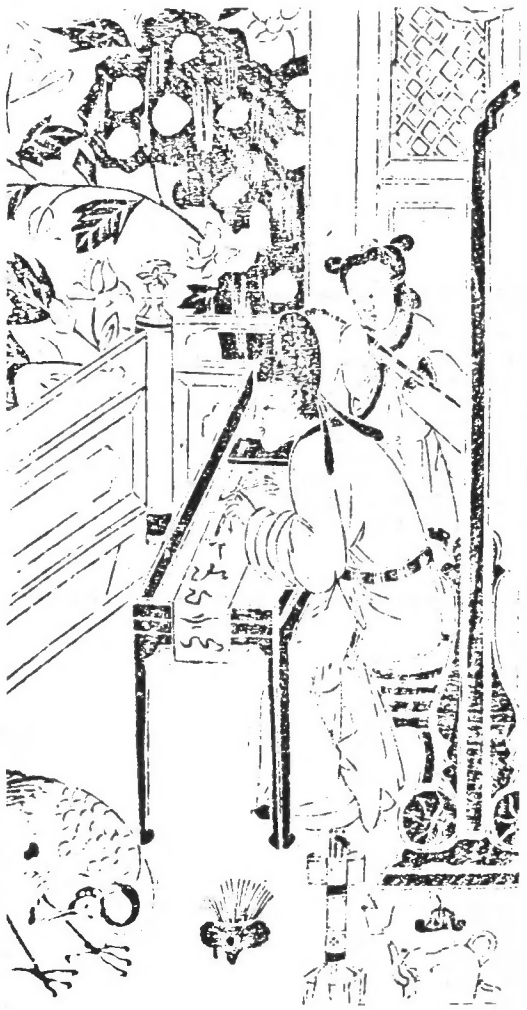
59, 60 Magic divination table. The top is decorated with dragons and phoenixes on a background covered with esoteric diagrams to guide the spirits to the centre. The design can be related to the famous Yellow Book Talisman (61). (19th century)

61 The Yellow Book Talisman. One of the most powerful magic boards for contacting spirits related to Earth. The format derives from the square zone at the centre of the ancient round bronze mirrors, considered to be of great talismanic power. (*Tao-tsang* 1367–2a–3b)

62

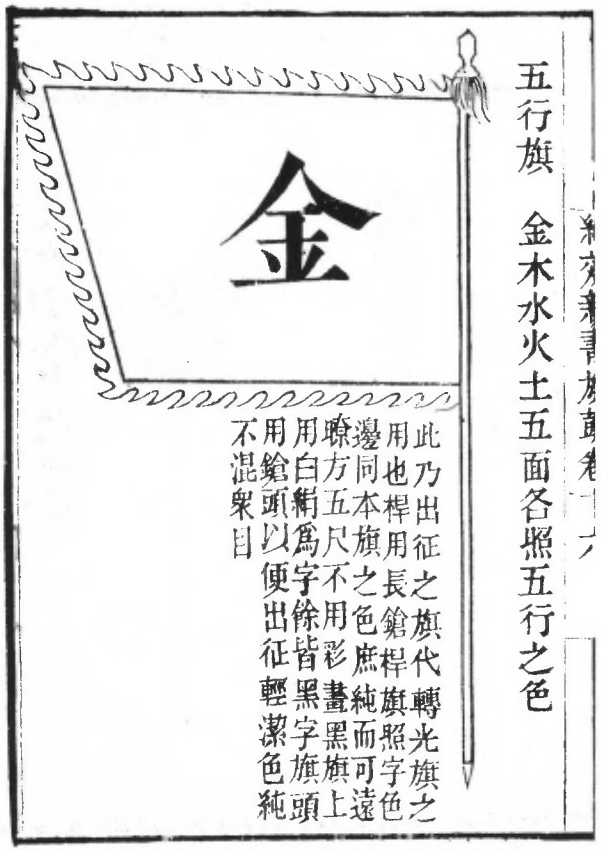


62 Banner with tiger and magic diagram. According to the Chinese caption, it belongs to 'the West, the White Mound, number 5, the 7th and 8th of the Ten Celestial Stems and the 9th and 10th of the Twelve Earthly Horary Branches and the Element Metal. Its spirit is the White Tiger and its colour is white. The centre of the banner is white and the border yellow, for Earth gives life to Metal. One cannot use red which offends Fire that destroys Metal.' (From a mid-16th-century work by Ch'i Shao-pao, *Chi-hsiao hsin-shu* 16:5b)



64 Example of the use of Taoist Cloud Script. (From the Yüan edition of *The Western Chamber* (*Hsi-hsiang chi*), 1:55a)

63



63 Taoist banner of the Element Metal, one of a set of five for each of the Five Elements (Metal, Wood, Water, Fire and Earth) with their appropriate colours. (From a mid-16th-century work by Ch'i Shao-pao, *Chi-hsiao hsin-shu* 16:9b)

65 Taoist implements of magical power. Right to left: (i) the Pennant of the Ten Thousand Spirits of the Luminous Announcement; (ii) the Pennon of the Hundred Malignant Spirits of Trembling and Fear; (iii) the Threaded-banner of Ten Thousand Years of Age of the Nine Palaces; (iv) the Banner of the Rainbow of the Spirits of the Three Pure Ones. (*Tao-tsang* 1460–5–19b: 20a)

66 Right to left: (i) the Fan of the Feathers of the Nine Heavens; (ii) the Fan of the Clouds of Good Fortune of the Fragrant Silk; (iii) the Umbrella of Rosy Clouds of the Flying Spirits; (iv) the Lantern of Light of the Partly Hidden Candle. (*Tao-tsang* 1460–5: 21b–22a)

67 Taoist magic sword carved out of peach-wood with rounded end, used symbolically as a sword against evil spirits and frequently employed as a writing instrument in talismanic calligraphy. The blade is decorated on one side with the figure of Lao-tzu (also known as Lao Chün or Lao Tan), commonly regarded as the originator of Taoism. He holds a scroll in one hand, and is riding under pine-trees on a water buffalo, on which, according to legend, he left China to travel towards the west. (19th century)

Note on the Tao-tsang (Taoist canon)

The first section (titles 1–313), the *Tung-chen* (Cave of Truth), contains documents of the Mao-shan Taoists, the highest ranking of all Taoist sects, with special knowledge of trances, spirit writing and meditation. The second section (314–614), the *Tung-hsüan* (Cave of Mystery), contains the powerful Five Talismans, texts of various liturgies, including the communal festival of Cosmic Renewal (*chiao*), and other talismans. The third section (615–975), the *Tung-shen* (Cave of Spirits), consists of the revelation given, at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, to Chang Tao-ling, founder of the Heavenly Master Sect of Lung-shu-shan in Kiangsi Province. The fourth (976–1,086), fifth (1,087–1,152), and sixth (1,153–1,176) sections are described as supplements of the first, second, and third sections respectively; while the seventh section (1,177–1,412) is called *Cheng-i*, the 'Orthodox One'. A collection of later Taoist works (1,413–1,464) of various early Ming (post-Mongol) dates completes the edition. Diagrams and talismanic graphic illustrations appear throughout the whole canon. Source references in the captions of the present book are to title, chapter and page numbers (recto: a, verso: b), and are based on Wieger's index-numbers (see Bibliography).

Chronology

Shang-Yin	BC *c.* 1600–1027
Chou	1027– 221
Ch'in	221– 207
Han	206– 220 (AD)
Three Kingdoms	221– 265
Six Dynasties	265– 580
Sui	581– 618
T'ang	618– 906
Five Dynasties	907– 960
Sung	960–1279
Yüan (Mongols)	1280–1368
Ming	1368–1644
Ch'ing (Manchus)	1644–1912
Republic	1912–1949
People's Republic	1949–

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(Index numbers used in the present book for individual works in the *Tao-tsang* are based on the Wieger numbers published in this work.)

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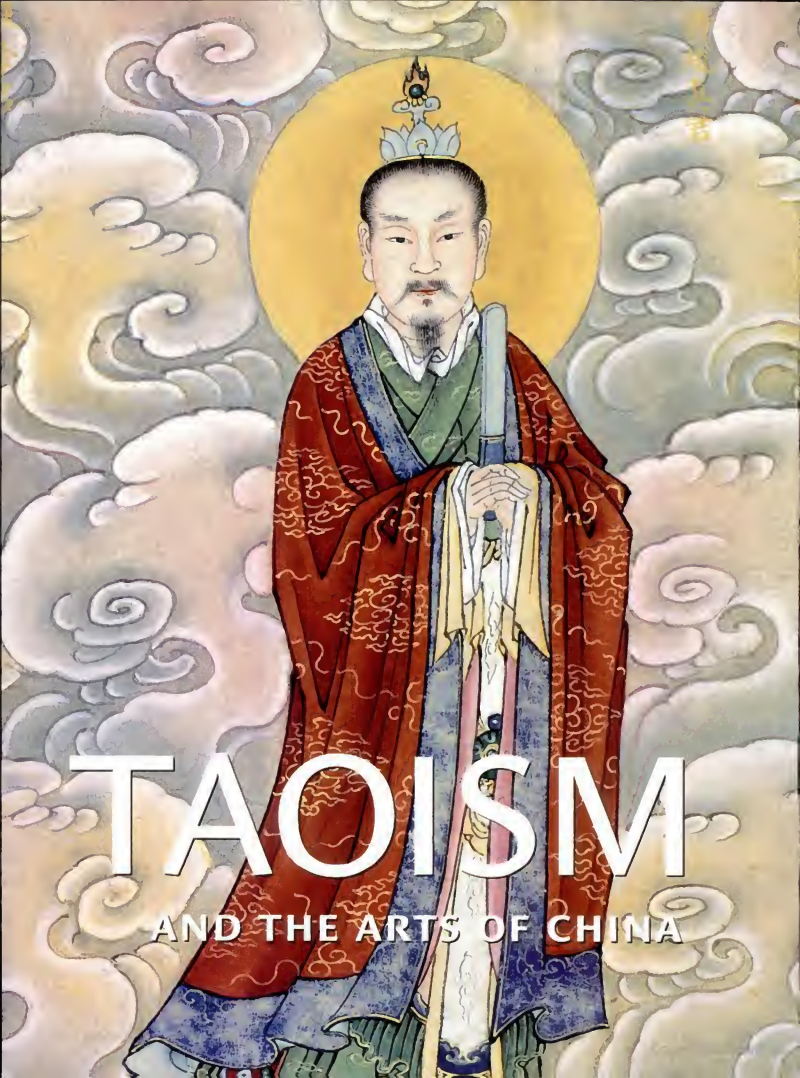
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AND THE ARTS OF CHINA

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TAOISM
AND THE ARTS OF CHINA

Stephen Little
with Shawn Eichman

with essays by

Patricia Ebrey
Kristofer Schipper
Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt
Wu Hung

The Art Institute of Chicago

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Foreword

James N. Wood

Taoism and the Arts of China is occasioned by the first major exhibition ever held on the theme of Taoism and its influence in Chinese art. This catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies have drawn upon several decades of pioneering research on Taoism by scholars of Chinese religion working in America, Europe, and Japan. Both explore the pivotal role Taoism has played in traditional China, where change has always been seen as a fundamental aspect of reality. Taoism is of primary importance in Chinese social and political history, and the exhibition has been organized in the belief that an understanding of Taoism in traditional China will enable us better to comprehend modern China. This goal seems particularly relevant as Taoism enjoys a renascence in China today and as Asian-based religions attract increasing interest and following in the West.

Throughout the history of Taoism, works of art of the highest quality have been created for didactic and ritual purposes. *Taoism and the Arts of China* explores two complementary modes of Taoist practice: Taoism that serves the spiritual needs of the community, and Taoism that serves the spiritual needs of the individual. The over 150 works of art presented here enable us to explore key conceptual and artistic achievements in the history of Taoism.

The Art Institute deeply appreciates the many individuals and institutions whose generous loans, financial support, and intellectual guidance have made this exhibition possible. They are thanked in more detail in the Acknowledgments. Here I can acknowledge only a few. First, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Emily Sano, Director, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, the only other venue for this exhibition. The partnership of this museum, given its outstanding holdings and the importance of Chinese culture in northern California, is particularly gratifying.

The idea of this pathbreaking exhibition was presented to me five years ago by Stephen Little, Pritzker Curator of Asian Art at The Art Institute of Chicago. In order to provide a solid intellectual and historical context for the works of art presented here, Dr. Little brought together leading scholars of Chinese religion, history, and art as participants in the planning of the exhibition and as contributors to this publication. To find and arrange to borrow the most significant Taoist art objects, he crisscrossed the globe, making numerous visits to Asia and Europe, where cooperation and hospitality were granted to him and where the understandings he gained proved invaluable. Dr. Little's skills as a curator, art historian, historian, and linguist—together with his sheer indefatigability—enabled him to achieve what heretofore might have seemed impossible, and for this we thank him.

Finally, such an undertaking required major financial support, which was provided by generous grants from a number of foundations and cultural agencies. For their help in realizing this project, we are deeply grateful to the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation; the Estate of William Bronson Mitchell and Grayce Slovet Mitchell; the Henry Luce Foundation; the Freeman Family Foundation; and the W. L. S. Spencer Foundation. The federal cultural agencies, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, awarded major grants to this project, providing an important endorsement of our efforts.

At a moment when new paths of communication and exchange are being forged between China and the United States, we offer this publication and the exhibition it accompanies in the hope that visitors and readers will come away with new understanding of the role the visual arts have played in Taoist belief and practice over the last two millennia, and a new appreciation for one of the world's most influential philosophical and religious traditions.

James N. Wood, *Director and President*
The Art Institute of Chicago

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Stephen Little

"Taoism and the Arts of China" was an undertaking of such magnitude that it could never have been achieved without the help of many individuals and institutions. My deepest thanks go to James N. Wood, Director and President of The Art Institute of Chicago, for the enthusiastic support he has given the project from its inception. I am profoundly grateful to him for providing me the opportunity to realize this exhibition.

Two meetings of the Committee of Humanities Specialists, funded by a Planning Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, allowed for extensive discussion of the exhibition's conceptual structure. The exhibition owes a great deal to a distinguished group of advisors: Charles Hartman, Terry Kleeman, Lothar Ledderose, Kristofer Schipper, Nathan Sivin, Wu Hung, and Eric Zürcher. Shawn Eichman, coordinator for the exhibition at the Art Institute, wrote many of the catalogue entries. His vast knowledge of Taoism made it possible to explore aspects of Taoist art that would have remained thoroughly esoteric without his involvement.

We are also deeply grateful to many renowned scholars of Chinese culture with whom we discussed the project, and who freely shared their knowledge with us: Richard Barnhart, T. H. Barrett, Stephen R. Bokenkamp, Phyllis Brooks, Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, Suzanne Cahill, Jonathan Chaves, Patricia Ebrey, Donald J. Harper, Stanley E. Henning, Susan Huang, Kobayashi Masayoshi, Livia Kohn, Paul Kroll, John Lagerwey, Thomas Lawton, Lin Shengzhi, Oliver Moore, Julia Murray, Susan Naquin, Isabelle Robinet, Harold D. Roth, Michael Saso, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, Jason Steuber, Stephen Teiser, Franciscus Verellen, Ann Waltner, and Judith Zeitlin. I would like to thank Angelika Borchert, Simone Griessmeyer, Petra Roesch, and Joachim Osse, graduate students at the University of Heidelberg, and De-nin Lee, a graduate student at Stanford University, for their many contributions to the initial research that led to the catalogue.

The insights and suggestions of Roger Keyes, the late David Kidd, Liu Dan, Morimoto Yasuyoshi, and Richard Pegg all helped me enormously. Patrice Fava kindly made his films of Taoist rituals and sites in China available to me; my thanks go to him and to the Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, for allowing us to use footage from his films in the exhibition.

In Beijing thanks go to Wang Limei, Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Section of the Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Data in the Ministry of Culture; Yang Yang, Chen Xiaocheng, Lei Congyun, and Zhang Jianxian of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Art Exhibitions China; Sun Tongchuan and Wang Yi'er of the Baiyun Guan; Yang Xin, Shan Guoqiang, Kong Chen, and Shi Anchang of the Palace Museum; and Yu Qin of the China National Museum of Fine Arts. I am grateful to Chen Songchang of the Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha; T. T. Tsui and Catalina Chor of the Tsui Art Foundation, Hong Kong; Stephen McGuinness of Plum Blossoms (International) Ltd., Hong Kong; Shan Guolin, Zhong Yinglan, and Zhou Yanchun of the Shanghai Museum; Chen Zhuo of the Tianjin Municipal Art Museum; Ba Wu of the Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan; and Zhang Tong of the the Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Data of Shaanxi Province, Xi'an. In Taipei I thank Ch'in Hsiao-i, Chang Lin-sheng, Lin Po-t'ing, and Wang Yao-t'ing of the National Palace Museum.

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Stephen Little, *Pritzker Curator of Asian Art*
The Art Institute of Chicago

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Romanization of Chinese Words

The romanization of Chinese words in this catalogue follows the pinyin system, with the exception of the words "Tao" (pronounced "Dao," translated as "the Way"), "Taoism" (Daoism), and "Taoist" (Daoist), which are rendered in the Wade-Giles system because of the greater familiarity with this usage. Chinese names, terms, and phrases in quotations are spelled according to the pinyin system, regardless of the way in which they were originally published. Chinese characters corresponding to romanized words (with the exception of book and text titles) are provided in "Chinese Names and Terms" (pp. 384–91).

Translations

There are few standard English translations for Taoist terms. The Chinese word *zhen* (real, realized, realization, true, perfected, perfection), for example, is generally translated here as "realized" or "realization." The preferences of individual authors and the requirements of different contexts result in inevitable variations in such translations, however; the reader will find *zhenren*, for example, translated not only as "realized being" but as "true person" and "the perfected." All translations are by the respective authors of the essays or catalogue entries, unless otherwise noted.

Works Cited

Full bibliographic information for all works cited is given in the bibliography (pp. 392–405).

Dates

Dates of individuals and of Chinese dynasties and periods are provided on first mention within each text; a chronological table is included on p. 11.

Place-names

Place-names mentioned in the text can be found on the map of China on p. 10.

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Sacred site
Mountain
RUSSIA
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JILIN
LIAONING
XINJIANG
QINGHAI
GANSU
NINGXIA
SHAANXI
SHANXI
HEBEI
BEIJING
TIANJIN
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Shaoyang
Zhuzhou
Xiangtan
Loudi
Yueyang
Changde
Zhangjiang
Zunyi
Huaihua
Nanchang
Jiujiang
Yichun
Fuzhou
Putian
Quanzhou
Xiamen
Zhangzhou
Longyan
Shantou
Meizhou
Shaowu
Nanping
Ningbo
Shaoxing
Hangzhou
Huzhou
Jiaxing
Shanghai
Changshu
Zhuji
Tongxiang
Taizhou
Wenzhou
Jinhua
Quzhou
Lishui
Qingdao
Yantai
Weihai
Weifang
Zibo
Dongying
Rizhao
Linyi
Jining
Tai Shan
Qufu
Zaozhuang
Huang Shan
Lushan
Wu Shan
Emei Shan
Jiuhua Shan
Putuo
Wutai Shan
Hengshan
Taishan
Huashan
Songshan
Emei Shan
Wudang Shan
Qinling Shan
Min Jiang
Yangtze Gorge
Three Gorges Dam
Gezhouba Dam
Gan Jiang
Xiang Jiang
Zhu Jiang
Liuqu Jiang
Min Jiang
Wei He
Han Shui
Huai He
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
South China Sea
0
300
400 miles
0
300
400
600 kilometers

Shang dynasty: c. 1600–c. 1050 B.C.
Zhou dynasty: c. 1050–256 B.C.
  Western Zhou: c. 1050–771 B.C.
  Eastern Zhou: 770–256 B.C.
    Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu) period: 770–476 B.C.
    Warring States (Zhanguo) period: 475–221 B.C.
Qin dynasty: 221–207 B.C.
Han dynasty: 206 B.C.–A.D. 220
  Western Han: 206 B.C.–A.D. 8
  Xin (Wang Mang): 9–23
  Eastern Han: 25–220
Three Kingdoms: 220–280
  Wei kingdom: 220–265
  Shu kingdom: 221–263
  Wu kingdom: 222–280 (Wu not absorbed by Jin until 280)
Jin dynasty: 265–420
  Western Jin: 265–316
  Eastern Jin: 317–420
Northern and Southern Dynasties: 386–589
  Northern Dynasties: 386–581
    Northern Wei: 386–534
    Eastern Wei: 534–550
    Western Wei: 535–557
    Northern Qi: 550–577
    Northern Zhou: 557–581
  Six Dynasties (Southern Dynasties): 420–589
    Liu-Song: 420–479
    Southern Qi: 479–502
    Liang: 502–557
    Chen: 557–589
Sui dynasty: 581–618
Tang dynasty: 618–906
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms: 907–960
Liao dynasty: 916–1125
Song dynasty: 960–1279
  Northern Song: 960–1126
  Southern Song: 1127–1279
Jin dynasty: 1115–1234
Yuan dynasty: 1260–1368
Ming dynasty: 1368–1644
Reigns
  Hongwu: 1368–98
  Jianwen: 1399–1402
  Yongle: 1403–24
  Hongxi: 1425
  Xuande: 1426–35
  Zhengtong: 1436–49
  Jingtai: 1450–56
  Tianshun: 1457–64
  Chenghua: 1465–87
  Hongzhi: 1488–1505
  Zhengde: 1506–21
  Jiajing: 1522–66
  Longqing: 1567–72
  Wanli: 1573–1620
  Taichang: 1620
  Tianqi: 1621–27
  Chongzhen: 1628–44
Qing dynasty: 1644–1911
Reigns
  Shunzhi: 1644–61
  Kangxi: 1662–1722
  Yongzheng: 1723–35
  Qianlong: 1736–95
  Jiaqing: 1796–1820
  Daoguang: 1821–50
  Xianfeng: 1851–61
  Tongzhi: 1862–74
  Guangxu: 1875–1908
  Xuantong: 1909–11

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Stephen Little

The purpose of this exhibition is to examine the role works of art have played in the history of Taoism from the late Han (second century) to Qing (1644–1911) dynasties. Of the Three Teachings *(Sanjiao)* of ancient China—Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism—Taoism is the least understood in the West. Our understanding of Confucianism, a largely secular philosophy, and Buddhism, a religion originating in India, is much clearer. Unlike Buddhism, Taoism is indigenous to China. It has a history spanning more than two millennia, and its influence is clear in such diverse realms of Chinese culture as political theory, medicine, painting and calligraphy, and even Chan (Zen) Buddhism. Very little is known, however, about the relationship between Taoism and Chinese art.

The few studies of Taoist art to date stand in sharp contrast to the wealth of scholarly studies and exhibitions of Chinese Buddhist and secular art. Compounding this lack of awareness is the belief still widespread among Western art historians (and sinologists generally) that religious Taoism is nothing more than superstition and folk religion. The goal of this project, therefore, is to introduce China's primary indigenous religion to a Western audience by examining the iconography and function of works of art made in the service of Taoism. An interdisciplinary approach has been taken in the preparation of the exhibition, which draws upon architectural history, religious studies, literature, cultural history, and the history of science to convey a new understanding of how Taoists have defined the structure of the natural and divine worlds and situated humanity in the resulting matrix. The exhibition explores the beginnings of Taoist philosophy in the late Bronze Age (fifth–third centuries B.C.), the transformation of Taoism into an organized religion, the Taoist pantheon of gods who inhabit the stars and heavens, modes of ritual and visualization, the cult of the immortals, and the role of landscape as a symbol of cosmic structure and process.

This exhibition examines the way works of art function in a religious context. Like all major world religions, Taoism has undergone enormous changes in the course of its history. In analyzing the history and art history of Taoism, we must be conscious of both the changing nature of Taoism itself and the social, political, economic, and cultural changes in China that had a direct bearing on Taoism's structure and system of belief. While the focus is on Taoism in traditional China, it is hoped that the visitor will come away with the knowledge that Taoism is a living religion, practiced in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and many overseas Chinese communities, and one that is undergoing a major revival in mainland China today. Taoism answers basic human needs, such as the need to understand the world and one's place in it. In serving these needs, Chinese artists for centuries have created works of art of the highest aesthetic order for use in a Taoist context.

Tao (pronounced "dao") means a road, and is often translated as "the Way." The Tao is conceived as the void out of which all reality emerges, so vast that it cannot be described in words. Beyond time and space, it has been described as "the structure of being that underlies the universe."[1] Significantly, Taoism has no supreme being. Instead there is the Tao itself, underlying and permeating reality. At the same time, paradoxically, religious Taoism evolved many gods. The high gods of Taoism, such as the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun) and the Perfected Warrior (Zhenwu), Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven, are ultimately mere pneuma who exist to put a recognizable face on the Tao itself.

In the Taoist vision of cosmogenesis, there was first the Tao, empty and still. Then, gradually, primal energy *(yuan qi)* was spontaneously generated out of the Tao. For many cosmic eons this numinous energy swirled in a state of chaos known as

Detail, fig. 11

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Fig. 1
Shang Xi (active early 15th century). *Laozi Meeting Yin Xi at the Han'gu Pass.* Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper; 83.5 × 111.2 cm. MOA Museum, Atami, Japan.

hundun. The Tao then generated the complementary forces known as *yin* and *yang*. The creative interaction of these forces directed the primal energy into patterns of movement and transformation, which in turn generated the machinations of the universe. This process is symbolically expressed in the *Daode jing* (*Tao-te-ching*; Classic of the Way [Tao] and its power), traditionally attributed to the sage Laozi:

> The Way (Tao) gave rise to the one,
> The one gave rise to the two,
> The two gave rise to the three,
> The three gave rise to all the ten thousand things.[2]

Inherent in this understanding of the Tao and its workings is a vision of universal order that gave structure to people's daily lives in traditional China. All natural phenomena were understood in terms of *yin* and *yang*. The transformations of the seasons (winter being the season of *yin*, summer the season of *yang*) and the differences between genders (*yin* = female, *yang* = male) were explained by the fluctuations of these two forces. In addition, the shifting patterns of energy that characterize such phenomena as the cycles of the Five Phases (or Five Elements: wood, metal, fire, water, and earth) were also believed to be governed by the shifting balance between *yin* and *yang*.

From the Taoist point of view, all things are made up of *qi*. Matter and energy are thus interchangeable (a basic assumption of modern nuclear physics). Taoism teaches that to be content as a human being, one must accept that change (transformation) is the absolute reality, and that all things and transformations are unified in the Tao. The concept of *qi* (vital energy or breath), for example, lies at the heart of traditional Chinese medicine, which views illness as caused by imbalances of *yin* and *yang*, resulting in blockages of the free movement of *qi* through the body. Acupuncture and other traditional remedies are designed to restore the proper movement of vital energy, thus restoring health.

A fundamental cosmological principle of ancient Chinese thought, and one adopted by religious Taoism, is that all things correspond to each other. In particular, microcosm reflects macrocosm, and vice versa. The structure of the human body, for example, was believed to reflect both the structure of the natural landscape and the structure of the universe. In religious Taoism, the human body is visualized as a landscape, its different parts populated by deities who correspond to gods that dwell in the

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heavens above. This concept of divine correspondence appears throughout religious Taoism, and is one of many ideas that have remained constant over the course of its development. The Five Elements correspond to the Five Directions (the four cardinal directions and the center), the Five Sacred Peaks, and the Five Planets. The correspondences between the parts of the human body and the structures of the natural world provide the intellectual underpinnings of traditional Chinese physiognomy.[3] Another principle that emerged out of early Taoist philosophy was the importance of the cultivation of virtue *(de)*, and of living in balance with the natural world. Harold Roth has translated *de* as "inner power": "This inner power can be thought of as a psychological condition of focused and balanced awareness from which the adept is able to respond spontaneously and harmoniously to whatever arises."[4]

These ideas, along with the importance of always being attuned to the Tao, are first articulated in the *Daode jing* (also known as the *Laozi*), the classic text attributed to the sage Laozi (Lao-tzu).[5] Laozi is believed to have lived in the sixth century B.C., and the *Daode jing* is thought to have achieved its final form in the fourth or third century B.C. According to Taoist tradition, this text was first revealed to the frontier guardian Yin Xi as Laozi left China for the western regions (see fig. 1). In 1993 archaeologists excavating a late-fourth-century-B.C. tomb at Guodian, Hubei province, made a remarkable discovery: the earliest known manuscript of the *Laozi* (see fig. 2).[6] Comprising three bundles of inscribed bamboo slips, this Warring States period manuscript is roughly one hundred and fifty years older than the versions of the *Laozi* excavated in 1973 among the silk manuscripts at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan province (dating to c. 168 B.C.).[7] Like the Mawangdui manuscripts, the Guodian *Laozi* has no chapter titles. The Guodian manuscript may represent an earlier form of the text, or may consist of transcriptions from a larger book. Fifteen other texts were also discovered in the tomb at Guodian, including Confucian works and the cosmogonic text entitled *Supreme Unity Generates Water (Taiyi shengshui)*.

The following two sections, included among the Guodian slips, are characteristic of the paradoxical language for which the *Laozi* is famous. One passage, found in bundle A, corresponds closely to the thirty-second chapter *(zhang)* of the received *Daode jing*:

> The Tao is constant, but has no name (= fame);
> Although the Uncarved Block is subtle (= small, minute),
> In Heaven and Earth, all submit to it.[8]

Fig. 2
Laozi manuscript (detail). Warring States period, Chu kingdom, c. 350/300 B.C. Ink on bamboo slips. Jingmen City Museum, Hubei.

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If barons and kings would but possess themselves of it,
The ten thousand creatures would flock to do them homage;
Heaven and Earth would conspire to send Sweet Dew.
Without commands (laws), men would live in peace.
Once (the Block) is carved, there will be names,
And so soon as there are names
Know that it is time to stop.
Only by knowing when it is time to stop can danger be avoided.
To Tao all under heaven will come,
As streams and torrents flow into a river or sea.[9]

Here the Tao represents the empty yet infinitely pregnant void out of which the world emerges. The following passage, also from bundle A, corresponds closely to part of the second chapter of the received *Daode jing*:

It is because every one under Heaven recognizes beauty as beauty,
that the idea of ugliness exists.
And equally if every one recognized virtue as virtue, this would
merely create fresh conceptions of wickedness.
For truly being *(you)* and non-being *(wu)* are born of each other,
Difficult and easy complete each other;
Long and short test one another;
High and low determine one another.
Pitch and mode give harmony to one another.
Front and back give sequence to one another.
Therefore the Sage relies on actionless activity *(wuwei zhi shi)*,
Carries on wordless teaching. . . .[10]

The Guodian *Laozi* contains twenty-four sections that correspond to sections of the eighty-one chapter *Daode jing*.[11]

One of the most complicated aspects of Taoism is its transformation from a philosophy to a religion. The West is just beginning to become aware of the long history of religious Taoism. Even scholars who are familiar with Laozi and the *Daode jing* are generally unaware of the later history of religious Taoism from the Eastern Jin (317–420) and Six Dynasties (420–589) periods onward, or of the role of this religion in Chinese political history. That our increasingly sophisticated knowledge of Taoism is so recent a phenomenon is due in large measure to a tendency among Chinese intellectuals in the early and mid-twentieth century to equate Taoism with folk religion and superstition, both seen as obstacles to modernization and social reform. It was not until the 1920s that the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)*, a rich repository of philosophical and ritual texts, became available for study through a photo-lithographic reprint of a fifteenth-century Ming woodblock-printed edition. In contrast, the East Asian Buddhist Canon has been accessible to scholars for centuries in the form of multiple woodblock-printed versions in China, Korea, and Japan. The fact that there is still no comprehensive history of Taoism available in any Western language has only contributed to this lack of awareness. Nonetheless, Taoist studies are proliferating in the West, and the practice of religious Taoism is rebounding in mainland China.

Religious Taoism is the principal focus of this exhibition. Despite the seemingly elusive nature of Taoist art, such arts as painting, sculpture, calligraphy, and textiles have served religious Taoism from its inception. Between the late Zhou (fifth–third century B.C.) and Tang (618–906) dynasties, Taoism underwent a profound change from the relatively straightforward philosophy expressed in the *Daode jing* to a complex religion with a vast pantheon of deities and immortals (adepts), a highly structured church, and an enormous compendium of sacred texts known as the *Daozang*, consisting since the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) of some fifteen hundred scriptures. In the course of this transformation, Taoism absorbed several currents that played important roles in the intellectual and religious life of the late Bronze Age, including the belief in *yin* and *yang*; the symbolism of the Eight Trigrams from the *Yi jing*, or *Book of Changes*; the cyclical activities of the Five Phases (Elements); the worship of sacred peaks; the belief in a vast realm of star gods; and concepts of afterworlds and heavenly paradises. By the end of the Han dynasty, the sage Laozi had been deified, and from this time onward was worshipped as a god by both the emperor and common people.[12]

Scholars have traditionally seen the beginning of religious Taoism as having occurred in the late Han dynasty (second century), with the formation of the Way of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao) in Sichuan province. The first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling, had a vision of the deified Laozi in A.D. 142, in which a new conception of mankind was transmitted to the world. Two of the central aspects of Celestial Master Taoism were its codes of moral behavior and its rituals of petition, in which priests would submit formal requests to the gods (and by extension the Tao) to act benevolently for the benefit of their parish or diocese.

The term "Daojiao" ("Taoist teaching" or "Taoist religion"), however, was not used by Taoists to describe their tradition until the fifth century. Although many scholars would argue that religious Taoism began with Zhang Daoling's vision of the deified Laozi, the actual point at which the Taoist religion began is still a controversial issue. Other scholars see a continuous

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lineage within religious Taoism extending back to the Bronze Age traditions of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*, the earliest texts of the Taoist tradition. Some scholars, among them Anna Seidel, have used the term "proto-Taoist" to describe the Han dynasty religion(s) that provided the immediate antecedent to religious Taoism, and such works of sacred art as talismans that were used in the service of the Han religion.[13]

The difficulty in characterizing religious Taoism before the Six Dynasties period (420–589) is illustrated by the example of the cult of Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West. Many scholars consider Xiwangmu an early Taoist goddess, but it is by no means clear that early images of Xiwangmu, such as are found in abundance in northeast and southwest China in late Han (first–second century) funerary contexts, can or should be called Taoist. Xiwangmu is not mentioned in any religious Taoist text until the Six Dynasties period (fourth century), and there is no concrete evidence that she was worshipped by the Celestial Master movement of the late Han dynasty, even though, as Wu Hung has shown in his essay in this catalogue, such images in Sichuan are found in areas in which the Celestial Master sect was active in the second and third centuries. The study of Warring States and Han religion is still in its infancy, and the artistic traditions associated with the religious traditions of China in these periods are so rich and yet still so poorly understood that they would legitimately constitute the subject of a separate exhibition. The astonishing Chinese archaeological discoveries of recent years have only made this situation more complex.

If one were to trace the history of religious Taoism to its origins, one would find that Taoism is a river into which many streams have flowed. Many of these streams of thought can themselves be traced back to the Bronze Age. Among these disparate traditions are practices of self-cultivation leading to "achievement of the Tao" *(cheng Dao)*, the veneration of adepts *(xian)* who attained spiritual perfection (*zhen*, literally, "realization"), the worship of such deities as Taiyi (Supreme Unity) and Xiwangmu (the Queen Mother of the West), the philosophical tradition of the *Daode jing*, the worship of local gods and sophisticated traditions of shamanism in the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), the philosophy of the *Book of Changes*, which can itself be traced to the Western Zhou dynasty (c. 1050–771 B.C.), and the use of talismans as forms of sacred calligraphy that have the power to transform reality.[14] It should be clear from the sheer variety of these traditions out of which religious Taoism emerged that any attempt to generalize about the nature of ancient Chinese religion should be tempered by the need for a profound awareness of the structure and development of *each* of these streams of belief and practice. Over the long course of its development, however, fundamental aspects of Taoism remained constant.

Sections I.2 and I.3 of this exhibition and catalogue, entitled "Heaven and Earth: Taoist Cosmology" and "Sacred Mountains and Cults of the Immortals," respectively, explore vital concepts that predate the emergence of religious Taoism, but that formed part of the complex world out of which the later religious tradition developed from the Han dynasty onward. Among these concepts was the multivalent image of the mountain.[15] The worship of sacred peaks can be traced as far back as the Shang dynasty (c. 1600–c. 1050 B.C.). Mount Song (Song Shan, the central of the Five Sacred Peaks), for example, was already worshipped as a god during the late Shang.[16] Mountains were venerated in China as numinous pivots connecting the human and celestial realms. Mountains were also seen as places in the terrestrial landscape where the primordial vital energy *(qi)* that created the world was particularly strong and refined. As a consequence, mountains were places where an adept could meditate, experience visions of perfected deities of the celestial realm, and locate the herbs and minerals necessary for the preparation of elixirs that extended one's life. Sacred mountains were also sites where one could find cavern-heavens *(dongtian)*, grottoes deep in the earth that functioned as boundaries of the spirit world and gateways to paradise.[17] A system of thirty-six cavern-heavens and seventy-two blessed sites *(fudi)* was formulated during the Tang dynasty, and many of these sites are still venerated in China today. The system of cavern-heavens mirrored the thirty-six heavens in the celestial realm.

The image of the sacred peak coursing with vital energy is conveyed with remarkable beauty in the great incense burner, or *boshanlu*, excavated in 1968 from the tomb of the Han dynasty prince Liu Sheng (cat. no. 20). This extraordinary object points to the deep significance given to mountains during the Han dynasty and earlier, as well as by the fully formed Taoist religion of later times. This imagery also extended to the popular belief in the sacred islands of the immortals sought as early as the third century B.C. by the first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi, and in the succeeding Western Han dynasty by Emperor Wu (Han Wudi; r. 140–87 B.C.).

It is especially significant that in religious Taoism, both the human body and the ritual altar are visualized as a mountain.[18] Furthermore, the inner topography of the human body is perceived as populated by gods who, as shown above, correspond to deities in the heavens. This imagery is fundamental to the

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Inner Alchemy *(neidan)* tradition, and its roots can be seen as early as the *Scripture of the Yellow Court (Huangting jing)*, a text transcribed by the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi (307–365) in the fourth century (cat. no. 128). The structure of the human body thus mirrors the universal order inherent in the Tao. This system of divine correspondences between human microcosm and celestial macrocosm is a fundamental and continuous element in the entire tradition of religious Taoism.

The earliest art that can properly be called Taoist dates to the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) and the Six Dynasties period (420–589). It was in this period that the Taoist religion became fully formed. In the late fourth century, the core texts of the Shangqing (Highest Purity) tradition were revealed by *zhenren* (realized beings) from the Shangqing Heaven to the adept Yang Xi (330–c. 386) in a series of visions. Yang lived at Jurong near Nanjing, and was patronized by the Xu family, one of the leading families of the Eastern Jin dynasty. Less than a century later, the first Taoist canon was compiled by Lu Xiujing (406–477), a scholar active during the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479). Lu divided the canon into three parts, called the Three Caverns *(Sandong)*. These comprised texts of the Shangqing (Highest Purity), Lingbao (Numinous Treasure), and Sanhuang (Three Emperors) traditions, and were called, respectively, the Cavern of Perfection *(Dongzhen)*, Cavern of Mystery *(Dongxuan)*, and Cavern of Divinity *(Dongshen)*.[19] It was in this period that certain elements of Buddhist thought and liturgy were absorbed into Taoism. This is most clearly seen in the Lingbao texts compiled by Lu Xiujing. These scriptures were said to have been originally revealed to the adept Ge Xuan (flourished 238–50) in the third century.[20] Stephen Bokenkamp has written as follows on the Lingbao scriptures:

> First, they were meant to represent the synthesis of all the important religious traditions of the time—most prominently, Celestial Master Taoism, Shangqing Taoism, and Buddhism. They are thus the first Taoist scriptures to incorporate and redefine Buddhist beliefs, practices, and even portions of Buddhist scripture. They do this quite openly, positing the temporal priority and spiritual superiority of their message against any charge of plagiarism. The very name of the scriptures *(ling,* "spirit-endowed," representing the heavens, and *yang,* joined to *bao,* "jewel," representing Earth and *yin)* refers to the claim that these scriptures are translations of spirit-texts that emerged at the origin of all things when the breaths of the Tao separated into the two principles of *yin* and *yang,* thus giving the Lingbao texts priority over texts composed later.[21]

Fig. 3
Ink rubbing of the back of a Taoist stele, depicting the Deified Laozi, Yin Xi, and Zhang Daoling. Northern Wei dynasty, c. 500. Sandstone; h. 79.5 cm. The Field Museum, Chicago.

The Six Dynasties period thus witnessed the mature development of the religious Taoist pantheon, canon, ritual, and art. We know from the writings and recorded actions of the northern Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi (d. 448) and Lu Xiujing that Taoist images (both sculptures and paintings) of the deified Laozi and the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun) were being made in the mid-fifth century, even though some spoke out against the use of images to give form to the Tao, considered ultimately formless.[22] It seems clear from an examination of the earliest surviving Taoist sculptures depicting the deified Laozi that there was enormous influence from Buddhist art on early Taoist images. The earliest images that survive date from the Northern Wei dynasty (fifth century) and often depict the deified Laozi surrounded by two flanking figures, following the Buddhist format of a seated Buddha flanked on either side by a bodhisattva. The inscriptional evidence on a Northern Wei stele in the Field Museum, Chicago, collected in the Xi'an area by Berthold Laufer in 1909–10, suggests that the figures that flank the deified Laozi on these early sculptures may depict the frontier guardian (and later immortal) Yin Xi and the first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling (see fig. 3).[23] This is significant

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because Yin Xi was the first human being to receive the *Daode jing* from Laozi, and Zhang Daoling was the first human being to have a vision of the deified Laozi. It is clear from Taoist texts of the Six Dynasties period that by this time the deified Laozi was identified with the Tao itself and credited with the creation of the universe. This conception of Laozi was established by the late Han dynasty, as is documented by a stele inscription of A.D. 153, entitled the *Shengmu bei* (Stele of the Sage Mother), which reads in part:

> Laozi, the Tao:
> Born prior to the Shapeless,
> Grown before the Great Beginning,
> He lives in the prime of the Great Immaculate,
> And floats freely through the Six Voids.[24]

This view is again articulated in the famous stele inscription of A.D. 165, the *Laozi ming*:

> Laozi was created from primordial chaos and lived as long as the three luminants [sun, moon, and stars]. He observed the skies and made prophesies, freely came and went to the stars. Following the course of the sun, he transformed nine times; he waxed and waned with the seasons. He regulated the three luminants and had the four numinous animals by his side.[25] He concentrated his thinking on the Cinnabar Field *[dantian]*,[26] saw Great Unity [Taiyi][27] in his Purple Chamber, became one with the Tao, and transformed into an immortal.[28]

The emergence of a new pantheon of gods, incorporating such deities as Taiyi (Supreme Unity), the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), and the realized beings *(zhenren)* of the newly revealed Highest Purity Heaven, was a key element in the formation of religious Taoism. An early text that coincides with these developments is the *Xiang'er zhu*, a religious Taoist commentary to the *Daode jing* (cat. no. 34). The text survives in a Northern Wei dynasty (early sixth century) manuscript discovered at Dunhuang, and now part of the Stein Collection in the British Library, London.[29]

The longevity and internal coherence of the Taoist liturgical tradition can be traced to the earliest forms of ritual established in the late Han and early Six Dynasties periods. Such compilations as the *Supreme Secret Essentials (Wushang biyao)* of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) contain the fundamental forms of many Taoist rituals that are still used today.[30] Among other things, the basic structure of the Taoist altar *(daotan)* was established during the Six Dynasties period (see fig. 4).

On another level, the impact of Taoism on the theory and practice of painting and calligraphy, as seen in surviving Six Dynasties period texts, is clear. The idea of the correspondence between the inner vital energy *(qi)* of what is being depicted (be it a person, animal, mountain, god, or other entity), and the spirit-resonance of the artist's response to this visual stimulus, as manifested in the movement of his brush, is articulated in the famous "Six Laws of Painting" by the scholar Xie He (active c. 500–535).[31] There is a close correspondence between Xie He's ideas and earlier concepts of the flow of *qi*-energy through the human body.[32] The first and most famous of the Six Laws reads *qiyun shengdong*, or "engender [a sense] of movement [through] spirit consonance."[33] The great painter Gu Kaizhi (c. 345–c. 406) was a follower of the Celestial Master sect; his depiction of Zhang Daoling, the first Celestial Master, at the Cloud Terrace Mountain is one of the first recorded Taoist paintings.[34]

Similarly, early texts on calligraphy from the third and fourth centuries stress the importance of calligraphy not only as a means of communication, but also as an art that, when properly executed, has the force to transform reality itself.[35] Calligraphy enjoys a special position in religious Taoism. In both the Shangqing and Lingbao schools of Six Dynasties Taoism, for

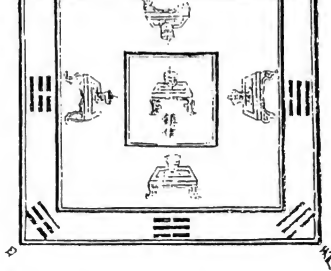

Fig. 4
Diagram of a Taoist altar. From *Wushang biyao* (Supreme secret essentials; HY 1130; woodblock-printed, accordion-mounted book; Ming dynasty, 1444–45; reprint of a lost Northern Zhou dynasty [557–581] compendium). From ZTDZ, vol. 42: 456.

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example, sacred scriptures *(jing)* were believed to have existed as cosmic texts even before the creation of the world. Written in "cloud-seal" script, these texts were generated "when sound first issued from the protoplasmic Brahma-ether, itself the earliest emanation of the primordial Tao."[36] As Isabelle Robinet has written,

> They [the Taoist scriptures, or *jing*] are formed by the coagulation and the condensation of this First Breath *[yuan qi*, primordial energy]. . . . Spontaneously born from the Void, they appeared as rays of light that came before the genesis of the world.[37]

The tradition of talismanic writing, which had appeared by at least the Han dynasty, developed into a sacred art that played a fundamental role in Taoist ritual from the Six Dynasties period onward. Several Taoist talismanic texts from Dunhuang, datable to the Tang dynasty, are included in this exhibition; these derive from both the Shangqing and Lingbao ritual traditions. In addition to the importance of their talismans, these works are noteworthy because they highlight the complex blending of Taoism and local religious traditions during the Six Dynasties and Tang periods.[38] It should come as no surprise that the Eastern Jin dynasty calligrapher Wang Xizhi, the greatest master of this art in Chinese history, was himself a practicing Taoist.[39] While his transcriptions of the *Daode jing* no longer survive (these are recorded in the *Dynastic History of the Jin [Jinshu]*),[40] his family's devotion to religious Taoism is well known. Wang Xizhi's transcription of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*, a text that presages the Inner Alchemy tradition, does survive, in ink rubbings of the Song dynasty (960–1279; see cat. no. 128).

Despite the fact that Buddhism flourished during the Six Dynasties period, enjoying strong imperial patronage in both northern and southern China during the Northern Wei, Northern Zhou, and Liang dynasties, Taoism also flourished in this period, in large measure because from its inception it provided a useful mechanism for establishing political legitimacy. Indeed, throughout its history, Taoism was perceived by many imperial families as representing the highest degree of spiritual and political orthodoxy. Religious Taoism supplied a means by which emperors could extend their control through both the human and divine realms. This is clearly illustrated in the Ming dynasty handscroll of 1493 in the San Diego Museum of Art, the ordination certificate (a combined painting and document) of Empress Zhang, wife of the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488–1505), made on the occasion of her ordination as a Taoist priestess (cat. no. 57). It is significant in this light, as Anna Seidel has shown, that the Chinese imperial investiture ceremony was based on an ancient Taoist ritual.[41] The empress is depicted here as a goddess, illustrating the fact that through Taoist ordination, a priest or priestess gained control over the gods. This control was transmitted through registers *(lu;* lists of gods and their attributes) and talismans. Empress Zhang's ordination came in a long tradition of imperial ordinations that extended back to the Northern Wei emperor Tai Wudi, who in the fourth century was ordained by the northern Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi.[42] The Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong (Minghuang; r. 712–56) also received a Taoist ordination in the form of registers and talismans; these were transmitted to him by the great Taoist master Sima Chengzhen. The *Old Dynastic Records of the Tang (Jiu Tangshu)* contains the following account of Xuanzong's devotion to religious Taoism:

> During his reign of many years, Xuanzong showed a great respect for various techniques for achieving longevity and levitation *[changsheng qingjiu zhi shu]*. In the Datong [Great Unity] Hall [of the Xingqing Palace], [he] set up the statue of the perfected immortal [*zhenxian*, i.e., the deified Laozi]. [He would] rise at midnight to burn incense and perform the prostration ritual *[dingli]*. In famous mountains, [he] ordered eunuch officers and Taoist recluses to alchemize [cinnabars] and to conduct the rite of *jiao*. The road was teeming [with these people]. The rites to appease the dragon *[toulong;* literally, "casting dragons"] and to make jade offerings [were conducted on his behalf or by himself]. [He] set up Taoist monasteries *[jingshe]*, gathered elixirs, [searched for] the formulae of the Perfected *[zhenjue]*, and followed the traces of the immortals. [He was involved in these activities] for years.[43]

The Tang dynasty (618–906) was thus a period in which religious Taoism flourished, in large measure owing to imperial patronage.[44] For both political and spiritual reasons, the Tang imperial house sponsored Taoism on a previously unmatched level. Laozi, whose surname (Li) was the same as that of the imperial family, was adopted as the direct ancestor of the emperors. The Tang dynasty thus connected its political fortunes to its relationship with the deified Laozi. For the first time, civil service examination candidates were tested on the *Daode jing*, and Taoist temples were ordered built in every major city in China. That so many Taoist texts have been discovered at Dunhuang, a relatively remote site on the Silk Road, is because a Taoist temple also existed at Dunhuang, a major center of Buddhism during the Tang. Several of these rare manuscripts, from the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Stein Collection at the British Library, are included in this exhibition.

The new role of Laozi as imperial ancestor during the Tang is reflected in the many Taoist sculptures of the deified sage that

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survive from this time. Several of these, such as the great marble image now kept in the Forest of Stelae (Beilin) Museum at Xi'an, are well over life-sized, and are clearly metropolitan works that reflect the majesty of the new imperial image. It was also during the Tang that the trinity of high gods known as the Three Purities (Sanqing) first appeared as a group. These gods, conceived as pure emanations of the Tao, were the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun), and the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun). The last of these was none other than the deified Laozi. The earliest dated image of this triad dates to 749, and is found in a Taoist cave at Niujiaozai, Renshou county, Sichuan province.[45]

The Tang dynasty saw the compilation of a new edition of the Taoist Canon, which unfortunately does not survive. This compilation was ordered by Emperor Xuanzong. Despite the simultaneous imperial patronage of Buddhism, Taoist belief and ritual spread throughout China with a previously unmatched consistency. Just as Six Dynasties period emperors sponsored Taoist clerics, so too did the Tang emperors support religious Taoism.

Although it is known from literary evidence that Taoist art proliferated during the Tang, very little art that can be called Taoist survives from this period. Descriptions of imperial Taoist rituals, such as the ordination in 711 of two imperial princesses as Taoist nuns, convey an impression of the richness of the works of art made in the service of religious Taoism that can only be imagined today.[46] The majority of extant Taoist art works from the Tang are stone sculptures and calligraphic manuscripts. Sculptures of the deified Laozi are found in collections in China, and in museums in Japan and the West.[47] The majority of Tang Taoist calligraphic texts that survive come from Dunhuang, and are now kept in London and Paris. The bulk of these texts were conveniently published and annotated by Ōfuchi Ninji in 1978, and provide a remarkable resource for the study of medieval Taoism in China.[48]

While no Taoist paintings survive from the Tang dynasty, literary accounts suggest that great muralists such as Wu Daozi (eighth century) were actively engaged in the decoration of both Taoist and Buddhist temples in this period. Furthermore, the early twelfth-century Northern Song dynasty imperial painting catalogue of Emperor Huizong (the *Xuanhe huapu*) records many Tang Taoist paintings, but none survive. Such works as the *Five Planets and Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions* (Osaka Municipal Museum of Art), attributed to the Six Dynasties period artist Zhang Sengyou, were among the works in Emperor Huizong's collection; this work can only peripherally be designated as Taoist, reflecting as it does images of planetary and star gods that entered China through the vehicle of Buddhism, and that were absorbed into the Taoist pantheon during the Tang dynasty.

Another important category of Tang Taoist art comprises bronze mirrors, cast with designs that by this time had been thoroughly incorporated into Taoist cosmology. Images of sacred mountains, paradises, and the Eight Trigrams *(Bagua)* of the *Book of Changes* are commonly found on bronze mirrors of this period.[49]

The occasional importance of religious Taoism for even believers in Buddhism was highlighted by the discovery in 1982 on Mount Song (Song Shan, the central of the Five Sacred Peaks; see cat. no. 137) of a gold tablet (fig. 5) commissioned by Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705), a devout Buddhist who established the short-lived Zhou dynasty (696–705).[50] The inscription on the tablet is addressed to Mount Song and indicates that it was made for the benefit of the empress herself. The tablet is dated to the seventh day of the seventh lunar month of 700. It is essentially an official communication from Empress Wu's terrestrial representative, the Taoist priest Hu Chao, to the celestial bureaucracy and the netherworldly Nine Departments of the nine hells, which are governed by the Three Officials (Sanguan; see cat. nos. 69–71). Hu requests that the empress's name be removed from the records of those who will be imprisoned in the hells after death, and transferred to the celestial registers of realized beings *(zhenren)*. A very similar practice of "presenting golden tablets" *(toujian)* developed into a Taoist ritual during the Six Dynasties period (420–589), and a description of this ritual is preserved in a scripture from the Highest Purity (Shangqing) corpus contained in the Taoist Canon.[51]

Very few works of Taoist art survive from before the Song dynasty. From this time onward, however, increasing evidence survives of works of art made in the service of religious Taoism. Several of the Song emperors were devout patrons of Taoism; among them the most active were Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Huizong (r. 1100–25).[52] The latter, who took for himself the title Daojun huangdi (August Emperor, Lord of the Tao), was the most famous painter among all the emperors of China. In her essay in this volume, Patricia Ebrey explores the ways in which works of art served Huizong's Taoist agenda. Huizong was a patron of the Taoist cleric Lin Lingsu, who founded a new Taoist order, the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) movement.[53]

The Song emperors adopted the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) as their imperial ancestor, just as the Tang emperors had

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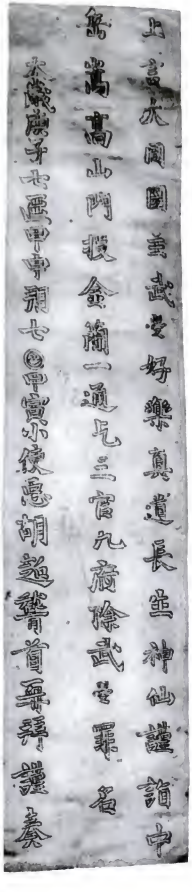

Fig. 5
Tablet with inscribed prayer, commissioned by Empress Wu. Tang dynasty, 700. Forged gold: 36.3 × 7.8 cm. Henan Natural History Institute.

adopted the deified Laozi as theirs. The high quality of imperially commissioned Taoist paintings during the Song is evidenced by such surviving masterpieces as Wang Liyong's *The Transformations of Lord Lao* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum (cat. no. 35) and Liang Kai's *Liberating the Soul From the Netherworld* (cat. no. 37). It would appear from its extraordinary quality that the twelfth-century triptych of hanging scrolls depicting the Taoist Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water (the Sanguan) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. nos. 69–71), was also created under imperial auspices. Emperor Huizong's painting *Cranes of Good Omen* (see Patricia Ebrey's essay in this volume, fig. 4) in the Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang, is another image that blends Taoist imagery with an agenda that included political legitimation.[54] That other masterpieces of Song painting, such as Chen Rong's *Nine Dragons* handscroll of 1244 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 6), were perceived as Taoist images is clear from the content of the artist's inscription on the work, and the attached colophons of the Yuan dynasty, which include inscriptions by Wu Quanjie (1269–1346), Ouyang Xuan (1273–1357), and the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, Zhang Sicheng (1287–1368).

Sadly, none of the Taoist temple murals of this period survive, although echoes of their magnificence can be seen in surviving Buddhist murals of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties, and particularly in the extant fourteenth-century (Yuan dynasty) murals of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi province.[55] We can obtain some sense of how the Taoist pantheon was visualized in the Song dynasty through such works as Wu Zongyuan's *Procession of Immortals* (cat. no. 74), a masterpiece of the eleventh century, and the great twelfth-century album of fifty leaves depicting Taoist gods in the Stephen Junkunc IV Collection.[56]

Significant numbers of paintings of Taoist *xian,* or immortals (adepts), survive from the Song and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties. The earliest image of the popular group known as the Eight Immortals (Baxian) is found among the ceramic sculptures decorating the interior walls and ceilings of Jin dynasty tombs near Pingyang, Shanxi province; these date to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[57] The best-known early image of the Eight Immortals, however, is found among the murals of the Hall of Purified Yang (Chunyang Dian) at the Eternal Joy Temple, dating to the fourteenth century.[58] Several Song dynasty paintings of Taoist immortals are included in this exhibition; among them are two fan paintings of Lü Dongbin (Lü the "Cavern-guest"), a patron saint of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect, which rose to prominence in the Jin and Yuan

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Fig. 6
Chen Rong. *Nine Dragons* (detail). Southern Song dynasty, dated 1244. Handscroll; ink and light color on paper; 46.3 × 1,096.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Gardner Curtis Fund.

(1260–1368) dynasties. As Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein has shown, however, veneration and worship of Lü Dongbin was already widespread during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).[59] A more generalized image of an immortal is Ma Yuan's *Immortal Riding a Dragon*, painted at the Southern Song court in the early thirteenth century (cat. no. 28). Some of the most evocative depictions of Taoist mountain paradises also date to the Song dynasty. An excellent example is the monochrome ink handscroll in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., traditionally attributed to Li Gonglin, and probably dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century (fig. 7).[60]

It seems clear from both historical and artistic evidence that the majority of the Song emperors patronized both Buddhism and religious Taoism, as had the Tang emperors before them (and as did the Ming emperors after them).[61] In addition, the Taoist influence on the Neo-Confucian philosophers of the Song dynasty is clear, as has been pointed out by Sun K'o-k'uan and other scholars.[62] The Song dynasty witnessed the rise of several new Taoist sects, among them the Great Law of Heaven's Heart (Tianxin dafa) sect, and the increasing popularity of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*. In this discipline, the creation of the alchemical elixir was visualized by the adept within his or her own body. This practice was promulgated by such adepts as Bai Yuchan (flourished 1209–24), and achieved widespread popularity by the end of the Song dynasty.[63] Images of Taoist adepts obtaining the elixir are often found on bronze mirrors dating to the Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties. These images are most likely allegories of Inner Alchemy (see cat. nos. 135 and 136).

An important development in the Song dynasty was the increasing absorption of local gods and deities of popular religion into the Taoist pantheon. This reflects changing attitudes among Taoists toward the gods of popular religion, since, in the Six Dynasties and Tang periods, a much clearer demarcation was drawn between Taoist deities and popular gods.[64] By petitioning the emperor, a support group (for example, a local society of merchants) could acquire official recognition for a popular god. If the petition was successful, the god would be granted a new title.[65] This pattern continued into the Yuan dynasty. Later, in the Ming dynasty, such decisions were delegated by the emperors to the Celestial Masters of the Orthodox Unity sect. An example of such a petition, dating to the late Ming and comprising a long painted and inscribed handscroll, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. no. 82). There was often an economic as well as a spiritual basis for such petitions: recognition of a local god tended to lead to national legitimation of the merchants and devotees who supported the god, leading in turn to increased opportunities for trade and economic development. Among the many popular gods who were absorbed into the religious Taoist pantheon was Guandi (Emperor Guan), originally Guan Yu, a military hero of the Three Kingdoms period in the third century

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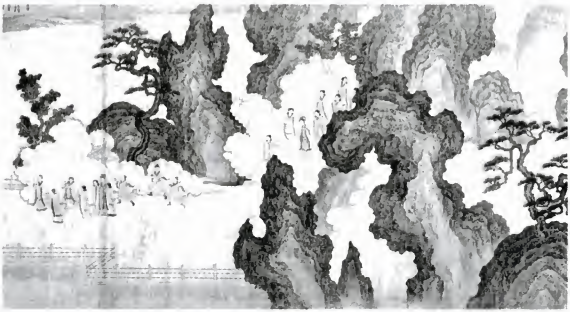

Fig. 7
Traditionally attributed to Li Gonglin. *Taoist Paradise* (detail). Northern Song dynasty, late 11th/early 12th century. Handscroll; ink on paper; 41.7 × 947.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

(see cat. no. 83).[66] In the Song dynasty, Guan Yu became a Taoist marshal *(yuanshuai)*—a celestial guardian who protected the Taoist faith. Subsequently, in 1615, during the Ming dynasty, Marshal Guan became Emperor Guan (Guandi). These changes in title reflect the increasing national importance of a deity who began as a human hero.[67]

The Jin dynasty (1115–1234), which conquered the Northern Song dynasty and ruled the north during much of the Southern Song period, witnessed the founding of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect of Taoism by Wang Zhe (1113–1170).[68] This sect constituted a reform movement within Taoism. Wang stressed the equality of the Three Teachings *(Sanjiao)*, giving equal emphasis to such texts as the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety (Xiao jing)*, the Buddhist *Heart Sutra (Xin jing)*, and the *Daode jing*. He insisted on vegetarianism and the celibacy of monks, and cultivation of a strict moral code, and also emphasized the discipline of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*, in which the adept visualized the creation of the elixir. The fourteenth-century murals of the Hall of Redoubled Yang (Chongyang Dian) at the Eternal Joy Temple in Shanxi are devoted to depictions of Wang Zhe's life.[69] The Complete Realization sect has survived to the present day; its greatest temple is the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) in Beijing.[70]

During the succeeding Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), Taoism, after witnessing a brief period of repression under Khubilai Khan (Shizu; *r.* 1260–94), enjoyed a huge resurgence (in 1281, Khubilai Khan ordered all copies of the Taoist Canon destroyed; because of this, no copies of the Song dynasty Taoist Canon have survived). Despite the fact that the Mongol imperial family chose the Tantric Buddhist deity Mahakala as its dynastic guardian, Taoism was tolerated and even supported. A key element in this was the rise of the Complete Realization sect, the reform movement that gradually spread from northern to southern China.[71] From the thirteenth century onward this sect coexisted with the earlier Celestial Master sect (also known as the Zhengyi or Orthodox Unity sect), and they are still the two dominant Taoist sects in China today. The headquarters of the Complete Realization sect (the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing) functions today as the headquarters of the Taoist Association of China (Zhongguo daojiao xiehui), and is a temple where ordinations of Complete Realization Taoist priests are once again carried out.

In 1287 the Mongol emperors created a new Taoist organization that superseded the earlier Zhengyi sect, and to which they delegated control over all Taoist affairs in China. This was known as the Mysterious Teaching (Xuanjiao) school, and existed only during the Yuan dynasty. Two of the leading priests of this school were Zhang Liusun (1248–1322) and Wu Quanjie

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(1269–1346), both pupils of the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, Zhang Zongyan (1244–1292) of Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in Jiangxi. Among other accomplishments, Zhang Liusun founded the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue Miao) in Beijing, the Taoist temple dedicated to the god of Mount Tai (Tai Shan), and Wu Quanjie lived to oversee its completion. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), the Dongyue Miao was closed and nearly destroyed, but has recently been renovated and reopened as a museum. The temple still contains an important group of stelae, including the famous *Stele of the Taoist Religion (Daojiao bei)* that tells the story of the temple's founding. The text of this stele was composed and inscribed by the scholar-official Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322).

It is noteworthy that despite Zhao Mengfu's deep interest in Chan (Zen) Buddhism (he was a friend and confidant of the great Buddhist priest Zhongfeng Mingben),[72] he composed several stele inscriptions for Taoist temples.[73] This level of involvement reflects the fact that from the Six Dynasties period onward, many members of the literati class were either directly involved with or deeply knowledgeable about religious Taoism. The prevailing view that, in late imperial China, scholar-officials and literati were primarily Confucian in their philosophical orientation and devoid of interest in or involvement with religion or spirituality is challenged by many historical or literary data. As we have seen, as early as the Eastern Jin dynasty, the scholar-officials Wang Xizhi and Gu Kaizhi were followers of the Celestial Master sect. As a corollary, it is noteworthy that the Liang dynasty Taoist scholar and alchemist Tao Hongjing was renowned as a painter and calligrapher. The letters Tao exchanged with Emperor Liang Wudi are the first texts in Chinese history to discuss the connoisseurship of calligraphy.[74] In the Tang dynasty, the famous poet Li Bo (701–762), for example, was a devout believer in religious Taoism.[75] Like Emperor Xuanzong, Li Bo received a Taoist ordination. As Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein has shown, in the Northern Song dynasty, Su Shi (Su Dongpo; 1036–1101), widely perceived as a paragon of the Confucian scholar-official, while not a practicing Taoist per se, nonetheless had a surprisingly deep knowledge of religious Taoism, and practiced several techniques of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*. An indication of his knowledge of religious Taoism is seen in a stele inscription he composed in 1091 on the occasion of the rebuilding of a Taoist temple originally built by Tang Taizong (r. 976–97):

> The Taoist school has its origins in the [teachings of the] Yellow Emperor and Laozi. . . . From Qin and Han times on, they began to employ the language of the *fangshi* whence one saw the appearance of techniques such as those of flying immortals who can transform themselves, the methods of Huangting [Yellow Court] and Dadong [Great Cavern] (scriptures), the appelation of (the deities) Taishang [the deified Laozi], Tianzhen [the Heavenly Perfected], Mugong [Dongwanggong] and Jinmu [Metal Mother or Xiwangmu], [the mythical periods] Yankang, Chiming, Longhan, and of the first emperors, the sacrifices to [the stellar deities], the Celestial Emperor [Tianhuang] and the Supreme One [Taiyi] who reside in the palace of Purple Tenuity of the North Pole [Ziwei Beiji] and even to the special techniques of elixir medicines, registers, and talismans, all go back to the Taoist school. . . . The Way of the Yellow Emperor and of Laozi is the root, the sayings of the *fangshi* are the branches. . . .[76]

The evidence for Su Shi's practice of Taoist techniques of Inner Alchemy, visualization, and embryonic breathing is clear from texts surviving among his collected writings. Su wrote, "divine immortals and [the practice of] long life are not merely empty words."[77] In addition to the Song religious texts preserved in the Taoist Canon, our knowledge of the practice of Taoism and the worship of Chinese popular gods in the Song is supplemented by the information contained in such texts as the *Record of the Listener (Yijianzhi)* by the literatus Hong Mai (1123–1202).[78]

During the Yuan, the highly cultured Taoist priest Wu Quanjie played an important role as an intermediary between the Mongol court in Dadu (Beijing) and the world of the literati of south-central China. Wu knew such disaffected literati as the Neo-Confucian philosopher Wu Cheng, and the painters Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang. Ni Zan (1306–1374) came from a wealthy literati family whose members were devout supporters of Taoist temples in the Wuxi-Suzhou area of Jiangsu province; Huang Gongwang (1269–1354) was a master of *fengshui* (geomancy) and a diviner. While few of Ni Zan's paintings give any concrete hint of his Taoist belief, the short handscroll entitled *The Crane Grove (Helin tu)* in the Chinese Art Gallery, Beijing, depicts an outdoor Taoist altar, and was painted for a Taoist practitioner named Zhou Xuanzhen (cat. no. 139). In contrast, several of Huang Gongwang's surviving landscapes are specifically Taoist in theme. These include *Cinnabar Cliffs and Jade Trees (Dan'ai yushu tu)* in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and *Mountains of the Immortals (Xianshan tu)* in the Shanghai Museum.[79] Such scenes of paradise mountains were very popular among Yuan literati painters, and appear as well among the works of Wang Meng, Lu Guang (see cat. no. 142), and Chen Ruyan (see cat. no. 144).[80] Several Taoist priests of the Yuan dynasty were also accomplished painters, including Fang Congyi (active c. 1295–1316;

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Fig. 8
Murals depicting the Taoist pantheon in the Hall of the Three Purities, Yongle Gong, Ruicheng, Shanxi province. Yuan dynasty, early 14th century.

see cat. no. 143), Wu Boli (see cat. no. 141), and the Celestial Master Zhang Yucai, all of whom were associated with Longhu Shan in Jiangxi province, the headquarters of the Zhengyi sect of Taoism.[81]

Among the greatest monuments of Yuan dynasty Taoist art are the murals of the Eternal Joy Temple, a Complete Realization sect Taoist temple at Ruicheng in southern Shanxi province. The three main halls of this complex were built in the thirteenth century, and their walls painted with murals in the fourteenth century. The 286 Taoist gods depicted on the walls of the Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian) provide a magnificent visualization of the Taoist pantheon as it was conceived by the Complete Realization sect in the Yuan dynasty (see fig. 8). The Hall of the Three Purities murals were completed in 1325 by the Luoyang painter Ma Junxiang and his assistants.[82] Chinese scholars have suggested that the textual source for these paintings was the thirteenth-century scripture compiled by Jin Yunzhong (flourished 1224–25) entitled *Great Law of the Highest Purity Numinous Treasure (Shangqing lingbao dafa)*.[83] Originally there were statues of the Three Purities at the center of the hall, but these have disappeared. The murals focus on eight major gods, painted on an enormous scale, each accompanied by a large entourage of deities. The eight principal gods are Nanji dadi (Great Emperor of the South Pole Star), Houtu (Earth Goddess), Yuhuang (Jade Emperor), Ziwei dadi (Purple Tenuity Emperor), Taiyi (Supreme Unity), Jinmu (Metal Mother, or Queen Mother of the West), Mugong (Wood Sire, or Dongwanggong, Lord Duke of the East), and Gouchen (a celestial emperor representing the constellation surrounding Polaris).[84] While none of these deities is labeled, their identification is now generally agreed upon by scholars.[85] Two other main halls of the Eternal Joy Temple are no less important. The murals of the Hall of Purified Yang depict over fifty scenes from the life of the immortal Lü Dongbin, while those of the Hall of Redoubled Yang depict scenes from the life of Wang Zhe, the founder of the Complete Realization sect. Two Yuan Taoist murals in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, are closely connected in style and date to the murals of the Hall of the Three Purities at the Eternal Joy Temple.[86]

Among the lesser-known works of Yuan Taoist art are the eight cave-temples at Long Shan (Dragon Mountain) in Shanxi province, located southwest of Taiyuan, the provincial capital (not far from the earlier Buddhist cave temple site of Tianlong Shan). These caves, excavated along a sandstone ridge overlooking a deep valley, date to the early fourteenth century (see fig. 9). The carved figures in high relief depict the Three Purities and a variety of early Complete Realization adepts. Several heads of Taoist figures were acquired from this site by the Museum of East Asian Antiquities, Stockholm, in about 1930.[87]

Contrary to the conventional belief that Taoism declined during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), recent studies have shown that in fact religious Taoism flourished in this period.[88] Although

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Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor (Taizu; r. 1368–98), has been described as "adamantly anticlerical,"[89] he was actually open-minded toward Buddhism and Taoism, and patronized leaders of both the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) and Complete Realization Taoist sects. Pierre-Henry de Bruyn has shown that many of Zhu Yuanzhang's children were in fact deeply involved with religious Taoism.[90]

At the same time that Zhu Yuanzhang was pragmatically attempting to minimize the influence of organized religion, he also actively patronized those elements in organized Taoism that he saw as orthodox. He commissioned, for example, a new official liturgy for Taoist rituals. Zhu mainly supported the Orthodox Unity sect, and also stressed the unity of the Three Teachings *(Sanjiao)*. This concept, namely that Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism were different paths to the same goal, attained increasing popularity during the Song and Jin dynasties (see fig. 10), although its roots can be traced to the Six Dynasties period. After 1368 he established the Xuanjiao Yuan, which oversaw the administration of all Taoist affairs in China. This was replaced in 1371 by the Central Taoist Registry (Daolu si). In 1379 Zhu established the Temple of Divine Music (Shenyue Guan), which oversaw the creation of Taoist ritual music.

Similarly, the conventional wisdom is that the Yongle emperor (Zhu Di; r. 1403–24), the fourth son of Zhu Yuanzhang, embraced and supported Tibetan Buddhism. While it is true that he was closely involved with Tibetan and Mongolian lamas of the Kagyu and Sakya orders, on whom he conferred the title Dharma King (Fawang),[91] imperial patronage of religious Taoism proliferated during the Yongle reign. A key event here was the emperor's adoption of the Taoist god Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior) as his personal protector, with political legitimation an overriding concern. The Yongle emperor not only was famous as a warrior and military strategist, but also usurped the throne that rightfully belonged to his older brother. In 1421 Yongle moved the Ming capital from Nanjing to Beijing and rebuilt the Forbidden City. The northernmost building in the imperial palace in Beijing today is still the Hall of Imperial Peace (Qin'an Dian), the imperial temple devoted to Zhenwu.[92] Every subsequent Ming emperor announced his accession by paying homage to Zhenwu. Imperial patronage of the Zhenwu cult included the rebuilding of the god's temples on Mount Wudang (Wudang Shan) in Hubei province, and during the Ming dynasty this god supplanted the deified Laozi as the most important god in the Taoist pantheon. So huge was Zhenwu's cult in the Ming that one section of this exhibition is devoted to him.

Judith Berling has recently suggested that for most Chinese

Fig. 9
Interior of a Taoist cave at Dragon Mountain (Long Shan), Shanxi province. Yuan dynasty, early 14th century.

Fig. 10
Ink rubbing of a stele depicting the sages of the Three Teachings *(Sanjiao)*. Jin dynasty, dated 1209. Limestone; 123 × 60 cm. Shaolin Temple, Mount Song, Henan province.

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during the Ming, Taoist gods participated more directly than enlightened beings of the Buddhist pantheon in the system of moral retribution, which "encompassed the seamless fabric of the divine and human realms."[93] Despite the machinations of *karma*, the Taoist order of moral retribution and reward worked more quickly, and was seen as being much closer to the principles of justice administered by the imperial government throughout society. From this point of view, Taoism was seen as ultimately supporting Confucian values. This view was articulated by Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor. As Berling shows, in his essay on the "Three Teachings" (Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), Zhu Yuanzhang

> argued that those who criticized Buddhism and Taoism on the grounds that they harmed the nation and incited the masses were mistaken. Confucianism, he said, was the Way (Tao) of manifest virtue, while Taoism and Buddhism were the Ways of hidden virtue, secret aids of the imperial mandate to rule.[94]

In fact, it was Zhu Yuanzhang who invited the forty-third Celestial Master, Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), to the court and paid for the rebuilding of Zhang's residence on Longhu Shan (Dragon and Tiger Mountain) in Jiangxi, the headquarters of the Orthodox Unity sect. In 1391 the Taoist prelate was given authority to authenticate talismans *(fu)* throughout China. In 1406 the Yongle emperor ordered Zhang to compile a new edition of the Taoist Canon. This was not completed until 1444, during the Zhengtong reign, and is a masterpiece of Ming woodblock printing (several volumes, from the Pelliot Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, are included in this exhibition; see cat. nos. 52, 54, 58, 110, 112, 115, and 129). Zhang Yuchu's own writings, such as the *Ten Standards for Taoists (Daomen shigui)*, stress the compatibility of Taoism and Confucianism. He further emphasized the proper moral conduct of Taoist priests, and wrote that such individuals would be effective models for the lay public, and "would also devote themselves to prayers and rituals on behalf of the state and community."[95] In his view, it was thus entirely fitting that the imperial government should "support the activities of orthodox Taoist temples." Under the aegis of the Yongle emperor, Zhang Yuchu established the Taoist Affairs Academy in Beijing, and supervised the Central Taoist Registry (Daolu si).

This evidence suggests that a pattern of imperial patronage of the Celestial Master lineage of Taoism at Longhu Shan was established at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The historical record of imperial Ming patronage of Taoism indicates that instead of being perceived as heterodox, religious Taoism was perceived in the eyes of the emperors as representing the highest degree of orthodoxy, ideally suited to aiding the ruler and the court in administering the state. This is important because it provides a counterpoint to the well-known imperial Ming patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, which was also politically useful for imperial propaganda.[96] Already in the early Ming, such Taoists as Zhang Sanfeng (to whom the discipline known as Taijiquan is credited) were called to court because their moral virtue reflected on the emperor. As Berling has shown, "The pattern of Ming imperial patronage of Taoist temples and rituals was repeated in virtually every reign."[97] This reached an apogee during the Jiajing reign (1522–66), when Taoism was elevated to a state orthodoxy.[98]

A greater number of works of Taoist art in this exhibition date to the Ming dynasty than to any other period, reflecting the widespread devotion to religious Taoism in this period. The court painter Wu Wei (1459–1508) is known to have believed in religious Taoism. Stories about his encounters with adepts and immortals were popular well into the seventeenth century, long after his death.[99] Among his surviving Taoist paintings are *Guangchengzi and the Yellow Emperor* (cat. no. 36), *Female Goddess or Immortal* (cat. no. 94), *The Hermit Xu You and the Oxherd Chao Fu* (an illustration of a story from the *Zhuangzi*) in the Tokugawa Museum, Nagoya, and *The Sage of the Northern Sea* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.[100] The professional painters of the Zhe School created large numbers of such works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, encouraged by both imperial patronage and public demand. Several very rare examples of Taoist ritual paintings also survive from this period, including the handscroll created for the ordination of Empress Zhang as a Taoist priestess in 1493 (cat. no. 57) and a local god's petition to the Jade Emperor for an official title (cat. no. 82).

A very important resource for our understanding of the ways in which both Taoist and popular gods were visualized during the Ming dynasty are the sets of paintings created for a Buddhist ritual known as the Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)*. Several impressive sets, or partial sets, of Water and Land Ritual paintings survive from the Ming, among them sets in the Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan, and the Musée Guimet, Paris.[101] Despite the Buddhist context in which these works were originally created, they often contain the earliest or finest depictions of Taoist gods known. For this reason, several such works are included in this exhibition (see cat. nos. 75, 76, 78–81, 84–86, 91, 97, and 107).

The Ming witnessed the continuing absorption into the Taoist pantheon of gods from Chinese popular religion, a phenomenon

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that had already proliferated during the Song dynasty. A new and influential group of gods that emerged during the transition from the Yuan to the Ming were the Three Stars, known in Chinese as Fulushou; these three gods are still widely worshipped today. As a discrete group, the Three Stars—comprising the gods of Good Fortune (Fuxing), Emolument (Luxing), and Longevity (Shouxing, also known as Shoulao)—seem to have first appeared in Chinese culture and art in the early fifteenth century.[102] In addition to their appearance in a Ming painting of 1454 in the exhibition (cat. no. 91), this group appears in another early Ming painting in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (fig. 11). Here the Three Stars are shown with a larger group of celestial deities, including the Nine Luminaries or Sources of Brightness (*jiuyao*; upper right),[103] the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions (*Ershiba xiu*; lower left), and the twelve gods of the Chinese zodiac (*shi'er gong*; lower right). The scroll provides one of the few known depictions in Chinese painting of the Three Stars in conjunction with these other stellar gods. Interestingly, the gods of the zodiac are based on the figures of the Near Eastern zodiac, and not on the members of the Chinese zodiac. Edward Schafer has suggested that the Chinese were aware of the Western zodiac by the sixth century, and F. Richard Stephenson has shown that the symbols of the Western zodiac were first introduced into China in the Sui dynasty (581–618), probably via India.[104] Evidence for this is found in a text in the Buddhist canon, the *Scripture of the Great Assembly of Great Doctrinal Universality (Da fangdeng daji jing)*, which was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese during the Sui. The forty-second chapter of this text lists the signs of the zodiac that correspond to each of the twelve lunar months: 1, Ram; 2, Bull; 3, Pair of Birds; 4, Crab; 5, Lion; 6, Celestial Woman; 7, Steelyard; 8, Scorpion; 9, Archer; 10, Makara (a mythical sea monster); 11, Water Vessel; 12, Celestial Fish.[105] With the exception of the sixth, seventh, and tenth months, these correspond closely to the signs of the Western zodiac.[106]

Taoist sculpture from the Ming dynasty also survives in relatively large numbers. These include works still found in Taoist temples in China, for example, the White Cloud Monastery, Temple of the Eastern Peak, and Hall of Imperial Peace in Beijing, and others in Kaifeng, Changsha, and many other cities and towns. The majority of such sculptures are made of bronze, wood, ivory, or porcelain. Many Taoist sculptures survive in Western museums as well, where they are often unrecognized as being Taoist, and thus relegated to basement storerooms. As our knowledge of the history of religious Taoism develops and becomes more sophisticated, increasing numbers of such treasures will undoubtedly be excavated from the artistic limbo in

Fig. 11
The Three Stars, Nine Sources of Brightness, Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, and Twelve Palaces [of the Zodiac]. Ming dynasty, 15th century. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk; 137.2 × 86.7 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, Bequest of Laurence Sickman (F88-41/6).

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which they now reside. A significant number of works made expressly for use in Taoist ritual also survive from the Ming, some of them works of great beauty. Those included in this exhibition include swords, ivory tablets, and priests' robes.

Taoism continued to flourish during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), during which the emperors who ruled China were Manchu. While the Manchus openly favored Tibetan Buddhism over Taoism, Taoist ritual continued both inside and outside the court.[107] This is clear from such artistic evidence as the large painting by Jiao Bingzhen in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., depicting a ritual carried out in the court (cat. no. 44) and the Hall of Imperial Peace, the principal Taoist temple in the Forbidden City, most of the contents of which date to the Qing dynasty (and which demonstrate continuous use by the imperial family during the Qing).

Despite persecution in the twentieth century, particularly between 1949 and 1976, Taoism is rebounding with astonishing speed in contemporary China. The vitality of the artistic traditions associated with Taoism are revealed not only in the reconstructions of temples and Taoist sites, but in the recent attempts to collect and protect historical works of Taoist art, in such temples as the White Cloud Monastery and the Temple of the Eastern Peak in Beijing. Devotion to religious Taoism, widespread throughout most of the late twentieth century in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and many overseas Chinese communities, is enjoying a renaissance in China today. It is hoped that this exhibition will succeed in opening a door onto an ancient and vital tradition in Chinese art history that has all too long remained hidden.

Notes

1. Loewe 1982: 27–28.
2. Stanza 42. See HY 664.
3. One of the most important physiognomic classics, for example, is entitled *Complete Compilation of Divine Correspondences (Shenxiang quanbian)*, compiled in the fourteenth century. Large portions of this book are translated and discussed in Lessa 1968. See Kohn 1986, and Smith 1991: 187–95.
4. Roth 1996: 128.
5. From the Han dynasty onward, the *Laozi* was known as the *Daode jing*.
6. See Jingmen City Museum 1997. The Guodian *Laozi* manuscripts have recently been published in *Guodian Chu mu zhu jian* 1998: 3–10, 111–22. For a translation of the *Daode jing*, see Waley 1958. See also Allen and Williams 2000.
7. The Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts, which date to the Western Han dynasty, are published in Chen 1996.
8. The image of the "Uncarved Block" of wood *(pu)* occurs several times in the *Daode jing*, and symbolizes the primal unity of the Tao.
9. Translation adapted from Waley 1958: 183.
10. Translated in Waley 1958: 143.
11. Another six sections are fragmentary, making a total of thirty sections. It is clear from their calligraphy that the texts of Guodian *Laozi* bundles A and B were written by the same hand, but that the text of bundle C was written by a different hand.
12. See Seidel 1969a and Kohn 1998a.
13. Seidel 1987b: 39.
14. On Han dynasty talismans of the first and second centuries, see Wang Yucheng 1993 and 1998.
15. Hahn 1988.
16. Allen 1991: 99.
17. Verellen 1995.
18. Schipper 1993: 91.
19. See Ōfuchi 1979.
20. See Zürcher 1980 and Bokenkamp 1983.
21. Bokenkamp 1996a: 269.
22. Ware 1933: 248, and Bokenkamp 1996–97: 64. On Kou Qianzhi, see Mather 1979.
23. Previously published in Sirén 1925, vol. 2: pls. 130A–B; the rubbing is published in Walravens 1981: no. 356.
24. Kohn 1998a: 39.
25. The spirits of the four cardinal directions; see cat. no. 9.
26. The cinnabar field *(dantian)* is the point in the human body where the elixir is created in the Inner Alchemy *(neidan)* tradition.
27. On the god Taiyi (Supreme Unity), see cat. no. 75.
28. Kohn 1998a: 40, citing Seidel 1969a: 123. The text of the *Laozi ming* is translated into French in Seidel 1969a: 122–28; for the original Chinese text, see 129–30.
29. The Xiang'er Commentary is translated in Bokenkamp 1997: 78–148. The text is traditionally attributed to Zhang Lu (third century), the grandson of Zhang Daoling. Modern scholars are divided on whether the text dates to the third or fifth century (see cat. no. 34).
30. See Lagerwey 1981.
31. Bush and Shih 1985: 10–15, 53–54.
32. I am grateful to Richard Pegg for pointing out this correspondence. See also Hay 1983.
33. Cahill 1961b: 380.
34. Bush and Shih 1985: 34–35.
35. See Chaves 1977. For an excellent study on the relationship between Taoism and calligraphy, see Ledderose 1984.
36. Strickmann 1978: 334.
37. Robinet 1993: 21.
38. See cat. nos. 53, 55, and 56.
39. See cat. no. 128. Rolf A. Stein has pointed out that cinnabar tablets have been excavated from the fourth-century tomb of a woman who was a member of Wang Xizhi's family; see Stein 1979: 55, citing Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui 1965.
40. See Wong 1982: 72–73. For the *Jinshu*, see JS.
41. Seidel 1983.

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42. See Mather 1979: 107.
43. Adapted from Xiong 1996: 316. For the *Jiu Tangshu*, see JTS.
44. See Barrett 1996.
45. Liu Yang 1997a: fig. 9.
46. Benn 1991.
47. A representative group of these is published in Sirén 1925.
48. Ofuchi 1978–79.
49. Schafer 1978–79. For a discussion of cosmological images current in religious Taoism of the Tang dynasty, see Xiong 1996.
50. Previously published in *Glory of the Court* 1998: 138. The tablet is of particular interest to students of Chinese calligraphy. Empress Wu, like some other dynastic founders, introduced several new versions of characters into the Chinese writing system; these innovations were abandoned after she was deposed. Five examples of such characters can be found in this inscription, and one of them, the name of the empress, is known only from this tablet.
51. This ritual is found in HY 1304, a Highest Purity scripture that has not been precisely dated but is from the Six Dynasties period. It can also be found in the *Wushang biyao* (Supreme secret essentials; HY 1130), *juan* 41, which places the terminus for its development sometime in the early sixth century. A similar ritual, which used golden dragons as "couriers," was also developed in the Lingbao corpus; for example, see HY 352.
52. On Zhenzong's patronage of religious Taoism, see S. Cahill 1980: 23–44.
53. On Huizong's patronage of Taoism, see Strickmann 1978: 335–51. See also the essay by Patricia Ebrey in this volume.
54. See also Sturman 1990.
55. *Kaihua si Songdao bihua* 1983, *Yon Shan si Jindai bihua* 1983, Jin 1997.
56. Martin 1913.
57. *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* 1999: 308–19.
58. Jin 1997: pl. 236.
59. Baldrian-Hussein 1986.
60. Partially published in Lawton 1973: no. 34.
61. An exception was Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25), who initiated a campaign to shut down all the Buddhist temples in the imperial capital, Kaifeng.
62. Sun 1981: 229.
63. On Bai Yuchan, see Berling 1993.
64. Schipper 1985: 831. See also Stein 1979. As Stein points out, citing the fifth-century Taoist text *Santian neijie jing* (HY 1116), even in the Six Dynasties period, exceptions were made by Taoists for worship of the god of the soil and the kitchen god (Stein 1979: 68).
65. Hansen 1990: 23–24, 80–104
66. Duara 1988.
67. For a concise discussion of some of the issues surrounding the study of Chinese popular religion, see Teiser 1996: 21–25.
68. On Complete Realization Taoism, see Yao 1980 and Yao 1995: 151–58.
69. See Jin 1997: pls. 250–70.
70. For a description of daily life in the White Cloud Monastery in the mid-twentieth century (prior to the Communist takeover of China), see Yoshioka 1979: 229–52.
71. See Waley 1931.
72. Lauer 1999.
73. For example, the handscroll in the Tokyo National Museum entitled *Record of the Restoration of the Three Gates of the Xuanmiao Guan* was designed for a stele; see *Shodō zenshu* 1970–73, vol. 7, pls. 1–5.
74. Ledderose 1979: 42.
75. Schafer 1978b. Another famous Taoist of the Tang dynasty was Du Guangting; see Verellen 1989.
76. Baldrian-Hussein 1996–97: 24–25. Su Shi also transcribed the Inner Alchemical text known as the *Huangting neijing jing* for the Taoist Jan Gongchen; ibid.: 26 n. 43.
77. Ibid.: 31 ff.
78. YJZ. On this text, see Hansen 1990: 17–21.
79. *Yuan sijia huaji* 1994: pl. 7, and *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 2: 91, no. 1-0181.
80. Wang Meng's handscroll entitled *Cinnabar Mountains, Yingfzhou] Sea* is published in *Yuan sijia huaji* 1994: 109.
81. For a painting of dragons by Zhang Yucai, see Fong 1992: pl. 81a.
82. Katz 1993: 47.
83. Ibid.: 49. For *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, see HY 1213.
84. On Gouchen, see Needham and Wang 1959: 261.
85. These identifications follow those of Jin 1997.
86. Published in White 1940: pls. 47–76.
87. The layout of the site is succinctly described in Wang 1994: 112–14. For the heads acquired by the Museum of East Asian Antiquities in Stockholm, see Sirén 1931: pl. 33.
88. See Berling 1998.
89. Berger 1994: 107.
90. On the Taoist beliefs and activities of the imperial princes Zhu Tan, Zhu Quan, and Zhu Bo (all sons of Zhu Yuanzhang), see Bruyn (forthcoming).
91. See the portrait of the fifth Karmapa, the Mongolian lama Dezhin Shegpa (Helima; 1384–1415), with the Yongle emperor seated in a subservient position next to him, in *Tibetan Sacred Art* 1993: pl. T-9; also published in Berger 1994: 107–10, fig. 31.
92. The current temple dates to the Jiajing reign (1522–66) in the middle Ming.
93. Berling 1998: 975.
94. Ibid.: 985.
95. Ibid.: 956.
96. See Berger 1994.
97. Berling 1998: 966.
98. Chan 1982: 110–12.
99. JLSS: 31a–b.
100. Published in *Changsheng de shijie* 1996, pl. 31.
101. See *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua* 1988.
102. Fong 1983: 186–87.
103. On the Nine Luminaries (*Jiu yao*), see *Zhongwen da cidian* 1973, vol. 1: 523, entry 173.684. The Nine Luminaries comprise the sun (*Taiyang*, or Supreme Yang), moon (*Taiyin*, or Supreme Yin), the five visible planets (Mercury [*Chenxing*, or Chronograph Star], Venus [*Taibo*, or Great White], Mars [*Yinghuo*, or Sparkling Deluder], Jupiter [*Suixing*, or Year Star], and Saturn [*Zhenxing*, or Quelling Star]), and the two imaginary (and invisible) planets *Rahu (Luohou)* and *Ketu (Jidu)*, borrowed from Indian astronomy and believed to be the celestial bodies responsible for the appearance of eclipses and comets. For anthropomorphic depictions of *Luohou* and *Jidu* in Chinese painting, see *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua* 1988: 63.
104. Schafer 1978c: 10; Stephenson 1994: 533.
105. Stephenson 1994: 533.
106. The earliest known Chinese depictions of the Western symbols of the zodiac come from the Tang dynasty (618–906) and were discovered in 1975 in a tomb in Turfan; see ibid.: 539, fig. 13.13. In the Nelson-Atkins Museum scroll are the Western zodiac figures Pisces (a man holding a tray with two fish), Scorpio (a man holding a scorpion), Cancer (a man holding a crab), and Taurus (a man with his hand on a bull).
107. Rawski 1998: 271.

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Kristofer Schipper

1. The Taoist Tradition in Ancient China

Taoism is the foremost indigenous religion of China and one of the world's oldest mystical and liturgical traditions. The name Taoism comes from Tao (Dao), a word that means "road" or "way": a way to follow, a way of thought, a method, and a principle.[1] The Tao is seen as the everlasting principle at the origin of the universe. It permeates and transcends all beings; it is at the origin of all transformations. According to Chinese tradition, the Tao existed before the world was born out of the primordial chaos *(hundun)*. The Tao brought forth the world, and all beings naturally belong to the Tao. Therefore, at its most fundamental level, the name Taoism does not refer to a god or a founding figure, but to a universal principle. Nonetheless, the story of Taoism is inextricably linked to the figure called Laozi (Lao-Tzu), the sage who first revealed the Way to us.

Laozi

There have been many discussions about when and where Laozi lived, and even whether he was a historical figure at all. Although what has been transmitted through the ages about Laozi is of a purely legendary nature, these legends are not without historical interest. In fact, they are often more significant than "historical facts," because they show how Taoism and Laozi were already thought of in ancient times. Seen in this way, the traditions that surround him are very significant.

Laozi is said to have been seen in this world at a time corresponding to the sixth century B.C., and the traditional dates given for his life are 604–531 B.C.[2] Laozi is reputed to have hailed from the southern state of Chu (for China was not yet unified into a single empire at this time), and to have been born in Hu, near present-day Luyi, in Anhui province. A later legend of his birth tells us that Laozi's mother was a virgin who conceived him spontaneously, through the radiance of the Pole Star in the center of the sky. She carried her child in her womb for eighty-one years (a cosmic period of nine times nine) before he was born through her left armpit while she was leaning against a plum tree. At birth, the baby was of course already old, hence the name of "Old Child," which is another way of interpreting his name, in addition to "Master Lao" or "Old Master."[3] After giving birth, Laozi's mother died. In fact this was a phenomenon of transsubstantiation, because mother and child were one and the same person. Alone in the world, the Old Child chose the plum tree, which had lent support to his mother, as his ancestor, and took its name (Li) as his family name.[4]

Laozi is said to have been at one time the scholar in charge of the calendar and archives at the court of the Zhou dynasty (1050–256 B.C.).[5] In that capacity, he received a visit from Kongzi (whom we know by the name Confucius, and whose traditional dates are 551–479 B.C.). Confucius wanted to see the Old Master in order to question him about ritual, because Confucius believed that ritual decorum was the key to good governance. He thought that as long as everyone kept to his status and rank in society and acted according to the established custom, all would be in order. The story of the meeting has many versions,[6] but the main idea is always the same: Laozi did not agree with Confucius's ideas, and told his noble visitor that naturalness, personal freedom, and happiness were more important than trying to conform to traditional standards.

After having lived in this world for a long time, the Old Master decided to leave and retire in the far-off mountains of the western regions. When he crossed, with his ox and his servant boy,[7] the mountain pass that marked the end of the world of men, he was halted by the guardian, who asked him for his teachings.

Mount Song, the central of the Five Sacred Peaks

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Laozi then dictated to him the small book, consisting of some five thousand Chinese characters, that we call the *Classic of the Way [Tao] and Its Power (Daode jing)*.

The Background

Through these narratives, we may see that Laozi's lifetime was set at a moment of profound change in China. During the sixth century B.C., the former feudal order of the Zhou dynasty was gradually giving way to a new age of social and human development. Early China, like many other cultures of the Bronze Age, was immersed in ancestor worship and bloody sacrifice, and the memory of that archaic culture survives today in the ritual bronze vessels now on display in many museums which used to adorn the sacrificial altars. Theirs was an aristocratic warrior society, centered around the king and the nobility, their clans, and their ancestors.

The end of this feudal world order was marked by several important innovations. Among these, the development of high-grade iron ore metallurgy during the seventh century B.C. signaled the end of the Bronze Age. Iron tools and other manufactured goods provided trade and economic expansion. Later in antiquity, China also exported silks and lacquerwares as far as the Near East and Rome.

This economic development created a new society of merchants and artisans, which took hold of the city-states, until then dominated by the aristocrats.[8] This in turn caused important institutional changes. The first laws and taxes appeared in China during the second half of the sixth century B.C., to some extent limiting the privileges of the nobility. Most of the great Chinese cities of those times were concentrated in the Central Plain, especially at the crossroads of what are today the provinces of Henan, Shandong, and Anhui, where the ancient states of Song, Wei, Qi, and Chu were situated. It was in this region that Laozi was born.

There were also those who regretted that the ancient religious and social order installed by the kings of the Zhou dynasty was gradually disappearing. One of these conservatives was Confucius. In his efforts to maintain the ritual tradition, he is said to have put down the ritual texts in writing. These became the so-called Chinese Classics.[9] We do not know to what extent these Classics are truly representative of the religion of the aristocracy, but what is certain is that the religion of the common people, with its worship of holy mountains and streams, as well as the great female deities, was systematically left out.

Laozi, on the other hand, is portrayed as a commoner. The legend of his responsibility for the calendar and archives is intriguing, because such specialists contributed to the worldview in which mutually opposed and complementary forces, *yin* and *yang*, evolve, from the primordial chaos, into the phenomenal world of Heaven and Earth, the "ten-thousand beings." Each of these beings, each part of the creation, is shaped and nurtured by the cosmic energies *(qi)* of Heaven and Earth in endless numbers and continuous transformation. According to this cosmology—fully articulated in the early Han dynasty (second century B.C.)—all beings are related to each other through elaborate systems of correspondence. The creative (and destructive) processes are thus considered to be natural, and not linked to any divine will or destiny. This was a universe that was created and evolved spontaneously through the interplay of cosmic forces according to the universal principle of the Tao.

On the basis of this worldview, the diviners created a system of prognostication, based on a mathematical game (counting numbers of divining sticks), in order to arrive at sixty-four different symbolic combinations noted down as "hexagrams" *(gua)*. This system is documented and elaborated in the classic *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*.[10] The hexagrams ideally represented all the possible, and forever changing, combinations of *yin* and *yang* forces in the universe. Even in later times, when, as we shall see, it developed a pantheon of many transcendent immortals and deities, Taoism always remained a religion without a supreme being. Neither a polytheism nor a monotheism, Taoism lifts us up to a level above particular gods and ancestors, to a heaven above heaven, to the one universal principle that allows the world to find unity in its endless diversity.

It has been observed by several scholars that these developments are in some respects comparable to those of the ancient Mediterranean world. There too the ancient feudal order and the sacrificial religion gradually made place for a new society and culture in the city-states. In ancient Greece, beside the ancient "public cult" there emerged "mystery religions," which were expressions of the search for transcendence and immortality. These movements did not follow traditional class rules, and often recruited members from different levels of society. The mystery religions in turn were the fertile ground on which philosophy developed.

In China as well, a similar, newly emerging conscience marked the divide between the archaic warrior society and the new city civilization, and stood in the very center of the traditional distinction between Laozi and Confucius. Confucius is traditionally seen to have defended the ancient ritual codes by giving them a moral meaning. In reply, the Old Master asked him: But what good does that do to you personally? It is this

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awakening of the individual awareness that marked a major turning point in Chinese culture. From it came the questions about individual destiny, the purpose of life, and death and immortality. On the ruins of the old order, a new search emerged that created a religion in which personal transformation occupied a place of increasing prominence, based on the Way of the Old Master.

The Tao of the Old Master

The fourth century B.C. was the golden age in China for the development of the different schools of philosophy. The recent find of fragments of the book of Laozi, the *Daode jing*, in a manuscript preserved in a tomb dating from around 300 B.C., proves that this most fundamental text was already extant in written form when the Inner Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* were composed (see below), and that the worldview it represents had already reached a certain degree of maturity (see Little essay, fig. 2). The study of these fragments in comparison with the now current edition of *Daode jing* shows that the work was written over a long period of time, with some parts being perhaps as old as the fifth century B.C.

The *Daode jing* is a collection of short paradoxical axioms, compiled without any particular order, and following no systematically developed argument. It does, however, display such profundity of insight into the human condition that it has been justly considered by later Taoism as its foremost scripture. It argues that we, as human beings but part of nature, cannot fathom the Way, but can only contemplate its manifestations. Any name we give to it cannot encompass it, because the Tao is beyond any conceivable concept. Only those who know that they do not know can, by uniting with nature and rediscovering spontaneity, through nonaction *(wuwei)*, intuitively grasp the underlying truth of all that is. In grasping and holding on to this truth, they become one with it and thus "obtain the Tao."

The *Daode jing* elevates to the very acme of Taoism the paradox of knowing through not knowing, of acting through not acting, of obtaining though relinquishing. The *Daode jing* is paradoxical because it wants to liberate us from the tyranny of words and names and definitions. It stresses that there is a limit to human life and to our knowledge, and at the same time it shows that, as part of an endless universe, human life and consciousness are limitless. Knowing that we are mortal, we can be immortal in our union with the Way.

The Old Master teaches that the cosmic process of creation out of the primordial chaos is something that each human being has individually experienced through his earlier life in the womb and his later existence in the fragmented and divided world. Later philosophers would call these two universes the Former Heaven *(Xiantian)* and the Later Heaven *(Houtian)*. Right between these two universes stands the newborn child, who is therefore considered as the embodiment of the Tao at the height of its power (see *Daode jing*, chapter 55). Thus, the whole cosmic process, from the primordial chaos to creation, and the whole universe of heaven and earth are within ourselves, in our very own persons. Finding this underlying truth through nonaction opens the gate to immortality, often discussed in later Taoism in connection with the sixth chapter of the *Daode jing*, which reads:

> The goddess of the valley never dies.
> She is called the mysterious female.
> The gate of the mysterious female,
> Is called the root of heaven and earth.

How this search for the underlying truth *(zhen)* took shape in ancient China can be understood from another work, the *Zhuangzi*, the next great text of ancient Taoism. This book—or, more exactly, this collection of texts—is placed under the name of its supposed author, Master Zhuang. Zhuangzi's personal name was Zhou ("The Complete One"?), and he must have lived sometime between 370 and 280 B.C. He worked as a cleric in a lacquer garden in the land of Song, at a time when these workshops were not yet state agencies. We may note in passing that the earliest instances of artistic Chinese painting are found on lacquer. Zhuangzi certainly knew some of the sayings of the Old Master, because he quotes them. There is, moreover, a certain underlying unity of thought at the basis of the two books. In form and style, however, the two are very different. The *Daode jing* is a small book, whereas the writings placed under the aegis of Master Zhuang are far more elaborate: they consist of a succession of longer and shorter treatises, stories, anecdotes, and even poetry. The *Zhuangzi* is full of strange, amusing, and even humorous passages.

Only the first seven books, the so-called Inner Chapters, of the *Zhuangzi* date from the fourth century B.C. (around 330?), whereas the other twenty-six chapters that make up the Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters were written by the followers of Zhuangzi during the third century B.C. Besides being one of the most wonderful books ever written, the *Zhuangzi* is also a work of great philosophical depth. Zhuangzi brings the critique of knowledge—the dialectics of knowing and not-knowing—to great heights. For him, each person is a world in himself, and all kinds of people who obtain the Tao in their own way—men, women, and children; tradesmen and artisans; kings, nobility,

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Fig. 1
The Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) and Her Court. Qing dynasty, 17th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. From *Daojiao shenxian huaji* 1995: 13.

and slaves; criminals and madmen—are described in his book. Zhuangzi does not necessarily recommend that people retire from the world and live in the wilderness, but he proposes that communion with nature can be obtained here and now, in whatever place one happens to be. Such a "wandering on the Way" can be achieved through the opening of the mind and trance meditation, as well as through other ways of discipline in daily life.[11] Those who achieve it are called "true persons" *(zhenren)*.

Indeed, Zhuangzi taught that all arts, when brought to perfection, lead to the Tao. Some stories, such as that of Ding the Butcher, who got the Tao by the sheer perfection of his craft, and that of Chi the Robber, who surpassed Confucius in preaching morality, became very famous in later China. While these extraordinary figures may have been born out of Zhuangzi's fertile imagination, many of them were worshipped as holy immortals and saints by those "who loved the Tao."

Immortals

Among the saints and immortals in the *Zhuangzi*, perhaps the most important is Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor, who in ancient China was considered to be a culture hero and the inventor of human civilization. Later, as we shall see, Huangdi is often named along with the Old Master as one of the founders of the Way. Also mentioned by Zhuangzi is Pengzu, who is said to have lived eight hundred years and as such was venerated by those who practiced the arts of long life. Of all the figures presented in Zhuangzi's book, Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, would rise to greatest prominence in later times. She, as the "Mysterious Mother," would play an immensely important role as the queen of Mount Kunlun, the sacred mountain of immortality (fig. 1).[12] In the book of *Zhuangzi*, these ancient deities are presented as having "obtained the Tao," and they were thus integrated in the new pantheon of immortals *(xian)*. The Chinese character for *xian* can be interpreted as "mountain person" (or, with another character, as "dancing person"), and the worship of the immortals centered around mountains where they were believed to dwell. Zhuangzi is the first to tell us about these mountains and about the divine beings who live there.

> In the far-away mountains of Gushe live divine humans. Their skin is cool as frost and snow; they are shy and delicate as virgins. They do not eat grains, but breathe wind and drink dew. They mount on clouds and ride winged dragons to wander beyond the four oceans. By the concentration of their spirit, they can protect people from the plague and make crops ripen.[13]

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Han dynasty art forms already show these holy mountains and the immortal beings that inhabit them. Mountain-shaped incense burners, also called "hill-censers" *(boshanlu)*,[14] may very well have been used in the oratories *(jing)* of the adepts and may have served as visual supports for their "far-away wanderings" during meditation, their spiritual journeys to the mountain realm of the immortals. These nature beings, together with wild animals of all kinds, were often depicted on the sides of hill-censers. The fumes of the aromatic herbs that were burned inside the censer were released through the holes in the mountain, as if they were clouds that, according to Chinese imagination, were born from the mountain caves.

Such meditations on sacred mountains were matched by similar visions of an inner landscape. By "reversing the light" *(fanguang)* of the eyes, for example, the adept achieved an introspection of his own body, which was imagined as a mountain inhabited by many deities. The most important of these divine beings inside oneself was the Infant, the embryo of immortality, also called the true person *(zhenren)* of the adept. By nurturing the true person inside himself, the adept cultivated his own immortality. One day, the old child inside him would liberate itself from its mortal coil and join the other immortals in their eternal freedom and happiness.

Apart from the meditation on the outer and inner landscape, the quest for longevity also comprised many physical exercises. Adepts practiced animal dances *(wuqinxi)* as well as different forms of gymnastics.[15] Together with the dance movements, there were all kinds of breathing exercises, massages, herbal drugs, and even sexual practices that stimulated and enhanced the flow of energies in the body and their gradual sublimation.

Initiation

The Tao is universal, and the teachings of the Old Master are ideally meant for all, regardless of their origin, gender, status, or wealth. Yet ancient Taoism was definitely esoteric, and it would be an error to think that the Way was considered to be easy to learn and readily accessible to everyone. The *Daode jing* (chapter 70) says clearly:

> My words are very easy to understand and to put into practice, but in this world nobody is capable of understanding them and nobody does put them into practice. Words have their ancestry and deeds have their author, so those who do not understand [my words] do so because they do not know me. Those who know me are few indeed, and that is why I am so valuable. The sage wears a cloak [on the outside], but inside clasps [precious] jade to his bosom.

Laozi's paradox is that the Tao cannot be taught and transmitted by words. Only a personal, intuitive, and innate knowledge of oneself (I, me) can lead one to it. This form of higher knowledge, however, is accessible only to those apt to receive it. Again, the *Daode jing* (chapter 41) states forcefully:

> When superior persons learn of the Tao, they practice it with ardor.
> When mediocre persons learn of the Tao, it leaves them indifferent.
> When inferior persons learn of the Tao, they laugh loudly.
> If they did not laugh, it would not be worthy of being the Tao.

In other words, when some ignorant people laugh at the Tao, they thereby prove its very value; only superior people can understand it and put it into practice.

This idea is stated even more clearly in the story of the woman Yü that is told in one of the older parts of the *Zhuangzi*. Yü had "learned the Tao" and, though already very old, she still looked like a young girl. When a scholar asked her if he could also learn it, she replied, "No! How could this be! You are not the right person!" When the scholar then asked her how she had obtained her knowledge, she answered, "I learned it from the child of Calligraphy, who had it from the grandchild of Recitation; Recitation had learned it from Vision, and Vision from Secret Instructions, who in turn had received it from Hard Apprenticeship . . ." The text lists in all nine allegorical names that form a fictitious genealogy of the transmission of the Tao. This tale may be seen as fanciful, but it is in fact an echo of a real practice. Already in the fourth century B.C., written texts (hence the allusions to Calligraphy and Recitation) were transmitted from master to disciple, and at each investiture the lineage of the previous masters was an essential element of the transmission. This heritage of transmission would eventually result in the central role of initiation in the religion of Taoism, even until this very day.[16]

The Way of the Yellow Emperor and the Old Master (Huanglao Dao)

In the last two centuries B.C., the above-mentioned elements were gradually consolidated and united in a general framework known as the Way of the Yellow Emperor and the Old Master (Huanglao Dao), since the mythical Yellow Emperor was worshipped alongside Laozi as a patron of the arts of longevity. Recent archaeological finds have greatly advanced our understanding of the Huanglao Dao and its tenets. In 1973 a series of tombs was discovered at a site called Mawangdui, near Changsha in Hunan province. The tombs date from the very beginning of the Han dynasty (second century B.C.). The first

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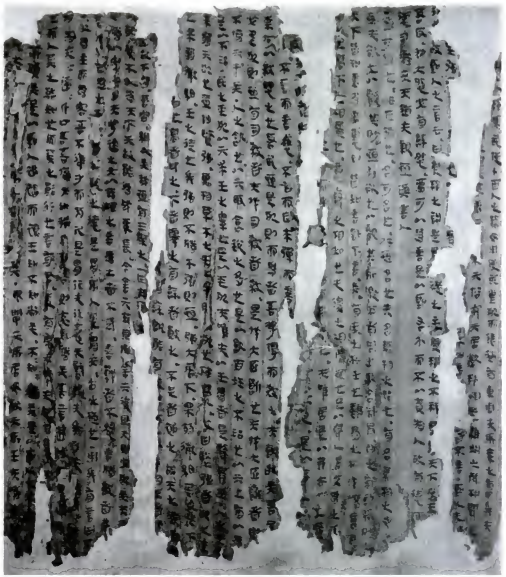

Fig. 2
Laozi manuscript, excavated from a Western Han dynasty tomb at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province. 3rd century B.C. Handscroll; ink on silk. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha.

tomb contained the body of a woman preserved in perfect condition in a watertight wooden coffin filled with a liquid solution of cinnabar, which had preserved the tissues of her body from decay. Many small boxes containing mineral substances used in later alchemy were also found. In addition, the tomb yielded a silk shroud painted with a beautiful representation of the ascent toward immortality.

The third tomb discovered at Mawangdui, dated 168 B.C., contained a collection of eleven silk scrolls *(boshu)*, among which were two copies of Laozi's *Daode jing*, one from before the beginning of the Han dynasty (fig. 2), the other from the reign of its first emperor (who died in 195 B.C.). To each of these versions are appended other, shorter texts, which have been identified by some scholars as the remnants of a hitherto lost "Four Books of the Yellow Emperor."[17] The bulk of the writings relate, however, to tending life and the search for immortality, and concern gymnastics (there is, for example, a beautiful illustrated scroll depicting exercises), deep breathing, sexual practices, drugs, and alchemy. There were other scrolls containing Taoist talismans, though these have not been published.[18] The extraordinary finds at Mawangdui have given us a magnificent testimony of the personal search for the Tao and eternal life that was characteristic of the religious practices of ancient China.

Many pre-imperial philosophers were influenced by the Huanglao Dao, the teachings of which seem to have been dominant in the final decades of the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.). It was certainly prevalent in the most important center of learning of the times, the Qixia Academy of the Ji kingdom.

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Our present version of the *Daode jing* is considered to have been edited there, probably around the beginning of the third century B.C. In this version we find traces of a more political thought alongside the many ancient mystical concepts. One of these ideas was that the perfect society was that of the simple rural village: self-sufficient and without many links to the outside world. It was this ideal of local autonomy and freedom from government interference that would be recalled time and again during the peasant movements of the Chinese Middle Ages.

The *Daode jing* in its final and current version advocates a government that rules unseen, through nonaction and natural law, but that aims at keeping the people contented by filling their bellies and emptying their minds (chapter 3). Such a political program seems to run counter to the ideas in the *Zhuangzi*, though it shares similarities with another influential school of thought, that of the so-called Legalists *(fajia)*. This school applied the idea of following nature to the political situation of their times, propagating the idea that people should be governed by steering their natural likes and dislikes to make them into obedient subjects. The Legalists elaborated a system of laws meting out punishments and granting rewards for every conceivable aspect of social and individual life. They are traditionally seen to have created a most efficient Tao of law, but a Tao that hindered personal exploration.

One of the most important thinkers of the Legalist school, Han Feizi, used the *Daode jing* as a guide for the politics of the unification of China, transforming the natural law of Laozi into a *political system*. He became the foremost counselor of the first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi (r. 221–206 B.C.). The result of all this was a very centralized bureaucratic state, governed by an all-compassing system of regulations and laws, which succeeded in creating a unified state, but one in which all forms of personal thought and practice, all independent philosophical schools, were forbidden. In keeping with the philosophy of "filling the bellies and emptying the minds," all books not related to medicine, astronomy, or agriculture were destroyed. At the same time, Emperor Qin Shihuangdi attempted to present himself as a divine immortal. The very title he gave himself bears witness to this: "huangdi" means, literally, "the Supreme Deity of the Pole Star." He also actively sought to enter into contact with the immortals of the sacred mountains. At one time, he sent boats with young boys and girls out on the eastern seas to search for the islands of the immortals. Thus, the religious beliefs of the common people were adopted for the emperor's own personal and political aims.

The Empire and the Confucian Orthodoxy

The experiments of the Emperor Qin Shihuangdi ultimately did not succeed, and after his death the dynasty established by him ended in turmoil and civil war. When the new dynasty of the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) emerged from the feuding factions, it did not follow the previous policy, but signaled a return to a more open, less centralized government. Under the influence of the Huanglao Dao, the emperor shared his authority with many regional governors and local representatives. The different schools of thought that had been repressed during the reign of Qin Shihuangdi were revived. The thought of the Old Master was influential at the imperial court, especially during the reign of Wendi (r. 179–157 B.C.), and the inclination toward the Huanglao Dao was perpetuated by his widow, Empress Dou (d. 135 B.C.), who actively took part in the government.

This philosophical renaissance, to which the Mawangdui manuscripts bear witness, did not last. When Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.), the sixth sovereign of the Han dynasty, ascended to the throne, he, like Qin Shihuangdi, actively sought to centralize all power in his own hands and to reform the religious and political institutions accordingly. Instead of Legalism, however, he elevated Confucianism as the official ideology. Schooling in the Confucian Classics became mandatory for all officials. These measures meant the end of the many different currents and persuasions that existed until then. Other philosophical schools such as the Mohists, the Logicians, and the Cosmologists, to name but a few among the many, ceased to exist. Nonetheless, some of their books were at least partially preserved in the imperial library, and some of their principal tenets, such as the cosmology of *yin* and *yang*, were taken over by the Confucianism of the state.

The reactionary tendencies of Emperor Wu can be explained in part by his wish to combat the influence of his grandmother Empress Dou and other women in politics. He also persecuted his relative Liu An, the Prince of Huainan, for sedition and forced him to commit suicide. Liu An was a great scholar in the arts of the Tao, and his death spelled the end of the Taoist academy that he had established at his court in South China and where immortal works such as his edition of the *Zhuangzi* and the Summa of Taoist science now known as the *Master of Huainan (Huainanzi)* were edited. At the same time Emperor Wu, like Emperor Qin Shihuangdi, profiled himself as a Taoist adept by practicing alchemy, climbing the sacred Mount Tai, and presenting written petitions to Heaven.[19] This public display of religious piety was unconvincing to later generations, however, and in Taoist lore Emperor Wu has gone down as a hypocrite.[20]

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More important here is the fact that, whereas all other schools disappeared or were absorbed by the new Confucianism, the teachings of the Old Master survived, although they were officially condemned. The name of Huanglao Dao was henceforward no longer used. Instead, a new name was given, that of *Daojiao*, the school (literally, the family) of the Dao. This name not only refers to the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi, but to other religious practices, including the pursuit of long life and immortality, as well.

Since the reign of Emperor Wu, throughout Chinese history, and of course within ever-changing circumstances, the traditions of Confucius and Laozi would be seen as the two poles of Chinese civilization. Their interplay took many different forms, and it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that henceforth Chinese culture was shaped to a large extent by their interaction.

2. The Taoist Church in Medieval China

Messianism and Apocalypse

The first manifestation of Taoism after the institution of state Confucianism under Emperor Wu came from a popular uprising. In the year 3 B.C., the inhabitants of the peninsula of Shandong left their homesteads and went in large groups to the west, in search of the great mother goddess Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, who they believed would come and install her reign on earth in order to save it from the present disaster. Carrying insignia of the goddess, they built roads and established hostels so that people could travel toward the capital, where the goddess was expected to establish her diocese *(zhi)*.

The official history of the Han empire devotes but a few sentences to what must have been an important mass event. Some insights as to what kind of new era the believers expected to come can be gleaned, however, from the *Scripture of Great Peace* (or *Great Equality*; *Taiping jing*), which appeared miraculously, transmitted by an immortal, a few years before this messianic movement. It contained a description of a world where all would be equal, and recommended itself to the government. Other books with the title *Taiping jing* appeared later, one in A.D. 166; another, perhaps yet different, version was transmitted by the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters (see below). There is a work called *Taiping jing* in the Taoist Canon, which, although it certainly contains some ancient material, represents a still later and altered version.[21] There can be no doubt, however, that the ideal of "Great Peace" to be implemented by a just and peace-loving government under the guidance of a sage king, who would respect local customs and autonomy, was common to all these books, and that a similar hope drove the masses in search of the great mother goddess.

This movement was repressed, but during the troubled years that followed, the dynasty itself fell and was replaced by the reign of one Wang Mang (between A.D. 9 and 23), who also assumed the image of a redeemer who received his instructions directly from divine immortals. Among the measures he took towards more equality and justice, we may note the official abolition of slavery. Thus, when the Han dynasty and its Confucian orthodoxy was restored under Emperor Guangwu in A.D. 25, Taoism was by no means vanquished. This can be seen from a number of important texts that appeared in the later Han period, one of which is a collection of stories about immortals *(xian)*, called the *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of the assorted immortals). These stories confirm that each *xian* had his or her own Tao. Some were shepherds, like Chisongzi, alias Huang Chuping, the young lad who drove his sheep into the mountains and never returned. He is still venerated as the Great Immortal Huang (Wong Tai Sin) at the most popular temple in Hong Kong. Another one was a prince named Wang Ziqiao. He was so good at imitating bird songs that one day a crane came down and took him away to the blessed islands of the immortals. The *Liexian zhuan* also contains evidence that the search for the Tao of immortality brought people together at the sacred places and created groups of adepts and worshippers under the guidance of masters.[22] It also talks of the many shrines that were erected in honor of the immortals, sometimes not only in one place, but in whole regions, and even nationwide. It shows that the worship of those who, by becoming one with nature, had "obtained the Tao" had become a very widespread practice and that festivals in their honor abounded.

New commentaries on the *Daode jing* also appeared. All of them stressed the fact that the political sayings of the Old Master about how to administer the nation should be understood metaphorically and applied, not to the outer, but to the inner country within the body of the practitioner. Other important Taoist works dealt with this vision of the human body as a country and explained how through meditation, one could visit this inner kingdom and establish good relationships with its inhabitants. The oldest known, and also the most famous of these books, is the *Scripture of the Yellow Court (Huangting jing)*, a rhymed description of one's own inner kingdom (see cat. no. 128).

For many, however, the peace and happiness of the inner realm did not suffice. The government and the ruling Confucian orthodoxy had politicized the choice between two kinds of society. Frustrated in its aspirations for freedom and equality, the

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country seethed with messianic and apocalyptic expectations. Those who aspired to a better world rallied around leaders who claimed to be appointed by Laozi or by the Yellow Emperor. One of these mass movements rose in A.D. 184 against the dynasty in order to hasten the advent of the new era of Great Peace that had been promised by the *Taiping jing*. Known as the Revolt of the Yellow Turbans, it was defeated, but in the process the Han dynasty exhausted its resources and could no longer maintain its authority. The country's division into different kingdoms marked the beginning of what we call the Chinese Middle Ages.

The Ecclesia of the Celestial Masters

One of the Taoist movements that appeared during the last days of the Han survived the fall of the dynasty. Known as the Way of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao), it became a regular institution and wielded great influence during the entire medieval period (which is considered by historians to have lasted until the tenth century). In the year 142 Laozi appeared to a Taoist hermit named Zhang Ling, or Zhang Daoling, on a holy mountain near Chengdu, the capital of Shu (northern Sichuan). Laozi (or Laojun, "Lord Lao," as he was now often called), identified himself as "the Celestial Master" and said that he reappeared to announce the beginning of an era of Great Peace. Before this was to happen, however, the world would go asunder, but for those who followed him, there was to be another life. They would be part of a new alliance, called the Orthodox One Covenant with the Powers (i.e., of the universe; *Zhengyi mengwei*).

In this "new testament" of Laozi,[23] all animal and food sacrifices were forbidden. "The gods do not eat or drink, the masters do not receive any salary," was one of the rules of the new covenant.[24] This was a clear break with the religious practices of ancient China. Even if formerly Taoism had already opposed the sacrificial cults of the Zhou dynasty, the "feeding" of the gods and ancestors by offering foodstuffs to them, and also the festive banquets during which these offerings were consumed, had remained a universal practice.

The new alliance not only prohibited any form of sacrifice, but also rejected all gods and spirits who received them, and labeled them demons. In ancient China there had been Nine Heavens; the new covenant established that six among them were the abodes of the ancient deities and ancestors, and should therefore be seen as places of corruption and disease, whereas only three, the highest heavens, were filled by the pure energies of the Tao. These had never been incarnated, and therefore had not been polluted by the world. It was these Three Heavens and their deities that were to be worshipped exclusively.[25] The Three Heavens each contained one cosmic energy *(qi)*, called, respectively, "Mystery," "Principle," and "Origin" *(xuan, yuan,* and *shi)*. They had three colors—blue, yellow, and white—and constituted the roots of Heaven, Earth, and Water. Each had its own virtue: Heaven (in the sense of the sky) gave forth blessings; Earth forgave sins; and Water averted calamities. Three Officials (Sanguan), pure emanations of the Tao, performed these functions, in which they were assisted by a great number of lesser officials and intermediaries.

Here we find for the first time a true Taoist pantheon, clearly belonging to the Former Heaven and thus distinct from the ephemeral gods, spirits, and ancestors of ancient China. As the name Three Officials already indicates, this pantheon was a bureaucracy. Not only were all the hypostases of the Tao seen as administrators, functionaries, officers, emissaries, etc., but also all the ritual proceedings to be observed to enter into contact with them followed an administrative protocol. Ritual services took the form of solemn audiences at the Chancellery of the Three Officials. The celebrants, dressed as clerics of the Taoist management, approached the divinities through the proper channels, with written memorials and petitions, duly marked with seals and signed with special sacred characters identifying the supplicant as an initiate. Each day of the calendar had its heavenly officers on duty, and for each request there was a corresponding department. All this had to be taken duly into account, and each ritual involved a lot of paperwork.

At the same time, this entire pantheon was also present within the human body, and adepts learned to visualize the three colored energies of the Tao, and their functionaries, and to meditate on them. The names and attributes of all these deities were transmitted on initiation, and consigned in special documents, called registers *(lu)*. The names of the deities were often written in sacred symbolic characters, called talismans *(fu)*. To undertake such a meditation was called "inspecting the legions of the register" *(yuelu)*. Any personal illness or mishap was ascribed to a disorder or a mismanagement of the natural forces of the body, and was seen as a sin against the Tao. Hence the adepts were asked to reflect on their misconduct, confess their sins in writing, and address prayers in the form of written petitions to the Three Officials.

Zhang Daoling is credited with establishing, as the representative on earth of Celestial Master Laozi,[26] regular communities of Taoists. At first the homeland of the new movement, the region of Shu, was divided into twenty-four dioceses *(zhi)*. These were lay communities whose members were recruited from the peasantry of this rich agricultural region.[27] The communities

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were governed by chosen officials, twenty-four of each sex. Three times a year, on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth moons, the communities held general assemblies *(hui)* at the headquarters of the diocese, normally on the site of a holy mountain. At these assemblies household records were updated—births, marriages, and deaths were reported—and each household contributed five pecks of rice to the common grain reserves, to be used in times of need. This latter practice, in particular, infuriated the government, as it was seen as an illegal collection of taxes. Hence the official annals castigated the Way of the Celestial Masters by calling it "The Way of the Five Pecks of Rice" (Wudoumi Dao) and their leaders were dubbed "rice thieves" *(mizei)*.

The Way of the Celestial Masters developed against the background of the rapid decline of the imperial power of the later Han dynasty, and when the dynasty collapsed, the religious organization represented the only authority left in the region of Shu. In fact, in spite of its esoteric aspects, the Way of the Celestial Masters bore many similarities with the traditional organization of local society. For instance, its leaders were called "libationers" *(jijiu)*, a title that was used traditionally for the village elder in charge of the sacrifices at the local shrine.

The kingdom of Wei, which succeeded the Han dynasty in Northern China, recognized the Way of the Celestial Masters and ennobled its leaders. Later, during the third century, however, the new dynasty forced the organization to disband and deported the peasant population of Shu to other regions. The result of this brutal measure was the opposite of what was intended: instead of destroying the movement, it helped to disseminate it all over China.

With the Way of the Celestial Masters, Taoism became a church, or an "ecclesia" as we call it, in order to distinguish its community organization, which took the form of political assemblies of free citizens, from the Christian model. The ancient rite of initiation became an ordination, as the transmission of the holy scriptures—among which the *Daode jing* continued to occupy the highest place—now served to consecrate the officials of the ecclesia.

The initiation procedure of the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters did not limit itself to the transmission of scriptures, but comprised also the main rites of passage of a person's life. After the rites for entering the ecclesia at the age of six, boys and girls were taught to read and write and to recite the scriptures. At the age of puberty, they were trained in the arts of *yin* and *yang* and the union of cosmic energies *(heqi)*. This was a very ritualized and highly mystical way of sexual intercourse, during which the couples, following a prescribed choreography, were united while meditating, so as to participate symbolically in the creation process in a most solemn and controlled way, without committing the sin of lust. The children born from such a union were considered to have been conceived without sin and therefore to belong to a higher form of human being: they were to be spared from the impending apocalypse so that they could become the future citizens of the promised kingdom of Great Peace.

The early Celestial Masters ecclesia assembled its own texts under the title *Statutory Texts of the One and Orthodox Ecclesia (Zhengyi fawen)*. When exactly this was done we do not know, but it is certain that this scriptural canon existed already in the Six Dynasties period, and it is thought at one time to have included no fewer than one hundred different texts. As shown by the status given to it in the later Taoist Canon, where it obtained the most fundamental place, it represents the core liturgical tradition of Taoism.

Taoist Artists

After the Way of the Celestial Masters had spread throughout the northern territory of the Wei dynasty, not only the ordinary citizens entered into the ecclesia, but many aristocratic families as well. Against the background of the disenchantment with the official Confucian ideology of the now defunct Han dynasty, Taoism began to enjoy a renaissance among the higher strata of the society. This involvement of the elite gave rise to a great philosophical, artistic, and literary movement that was once known under the name of "neo-Taoism." On the basis of the texts of the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Yi jing*, a new school of metaphysics known as the School of Mysteries (Xuanxue) arose. It discussed the ontological problems related to the concepts of being and nonbeing as put forward by the philosophers of ancient China and refined them into theories concerning the relationship between thought and language, the nature of music, and the perception of the ultimate truth *(zhen)*.

New commentaries on the *Daode jing* and the *Yi jing* were written by the young genius Wang Bi (226–249). In addition, the *Zhuangzi* was reedited with a commentary by Xiang Xiu (223?–300), which later was further elaborated by Guo Xiang (d. 312). These commentaries were so successful that they have remained the leading exegesis of these great works until the present day.

Well known among the scholars of the times were the so-called Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin qixian), a group of freethinking and eccentric poets and artists. Among them Xi Kang (223–262) and Ruan Ji (210–263) are most famous; the first one as a musician, the latter as a poet. Not only in their

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mystical search for longevity, but also in their veneration of the divine immortals, they showed that they were profoundly Taoist. In a short poem, Ruan Ji once wrote:

> Have you not seen Wang Ziqiao,
> Riding the clouds, sweeping over Dengling?[28]
> He truly possesses those arts of Long Life,
> Which can bring solace to my heart.

There is an undertone of melancholy in this poem, which shows that the desire for long life and the freedom of the immortals *(xian)* was also caused by the uncertainties of the cruel and unstable times. The Wei dynasty had reverted to the kind of "legalist" policies that had been used by Emperor Qin Shihuangdi in unifying China, and that were very inhuman to say the least. Some of the members of the group of the Seven Sages, such as Xi Kang, were condemned for their unconventional behavior and executed.

Other famous artists and poets also adhered to the Way of the Celestial Masters. These were, for instance, the early landscape painter Gu Kaizhi (345–406), the great calligrapher Wang Xizhi (c. 307–365), and the landscape poet Xie Lingyun (385–433). Many of these gentry Taoists were also alchemists. We are well acquainted with the techniques and the lore of medieval Chinese alchemy, thanks to the work of the philosopher Ge Hong (283–343) (fig. 3). Ge set out to prove that the search for immortality should be taken seriously, and that alchemy was the most logical way to obtain it. Indeed, through the manipulation of mineral substances such as cinnabar and mercury, the alchemists did not aim to produce gold, but to find the clue to immortality.[29] Their goal consisted not only in producing a drug, but also in reenacting the cosmic process of mutations from *yin* to *yang* in the laboratory (through the production of cinnabar from mercury and vice versa) and participating ritually in this process, thus traversing eons of time.[30] Ge's book on Taoism, called the *Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity (Baopuzi neipian)* was written around 310. He discussed not only alchemy, but also many other aspects of Taoism, and quoted many written sources from his own library or from that of his master. As Ge was a southerner, he was apparently not yet well acquainted, at the time he wrote his book, with the Way of the Celestial Masters.

The Revelation of the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures

In the beginning of the fourth century, northern China was invaded by nomadic peoples from the great plains of Central Asia. After the capital Luoyang fell into the hands of the invaders and

Fig. 3
Wang Meng (c. 1301–1395). *Ge Hong Moving His Residence.* Yuan dynasty, 14th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper; 139.5 × 58 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

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was utterly destroyed in 317, the ruling families and many of the underlings fled to the regions south of the Yangzi River, where they installed a new government (the Eastern Jin, 317–420). They brought with them their own Taoism of the Way of the Celestial Masters and of the School of Mysteries. There it was confronted with the ancient southern tradition of which Ge Hong was the great representative.

Soon the aristocracy from the north blended with their southern fellow countrymen, and so did their two forms of Taoism. The northern Tianshi Dao was orthodox and strictly organized. As we have seen, it opposed the worship of local deities and saints, sacrifices of wine and meat, trance techniques, and worship of ancestors. The southern tradition was still very close to the Taoism of ancient China and had continued its cults of the Taoist immortals. It also made ample use of shamans or spirit mediums. The cross-fertilization of the two traditions was to produce some of the greatest literary texts in the history of Taoism.

During the years 364–75, the shaman Yang Xi, attached to the aristocratic southern household of the Xu family in Jiankang (Nanjing), started to receive "visits" from a great number of Taoist immortals and saints. Most of these came from the holy places near the capital, for instance, from the Mao Shan mountain range near Danyang. Others belonged to the Tianshi Dao, such as the female official *(jijiu)* Wei Huacun. These deities dictated many texts to Yang Xi; some were poems, others messages, but there were also book-length texts. Many of the latter turned out to be new and expanded versions of older texts, such as the *Huangting jing*.[31] The immortals told Yang Xi that these new versions were superior to the old books, and that they came from the highest heaven of all, that of the Highest Purity (Shangqing). Therefore these texts became later known as the Shangqing scriptures. They were written in a beautiful and highly ornate style, much in keeping with the artistic tastes of the times, and they would exert their influence for many centuries. Moreover, Yang Xi noted down the words of the immortals in a special, very beautiful form of calligraphy, which, from an aesthetic point of view, caused these revelations to be held in high esteem.

The Shangqing scriptures were more than a reformulation of older Taoist practices: they also sought to place these on a higher spiritual level. The rites of sexual union as practiced in the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters were replaced by a purely spiritual union of the adept with a divine jade maiden *(yunü)* or immortal lad *(xiantong)* from heaven. Descriptions of these spiritual alliances, with the poems the lovers exchanged during their courtship, have been preserved in the Shangqing literature. Furthermore, the idea that alchemical processes should be spiritual and not material is often alluded to in them. This change heralds the later emergence of so-called Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*, which was to become so vastly popular in modern times (see below).

Some thirty years after the Shangqing revelation, other Taoists, among whom was a descendent of Ge Hong named Ge Chaofu, authored yet another group of new texts, called the Lingbao scriptures (*ling* originally is a name for "shaman"). These were not works that concerned the individual mystical practice of Taoism like the Shangqing scriptures, but were intended for collective rituals. Most of them were intended to be recited, in the way of Buddhist *sutras*, for the salvation of all beings, and especially for the benefit of the dead. They contained material from older Taoist works—again many of which had been mentioned by Ge Hong—but in addition to this they showed strong Buddhist influence. The Lingbao rituals moreover contained important elements from the liturgy of the Celestial Masters.

The new revelations of the Shangqing and Lingbao texts therefore did not mark a new beginning in the history of Taoism, because they were very much a continuation and an elaboration of what had been before. The Xu family, which had received the Shangqing revelations, belonged to the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters, and so did, as far as we can tell, those who created, on the basis of mediumistic inspiration, the Lingbao texts. It is therefore completely wrong to speak of a "Shangqing sect" or a "Lingbao sect." At the time, such organizations did not exist. Only much later, as we shall see, did the Shangqing and Lingbao texts become identified with lineages of patriarchs and certain holy mountains. The new revelations were important because they upgraded the literary level of the writings and the cultural level of the practice of medieval Taoism. In Chinese culture, where literature is so highly valued, this had a major impact.

As noted above, the Lingbao texts incorporated many elements from Buddhism. They borrowed from it, for example, the recitation of holy books and the performance of rituals as a means to obtain religious merit *(gongfu)*. They were more easily accessible to the Chinese than the translations of the Buddhist originals and thus played an important role in the absorption of Buddhist faith within Chinese culture. Thus, from the happy confluence of the ancient Taoist traditions preserved in South

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China with the liturgy of the Celestial Masters on the one hand, and with Mahayana Buddhism on the other, sprang a new synthesis that developed into one of the highest literary and artistic expressions China has known.

The Impact of Buddhism

During the first and second centuries A.D., Buddhism had slowly but surely conquered China. Like Taoism, Buddhism originated as a movement for personal salvation as a reaction against a sacrificial religion, the ancient Vedic tradition of India. Moreover, Gautama Buddha lived in a time that can roughly be compared to that of the beginning of Taoism. The new Indian faith spread rapidly in Northern India and Central Asia, but although it had reached the regions adjacent to China during the second century B.C., the Confucian orthodoxy of the Han empire did not allow its further diffusion. It was only during the declining years of the dynasty, during the second century A.D., that Buddhism began to establish a foothold.

Historical and textual research has shown that during this period of adaptation, Taoism acted as a kind of receiving structure for Buddhism. Indeed, many early translations of Buddhist scriptures used Taoist terminology in order to render Buddhist terms. Some of these texts did not so much concern Buddhist doctrine as they did techniques related to bodily exercises, apparently in order to cater to the demands of a largely Taoist audience. The relationship between the two must have seemed so close that the Buddha and Laozi were often associated in the worship of the people, and the belief took hold in fact that they were originally two different incarnations of one and the same divine being. The Buddhists may have seen Laozi as an avatar of Shakyamuni, whereas the Taoists saw the Buddha as an Indian form of the Old Master, and Buddhism as some kind of foreign Taoism. Both religions became so much intermingled as to become, in this period, virtually indistinguishable. They also exerted lasting influence on each other. This initial fraternization became the source of much confusion and controversy in later times, when the Buddhists began to dissociate themselves from Taoism and assert the superiority of the Indian faith.

Until the fourth century A.D., Buddhist presence in China was marginal. But when the tribespeople from Central Asia conquered North China, they also began to promote Buddhism in a robust way. With the official backing of the new rulers, many monks came from Central Asia to preach and propagate their faith. Many fundamental texts were translated. Buddhist rites, especially for the salvation of deceased ancestors, became very popular. Taoism believed that salvation was immortality through fusion with nature. It did not have very elaborate ideas about an eventual afterlife and even less about judgments and punishments after death. Buddhism on the other hand preached that sinners went to many hells to be judged and to suffer endless pain, but that the souls of the deceased could be saved through the pious acts of their descendants. This met with great response in China, as can be seen from the many early statues of the Buddha and bodhisattvas that were made "for the salvation of the ancestors of seven generations." Buddhist masses for the dead were also very popular, as can be seen from numerous inscriptions and also from the influence they exerted on Taoist liturgy.

Taoism also adopted from Buddhism its iconography, and during the later part of the period of division between north and south (the Six Dynasties period, 420–589), we find more and more statues and stelae representing Laozi as Laojun (the Old Lord) or as Tianzun (the Celestial Worthy), and looking very much like their Buddhist models.

In the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, Buddhism held the North and Taoism the South of China. But during the second half of the fifth century and even more so during the sixth century, the situation was inverted: North China gradually reverted to Taoism under the influence of Kou Qianzhi (365–448), patriarch of the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters, whereas the South became profoundly immersed in Buddhism. In the process, the separation between the two religions became unavoidable, and a conflicting situation ensued, something which the Taoists chose to ignore for a long time, but which finally erupted at the end of the sixth century. During the entire Six Dynasties period, imperial favor went sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other. Finally, it was Taoism that was chosen to be the federating national tradition for the reunification of China—a position that, after a short hiatus under the Sui (581–618), it would preserve throughout the Tang dynasty (618–906).

The Taoist Canon

We have seen that the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters had its own collection of texts. When later, in the fourth and fifth centuries, many newly revealed books appeared (not only the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, but many others as well), these were invariably presented as superior to the ancient works. Much confusion about their true value, however, ensued. Therefore the emperor of the Southern Liu-Song dynasty (420–479) entrusted the most eminent Taoist of his time, the

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patriarch Lu Xiujing (406–477), to select those texts that appeared to be true revelations and present them for inclusion in the imperial library. Lu selected some sixty that he considered the most orthodox. He divided them into three groups: the Shangqing scriptures revealed to Yang Xi, the liturgical Lingbao scriptures, and the texts of the Three Emperors (Sanhuang). The latter consisted mostly of talismans and spells for protection and exorcism.

Lu Xiujing called these three divisions the Three Caverns, meaning that they gave access to the inner strata of the "mountain" of the Tao: 1) the Cavern of Truth, *Dongzhen;* 2) the Cavern of Mystery, *Dongxuan;* 3) the Cavern of Divinity, *Dongshen.* These corresponded to the three traditions, and represented three ways of Taoist practice. The Shangqing Cavern of Truth was related to the individual practice of the Tao through meditation, alchemy, etc.; the Lingbao Cavern of Mystery contained the liturgy of the Taoist communities; and the Sanhuang Cavern of the Divinity had texts that were related to the saints and the holy mountains who could give protection and ward off evil influences. At the same time, there was a hierarchy among the three. The Sanhuang represented the lowest rank, the Lingbao the middle, and the Shangqing the highest. Thus the ancient idea of graduated initiation and ordination through the transmission of texts was maintained.

Lu Xiujing, however, had made a choice only among the newly revealed texts and had left the more ancient books, such as the *Daode jing* and the *Zhengyi fawen* outside of his catalogue of the Three Caverns. Later, under the short-lived Sui dynasty (581–618), his list of canonical texts (to which in the meantime other revealed texts had been added) was enlarged so as to encompass the earlier works. The division into three groups was thereby changed into seven, by creating, in addition to the Three Caverns, the so-called Four Auxiliaries. The latter contained the *Daode jing* and its commentaries, the *Taiping jing,* the ancient manuals for alchemy, and, finally, the *Zhengyi fawen,* which was considered to be fundamental and relevant for the teachings of all the six other groups.

Again, this seven-fold division reflected the hierarchy of the Taoist organization. The first grade was now that of the first ordinations within the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters; the transmission of the *Daode jing* was the next step. Then followed one by one all the other initiations, with, at the very top, the "final register" of the Shangqing scriptures. Thus, the corpus of scriptures was made to reflect the organization of the body of the faithful, the structure of the entire Taoist establishment. Under the Taoist emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, this Taoist Canon was for the first time entirely written out in many copies, which were given by the emperor to the great temples of the land. There were a total of 3,477 scrolls.[32] In the seventh year of the Tianbao era (748), Emperor Xuanzong ordered that the texts listed in the catalogue be copied out, in an unknown number of copies, and that the collections of scriptures thus made be distributed to all major Taoist centers. This then was the first true Taoist Canon.[33]

Court Taoism of the High Tang

The Tang dynasty (618–906) was a great religious period. The imperial family claimed to descend from Laozi, and therefore the worship of the Old Master, who was canonized in 666 as Sovereign Ancestor of the Most High Mysterious Origin (Taishang xuanyuan huangdi), became part of the official institutions of the empire. During the preceding Six Dynasties period, many emperors and their spouses had received Taoist initiations. Under the Tang, this became a rule and the solemn ordination rites of the emperor and the ladies of the court became national events. The emperors also founded many Taoist establishments.

Buddhism also prospered, and spread itself further, not only in China, but also in Korea and in Japan. The patronage of the emperors was an important factor in the recognition both religions received. In the beginning of the dynasty, the official policy favored Taoism. Later, the Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–705) became very powerful, and she very much favored Buddhism. As a reaction against her rule, the following sovereigns again promoted Taoism.

The long reign of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) marks one of the pinnacles in Chinese culture and is also one of the greatest moments in the history of the Way. Xuanzong, as we have seen, proceeded to publish the Taoist Canon. He moreover founded Taoist temples in honor of his legendary ancestor Laozi in all important cities of the empire. He himself wrote commentaries to the *Daode jing.* He greatly loved Taoist ritual and composed music for it. His favorite consort, the famous Yang Guifei, was herself an ordained Taoist. Xuanzong's love of her and of Taoism in general became the talk of the land and was celebrated in many poems. Not only the members of the imperial family, but also great artists were Taoist. The court painter Wu Daozi is credited with having laid down the ground rules for Taoist liturgical painting, whereas the great poet Li Bai was a "True Person of Highest Purity" *(Shangqing zhenren),* the highest rank in the Tang liturgical organization. His great love of nature left us many magnificent poems:

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You ask me why I dwell in mountains green?
I laugh and don't reply; my heart feels just at peace.
Peach blossoms with the stream float far away . . .
This is another world, not that of men.

Science and Technology

It has been said that Taoism stands out among the world religions in that it never opposed science.[14] In addition, concepts like *yin* and *yang* and other tenets of Taoism have been considered by some not to be at variance with many scientific findings, notably in physics. We cannot say that Taoism actively promoted science. It did, however, exert influence on the development of some branches of science, notably on Chinese medicine. The Tang period saw great advances in the study and systematization of Chinese medicine. Some of the greatest scholars in this field, such as Sun Simiao (581–682?) and Wang Bing (active 762), were closely related to Taoism.

Technology also greatly advanced. One of the inventions made by Taoist alchemists was gunpowder. Even if this discovery may have been accidental, the potential of the "fire drug" *(huoyao)*, as it was called, was readily recognized and the formula was published in alchemical manuals. Other great inventions include printing and the magnetic compass. In both instances, the influence of Taoism can be demonstrated. As for printing from engraved wooden blocks, there is a long history of Taoist engraving of seals with formulas and spells for reproduction which may have paved the way for the development of this technology. The earliest Chinese printed book on a scientific subject is the Taoist work *Xuanjie lu*, dated 850. As for the compass, it seems to have first been developed for the benefit of the practitioners of geomancy *(fengshui)*, before being applied to sea travel.

Inner Alchemy

Alchemical research for the pill of immortality played, as we have seen, an important role in medieval Taoism. Many Tang emperors experimented with alchemical drugs, sometimes with fatal results. This may well have been one of the reasons that during the later Tang period, laboratory alchemy became less popular, and that other approaches were explored. One of these advanced the notion that the alchemical books should be understood, not in a literal, but in a symbolic way. When speaking about the ingredients that went into the making of the pill of immortality, one should see them not as true minerals, but as cosmic energies *(qi)* within the body. The true laboratory, the true crucible, was bodily functions and thus the great cosmological metaphor of the alchemical process was to be understood as taking place within the microcosm of the body. Instead of manipulating dangerous, poisonous, and also very expensive substances, the adept could, through meditation and concentration, crystallize the true ingredients from his own bodily energies and refine them into spiritual forces.

This Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*, as it was called in opposition to the "outer alchemy" *(waidan)* of the laboratory, also reactivated the old Taoist tradition of meditating on the inner landscape or inner country. Many old texts dealing with this technique, such as the *Scripture of the Yellow Court (Huangting jing)*,[15] became popular again. But new texts also appeared, claiming to be equally, if not more, ancient than those manuals. One of these proposed a new paradigm for the human body and its cosmic energies. Instead of an inner landscape, this work described the workings of the body in terms of the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*. The work was called the *Concordance of the Three according to the Book of Changes of the Zhou Dynasty (Zhouyi Cantongqi)*.

The "three" in question stood for the three transcendent components of Heaven, Earth, and mankind, as well as the three stages of the sublimation of the energies in the body: essence (i.e., sexual energy), breath, and spirit (*jing*, *qi*, and *shen*). It proposed to regulate the "inner work" in the body according to the cosmic cycle as expressed through the hexagrams. Four hexagrams (Heaven, Earth, Water, and Fire) constituted the foundation, and the cyclical movement of *yin* and *yang* was enacted by the sixty remaining hexagrams. By meditating morning and evening on one hexagram, the complete cycle of these sixty "phases" could be accomplished in thirty days. This method of the *Zhouyi Cantongqi* became immensely influential and many scholars, including Confucians, wrote commentaries to it.

Indeed, during this period, Taoism and Confucianism had grown closer, and their erstwhile conflicts were forgotten. Both felt menaced by the growing impact of Buddhism, which during the Tang period became extremely prosperous and politically influential. Even within Buddhism itself, there were movements that attempted to reform the excesses and to obtain a better integration within Chinese culture and society. The most successful of these reform movements was Chan (Zen) Buddhism, which integrated many Taoist and Confucian ideas in its doctrine. This did not prevent the Confucians from denouncing more and more openly the "foreign" religion, its wealth, its monastic life, and its ways of worship, all of which were considered highly heterodox. At last Buddhism became the victim of a terrible persecution during the years 842–46. Although the

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repressive measures were later revoked, Buddhism had received a blow from which it was never entirely to recover.

3. Saints, Temples, and the Union of the Three Teachings

The Rise of Local Traditions

During the ninth and tenth centuries, China underwent great changes. Some of these were due to the technological advances mentioned above. Others were the result of political developments. The Chinese empire, which had greatly increased in size, split into regional entities. During the Five Dynasties period (907–960), the country became once more divided into a number of different kingdoms. Although it is often written about as an obscure time before the advent of the glorious Song dynasty (960–1279), it was in fact an important time of transition between medieval China and what may be called premodern and modern China.

During this period, Confucianism staged a comeback. Having integrated many elements from Taoism, and also some of Chan Buddhism, the new Confucianism developed enduringly to become the nation's foremost ideological and political system. At first, the relationship between Confucianism and Taoism continued to be very close, and some founders of the new Confucian movement, such as Shao Yong (1012–1077), for instance, were perhaps themselves Taoist masters. On the Taoist side, we see that some legendary immortals from the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, such as Lü Dongbin, are represented as having been originally Confucian scholars.

Even if the new period of division began officially only in 906, the growing regional autonomy had already begun earlier, at the start of the second half of the eighth century. For Taoism, this would have far-reaching consequences. First of all, the division of the country into a number of semiautonomous regions greatly favored the emancipation of local societies, where Taoism had, and still has, its natural habitat. In the middle of the Tang, under Emperor Xuanzong, the organization of the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters was still very much alive, especially in the regions south of the Yangzi River, the so-called Jiangnan area. It was these regions that, in the period of division, grew to be the most prosperous in terms of commerce and industry. The late Tang saw the development of the great merchant cities of Nanchang, Yueyang, Suzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, etc., that were to become the centers of Chinese culture for centuries to come.

Nanchang became an important market town for the grain trade. The neighboring holy mountain of Xi Shan housed the temple of a local Taoist saint, the divine official Xu Jingyang (see cat. no. 115). He became the patron saint of the Nanchang grain traders, who staged magnificent festivals together with large-scale Taoist rituals for the celebration of the immortal saint's birthday. Affiliated communities from as far as Sichuan in the west and Jiangsu in the east would come to participate. Already at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, imperial patronage was obtained for the worship of Xu Jingyang, and this was reinforced in later periods. Other local Taoist saints also were recognized, and even canonized by giving them official titles.

Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty had canonized Zhang Daoling, the hermit credited with the founding of the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters. This canonization did not benefit the region of Northern Sichuan, where the ecclesia originally came from, but quite another place: the Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan), a Taoist center situated at an important junction of the trade routes that linked the Jiangnan area to the provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong. There, the local Taoists claimed, was the true place where Zhang Daoling had obtained the Tao, and where his descendants had continued to live. Readily, the emperor also recognized the patriarchs of this lineage as the legitimate holders of the title of Celestial Master, and herewith the Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) order of Longhu Shan was created. The Zhengyi order prospered along with the commercial development of South China. The new Celestial Masters—one per generation—became more and more influential, so much so that later Western missionaries would call them "Taoist Popes." From the middle of the Tang, beginning with someone who claimed to be the twenty-third successor to Zhang Daoling, the lineage has continued until today: the sixty-fourth Celestial Master lives now in Taiwan. All this of course was fundamentally different from the ancient ecclesia of the Celestial Masters of the Middle Ages.

The Modern Temple Organization

As a result of these developments, the traditional dioceses and local communities of the Taoist ecclesia gradually transformed themselves into modern temple organizations. The new bourgeoisie of the Jiangnan area organized themselves in associations *(hui)* in honor of their local saints. These associations, which were to dominate the social and economical life of China until modern times, were headed by laymen, but remained intrinsically Taoist in nature. They served many other purposes. Often, the most important associations were vocational groups, such as the grain traders of Nanchang, and hence comparable

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to Western guilds. Others were pilgrimage associations, which maintained the networks between different localities. Still others had more precise aims, such as performing deeds of merit: keeping the temple clean, reciting scriptures, caring for the old and the sick, helping the disabled and the mentally unfit, liberating animals, and even collecting old paper (any piece with writing on it was deemed sacred) and training in the martial arts so as to be able to protect the community if need arose. All this was *gongfu*, "religious merit" (a term we now associate with the Chinese martial arts of the temple associations), and because all these activities were performed as a service to the community, we call these associations "liturgical organizations."

The temple-and-market network developed greatly in the Five Dynasties period. Formerly only a few Taoist saints had been officially recognized. Now, in the many and ephemeral kingdoms that emerged, numerous local saints came into the limelight. The worship of the great saints of the Jiangnan area, such as Guangong (see cat. no. 83), the embodiment of martial virtue; Guanyin, the bodhisattva who became the great dispenser of mercy; Mazu, the fisherman's daughter who became the protectress of seafarers; Xu Jingyang, the immortal official, and many, many more became known in these times on a nationwide scale.

In the beginning of the Song period the development of these local and regional organizations was such that it could no longer be ignored by the central government. In a series of bold religious and political actions, Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song, after having first been sanctified as the living representative of the Tao on earth by so-called Heavenly Letters, undertook to create a network of officially sponsored Taoist temples (the Tianqing Guan, later Dongyue Miao), which allowed for a partnership between the official and private spheres, for the organization of markets, and for the collection of taxes on trade. The Taoist priests who were appointed as keepers of the sanctuaries were recognized as government officials, a dignity that, in principle, they kept until the end of the imperial period. In the Tianqing Guan, not only Huangdi, the divine ancestor of the dynasty, was worshipped, but also many other deities who belonged either to the Taoist ecclesia, such as the Three Officials and the Earth God (see cat. nos. 69–71, 85), or dynastic deities whose worship was an imperial prerogative, such as the lord of the sacred mountain Tai Shan. Soon, with imperial blessing, next to the Tianqing Guan, individual sanctuaries appeared to all these and many more saints and gods. The modern temple was born, with its lay organization that replaced the ancient dioceses of the ecclesia of the Celestial Masters.

During the Northern Song, the role of the emperor as a Taoist was maintained. Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) even became himself "Lord of the Tao" (Daojun) and attempted to transform his court into a Taoist community. He is famous for his paintings on Taoist subjects, for his immense gardens in the capital of Kaifeng which were modeled after his visions of the paradises of the immortals, and for the many hymns he wrote for the great Taoist rituals. Yet we cannot speak of an "official religion" inasmuch as the temple network of which the emperor was the head existed side by side with the official Confucian bureaucracy and separated from it. This created a kind of dual state: on the one hand, the imperial administration and its Confucian officials, its army, land tax system, examination system, etc., and, on the other, the imperial household, the Taoist priesthood, the canonized local saints, and the corresponding temple network.[36]

This dichotomy is the main theme of the famous Chinese novel *Shuihu zhuan* (translated by Pearl S. Buck as *All Men Are Brothers*).[37] The novel, although written in the Ming period, draws on a long tradition of storytelling. Its setting is the reign of Emperor Huizong, and it gives a striking description of Taoist society as it saw itself in opposition with the Confucian bureaucracy. The *Shuihu zhuan* has remained a bible for the local temple communities until this day.

As to the dual system of Confucianism and Taoism in these times, this is nowhere more aptly expressed than in the institution of the Temples of Tai Shan (Dongyue Miao). The worship of the holiest of holy mountains was in principle reserved for the emperor himself, but now, under his auspices, temples of Tai Shan were founded in all the urban centers. Under the Dongyue Miao came the Chenghuang City God temples, which were present in each township and there represented the Taoist spiritual authority in symmetrical complementarity with the Confucian secular powers. In other words: the City God became the counterpart of the local prefect, one reigning over the spirits, the other over the living humans. Below this level came the Earth Gods and their shrines, which represented the smallest social groups, the villages and neighborhoods. The Earth Gods were the spiritual counterparts of the village community leaders. All this was made perfectly visible through the iconography of the temple statues: the God of Tai Shan was represented as an emperor, the City God as a high official, and the Earth God as a wealthy peasant. As to all these temples, while they were administrated by the officials and the citizens of each place, they always employed Taoist masters, mostly of the Zhengyi order.

So close indeed became the relationship between the imperial establishment and the local temple networks in premodern

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China that the reformers at the end of the eighteenth century tended to identify one with the other.

The popularization and secularization of Taoism in premodern and modern China was so thorough that it became virtually indistinguishable from local society. The latter identified itself as the *she*, literally, the local Earth God, and the community or association that maintained the worship of this god, as well as that of all the other local saints and deities, was a *hui*, so this fundamental organization was the *shehui*, a word that nowadays in China is used to translate our concept of "society." There is no better example of the total integration of Taoism within Chinese grassroots culture.[38]

At the beginning of the modern era, the interpenetration among the Three Teachings or Three Religions *(Sanjiao)* had been very strong. Among the Buddhist schools, we have seen how much Chan (Zen) Buddhism was influenced by Taoism. The other great movement, that of Pure Land Buddhism, in turn greatly influenced Song Taoist ritual practice. Confucianism owed an immense debt to both Buddhism and Taoism, which had given it the transcendent dimension it was hitherto lacking. While for many the union of the Three Teachings became more and more a reality, as Taoism grew ever more immersed in local society and popular culture, it became estranged from the other two, or, more precisely, Buddhism and Confucianism gradually distanced themselves from it. The union of the Three Teachings continued, not only during the Song but also during the Ming restoration and even during the last Manchu Qing dynasties, to be one of the cornerstones of the political discourse. In practice, however, only Taoism continued to believe in the dialogue and to promote the common cause, whereas the two other doctrines worked towards a greater differentiation. The unity of the Three Teachings was therefore a typical Taoist cause, and was only actively supported by Confucianism and Buddhism in times when Chinese culture in general was menaced, as happened, for instance, during the Mongol period and again under the influence of the Christian missionary offensive in modern China.

The New Orders: Quanzhen and Xuanjiao

With the demise of the Taoist ecclesia and the rise of the lay associations and their temple networks, the Taoist clergy entered into a long period of decadence. The medieval ordination system, which was so closely linked to the Taoist Canon, became obsolete, first, because the fundamental institution of ecclesia had ceased to exist; and second, because many new scriptures and methods had appeared that no longer fit within the old framework. The Taoist ritual—and therewith the Taoist priesthood itself—became more and more dependent on temple organizations, whether they were national temples sponsored by the emperor, lineage temples such as the "Celestial Master Residence" *(Tianshi fu)* of the Zhengyi order on Longhu Shan, or similar lineage temples on the other sacred mountains (such as Mao Shan), or again local temples in honor of popular saints operated by a *shehui*.

The main result of all this was that the unity of Taoism, which had prevailed under the general liturgical framework of the Tang dynasty, was lost. Many local schools sprang up, each with its own methods *(fa)*. Although different in the details of their methods and rites, they nevertheless continued the basic ritual tradition of the Middle Ages, which they enhanced and expanded with more recent elements, such as Inner Alchemy, or Tantric Buddhist elements. Inevitably, these local schools competed and even quarreled with each other. This breakdown left part of Taoism, especially its higher mystical practices, without true institutional support. Inner Alchemy, which had become its main discipline, was transmitted by many masters, but without any clear lineage and initiation system.

After the fall of the Northern Song (1126) and the flight of the court to South China (the Southern Song period, with its capital at Hangzhou), the North was once again occupied by non-Chinese tribespeople. The twelfth century was a time of incessant war and turmoil. It was there, under these dire circumstances, that a great reaction set in. A former military officer, Wang Zhe, more generally known under his religious name of Wang Chongyang (1113–1170), decided after a failed career in both the military and the civil service under the Jin dynasty, to devote himself to Inner Alchemy. In the year 1159, he had a miraculous encounter with the scholar immortal Lü Dongbin, and the latter's master, the Immortal Zhongli Quan. This encounter established Wang's vocation as a preacher, and he carried out his calling in the very eastern part of Shandong province, where he established his first congregation, to which he gave the name of Quanzhen (Total Truth). Indeed, one of the aims of Wang's teachings was to bring the Three Teachings into a single great system once more.

In time, the Quanzhen order became the most important movement of spiritual renewal in premodern China. The order institutionalized Inner Alchemy as the main way to salvation. As the practice of Inner Alchemy is incompatible with heterosexual intercourse, it imposed celibacy on its communities. Although men and women continued to live together, the communities were by and large organized as Buddhist monastic *sangha*. The new movement's success was almost immediate,

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and in 1190, only twenty years after the death of the founder, the order was officially recognized by the emperor of the then reigning Jin dynasty (1115–1234). But soon, the Jin dynasty came under heavy pressure from the ever victorious Mongol hordes under Chinggis (Genghis) Khan.

While Chinggis was preparing to invade China, he invited the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Chuji to come and see him in Central Asia. Qiu, already very aged, undertook the trip with a number of his disciples, and met Chinggis at Samarkand in 1222. He duly impressed the great Khan, and obtained from him assurances that the Chinese people should be spared the all-out slaughter the Mongols perpetrated in most of the countries they conquered. Chinggis also conferred on Qiu large powers over all religious groups in China. His actions established the Quanzhen order as one of the main partners of the Mongols, who completed their conquest and destroyed the Jin in 1234. This patronage allowed the Quanzhen order to expand its activities even more. It did much for the general advancement and enhancement of Taoism, for instance by reprinting, in 1244, the entire Taoist Canon, which had nearly been lost in the incessant wars. It also continued the performance of the traditional Lingbao liturgy.

We may therefore see the Quanzhen as a reaction against the difficulties of the times and against the decadence of other Taoist traditions, but not as a reform movement. It was, first of all, an action of the elite to assert and preserve the Taoist traditions as well as Chinese culture in general. The Quanzhen masters, at the time they were influential at the Mongol court, did much to help and save not only Taoist but also Confucian scholars. Many of these in turn adhered to the Quanzhen order. Among the great painters of the Yuan dynasty, Huang Gongwang (see fig. 4) was a Quanzhen Taoist.

The impact of Quanzhen Taoism was also important on the popular level, as the new theater of the Yuan dynasty was greatly influenced by it. The origins of theater in China are very complex, but in the form it adopted in the Yuan, which was to endure ever after, it was closely linked to Taoist liturgy and temple worship. Until this century, theater has always been performed in conjunction with religious festivals on a stage in front of a local temple, the same stage being also used by the Taoist celebrants for the presentation of memorials to Heaven. The most important part of the theater performance was moreover purely ritual. The actors were for the most part laymen from the temple associations who considered it a work of great merit and honor to perform. Therefore, the use of professional actors was seen as a sinful aberration.

Fig. 4
Huang Gongwang (1269–1354). *Cinnabar Cliffs and Jade Trees.* Yuan dynasty, 14th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper; 101.3 × 43.8 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

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But the esteem in which the Quanzhen masters were held at the Yuan court did not endure. Much criticized by the Buddhists, they repeatedly lost in the public debates at court on the eternal controversy of the identity between Laozi and the Buddha, and thus forfeited the patronage of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–94). In 1281 this great Khan, the builder of Beijing, in a fit of rage, ordered all Taoist books, with the exception of the *Daode jing,* to be destroyed.

The Quanzhen Masters were replaced in the imperial favor by the Celestial Masters of the Zhengyi order. The contemporary Celestial Master had readily espoused the cause of the Mongols, once it became clear that the latter, after having conquered North China, would now also extend their domination over the South (in 1275). Unwilling to submit himself to the life of the court and the cold of the Beijing winters, the southern patriarch soon retired to his holy mountain of Longhu Shan, leaving as hostage one of his disciples, named Zhang Liusun (1247–1322). Zhang was not only a good Zhengyi Taoist, but also an excellent doctor, so that he rapidly gained the confidence of the Mongols. So greatly was he favored that at one time Khubilai proposed to name him "Celestial Master" in replacement of the patriarch of the Longhu Shan. When Zhang Liusun refused, the emperor established a new order, called the "Religion of Mystery" (Xuanjiao), and put Zhang Liusun at its head. The Xuanjiao order lived only as long as the Mongol dynasty, but it was instrumental in advancing the Taoist temple organization and its lay communities. Zhang Liusun founded the great Temple of the Eastern Peak, Dongyue Miao, in Beijing (1223), which was to become the center of most of the guilds and corporations, and thus the unofficial town hall, of the capital. Many other local temples were founded by him, as well as by his equally brilliant successor, Wu Quanjie (see cat. no. 64).

Ming Taoism

When the Ming (1368–1644) dynasty emerged from the ruins of the Mongol period, the new emperor, himself a former monk, squarely placed the dynasty under the aegis of the united Three Teachings. As to Taoism, it was the Zhengyi order and its patriarch of Longhu Shan that took over the role of the Xuanjiao of the former dynasty as the most prominent representative of Taoism. It fulfilled this role with dignity and fairness. The Zhengyi order and its Celestial Masters did not attempt to unify Taoism, but worked for the advancement of all regional and local traditions. This is perfectly borne out by the Taoist Canon they edited, between the years 1408 and 1445, to replace the one destroyed by Khubilai Khan. The editors gathered together all that legitimately could be considered Taoist without offending either the Confucianists or the Buddhists. The result was a highly eclectic collection of Taoist works, ancient as well as modern, technical as well as poetical, mystical as well as operational. It included all the important commentaries of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* available, but also all the modern saints, including the bodhisattva Guanyin, as well as the remnants of the *Statutory Texts* of the medieval ecclesia.

The Quanzhen order was also duly represented in the Canon. After its eclipse from imperial favor, it had continued to prosper in its many monasteries situated all over the country on major holy mountains. The Zhengyi Celestial Masters did what they could to help it, for instance by restoring one of its foremost centers, the famous White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) in Beijing during the fifteenth century. From Ming times on, Quanzhen and Zhengyi became the most representative Taoist traditions, and they complemented each other perfectly. The Quanzhen, with its strict and Spartan discipline maintained and perfected the higher forms of Taoist mysticism through its practice of Inner Alchemy. The Zhengyi fostered the local communities and temple organizations and provided them with their liturgical framework and ritual specialists.

Taoism under the Ming was everywhere: in the cities as well as in the countryside, in the popular novels of the storytellers as well as in the rituals of the imperial court, in the practices of the sectarian movements as well as in the philosophy of Wang Yangming. It penetrated deeply into the local societies, gradually replacing Buddhism in many of its strongholds in southeastern and northwestern China, as the citizens of the market towns preferred to be their own masters in the local temples, and shook off the tutelage of the Buddhist clergy in favor of the services of the local "Lao Dao" (good old Taoist), who spoke the local language and whose services could be availed of for special occasions.

Not only temples and pilgrimages multiplied, but under Taoist influence, Chinese religion underwent a major transformation: feminization. As we have seen, Taoism had always venerated great goddesses such as Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West. It had also given to women an equal place with men in the priesthood of the medieval ecclesia. In the lay associations of the modern temple networks, as many stele inscriptions show, women played a major role. Now, during the Ming, women's religion became at last truly emancipated. Everywhere, the worship of female saints emerged. For northern China, it was the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn, Bixia yuanjun, the daughter of the terrible Lord of the Eastern Peak, who won the

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hearts of all women and soon of their sons and husbands as well. The great pilgrimage at the occasion of Bixia yuanjun's birthday became the major social event of the year. In Central China, it was the gentle Guanyin, now entirely Chinese and even outfitted with a Chinese hagiography, who came to offer comfort and guidance. And in South China, the Lady of the Waterfront (Linshui furen), Chen Jinggu, as well as good Mazu, the fisherman's daughter, and many others, provided women with a focus for their faith and a rallying point for their associations.

The acceptance of Taoism in Chinese society increased steadily toward the end of the Ming. Both the Jiajing and Wanli emperors, as well as the other members of the imperial household, were great supporters of the local cults. The latter ordered a Supplement to the *Daozang* of 1445 to be compiled according to his wishes. Aside from incorporating a great many scriptures concerning popular saints and deities, it also contained works by some of the most eminent rebel free thinkers of his times.

Chinese society at last was loosening up. The end of the Ming was one of the most liberal and therefore also the most creative periods in Chinese history. Economic expansion, social mobility, freedom of expression, and even sexual liberation were actively promoted. Liberty brought with it an ever greater diversity of local culture. A trend for the abolishing of the classical written language and the emancipation of the spoken language emerged, propagated by the religious organizations and the many new sectarian movements. Many religious works, such as the Buddhist and Taoist "precious scrolls," which explained the doctrines and the moral tenets to laymen, were written in the spoken language, and so were many novels that also were largely religious in nature.

Reaction and Persecution

The trend toward freedom and diversity did not meet with universal approval. Orthodox Confucian opposition was strong. The Jiajing and Wanli emperors were not just constantly criticized, but regularly abused by orthodox censors. Bixia yuanjun, the Mother *(niangniang)* of Beijing, never received any official recognition in the form of an imperial canonization, not for want of imperial patronage (for the ladies of the palace were members of the associations founded in her honor), but because of Confucian opposition. Worse, the new popular religious movements that had sprung up, and that professed the unity of the Three Teachings, were not only not recognized, but actively persecuted as heterodox and dangerous deviations. Gradually, the situation worsened. The Wanli emperor, sick of listening to the endless recriminations of the Confucian schoolmasters, refused to attend the audiences at court. The new religious movements, relentlessly persecuted, rose in revolt. On the other side of the political spectrum, the Confucian literati organized their opposition in political "anti-palace" parties. At the same time, a renewed interest in the ancient Classics made the scholars rediscover the purity of the original Confucian ethics. Like the European reformation before them, critical study of the scriptures made them aware of their original meaning. Soon the critical approach gave way to fanaticism. Scholars ended up by swearing only by the Classics, and wanting to see nothing but the Classics. Thus conservative—or should we say fundamentalist?—Confucianism, which was to have such a dire impact on China's modern fate, came into being.

Many Confucian scholars who opposed the government and the society of the late Ming immigrated to Manchuria, where a new kingdom, that of the Hou Jin, had emerged. It was governed by a tribe of ethnic Tungus who called themselves Manchus, and who had assimilated a great deal of Chinese culture. The Hou Jin had opted for conservative Confucianism as its official ideology. When the monarchs of this small kingdom became by masterful political intrigue in 1644 the rulers of China, they founded the Qing dynasty and continued this policy. Immediately, Taoism became the object of restrictions and interdictions. The Zhengyi patriarch (the Celestial Master of Longhu Shan) was demoted: he was no longer allowed to come to court, and later he could not even visit the capital, as some officials told the emperor that "Taoist are vile; they should not be allowed to pollute the court with their presence." Only the Quanzhen monastic order was condoned. Quanzhen was revived in the capital, the nearly defunct White Cloud Monastery was rebuilt, and a new organization calling itself the Dragon Gate lineage (Longmen pai) took control. With the backing of the government, the Longmen lineage gradually extended itself all over China.

The Manchu government, always afraid of Chinese nationalism, actively repressed the local organizations. The result was strong popular resentment and the rise of secret societies (the Tiandi hui, later known in the West as "Triads") whose aim was to overthrow the Qing and to restore the Ming. In line with its orthodox Confucianist convictions, the government not only discouraged commerce, but also forbade overseas trade, which resulted in a great impoverishment of the state. The history of the "opening up" of China, first by diplomatic efforts—the Macartney embassy to Emperor Qianlong of 1783—and then by the opium trade and the subsequent armed conflicts, is well known. When the Western traders arrived, so did the Christian missionaries. In a nativistic reaction to the Western introduction

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of opium and religion, as well as to the oppression of the Manchu state, China's poorest, the Hakka people of Guangxi, rose in revolt, in 1849, under the guidance of a messiah, Hong Xiuquan, who claimed to be Jesus' younger brother. They gave themselves the name of Taiping (Great Peace or Great Equality), which, as we have seen, was also the watchword of the earliest Taoist mass movements. However, the Taiping revolt not only fought against the Manchu rulers, but also destroyed all temples, Buddhist as well as Taoist, wherever its armies passed. This was the first great wave of iconoclasm in modern China. There were many more to come.

After the suppression of the Taiping revolt, and the war with Japan, the young Confucianist scholar Kang Youwei, also from Canton, and equally strongly influenced by a Protestant missionary, proposed in 1898 a series of reforms to the young Manchu emperor Guangxu. His action triggered the so-called Hundred Days Reforms. The first measure, and also virtually the only one that was actually adopted and made into an imperial decree, was to "destroy the temples and build schools" *(huimiao banxue)*. This measure, in the troubled times of the end of the dynasty, immediately provoked the indiscriminate seizure of temple buildings and properties by corrupt officials and military strongmen. The Buddhist establishments were, in the beginning, thanks to the protection of the then still living Empress Cixi, spared, but the Taoist temples of the people, especially in the cities, were an easy prey.

During most of the twentieth century, the drive to annihilate China's own religion increased at each major turning point. The story of this feat, during a century which has seen so much mass destruction in China and elsewhere, has to wait for later historians to be written. It is enough to say that the Taoist Canon of the Ming—for obvious reasons, the Qing never cared to compile one—was almost lost. In 1920, after so many temples had been ruined or confiscated, only two incomplete copies survived. Luckily, a bibliophile association reprinted the invaluable collection in 1926. The reprint was distributed to centers for Chinese studies all over the world. From that date on, research on Taoism began. After a slow start in China, Japan, and France, Taoist studies rapidly developed from the 1960s. Today, they are flourishing everywhere, and especially in China, where the value of Taoism as an intrinsic part of Chinese culture is again recognized. The international scholarly efforts have in no small way contributed towards this recognition of the importance of Taoism as part of the world's spiritual legacy. This is a great victory for science. This catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies would not have been possible without it.

Notes

1. The term "Tao" was only gradually adopted to designate China's mystical and religious tradition. Zhuangzi speaks of "the arts of the Tao," and later thinkers address the mysteries as "the Way of the Yellow Emperor and the Old Master" (Huanglao zhi dao). In fact the term "Taoism" in its two Chinese counterparts—Daojia (the "school of the Tao") and Daojiao ("the teachings of the Tao")—does not occur before imperial times. The term "school of the Tao" is the older one, and it has been adopted not only for the ancient philosophy, but for the medieval liturgical movements as well. For reasons of commodity, and in keeping with Taoist usage, I use the term "Taoism" freely also for the formative stage, in spite of the evident anachronism.
2. The only "historical" account of Laozi is by Sima Qian, in his *Shiji* (see cat. no. 1).
3. See Schipper 1993: 119–23.
4. Although the above story only appears in later sources, it is obvious that it existed already in ancient times, as Sima Qian calls Laozi "Li."
5. The Chinese term is *zhuxia shi*, "the scribe by the pillar." The pillar was the great sundial of the kingdom, and the scribe appointed to its functioning was in charge of the calendar.
6. The story of the meeting between Laozi and Confucius is told twice in the annals of Sima Qian, and the *Zhuangzi* has no fewer than six accounts. Clearly, it must have been very important for the people in those times. Its general message is the rejection of the conservative feudal order, and the advancement of the individual conscience.
7. The boy was Xu Jia, who finally did not go, but stayed behind and became the ancestor of the shamans.
8. Zhuangzi, in one the early chapters of the work, puts "noblemen and rich merchants" in one and the same category of people *(Zhuangzi*, chap. 4, par. 5).
9. As nowadays the Confucianists insist on considering the Classics as philosophy, it is perhaps not superfluous to point out that they all relate to ritual: the *Book of Songs* contains the ritual hymns (probably a selection of those used at the court of the Lu state), the *Book of Documents* has the ritual prayers, announcements, invocations, calendars and drama texts, the *Book of Rites* (now lost) the scripts of the ritual performances, the *Book of Changes* the oracle texts for the divination in relation to the sacrifice, and the *Chunqiu* annals record the events at which major sacrifices were performed. There is no reason to suppose that Confucius had a hand in the editing of any of them.
10. This is of course not to say that there is any historical relationship between Laozi and the *Yi jing*. It is, however, undeniable that the author(s) of the *Daode jing* knew the *Yi jing*.
11. This is the title of the excellent translation by Victor Mair.
12. This goddess is not mentioned in the Confucian Classics (Laozi and Pengzu are mentioned in the *Analects* of Confucius; Huangdi is mentioned several times in the Classics), which in fact do not mention a single female deity, as they are profoundly misogynist. Confucius considered that "people of low birth and women are difficult to educate." The *Book of Songs (Shi jing)*, one of the Classics, contains a sacrificial hymn (no. 264) that is a violent attack on women, especially intelligent ones. It was therefore long thought that Xiwangmu was a creation of the emerging mystery religion (i.e., Taoism) of the Eastern Zhou period. Recent evidence from oracle-bone inscriptions shows, however, that she was venerated as early as the second millennium B.C. What must have happened is that this great mother deity, along with many other gods of early China, was ostracized by the patriarchal Confucian "classics," and survived within the religion of the common people, only to re-emerge with the advent of the Way of the Old Master.
13. *Zhuangzi*, chap. 1, par. 3. Instead of "Gushe" some texts have "Guye." The location of this mountain range has not been established with certainty.
14. *Lu* means incense burner and Boshan is an ancient name for Hua Shan, one of China's famous holy mountains.
15. Among the Mawangdui silk manuscripts, there is a magnificent document that illustrates these techniques.
16. The most important texts, such as the *Daode jing*, have long since entered the public domain and circulate freely. Many Taoist rites and practices, however, are still transmitted only by masters to initiates.

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17. This identification, although now widely accepted, remains highly questionable.
18. This important aspect of Taoism is branded as "feudal superstition" in China.
19. See Bokenkamp 1996b.
20. See Schipper 1963.
21. See Kaltenmark 1979.
22. On *Liexian zhuan*, see Kaltenmark 1987; on the ancient adepts known as *fangshi*, see DeWoskin 1983.
23. For this expression, see Seidel 1969a.
24. A quote from the fifth-century Taoist text *Scripture for Initiation into the Doctrine of the Three Heavens* (*Santian neijie jing*; HY 1196).
25. Here we find again the opposition between the universe before creation and that afterwards.
26. Tianshi was first the title of Laozi himself, and Zhang was his vicar. Later his descendants themselves received this title.
27. When the first communal movements appear, we see that their institutions do not fundamentally differ from the local administration per se.
28. The place where Wang Ziqiao had a temple erected in his honor. On the immortal Wang Ziqiao, see Holzman 1998b and Steuber 1996.
29. The recipes that were used were mainly composed of mineral substances, of which very toxic substances like cinnabar and mercury occupied the most important place. There are indications that the practitioners believed that the ingestion of the alchemical substances caused death and that their ingestion corresponded to a kind of suicide. A derivative of the great alchemical drugs, which, apart from being deadly, were also very expensive, was a kind of mineral power, largely made of ground quartz. This drug heated the body, increased sexual power, and could even cause hallucinations. In the long run, however, its use was also fatal. Users were wont to eat and drink great quantities of cold food, so as to counter the heat symptoms—hence the drug went by the name of eat-cold powder *(hanshisan)*.
30. See Sivin 1980.
31. This was the *Huangting neijing jing*. See Schipper 1975.
32. Different numbers have been advanced.
33. While in fact the *Daozang* was divulged in the Tianbao era, Xuanzong's canon is known as that of the Kaiyuan era.
34. See Needham et al. 1974.
35. The original version of this work dates from the later Han dynasty.
36. We may suppose that the income derived from this second, parallel, and, from the official viewpoint, marginal network was at times very important and could surpass the income derived from the traditional tax system.
37. Pearl S. Buck, *All Men Are Brothers* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1937).
38. Nor is there an example that better illustrates the conflicts of contemporary China, inasmuch as the word *shehui* was used to coin the term socialism *(shehui zhuyi)*, although this ideology aimed at destroying the "feudal superstitions" that were the very substance of the ancient "community of the Earth God."

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Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt

If it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a particular work of art is Taoist, it is a far greater challenge to identify a Taoist building. Information drawn from Taoist texts or books, a familiarity with religious lore, and a knowledge of the iconography of key deities can assist us in our efforts, but structural signs that a building—or group of buildings—is Taoist may not be readily apparent, even to someone educated in religious doctrine or trained in the history and technology of Chinese construction. This is true for reasons that are peculiar to architecture among the Chinese arts, for Taoist architecture, first and foremost, is part of the mainstream of the Chinese building tradition. The Chinese timber frame is the most adaptable of construction systems. Fundamentally modular, its large and small pieces can be added, taken away, or moved to transform a huge room into small ones; a small, rectangular hall can be refashioned into a large U-shaped one; or the platform of a throne can be converted into an altar. Moreover, all of these changes can occur without altering a building's exterior. In general, the wooden members that form the skeletal frame of a Chinese building and the exterior elements that finish it may be distinguishable by period-style, by features associated with a geographic region, or by rank, but almost never by details specific to its religious affiliation. The invisibility of external signs of religious affiliation holds true for halls of Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, and sometimes Islam in China.[1] In fact, this invisibility extends beyond religious halls, because, since ancient times, religious architecture has turned to residential construction for its first models. When their status is roughly equivalent, individual Buddhist and Taoist halls replicate not only each other but also the form of a Chinese palace, and the arrangement of buildings in a large, well-funded complex—regardless of the particular religion—imitates that of a multi-hall Chinese palace. The multifunctionality of the Chinese timber-frame hall is unique in the universe of building traditions. On the outside, the Chinese building is, in the purest sense of the word, a façade, merely a front for what takes place inside or around it.

There are, of course, exceptions: a pagoda is found only in a Buddhist context, and a minaret is built only at a mosque. But not every Buddhist monastery has a pagoda, and it is possible to confuse a pagoda with a pavilion. The pervasive interchangeability of Chinese architecture has even permitted the construction of pagodas to serve as minarets at mosques. Still, the situation is not hopeless. Unlike paintings or sculptures that may rest for centuries in collections or storage, isolated from clues to their origins and history, it is a rare Chinese building that stands in isolation from its context. Inscriptions on stelae at a building site or records of the town, county, prefecture, or province in which it is located provide the data that inform us that a building is Taoist and often enough information to reconstruct more of its history than might ever be possible for many paintings or statues. In fact, it is unlikely that any extant structure that is or was Taoist has not been identified as such, unless it is one located in one of China's most remote regions with neither interior images nor inscription-bearing stelae.

1. Definitions

Apart from the consideration of a building's structure, one's first clue that a building or set of buildings is Taoist is its name. The most common word designating a Taoist temple-complex is *guan*, such as in the name of the most important Taoist temple in Beijing, the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Monastery). Sometimes *guan* is translated "abbey" to distinguish it from the standard translation "monastery" for a Buddhist complex of halls and temples, known in Chinese as *si*. A Taoist temple-complex

Detail, fig. 10

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Fig. 1
Aerial view of the Yongle Gong (Eternal Joy Temple), a Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) temple-complex in Ruicheng county, Shanxi province.

Fig. 2
Shuishen Miao (Water Spirit [or Dragon King] Temple), a Yuan dynasty temple completed by 1319, in Hongdongxian, Shanxi province.

may also have the term *gong*, "palace," appended to its name, an example of the philological borrowing that parallels the adoption of royal residential space for Taoist architecture. The name *gong* assigns status to a Taoist building site, usually status designated by the emperor. The more frequent use of *gong* is to denote a Chinese palace-complex, such as the Gugong (the Forbidden City, literally "ancient palace") in Beijing. One cannot assume a minimum acreage or an essential number of structures to distinguish *gong* from *guan*. For one thing, many fewer *gong* exist in comparison to the number of *guan*. The most famous Taoist complex is the Yongle Gong (Eternal Joy Temple) in Shanxi province (fig. 1), even though the Yongle Gong is not the largest Taoist monastery in size nor does it (or did it at its time of greatest flourishing) include more structures than some monasteries named *guan*. Buildings at the Yongle Gong and those of a palace-complex have yellow, ceramic-tile roofs. Thus, while *guan* indicates the site of a Taoist monastery, one can only be certain that a complex of buildings labeled *gong* is Taoist if one can determine that it is not a palace.

Two other terms are more ambiguous. *Miao*, widely translated as "temple," can refer to a single Taoist building, usually enclosed in its own courtyard: such is the case with Shuishen Miao (Water Spirit [or Dragon King] Temple), located in Hongdongxian in Shanxi province (fig. 2).[2] Yet *miao* refers also to a complex of buildings as vast as any Buddhist monastery *(si)* or Taoist monastery *(guan* or *gong)*. Temple-complexes to sacred Taoist peaks, for instance, are named *miao*, as in Beiyue Miao, the Temple to the Northern Peak (fig. 3). But the same nomenclature also refers to Confucian building groups. In Confucian construction, the range of *miao* spans the most eminent among them, Kong(zi)miao, the Temple to Confucius, including the most splendid one located near the town of the sage's birth in Shandong province, as well as Confucian temple-complexes in provincial towns and single shrines to Mencius or any other Confucian disciple. *Miao*, however, should never refer to a Buddhist complex.

Similarly vague is the suffix *ci*. It, too, can be appended to the name of one building or a group of buildings. Alone, *ci* is a shrine, sometimes called "veneration temple," for the veneration of a mortal, a folk hero, or a semi-legendary figure who has achieved near-deity status. With time, *ci* came to house images worshipped in popular religious practice; but the initial purpose of *ci* was for veneration rather than worship. Thus, like *miao*, *ci* most often are found in worlds of Confucianism and Taoism. Technically, *ci* should not house Buddhist deities. Yet a *ci* dedicated to a mortal associated with a Buddhist monastery may be present within its outermost enclosure. For groups of buildings, the most famous example of *ci* is Jin Ci, generally known as the Jin Shrines, today a huge complex of structures and landscape architecture in Shanxi province, but originally perhaps a single shrine to venerate the mother of an emperor (fig. 4).

Among groups of Taoist buildings, individual ones are most

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often called *dian*, for more important halls, and *tang*, for simpler or less-distinguished halls. In this case, the distinction is apparent by structural features from roof construction to bracketing, to foundation platform and pillar bases. Both *dian* and *tang* are suffixes for names of halls at sites of any religion, at palaces, and at official bureaus. The distinctions between *dian* and *tang* have a history as old as the recorded history of Chinese architecture.[3] Another universal in Chinese architecture—religious and residential—is the term *yuan*, "courtyard" or "cloister," a reference to the fact that Chinese buildings face onto open courtyards and are enclosed inside or as part of covered arcades or walls. For religious buildings, one finds *yuan* translated as "temple," "temple-complex," or "monastery."

Historically, the nomenclature of Chinese halls and building groups has not been applied with the precision one might desire. The multimillennial building history of China is set against an equally old but sometimes more evolving vernacular language. Five hundred years after a shrine was built in a village, we may find it incorporated into a major abbey of what has become a large town, or we may discover a Taoist hall or residence incorporated into or transformed for inclusion in a Buddhist monastery. Old names often persist, and written records do not always precisely reflect the changes a building has endured. Sometimes, a structure of any religious affiliation is called by the locals simply *gusi*, perhaps best translated "old temple."

In this discussion, Taoist buildings are referred to by the Chinese names used for them today. One must keep in mind, of course, that Taoist architecture is living architecture, changing in response to social and political occurrences. Like all religious architecture, the buildings we discuss have received imperial or private patronage, sometimes both. Taoist structures have suffered imperial and Buddhist purges through history, as well as governmental purges also leveled at institutions of other religions during several decades of the twentieth century. Abbots *(fangzhang)*, monks *(daoshi)*, nuns, and acolytes live in *guan* and *gong* and move from one to another. Primarily and fundamentally, these are not buildings but settings for seeking the Tao (Dao), intensifying one's self-cultivation, defining a relationship with nature, or enhancing or prolonging human life. The life and vitality that may frustrate one's ability to pinpoint a building's name, identify the date of its construction, or determine the extent of its restoration or reconstruction are inherent in religious architecture and are the reasons that these same Taoist buildings exist today.

Fig. 3
Dening Dian, a Yuan dynasty hall completed in 1267, part of the Beiyue Miao complex (Temple to the Northern Peak), in Quyang, Hebei province.

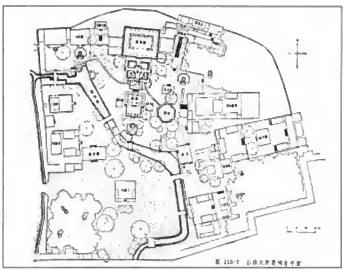

Fig. 4
Plan of Jin Ci (known as the Jin Shrines), a large complex of structures south of Taiyuan, Shanxi province.

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II. Taoist Architecture before the Tang Dynasty

The origins of Taoist architecture are believed to have been coincident with the emergence of the religion. The setting for ritual or practice in the early history of Taoism was sometimes outdoors and, notably, in caves.[4] Either location would have served for the veneration of immortals *(xian)*, the practice of ascetics, or the teaching associated with the earliest Taoism. It is also thought that offerings to gods and spirits *(shen)* may have been part of Taoist practice during the first millennium A.D. If so, altars *(tan)* may have been erected for this purpose. Architectural terms found in early writings seem to confirm cave settings and extremely simple shrines or altars for Taoist ritual. The term *guan* ("abbey"), for example, evolved from two usages of the word found in writings that refer to Taoist architecture from the pre-Han dynasty through the period of Northern and Southern dynasties. The first usage, the one common today, had multiple meanings: to look or observe and to ascend or look up (toward the heavens); it also designates a multistory structure. The alternate *guan* has meanings today ranging from inn to guesthouse to public office.[5] It is suggested that the structural *guan* was built of natural materials for such purposes as the observation of heavenly bodies, the worship of those same heavenly bodies or natural phenomena, and the observation of *qi*.[6] During the period of the Warring States, for example, a *louguan*—*lou* meaning "a multistory structure," *guan* meaning "observatory"—stood on Mount Dongnan.

Two other architectural designations that probably refer to Taoist structures are found primarily in writings of the pre-Tang period. *Zhi*, the closest contemporary architectural definition for a place where governing occurs, were constructed in the second and third centuries A.D. as centers of Taoist worship. Their appearance is believed to have been coincident with the rise of the Wudoumi Dao ("Five Pecks of Rice") sect.[7] The use of the term is another example of the borrowing from non-Taoist contexts for the (architectural) terminology of the faith. *Jingshi*, "chambers of quietude," were used by Taoists at the same time as *zhi*.[8] After the appearance of Taoist monasteries, *zhi* and *jingshi* are found less often in Taoist writings. At the same time, caves for Taoist worship or rituals came to be known as *dong*, "grottoes."[9] By the Tang dynasty (618–906), thirty-six were designated *dongtian*, "cavern-heavens." Natural settings designated as Taoist worship spaces were codified into a list at about the same time. They are known as the seventy-two *fudi*, "blessed plots." This kind of codification occurred as Taoism became a more organized religion, following the patterns of Buddhism and practices at the Chinese court.

To the extent that we can discuss Taoist architecture other than caves or natural settings prior to the Tang or Sui–Tang period, it is almost always in the context of great patrons or great masters. Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.), for example, was one of the great patrons of religious architecture. His patronage was tied to his unrelenting pursuit of an elixir of immortality, or at least a means of prolonging his life. Some of the earliest settings associated with Taoism—such as the isles of the King Father of the East, Penglai, Yingzhou, and Fanghu, or Mount Kunlun in the West—are places to which Han Wudi dispatched messengers in search of life-prolonging elixirs. Han Wudi ordered the construction of Feiliangui Guan in his capital city Chang'an and additional *guan* throughout his empire.[10] In the later years of the Han dynasty, the Taoist master Zhang Daoling taught Wudoumi Dao in *jingshi* or *zhi*. In 327 the great alchemist Ge Hong constructed a *guan* for his teachings, but its location was Weimingdong (grotto) on Mount Luofu, suggesting the *guan* still may have been a cave. In 530, during the reign of the Liang emperor Wudi, construction at Mount Mao (Mao Shan) included Chulin Guan and Huayangxia Guan.

The history of Buddhist architecture in the several centuries following the Han dynasty is such that one might have expected to see a surge in Taoist construction of more permanent buildings and larger temple-complexes at this time. The impetus for accelerated Taoist construction should have been the unprecedented building of Buddhist monasteries and the conversion of existing residential architecture into monasteries in Luoyang and the other capitals during the late fifth and sixth centuries. It is a well-known fact that Luoyang, established as the capital of the Northern Wei (386–534) in 493, had 1,367 monasteries, an increase of more than three hundred percent since the first decade of the fourth century when only 42 stood in the Jin capital at Luoyang.[11] Unfortunately, there is very little evidence for contemporary Taoist architecture in the capital.

Taoist subjects common in funerary architecture of the Han (see the essay by Wu Hung in this volume) are still found in subterranean construction during this period. A tomb excavated at Dingjiazha, eight kilometers northwest of Jiuquan in Gansu province, contains among its murals images of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), King Father of the East (Dongwangfu), a three-legged crow in the sun, a toad in the moon, a white deer, and a host of winged animals and humans.[12] Knowing nothing of the occupant except that he was an official, and with a date of 386–441 based on which of the Sixteen Kingdoms

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controlled this part of Gansu at the time when a tomb with this plan and these murals might have been made, nothing inside the tomb proves its architecture or its occupant to be Taoist. The tomb structure, two chambers of rectangular plan, one with a barrel-vaulted ceiling and the other with walls that curved from all four sides to a small square at the apex, can be found in funerary settings in any part of China or at her borders between the fourth and sixth centuries.[13] Yet lacking scenes more explicitly associated with Confucianism such as stories of filial piety, and lacking Buddhist imagery, there is a good possibility the tomb-builder considered Taoist belief in the choice of themes for the murals. If so, then below the ground as well as above, the funerary architecture of Taoism was indistinguishable from contemporary non-Taoist construction for the same purpose.

III. Taoist Architecture in the Tang Dynasty

Although still not as heavily patronized as Buddhist monasteries, by the Sui–Tang period Taoist architecture had a significant presence in the Chinese capitals and existed in the countryside. As at earlier times in Chinese history, the greatest patrons of large-scale Taoist temple-building were emperors and empresses, beginning with the founder of the Sui, Wendi. His capital city Daxing (Chang'an in the Tang dynasty) had headquarters for both Buddhism and Taoism, the former occupying an entire metropolitan ward on the east side of the city and the latter of smaller size on the west. It is said that at the beginning of his reign, Sui Wendi's capital had 120 Buddhist monasteries and 10 Taoist ones.[14] Probably the number of Taoist abbeys grew proportionate to the number of Buddhist monasteries in the capital in Tang times. The number of Buddhist institutions in Chang'an prior to the persecution of Buddhism during the Huichang reign period (in 845) has been calculated at 156.[15] Although the number of Taoist establishments has been recorded only at 16 during the Kaiyuan reign period,[16] the strong presence of Taoism inside the imperial sectors of Chang'an and the suggestion that a revival of Taoism occurred concurrent with the Huichang persecutions probably means well more than 16 abbeys were in the capital in the seventh to ninth centuries.[17]

At least four Taoist building complexes stood inside the wall-enclosed imperial palaces of Chang'an, two at the first imperial palace site, Taiji Gong, and two at the detached-palace site, Daming Gong, where construction began during the reign of the second Tang emperor, Taizong (r. 627–49) and flourished under the third emperor, Gaozong (r. 650–83). Two of those were halls of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian), one at each

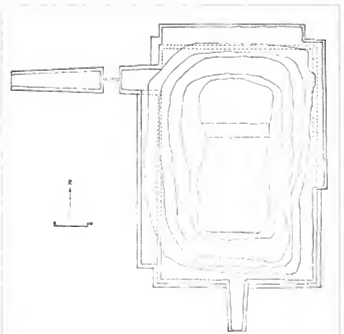

Fig. 5
Plan of Sanqing Dian (Hall of the Three Purities), a Tang dynasty hall within the Daming Gong palace-complex at Chang'an (Xi'an), Shaanxi province.

palace complex. The Hall of the Three Purities at the Daming palace-complex has been excavated.

Located in the northern part of the Daming Gong, just inside and east of the northern gate, Qingxiao Men, the Hall of the Three Purities was elevated on an enormous earthen platform. Measuring 73 meters from south to north and 47 meters east–west, the earthen-foundation platform rose 14 meters in height (fig. 5). Based on excavated remains, archaeologists have suggested that this hall was a multistory structure with a simple, hipped roof, the roof type reserved for the most eminent Chinese structures. Yet beyond this description, few details are certain. The hall could be approached from two sides. One approach, from the south center, measured 14.7 meters in length and was made up of steps. The second, on the northern part of the west side, was 44.3 meters, suggesting comparison with Tang period ramps known as *mandao* or, in spite of its northwesterly position, the magnificent Dragon Tail Way approach to Hanyuan Dian at the same palace-complex.[18] Like Dragon Tail Way of the Hanyuan Dian complex, the approach to the Hall of the Three Purities was made of decorated brick and lined with a stone balustrade.

Tang Xuanzong (Minghuang) (r. 712–56) was a great patron of Taoism. In the first month of 741, he ordered the establishment of a *miao* to Xuanyuan Huangdi (Laozi) in Chang'an, Luoyang,

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and each prefectural capital, as well as academies for the study of Taoism *(chongxuanxue)* in which the *Daode jing* and the writings of Zhuangzi, Liezi, and Wenzi were taught.[19] Later that year, the emperor had a dream in which Laozi instructed him to search for his portrait west of the capital and upon finding it, to hold a ceremony for him in Xingqing palace-complex. Thereupon, Datong Dian was constructed at his residential palace in the Longqing ward of Chang'an. It was the first time it can be documented that Laozi was worshipped by a Chinese emperor in a hall for that purpose in the capital city.[20] As mentioned above, the same Tang emperor worshipped Laozi at Mao Shan in 751. The next year, officials reported sighting Laozi above or near locations in both Chang'an and Luoyang.

In 743 the *miao* to Xuanyuan Huangdi at both Tang capitals were renamed Taiqing Gong and Taiwei Gong. The plan of Chang'an's Taiqing Gong is recorded, as is information about its paintings and statuary. The focal point of the interior was a statue of Laozi in imperial garb, flanked by statues of Xuanzong and two high-ranking officials. Upon their fall from imperial favor, the latter two were replaced by statues of Confucius and four realized beings *(zhenren)*: the philosophers Zhuangzi, Liezi, Wenzi, and Gengsangzi.

The name Taiqing has astronomical as well as Taoist connotations. Astronomy had been under the jurisdiction of the Chinese court since earliest times and palaces had been named after astronomical bodies from as long ago as records of names of palace halls exist.[21] Thus, as was the case in the tomb at Dingjiazha, the relationship between a label of "Taoist" and more generally the realm of imperial or high-ranking China was close.

IV. Taoist Architecture in the Tenth through Early Thirteenth Centuries

Beginning in the dynasties that follow Tang, Taoist architecture can be studied through actual buildings. For this period, about a dozen extant buildings, most of them dated, are noteworthy. To understand the full impact of Taoism on architecture at this time, however, one still needs to refer to textual records.

While the Song dynasty ruled from Bianjing (Kaifeng) during the part of the empire's history called Northern Song (960–1126) and then from Lin'an (Hangzhou) during the shrunken Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), North China and the lands that bordered it were controlled by the Liao (916–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) empires. Although he brought no Chinese religion with him from his birthplace in today's Chifeng county of Inner Mongolia, Abaoji (*r.* 907–26), the first ruler of the group who would found the Liao dynasty, built temple-complexes of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism at his capital, Shangjing, today Balinzuoqi, in Inner Mongolia, in the year 918. The text is specific: Kong*zimiao* (Confucian temples), *Fosi* (Buddhist monasteries), and Dao*guan* (Taoist abbeys) were constructed.[22] The following year, Abaoji's wife Yingtian and the crown prince were instructed to worship at *si* and *miao* separately.[23] Yet it is not certain that more than one abbey existed in the capital. The dynastic history of the Liao provides only one name, Tianchang Guan, located at this capital during the reign of the second ruler, Deguang (*r.* 927–47).[24] Compared to the countless Buddhist monasteries named in the Liao history, and a temple to the dynastic ancestors at their ancestral capital Zuzhou, also in Chifeng county, the early establishment of an abbey was probably recognition of, even deference to, the Chinese religious system in general, deemed necessary by the first ruler as part of his symbolic movement toward Chinese-style rule. There is no evidence of extant Taoist architecture in Liao times nor does Taoism seem to have had a significant impact on Liao culture.

The situation in China under Jin rule (1115–1234) was completely different.[25] Tremendous changes occurred in Taoism at this time, three of which have particular relevance to architecture. First is the syncretism of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism known as *Sanjiao heyi*, a phenomenon that was not new during the Jin period, but was more important than it had been earlier in China. Second was the emergence of new Taoist sects, of which Quanzhen Taoism had the greatest impact on building history. Third, another Tianchang Guan was constructed, this one in the Jin central capital, Zhongdu, today Beijing.

Syncretism of the three creeds and the particular impact of this syncretism on Taoism are explained in the essays by Stephen Little and Kristofer Schipper in this volume.[26] As for Tianchang Guan, it has been called the most important Taoist monastery in Jin China.[27] Rebuilt between 1167 and 1174 by imperial patronage on a monastic site that had existed since the Tang dynasty, Tianchang Guan today is Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Monastery), the major Taoist monastery in Beijing. Images including the Three Purities were housed inside one of its halls and a nearby mountain was designated for monks from Tianchang Guan to refine cinnabar pills. Performance of the *jiao* offering ceremony there in 1190 was believed to have cured the emperor's mother, whereafter the ties between this abbey and the imperial Jin household were even stronger.[28] Masters of all Taoist sects prevalent in the Jin dynasty who were summoned to the capital by the emperor stayed at Tianchang Guan, including the founders of the Taiyi and Quanzhen sects. Tianchang Guan

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seems to have flourished under Jin rule in spite of several imperial bans on construction by the general populace of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries, for it is not certain they were upheld.[29]

The most important existing building associated with Taoism during the centuries between the fall of the Tang and the onset of the Mongol rule, the Yuan dynasty, is the Song period Sage Mother Hall (Shengmu Dian), which stands today as the focus of the Jin Shrines (Jin Ci) about 25 kilometers south of Taiyuan in Shanxi province (figs. 4 and 6). Many exterior and interior features of Sage Mother Hall are unique.

The first of them is the approach to the hall, a cruciform-shaped, white-marble bridge. The hall itself is a seven-by-six-bay structure with an additional, open bay across the front. That bay is marked by gilt dragons that wind around the pillars. In addition to the approach and pillar decoration, other unique features of the hall (among extant Song buildings) are eight-rafter-long beams that span the entire length of the hall. These three features combine with the seven-*puzuo* bracketing, the second most eminent bracket-set type described in the building manual of the Song court, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), and the most eminent variety in an existing building, to define the importance of the Sage Mother Hall.[30]

These details suggest that the Sage Mother Hall is an example of Song imperial architecture. In fact, like other buildings whose architectural details represent the highest-ranking structures codified by the Chinese system, the Sage Mother Hall straddles the labels Taoist and Confucian. Its history begins with a revered mortal, the mother of Prince Shuyu of the Zhou dynasty. A structure in which to pay homage to her is precisely the purpose of a shrine, *ci*. With time, the Sage Mother came to be worshipped. In the Song dynasty, when the present hall was constructed, she was enthroned with images of her female attendants, many of which remain in the hall today. The association with Confucianism, or what might better be called the Chinese bureaucratic tradition, thus is traceable to the original purpose of the hall, including the construction by a prince to pay homage to his ancestor, and to the fact that the structure of the hall is the closest known to what buildings in the Song palaces at their capital Bianjing might have looked like. The Taoist associations for this structure and site are due to the fact that the local populace came to believe the Sage Mother could aid those who worshipped her, and to the importance of natural phenomena, most importantly, water.[31] The Taoist context is confirmed by other buildings in the Jin Ci complex. These include "grottoes" to Laozi, the Three Purities, the Three Heavens, and the Yellow Emperor; shrines to the Three Purities, the Eastern Peak,

Fig. 6
Shengmu Dian (Sage Mother Hall), a Song dynasty hall within the Jin Ci complex, south of Taiyuan, Shanxi province.

the Three Sages, and Lu Ban; pavilions to Lü Dongbin, the Three Officials, Zhenwu, and various immortals; temples *(miao)* to Caishen (the god of wealth), the Dragon King, the spirits of the mountains, the Emperor Guan, Taitai, Lingguan, and the god of the earth; and a "palace" dedicated to Wenchang (the god of literature). The site and surrounding area contain about half that number of Buddhist halls and complexes. Few are dated and most have a history long enough to include multiple construction periods. Among all the buildings and as a composite group, nothing architectural offers an obvious clue to the Buddhist, Taoist, or other purposes of any of them.

Although on mostly flat ground, Jin Ci rambles and lacks focus, much in the manner of a Taoist mountain-temple. In fact, it is more lacking in single focus than many of the temple-complexes located in mountain terrain discussed in the last section. Jin Ci developed, like many of the later Taoist monasteries on mountains, in response to local worship needs and patronage. Several building complexes constructed around courtyards at this site can be considered focal points of the whole (see fig. 4).

Another Northern Chinese temple-complex that received imperial patronage but whose focal deity places it between Taoist and Confucian contexts is the Houtu Miao, the Temple to the Earth God. First built in 1006 during the Song dynasty, its site at Fenyang was destroyed by flood in the sixteenth century. The original layout of the temple-complex is preserved on a stele of 1137 from the Jin period which, similar to another Jin period stele

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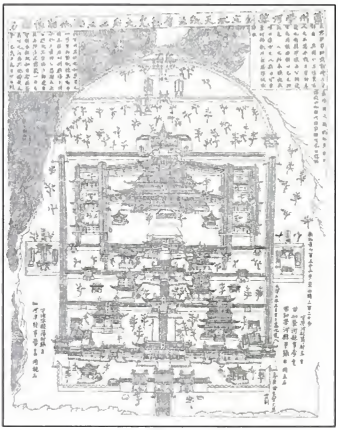

Fig. 7
Line drawing of a carving on a stele of 1137 showing the plan of Houtu Miao (Temple to the Earth God), a Song dynasty temple-complex constructed in 1006, in Fenyang, Shanxi province.

of a different Taoist building complex, the Temple to the Central Peak in Dengfeng county, Henan, shows a structural group almost as large as Jin Ci, but focused along a single axial line (fig. 7).[32] Today the Houtu Miao grounds are used for a kindergarten. Inside the hall are exquisite murals of Taoist divinities dated to the Ming dynasty.

Xuanmiao Guan was built in Putian, Fujian province, a decade after the Temple to the Earth God at Fenyang. Nothing is known about the original layout of the abbey. Today the Hall of the Three Purities survives with much of its early-eleventh-century appearance intact, and halls to a god named Tiandi and the Eastern and Western Peaks remain from later times.[33] The most noteworthy features of the Hall of the Three Purities (fig. 8) in Putian are its gracefully sloping exterior roof eaves and similarly exaggerated curved beams, both typical of southern Chinese architecture; and the bracket sets that project perpendicularly to the building plane along five steps. The last feature is characteristic of architecture in south China during the Northern Song dynasty. The building most similar in structure to the Hall of the Three Purities of Xuanmiao Guan is Daxiongbao Hall of the Buddhist monastery Baoguo Si, constructed three years earlier in 1013 in Yuyao county, close to Ningbo, in Zhejiang province. Both represent a style of southern Chinese architecture transmitted to Japan at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185–1334).[34] Today devoid of images and used as a building for the local middle school, this structure—apart from its name—bears no signs of the Taoist associations of the hall or its monastery.

The fate of five Taoist halls in Jincheng county of Shanxi prov-

Fig. 8
Sanqing Dian (Hall of the Three Purities), the main hall at the Northern Song dynasty Xuanmiao Guan, constructed in 1016, in Putian, Fujian province.

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ince is similar. The Middle Hall and the Hall of the Jade Emperor at Yuhuang Miao, both dated 1076, stand in a ruined state, their interiors used for storage.[35] The Main Hall of the Erxian Guan, the Two Immortals Abbey, dated c. 1107, is likewise closed from public view, but a few pictures of its altar and the Song period Taoist sculpture in it exist (see fig. 9).[36] Two buildings constructed between 1161 and 1189 remain at the Temple to the Eastern Peak in Jincheng, together with Buddhist structures at the same site. A destroyed building studied in the 1930s by the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, may, as its name suggests, have had Taoist imagery inside of it: the Yuhua Gong at Yongshou Monastery in Yuci, Shanxi, had a date of 1008.[37]

It is probably not coincidence that all but one of the buildings discussed so far are or were in Shanxi province. It has been recognized since the initial modern investigations of traditional Chinese architecture that more old buildings remain in Shanxi than in any other Chinese province.[38] This is true for both Buddhist and Taoist architecture. It is not certain that Shanxi was a more "religious" province than others, but the amount of architecture may have to do with the fervor of Taoists, including the rise of the Quanzhen sect in Shanxi during the Jin period, and an overall religious atmosphere that contributed to that rise. Another factor in the importance of religious architecture in Shanxi must be the presence of the sacred Buddhist mountain Wutai in the north center of the province. That mountain necessitated places for pilgrims to stay en route from every direction. At the end of the twentieth century, however, each of the buildings mentioned here and indeed almost every religious complex in the province, Buddhist or Taoist, except those on Wutai Shan, in the major cities of Datong and Taiyuan, and the Yongle Gong, all of which generate tourist revenue, have long since ceased to be religious sites. Instead, Shanxi's architecture has been locked up to prevent theft and desecration and each building, including those on the grounds of schools, bears serious signs of weathering and other damage resulting from neglect through the centuries.[39] Only occasionally has a temple-complex of Taoist associations beyond the main tourist route through Shanxi been maintained. One example is Zetian Shengmu Miao, the Temple to the Sage Mother Empress Wu (Zetian) in Wenshui county. One hall, dated to 1145, remains, but the images in this living temple are new.

One building, the Hall of the Three Purities at Xuanmiao Guan in Suzhou, dated 1176, represents Taoist architecture of the Southern Song (fig. 10). Like the main hall from Xuanmiao Guan built in Putian in the early eleventh century, the Hall of the Three Purities in Suzhou is an excellent example of southern

Fig. 9
Interior view of the main hall at Erxian Guan (Two Immortals Abbey), dated c. 1107, in Jincheng county, Shanxi province, showing a portion of an altar with Song period Taoist sculptures.

Fig. 10
Sanqing Dian (Hall of the Three Purities), the main hall at the Southern Song dynasty complex Xuanmiao Guan, dated 1176, in Suzhou, Jiangsu province.

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Chinese structure of the period, boasting gracefully sloping roof eaves but a somewhat rigid interior structure. Today the focus of a shopping arcade, it too bears nothing but its name to suggest that it is a Taoist building.[40]

Beyond these structures, the rest of the picture of Taoist architecture on the Chinese landscape during this period must be filled in through literary sources. They record at least two Song emperors to have been serious patrons of Taoist monasteries. The third Song emperor, Zhenzong (r. 998–1023), enacted a ceremony in which he received the "heavenly teachings" and ordered the construction of Abbeys to Celebrate the Heavens (Tianqing Guan) throughout the empire.[41] The involvement with Taoism of Song Huizong, who styled himself a Taoist master *(daojun)*, is the subject of the essay by Patricia Ebrey in this volume. Among his building projects was Yingzhen Guan, a Hall for Welcoming the Perfected.[42] During the rule of the Southern Song, more than thirty Taoist monasteries were constructed in the capital Lin'an (Hangzhou).[43]

Taoist construction was spread between urban and mountainous settings in Song China. Two of the most famous Song Taoist temple-complexes were Chongfu Gong on Mount Song (the central of the Five Sacred Peaks) in Henan province and Zongyang Gong (also known as Dongxiao Gong) on Mount Dadi outside the city of Lin'an. The latter is said to have been so expansive that its approach wound nine kilometers from the front gate to the main hall. The Song is also the period during which the first Bixia Ci on Mount Tai (Tai Shan), to be discussed below, was erected.

Six structures should have been present in the majority of Taoist monasteries of the Song period. First was the *shen dian*, a "spirit hall," for sacrificial rites. Second was the *zhai guan*, a hall for vegetarian or *maigre* feasting in preparation for *xiuzhen* (cultivating perfection). In addition there would have been a scripture repository, often two-storied, for housing sacred texts; a hall for teaching or preaching the Taoist law; guest halls; and garden architecture.[44] Each had an equivalent space in contemporary Buddhist construction.

v. Taoist Architecture in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Probably dozens of Taoist buildings survive in China from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the period of the surge of Quanzhen (Complete Realization) Taoism in the north, and sects at Mount Mao (Mao Shan) and Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in the south. As buildings are studied and as heretofore unknown inscriptions or records emerge, the list of architecture from this period grows. So far, a large percentage of halls that survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are in Shanxi, as is the case for survivals from earlier centuries.[45] Again, the history of Taoist construction and patronage of Taoist monasteries is tied to the government. Yet, unlike in the past, the rulers of all of China during the century from 1271 to 1368 were Mongols. Their interest in Taoism is as easy to document as that of early rulers including Han Wudi or the Song emperor Huizong, but the nomadic origins of this group have roused more interest in court patronage of Taoism than has been the case for most other periods of Chinese history. Imperial Mongol interest in Taoism has been viewed both as a means of imperial legitimation, serving the purpose Chinese religions had for every ruler on a Chinese throne since at least the Northern Wei dynasty, and as an aspect of the uniquely Mongol attitude toward religion. Beginning with Chinggis Khan's famous interview of the Quanzhen master Qiu Chuji at the Mongol's camp, one interpretation of the Mongol attitude toward Taoism has been that it is an example of the openness to any philosophical system that might enhance or prolong life or whose masters might be able to influence Mongol designs at universal domination. Attitudes at the Yuan court occasionally gave way to a kind of ecumenicism whereby institutions of all faiths were patronized, especially by Mongol imperial wives. Yet the same openness to religion gave way to court-sponsored debates between Buddhism and Taoism, some intense strife between the religions, and occasional warfare.[46]

Buildings of superlative quality at three sites represent not only the heights of Taoist construction during the centuries of Mongol rule in China, but also the most eminent architecture to survive from these centuries in China. Each of them should be considered against the backdrop of Mongol and religious politics during the period from the rise of new sects under Jin rule through the collapse of the Chinese portion of the Mongol empire to the Ming dynasty.

Four examples of Yuan period (1260–1368) Taoist architecture in China are seen at the Yongle Gong, the Eternal Joy Temple, located in Ruicheng county at the southern tip of Shanxi province. The uniqueness of their survival was such that in 1959 these four structures were moved upriver from their original location in Yongji in order to preserve them while making way for a reservoir.[47] Yongle Gong is intimately connected to a patriarch of Quanzhen Taoism, Lü Dongbin. One of the Eight Immortals, some legends of Lü Dongbin trace his birth to the Tang dynasty in the vicinity of the original town of Yongle, where a

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veneration shrine to him was erected after his death.[48] A shrine to Lü Dongbin probably stood at the future site of Yongle Gong in the Tang dynasty. By the Northern Song dynasty, it had become a temple-complex. Whatever buildings were at the site in Jin times were destroyed by fire in 1244. Just three years later, even before the Mongols established their supremacy in all of China, reconstruction began under their sponsorship. It is probably this association with the rulers that gave way to the designation of *gong*.

Yongle Gong's three main halls were rebuilt between 1247 and 1262. The gate known as Wuji Men was completed shortly afterward. The four stood on a line, the gate farthest south and halls to the Three Purities (Sanqing), Lü Dongbin (Chunyang), and the historical founder of Quanzhen Taoism, Wang Zhe (Chongyang; 1112–1170), behind it. In subsequent dynasties a gate was added farther south and halls were built on either side of the long axial line (see fig. 1).

The Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian) is the crown of the Yongle Gong. Elevated on a white marble platform, 28.44 meters across the front and 15.28 meters in depth (seven by four bays), a huge *yuetai* ("moon terrace"), 15.6 by 12.15 meters, projects in front of it. The size of a hall itself, this large front platform is a common feature in Taoist halls of the Yuan period, and it may have provided space for ceremonies. Approach to the *yuetai* is from the sides: stepped ramps known as *tadao* lead to "ear platforms" on either side. Besides the high platform, a feature that defines the Hall of the Three Purities as a structure of high rank in the Chinese building system codified in Song times is the use of six-*puzuo* bracket sets. The *puzuo* number is an important factor associated with a building's eminence or lack of it. The Song system stipulates fundamental bracketing configurations, or *puzuo*, of which no. 8 is the highest and no. 3 is the lowest. The highest *puzuo* number extant in Yuan structures is six, the formation employed at the Hall of the Three Purities.[49] In addition to the platform and bracket sets, the simple, hipped roof and the three lanterns, or cupolas *(zaojing)*, of its ceiling are marks of a distinguished structure. Features that define this hall as a Yuan structure are the presence of two struts in the form of bracket sets between the pillar-top bracketing across the front façade and the suggestion of three cantilevers, which are in fact decorative ends of bracket-arms and thus "false" cantilevers, on the corner bracket sets of the front façade and hall interior.[50]

The structures of the halls to Lü Dongbin (Chunyang Dian) and Wang Zhe (Chongyang Dian) at the Yongle Gong provide equally good evidence of architecture of the Yuan period but of slightly less eminence than the Hall of the Three Purities. Possessing the two intercolumnar bracket sets and the suggestion of three cantilevers that define Yuan period architecture, the bracket clusters of Chunyang Dian are six-*puzuo* and those of Chongyang Dian are five-*puzuo*. The numbers are in accordance with the placement of the halls in the monastery and the importance of the subject of the hall's dedication. Second after the Three Purities in the scheme was Lü Dongbin, and, after him, Wang Zhe. Befitting buildings slightly less prestigious than the main hall, but at a major monastery, are the hip-gable combination roofs that top both Chunyang Dian and Chongyang Dian and the presence of one *zaojing* in each of their ceilings. As for a feature that may define these as Taoist halls, the oversized *yuetai* approached from the sides also is present at both.

One cannot help but notice the lack of doors or windows on all sides but the front of the three Yuan period halls and the gate at the Yongle Gong. Although rare in Chinese architecture, in general, such construction is usually a sign that all possible interior wall space was needed to accomplish a painting program. Certainly that was the case at the Yongle Gong. Equal to its importance as a site of Taoist architecture is the fact that the Yongle Gong is a repository for 842 square meters of Yuan period Taoist wall painting. The names of the halls relate to the central figures of worship within.[51] The Hall of the Three Purities, for example, contains murals of over two hundred members of the Taoist pantheon paying homage to statues of the Three Purities (now lost). Similarly, legends of Lü Dongbin and Wang Zhe are the subjects of the images in Chunyang Dian and Chongyang Dian, respectively (fig. 11). The legends are set against architectural backgrounds, providing the most extensive source of paintings of architecture from the period. Although like most Chinese painting of architecture, exaggeration and idealization are evident in the murals, a few details are specific to the period. These include two sets of intercolumnar bracket sets, corner bracket sets with three diagonal projections, and large *yuetai* with detailed, carved decoration.

The structure of Dening Dian, focus of the Temple to the Northern Peak complex (Beiyue Miao) in Quyang, Hebei, is as extraordinary as that of Sanqing Dian (fig. 3). Dening Dian was constructed in 1267, probably within fifteen years of Sanqing Dian and within about a decade of the initial construction of Khubilai Khan's imperial city at Dadu.[52] Not only do the two Yuan halls share architectural components that designate structural eminence during the Yuan period including elevation on a high marble platform, six-*puzuo* bracketing, two sets of intercolumnar bracket sets, and the hipped roof, but additional features not

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Fig. 11
Detail of a wall painting from Chunyang Dian, the hall to Lü Dongbin, 1262, at the Yongle Gong, Ruicheng county, Shanxi province.

present at Sanqing Dian mark Dening Dian as the closest surviving structure to descriptions of buildings in the Mongol capital. Those include the double set of roof eaves, the marble balustrade and animals that cap its posts, and the heads of animals on which those posts rest.[53] As at three Yongle Gong halls, an oversized *yuetai* is positioned at Dening Dian's front. Also as in the three halls of the Yongle Gong, the interior walls of Dening Dian were originally covered with murals. Only a few images survive from the Yuan period, among them those of deities who bring forth rain. Nine statues, all made centuries after the Yuan dynasty, are on an altar inside the hall.

Like the Sage Mother Hall of the Jin Shrines, Dening Dian of Beiyue Miao is a Taoist structure whose architecture exemplifies the Chinese imperial tradition. The presence of spirits to whom one prays for rain among the wall paintings and, of course, the dedication of the site to the Northern Peak, are clear evidence that the label "Taoist" is appropriate. Besides ambitions of the Taoist church in the Yuan period, imperial and political motives led to the construction and placement of the Temple to the Northern Peak in Hebei. The Liao sought confirmation by the Lord of the Northern Peak at this site before launching an attack against Song China. The new Mongol rulers of China decreed the construction of Dening Dian even before the official founding of the Yuan dynasty and before the completion of the city walls of their great capital Dadu (Beijing). In Yuan times, Beiyue Miao was the one Taoist stronghold in a part of northern Shanxi and Hebei heavily populated by major Buddhist monasteries.[54]

Shuishen Miao, the Temple to the Water Spirit, or Dragon King (also known as Mingyingwang), the deity to whom interior paintings at Dening Dian were dedicated, was completed by the year 1319 (fig. 2). A standard structure with two sets of roof eaves, one of them hip-gable in form, and five-*puzuo* bracket sets, the Shuishen Miao has one exterior feature that may indicate its Taoist affiliation: a *yuetai* with two approaches from the side. Inside, the subjects of its exquisite wall paintings represent the heights of southern Shanxi, or Pingyang regional style, comparable to those at the Yongle Gong, including illustrations of the world of the Chinese scholar, a painting of a Tang emperor, and one of the Dragon King himself. The Dragon King Temple, although in its own enclosed courtyard, is on the grounds of the Buddhist monastery Guangsheng Si, where repairs of its Buddhist halls occurred at the same time as those of the Dragon King Temple.

Among the other extant Yuan period Taoist buildings, both the Hall of the Five Peaks (Wuyue Dian) at Wuyue Miao in Fenyang county and the Hall of the Three Purities at Wanshou Gong in Gaoping preserve Yuan period wall paintings on their interiors.[55] An isolated hall dedicated to a god named Tangdi in Bo'ai prefecture, Henan, is an excellent example of the kind of humble structure that at one time probably stood in every Chinese town and village.[56] Finally, the Yuan period offers a bit of information about Taoist tombs and perhaps about a city plan

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inspired by Taoist ideals. Northwest of the original Yongle Gong in Yongji prefecture, behind the three main halls, were a shrine *(ci)* to Lü Dongbin and temples *(miao)* to two Quanzhen Taoists who had been involved in the construction of the Taoist palace, Song Defang (1183–1247) and Pan Dechong. In addition, tombs excavated at the site are believed to belong to the three of them. None of the tombs boasts remarkable structure.[57] The presence of the shrines and tombs, however, is yet another indication that the Buddhist practice of veneration and burial of monks and laymen deeply involved in a monastery's founding, expansion, or history had its counterpart in Taoist monastery construction.

As for cities, throughout Chinese history no city can be described as Taoist, certainly not to the extent that one thinks of Northern Wei Luoyang as a Buddhist city. However, unique evidence about Shangdu (Xanadu), the capital founded by Khubilai Khan at Kaipingfu (today Duolun [Dolonnur], Inner Mongolia) in 1256, suggests that Taoist practice may have been a basis for its design. Eight great monasteries were positioned roughly at the four cardinal directions and the four corners of the Shangdu palace-city. One can interpret this plan as the realization of a mandala, such as the configuration at the focus of the Womb World Mandala, in which each monastery would represent an esoteric deity. However, a second interpretation is possible. Designed by a Chinese official in Khubilai's service, the construction program may also be a reference to the eight fundamental trigrams of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*, whereby the Huayan Monastery and Qianyuan Monastery, in the northeast and northwest parts of the palace-city, would have been associated with the trigrams *gen* and *qian*, respectively.[58]

VI. Taoist Architecture after 1368

The majority of Taoist architecture we see today was constructed after the return to native Chinese rule by the Ming dynasty in 1368. Post-fourteenth-century Taoist buildings survive in every province, in their cities and towns and in the countryside. Almost every active Taoist monastery has a building history that can be documented from the Ming dynasty onward and a history that is much older.

For those outside of China, the best-known of China's active Taoist monasteries are on sacred peaks, in major cities, or in extraordinary natural settings. The architecture of Tai Shan, Wudang Shan, and Baiyun Guan are examples of this group. These or others like them such as the Temple of the Eastern Peak in Beijing have come to the attention of the non-Chinese public also because information about them is available in Western languages.[59] Yet there are abbeys that remain remote whose architecture and interior wall painting are of equal or superior quality. In this final historical section, Taoist sites that represent the range of construction in living monasteries are discussed.

Tai Shan, or Mount Tai, would be on almost any list of the most significant sites of Taoist architecture in China. Located in central Shandong province, since the beginnings of Chinese imperial history Tai Shan has been Dongyue, the Eastern Peak. Burnt offerings are said to have been made at Mount Tai even earlier, since the age of the legendary emperors.[60] Legendary emperor Shun is said to have initiated the practice that came to be called inspection tours *(xunshou)* of his realm, beginning at Mount Tai in the east, the direction of the rising sun. Both Qin Shihuangdi and Han Wudi made sacrifices there. Tang Gaozong performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices at Tai Shan on the same tour as he made sacrifices to Confucius at a temple near the sage's birthplace in Qufu, Shandong, and to Laozi in Anhui, during 665–66.[61] Besides enactment of the imperial sacrifices of *feng* and *shan*, performed by these three emperors and perhaps only three others, the last in 1008,[62] its associations with the sacred privileges of the Chinese emperor were so strong that a Hall of Light (Mingtang) was constructed on Tai Shan.[63] Yet again one observes the unique blending of Taoism and Confucianism at a Taoist site that received imperial attention.

Contrasting Tai Shan's fundamental place in imperial ideology is the reason that probably brought emperors there in the first place: the mountain itself is a deity.[64] Tai Shan's eminence even among the sacred peaks is due to its proximity to the Eastern Sea, where the isles of Taoist immortals Penglai, Yingzhou, and Fanghu were believed to be. Furthermore, the Lord of Tai Shan is believed to control the fate of the Chinese emperor. Like most of the Taoist ceremonial sites discussed thus far, Tai Shan bridges the world of the emperor's Confucian responsibility to his state and the Taoist quest for immortality and belief that natural phonomena are sacred. Yet when one turns to architecture, little about the buildings that stand or are said to have stood on Tai Shan presents itself as identifiably Taoist. The two building-complexes most central to Tai Shan's purposes, Dai Miao and Bixia Ci, can serve as examples.

Dai Miao, or Dai Temple, is dedicated to the god of the mountain himself. Among the multitude of spirits gathered at the Eastern Park, he is the ultimate one and thus it is fitting that his temple should exhibit the most splendid architecture at the site. The building history of Dai Miao can be traced to the Eastern Han. Later construction occurred under three emperors famous as Taoist patrons, Tang Xuanzong and Song Zhenzong and Hui-

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Fig. 12
Dai Miao (Dai Temple), a Qing dynasty structure on Tai Shan (Mount Tai, the Eastern Peak; also called Dongyue), Shandong province.

zong. The main temple does not survive from those times, but probably it was a Tang or Song equivalent of the Qing structure we see today (fig. 12). A Qing imperial building in every respect, the main temple has more in common with the Hall of Supreme Harmony in Beijing and Dacheng Dian of the Confucian Temple in Qufu than with any other structure in China.

Bixia Ci, or Bixia Shrine, dedicated to the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn (Bixia yuanjun), is in a more mountainous setting. Still, it consists of four main halls enclosing the four sides of a courtyard—an excellent example of the fundamentally Chinese principle of spatial enclosure called *siheyuan*—as well as a pavilion inside that courtyard, and additional, symmetrically placed towers or pavilions. The halls and arrangement are indistinguishable from those of a Buddhist or residential courtyard. One needs to enter a hall and see an image of Bixia yuanjun to know it is a Taoist site. Like the architectural complexes, pictures of them reveal little of their Taoist affiliations. *Clearing Sky after Snow on the Purple Empyrean Palace at Mount Wudang* (cat. no. 109) is an example. The actual Purple Empyrean Palace (Zixiao Gong) at Wudang Shan dates to the fifteenth century. Nestled in a beautiful landscape is a rigidly presented architectural group. The triple-entry gate and the main hall behind are impressively similar to the actual hall, including the long approach to it and extremely high double-layer platform on which it is elevated (fig. 13). The height of the hall is noteworthy, recalling the elevation and approach to Dening Dian at the Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang (fig. 3) and to Dai Miao. Xie Shichen wrote in his inscription that he painted from memory. Perhaps he did, but if the painter wanted to refresh his memory he could have entered any religious complex of his day. Nothing at the actual hall, except perhaps the elevation and approach, and nothing in the painting, marks the main hall of Zixiao Gong as the place where Zhenwu overcame the forces of the dark northern quadrant.[85]

Guan Huai's *Taoist Temples at Dragon and Tiger Mountain* (cat. no. 151) exemplifies the generic aspect of paintings of Taoist architecture such that the plans could as easily be those of Buddhist monasteries, on the one hand, and a kind of specificity whereby this hanging scroll provides detailed information about a monastery now lost, on the other. Nothing survives of the eighteenth-century monastery in Guixi, Jiangxi, that Guan might have seen, nor do structures from the nineteenth-century renovations at the Zhengyi sect headquarters. Guan Huai's painting is the only record. In it, the painter has labeled the buildings and natural features of the plans of two eighteenth-century temple-complexes at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan). The similarities between those two plans, each with a triple entry gate, second gate behind it, one or several principal halls and the back gate, to Zixiao Gong on Wudang Shan or the Bixia Ci on Tai Shan or the Yongle Gong on flat ground, are obvious. Even if the halls and gates were not so precisely set along axial lines, it is likely the roofs of specific halls in the two temple-complexes were hip-gable combination and possessed one as opposed to two sets of roof eaves. Guan Huai's image of a Taoist monastery is accurate. Finally, the high elevation and long approach to the main hall in each complex are features we continue to observe in Taoist architecture.

Taifu Guan is a Taoist monastery on less mountainous terrain, but one that retains Ming structures. Located in Shangmiao village of Fenyang county, Shanxi, the region of the Houtu Miao mentioned above and numerous other Taoist temple sites that originated in Jin times or earlier, one building at Taifu Guan survives from the Jin period. The entrance to the monastery is a three-bay ceremonial gate with glazed ceramic rooftiles and ceramic-tile dragons in roundels on either side of the doorway.

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Directly behind it is the three-bay-square, Jin period main hall, dedicated to Haotian. Inside, the principal image is the Jade Emperor. He is attended by three images on each side, females next to him and a pair of males beyond each of them. The garments of each sculpture are painted in extraordinary detail and the altar on which they stand is a superior example of *xiaomuzuo*, "lesser carpentry," the woodworking technique described in the twelfth-century architectural manual *Yingzao fashi*, which was taken to its greatest heights in ceilings and decoration such as this altar in Jin times.[66]

The courtyard of Taifu Guan is framed according to the *siheyuan* principle of structures on four sides. Five-bay halls form the sides between the front gate and Hall of the Jade Emperor (fig. 14). The hall on the right as one enters the courtyard is dedicated to the Sage Mother (Shengmu). All the images in this hall are female, again with garments painted in great detail and with wall paintings of the daily activities of women behind them. Among the sculptures is one of a nursing mother, suggesting the function of the monastery for folk worship in the village. Also stored in the hall are palanquins that no doubt were used to carry the images in processions.

The hall on the left, by contrast, contains more formal imagery of the Taoist pantheon. Across the front altar are deities of the Five Sacred Peaks: Tai Shan in the center, with Hua Shan (west) and Heng Shan (north) to his right and Song Shan (east) and Heng Shan (south) to his left. On altars on the two side walls are deities of the four rivers, two on each.

All four structures of Taifu Guan have hip-gable combination roofs. All roofs except that of the front gate of Da Shangqing Gong appear to be hip-gable also. In Xie Shichen's painting, the roofs also seem to be of the hip-gable combination. As for the layout of each monastery, in Xie's painting the scheme is *siheyuan*, such as it is at Taifu Guan, whereas in both the Longhu Shan monasteries depicted in Guan Huai's painting only gates that break the continuous covered corridor around the monasteries are perpendicular to the main axial line. The significant conclusion to be drawn from these comparisons is that Taoist monasteries in paintings and extant Taoist monasteries from the same time period conform to the same general rules of Chinese spatial planning. This statement can be extended to painted, engraved, and described plans of Buddhist and Confucian temple-complex space.

Thus it seems likely that the plans of temple-complexes of China's other famous peaks and those in the cities that do not survive could be reconstructed from extant paintings or stele inscriptions. Mao Shan, located southwest of Nanjing in Jiangsu

Fig. 13
Purple Empyrean Palace on Wudang Shan (Mount Wudang).

Fig. 14
Entry to Taifu Guan, a Ming dynasty monastery in the village of Shangmiao, Fenyang county, Shanxi province.

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Fig. 15
Location of Taoist and Buddhist palaces and monasteries (or observatories) on Azure Wall Mountain (Qingcheng Shan), Sichuan province: 1. Crane-call Monastery (or Observatory) (Heming Guan); 2. Temple of Universal Illumination (Puzhao Si); 3. Palace of Eternal Life (Changsheng Gong); 4. Palace of Establishing Good Fortune (Jianfu Gong); 5. Palace of Encircling Brilliance (Yuanming Gong); 6. Celestial Master Cavern (Tianshi Dong); 7. Palace of Jade Purity (Yuqing Gong); 8. Palace of the Perfected Warrior (Zhenwu Gong); 9. Palace of Highest Purity (Shangqing Gong); 10. Pavilion of Calling Response (Huying Ting); 11. Temple of Encircling Penetration (Yuantong Si); 12. Arranged Immortals Monastery (or Observatory) (Luoxian Guan); 13. Temple of Great Stability (Tai'an Si); 14. Temple of the Celestial Platform (Tiantai Si); 15. Eight Trigrams Platform (Bagua Tai); 16. Temple of Duke Zhao (Zhaogong Miao).

province, is one place where such reconstruction should be possible. Named for three brothers who practiced alchemy there during the reign of Han Jingdi (r. 156–141 B.C.) and associated with Ge Hong in the third century and Tao Hongjing in the Liang dynasty (502–557), no pre-twentieth-century building survives on the three-peak mountain.[67] Probably, the various temple-complexes resembled those of Qingcheng Shan.

Indeed, more impressive than the architecture of a flat Taoist monastery like Taifu Guan or the Yongle Gong are monasteries in mountainous settings in which the spatial arrangement nevertheless conforms to the layout on flat ground. At present the mountain Qingcheng Shan houses sixteen Taoist and Buddhist monasteries.[68] Their placement is shown in figure 15. In spite of the topography, the main structures of each individual monastery are focused on a straight line. The only feature that might be considered a deviation from the rigid axis is that the building line can run north–south, east–west, or a direction between a cardinal one.[69]

The Qingyang Gong in Chengdu, Sichuan province, is said to be where Laozi attained immortality *(huasheng)*. Tang Xuanzong stopped there in 751 and worshipped Laozi when he fled the Tang capital for Sichuan. Upon his return to the capital, Chang'an, Emperor Xuanzong elevated the status of the monastery to *gong* and gave tremendous sums for construction. Qingyang Gong was destroyed at the end of the Tang dynasty, rebuilt in Song times, destroyed and rebuilt in Yuan and Ming times, eventually leading to repairs under the Kangxi emperor and a visit by the Yongzheng emperor who came to worship Laozi.[70]

The dedications of Taoist halls and temple-complexes at Qingyang Gong are standard: they are for service of deities worshipped since the initial construction of Taoist architecture. Lingzu Dian is a five-bay, two-story structure in which Guansheng and Wenchang are worshipped In the first story and Wangling is worshipped in the upper story. The hall dedicated to Laozi, Hunyuan Dian, is also five bays across but only one story. On either side of Laozi on the interior are images of civil and military officials. The Hall of the Eight Immortals is actually a pavilion, octagonal in plan, elevated on a square foundation

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surrounded by a stone balustrade painted red-brown. Rising twenty meters, its roof is decorated with yellow, green, and purple ceramic tiles. The Hall of the Three Purities, also known as Wuji Dian, is the main hall of the monastery. Five bays across, with a single-eaved, hip-gable roof, its interior houses images of Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan as well as the Three Purities. Like the first hall, Doumu Dian is two-storied. The last hall, dedicated to Tang rulers, is one of three structures in a back garden. In addition, a hall for printing Taoist scriptures stands to the east of the main line of halls, and a hall for worship of Taoist sages through history stands to the west. The deities to which the halls are dedicated define the Qingyang Gong as a Quanzhen-sect monastery. Other evidence of this association is found in inscriptions in the adjacent Erxian Convent to the east. Nothing structural identifies the monastery halls as Taoist or its sect as Quanzhen.

Baiyun Guan, built along seven courtyards, is a Quanzhen-sect site too (fig. 16). Emperor Xuanzong worshipped Laozi there in the Tang dynasty, the abbey suffered destruction thereafter, and was built in 1203 during the Jin dynasty as the Taiji Gong, signifying imperial patronage. When the Quanzhen master Qiu Chuji took up residence at the Taiji Gong in the thirteenth century, repairs and new building commenced. In 1227 Khubilai Khan named it Changchun Gong. Today the headquarters of the Chinese Taoist Society, Baiyun Guan has been one of the most active urban Taoist monasteries in recent decades. Its counterpart in the Taipei suburbs—one of the largest, most popular, and most active Quanzhen monasteries in Taiwan—is Zhinan Gong (fig. 17), a towering twentieth-century megalith whose architectural details, in particular the colorful tile decoration on its roofs, are characteristic of contemporary architecture of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism on Taiwan more than of anything specifically Taoist.

Are there, finally, general statements to be made about Taoist architecture? Except for their elevation on high platforms, their long approaches, and their sometimes oversized platforms in front, no exterior or interior component of a structure is identifiably Taoist. Rather, an examination of representative halls through the history of Taoism in China shows extraordinary similarity to imperial, Confucian, or Buddhist architecture of comparable status. The sectarian designation of a Taoist hall or its building complex cannot be determined by exterior signs either. Taoist architecture does not identify itself as a place for the attainment of immortality or the mixing of elixirs for that purpose. Upon entering a Taoist structure, the message of its

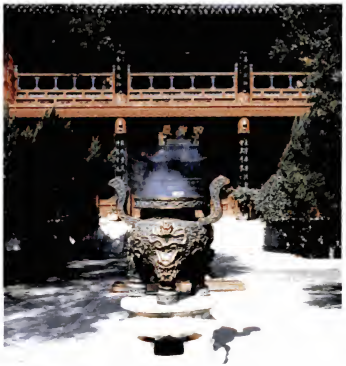

Fig. 16
A courtyard of the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Monastery) in Beijing.

Fig. 17
Zhinan Gong, one of the largest Quanzhen-sect monasteries, located in the village of Mucha, near Taipei, Taiwan.

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murals might be an enhancement to a practitioner's transformation, or a devotee might purchase an elixir mixed by a resident priest, but the same two occurrences could happen as easily and efficiently in a grotto. Certainly images offer an opportunity for personal prayer, and objects on an altar afford the possibility of ceremony, and both identify a structure as Taoist once inside.

One might be inclined to attribute the lack of visible signs of Taoism in its architecture to some kind of mysticism associated with the faith. In fact, that is not the case. Nor is it true that knowledge of associations of a site with a Taoist sage, immortal, or emperor-patron or memory of an event in Taoist history that occurred there offer greater understanding of the architecture than can be observed by a non-Taoist. Knowledge, devotion, and belief enhance the experience of a Taoist site, but not in ways unique to Taoist architecture among Chinese religious structures. Once Taoism turned to the Chinese building system of wooden pillars and lintels to replace grottoes and altars in natural settings, its buildings were and were to remain first and foremost Chinese timber-frame buildings in complexes of buildings arranged along Chinese-inspired axial lines and around Chinese-style courtyards. Whether Taoist wooden architecture learned from Buddhist, or both learned from Confucian building patterns is impossible to say. Rather, one can conclude that architecture for all purposes served by the Chinese building tradition evolved together, and one of the only ways to determine if a building complex might be Taoist is the lack of a pagoda. Even without the pagoda, the range of possibilies for that group of buildings includes some Buddhist monasteries and imperial architecture and Confucian architecture, as well as Taoist.

Notes

1. Christianity is not on this list because a church is identified on the outside by a cross. However, churches appear in China much later than architecture of the other religions in this list. Probably the buildings of religions practiced in China during the first millennium A.D. but that died out thereafter such as Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism were no easier to distinguish on the exterior than synagogues or Confucian temples. On the shared architectural forms of the latter two, see Steinhardt 1997.
2. The word *miao* commonly refers to a place for worshipping local deities associated with popular religion. These deities are sometimes, but not always, incorporated into the Taoist pantheon, and Taoist priests will sometimes perform rites in *miao*. Consequently, *miao* are often places where Taoist and popular practices come together, rather than being exclusively Taoist places of worship.
3. The most extensive record of Chinese building practices is *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), presented to Song Huizong's court by official Li Jie in 1103 and reissued in 1145 during the Southern Song. The distinctions between *dian*, a high-ranking hall, and *tang*, a hall, are articulated in it. To understand the differences fully, one needs to read all sections of the 34 *juan* work relevant to the Chinese timber-frame and its decoration. The terms *dian* and *tang* are first discussed in *juan* 1, one of two *juan* that comprise the section known as *zongshi*, or general terminology.

   The first word listed in *juan* 1 is *gong* (see YZFS 1974, vol. 1: 2–4). Nowhere in the discussion of *gong* is a Taoist context suggested. The same is true in the definition of *gong* in the classical dictionary *Erya*. None of the other names for Taoist temple-complexes is discussed in *Yingzao fashi*. Research confirms the implementation of what is written in the text in extant Buddhist buildings of the Tang through Yuan periods, even though the purpose of the text was to promulgate the official building standards. Several examples of the distinction between high and low rank are presented in the discussion of bracket sets of Taoist buildings that follow. In that discussion it will be shown, for example, that details of the architecture of the main hall of Yongle Gong follow the standards for eminent architecture such as palace buildings explained in *Yingzao fashi*. In other words, the structures of buildings of *gong* can be linked to imperial architecture even if the name *gong* cannot be proved to be a sign of imperial patronage. The bibliography on *Yingzao fashi* is long. For an introduction in English, see Glahn 1975.
4. Although Chinese Buddhists built caves and cave-temples for meditation and worship, the Buddhist employment of caves is based on the Indian model, not native Chinese building practices. The great importance of grottoes for meditation, transformation, and ritual practices in Taoism, on the other hand, seems to have developed from an indigenous tradition.
5. Morohashi 1966–68, vol. 10: 346. See also *Zongjiao jianzhu* 1991: 27.
6. *Zongjiao jianzhu* 1991: 27.
7. Qiao 1993: 124.
8. Ibid.
9. For more on caves and their classification, see Robinet 1997: 132.
10. *Zongjiao jianzhu* 1991: 27.
11. See Jenner 1981: 141.
12. On this tomb, see *Jiuquan Shiliuguo mu bihua* 1989.
13. For examples of this plan, see An 1996: 565–600.
14. Wright 1978: 89–90. His source is *juan* 7 of Song Minqiu's *Chang'an zhi* of 1075.
15. Ono 1989: 453–70.
16. Wei 1973, section 8 of reprinted text. Song Minqiu's figure of ten abbeys is also quoted here.
17. Schafer 1963: 151.
18. On excavation of Sanqing Dian of the Daming Gong, see Ma 1987, esp. 329–31. The bibliography on the Daming Gong is long. On Hanyuan Dian, specifically, see, for example, Fu 1973 or "Hanyuan Hall," in Steinhardt 1984: 92–99.
19. Xiong 1996: 263.
20. Ibid.: 264. The events discussed in this paragraph and the following one are related in Xiong's article.
21. Taiji Gong (palace-complex of the North Pole Star) were constructed in the palace-cities of Wei-Jin and Northern Wei Luoyang, Eastern Jin Jiankang, and both Tang capitals, for example. On the role of astronomy at the Han

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court, see Eberhard 1957. For more general discussion that includes the role of astronomy in the Chinese state, see Needham and Wang 1959: 171–461 passim.

22. Liao, *juan* 1: 13.
23. Ibid., *juan* 2: 15.
24. Ibid., *juan* 37: 441.
25. For more on the subject, see Yao 1995.
26. On both syncretism and Quanzhen, see Noritada 1968a and Sun 1965.
27. Yao 1995, p. 157. Information in this paragraph is taken from Yao's article, the source of which is Oyanagi 1928.
28. For studies of the *jiao* ceremony in English, see Saso 1972 and Lagerwey 1987b.
29. Yao 1995: 157.
30. So far, no serious monograph on the Jin Shrines has been written. A good introduction to the early buildings and their architecture is in Lin and Liang 1935 or Chai 1989: 27–30. Many aspects of this monument will be explained in Miller (forthcoming).
31. This subject is dealt with at length in Miller (forthcoming).
32. On these two stelae, see Cao 1990: 5–6, 22–23 and pls. 67–69, 76–78.
33. The only study of Xuanmiao Guan of which I am aware is Lin 1957: 52–53.
34. On this subject, see Fu 1981.
35. For pictures of these two halls and their sculpture and brief descriptions, see Li et al. 1986: 209–13.
36. Ibid.: 209.
37. The only information on this structure is a hand-written report, see Mo 1945.
38. Chai 1986 writes that 106 of the 140 pre-thirteenth-century buildings, in other words, more than seventy percent of China's total, are in Shanxi. Unfortunately, Chai does not provide a complete list of extant buildings.
39. Personal experiences of this author.
40. Like so many buildings of this period, no monographic study exists for Sanqing Dian of the Suzhou Xuanmiao Guan. On this building, see Liu Dunzhen 1935. Liu calls the abbey Yuanmiao Guan.
41. Qiao et al.: 81.
42. Ibid.: 82.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Many, but not all, of them are discussed in Zhang 1979.
46. On the debates and struggles between Buddhists and Taoists during the Yuan period, see Thiel 1961 and Noritada 1968b.
47. The bibliography on Yongle Gong is long. The discovery of the Taoist monastery was first announced in Qi et al. 1954: 69–72. The entire issue no. 8 of *Wenwu* 1963 is devoted to Yongle Gong. Among the publications on the Yongle Gong wall paintings are *Yongle Gong bihua zuanji* 1958; *Yongle Gong* 1964; *Eraku-kyu hekiga* 1981; *Lü Dongbin dé gushi* 1981; *The Yongle Palace Murals* 1985; and Jin 1997.
48. On Lü Dongbin, his cult, and the legends, see Katz 1996a: 70–104; Katz 1996b; Katz 1999; and Baldrian-Hussein 1986.
49. For more on architectural features of Yuan halls, see Steinhardt 1988.
50. Ibid.
51. On the murals, see Jing 1994.
52. On this building, see Steinhardt 1998.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. For information and illustrations of the halls and their murals, see Chai 1997: 74–79, 232–34.
56. On Tangdi Hall, see Liu 1980.
57. On the tombs, see Li 1960.
58. On the design of Shangdu and the role of Chinese official Liu Bingzhong in it, see Hok-lam 1967 and Steinhardt 1989.
59. On the Temple to the Eastern Peak, see Goodrich 1964.
60. Wechsler 1985: 162.
61. On the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, see Wechsler 1985: 170–94.
62. Ibid.: 167.
63. Ibid.: 199–205.
64. Chavannes 1910: 3. On Tai Shan, see also Baker 1925 and *Taishan* 1981.
65. Lagerwey 1992: 296, 318.
66. "Lesser carpentry" is discussed in *juan* 6–11. Other outstanding examples of *xiaomuzuo* from the Jin period in Shanxi province are the ceiling of the main hall of Jingtu (Buddhist) Monastery in Ying county and the altar of the main hall of Enxian Guan (see fig. 9).
67. On the history of Mao Shan and the Taoist sects associated with it, see Robinet 1993.
68. For brief descriptions of the architecture of Qingcheng Shan, see *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian* 1986: 886–87.
69. For three different plans of temple-complexes on Qingcheng Shan, see Qiao 1993: 149–51.
70. On Qingyang Gong, see Qiao 1993: 137.

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Mapping Early Taoist Art
The Visual Culture of Wudoumi Dao

Wu Hung

In recent years Taoist art has attracted considerable attention from scholars whose published work has begun to constitute the basis for a new field of art historical inquiry.[1] At the present stage of research, however, we can talk about this art confidently only when dealing with such Taoist icons as statues of the deified Laozi (later known as the Supreme Lord Lao, or Taishang laojun) and the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), which appeared no earlier than the fifth century.[2] It is true that some scholars, including myself, have referred to certain images in Han dynasty art, such as those of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) or the god Taiyi, as Taoist. But such identifications remain hypothetical. We all know that the cult of both the Queen Mother and Taiyi long predated organized Taoist religion. Although these deities were later absorbed into the Taoist pantheon, it would be *ben mo dao zhi*—"putting the cart before the horse"—if one were to identify an earlier image based on a later appropriation. Thus, although the existence of Taoist art during the Han dynasty seems beyond doubt, we still need to examine the evidence for this assertion systematically—we must trace its various regional traditions and map its intrinsic and extrinsic properties, including its visual forms, production, patronage, and function.[3]

In undertaking such an investigation, it is crucial to remember that the meaning and content of Taoism have undergone many changes over the course of its long history, and that images of early Taoist art must have differed markedly from later ones. Generally speaking, any definition of Taoist art must be a historical and dynamic one, taking into account the continuity of this art as well as its specific manifestations in different places and times. While it is necessary to take later Taoist conventions into consideration, such conventions do not automatically yield a historical definition of early Taoist art. To this end, it is especially important to avoid assuming an "orthodox," retrospective Taoist position, for to do so would negate the complex history of Taoism and condemn earlier traditions as unorthodox or even un-Taoist.[4]

Let us then undertake the task of reconstructing a Taoist art tradition at its earliest developmental stage and recognize that "art," in a broad sense, includes not only individual pictorial images and objects but also symbolic or narrative "programs" of images and objects, their architectural contexts and ritual functions, their makers and patrons, production and consumption, geographical distribution and period style, and so on. Thus, the term "art," as used here, means "visual culture": the different kinds of visual forms produced by a group of people who were linked together by a shared language, shared ideas and behavior, and a common sense of identity. The visual culture I investigate in this essay belonged to a branch of early religious Taoism that developed in the present-day provinces of Sichuan and southern Shaanxi during the second and early third centuries. Referred to in historical texts as Wudoumi Dao ("Five Pecks of Rice" Taoism), Tianshi Dao (Way of the Celestial Masters), Zhengyi Dao ("Orthodox One" Taoism), or Gui Dao (Ghost Taoism), this religious tradition was identified by the later orthodox Taoist church as its origin, and the initiator of this tradition, Zhang Ling, was claimed as the founder or the first Celestial Master of this church. This identification—whose historical reliability is a complex question that lies beyond the scope of this essay—has nevertheless prompted much effort by historians of Taoism to discover textual evidence for this tradition (hereafter referred to as Wudoumi Dao).

The main goal of this essay, however, is to discover visual evidence for the same religious entity. Since textual records of Wudoumi Dao contain little description of ritual paraphernalia or pictorial images, we cannot identify certain objects and images as the visual products of this Taoist tradition simply by

Detail, fig. 9

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matching their physical forms with texts. On the other hand, these texts do allow us to connect Wudoumi Dao with certain visual forms on other levels. One such level is geography: we can investigate the geographic distribution of certain images, objects, and architectural types, and we can relate their distribution patterns to the regional development of Wudoumi Dao as recorded in texts. By pursuing such a research project, we may literally be able to put Taoist art on a second-to-third-century map.

The basis for this study is the "regional" characteristic of early religious Taoism. The two earliest Taoist sects to appear during the late Eastern Han dynasty were both regional organizations. Zhang Jiao's Taiping Dao was active in the east. According to historical records, its several hundred thousand followers were organized into thirty-six *fang*—units distributed in Shandong, Hebei, northern Jiangsu, and eastern Henan provinces.[5] Zhang Ling, on the other hand, established Wudoumi Dao in the southwest. His grandson Zhang Lu further became a local ruler of Shu for some thirty years, during which Taoism became the dominant religion in this southwest region and attracted believers from both Chinese and non-Chinese populations *(min yi xin xiang)*. New immigrants to Shu adopted this religion under local pressure, as the *History of the Latter Han (Hou Han shu)* records: "Even those who came from other parts of the country were afraid not to adopt it."[6]

Interestingly, these two regions of early religious Taoism, one in the east and one in the southwest, were also during exactly the same period the two main centers of Han funerary pictorial art. In both regions tombs with carved or painted scenes were built for people of different social classes and occupations. Abundant evidence demonstrates that in many of these tombs art served to realize the attainment of postmortem immortality.[7] The developments of religious Taoism and funerary art thus show general parallels in terms of time, place, content, and function. This does not mean of course that funerary art in these two regions can simply be identified as a Taoist art. But these parallels do establish that we can, with additional evidence, define certain burials, mortuary objects, and carvings as Taoist products. In fact, if we believe even half of what has been recorded in historical texts about the popularity of Taiping Dao and Wudoumi Dao, we can assume that their numerous followers must have left material traces of their religious beliefs and practices—that the many excavated Han tombs in these two areas must include those of Taoist believers, whose religious identity may well be reflected in the design, decoration, and furnishing of their own tombs.

Of the two regions, Sichuan provides the better opportunity for a regional study of Taoist art, because after Taoism was introduced to Shu prior to the mid-second century, it developed steadily in this region for close to a century. Such stability provided a likely condition for the invention and production of religious symbols and structures, which can in turn be recovered through archaeology. In addition, we have better knowledge about the local organization of Wudoumi Dao and the chronology of Sichuan pictorial art—two factors crucial for a study of Taoist art in this area.

A common misconception among some modern scholars is that members of early Taoist sects, including those of Wudoumi Dao, were "poor peasants" or ordinary people.[8] Yet both textual and archaeological evidence demonstrates that followers of early Taoism were not restricted to lower social strata. This is especially true of the Sichuan region, where Wudoumi Dao maintained a close relationship with the region's elite and officialdom. Furthermore, we know from historical texts that many members of the local elite were believers of early Taoism, including at least two governors of the whole region in different periods.[9] Zhang Ling, the founder of Wudoumi Dao, served as the magistrate of Jiangzhou before he went to Sichuan. His son Zhang Heng, the next Celestial Master of the sect, was offered the title *Langzhong* (gentleman of the interior) by the government.[10] But it was Zhang Lu, the third Celestial Master, who fully integrated the organization of Wudoumi Dao with the region's civil administration.

According to the *Record of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi)*, Zhang Lu replaced local officials with Taoist priests called *jijiu*, and this reform was welcomed by local people.[11] From the late second to the early third century, Zhang Lu became the supreme ruler in this region and expanded his power to the Hanzhong area in present-day southern Shaanxi.[12] After taking over Hanzhong, according to his biography in *Record of the Three Kingdoms*, he "assumed the title *Shi jun* [Master-ruler] and taught people Ghost Dao [i.e., Wudoumi Dao]. For some thirty years he ruled the region of Ba[jun] and Han[zhong] majestically. This was at the end of the Han. Unable to subjugate him, the central government was forced to offer him titles such as General of Subjugating Barbarians and Grand Magistrate of Hanning."[13] After the fall of the Han, Zhang Lu's subordinates proposed to honor him with the title of King of Han[zhong]; but he declined after weighing the political advantage. He was finally defeated by Cao Cao in 215, but was still left with a fief and a noble title.[14] It is clear that Zhang Lu and his ministers/priests were far from being poor peasants or ordinary people, and that their culture simply cannot be identified as a "popular" one. In fact, using the

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best available textual evidence, it can be said that Zhang Lu established the first Taoist regime in Chinese history. Thus, it is unthinkable that with such stability and power Wudoumi Dao did not develop its cultural and artistic production in this region. Indeed, many archaeological remains from this region, including large tombs and ritual objects, may be related to this early Taoist sect. The question that remains is how to prove this assumption by connecting archaeological materials with Wudoumi Dao.

First of all, it is possible to establish such connections because we are left with important records about the locations of the administrative centers of Wudoumi Dao. According to several texts, Zhang Ling established a series of Taoist centers called "the twenty-four *zhi*." Zhang Ling and his successors may have also elaborated on this system with additional "secondary centers" called *pei zhi* and *you zhi*. Most of the twenty-four *zhi* were distributed in a broad belt from Xichang in the south to Hanzhong in the north (fig. 1).[15] The core area within this region was the Chuanxi Plain at the upper reaches of the Min and Tuo rivers, with the Wudoumi Dao headquarters, Yangping Zhi, at present-day Pengxian, northwest of Chengdu.[16] It is possible that Yangping Zhi acquired this prominent position under the second Celestial Master, Zhang Heng, who practiced there and "ascended to immortality" *(sheng xian)* on Mount Yangping in 179.[17]

Another basis for a study of early Taoist art in this region is archaeology. A number of large-scale surveys, mainly carried out by Sichuan archaeologists over the past thirty years, have yielded important information about the geographical distribution and temporal development of three categories of regional cultural and artistic products during the Eastern Han. These include: 1) architectural forms—predominantly cliff tombs and stone sarcophagi with pictorial carvings; 2) objects—principally "money trees" and bronze mirrors; and 3) pictorial carvings, including images of divinities and others possibly related to Taoist sexual arts. These three categories of archaeological evidence provide us with the basic materials and the analytical structure of further discussion.

Cliff Tombs and Stone Sarcophagi with Pictorial Carvings

During the Eastern Han and post-Han period, cliff tombs *(ya mu)* were a burial form unique to Ba and Shu (including present-day Sichuan, the Zhaotong area in Yunnan, and the Zunyi area in Guizhou). According to the Sichuan archaeologist Luo Erhu, thousands of such tombs are known; the earliest dated one bears an inscription from A.D. 65.[18] Although cliff tombs are found throughout Sichuan, they are most densely distributed in the Chuanxi Plain; today the Leshan area alone preserves about ten thousand such tombs. Moreover, only the cliff tombs in the Chuanxi Plain, especially in Leshan and Pengshan, have rich pictorial carvings (see the shaded area in fig. 2).[19] But even in this area, pictorial carvings appear only in a limited number of tombs. According to a survey conducted by Tang Changshou, of the ten thousand cliff tombs in Leshan only about one hundred are carved with pictorial decoration.[20] He further divided these hundred tombs and those in the adjacent Pengshan area into three periods: 1) the period of emergence, during the first half of the second century; 2) the period of development, from the mid-second century to the 180s; and 3) the period of flourishing, from the 180s to the early third century.[21] Stone sarcophagi with pictorial carvings are sometimes found in tombs of the second and third periods. According to Gao Wen, all known examples of such sarcophagi are from areas along the Min, Tuo, and Fu rivers (see fig. 3). The most elaborate ones have again been found in the Chuanxi Plain.[22] Summarizing the research available thus far, we reach the general observation that although cliff tombs and sarcophagi were distributed over a large region, the richly decorated examples were limited to the core area of Wudoumi Dao and to the period in which Wudoumi Dao reached its greatest prosperity in this area.

Additional archaeological evidence further links specific cliff tombs and sarcophagi in this area with practices of Wudoumi Dao. One type of evidence consists of engravings, including both images and inscriptions. A considerable number of cliff tombs in Pengshan and Leshan, for example, are carved with a *sheng* pattern above the entrance (among them, Pengshan tombs 45, 166, 169, and 530; see fig. 5). The *sheng* is the headdress of the Queen Mother of the West and the most important symbol of this goddess. It could not be a casual act to mark a tomb with this symbol in such a way that anyone could see it before even entering the tomb. In some other cliff tombs, a composite dragon-and-tiger motif occupies the same position above the entrance (in, for example, Leshan tomb 99 and Pengshan tomb 355; see fig. 7). The relationship between *longhu* (dragon and tiger) and early Taoism is well known. It is recorded in various texts, for example, that at the moment when Zhang Ling attained immortality in Shu he saw a multitude of heavenly beings arriving with dragons and tigers.[23] The headquarters of the later Celestial Masters Taoism, possibly founded by Zhang Ling's great-grandson Zhang Sheng, was at the Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in Jiangxi.[24] A passage from the

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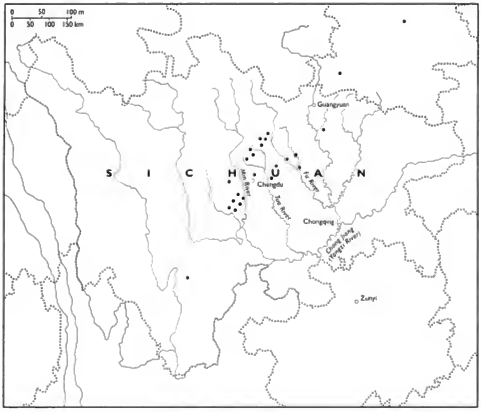

Fig. 1
Map of Sichuan province showing the locations of the twenty-four *zhi* of Celestial Master Taoism.

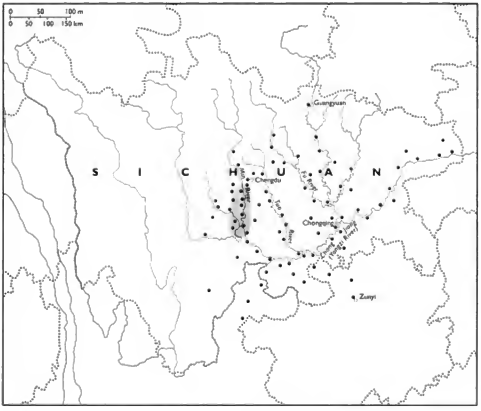

Fig. 2
Map of Sichuan province showing the distribution of cliff tombs. The shaded area indicates the region where tombs decorated with pictorial carvings are most densely located.

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Fig. 3
Map of Sichuan province showing the distribution of stone sarcophagi with pictorial carvings.

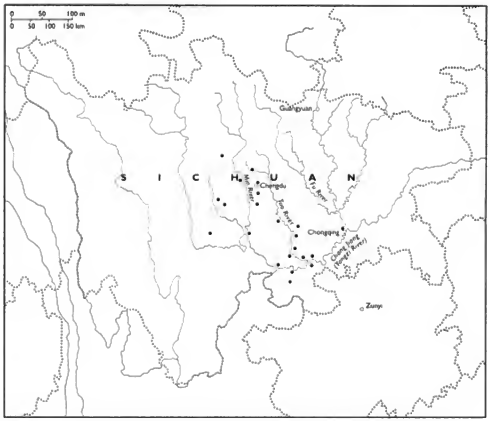

Fig. 4
Map of Sichuan province showing the distribution of excavated "money trees."

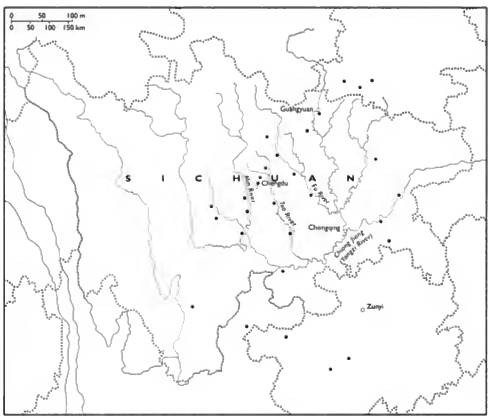

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Fig. 5
The front gate of a cliff tomb at Pengshan, Sichuan, with a *sheng*, the headdress of the Queen Mother of the West, carved above the entrance.

Fig. 6
Line drawing of an image carved in a tomb (Mahao M1) in Leshan, Sichuan.

"Genealogy of the Celestial Master Zhang" *(Zhang Tianshi shijia)* explains that the mountain was so named because a dragon and a tiger emerged when Zhang Ling succeeded in making the Divine Elixir of Nine Heavens *(Jiutian shendan)* in this place. Indeed, "dragon" and "tiger" are chief metaphors used in Taoist writings on both internal and external alchemy; they refer specifically to lead and mercury, the two most important ingredients used in making elixirs.[25] In addition, Taoist deities are often described and portrayed as riding dragons and tigers or accompanied by them. All this literary and artistic evidence suggests that the *sheng* and dragon-and-tiger images carved above the entrance to a Sichuan cliff tomb may signify the religious identity of the tomb occupant. Similar symbols are abundant on stone sarcophagi from the same region and should have served the same role.

Among numerous pictorial motifs and scenes found in cliff tombs and on sarcophagi, one particular figural image may depict a Wudoumi Dao priest. Discovered in a Leshan tomb (Mahao M1), he appears as a standing figure wearing a tall hat (fig. 6). According to Tang Changshou, who found this image, "The figure wears a long robe and a tall hat of an unusual type. He holds a ceremonial staff *(jie zhang)* in his left hand and a medicine bag in his right hand. . . . This image is carved next to the door to the rear chamber—a position which indicates an intimate relationship between this image and the deceased [buried in the rear chamber]."[26] Tang has identified this image as a *fangshi*-necromancer, who is recorded in *Records of the Historian (Shiji)* and other texts as holding a *jie zhang*.[27] While Tang's proposal is well taken, it is possible to identify this image more specifically as a Wudoumi Dao priest called a *shi*, described in texts as a religious professional who held a special ceremonial staff *(jiu jie chang)* while praying and reciting incantations for believers.[28] Similar images also appear on sarcophagi, *que*-pillars in front of tombs, and mirrors from this region. On a sarcophagus from Nanxi, for example, a half-open gate represents the "heavenly gate" *(tian men)* or "the gate of the soul" *(hun men)*. Outside the door is a man who kneels while holding a long staff. The subject of his veneration is inside the gate—a deity on a dragon-and-tiger throne (fig. 8). On another sarcophagus, from Changning, this figure reappears, again holding his staff. But this time he is following a deer on the way to an immortal mountain (fig. 9).[29] We also find this figure on the stone tower Gao Yi Que in Ya'an, again depicted outside a half-opened gate, and it appears twice on an inscribed bronze mirror likely produced in the Sichuan region, once before an "ancestor" *(xianren)* figure and once before a "divine lady" *(shen nü)*.[30] In

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Fig. 7
Rubbing of the dragon-and-tiger pattern carved above the entrance to a stone chamber tomb at Hejiang, Sichuan.

Fig. 8
Rubbing of the long side of a stone sarcophagus (no. 3) from Nanxi, Sichuan.

Fig. 9
Rubbing of the long side of a stone sarcophagus (no. 1) from Changning, Sichuan.

all these cases, therefore, this image is represented as an intermediary between the human world and the immortal realm.

In addition to symbols and pictorial images, inscriptions also provide important evidence for the relationship between certain cliff tombs and Wudoumi Dao. Some of these inscriptions disclose the Taoist ideal of immortality. For example, an inscription in a cliff tomb near Chongqing, dated to the third month of 135, identifies the tomb as a "stone chamber which prolongs life" *(yannian shishi)* (fig. 10).[31] Another inscription in a cliff tomb at Jianyang reads: "On the eighteenth day, the fourth month, the first year of Han'an [i.e., A.D. 142], [I come here to] meet immortal friends" (fig. 11).[32] The tomb chamber was thus a meeting place with immortal friends *(xian you)*, a term that may designate either supernatural figures or fellow believers in a religious sect such as Wudoumi Dao. A third and much longer inscription from Sichuan, traditionally known as the "Jiju Zhang Pu Inscription," was first recorded by the Song antiquarian Hong Kuo. Zhang Pu was a Wudoumi Dao priest with the title *jijiu*. In this inscription he recorded that he and some fellow believers gathered together to transmit "subtle scriptures" *(wei jing)*. Hong Kuo noted that the carving of this inscription is rough and irregular, unlike that of formal stele inscriptions.[33] Perhaps it too was a "cliff inscription" *(moya keci)* like the two previous ones.

Another possible relationship between some Sichuan cliff tombs and Wudoumi Dao is suggested by objects found in these tombs. Sichuan archaeologists have discovered, for example, a clay jar buried in the front chamber in Mahao tomb 99 at Leshan. Inside the jar were pieces of mica and other minerals.[34] This is not the first time such a finding has been reported: the Song poet and traveler Lu You recorded a similar discovery and identified the minerals as materials for "making golden elixirs."[35] Because the front chamber of a cliff tomb functioned

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Fig. 10 *(left)*
Rubbing of an inscription in a cliff tomb at Longwang Dong, Yubei district, Chongqing, Sichuan, dated 135.

Fig. 11 *(right)*
Rubbing of an inscription in a cliff tomb at Xiaoyao Shan, Jianyang, Sichuan, dated 142.

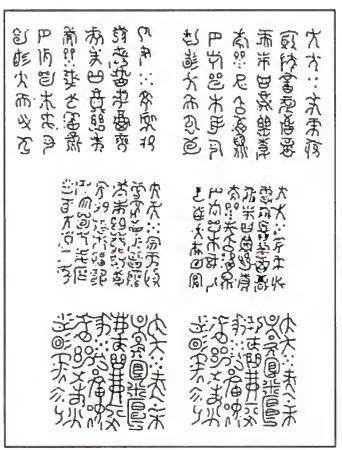

Fig. 12
Line drawing of seals with unidentified characters from Sichuan.

as an offering shrine, and because these minerals were related to Taoist alchemical practices, using such minerals as offerings seems to indicate the religious identity of the deceased.[36] In addition, Luo Erhu believes that a kind of "stove" found in many cliff tombs was used, either symbolically or practically, to make elixirs—a suggestion that again connects these tombs with Taoist practices.[37]

In 1973 a bronze seal was found in a cliff tomb in Ziyang county. Some scholars have found that the style of its characters is neither *zhuan* nor *li*, but resembles certain Taoist talismanic writings.[38] So far six seals with such characters are known, all from Sichuan (fig. 12). The seal from Ziyang is the first example found through an archaeological excavation, and its placement in a cliff tomb seems again to point to the religion of the deceased.

"Money Trees" and "Mirrors with Images of Immortals on Three Levels"

In addition to the evidence of Taoist practices offered by the cliff tombs and sarcophagi presented thus far, archaeological examination of a cliff tomb at Hejiashan in Mianyang has produced two "money trees" and a bronze mirror with "images of immortals on three registers" *(sanduan shenxian jing)*.[39] Both types of object have been identified as local products of Shu, and both bear direct connections with Wudoumi Dao. The term "money tree" *(qian shu* or *yao qian shu)* is actually a later designation and a somewhat misleading one because the main decorative motifs on both the bronze tree and its clay or stone base are not coins, but deities on dragon-and-tiger thrones, immortals playing the *liu bo* game, heavenly horses, the drug-pounding hare, and musicians and dancers. Coins appear only as leaves hanging down from each branch (see fig. 13). In view of the fact that some trees are decorated with large, iconlike, divine images (see fig. 14), if we must give this object a name, a "divine tree" *(shen shu)* probably better reflects its nature.[40]

According to Susan Erickson, more than eighty such objects have been reported, mostly from tombs dated to the late Eastern Han (see fig. 4).[41] The Chinese scholar Xian Ming has further outlined the region in which "money trees" have most frequently been found: "Most of them are from a belt-like region, which extends north to Hanzhong in southern Shaanxi and south to Xichang and Zhaotong, passing the areas of Guangyuan, Mianyang, Santai, Guanghan, Pengxian, Chengdu, Xijin, Pengshan, and Lushan. This region therefore basically overlaps with [Wudoumi Dao's] twenty-four *zhi*."[42] Xian Ming also reported that a

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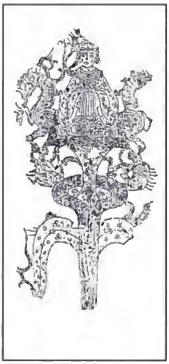

Fig. 13 *(above left)*
Bronze "money tree" with pottery base, from Guanghan, Sichuan.

Fig. 14 *(above right)*
Line drawing of a fragment of a bronze "money tree," with an image of a divine figure.

Fig. 15
Pottery "money tree" base from the vicinity of Chengdu, Sichuan.

considerable number of "money trees" and "money tree" bases have been unearthed at the locations of some of the twenty-four *zhi* of Wudoumi Dao, including three examples from Pengxian, the location of Wudoumi Dao's headquarters, Yangping Zhi.[43] These studies confirm, therefore, that this type of ritual object enjoyed a definite popularity in the central area of Wudoumi Dao during the flourishing period of this religion.

Images on "money trees" and "money tree" bases are largely identical with those found in cliff tombs and on sarcophagi from the same region, and they are clearly products of the same religious and artistic tradition. But the three-dimensional form of a "money tree" base gave the artist greater freedom to create original and complex sculptural images. One of the most impressive "money tree" bases, excavated from the suburbs of Chengdu, vividly represents a journey in search of immortality (fig. 15). The clay base is shaped like a columnar mountain. Men and women are climbing the mountain and appear on three levels. Those on the first level still have a long way to go; those on the third level are about to reach the top of the mountain where they will join the deity on the summit. The design of this base thus translates into a visual form a passage from the Taoist text the *Master of Huainan (Huainanzi)*: "He who climbs onto the Chilly Wind peak of Kunlun will achieve deathlessness; he who climbs twice as high onto the Hanging Garden will become a spirit . . . ; he who climbs twice as high again will reach Heaven and will become god."[44] An interesting feature of this sculpture is the caves on the three levels. Punctuating the journey, each of them marks a particular stage in the search for immortality. This is the earliest example I know that represents the concept of *dongtian* (literally a "cavern-heaven"). It is also possible that the three levels of the mountain represent metaphorically the three stages of a Taoist spiritual cultivation toward immortality.

A tale cited in the Taoist encyclopedia *Seven Slips of the*

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16a

16b

Figs. 16a–b
Rubbings of two examples of "mirrors with images of immortals on three registers": a) Seattle Art Museum (drawing by Hayashi Minao); b) Palace Museum, Beijing.

Cloudy Satchel (Yunji qiqian) also helps identify the religious associations of a "money tree." It is said that a man living at Yangping Zhi adopted an orphaned boy, who was then married to an orphaned girl. One day a flood came and there was a great shortage of food. The couple then used their magic to obtain anything people needed from a tree. When asked where they learned this magic the young man answered: "I am actually an immortal in the Yangping Cave, descending to this world because I had made a small mistake. I will leave soon."[45] Ten days later the couple disappeared. What this story implies is an intimate relationship between a divine tree and a Taoist immortal in the Yangping Cave.

In addition to "money trees," a particular type of bronze mirror may also be identified as a product of Wudoumi Dao. This type is conventionally known as a "Mirror with Images of Immortals on Three Registers"—a designation based on the composition of the mirror's central circular area, which is divided into three registers of equal height by two horizontal bars. The top and bottom registers are each centered on a nonfigurative image. As exemplified by one such mirror in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 16a), the central image on the top register is a broad umbrella standing on the back of a turtle. Several figures, including a "jade maiden" *(yunü)*, stand beneath the umbrella and pay homage to it, while a much larger figure with wings on the shoulders is seated to one side. Images on the middle level always constitute a symmetrical pair. On most "three register" mirrors, including the one found in a cliff tomb at Hejiashe, Mianyang, this pair is formed by the Queen Mother of the West and the King Father of the East. In other cases this pair consists of a dragon and a tiger, as exemplified by a mirror in the collection of Beijing's Palace Museum (fig. 16b). Figures on the lower register are centered on a loop motif in the shape of a figure 8, possibly a tree with two intertwining trunks.

Based on archaeological and stylistic evidence, Professor Huo Wei of Sichuan University has made a convincing argument for the Sichuan (Shu) origin of this type of mirror. More specifically, he has identified the Chuanxi Plain as its production center, and has associated this type of mirror with the so-called Ghost Dao, an alternative name for Wudoumi Dao.[46] His opinion can be supported by additional archaeological finds as well as by the images on a "three register" mirror. In terms of archaeological evidence, at least three mirrors of this type have been found in various locations in southern Shaanxi.[47] That Shu mirrors appeared in this region around the end of Han is logical because,

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as discussed earlier, during this period Zhang Lu established his seat in Hanzhong and expanded his territory to include southern Shaanxi. In terms of decoration, images on a "three register" mirror reflect Taoist ideas and may have been designed to facilitate Taoist meditative practices.

Among the various images on a "three register" mirror, the identifications of those on the middle level—the Queen Mother of the West and the King Father of the East—are most certain. Hayashi Minao has further identified the loop motif on the lower level as *Jian mu*, described in ancient texts as a divine tree at "the center of Heaven and Earth," along which heavenly lords *(di)* moved back and forth between these two realms.[48] This identification seems to be supported by similar tree images found on other objects from Sichuan. For example, on a stone sarcophagus mentioned earlier, a tree with loop-shaped, intertwining trunks is juxtaposed with other images related to the idea of immortality (see fig. 9). A male figure under this tree seems to be bidding farewell to a female figure; in fact, he may be about to ascend to Heaven along this divine tree. Another similar tree image is found on a pottery "money tree" base from Guanghan; its intertwining branches reach Heaven and embrace the fantastic world of the Queen Mother of the West.[49] This last example leads us to speculate on a possible relationship between the mythological *Jian mu* and the "money tree." Based on the decoration of a "money tree," I suggested above that a more precise designation for this object would be a "divine tree," which provides a path to the world of immortals. Just as this "divine tree" is a unique subject of Sichuan Han art, *Jian mu* is believed to be located in this particular area in China.

Several texts specify the location of *Jian mu* as Duguang in the Southwest.[50] Huo Wei has suggested, again very convincingly, that Duguang is also known as Guangdu, a place located thirty *li* west of Chengdu according to some post-Han texts.[51] I would add that this place was very close to the location of Yangping Zhi, the headquarters of Wudoumi Dao. It is possible that to strengthen its authority and mystique, Wudoumi Dao appropriated an ancient myth for its own use, and identified Yangping Zhi as "the center of Heaven and Earth." This, in turn, implies a close relationship between Wudoumi Dao and mirrors decorated with the *Jian mu* tree.

The most controversial image on a "three register" mirror is the umbrella image and the accompanying figures on the top level. Hayashi Minao believes that the winged figure next to the umbrella represents the Great Heavenly Emperor (Tianhuang dadi) at the North Pole in Heaven, and that the umbrella symbolizes the Huagai xing ("Elaborate Canopy" constellation), which consists of a series of nine stars next to the North Pole.[52] Hayashi's opinion has been challenged by Higuchi Takayasu and Huo Wei. In particular, Higuchi argues that it would be illogical to depict the "canopy" stars in the center and to place the Heavenly Emperor to one side.[53] I agree with this criticism, and I want to propose a new identification for the umbrella image. In my view, any interpretation of this image must take these three features into consideration: 1) its placement in the most honorable position in the decorative program of a "three register" mirror; 2) its composite form as an umbrella standing on a turtle (in some cases on a Xuanwu—a combination of a turtle and a snake); and 3) its role as the subject of reverence and worship by surrounding figures. Relating these features to textual references, I propose that this image actually represents the deified Laozi in a symbolic form.

The transformation of Laozi from an individual historical figure to a cosmic deity has been the subject of much scholarly discussion.[54] A turning point in this transformation was marked by a series of events taking place in 165 and 166, when Emperor Huan built a shrine to honor Laozi in his birthplace and offered sacrifices to Laozi both in this shrine and in the imperial palace.[55] These events have been discussed in every book on early Taoism as a definite indication of Laozi's deification. The form of the imperial sacrifice in 166, however, has drawn less attention from scholars. Here is how this ritual is described in the "Chapter on Sacrifices" ("Jisi zhi") in the *History of the Latter Han*:

> [The emperor] personally offered sacrifices to Laozi in the Zhuolong Palace. An altar covered with patterned woolen fabric was prepared, and vessels decorated with gold rims [were used]. *A seat was set up [for Laozi] under an elaborate canopy (she huagai zhi zuo).* The music played during the sacrifice was adopted from the semiannual sacrifice to Heaven.[56] (Italics added.)

Significantly, no image or statue of Laozi is mentioned. The reason is simple: as the personification of the Dao, Laozi was considered to have neither matter nor form; he could therefore only be symbolized by an empty "seat" *(zuo)*, not represented by a figurative likeness. This early Taoist convention persisted until at least the fifth century. A passage from Falin's *In Defense of What Is Right (Bianzheng lun)* relates that the Taoist master Tao Hongjing "set up both Buddhist and Taoist institutions on Maoshan and paid homage in both every day. In the Buddhist halls there were sacred statues, which the Taoist temples did not have."[57]

In the context of the present discussion on an early Taoist artistic tradition in Sichuan, it is important to note that the

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Xiang'er Commentary on Laozi (Laozi Xiang'er zhu), a Taoist text attributed to Zhang Lu, especially stresses this aniconic approach. This text identifies Laozi with the Tao and insists that the latter is formless: "The Dao is infinitely superior. It is subtle and hidden, without shape, resemblance, or image. People can only follow its teaching, but cannot comprehend it through appearance."[58] From this position, the text criticizes any figurative representation of Laozi or the Tao as a "false method" *(wei ji)*: "Now there is this false method in the world, which represents the Dao with concrete forms, giving it clothes and names as well as facial and bodily forms. This is all wrong, all evil and false!"[59] This strong conviction probably represents an orthodox approach within Wudoumi Dao, according to which a proper representation of Laozi should only emphasize the hidden nature of the Tao.

With this in mind, we return to the umbrella image on a "three register" mirror. As mentioned earlier, this is the most honored image in the entire decorative program, and it is also a subject of worship and reverence. This image, in fact, can be called *huagai zhi zuo*—"the seat under an elaborate canopy"—for this is the phrase used in the *History of the Latter Han* for the place of Laozi in the imperial sacrifice. This image can thus be identified as Laozi's seat, which in turn symbolizes the existence of this Taoist patriarch. Additional evidence for this interpretation is found in the *Baopuzi* of Ge Hong (283–343). Instructing how to use a mirror to visualize the "true form" *(zhenxing)* of Laozi, this Taoist text identifies Laozi's throne as a "divine turtle" *(shen gui)*.[60] It cannot be a coincidence that the "elaborate canopy" illustrated on a "three register" mirror is supported by a turtle.

Images of Divinity

As mentioned earlier, the *Xiang'er Commentary on Laozi* attacks figurative representations of the Tao or Laozi. It is unclear from this text whether such prohibition also extended to other gods and immortals worshipped by Wudoumi Dao followers. Archaeological evidence, however, reveals that the practice of depicting images of many deities existed in the area of Wudoumi Dao. I say "many deities" because these images, though sharing a lot of features, are distinguished from one another by some important iconographic markers. Their differences, however, have largely been ignored. As a result, divine figures sitting on dragon-and-tiger thrones in a frontal posture—a popular composition in Sichuan Han art—have been uniformly identified as the Queen Mother of the West. The question remains: Is this identification reliable?

A number of reasons prompt me to raise this question. Most importantly, examining the ever-increasing supply of archaeological materials, we begin to notice some subtle but significant differences among these so-called Queen Mother images. Scholars agree that one of the most important iconographic features of the Queen Mother is her *sheng* headdress. Images of figures wearing this headdress indeed existed in Sichuan, but a large number of deities depicted on the dragon-and-tiger throne are not wearing *sheng*. Instead they wear various caps including a *mian* (see fig. 17), a three-pointed *wang guan* (see fig. 18; also see fig. 7), a flat military cap decorated with bird features above the ears (see fig. 19), or a small vertical cap similar to those worn by later Taoists (see fig. 20). While in real life a *sheng* was worn by women, all these other caps were for men or male deities.[61] It is unthinkable that a Sichuan artist could have freely altered the cap or headdress of a deity represented as the central icon in a composition. It is more likely that these images with different caps and headdresses actually represent different deities. As commonly seen in other traditions of religious art, different deities are often distinguished not by their overall shapes but by some minor features, often their headdresses. Thus, what these Sichuan images demonstrate is probably not a religion centered on the worship of the Queen Mother of the West, but a religion that began to fashion a pantheon consisting of a multitude of male and female deities. Based on textual evidence, some Taoist scholars have noted a similar effort made by Wudoumi Dao.[62] For example, *Zhengyi fawen jingzhang guanpin* lists 120 deities including both civil and military types, "each with his or her own administrative duties."[63] It is possible that the image of the Queen Mother of the West, which had become widespread in various parts of China since the first century, provided a basic compositional formula for depicting these new deities, while minor iconographic features were invented to differentiate them.

Furthermore, archaeological evidence reveals that within this growing pantheon of gods and goddesses in Sichuan, the Queen Mother of the West seems to have acquired a specific significance. In a number of cases, images of this goddess are combined with sexual symbols and scenes. One such example is found on a stone sarcophagus from Yingjing (fig. 21). Here, the Queen Mother, wearing a typical *sheng* headdress, is juxtaposed with a couple at an intimate moment. A similar but more explicit love scene was originally carved above the main gate of a cliff tomb at Pengshan (fig. 22). The third example is a clay "altar" found recently in a tomb at Guanghan, in a place very close to the Wudoumi Dao's headquarters, Yangping Zhi. On the front

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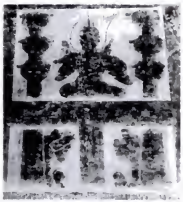
Figs. 17–20
Rubbings from stone sarcophagi.

17



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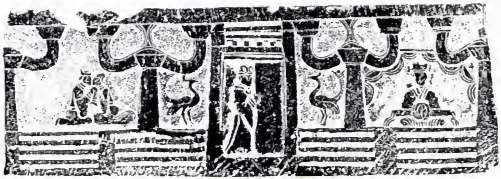

Fig. 21
Rubbing of the long side of a stone sarcophagus from Yingjing, Sichuan.

side of the altar is an image of the Queen Mother of the West, wearing a *sheng* and seated on a dragon-and-tiger throne. Two figures, half human and half beast, kneel on top of the altar, both showing erect male organs. Between them, in the center of the altar, is a sculpted phallus (fig. 23).[64] In all these cases, the Queen Mother of the West seems to have been associated with a fertility cult or Taoist sexual arts, indicating the changing symbolism of this goddess toward the post-Han period. Decorating tombs, sarcophagi, and funerary objects, these divine and erotic images seem to indicate a particular path toward eternal happiness.

It is appropriate to discuss the Buddha's image in Sichuan in this section on Taoist deities, because the adoption and appropriation of these images, if viewed in its cultural and religious context, actually took place within the domain of Taoist art. As I have discussed elsewhere, most existing images of the Buddha and Buddhist symbols in Han art are located either inside tombs or within the territory of a Taoist temple. These images were used to strengthen the pursuit of immortality or to enrich the emerging pantheon of early religious Taoism.[65] The present study provides a more precise regional context for this argument.

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Fig. 22
Stone relief of an "embracing couple," originally above tomb 550 at Pengshan, Sichuan.

Fig. 23
Clay altar from Guanghan, Sichuan.

Based on an increasing body of archaeological evidence, we can reach the basic understanding that, in Sichuan, images of the Buddha were used by Taoist followers for their own sake.

Although Buddha-like figures have been found in different parts of Han China, Buddha images appeared in Sichuan in much greater number and in more authentic form.[66] Yet there is no text recording the practice of Buddhism in this region during the period when these images were created. The answer to this dilemma is found in the new cultural and religious contexts of these images. No longer decorating Buddhist temples, these images were combined with Taoist symbols and used to embellish cliff tombs, bronze "money trees," and clay "money tree" bases. As discussed earlier, all these architectural forms and objects were related to the practice of Wudoumi Dao in the area. Moreover, these Buddha images have only been found in the core area of Wudoumi Dao in the Chuanxi Plain.

Two Buddha images of similar form have been found in cliff tombs at Mahao and Siziwang in Leshan. In each tomb the image appears on the back wall of the front chamber above the entrance to the burial chambers, and defines the focus of visual perception and ritual homage. The one at Mahao is better

Figs. 24a–b
A cliff tomb at Mahao, Leshan, with an image of the Buddha carved on the lintel above the entrance to the burial chamber and b) detail showing the image of the Buddha.

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preserved (fig. 24). The figure is seated, with the left hand holding a portion of the gown. The right hand is raised in the gesture known as the *abhaya mudra*. The face is unfortunately damaged, but an extra protuberance or *usnisa* on top of the head—one of the Buddha's holy marks—is still visible and is ringed by a halo. All these features, as well as the heavy folds of the robe, can be traced to Indian images of the Buddha created in Mathura and Gandhara in the second century.[67] But in the Mahao tomb, this "Buddha" is juxtaposed with a sculpted dragon on the lintel.

The basic iconography of this image is shared by another Buddha figure—a three-dimensional image on a "money tree" base found in a cliff tomb at Pengshan (fig. 25).[68] The Chinese scholar Wu Zhuo has noticed that the *usnisa* on the head of the Buddha is unusually tall and is shaped almost like a small cap. He has also identified the two standing figures on either side of the Buddha as two attendants of different ethnic origins, one Chinese and one non-Chinese, and the animal motifs on the Buddha's circular base as a tiger and a dragon.[69] His observation reveals that this sculpture, rather than being a pure Buddhist image, synthesizes various Buddhist and Taoist motifs into an iconic presentation. Such religious fusion is demonstrated by additional Buddha images found recently in a cliff tomb at Hejiashan in Mianyang. Decorating fragments of a bronze "money tree," each image shows the Buddha grasping the end of his gown with his left hand and raising his right hand in the *abhaya mudra*.[70] An interesting feature of these images is the figures' moustaches, which indicate a possible Gandharan origin; but other motifs on the "money tree" are traditional Chinese symbols of immortality. It is also significant that this tomb yielded a "three register" mirror, which, as discussed earlier, was closely related to the practice of Wudoumi Dao in this area.

It is not difficult to explain how images of the Buddha could facilitate Taoist beliefs and practices. This artistic borrowing was actually part of a larger religious phenomenon that characterized the development of religious Taoism during the second and third centuries. In the Taoist scripture *Taiping jing*, for example, the story of the miraculous birth of Laozi is an outright copy of that of the Buddha. The same text twice relates that Heaven sent evil gods and Jade Beauties to test the religious conviction of Taoist believers. Both accounts are clearly based on the temptation of the Buddha by Mara and his daughters.[71] Also around this time, the story of "Laozi converting the barbarians" *(Laozi huahu)* circulated widely in Taoist circles. An early version of this story relates that "Laozi went to barbarian lands and became the Buddha."[72] It is quite certain that in the second and third centuries, many Taoist followers believed that the Buddha was none other than Laozi or his manifestation.[73] It is thus not surprising that stories of the Buddha were used to create a biography for the legendary founder of religious Taoism. For the same reason, an image of the Buddha could have been thought of as an image of Laozi; the Taoist prohibition of representing Laozi may have encouraged this deliberate misunderstanding. This complex situation explains a strange Taoist argument, which identifies Laozi as the inventer of the image of the Buddha: "The barbarians do not believe in emptiness and non-being, therefore when Laozi emigrated [to the West] he had them make statues of his form, and with the help of these images he converted these barbarians."[74]

Fig. 25
Clay "money tree" base from Pengshan, Sichuan.

Conclusion

To map early Taoist art means to integrate the studies of Han art and early religious Taoism in a coherent historical framework. Taking the geography of an early Taoist sect as its cue, I have tried in this essay to compare the locations of major centers of Wudoumi Dao with the distribution patterns of certain

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images and objects in Sichuan art. This comparison shows that two "maps"—one of a regional religious tradition and the other of a regional art tradition—clearly overlap. A closer examination of the content, function, and context of these images and objects has further substantiated the strong Taoist characteristics of this regional art tradition.

It should be emphasized, however, that early Taoist art was an extremely complex phenomenon and consisted of many different traditions and levels of representation; this essay deals with only one of these traditions. My purpose is therefore to prompt, not to conclude, an important, but much neglected, line of inquiry in the field of Chinese art history. It is not possible for me to explain here why the study of Taoist art has largely been ignored in this field until recent years; but I hope that this essay has demonstrated the potential contribution of this study to a renewed understanding of Han art.

Many architectural structures, objects, and pictorial images discussed in this essay are familiar to students of Han art, but they have only been studied as general properties of a unified "funerary art" from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. By contextualizing these visual forms in a local religious tradition, it is now possible for us to identify their specific meaning and to reconstruct their specific historical development. A "Taoist" study of these forms also allows us to explore the identity and intention of their makers and owners, and provides a new perspective from which to understand certain cultural interactions. A study of early Taoist art, therefore, will, I hope, not only rediscover a forgotten tradition, but also contribute to the general body of research in the field of Chinese art history. Together with a growing scholarship on the Confucian influences in Han art, this study will bring our understanding of Chinese art during this period to a new level.[79]

Notes

I have presented different versions of this paper in a number of conferences, including the "Daoism in East Asia" conference (Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, March 1999), the "Religion and Power in Ancient China" conference (Harvard University, May 1999), and the "Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period" conference (University of Chicago, November 1999). I want to thank the organizers of these conferences and all the scholars whose comments have helped me in revising this paper.

1. Two general studies of the history of Taoist art include Wang 1994 and Little 1988.
2. The earliest examples of such Taoist icons or combinations of Taoist and Buddhist icons are found on the Wei Wenlang stele dated to 424 and on the Yao Bodo stele dated to 496. Studies of early Taoist art have often focused on these and other examples; see Ding 1984; Han and Yin 1987; Li 1991; Kamitsuka 1998 and Kamitsuka 1993; Pontynen 1980 and Pontynen 1983; Ishimatsu 1998; James 1989; Bokenkamp 1996–97; Abe 1996–97; and Seidel 1969a.
3. For a discussion of intrinsic and extrinsic analyses of works of art, see the introduction to Kleinbauer 1971.
4. It is noteworthy that the development of Taoism is often characterized by a tendency to negate a previous developmental stage. This tendency became noticeable even during the Han: Zhang Lu's *Laozi Xiange zhu* attacked "those who followed the teachings of the Yellow Emperor, the Divine Lady, Gongzi, and Rong Cheng" as "sham Taoists"; see Rao 1991: 11. In all likelihood, this text represents a position within early Taoism, which claimed orthodoxy by separating itself from other, more "primitive" Taoist traditions. Later, when Kou Qianzhi tried to reinvent Tianshi Dao in the early fifth century, he again accused the teaching of Three Zhangs (i.e., an earlier Tianshi Dao tradition represented by Zhang Ling, Zhang Heng, and Zhang Lu) as "false Taoism."
5. It is recorded that after Zhang Jiao founded Taiping Dao, "all people in Qin, Xu, You, Ji, Jing, Yang, Qiu, and Yu responded to his call. [In order to follow him] some sold or abandoned their properties. Traveling to join him they filled the roads; more than ten thousand fell ill and died before reaching their destinations"; ZZTJ 50, 5: 1864.
6. HHS, *Liu Yan zhuan*: 2436.
7. On the concept of immortality in funerary art, see Wu 1994. For the concept of "postmortem immortality," see Loewe 1982: 114–26; Seidel 1987a: 223–37.
8. This approach is especially prevalent in mainland Chinese scholarship on early religious Taoism. See, for example, Qing 1992: 65–66; Lou 1992: 69.
9. One of the two, Wang Fu, was the Magistrate of Chongquan from 57 to 75 and the Governor of Yizhou from 84 to 86. He established a stele and personally wrote the inscription to honor Laozi and the Sage Mother. See *Quan Hou Han wen* (A complete collection of writings from the latter Han), *juan* 32, in QHW. The other person was Liu Yan, the Governor of Yizhou at the end of Han, who took Zhang Xiu and Zhang Lu, two main leaders of Wudoumi Dao of his time, into confidence. See HHS, *Liu Yan zhuan*: 2435–36; SGZ, *Zhang Lu zhuan*: 263–64.
10. *Zhang Tianshi ershi zhi tu* (A diagram of Celestial Master Zhang's twenty administrative centers), cited in Zhang Junfang's *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 28, *Ershiba zhi bu*; see Jiang 1996: 158–62, esp. 158.
11. SGZ, *Zhang Lu zhuan*: 263.
12. During the Eastern Han, Hanzhong was part of Yizhou. Zhang Lu changed the name of Hanzhong to Hanning after he occupied this place. For the history of Hanzhong, see Li 1999: 166.
13. SGZ, *Zhang Lu zhuan*: 263–64.
14. Ibid.
15. Based on HY 1130, *juan* 28, *Zhengyi qizhitu* and *Ershisu zhi bu* in Jiang 1996: 158–62.
16. *Ershiba zhi bu* in Jiang 1996: 158–62. For a general discussion of the twenty-four *zhi* of Wudoumi Dao, see Wang 1996: 87–100.
17. *Ershiba zhi bu* in Jiang 1996: 158.
18. Luo 1988: 142.
19. Gao 1987: 5.
20. Tang 1993: 3.
21. Ibid.: 57–58.

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22. Gao 1997. The most comprehensive publication of Sichuan sarcophagi is Gao and Gao 1996: nos. 1–78.
23. *Zhang Tianshi ershi zhi tu* in Jiang 1996: 158; SXZ, *juan* 4. For a collated version, see Qing 1996, vol. 1: 159–60.
24. For a discussion of Zhang Sheng' s relationship with Longhu Shan, see Fu 1998: 82–83.
25. See Meng 1993: 12, 51–52.
26. Tang 1993: 123.
27. Ibid.
28. HHS, *Liu Yan zhuan*: 2435–36; SGZ, *Zhang Lu zhuan*: 263–64.
29. This image is reproduced in Gao and Gao 1996: nos. 9, 27.
30. Liu Tizhi 1935: 16.48. This mirror belongs to the type called a "mirror with images of immortals on three registers." The provenance of this type will be discussed later in this paper.
31. A rubbing of this inscription is recently reproduced in an excellent collection of Han dynasty images and inscriptions from Sichuan: see Gong et al. 1998: no. 479. For other records and discussion of this inscription, see Feng and Feng 1934, vol. 6; Chen 1988: 1; Liu 1997a.
32. Deng 1949.
33. See LX.
34. Tang 1993: 122.
35. Lu You, *Cangdandong Ji* (Record on the Cave of Storing Dan), cited in Tang 1993: 122.
36. A whole *juan* in *Yunji qiqian* records different recipes of "immortal elixirs" which use mica as the base. See Jiang 1996: 464–70.
37. Luo 1988: 162. These archaeological finds seem to challenge a previous belief based on textual evidence, that "there was no alchemy in early Celestial Master Taoism." Proposed by Rudolph Wagner in 1973; summarized in Seidel 1989–90.
38. This is the opinion of Feng and Wang 1996.
39. Mianyang Museum 1991. For the Taoist identification of the mirror, see Huo 1999.
40. See Chen 1997.
41. Erickson 1994.
42. Xian 1995: 10.
43. Ibid.
44. HNZ.
45. Cited in Xian 1995: 12.
46. Huo 1999.
47. These three mirrors were excavated, respectively, from tomb 457 at Baqiao near Xi'an, tomb 1 at Hansengzhai in Xi'an, and a tomb at Chaoxian. See *Shaanxi chutu tongjing* 1998: nos. 75–77.
48. Hayashi 1973. The main textual references to *Jian mu* are found in SHJ, *Hainei jing* and HNZ, *Diaing xun*.
49. For an illustration of this object, see Chen 1997: fig. 6.
50. These texts include HNZ, Gao Yiu's commentary to *Lushi chunqiu*, and *Shanhai jing*.
51. Huo 1999: 47.
52. Hayashi 1973.
53. Higuchi 1979, vol. 1: 226.
54. For example, Kohn 1998b.
55. This event is recorded in several places in the *History of the Latter Han*, including *Huandi benji* (Biography of Emperor Huan), *Xiyu zhuan* (Records of the Western Distrinct), *Jisi zhi* (Records of Sacrifices), and *Xiang Kai zhuan* (Biography of Xiang Kai). See HHS: 313, 316–17, 320, 1092, 2922, 3188.
56. HHS, *Jisi zhi, zhong*: 3188.
57. T 2110, 52.535a; translation from Kamitsuka 1998: 65, with minor modification.
58. Rao 1931: 17.
59. Ibid.: 17, 19.
60. Wang Ming 1996: 273.
61. See Sun 1991: 246–47.
62. See, for example, Qing 1988–95, vol. 1: 162–64
63. See ibid.: 162–64.
64. This object is first introduced in Chen Xiandan 1997. It is possible that it is related to a local fertility cult. Other Sichuan carvings reflecting this cult include a figure with an animal head in a cliff tomb at Shuangjiang, Pengshan, and a "bear" image in Pengshan tomb 951. Both creatures show pronounced male organs. About the possibility that these images served as fertility symbols, see Tang 1993: 70.
65. Wu 1986.
66. Ibid.: 266–67.
67. For such Indian examples, see ibid., pls. 3, 4.
68. Nanjing Museum 1991: 36–37.
69. Wu 1992: 40–51, 67.
70. Mianyang Museum 1991; He 1991.
71. Wang 1960: 2.
72. HHS: 1082. The same story was reiterated in the *Xirong zhuan* (Records of western barbarians) in CSZ.
73. For a detailed discussion of the different versions of the "Laozi huahu" story, see "The Conversion of the Barbarians" in Zürcher 1972: 288–320.
74. This Taoist argument is cited in the Buddhist work *Shi sanpu lun* (Examining the essay on threefold destruction), collected in T 2102; 52.52b.
75. For discussions on Confucian elements in Han art, see Powers 1991; Wu 1989, esp. 228–30.

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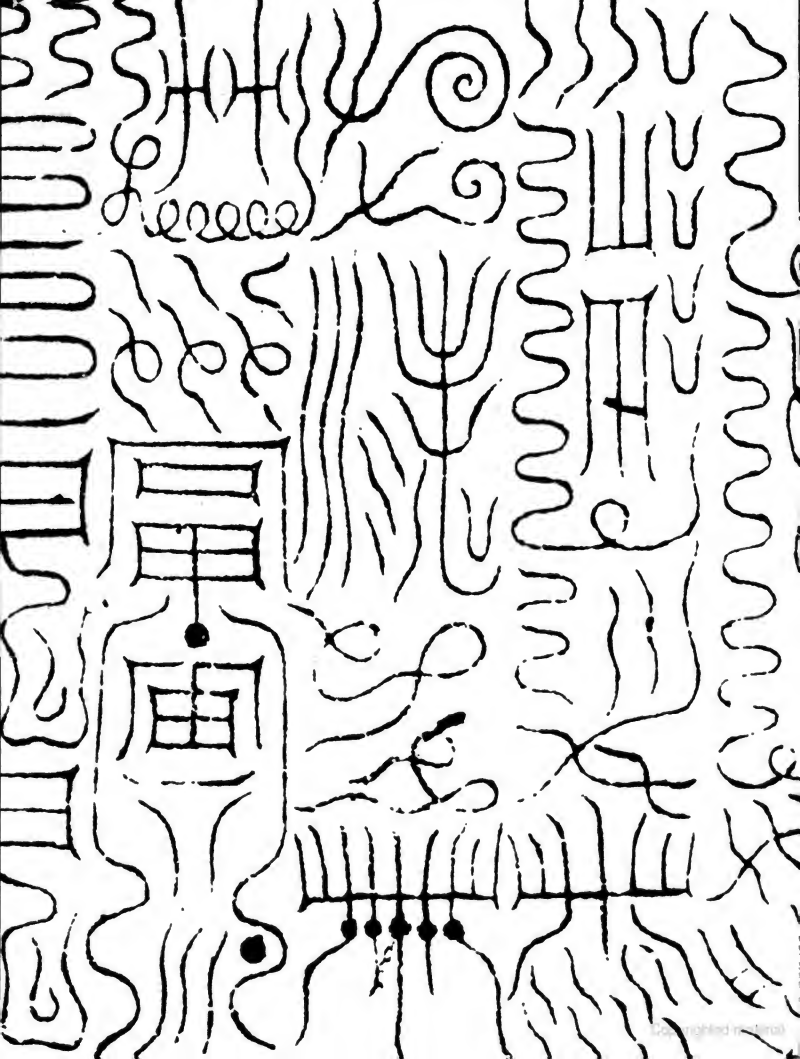

Patricia Ebrey

The west wall of the Hall of Purified Yang (Chunyang Dian) in the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong), Shanxi province, painted in 1358, depicts a set of palace buildings amidst clouds. By the gate and on the terraces, officials mix with Taoist priests. From the caption, we know that the scene depicts the Assembly of the Thousand Taoists summoned by Emperor Huizong (1082–1135, r. 1100–25) during the Song dynasty (960–1279) (fig. 1).

Further evidence of the presence of Huizong in the Taoist tradition is found in liturgical practice. In Taoist temples in Taiwan today, as the introit to a *jiao* offering ritual, the officiants, standing before the altar table, sing in unison one or two of the ten verses of the hymns composed by Huizong to accompany the "Pacing the Void" *(buxu)* ritual dance (see cat. no. 52), such as the following:

> The Precious Registers show how to cultivate perfection.
> The cinnabar pledges ascend to the blue heavens.
> The streams and fountains bring one near the good-omened.
> Arising before dawn, it is calm and peaceful.
> Disaster is dispelled from the myriad things.
> The third constellation is an auspicious sign.
> When pacing the void, the sounds are fully comprehended.
> Once again we sing the verses of the grotto mysteries.[1]

In the Taoist tradition, as these two examples attest, Huizong is a celebrated figure. He is one of the three or four emperors who did the most to promote Taoism, putting him in the same class with Xuanzong (r. 712–56) in the Tang dynasty and Zhenzong (r. 998–1022) in the early Song.[2] Huizong's pro-Taoist actions included sponsoring the first printing of the Taoist canon, heaping honors on charismatic Taoist teachers, setting up a Taoist school curriculum, sponsoring Taoist temples throughout the country, and favoring Taoists over their long-term rivals, the Buddhists.

Fig. 1
The west wall of the Hall of Purified Yang in the Eternal Joy Temple, Shanxi province, depicting the Assembly of the Thousand Taoists (detail). Yuan dynasty, 1358. Ink and colors on plaster.

Detail, fig. 8

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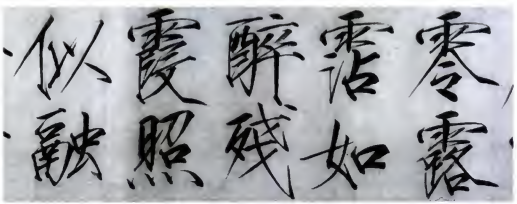

Fig. 2
Emperor Huizong. *Two Poems* (detail), in Slender Gold script. Northern Song dynasty, c. 1120. Handscroll; ink on silk; 27.2 × 265.9 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Taoists were not the only learned and talented men Huizong brought to his court. Joseph Needham has compared Huizong's court to that of Rudolf II at Prague, where, five centuries later, alchemists, astrologers, prophets, artists, and Rosicrucians enjoyed the patronage of a learned and curious sovereign.[3] But even more than Rudolf II, Huizong was a practitioner himself. He was not satisfied to gather around him individuals with exceptional talents and powers, but tried his hand at a very large range of the arts and sciences of his day. He developed a distinctive style of calligraphy, still easily recognizable (the Slender Gold style; see fig. 2), and he mastered both the running and cursive scripts as well. He wrote hundreds of poems, over four hundred of which survive. He also wrote on music, tea, medicine, and Taoist subjects. Most amazingly, perhaps, he painted in several styles, from the sketchy, "amateur" style of the literati to the highly exacting style of court bird-and-flower painting traditions (see fig. 3).[4]

Traditional Chinese historiography has been decidedly ambivalent about Huizong, undoubtedly because his reign came to a tragic end when his armies could not fend off the invasion of the non-Chinese Jurchen from the north, and he and three thousand members of his family and court were taken captive, to end out their lives in the far north. Although some historians reveal admiration for Huizong's talents, the moral framework of Chinese historiography makes explaining what went wrong the main task for historians. Huizong's many passions then become his vices, not his virtues. His love of art is seen as self-indulgence and his faith in Taoism as self-delusion. His passions, in this view, not only indicate a dangerous indifference to the serious business of governing, but also led him to waste so many resources that the country was in no condition to put up an adequate defense against the Jurchen, making the debacle that ended his reign all but inevitable. This view of Huizong was found in late Song sources and is still commonly repeated today.[5] Art historians rarely object to this portrayal, but some historians of Taoism have tried to counter it by presenting Huizong as a deeply religious man who was convinced that he would benefit everyone through his promotion of the true religion.[6]

In this essay my goal is not to judge whether Huizong's Taoist faith or art mania had deleterious effects on his ability to govern, but rather to use them as a vantage point for considering the complexities of the relations among Taoism, art, and emperorship in imperial China. Emperors in China were the grandest of all patrons. They could and did order the construction and decoration of temples in the far reaches of the empire. They commissioned and collected art on a scale no private individual could match. A ruler like Huizong, moved by both art and Taoist teachings and willing to devote vast resources to promoting them, had the potential to make a great impact on the development of religion, art, and religious art.

The links between Taoism and imperial rule date far back in China's history. Many of the gods of Taoism were conceived of as emperors. They had titles redolent of imperial majesty and, wearing imperial garments, sat on thrones in temples called palaces. Those who wished to communicate with them used the ritual forms (prostrations, written petitions) employed by those addressing emperors. Emperors, for their part, found much to value in Taoist philosophy, cosmology, and ritual, ranging from the early Taoist notions of the emperor who achieves everything by doing nothing, to grand Taoist rituals of cosmic renewal, to projects to establish Taoist temples throughout the realm. But emperors did not have an exclusive relationship with Taoism—they had to preside over the state cult, for which Confucian ritualists presented themselves as the experts, and they were expected to support the Buddhist establishment as well. In fact, emperors more committed to Taoism than to Confucianism or Buddhism were the exception rather than the rule.

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The links between Taoism and art in China are no less complex. Taoist ideas were pervasive in art theory and practice, especially in calligraphy, painting, and garden design, even if in somewhat diluted secular form. Taoist religious art, however, such as images of deities, developed in a context in which Buddhism was an overwhelming presence. There were many times more Buddhist than Taoist temples in the land, and the artists called on to decorate Taoist temples usually did most of their work for Buddhist temples. As a result, distinctively Taoist styles of painting or sculpting deities were slow to emerge.

Court patronage of both religion and art is also a complex subject. Until relatively modern times, royal courts the world over have been major sites of cultural production, sponsoring much of the finest architecture, metalwork, music, painting, poetry, religion, philosophy, science, furniture, textiles, and so on. There is no mystery to this: it is only to be expected in periods when wealth, power, books, treasures, talent, and other resources are concentrated in the capital and court. In China, at least, there was also a strong cultural validation for the preeminence of the court. In Confucian theory, in the best of all possible worlds, the Son of Heaven (the emperor) would be a perfect exemplar of all the virtues, and his court would be a center for music, poetry, art, ritual, and everything refined and beautiful. Nevertheless, over the course of time, in China as elsewhere, royal patronage became a less dominant element in higher culture. The eventual decline in the cultural preeminence of the court is a complex phenomenon connected to such developments as changes in the technology of transmitting culture, new forms of wealth, the emergence of great cities far from the capital, and more. In the Chinese case, the Six Dynasties period (the Southern Dynasties; 420–589) and Tang are viewed as high points of court culture, and a subsequent decline is vaguely associated with the rise of the literati. We have long known that Song literati such as Su Shi (1036–1101) challenged court taste in painting with their promotion of the "amateur ideal," the idea that painting done by artists outside the court and outside the art market was superior to painting done by professional or court artists.[7] Recently Amy McNair has shown how during the early Song the court as the arbiter of taste in calligraphy came to be challenged in a similar way by scholars such as Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), who extolled the bold and direct style of Yan Zhenqing over the highly polished Wang Xizhi style associated with the court since early Tang times.[8] But what about other domains of art, such as temple and garden design, illustrated books, porcelains, or textiles? Or other domains of culture, including religion, scholarship, and science? Was the court better able to leverage its vast resources toward shaping cultural developments in these fields?

Other scholars have looked at some of the artistic activities I deal with in this essay without playing up their connections to Taoism on the grounds that there was nothing exclusively Taoist about them. Peter Sturman has argued that one does not have to consider Huizong's Taoist activities to understand his paintings of auspicious subjects such as *Cranes of Good Omen*, since auspiciousness was a matter of concern to Confucians as well as Taoists.[9] Similarly, James Hargett has downplayed Taoist connections to Huizong's huge garden, the Genyue, preferring to put it in the context of prior imperial pleasure parks.[10] In this essay, however, I approach the Taoist aspects of these ventures from a different perspective. Taoists were not obligated to make art totally unlike the art non-Taoists made. Once we recognize that Huizong had a strong interest in Taoism from early in his reign, many of the art-related projects he undertook can be seen as precisely the ones an emperor with such Taoist interests would undertake. Our understanding of them can only be deepened by seeing how they fit into a Taoist agenda.

In this essay I am not concerned with the unanswerable question of how much of what was produced under Huizong's name at his court was done by him acting alone, without any assistance from the thousands who served him in one capacity or another.[11] Just as we assume that court officials regularly drafted most of the edicts that were issued in Huizong's name, it is reasonable to assume that he turned to other sorts of specialists either to draft or complete other works (and evidence of just that practice will be given below). Huizong was the CEO, impressario, general editor—the one who decided what was to be done, how it should be approached, and whether the finished product met his standards. We do not have to believe that Huizong moved each rock to credit him with the Genyue garden, nor do we have to think he came up with each allusion in the poems that circulated under his name or made each stroke in every painting that he signed. An emperor with grand goals had every reason to draw on the talents of those serving him.

Still, it is worth noting in the story that follows the emphasis Huizong placed on his personal participation, especially his personal brush. A major way an emperor showed the level of his interest and support was by getting personally involved and by symbolically giving a piece of himself—usually something he had personally written. Other themes that run through Huizong's involvement with both the arts and Taoism are concerns with potency and efficacy. In the spheres we label Taoist and those we label art the techniques of gaining power by naming or

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embodying seem to have played rather similar roles, and skills Huizong learned in one arena he could carry over to the other.

A chronological survey of Huizong's engagement with art and Taoism must start with his youth. Born the third son of the reigning emperor, Shenzong (r. 1067–85), Huizong was still a toddler when his father died and his eldest brother, then eight years old (ten *sui*), succeeded to the throne as Zhezong.[12] Huizong continued to live in the palace, where he was prepared for the life of the wealthy prince.

In the world of Huizong's youth, the resources of art and religion were available in abundance, but individuals were free to choose which resources to draw on. Shenzong had taken considerable interest in the work of court painters, and artists like Guo Xi and Cui Bo thrived under his patronage. Shenzong's mother, the Empress Dowager Gao, who took over the court after his death, had less interest in painting, and Zhezong, once he took personal charge of the government after her death in 1093, does not seem to have had any special interest in painting either. Several of Huizong's aunts and uncles, however, had strong interest in the arts, some excelling in calligraphy or painting, others taking more of an interest in connoisseurship and collecting. For a few of them, Taoism was one of many interests, like medicine, music, and antiques.

Huizong and the four brothers he grew up with in the palace were given literary educations in the classics and histories. A set of linked mansions was built for them, designed by the famous architect Li Jie, so that by the time they were in their mid teens they could move out of the palace. Huizong's interests in painting and calligraphy began in this period. He studied with good teachers and modeled himself on major masters. He also began to collect old works, and found that his high rank and kinship connections gave him entrée to key circles of connoisseurs and collectors, including relatives such as Wang Shen (widowed husband of Shenzong's sister) and imperial clansmen such as Zhao Lingrang.

Politics in this period were decidedly unpleasant. Empress Dowager Gao, who had never approved of Shenzong's support for the reformer Wang Anshi, brought in the most vocal of Wang's opponents once she had the chance. After she died, in 1093, Zhezong returned the favor, expelling the conservatives and returning the reformers to power. Princes were expected to stay distant from all of this political maneuvering—nothing would be viewed as more threatening to the throne than a possible heir becoming friendly with men who had a stake in succession at court. It was astute of Huizong as a prince to act more interested in art than politics.

Huizong was seventeen (nineteen *sui*) when Zhezong died without an heir at age twenty-five, early in 1100. Shenzong's two eldest surviving sons were only three months apart in age, and Shenzong's widow, who was the mother of neither of them, selected Huizong over his elder brother on the grounds that his brother had problems with his eyes (emperors were expected to do a great deal of reading). During Huizong's first year as emperor, he was somewhat tentative, deferring to his stepmother and attempting a reconciliation of the two main political factions by inviting representatives of each to join the small circle of leading officials. But by 1103 he had decided to favor the faction identified with his father and Wang Anshi (the reformers). He appointed Cai Jing (1046–1126) as chief councillor and in 1104 approved a plan to bar from office all of the "Yuanyou partisans" who had been brought to office by his grandmother after Shenzong died.

From his earliest years on the throne, Huizong acted on his interests in art. When he had the Taoist Temple of the Five Peaks (Wuyue Guan) built, he recruited several hundred painters from all over the realm to paint its walls. According to Deng Chun, Huizong's dissatisfaction with the quality of their work gave him the idea of setting up a painting school to raise standards.[13] Thus, in 1104, when he implemented an ambitious expansion of the school system, he set up schools within the palace for both painting and calligraphy. The eminent connoisseur Mi Fu was brought to court as an erudite of painting and calligraphy.[14] Rigorous training programs were instituted, with calligraphy students studying different scripts, and painting students studying both texts and different genres of painting. The students in these schools were promoted on the basis of examinations, putting them on more of a par with those who studied the classics in order to become civil servants.

Huizong quickly showed he had a collector's passion for acquiring fine things. In 1105 he set up a bureau in Suzhou to forward rocks, flowers, and trees from the southeast for the imperial gardens.[15] Huizong also began collecting art objects on a large scale. He acquired many items from Mi Fu and Wang Shen, including both calligraphy and paintings. His collection of antique bronzes grew so fast that already in 1107 the first edition of his illustrated catalogue was published.[16] Two years later he published a set of calligraphy reproductions, the *Specimens of the Daguan Period (Daguan tie)*.

Huizong's well-developed interest in the exceptional drew him to both learned Taoist masters and *fangshi*, men capable of tapping into mysterious powers to work wonders.[17] Early in his reign, in 1104, he put into practice some of the proposals of the

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seer, wonder-worker, and musical theorist Wei Hanjin, who advocated not merely the codification of new musical scales, but also the casting of nine bronze tripods using water and soil from the nine regions of the realm. The tripods were installed in a special temple where they were used in sacrifices to the Yellow Emperor, the Duke of Zhou, and others, using a complex scheme of color and direction correlations. In response, an especially auspicious sign appeared: several thousand cranes circled above the palace surrounded by colored clouds.[18]

The Taoist master who had the most frequent contact with Huizong in his early years was Liu Hunkang (1035–1108), twenty-fifth patriarch of the Highest Purity (Shangqing) lineage at Mount Mao (Mao Shan) in Jiangsu province. Mao Shan had been a Taoist center since the fourth century, the form of Taoism associated with it distinguished above all for its focus on the stars. During the Tang, Mao Shan Taoism was close to the official religion.[19]

Liu Hunkang had already been favored at court under Shenzong and Zhezong.[20] Huizong summoned him to court soon after taking the throne, but in 1103 Liu asked to return to Mao Shan. Between then and Liu's death in 1108, Huizong kept up an active correspondence with him; several dozen of Huizong's letters to him have been preserved in the history of Mao Shan.[21] These letters deal both with ordinary matters and with issues of religious ideas and practice. Huizong repeatedly urged Liu to come to the capital. The two discussed the construction of buildings Huizong was providing at Mao Shan. Liu encouraged Huizong to support Taoism in its competition with Buddhism, and they carried on a correspondence concerning the problem of Buddhist temples incorporating shrines to Taoist deities.[22] Cai Tao (d. 1147), son of Cai Jing, thought it was Liu's slanders of the Buddhists that turned Huizong away from Buddhism.[23]

From the letters Huizong sent Liu, we see the range of topics Huizong considered within the purview of a Taoist master. Huizong inquired about methods for curing illness, the names to be given newly constructed temples, and how to deal with misfortunes such as the continuous rains that were harming farmers. He repeatedly asked for detailed analyses of disasters and anomalies. He once noted that "the matter I prayed for previously still has not had a response."[24] Huizong made reference to his own religious practices, particularly the use of talismans. We do not have Liu's responses, but sometimes Huizong cited a statement Liu had made in previous letters, such as the statement that gentlemen cannot become *fangshi* by force.[25]

Art occasionally entered into the relationship between these two men. In 1106 Huizong sent several items for the new temple, including a plaque with the title of the temple in his own calligraphy and an essay written by the high official Cai Bian (1058–1117; Cai Jing's brother). He also sent ten fans with his own painting and calligraphy on them, telling Liu to use them to summon a breeze on a hot day.[26] These fans seem to have been personal gifts, much like the fans Huizong gave to leading officials on other occasions.[27] For the temple, Huizong gave art that was more distinctly religious. Cai Bian's essay mentions that Huizong sent as gifts for the new temple several chapters of Taoist scripture that he wrote out himself as well as a painting of Laozi that he painted himself.[28] The next year, when Huizong was sending another group of presents, he included two more paintings he had done himself, of two of the most important Taoist deities, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun) and the Supreme Lord of the Way (Taishang daojun). Huizong wrote that if these were put together with the painting he had done the year before of Laozi, they would make a complete set of the Three Purities (Sanqing), the highest gods of Taoism (see cat. nos. 65–67).[29] In another letter Huizong mentioned the completion of an image of the Third Mao Lord (San Mao jun), one of the principal deities of the Highest Purity movement, which would be given to Liu when he returned to the capital.[30]

Huizong's calligraphy seems to have been valued even more than his paintings. At one point Liu asked permission to have some of the calligraphy Huizong had done for him carved on stone at the temple. Huizong responded that the commemorative essay he had written for the temple and the seeing-off poem he had recently sent could be engraved, but not the letters that were in his hand.[31] Apparently Huizong would not have been so open in his letters to Liu if he had expected them to be carved on stone for all to read.

From these early years on, Huizong took an interest in Taoist liturgy. In 1108 he ordered that liturgies for the Rite of the Golden Register be collected in order to send them to each county and prefecture with a Taoist temple where the prefect or magistrate would select a Taoist priest to perform them.[32] According to Michel Strickmann, "The purpose of the Rite of the Golden Register ever since its inception in the fifth century had been to guarantee the welfare of the imperial house. Thus the distribution of a newly codified redaction of the Golden Register Rites was intended to ensure that a vast chorus of supplication of the interests of the Song would rise from every corner of the empire."[33] Preparing this compendium took time, and two years later Huizong handed over to his chief councillor, Zhang Shangying (1043–1121), what had been assembled. He told

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Fig. 3
Emperor Huizong. *Five-Colored Parakeet* (detail). Northern Song dynasty, early 12th century. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk; 53.3 × 125.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Zhang that the Taoist masters to whom he had entrusted the job disagreed on many points and that he wanted Zhang to correct, complete, and polish what they had submitted.[34]

From about the beginning of the Zhenghe period (1111–17), Huizong began taking on more ambitious projects, many with Taoist connections. By this time he was in his early thirties, full of confidence and energy. He began building on a large scale, had paintings of auspicious signs done by the hundreds if not thousands, and started collecting rare Taoist texts, to mention only some of the most ambitious projects.

Building projects certainly must have consumed a lot of energy and resources. In the fourth month of 1113, the building in which Huizong had been born was converted into a Taoist shrine. In that same month, a new palace complex was begun, called Precious Harmony Hall (Baohe Dian). Decorated in an understated style with unpainted wooden beams and rafters, it had pavilions for the storage of books, antiques, paintings, calligraphy, and musical instruments.[35] But the largest palace-related project was the huge extension of the palace to the north, creating the parklike Extended Blessings Palace (Yanfu Gong). Writing half a century later, Hong Mai (1123–1202) described Extended Blessings as the most extravagant palace project done in Song times. It had seven halls, thirty pavilions, and a 110-foot artificial mountain with a pavilion on top. A pond measuring 400 by 267 feet was dug, and the cranes, deer, and peacocks kept there numbered in the thousands.[36] In 1115 Huizong also restarted a long-set-aside plan to build a Hall of Enlightenment, which the architect Li Jie had planned for him in 1104.[37]

Given the scale of these construction projects, it is perhaps not surprising that Huizong set court painters on an ambitious project as well: making visual records of all the auspicious phenomena of his reign. A couple of Huizong's poems refer to summoning painters to make visual records of auspicious objects and events:

> Fine crops are a sign that this is a special time.
> There are even numinous mushrooms at the base of the Halcyon Arch.
> Passing through, one sees their brilliance and knows they are an exceptional thing.
> A painter is summoned to create a new picture.[38]
>
> No day passes without auspicious items brought for submission.
> With bows they present grains and grasses, each different in some way.
> Sometimes I call for an expert in red and green pigments.
> In each case I give him the plan and have him make the painting.[39]

If we are to take at face value the accounts of art chroniclers such as Deng Chun and Tang Hou, Huizong must have called on painters to record auspicious occurrences rather frequently,

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not to mention taking up the brush himself from time to time. Deng Chun, in his *Painting Continued (Huaji)* of 1167, mentioned that paintings were made of unusual phenomena deemed to be of good omen, such as a red crow, white magpie, and double-stemmed bamboo, as well as rare objects sent from distant lands. These pictures were made up into a series of albums of fifteen leaves each.[40] Tang Hou, writing over a century later, claimed that hundreds of albums of thirty pictures each were made in this way and concluded that court painters must have done much of the work.[41]

Of the dozen or more surviving paintings believed to be by Huizong's hand, three are thought to have originated in this project: *Five-Colored Parakeet* (fig. 3), *Cranes of Good Omen* (fig. 4), and *Auspicious Dragon Rock* (fig. 5). The size of these short handscrolls (perhaps originally large album leaves) varies from 51 to 54 centimeters in height and 125 to 138 centimeters in width. The coupling of lengthy inscriptions and exacting painting means the auspicious phenomenon is documented in both word and image. On the two that have fully legible inscriptions, Huizong claimed not merely to have "designed" the painting but also to have painted it and done the calligraphy ("Imperially designed, imperially painted, and inscribed" *fyu zhi yu hua bing shu*).

Taoist associations are strongest in *Cranes of Good Omen*. The painting depicts eighteen cranes flying above the southern front gate to the palace, with two more cranes perched on the roof ornaments. Clouds surround the gate. Above the clouds the sky is painted an azure blue, something quite unusual in a Chinese painting. The roof is drawn in the standard style for rendering architectural subjects, with the lines of the tiles and the brackets of the eaves all drawn with a ruler. The cranes, although small, are carefully depicted, the black and red feathers of their heads, necks, and tails scrupulously indicated. Their heads are all seen in profile, but the wings of those in flight are seen from above. They are flying in several directions, suggesting that they were circling around above the roof. This impression of action is countered by an equally strong impression of elegant patterning. The cranes are distributed fairly evenly over the sky in a two-dimensional pattern, with none blocking the view of another, creating the sort of pattern one might find on a textile or lacquer box.

The inscription on *Cranes of Good Omen* instructs us to view it as a visual record of an extraordinary event witnessed by thousands of residents of the capital:

Fig. 4
Emperor Huizong. *Cranes of Good Omen*. Northern Song dynasty, early 12th century. Handscroll; ink and colors on silk; 51 × 138.2 cm. Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.

Fig. 5
Emperor Huizong. *Auspicious Dragon Rock* (detail). Northern Song dynasty. Handscroll; ink and light colors on silk; 53.8 × 127.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

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On the evening of the day after the *shangyuan* festival in 1112, auspicious clouds suddenly formed in masses and descended about the main gate of the palace, illuminating it. Everyone raised their heads to gaze at them. Suddenly a group of cranes appeared flying and calling in the sky. Two came to perch atop the "owl-tail" ridge-ornaments of the gate, completely at ease and self-composed. The others all wheeled about in the sky, as if responding to some rhythm. Residents of the capital walking about all bowed in reverence, gazing from afar. They sighed at length over the unusual sight. For some time the cranes did not disperse. Then they circled about and flew off, separating at the northwest quarter of the city. Moved by this auspicious event, I wrote the following poem to record the facts:

Brilliant multi-hued rainbows caress the roof's ridge.
The immortal birds, proclaiming good auspices, suddenly arrive in favorable response.
Wafting about, originally denizens of the Three Immortal Isles,
Pair after pair, they go on presenting their thousand-year-old forms.
They seem to be imitating the blue *luan* phoenix that roosted atop the jeweled halls.
Could they possibly be the same as the red geese that congregated at Heaven's Pond?
Lingering they call and cry at the Cinnabar Tower,
Thus causing the ever-busy common folk to know of their presence.[42]

The vocabulary employed in this poem is similar to that in the large body of poetry by Huizong, which has many references to auspicious or multicolored clouds, rainbows, phoenixes, cranes, flying, the auspicious, the numinous, and places such as Cinnabar Tower and the Three Immortal Islands.

It is the painting, however, that makes *Cranes of Good Omen* so powerful. Peter Sturman, in his study of this painting, draws attention to how the meticulous fashion in which the cranes and building are painted makes the auspicious event somehow more real.[43] There seems a ritual dimension here: not only does representation call powers into being, but getting every detail right is essential to success.

Cranes appear in other paintings and poems by Huizong. An album of six depictions of cranes in various poses signed by Huizong was published in the 1930s, though its current whereabouts is unknown (fig. 6). Years ago Benjamin Rowland proposed that this album was a copy of a well-known but no longer extant wall painting by Huang Quan, a painter Huizong admired.[44] Huizong also wrote a set of ten poems on cranes. The following two show something of the range of themes:

The halls of the Five Clouds Palace allow one to pace the void at length.
The Dipper revolves and turns the empyrean before the night is done.
The white crane flies here carrying an auspicious missive.
The pure sounds one after the other—the fragrance of returning spirits.[45]

They assemble at Penglai, then scatter—the immortals returning.
Feathered riders breeze by—the white cranes flying.
In brilliant ages people are used to seeing such auspicious sights.
Why must we wait for folk ballads to sing of the golden-clothed?[46]

Huizong's interest in the visual depiction of auspicious signs was also manifested in other ways. Several times between 1114 and 1117 he had special flags commissioned so that representations of these phenomena could be carried in the grand processions that accompanied the imperial carriage when the emperor left the palace to perform rituals.[47]

The early and middle Zhenghe period also marked an intensified interest in Taoism on Huizong's part. Cai Tao, who, as the son of Cai Jing, had as good an opportunity to know what went on at court as anyone, thought a dream marked the turning point:

Early in the Zhenghe period the emperor was ill. After a hundred days he was on the mend, then one night he had a dream that someone summoned him. In the dream it was like the time when he lived in his princely mansion and attended Zhezong's court. In response to the summons he entered a Taoist temple where two Taoist masters acted as ushers. They arrived at an altar where the exalted one told Huizong: "It is your destiny to promote my religion." Huizong bowed twice and accepted the command. As he left, the two ushers led him away. When he woke up he made a record of the dream and sent it to Cai Jing, who at the time was living in Hangzhou.[48]

It was after this dream, Cai Tao claimed, that Huizong stepped up the construction of Taoist temples in the palace and brought in more Taoists to perform ceremonies. It was then, too, that he personally composed the "Pacing the Void" hymns still extant.

The two Taoist masters who attracted the most notice at court in this period were both surnamed Wang. Wang Laozhi was an ascetic who ate only one meal a day and wore only a single

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Fig. 6
Emperor Huizong. *Crane*, leaf 6 from an album of 6 leaves entitled *Six Cranes*. Northern Song dynasty. Ink and colors on silk. Location unknown.

garment winter or summer. In the ninth month of 1113, he was summoned to the palace and given the title Master of the Cavern Tenuity (Dongwei xiansheng). Huizong had Cai Jing house him in the southern garden of the house he had given Cai Jing. Once, according to Cai Tao, Huizong asked Wang about his consort Liu, who had recently died.[49] Wang told him she was the Sovereign of Exalted True Purple Emptiness (Shangzhen zixu yuanjun). For some time Wang served as a medium and carried messages between Huizong and Consort Liu. One of the other consorts, who also missed Consort Liu, asked Wang Laozhi whether Liu still remembered her, and the next day Wang brought a letter from Liu discussing things the two consorts had talked about the previous autumn. Many literati treated Wang Laozhi as a seer and visited him to have him write characters for them, which were interpreted as cryptic prognostications. Huizong did a piece of his calligraphy for him, which read "Illuminated Perfected who Observes the Marvelous" *(Guanmiao mingzhen)*.[50]

After Wang Laozhi died, in 1114, another clairvoyant, Wang Zixi, took his place, both at Cai Jing's house and at court. At the time there was a drought. When the emperor prayed for rain, he would send a messenger to Wang to get him to write a prayer for rain on a plain piece of paper. Once when this occurred, Wang Zixi suddenly wrote a small talisman with a note to the left: "Burn this talisman, put the ashes in hot water, and wash with it." The palace messenger was afraid to take it, but Wang insisted. This talisman water turned out to be an effective cure for the pink-eye then afflicting a favored consort.[51] Through his uncanny prescience of this sort, Wang developed a reputation for being able to foresee events. Cai Jing, however, grew tired of him and complained to Huizong about being asked to support *fangshi*, whereupon Huizong had Wang sent instead to a Taoist temple he had just built.[52]

Huizong's fascination with these extraordinary individuals did not lead him to neglect the more text-oriented side of Taoism. Late in 1113 Huizong issued a general call for the collection of Taoist texts, ordering prefects and circuit intendants to conduct wide searches and priests, laymen, gentlemen, and commoners all to submit their Taoist books promptly.[53] Moreover, in the third month of 1114 he ordered every circuit to send ten Taoists to the capital for advanced training.[54]

Some of the learned Taoists who arrived in the capital were brought into the project of editing a new Taoist canon. This editorial project did not just look for the best editions of old classics, but incorporated the key texts of relatively recent teachings, such as the Celestial Heart, Thunder Rites, and Divine Empyrean schools.[55] As the work on the canon was completed, other editorial jobs were found for the assembled Taoists, including a *History of the Tao (Daoshi)* and an *Institutes of the Tao (Daodian)*. The *History* was to cover the period through the Five Dynasties, with chronicles of the rulers who had attained transcendence, twelve monographs on Taoist subjects, and biographies of male and female immortals. The *Institutes* would cover the Song period.[56]

Although these text-oriented projects were taking Huizong's

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interest in Taoism away from dreams, auspicious signs, and communications with the dead, they also led to his meeting Lin Lingsu, the Taoist master who Huizong came to feel had powers greater than any of the others he had met over the years.[57] Lin came to the capital in 1113 or 1114, probably in response to Huizong's call for unusual texts and adepts. Originally from Wenzhou (Zhejiang), Lin was a master of Thunder Rites and an exponent of a new sect of Taoism, Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) Taoism, which he had learned from a Taoist master in Sichuan.[58] The Divine Empyrean, they proclaimed, was a celestial region far superior to those that governed the other Taoist orders. In Isabelle Robinet's words, "The style of this movement was essentially liturgical. A complete cycle of recitations ensures the salvation of humankind, equivalent to a Return to the Origin. It breaks the circle of life and death and permits rebirth in the Taiping heaven. An important place is reserved for the cosmic and apotropaic power of thunder and lightning, which the master must interiorize in order to make use of its power."[59]

One of the earliest and fullest accounts of Lin Lingsu again draws attention to Huizong's belief that dreams reveal truths. One night Huizong dreamt that in response to a summons from the Eastern Flowery Sovereign he traveled to a Divine Empyrean Palace. When he awoke, he asked the Taoist official Xu Zhichang to find out what the terms referred to. After asking around, Xu learned of a Taoist from Wenzhou named Lin who talked of the Divine Empyrean and had written poems about it. Xu reported this to Huizong, who summoned Lin. At his audience, Huizong asked Lin what techniques he possessed, and Lin rather immodestly claimed to comprehend the Heavens, the world of men, and the subterranean regions. Huizong granted Lin titles and built the Penetrating Truth Temple for him to live in.[60] Lin's first job was to work on the *History of the Tao*, but soon he was giving monthly lectures in the palace for court officials and imperial relatives.

What makes Lin Lingsu notorious in Chinese historiography is his revelation in 1116 or 1117 that Huizong was an incarnation of the elder son of the Jade Emperor, named the Great Lord of Long Life (Changsheng dadi).[61] Huizong was so pleased with learning this from Lin that he had the palatial Supreme Purity Precious Treasure Temple built for him. He also ordered Divine Empyrean temples established in every prefecture to house images of the Great Lord of Long Life and his brother, the Sovereign of Qinghua. Existing Taoist temples could be used for this purpose. In places without any Taoist temples, Buddhist ones could be converted, and there is evidence that Buddhist temples were in fact taken over by Taoists in this period.[62] The construction or conversion of these temples must have created a lot of work for painters and sculptors, since they typically had twenty-two immortals depicted on their eastern and western walls, in addition to images of the main deities at their altars.[63]

Twice in 1117 Lin Lingsu was involved in the descent of heavenly spirits. The first occurred in the second month when Lin Lingsu announced that the Sovereign of Qinghua had descended to earth. Huizong assembled huge numbers of Taoist priests at Precious Treasure Temple to hear Lin tell of this great event.[64] This is the Assembly of the Thousand Taoists commemorated on the wall of the Eternal Joy Temple.[65] From then on Huizong made frequent trips to this temple and would always distribute large quantities of cash. Wanting his subjects to know of the strength of his commitment to Taoism, in the fourth month of 1117 Huizong issued an edict stating that he believed he had been given the mission of saving China from the foreign religion (i.e., Buddhism) and returning it to the correct way.[66]

The second visitation of heavenly spirits occurred in the twelfth month. The *Dynastic History of the Song (Song shi)* merely records that heavenly spirits came down to Earthly Tranquility Hall (Kunning Dian) and that a stone was carved to record the event.[67] One stele in Huizong's calligraphy with the full account of the event survived in a temple in Shaanxi, showing that rubbings of the stele in the capital must have been distributed for copying around the country (fig. 7). This four-foot-tall stele is perhaps the most unambiguously Taoist work among the surviving examples of Huizong's art. It is visually striking because of the "dragon-emblem cloud-seal" script used for the poem by Lin Lingsu at the top.[68] The lower part, in Huizong's slender gold calligraphy, records that on the evening of the full moon in the twelfth month of 1117, heavenly spirits again descended to Earthly Tranquility Hall, creating a scene even more numinous and extraordinary than the time before. Amidst thunder, lightning, and colored clouds, a procession appeared, and marvelous music and unusual fragrances were perceptible.

> Suddenly among the tables there was a twenty-eight character poem in dragon-emblem, cloud-seal script. The vocabulary was as marvelous as spirits and immortals, unlike that of the human world. Before the ink was dry, I looked at it closely. Chu Hui, the Senior Officer of the Western Terrace, had signed the end of it. Chu Hui is none other than the Feathered Guest, Lin Lingsu, who is the Senior Officer of the Western Terrace of the Royal Headquarters of the Exalted Supreme Divine Empyrean Jade Purity Right Extreme, the first among the regions of Heaven's administrations of the immortals. At this time he was far away in Penetrating

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> Truth Temple sleeping soundly, yet he was able in the night to communicate with the spirits like this. The next day when questioned about this incident, he smiled but did not answer, so I knew one cannot communicate in words how the great Way shows its vast powers, which is to be found specifically in the conjunction of ideas. Accordingly I have engraved this on stone to record the facts. Written in Proclaiming Harmony Hall (Xuanhe Dian) on a day in the middle of the month.[69]

Huizong's confidence in the potency of his own calligraphy—both its inherent power when judged by the aesthetic standards of the time and its added power as a manifestation of the Son of Heaven—undoubtedly encouraged him to agree to let his calligraphy be widely displayed. As seen above, he had earlier allowed Liu Hunkang to erect stelae with his compositions in his handwriting. Later, in the eighth month of 1119, Huizong composed and wrote in his own hand a record of the Shenxiao Jade Purity Longevity temples that was carved on a stele, and copies were distributed throughout the realm so that stones could be erected at Shenxiao temples everywhere.[70]

Huizong did not confine his compositions to commemorative pieces. Like Xuanzong in the Tang, he wrote a commentary on the *Laozi*. This text, which has been preserved in the Taoist canon, cites a range of authorities, including Confucius and Mencius, but draws most heavily on the philosopher Zhuangzi and the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*.[71] Liu Ts'un-yan, who studied the commentary in depth, finds in it evidence that Huizong looked on the *Laozi* as a guidebook for rulers on how to govern.[72] Huizong's commentary was engraved in stone at the Shenxiao temple in the ninth month of 1118 and printed in 1123.[73] Scholars were encouraged to read and comment on it. The Taoist Canon contains commentaries on Huizong's commentary written by two contemporaries, one a low-ranking official, the other a student at the imperial academy.[74]

Huizong's enthusiasm for Lin Lingsu's teachings occasionally intersected with his interest in painting. The late Song hagiography of Lin Lingsu records that after Lin had redecorated a hall at a temple, Huizong asked to see Zhenwu, the martial god of the north. Lin Lingsu spent the night at the temple fasting. At noon the next day dark clouds obscured the sun and there was thunder and lightning. Huizong burned incense, bowed, and prayed to see Zhenwu, who eventually appeared to him wearing a long black robe, gold shield, and jade belt. Huizong sketched his likeness, then summoned a court painter to finish the painting for him. Almost immediately Zhenwu disappeared. The next day Cai Jing suggested comparing the painting just made of Zhenwu to the one that had been made under similar circumstances during Taizong's reign (r. 976–97) and kept sealed up ever since. The two, we are told, turned out to be identical.[75]

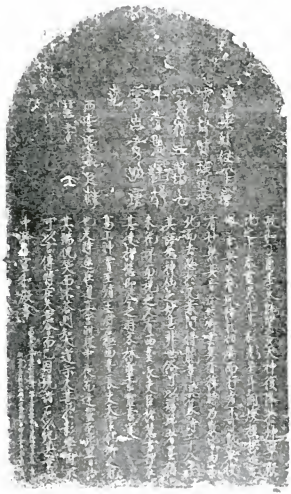

Fig. 7
Emperor Huizong. Ink rubbing of a Taoist stele from Yao county, Shaanxi province. Northern Song dynasty. Ink on paper.

Huizong's interests in the visual found an outlet also in the Taoist Canon project. He wrote a preface to a set of illustrations in the *Lingbao wuliang durenjing futu* (Talismans and diagrams of the wondrous scripture of supreme rank on the infinite salvation of numinous treasure). In Judith Boltz's words, "Designed to introduce the rudiments of the Shenxiao reenactment of the Lingbao revelation, the treatise supplies the essential diagrams, talismanic inscriptions, sacred recitations, and lengthy registers of the celestial bureaucracy."[76] The talismans have obvious visual interest, especially to someone so devoted to calligraphy as

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Fig. 8
Zhao daming jiuhua zhi fu (The talisman of summoning the nine transformations of great obscurity). From *Lingbao wuliang duren [shangpin miaojing] futu* (Talismans and diagrams of the wondrous scripture of supreme rank on the infinite salvation of numinous treasure; woodblock-printed, accordion-mounted book; Ming dynasty, 1444–45; reprint of a lost Northern Song dynasty book, early 12th century). From ZTDZ, vol. 4: 588.

Fig. 9
Yuandong yuli zhang (Stanza of the jade eon of the primordial cavern; detail). From *Lingbao wuliang duren [shangpin miaojing] futu* (Talismans and diagrams of the wondrous scripture of supreme rank on the infinite salvation of numinous treasure; woodblock-printed, accordion-mounted book; Ming dynasty, 1444–45; reprint of a lost Northern Song dynasty book, early 12th century). From ZTDZ, vol. 4: 581.

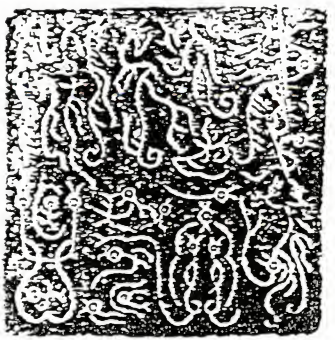

Fig. 10
Seal inscribed "The mandate was received from Heaven; long life and everlasting glory." Believed to have been Huizong's. From Ecke 1972: 246, pl. 18.

Huizong (see figs. 8 and 9). One of the seals used by Huizong (fig. 10) seems to draw inspiration from these sorts of talismans.

After promoting the Shenxiao teachings for a couple of years, Huizong began placing curbs on Buddhist establishments. In 1118 the Taoist Bureau reviewed over six thousand volumes of Buddhist texts to discover ones that slandered Taoists or Confucians. Nine volumes were singled out to be destroyed, though a copy of each was to be preserved as evidence. Lin Lingsu wrote a treatise detailing the slanders in these texts, which was printed and circulated.[77] Anti-Buddhist measures went a step further in the first month of 1119 when Buddhist temples and monasteries were forbidden to increase their land or buildings. Then the foreignness of Buddhism was to be erased through a process of renaming. Buddhist monks were renamed "scholars of virtue" (*deshi*, to correspond to *daoshi*, Taoist priests). They were to wear Taoist-style robes, use their original surnames, and salute with raised fists, not joined palms—in other words, they were to make themselves visually indistinguishable from Taoist clergy. Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and arhats were all given new names—Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha, was to be called the Golden Immortal of Great Enlightenment. Temples could retain the old

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statues of these newly renamed deities, but had to clothe them in the robes and caps of Taoist divinities.[78]

Not surprisingly, Huizong's support of Lin Lingsu and Divine Empyrean Taoism provoked resistance and protest. Huizong's eldest son, the heir apparent, a young man in his mid teens, was the most direct, calling Lin a fraud who used tricks such as paper cranes to create the illusions with which he dazzled Huizong.[79] Cai Jing went along with most of Huizong's projects, dutifully offering praise whenever called for, but he too began complaining. Supporters of Buddhism circulated texts ridiculing the Divine Empyrean, and even Huizong's former chief councillor, Zhang Shangying, wrote a text defending Buddhism.[80]

Lin Lingsu had become a political liability, and Huizong may have lost faith in his powers as well. In the eleventh month of 1119 Lin Lingsu was sent back to Wenzhou and the following year most of the restrictions on Buddhism were removed.

Even at the height of his enthusiasm for the Divine Empyrean, Huizong's interest in Taoism was never exclusive, and he continued to find pleasure in many other sorts of wonderful things, from rare books to fine calligraphy and ancient bronzes. This can be seen from the entertainment Huizong offered his guests at a banquet held in the ninth month of 1119, a couple of months before Lin was sent away. His guests, including a son and two brothers as well as eminent officials such as Cai Jing and Wang Fu, were brought to Preserving Harmony Palace, the compound built in 1113. The treasures Huizong had laid out to show them included not only "Taoist books of the golden casket and jade book box, along with the various secret Heavenly texts of the Divine Empyrean sect" but also Confucian works, the stone drums of the Zhou, ancient bronzes, and many scrolls of painting and calligraphy from the Tang and earlier.[81]

Not only did Huizong show off his collections, but in this period he put many scholars to work on the catalogues of them. The *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue (Xuanhe huapu)* has a preface dated 1120, and the *Xuanhe Calligraphy Catalogue (Xuanhe shupu)* must date to a couple of years later, probably 1123.[82] Huizong's commitments to Taoism are reflected throughout the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue*. As Xiao Baifang has shown in a detailed study, this catalogue of the imperial painting collection was compiled and edited in a way that gave Taoism a more elevated position than it occupied in any earlier work on painters or painting.[83] First, and perhaps most important, it listed over 350 paintings on Taoist subjects, the majority in the Taoist-Buddhist section, but a large number also were listed under artists classified as figure, landscape, or architecture specialists. Typical of the Taoist paintings listed in the *Painting Catalogue* are paintings of the star and constellation gods, paintings of major deities such as the Three Purities, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun; see cat. nos. 65, 68), Laozi, astral deities, immortals *(xian)*, and realized beings *(zhenren)*. Most of these were undoubtedly originally made to be hung at altars in temples, so it is of note that they had been removed from their religious settings and turned into art objects to be kept in the palace, where they were probably kept rolled up most of the time.[84]

Another way the catalogue elevates Taoism is by giving it priority. Taoist and Buddhist paintings were made the first category in the catalogue, something no earlier work had done.[85] Then, in the lists of paintings by individual artists, Taoist paintings are generally listed first.[86] Taoist language and Taoist ideas are found throughout the work. The death of the painter Guo Zhongshu, for instance, is referred to as his "becoming an immortal."[87] Moreover, the *Painting Catalogue* gives more attention to paintings by Taoist masters and more attention to their status as Taoist masters than any earlier works on painters did. The Tang master Zhang Suqing, for instance, had been described by Guo Ruoxu, author of *Experiences in Painting (Tuhua jianwen zhi)*, as a Taoist adept attached to a temple, but nothing more is said of his Taoist status. In the *Painting Catalogue*, however, his status as a priest is highlighted by a recounting of the imperial honors he received.[88]

Two Taoist priests still active when the catalogue was compiled were given listings in the *Painting Catalogue*. Xu Zhichang, the Taoist priest who introduced Lin Lingsu to court, was said to have the "style of a literati gentleman." He was described as a skilled musician who had a reputation for techniques of curing illnesses without the use of drugs. Knowledgeable in both the Taoist and Confucian texts, he was employed on the canon editing project. His paintings of gods and immortals were said to be right in every detail, but the imperial collection had only one of them.[89] Xu's contemporary Li Derou was also employed on the canon project. He was said to have had a natural talent for painting and to have been especially good at capturing likenesses. The twenty-six paintings by him in the palace collection included one of each of the Mao Lords, Zhuangzi, Lü Dongbin, Tao Hongjing, Sun Simo, Wang Ziqiao, Liezi, and many other key figures in Taoist traditions.[90] Cai Tao, in his account of Li Derou, adds something not in the catalogue: Li was sent away from the capital for having made fun of the Divine Empyrean affair.[91]

In the last five years of Huizong's reign (1120–25), he did not initiate any new pro-Taoist projects, but he does not seem

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to have lost faith in Taoism or even in the revelation that he was an incarnation of the Great Lord of Long Life. He found new Taoist adepts to talk to, such as Wang Wenqing, another follower of Divine Empyrean Taoism.[92]

Another interest that Huizong continued to pursue after the departure of Lin Lingsu was the magnificent garden Genyue (Northeast Peak). Genyue has generally been interpreted as the supreme example of Huizong's megalomania. Begun in late 1117 or early 1118, this garden surpassed even Extended Blessings Garden.[93] Genyue was built away from the palace, in the northeast quarter of the Old City, and had a circumference of "more than ten *li*" (i.e., it was over three miles around, which if square would mean it was less than a mile on each side, making it considerably smaller than the Summer Palace in Beijing, the last of the imperial pleasure parks). A forty-six-foot-tall stone, named Divine Conveyance Rock, was just one of many named rocks in the park, all admired for their unusual shape and the way they represented the forces of nature. Behind this rock was an artificial mountain about one hundred feet tall. There were also streams, pools, waterfalls, and grottos, all given names, many of which carried Taoist overtones, such as "Propitiating the Perfected Ones Ledge" or "Eight Immortals Lodge." The park was stocked with rare plants and a great variety of birds and animals, including gibbons from Sichuan and hundreds of deer.

The artificial mountain and streams, the collection of specimens from across the country, and the labeling of sites to correspond to famous places in distant regions make Genyue rather like a small version of the huge cosmic park (400 *li* in circumference) created by Emperor Wu of the Han and celebrated in many Han literary pieces. Emperor Wu's Shanglin Park was said to have three thousand species of plants and valuable exotic stones, including a coral tree with 462 branches. As Lothar Ledderose has written, gardens like this drew on "the magical belief that by artificially making a replica of something one wields power over the real object."[94]

Huizong wrote an account of Genyue that was inscribed on a stele placed near the entrance of the park, much as he wrote accounts to be inscribed on stone at Taoist temples (and on paintings of auspicious signs). Huizong began on a very general level with a discussion of the geographical locations of the capitals since the Zhou, and the connections between the security of dynasties, the military vulnerability of their capitals, and their virtue. He then discussed earlier royal parks, including the 70-*li*-square one of King Wen (celebrated in Confucian texts because the people shared its joys). Huizong added that "in the sea there are the three islands of Penglai, which the sovereigns make their capital and where the immortals and sages dwell. They do not stay there unless the configuration is right."[95] His own park, he seemed to imply, would be a similar paradise that would attract immortals and sages. Huizong next discussed how the garden re-created the great sights of the realm—specific bodies of water and mountains are named, as well as the plants from all over, such as loquat, orange, tangerine, lichee, magnolia, and jasmine. But much more space is devoted to the naming and description of the man-made structures, such as the Documents Lodge, shaped like a half moon, the round Eight Immortals Lodge, and the massive Longevity Mountain.

In creating Genyue, Huizong strove to match the extent of the realm and the diversity of phenomena found in it, and to gain mastery over them through naming them. I suspect that Huizong spent enormous resources on this project because he saw it as efficacious, not just sensually satisfying.

What was the impact of Huizong's active patronage of both artists and Taoists? Court patronage is never a simple phenomenon and certainly was not simple in twelfth-century China. Huizong had vast resources at his disposal to give material and institutional support to doctrines, styles, and trends he favored. For instance, he changed the curricula used to train court artists and introduced government schools for Taoists. He subsidized temples that honored particular deities. He organized huge text-editing and publishing programs, which enabled him to see to it that his views received wide circulation. But resources are not everything. Huizong, like other emperors, could not ensure that everyone approved of his choices. Sometimes influential circles turn against what the court favors, precisely because they distrust court patronage. The long-term impact of Huizong's support for Taoism, the arts, and Taoist art is not all that he would have desired.

Huizong's initiatives in the training of court artists are usually viewed positively. He insisted that court artists learn to join poetry and painting and to observe nature closely. Through the Southern Song, the court maintained a successful painting academy that built on traditions Huizong had introduced. Major artists such as Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, Li Song, and Li Di thrived in this environment.[96] One could also argue that Huizong's collecting had positive, if unintended, consequences. The huge collection of art and antiques Huizong amassed made possible the preparation of catalogues that helped advance knowledge for centuries to come. The art and antique market was already well developed when Huizong took the throne, but the huge purchases made by the court could only have stimulated this market further.[97] One might have feared that by taking so many

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paintings and calligraphies out of circulation, imperial collecting would hurt art, but, as happened in Europe, not everything that entered a palace collection stayed there forever.[98] Even though the Jurchen seized the collections, pieces gradually reentered circulation.

We often cannot know for sure what Huizong expected to accomplish from his larger projects. He commissioned Taoist art for all the temples he had built and promoted recognition of Taoist paintings in his *Painting Catalogue*. Probably it is fair to assume that he wanted to see Taoist art gain stature. If so, he seems to have been unsuccessful. None of the Taoist paintings in the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* are extant today, and the Southern Song imperial collections were not strong in this field.

Historians of Taoism are divided on the long-term impact of Huizong's massive support. Twenty years ago Michel Strickmann called the early twelfth century a period of renaissance for Taoism. He saw Huizong's reign as the "beginning of another great wave of Taoist revelation, comparable in some sense to the fourth-century movements," and argued that "in the same way that fourth-century scriptures provided the substance of Taoist practice throughout China's Middle Ages, the re-establishment and revivification of the religion during Huizong's reign is responsible for much in the shape and complexion of Taoism in modern times."[99] One reason Strickmann placed so much importance on Huizong's patronage is the weight he gave to the textual traditions of Taoism. Huizong's collection of Taoist texts and expansion of the Taoist Canon, and, above all, his printing of it, had an undeniable impact on the survival of Taoist texts. On the other hand, Shenxiao Taoism by no means became a dominant strand of Taoist teachings. To the contrary, it probably was tainted by its failure to save Huizong and his empire from the Jurchen. The contemporary historian of Taoism Ren Jiyu sees a reaction against Huizong's emphasis on ritual-oriented Taoism in the decades after his reign. This allowed more ethically oriented strands of Taoism, such as Quanzhen (Complete Realization) Taoism, to gain strength in the mid-twelfth century.[100]

Huizong himself seems to have been aware of the danger that imperial support for one among many competing styles, doctrines, or traditions could do more harm than good. For a year and a half he experimented with subordinating Buddhism to Taoism. But through most of his reign he sought less confrontational forms of merging or fusing traditions. Several times he tried to diminish or mitigate rivalry between Taoism and Confucianism. There were many arenas in which there was at best a blurry line between Confucian and Taoist ideas and rituals, ranging from the state cults to heaven and other deities, to studies of the *Yi jing*, prognostications, and numerology, to shrines to local heroes. Huizong seems to have wanted to make this line even blurrier. In the fourth month of 1118 he issued a memorial on the reform of the school system that began by asserting the common origins of Confucianism and Taoism. The Tao, he asserted, is everywhere, in the way Confucians *(ru)* rule the state and the way scholars *(shi)* cultivate themselves. The separation of the way of Laozi and the mythical Yellow Emperor from that of Confucius and the ideal rulers Yao, Shun, and Zhou Gong did not occur until the Han dynasty. His personal mission, Huizong asserted, was to bring the two traditions into harmony. Toward this end, those pursuing the traditional curriculum should also study two Taoist texts and those in the Taoist curriculum should study two Confucian texts.[101]

Huizong's patronage of court painting and calligraphy involved much less in the way of resources than did the construction of temples, palaces, and parks, and therefore evoked less protest. Nevertheless, I interpret many of the editorial choices that went into the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* as attempts to create a "big tent" for art lovers, a tent large enough to accommodate those who loved the bird-and-flower paintings of Huang Quan and Cui Bo as well as those who considered them vulgar and preferred sketchy monochrome paintings of symbolically rich materials such as bamboo or plum. It gave Taoist subjects a place of honor, but in a universe that contained much that was far from the centers of Taoist interest. Huizong never subordinated art to Taoism. He did not convert the painting academy to a Taoist art academy, or make painters study Taoist scriptures. In fact, much of Huizong's own art work fits the literati model of work made for one's own enjoyment. Of the surviving calligraphy by him, besides a couple of government documents, most of the rest consists in poems or exercise texts of the sort Northern Song literati commonly did. He painted in a range of styles, including ones categorized as literati. There is no sign that at any time he switched entirely to Taoist subjects or approaches. His aim always seems to have been a synthesis in which the arts of the literati, the arts and techniques of the Taoist masters, and the arts and techniques of those with all sorts of other skills, from court painters to clock makers, could be pursued side by side.

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Notes

I would like to thank Chris Dakin for help with the poetry used in this paper and Maggie Bickford for helpful suggestions.

1. QSS, *juan* 1494: 17066; Schipper 1989: 119. Schipper (1989: 119–20) gives the music for this hymn as it is currently performed in Taiwan.
2. On Xuanzong's commitment to Taoism, see Xiong 1996 and Benn 1987. On Zhenzong and Taoism, see S. Cahill 1980.
3. Needham et al. 1965: 498–502. On Rudolf II, see Fucikova et al. 1997.
4. The only comprehensive study of Huizong I know of is Ren 1998, which is strongest on politics. There is, however, a large literature on Huizong as a painter. Scholars now largely concur that the paintings attributed to Huizong are a mixed bag; among them are ones by his hand alone, ones he did in collaboration with court artists, ones done by court artists acting under Huizong's instruction, later copies of paintings from his court, and later imitations and forgeries. See Rowland 1951, Siren 1956–58, Xie 1989, Ecke 1972, Xu 1979, J. Cahill 1980, Li 1984, Deng 1985, Chen 1993, and Bo 1998.
5. For a late Song view, see the historical romance *Xuanhe yishi*, translated in Hennessey 1981, especially 13–14. One reason this view has not undergone much revision in the twentieth century is probably its resonances with Qing history. Huizong, it seems to me, is often interpreted in Chinese scholarship as a combination of Qianlong and Cixi—all of the grandiosity of Qianlong combined with the militarily disastrous self-delusion that Cixi displayed when she built a marble boat and tried to use the Boxers against the Western powers.
6. E.g., Xiao 1990a, 1990b. Some other historians of Taoism give a more conventional, judgmental view. See, for instance, Ren 1990: 481–82.
7. See J. Cahill 1960, Bush and Shih 1985: 191–240, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980, and Bickford 1996.
8. McNair 1998.
9. Sturman 1990: 34.
10. Hargett 1988–89; see especially 31 n. 118.
11. This question has preoccupied many art historians, who focus on the issue of distinguishing which paintings are by his own hand, which he commissioned, which are by court artists acting more independently, and which are later forgeries. See, for instance, Xu 1979 and Xie 1989.
12. Most historical sources say he was the eleventh son, but this counts all the sons who died in infancy. When he was born he had only two elder brothers, one only three months old.
13. Since this school was set up in 1104, presumably the temple was decorated earlier. See HJ, *juan* 1: 3.
14. See Sturman 1997: 182–93.
15. This "flower-rock network" came to be greatly resented. See Hargett 1988–89.
16. The catalogue, *Xuanhe bogu lu* (Illustrated encyclopedic antiquities of the Xuanhe reign), has survived. There are several Ming editions. There is also a fairly good version in the *Siku quanshu* (Complete books of the four storehouses).
17. Overviews of Huizong's relations with Taoist masters are provided by Sun 1965: 93–122; Jin 1966, 1967; Miyakawa 1975b; Yang 1985; and Xiao 1990a.
18. WXTK, *juan* 90: 8422a–b. TWSCT, *juan* 1: 11–12; *juan* 5: 87.
19. On Highest Purity teachings, see Robinet 1997: 114–48.
20. CB, *juan* 498: 6a; *juan* 491: 1a; *juan* 500: 1b. HZL, *hou* (part 2), *juan* 2: 72. HY 296 (*Lishi shenxian sidao tongjian*), *juan* 52: 1b. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 12a–b. HY 304 (*Mao Shan zhi*), *juan* 11: 12a–13a.
21. HY 304, *juan* 3, 4.
22. HY 304, *juan* 3: 19a–b. See also HY 769, *juan* 9.
23. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 12b.
24. HY 304, *juan* 3: 6a.
25. HY 304, *juan* 3: 7b.
26. HY 304, *juan* 3: 12a–b.
27. HJ, *juan* 1: 2–3.
28. HY 304, *juan* 26: 10b. When Liu Hunkang died, Huizong also had Cai Bian write an epitaph for him that was carved in stone at Mao Shan. See HY 304, *juan* 26: 12a–16a.
29. HY 304, *juan* 4: 1b.
30. HY 304, *juan* 4: 4b. The Third Mao Lord was the youngest of three Mao brothers during the Han dynasty who were later deified.
31. HY 304, *juan* 3: 15a–17a.
32. SS, *juan* 20: 380; TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 1a.
33. Strickmann 1978: 341–42, altered to pinyin.
34. Loon 1984: 39.
35. XZZTJ, *juan* 91: 2349.
36. RZSB, *sanbian* (third edition), *juan* 13: 568–69.
37. SHY, *Li* (Ritual), *juan* 24: 68a, 70b–72a.
38. QSS, *juan* 1491: 17044.
39. QSS, *juan* 1492: 17051.
40. HJ, *juan* 1: 2.
41. HuaJ: 419–20.
42. Sturman 1990: 33, slightly modified. Sturman explains all the allusions in the poem. The original text can be found in ZHWQN, *Songhua bian* (Song [dynasty] painting volume), *juan* 2: 137.
43. Sturman 1990.
44. Rowland 1954.
45. QSS, *juan* 1494: 17067.
46. QSS, *juan* 1494: 17068.
47. SHY, *Yufu* (Carriages and clothing), *juan* 3: 22a–b. On these processions and the paraphernalia involved, see Ebrey 1999 (forthcoming).
48. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 12a–b.
49. She died in 1113; see SS, *juan* 243: 8644.
50. TWSCT, *juan* 5: 87–88; XZZTJ, *juan* 91: 2353.
51. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 14a–15a.
52. TWSCT, *juan* 5: 87–89.
53. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 1b.
54. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 2a.
55. On this canon, see Strickmann 1978.
56. Strickmann 1978: 336. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 9b, and HY 769 (*Hunyuan shengji*), *juan* 9, describe these projects under the year 1121, perhaps when the work was nearing completion. Neither work survives.
57. The main primary sources on Lin Lingsu are TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127; HY 296, *juan* 53; SS, *juan* 462: 13528–30; and BTL, *juan* 1: 4–6. There are many contradictions among these sources, even on basic matters such as dates. Besides the scholarly works mentioned in n. 17, see Miyakawa 1975a and Tang 1992.
58. On thunder rites, see Boltz 1993, especially 272–86.
59. Robinet 1997: 180. Robinet sees Shenxiao Taoism as an offshoot of Lingbao Taoism, giving it a genealogy distinct from that of the Mao Shan Taoism Huizong had learned from Liu Hunkang.
60. BTL, *juan* 1: 4. There is no way to be sure whether this dream is different from the one reported by Cai Tao that also involved a summons, since neither gives a firm date and they give different details.
61. The revelation is recorded in a surviving text in the Taoist Canon, *Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi* (Formulary for the transmission of scriptures according to the patriarchs of the most exalted Divine Empyrean; HY 1272). On Shenxiao texts, see Boltz 1987a: 26–30. On confusion about the date of the revelation, see Tang 1992: 25.
62. See SHY, *Li* (Ritual), *juan* 5: 42a–b; TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 4a, 10a for decree. See also Tang 1994 on Shenxiao temples. For evidence that Buddhist temples were taken over, see LXABJ, *juan* 9: 115. See also YJZ, 3 si, *juan* 7: 1352–54; and YJZ, *Zhiding*, *juan* 1: 972.
63. LXABJ, *juan* 9: 115.
64. An official of the Taoist bureau made an record of this event. See TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 3a–4a.
65. Some sources say two thousand attended (XZZTJ, *juan* 92: 2385, and SS, *juan* 21: 397), others eight hundred (TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 3a–4a).
66. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 4a.
67. SS, *juan* 21: 399.
68. On "magical" scripts of this sort, see Tseng 1993: 79–83, 103–06.
69. Yao 1965: 147; SXJSZ, *buyi* (supplement), *juan* 1: 372–b.
70. XZZTJ, *juan* 93: 2412. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 11b–12a, gives a summary of the text. One of these stelae survives in Putian in Fujian. The text is transcribed in Ding and Zheng 1995: 9–10.

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71. *Song Huizong yujie daode zhenjing* (Imperial explanation of the realized scripture on the way and its virtue, by Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty; HY680, in four *juan*.
72. Liu 1974; see also the much longer Liu 1991.
73. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 9b–11a.
74. HY 681 and HY 694. See Boltz 1987a: 214–15.
75. HY 296, *juan* 53: 8a–9a.
76. Boltz 1987a: 27, altered to pinyin.
77. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 4b–5a.
78. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 7b–8b.
79. BTL, *juan* 1: 4; HY 296, *juan* 53: 4–5.
80. BTL, *juan* 1: 5; Schmidt-Glintzer 1989.
81. The source for this story is HZL, *Yuhua* (Excess words), *juan* 1: 276–79, but see also CB, *Shibu* (Found fragments), *juan* 40: 4b–6a.
82. See Nakata 1970: 8–10, which points out the internal evidence that the *Xuanhe Calligraphy Catalogue* was done after the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* and that it was done after Cai Jing had retired in 1120 and before he returned in 1124. To this could be added the fact that among the calligraphies listed for Cai Jing are several pieces composed to commemorate occasions at the Genyue garden, not finished until 1122.
83. Xiao Baifang 1991.
84. The imperial collection also contained Buddhist paintings, in even greater numbers than Taoist ones, so presumably the collection of religious paintings by the Song court had a history long predating Huizong.
85. Liu Daochun's *Songchao minghua ping* (Evaluations of Song dynasty painters of renown) started with figures, but did not make religious paintings a separate category (see Lachman 1989). Guo Ruoxu divided his record of painting (*Tuhua jianwen zhi* [Record (of things) seen and heard in (connection with) paintings]) first by dynasty, then by the artist's status, then by genre: figure, narrative, landscape, bird-and-flower, then miscellaneous (see Soper 1981). Moreover, when he grouped together Buddhist and Taoist, Guo put Buddhist first (using the term "Fodao," not "Daoshi," the term used in the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue*).
86. Xiao Baifang 1991: 164–85.
87. XHHP, *juan* 8: 84.
88. Soper 1951: 25; XHHP, *juan* 2: 23.
89. XHHP, *juan* 4: 47.
90. XHHP, *juan* 4: 47–48.
91. TWSCT, *juan* 5: 91.
92. HY 296, *juan* 53: 16a–21b.
93. On Genyue, see Hargett 1988–89.
94. Ledderose 1983: 166. See also Stein 1990 on the ideas that underlay miniaturization and cosmic gardens.
95. HZL, *Houlu* (Supplementary record), *juan* 2: 72–73.
96. See J. Cahill 1996 for a positive assessment of the Academy. For a more negative evaluation of Huizong's impact on Song painting, see Barnhart 1977.
97. See H. Liu 1997.
98. On this point see Brown 1995: 249–53 and passim.
99. Strickmann 1979b: 3–4. See also Strickmann 1978, which is less explicit but more accessible.
100. Ren 1990: 482–83.
101. TJCBJSBM, *juan* 127: 5a–b.

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Catalogue of the Exhibition

I. The Formation of the Taoist Tradition

1. Laozi and the Origins of Taoism
2. Heaven and Earth: Taoist Cosmology
3. Sacred Mountains and Cults of the Immortals

II. The Taoist Church

1. The Beginnings of Religious Taoism
2. Taoist Ritual
3. The Taoist Pantheon

III. The Taoist Renaissance

1. Taoism and Popular Religion
2. Divine Manifestations of *Yin:* Goddesses and Female Saints
3. Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior
4. Taoist Immortals
5. Inner Alchemy and Its Symbolism
6. The Sacred Landscape

Detail, cat. no. 96

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1.1 Laozi and the Origins of Taoism

In Chinese, Tao (pronounced "dao") means a road, and is often translated into English as "the Way." The Way of all things, the Tao is described as an empty void that spontaneously generates the cosmos. Beyond time and space, beyond the ability of words to describe, the Tao is the source of reality. In the Tao, all opposites are unified. Taoism teaches that in the pure emptiness of the Tao there is an infinitely powerful force that those with sufficient moral virtue can use to transform the world.

Taoism traces its origins to the sage Laozi (Lao-tzu), a royal archivist believed to have lived in the sixth century B.C. The book attributed to Laozi, the *Classic of the Way [Tao] and Its Power (Daode jing*, or *Tao-te-ching)*, introduces the concept of the Tao and serves as a guide for human behavior and experience. The *Daode jing* teaches the importance of cultivating simplicity, detachment, and virtue, and of living in harmony with the natural world. The *Daode jing* achieved the form in which it is known today in the third century B.C.

Significantly, Taoism teaches that there is no supreme being, but instead the Tao that underlies and permeates reality. Despite its later transformation into a religion with a vast pantheon of gods, conceived as divine emanations of the Tao, Taoism would always hold true to this belief.

Detail, cat. no. 7

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1

1

Fachang Muqi (active 13th century)
Portrait of Laozi

Southern Song dynasty, early 13th century
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
88.9 × 33.5 cm
Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art

2

Zhang Lu (c. 1490–c. 1563)
Laozi on an Ox

Ming dynasty, early/mid-16th century
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
101.5 × 55.3 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

Taoists trace the origins of their philosophy and religion to Laozi, the ancient sage traditionally believed to have transmitted the *Classic of the Way [Tao] and Its Power (Daode jing)* to the frontier official Yin Xi in the sixth century B.C., during the Eastern Zhou dynasty. Laozi was seen as perfectly embodying the Tao, and was deified in the late Han dynasty (second century; see cat. no. 29). While it cannot be proven that Laozi ever existed as a historical figure, he has been credited with being the first person to articulate the concept of the Tao. Since his deification, he has been seen as both a sage and a god. By the Tang dynasty (618–906), he had become one of the Three Purities (Sanqing), the highest gods of religious Taoism and pure emanations of the Tao. These images of the sage, by the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) Buddhist monk-painter Fachang Muqi and the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Zhe School painter Zhang Lu, depict Laozi as a human being, in contrast with other images of Laozi enthroned as a god. Both paintings reflect the image of Laozi recorded in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*; 104 B.C.):

> Laozi was a native of the hamlet of Quren in the village of Li in Hu County of [the state of] Chu. . . . Laozi cultivated the Way [Tao] and its virtue. His teachings emphasized hiding oneself and avoiding fame. After living in Zhou for a long time, he saw Zhou's decline, and left. When he reached the pass [at the western border of China], the Prefect of the Pass Yin Xi said, "Since you are going to retire from the world, I beg you to endeavor to write a book for us." Laozi thus wrote a book in two sections which spoke of the meaning of the Way [Tao] and its virtue *[de]* in five thousand and some characters and then departed. No one knows where he finally ended. . . .

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Supposedly, Laozi lived to be 160 years old, some say over 200; his great longevity came through cultivating the Way [Tao].[1]

In Muqi's painting, a haggard Laozi clutches his hands and robe in front of him, and stares into space with a world-weary expression. Here Laozi the philosopher is depicted as an unkempt, wise old man, his mouth hanging open, hairs sprouting from his nose, and a long, curved fingernail extending from his thumb. While his robes are painted with dragged lines of dark ink, the head is outlined with finer translucent lines. This is one of the earliest and most powerful painted portraits of Laozi known. Zhang Lu's painting in the National Palace Museum is also in ink on paper, and depicts Laozi as he is more often shown, riding an ox as he departs China for the Western Regions. A bat, a symbol of good fortune, flies overhead.[2]

Fachang Muqi was one of the outstanding Buddhist monk-painters of the Southern Song dynasty.[3] He was born in Sichuan, but moved to the capital of Lin'an (Hangzhou), where he worked at the Liutong Temple. According to the fourteenth-century writer Wu Taisu, Muqi died in the early Yuan dynasty, during the reign of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–94).[4] His works enjoyed much greater renown in Japan than in China, and most of his surviving works are found in Japanese collections. The famous triptych by Muqi depicting the bodhisattva Guanyin (Kannon), monkeys, and a crane in the Daitoku-ji, Kyoto, for example, entered the collection of the Muromachi period (1392–1568) Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (r. 1368–94) about one hundred years after the artist's death.[5] In the upper left corner of the painting is a seal of the artist, reading *Muqi*. In the lower left corner of this scroll is a seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, reading *Dōyū*, indicating that the painting has been in Japan since at least the late fourteenth century.[6] During the Edo period (1615–1868), the painting was owned by a branch of the Tokugawa family.[7]

Zhang Lu, the artist of the National Palace Museum scroll, was a professional painter of the middle Ming dynasty.[8] Active in Kaifeng, Henan province, he married into the imperial family, and was the leading Zhe School master of the sixteenth century. Many of his surviving works depict Taoist themes.[9]

—S. L.

2

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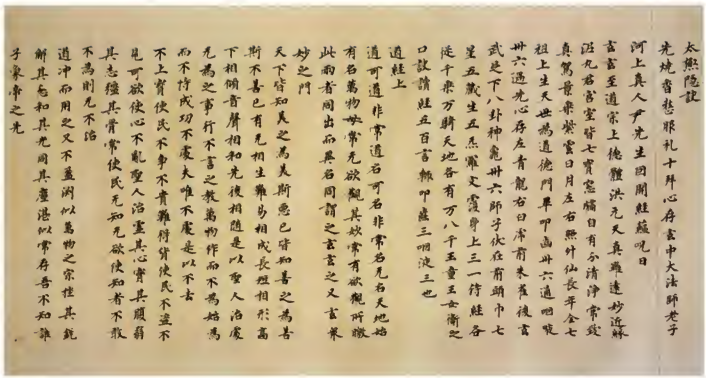

(detail)

3

Laozi's Scripture of the Way, Upper Roll

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty, 8th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
26 × 380 cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Pelliot Chinois 2584)

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THE *DAODE JING*, also known as the *Laozi*, is the oldest and most revered text of the Taoist tradition. It is traditionally attributed to the sage Laozi (sixth century B.C.). The earliest known manuscript of the text, dating to the late fourth century B.C., was discovered in 1993 in a tomb at Guodian, Hubei province.[1] Despite its great age, the *Daode jing* has remained the fundamental text of Taoism. One has to appreciate the irony of its opening passage:

> The Way (Tao) that can be spoken of is not the constant Way (Tao);
> The name that can be named is not the constant name.

Despite this warning, a substantial commentarial tradition developed around Laozi and the *Daode jing* in later times.

By the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), the *Daode jing* and Laozi (see cat. no. 1) were already revered at the imperial court. During the Six Dynasties period (420–589), the ritual recitation of the *Daode jing* was standardized, several commentaries based on Taoist doctrines were written (see cat. no. 34), and a preface was added to the beginning of the scripture.[2] The present manuscript *(Laozi Dao jing, shang)*[3] reflects many of these developments, and is representative of the way in which the *Daode jing* would have been transmitted to new disciples in the late Six Dynasties and Tang periods. In its present state, it is incomplete, since it consists only of the first half of the *Daode jing*, together with the preface mentioned above; the second half of the *Daode jing* is represented elsewhere in this catalogue (cat. no. 4).

The Pelliot Collection text is written on nine joined pieces of yellow paper. The characters of the text are inscribed in a pale grid of ruled columns. At the end is written "A Daoist seeking the Cavern Mystery scriptures"; similar inscriptions are found on other Tang dynasty Taoist manuscripts from Dunhuang.[4]

The preface to this manuscript is a valuable resource for understanding the medieval context of the *Daode jing*. It singles out two events in the history of this scripture to illustrate the significance of Laozi and his writings. The first is the initial revelation of the scripture to the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi, in the sixth century B.C. The second comes in the time of the Han dynasty emperor Wen (Wendi; 179–157 B.C.). Emperor Wen was fond of the *Daode jing*, but neither he nor his ministers could fully understand its meaning. Consequently, the Way (Tao) sent a realized being *(zhenren)* known as the Lord on the River to descend to the Yellow River, where he met with the emperor and transmitted a commentary on the *Daode jing* to him. This commentary was the *Stanzas of the Lord on the River (Heshang gong zhangju)*, one of the standard commentaries on the *Daode jing*, and the first to divide it into sections; these sections are still used today.

The preface emphasizes two aspects of the *Daode jing*. The first is its political significance. Laozi left China because of the Zhou dynasty's failure to support the Way; as a consequence, this dynasty faltered. On the other hand, when Emperor Wen venerated the *Daode jing*, then the Way enabled him to secure the rule of his family. This aspect of the preface resulted from the time when it was written, as the fortunes of Taoism became increasingly dependent on the patronage of the ruling house.

The second aspect is the use of this scripture as a tool for personal cultivation. The preface ends with a standardized ritual for the recitation of the *Daode jing*, which shows the way this scripture was actually practiced during the Six Dynasties and Tang periods. Before initiates began to recite the scripture, they would first visualize Laozi, Yin Xi, and the Lord on the River. Yin Xi was often depicted as a companion to Laozi in sculptures from the Six Dynasties period, as in a stele in the Field Museum (see the essay by Stephen Little in this volume, fig. 4); together with the Lord on the River, these three figures were the highest deities of the *Daode jing* in medieval Taoism. Then the meditator would visualize the animals that correlate to the Five Elements or Phases (see cat. no. 17) surrounding him, a tortoise with the Eight Trigrams (symbols of *yin* and *yang* from the *Book of Changes [Yi jing]*; see cat. no. 14) on its back beneath his feet, and thirty-six lions kneeling before him. The seven stars of the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major; see cat. nos. 18 and 78) were wrapped around his head, and his five vital organs emitted ethers that represented the energies of the Five Phases. This meditation, which represents a culmination of centuries of visualization techniques, would have been one of the very first taught to new initiates, and as such it is one of the most important practices to come out of the Six Dynasties period.

—S. E.

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(detail)

4

Laozi's Scripture of Power, Lower Roll

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty, Jinglong reign, dated 709
Handscroll; ink on paper
28 × 323.5 cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Pelliot Chinois 2347)

THIS HANDSCROLL *(LAOZI DE JING, XIA)* consists of the second part of the *Daode jing*, the "Scripture of Power" *(Dejing)*, and a short scripture known as the "Scripture of Ten Precepts" *(Shijie jing)*, as well as "oath texts" *(mengwen)* accompanying each of these scriptures.[1] In its present form, it is incomplete; however, taken together with the manuscript described in the previous catalogue entry, it gives a fairly complete picture of the *Daode jing* as it would have been transmitted to Taoist disciples in the Tang dynasty (618–906).

As the number of Taoist scriptures increased during the medieval period, protocols were established for their transmission. Eventually, the transmission of scriptures became one of the primary means for distinguishing different ranks in the church hierarchy. Despite the large number of scriptures written in this period, the *Daode jing* remained the most fundamental scripture of Taoism, and the ordination rite surrounding its transmission was of particular importance to both the disciple and the church. For the former, it represented formal recognition as a full lay member of the Taoist community. For the latter it represented an affirmation of the supremacy of the church hierarchy, since disciples were required to accept the authority of the church and its teachings as part of their ordination.

The oath texts found after both scriptures are remnants of the ritual in which they were transmitted to a new initiate into the Taoist community, a ritual that was codified over a century before this particular manuscript was written.[2] Most remarkably, these oath texts contain biographical information about the recipient of the scriptures, a seventeen-year-old girl from the town of Changsha in Dunhuang county (modern Gansu province). The oath text shown here summarizes the first transmission of the *Daode jing* by Laozi to the Guardian of the Pass, Yin Xi, of which this young woman's ordination would have been a symbolic reenactment; indicates the lineage into which she is being initiated; and ends with her recognition of the Taoist church as the sole authority to transmit scriptures. The signature of the priest who supervised the ordination is visible towards the end of the text. Finally, there is a single stroke resembling the character for "one" in red ink over the entire oath text. This stroke is not described in ordination rites for the *Daode jing* in the Taoist Canon, but is described in ordination rites for other scriptures from the medieval period.[3] It would have been drawn together by disciple and master, each of whom would have held the brush, and would have served as an additional oath with the same significance as the oath text. The choice of the color red for the stroke may have derived from the early use of blood smeared over the mouth when an oath was taken.

—S. E.

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5

Confucius Visiting Laozi

Ink rubbing of a stone panel from the Wu Liang Shrine, Jiaxiang county, Shandong province
Eastern Han dynasty, 2nd century
Ink on paper
42 × 212 cm
The Field Museum, Chicago (244697)

This ink rubbing is taken from a stone discovered at the Eastern Han funerary shrine of Wu Liang (78–151) in 1786.[1] The two central figures are labeled on the stone as Laozi (to the right) and Confucius (to the left). To either side of these figures are their chariots and attendants. This is one of the earliest known depictions of Confucius visiting Laozi, a famous event.[2] Early texts of the Taoist tradition such as the *Zhuangzi* made a point of belittling Confucius, who, like Laozi, lived in the sixth century B.C. Confucius taught a philosophy that provided a basis for achieving a harmonious society.[3] In his teachings, he focused on proper human behavior and rituals that reinforced social hierarchies. According to the Confucian *Analects*, "The Master [Confucius] took four subjects for his teaching: culture, conduct of affairs, loyalty to superiors and the keeping of promises."[4]

Confucianism was elevated to a state philosophy in the early Han dynasty (second century B.C.), and maintained this position until very recently.[5] From the Taoist point of view, Confucius's preoccupation with the human realm neglected larger, more fundamental issues, such as the place of man in the universe.

The story of Confucius's visit to Laozi is recorded in the *Zhuangzi* and in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*; 104 B.C.). In each case, Confucius goes to Laozi to seek advice on ritual, and each time Laozi mocks Confucius's preoccupation with social order. Laozi's answers to Confucius's questions mystify the latter, who later compares Laozi to a dragon (a symbol of the Tao).[6] In the description of the two sages' meeting in the *Records of the Historian*, Laozi says to Confucius,

> Cast off your arrogant airs and many desires, sir, your contrived posturing and your overweening ambition. All of these are of no benefit to your person. What I have to tell you is this, and nothing more.

Later, Confucius tells his disciples, "Today I have seen Laozi; is he perhaps like the dragon?"[7]

—S. L.

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6

Lu Zhi (1496–1576)
Zhuangzi Dreaming of a Butterfly

Ming dynasty, mid-16th century
Leaf 1 from an album of 10 leaves; ink on silk
29.4 × 51.4 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

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Zhuangzi is considered the most important Taoist philosopher after Laozi, and the *Zhuangzi* is one of the great classics of world literature. Sardonic in tone, Zhuangzi is perhaps best known for his insistence on the relativity of all things. He openly mocked Confucius and his followers for being preoccupied with achieving social harmony at the expense of a greater ontological equilibrium. While Zhuangzi is believed to have lived in the fourth century B.C. (Warring States period), the book attributed to him was probably compiled in the second century B.C., during the Western Han dynasty.[1] In the text that has come down to us today, only the first seven chapters (the "Inner Chapters," or *neipian*) are traditionally believed to be by Zhuangzi himself. In the year 742, during the reign of Tang Xuanzong (Minghuang), an imperial edict was issued to honor Zhuangzi, and from that time onward the *Zhuangzi* was also known as the *Nanhua zhenjing*, after one of Zhuangzi's alternate names.

In traditional Chinese painting, Zhuangzi is often depicted asleep. Such images illustrate the story of the philosopher's dream of the butterfly, found in the second of the "Inner Chapters." This tale illustrates Zhuangzi's belief that all things are relative:

> Once Zhuang Zhou (Zhuangzi) dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know he was Zhuang Zhou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Zhuang Zhou. But he didn't know if he was Zhuang Zhou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuang Zhou. Between Zhuang Zhou and a butterfly there must be *some* distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.[2]

Lu Zhi, the painter of this album leaf, was one of the finest Wu School artists of the sixteenth century.[3] A student of Wen Zhengming (1470–1559; see cat. no. 147), Lu lived on Mount Zhixing near Suzhou, in Jiangsu province. Lu Zhi's painting of Zhuangzi is one of ten leaves in an album on miscellaneous themes.

—S. L.

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(detail)

7

ZHOU DONGQING (ACTIVE LATE 13TH CENTURY)
The Pleasures of Fishes

Yuan dynasty, Zhiyuan reign, dated 1291
Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper
30.8 × 593.7 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Fletcher Fund (47.18.10)

ONE OF THE BEST-KNOWN STORIES in the *Zhuangzi* is a tale of two men walking by a river. Seeing fish swimming in the water, Zhuangzi remarks on their freedom and happiness. The Confucian Huizi challenges Zhuangzi: "How do you know what fish enjoy?"[1] After a moment of verbal sparring, Zhuangzi states that the answer is obvious to anyone standing by the river and seeing the fish. This story, contained in the chapter entitled "Autumn Floods," has been long perceived as one of the clearest articulations of a Taoist worldview. According to Zhuangzi, true understanding should be acquired intuitively, without the need for explication. Huizi, a man obsessed with logical explanations, is unable to grasp this point.

Zhou Dongqing, the artist who painted this scroll, was a native of Linjiang, Jiangxi province. Very little is known about his life. Nonetheless, he was recognized by the last Southern Song dynasty prime minister, Wen Tianxiang, who wrote poems on his paintings.[2] Described by Wen Fong as a Song loyalist, he is best remembered for his paintings of fish.[3] This handscroll is his only known surviving work. The aquatic creatures and water plants are painted in carefully controlled washes of pale ink, with occasional touches of blue and red color in the fish. The subtle gradations of ink and color successfully convey the illusion of an underwater realm in which the fish move freely and happily about.

That Zhou Dongqing's scroll alludes to Zhuangzi's tale of fish is clear from the artist's inscription at the end of the scroll:

> Not being fish, how do we know their happiness?
> We can only take an idea and make it into a painting.
> To probe the subtleties of the ordinary,
> We must describe the indescribable.[4]

The scroll bears three seals of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95), and two seals of the nineteenth-century collector Wu Yuanhui.[5] Mounted after the painting is a colophon by Wu Rongguang (1773–1843), dated 1836.

—S. L.

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Notes

Cat. nos. 1–2

1. Nienhauser 1994b: 21–22. For another translation, see Graham 1998: 23–24. For a recent book devoted to the history of Laozi, see Kohn 1998a.
2. The word for bat *(fu)* is a homonym for the word for good fortune *(fu)*, and is written with a different character.
3. Wey 1974: 11–45.
4. Ibid.: 39–40.
5. See Makkei 1996, pl. 1.
6. Shimizu and Wheelwright 1976: 18.
7. *Gen jidai no kaiga* 1998: 157.
8. On Zhang Lu, see Barnhart 1993: 305–20, and Fong et al. 1996: 365–66.
9. See, for example, the album of Taoist figures in the Shanghai Museum, published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 2: 296–98, no. 1-0537.

Cat. no. 3

1. For the initial excavation report, see Jingmen City Museum 1997; see also *Guodian Chu mu zhu jian* 1998, and Allen and Williams 2000.
2. See Kobayashi 1990: 269–95, for a detailed discussion of this preface.
3. Previously published in Ôfuchi 1978–79, vol. 2: 401–05.
4. See, for example, *Laozi huahu jing* (Scripture of Laozi's conversion of the barbarians; The British Library, London [Stein 1857]), in Ôfuchi 1978–79, vol. 1: 322; and *Taixuan zhenyi benji jing* (Scripture of great mystery realized one root margin scripture; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pelliot Chinois 2475]), in Ôfuchi 1978–79, vol. 1: 137–38.

Cat. no. 4

1. The oath to the *Dejing* is illustrated in Ôfuchi 1978–79, vol. 2: 411.
2. See HY 1130, *juan* 37, and Ôfuchi 1997: 327–343.
3. In particular, see HY 802 and the discussion of this practice in Ôfuchi 1991: 154.

Cat. no. 5

1. Wu 1989: fig. 25. See also Chavannes 1909/1913, vol. 2: pl. 71, no. 137.
2. Another Eastern Han depiction of this meeting is a carved stone panel from Jinan in Shandong; a rubbing exists in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich (RCH 4039).
3. The basic teachings of Confucius are contained in the *Analects*; see Waley 1938. The *Zhuangzi* was compiled in the second century B.C.; see Loewe 1993: 56–57.
4. Waley 1938: 128.
5. In Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and many overseas Chinese communities, Confucius and his teachings are still venerated today. With the recent rebuilding of old shrines to Confucius in mainland China, veneration of the sage has also been revived in the land of his birth.
6. Watson 1968: 162–63.
7. Nienhauser 1994, vol. 7: 21–22.

Cat. no. 6

1. On the date of the *Zhuangzi*, see Roth 1993: 56–57. A brief biography of Zhuangzi appears in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian (Shiji*; second century B.C.); see Nienhauser 1994, vol. 7: 23–24.
2. Watson 1968: 49.
3. On Lu Zhi, see Yuhas 1979 and Cahill 1978: 239–44. The Palace Museum album leaf is previously published in Beijing Palace Museum 1990: no. 57a.

Cat. no. 7

1. Watson 1968: 188–89.
2. Yu 1980: 483.
3. Fong 1992: 380.
4. Translated in ibid.
5. Despite the presence of the Qianlong seals on the scroll, the painting is not recorded in the imperial Qing painting catalogue, *The Precious Satchel of the Stone Channel (Shiqu baoji)*, or its successors. The painting may have been given away by the emperor as a gift before being recorded in the imperial catalogue.

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In ancient China, the term "Heaven and Earth" meant "the universe." According to Taoist cosmology (the study of the origin and structure of the universe), in the beginning was the Tao (pronounced "dao"), conceived of as an empty void of infinite potential. Then, over a period of many eons, out of the Tao emerged *qi* (vital energy or breath; pronounced "chee"). Taoists believe that all things are made of *qi*, which is in a constant state of movement and flux. Originally the universe was in a state of chaos, but eventually the light *qi* rose and formed the heavens, while the heavy *qi* sank and formed the earth. Taoists believe that physical matter cannot be distinguished from its basic substance, *qi*, and that thus matter and energy are interchangeable. Taoism also teaches that, in order to be content, human beings must accept the reality that the only constant in the universe is change. The shifting patterns of *qi* are governed by the shifting balance of *yin* and *yang*, two complementary forces that emerged from the primordial Tao, and whose interaction defines and regulates the mechanisms of the universe. The concept of *qi* lies at the heart of traditional Chinese medicine, for example, which views illness as caused by imbalances of *yin* and *yang*, resulting in blockages of the free movement of *qi* through the human body. Acupuncture and other remedies are designed to restore the proper movement of *qi* through the body, thus restoring health. In ancient China, *yin* and *yang* were respectively symbolized by the tiger and the dragon, and in later times by the *taiji* diagram (commonly known as the *yin-yang* diagram), which represents *yin* and *yang* unified by the Tao from which they emerge.

Detail, cat. no. 19

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8

Clothing Chest with Celestial Diagram of a Tiger and Dragon, the Northern Dipper, and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions

Excavated in 1978 from the tomb of Marquis Yi of the state of Zeng, Hubei province
Eastern Zhou dynasty, Warring States period, c. 433 B.C.
Painted lacquer
40.5 × 82.8 × 47 cm
Hubei Provincial Museum, Wuhan

Among the many lacquer objects discovered in 1978 in the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.) tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (buried c. 433 B.C.) near Suizhou, Hubei province, was this extraordinary chest.[1] The designs painted in red on black lacquer on the top include the earliest known arrangement of the characters representing the constellations known as the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions *(Ershiba xiu)*.[2] The Lunar Mansions are situated along the moon's path of rotation around the earth and are significant as divisions of the heavens and of time. This archaeological evidence proves that the concept of the lunar lodges known today was fully evolved by the fifth century B.C. By the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), the Lunar Mansions were used to mark the movement of the planets. The earliest known complete depiction of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, in which the asterisms are shown as dots connected with lines, was found in 1987 in a late Western Han tomb (first century B.C.) near Xi'an.[3] By the Six Dynasties period (420–589), these asterisms had been deified and absorbed into the Taoist pantheon.[4]

The central design on the top of the chest is an archaic form of the character *dou* (dipper), representing the Northern Dipper. This is surrounded by the names of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions in a ring, flanked on either side by a tiger and a dragon, symbols of *yin* and *yang*, respectively. A cyclical date, "third day of [the month] *jiayin*," appears under one of the constellation's names. The designs on either end of the box depict a mushroom-shaped cloud, stars, circles, and a toad, while one of the long sides depicts two confronting animals.[5]

The Northern Dipper was venerated as a deity as early as the late Shang dynasty (thirteenth/eleventh century B.C.).[6] According to Han dynasty beliefs, the Northern Dipper was the conduit for the primal energy *(qi)* dispensed by the god Taiyi (Supreme Unity; see cat. no. 75), who lived in the circumpolar region. The Dipper's significance can be explained in part by its proximity to the Pole Star, and by the fact that the annual sweep of its handle around the sky acts as a celestial clock.[7]

—S. L.

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9

Roof Tiles with Symbols of the Four Cardinal Directions

Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)
Molded earthenware
Dragon: 18.7 × 2.2 cm; bird: 15.5 × 1.65 cm; tiger: 19 × 2.75 cm;
Dark Warrior: 19.3 × 2 cm
Shaanxi History Museum, Xi'an

By the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), if not earlier, the animal symbolism of the four cardinal directions had been codified. The ancient Chinese in fact conceived of five directions: east, south, west, north, and center; these were directly correlated to the Five Phases or Elements and to their animal symbols as follows:

East	Wood	Dragon	*yang*
South	Fire	Bird	*yang*
West	Metal	Tiger	*yin*
North	Water	Dark Warrior	*yin*
Center	Earth	(no symbol)	neutral

The east was represented by the Azure Dragon (Qinglong or Canglong), the south by the Vermilion Bird (Zhuque), the west by the White Tiger (Baihu), and the north by the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu), comprising an entwined turtle and snake.[1] These four animals were known as the Four Divinities (Sishen or Siling), and were often depicted as a directionally oriented group on the backs of Han dynasty bronze mirrors. The 1978 discovery in the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (c. 433 B.C.) of a lacquer chest decorated with the dragon and tiger on either side of the Northern Dipper and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions (cat. no. 8) indicates that the symbolism of the tiger and dragon, corresponding respectively to *yin* (west) and *yang* (east), was well established by the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.).

As John Major has shown, however, the Four Divinities, representing all four cardinal directions, became widespread only in the Han dynasty.[2] Nonetheless, rituals to the gods of the four directions are known from as early as the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.).[3] During the Han dynasty, the roofs of many official buildings were decorated with stamped tiles adorned with the animal symbols of the four directions.

—S. L.

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10

Two Panels from a Sarcophagus: Tiger and Dragon

Northern Wei dynasty, c. 500/534
Limestone with traces of pigment and gilding
Tiger panel: 71.2 × 228.6 cm; dragon panel: 68.6 × 228.6 cm
Private collection

Since at least the Zhou dynasty (c. 1050–256 B.C.), the tiger and dragon have been the primary symbols of *yin* and *yang*, respectively, in China. These two cosmic forces direct the movement and transformations of *qi*, the vital energy that makes up all things. Evidence that the paired tiger–dragon symbolism extends back to the Neolithic period (c. 3000 B.C.) was found in the 1988 excavation of a funerary shell sculpture depicting these animals, flanking a corpse in the Neolithic burial at Puyang, Henan province.[1]

In the context of religious Taoism from the Six Dynasties period (420–589) onward, paired tigers and dragons symbolized *yin* and *yang*. It was not until the Song dynasty that the now-ubiquitous *taiji* diagram (the so-called *yin–yang* symbol) came into being (see cat. no. 11). In addition to symbolizing *yin* and *yang*, the tiger and dragon also symbolize west and east, and the elements (or phases) fire and metal. In Taoist chemical alchemy (*waidan*, or "outer" alchemy), the tiger and dragon also represent two of the most powerful elixir ingredients known, lead and mercury, while in the Inner Alchemy *(neidan)* tradition, the two animals symbolize *yin* and *yang* as they are brought together in the inner (human) body through visualization and transformed to create a divine embryonic form of the practitioner.

These two sarcophagus panels are carved in relief and intaglio with designs of the tiger and dragon flying among scudding clouds. Appropriately, the tiger is ridden by a female *(yin)* figure, and the dragon by a male *(yang)* figure. Other celestial figures holding lotus flowers and fans fly among bear-headed monsters in front of and behind the tiger and dragon. While it may be impossible to know whether the person for whom the sarcophagus was made was a Taoist believer, in a funerary context it is almost certain that the paired image of the tiger and dragon symbolized *yin* and *yang*, and that these animals may have been intended to protect the deceased.[2]

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11

ZHANG HUANG (1527–1608)

Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, from the Compendium of Diagrams

Ming dynasty, Tianqi reign, dated 1623
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
26.3 × 15.5 cm (each page)
The University of Chicago Library, East Asian Collection

THE *TAIJI* DIAGRAM *(taiji tu)* first appeared in a Taoist context at the beginning of the Song dynasty (960–1279). Several Song sources state that it originated with the Taoist Chen Tuan (c. 906–989), although Isabelle Robinet has shown that an antecedent for the diagram appeared in the work of the Tang dynasty Buddhist monk Zongmi (780–841).[1] Prior to this, *yin* and *yang* were symbolized by the tiger and dragon, and this symbolism has continued through the history of later Taoism.

The diagram symbolizes the unity of the forces of *yin* and *yang* within the Tao. *Taiji* means "supreme ultimate," and as such the diagram symbolizes the fundamental Taoist view of the structure of reality, namely that beyond the duality of phenomenal existence, created through the interaction of *yin* and *yang*, is the unity of the Tao, which exists beyond time and space.[2]

The term *taiji* also appeared in the apocrypha *(weishu)*—cosmological and philosophical texts that flourished in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)—where it was associated with the concept of "primal chaos"; in other texts of the late Han and Six Dynasties (420–589) periods, *taiji* was also associated with the "primordial breath" *(yuanqi)*, and ultimate truth as embodied in the Tao.[3] In Taoist texts of the later Six Dynasties and Tang periods, *taiji* refers as well to a heaven and one of the stars of the Northern Dipper *(Beidou)*.[4] In a further elaboration, in the Six Dynasties Taoist text known as *Scripture of the Cavern of Mystery Numinous Treasure Essence of the Tao (Dongxuan lingbao daoyao jing)*, a series of steps in the creation of the world are envisaged, starting with the Tao and leading sequentially to the primordial breath *(yuanqi)*, then to a state called *taiji*, then to Heaven and Earth.[5]

The *Compendium of Diagrams (Tushubian)* is a 127-chapter encyclopedia on cosmology, geography, and human life compiled in the early Wanli reign (1573–1620) by the scholar Zhang Huang.[6] Because of its length, it was not published until 1613, when the printing blocks were carved under the supervision of Zhang's pupil Wan Shanglie. Significantly, the *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* is the first image that appears in the book.

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12

TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO ZHANG SENGYOU
(ACTIVE EARLY 6TH CENTURY)
The Five Planets and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions

Northern Song dynasty (960–1126) or earlier
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
27.5 × 489.7 cm
Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, Abe Collection

Shown in Chicago only

13

QIU YING (C. 1495–1551/2)
The Divine Forms of the Five Planets, Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, and Five Sacred Peaks

Ming dynasty, c. 1520/30
Handscroll; ink and colors on paper
19 × 396.2 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Douglas Dillon (1989.235.4)

CATALOGUE NO. 12 is attributed to Zhang Sengyou, a painter of Buddhist images during the Liang dynasty (502–557). There are reasons for doubting this attribution (see below), but there are two seals of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25) of the Song dynasty (960–1279)at the end of the scroll, and the scroll was recorded in the catalogue of Huizong's collection, the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue (Xuanhe huapu)*,[1] so it dates to no later than the Northern Song (960–1126). Catalogue no. 13 is an early-sixteenth-century copy of the first scroll by Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1551/2). Catalogue no. 12 is incomplete, with images of the Five Planets and only twelve of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, but the painting by Qiu Ying depicts the Five Planets, all twenty-eight of these constellations, and the Taoist talismans (the True Forms, or *zhenxing*) of the Five Sacred Peaks. The Osaka scroll has colophons by Dong Qichang (1555–1636) and Chen Jiru (1558–1639), respectively attributing the scroll to Wu Daozi (active c. 710–c. 760) and Yan Liben (d. 673), while the Qiu Ying scroll has inscriptions written by Wen Boren (1502–1575), and a frontispiece by Zhao Fu dated 1837.[2]

The stellar deities depicted in these two scrolls were absorbed into the later Taoist pantheon. They appear, for example, in the entourage of the Emperor of Purple Tenuity *(Ziwei)* in the early-fourteenth-century murals of the Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian) of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in southern Shanxi province, a Taoist temple of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect.[3] Dong Qichang's colophon at the end of the Osaka handscroll gives the painting the Taoist-sounding title of *Illustrations of the True Forms of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions*,[4] and identifies its author as Wu Daoshi, a reference to the great Tang painter Wu Daozi, a painter of Taoist themes active at the court of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56). Dong further states that this painting was owned by Emperor Huizong due to his interest in religious Taoism (Daojiao) as much as his interest in painting. In addition, the copy of this painting by Qiu Ying incorporates Taoist talismans, all of which indicate that later viewers understood the subject of the Osaka handscroll to be Taoist.

However, the images depicted in this handscroll are neither Taoist, nor, strictly speaking, Buddhist in origin. They represent a combination of Chinese cosmological beliefs and western astrology that was brought to China together with Buddhism. The Osaka handscroll begins with depictions of the Five Planets, together with a description of the attributes of each planet written in elegant seal script. These attributes seem to suggest the influence of western astrology. For example, Jupiter, ruler of the gods in ancient Rome, is described as "righteous with great authority," a "lordly prince" whose shrine was placed at the

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"Lord's Gate." Mars, the most martial of Roman gods, is a "willful and violent noble" whose shrine was placed at the "Soldier's Gate." Saturn, who had strong agrarian connotations in ancient Rome, is described as "appropriate for matters concerning water and earth," and his shrine was placed "next to a field or a small river islet." Venus, the most feminine of Roman deities, is an "imperial consort" whose worship required female musicians and whose shrine was placed in the "Women's Palace." Finally, Mercury, messenger and scribe for the gods of ancient Rome, is an "official" whose shrine was placed in the "Minister's Residence."

While these attributions closely follow western traditions, they have little precedence in traditional Chinese astrology; in addition, the color attributions of each planet do not follow the Chinese Five Phase system (see cat. no. 17). The similarities between the Osaka handscroll and Sogdian-inspired Buddhist sources suggest that the images of the five planets in this scroll were inspired by a Central Asian source, perhaps from Sogdiana.[5] This Central Asian iconography of the Five Planets was probably first introduced into China during the Tang dynasty (618–906).

The second part of the scroll contains images of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, the constellations through which the moon passes on its circuit through the sky. These images also show the influence of western astrology, linking the twelve western zodiac figures with the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions. The first image of the mansion Horn *(Jiao)*, which corresponds to Virgo, is depicted as a woman, while the second, Neck *(Kang)*, which corresponds to Libra, holds the scales of Libra in his hand. The mansions Chamber *(Fang)* and Heart *(Xin)*, the fourth and fifth images, which both correspond to Scorpio, bear scorpions on their heads. Tail *(Wei)* and Winnower *(Ji)*, the sixth and seventh images, both correspond to Sagittarius, and they each carry a bow, the device of this Graeco-Roman figure. Ox *(Niu)* and Woman *(Nü)*, the ninth and tenth images, correspond to Capricorn, and they are each depicted with goats' heads. Finally, the eleventh image, of the Emptiness *(Xu)* mansion, which corresponds to Aquarius, is shown inside of a water jar, an attribution of this zodiac figure. The interpretations of the twelve solar houses seen here are sometimes rather clumsily incorporated, particularly in the figure of the Emptiness mansion; however, the task of incorporating such alien images into the Chinese astrological system must have been very difficult indeed.

The western zodiac seems to have been introduced into China around the end of the sixth century, and can be found in the *Scripture of the Great Assembly of Great Doctrinal Universality (Da fangdeng daji jing)*.[6] It became well known in the Tang dynasty, an age when the Chinese were noted for their interest in exoticism and foreign ideas. Consequently, when taken together, the iconography of the Five Planets and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions shown here suggests that this handscroll was inspired by ideas introduced in the Sui–Tang period (531–906), implying a later date for the scroll than would be possible if it had been painted by Zhang Sengyou.

Central Asian–inspired sources in the Buddhist Canon similar to this handscroll[7] tell us that when the Five Planets entered into the lunar mansion under which a person was born, known as the "destiny mansion," then that person was to recite certain scriptures and *mantra* (sacred syllables that embody the divine energy of a god), wear colors appropriate to the planet, and make offerings to its deity. In addition, one method instructs the practitioner to paint an image of the planet, which was hung around the neck until the planet had left the lunar mansion and then burned;[8] the images shown in these handscrolls may originally have served as models for paintings used in similar practices. The information provided for worshipping the Five Planets in the Osaka painting does not correspond exactly to these astrological treatises; instead, it goes into details concerning the vessels and types of food used for sacrifices to each planet. However, the intentions of these works are essentially the same. Like Tang dynasty Buddhist astrological works, the text inscribed on the Osaka scroll instructs the practitioner on the proper method for making sacrifices to the deities of the Five Planets, which help counteract the negative influences of these planets when they travel through a person's "destiny mansion." In the same manner, the written descriptions that accompany each of the lunar mansions describe the personalities of people born under their influences, together with the names of the deities who govern these mansions.

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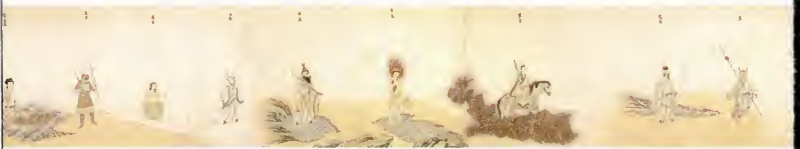

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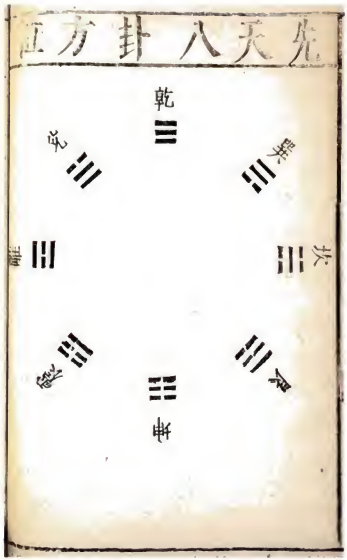

14

ZHANG HUANG (1527–1608)
The Eight Trigrams: The Prior Heaven and Later Heaven Arrangements, from the Compendium of Diagrams

Ming dynasty, Tianqi reign, dated 1623
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
26 x 17.3 cm (each page)
C. V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University, New York

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The Eight Trigrams *(Bagua)* are among the best-known images associated with Taoism, and yet their origin is altogether independent of Taoism. These visual symbols are the basis for the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Changes of the Zhou (Zhou yi)*, the earliest form of the text now known as the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*.[1] The *Changes of the Zhou* is an ancient divination text whose origins can be traced to the Western Zhou dynasty (c. 1050–771 B.C.), even though it probably did not assume its final form until the end of this period.[2] The Eight Trigrams are made up of combinations of broken and unbroken lines, taken to symbolize *yin*, *yang*, and the intermediary stages in the cycle from *yin* to *yang* and back. The *Changes of the Zhou* and the *Book of Changes* are texts that provide a means of assessing the present state of the world and a basis for decision-making. The most important of the Eight Trigrams are *qian* and *kun*, representing *yang* and *yin*, with three unbroken and three broken lines, respectively.

The earliest surviving visual evidence for the Eight Trigrams dates to the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 8). One of the most important archaeological discoveries of recent years in China was the discovery in 1973 of the earliest known text of the *Changes of the Zhou* found in Han tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province, a burial dated to 168 B.C.[3] This complete text includes the sixty-four hexagrams and text with the *Xici* commentary, described by Edward L. Shaughnessy as "a synthetic explanation of the text, its composition, function and meaning."[4]

The Anterior or Prior Heaven *(Xiantian)* arrangement of the Eight Trigrams is traditionally derived from the sage Fu Xi (third millenium B.C.), one of the Five Emperors of high antiquity, and represents the relationship of the trigrams in the state of primordial chaos *(hundun)*, before the emergence of *yin* and *yang* as active agents in the world.[5] The Later Heaven *(Houtian)* arrangement of the Eight Trigrams is traditionally derived from the early Western Zhou dynasty king Wen (Wenwang), and represents the relationship of the trigrams in phenomenal reality, after the emergence of *yin* and *yang*. The Fu Xi arrangement of the trigrams is further associated with the numerological and talismanic diagram known as the River Diagram *(Hetu)*; the Wenwang arrangement is similarly associated with the Luo Writing *(Luoshu)*. The *Hetu* and the *Luoshu* are two cosmic diagrams that emerged out of the Yellow and Luo Rivers on the backs of a dragon-horse and tortoise, and were revealed to Fu Xi and Emperor Yu, respectively.[6] Such spontaneous revelations of cosmic structures through sacred texts and diagrams is characteristic of the Taoist tradition.

Evidence for the early use of the Eight Trigrams in a religious Taoist context can be found in several Six Dynasties period (420–589) literary sources. One of these is the preface to the *Daode jing* attributed to Ge Xuan, probably written during the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479), in which the initiate to whom the scripture was being transmitted visualized a turtle with the Eight Trigrams on its back beneath his or her feet (for a discussion of this preface, see cat. no. 3). The imagery of the sixty-four hexagrams, which are made up of the Eight Trigrams from the *Book of Changes*, also plays a role in the *Declarations of the Perfected (Zhen'gao)*, a visionary text of Highest Purity (Shangqing) Taoism compiled by Tao Hongjing (456–536) during the Liang dynasty (502–557).[7]

The Eight Trigrams played a vital role in the Taoist alchemical tradition. This was because chemical alchemy entailed manipulating the forces of *yin* and *yang* toward understanding and immortality. The trigrams and their associated hexagrams were subtle visual symbols of cosmic flux, and were easily adopted by Taoists to help explain cosmological principles of transformation.[8] As Isabelle Robinet has written,

> *Qian* and *kun* are, in cosmological terms, Heaven and Earth, south and north; in alchemical terms, the Furnace and the Cauldron; and in human terms, the Spirit and the Body. *Li* and *kan* are, in cosmological terms, the Sun and the Moon, east and west; in alchemical terms, the "ingredients" Mercury and Lead, Dragon and Tiger. *Qian* and *kun* are the constants in the system (the "completed procedures," *chengwu*), and *Li* and *kan* are the principles of resonance *(ganying)* and growth and exchanges *(jiaoji)*.[9]

The Eight Trigrams and their symbolism are one of several Bronze Age traditions that flowed together in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to form the basis of religious Taoism.

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Mirror with Animals of the Four Directions and the Zodiac

Sui dynasty, c. 600
Bronze
Diam. 24.8 cm
Museum Rietberg, Zurich

16

Mirror with Cosmological Designs

Tang dynasty (618–906)
Bronze
Diam. 26.4 cm; h. 1.3 cm
American Museum of Natural History, New York, Berthold Laufer Collection (70/11671)

17

Mirror with the Five Phases (Elements), Eight Trigrams, and Twelve Branches

Tang dynasty (618–906)
Bronze
Diam. 14.5 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

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The earliest Chinese bronze mirrors date to the late Shang dynasty (thirteenth–eleventh century B.C.).[1] As early as the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), cosmological designs were cast into the backs of mirrors. This was in part linked to the symbolism of mirrors, which were objects used by the living to reflect the real world and by the dead as symbolic sources of light and as maps of the underworld and the cosmos.[2] The most complex of these designs date to the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–906) dynasties; three examples are included here. A key aspect of these designs is that they illustrate the correlations between *yin* and *yang* and various directional, seasonal, and chronological systems of ordering natural phenomena. While the mirrors are not Taoist per se, they are significant in a Taoist context because they give visual form to the basic principles underlying the structure of the cosmos in ancient China. These principles of cosmic order and systems of correspondence were codified in the Warring States and Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) periods, and were among the intellectual underpinnings of the Taoist religion.

The Sui dynasty mirror from the Museum Rietberg, Zurich (cat. no. 15), depicts the animal symbols of the Four Directions around the central knob.[3] These animals, known collectively as the Four Divinities (Siling or Sishen); are the Azure Dragon (Qinglong or Canglong) of the east; the Vermilion Bird (Zhuque) of the south; the White Tiger (Baihu) of the west; and the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu) of the north, consisting of an entwined turtle and snake. In a wide band around the mirror's perimeter are the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac, arranged in a clockwise sequence: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, ram, monkey, cock, dog, and boar. In Chinese cosmology, these symbols correspond to the twelve divisions of the celestial equator known as the earthly branches *(dizhi)*, each of which also corresponds to a direction (rat = north, ox = north-northeast, and so on). An inscription in standard script is cast into a narrow band between the inner and outer zones. As Helmut Brinker has pointed out, its content is related only loosely to the symbolic designs on the mirror.[4] The generic name for this type of mirror *(renshou)* comes from a phrase in this inscription meaning "benevolence and longevity."[5] The *renshou* mirror type appears to have been made in southern China, although similar examples have been excavated from sites as disparate as Xi'an in Shaanxi and Xing'an in Guangxi.[6]

The Tang dynasty (618–906) mirror in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History (cat. no. 16) is one of the largest and finest surviving examples of its type.[7] The mirror has a dark green surface. Like the Museum Rietberg mirror, the

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designs cast into the back represent several corresponding levels of order in the structure of the universe. The entire system illustrated here was absorbed into religious Taoism by the end of the Six Dynasties period. The designs are arranged in five concentric bands. Around a central frog-shaped knob are the animal symbols of the four directions, separated by floral designs. In the next band are the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac, also arranged in a clockwise sequence. The next band depicts the Eight Trigrams, representing the cosmic flux of *yin* and *yang*. These appear in the Later Heaven *(Houtian)* arrangement (see cat. no. 14). The trigrams are interspersed with floral bosses and leaves; among these is a cast design of a boy holding two cartouches with the characters *cao* and *pu*, the latter of which may be a name. The next band of decoration depicts the stylized forms of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions in a manner that existed as early as the Han dynasty.[8] This is one of the earliest surviving examples showing the Lunar Mansions as a coherent group. The next band, just inside the outer band of *ruyi* mushroom-shaped clouds, contains a poetic inscription in standard script, which mentions the correlations of *yin* and *yang*, the Eight Trigrams, and the Five Phases or Elements.[9]

The Tang cosmological mirror in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing (cat. no. 17), is unusual in its inclusion of the Five Elements in the decorative scheme. At the center of the mirror, around the raised boss, are the Eight Trigrams, in the Later Heaven arrangement. Then, in a square arranged around the center, are the Chinese characters for the twelve earthly branches that correspond to the twelve celestial stations of Jupiter and to the Chinese zodiac. Finally, around the perimeter, are symbols representing four of the Five Elements: an incense burner (metal), flames (fire), a tree (wood), and a lotus leaf (water). The element earth, which is not represented, is symbolically present at the center. The mirror thus symbolizes the coherent relationship between the Five Elements, the twelve phases of the zodiac, and the Eight Trigrams.

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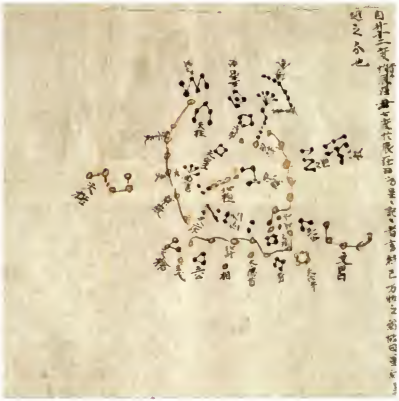
(detail)



(detail)

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Star Maps

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty (618–906)
Handscroll; ink and colors on paper
24.5 × 340 cm
The British Library, London, Oriental and India Office Collections (Stein 3326)

THE BRITISH LIBRARY SCROLL of star maps is one of two surviving astronomical diagrams from Dunhuang and was one of the many manuscripts acquired by Sir Aurel Stein at the great Buddhist cave-temple site in Central Asia in 1907.[1] The hand-scroll, painted and inscribed in ink and color on pale beige paper, is truncated at both ends. It begins with a divination chart depicting forms of *qi* (vaporous energy), with notes indicating the significance of the different cloudlike shapes. This is followed by depictions of twelve sections of the sky, corresponding to the twelve stations *(ci)* of the planet Jupiter, in addition to a depiction of the circumpolar area known as the Court of Purple Tenuity *(Ziwei yuan)*. The Jupiter stations are twelve equal divisions of the sky, based on the full circuit of the heavens made by Jupiter in its twelve-year rotation around the sun. Because the twelve Jupiter stations are positioned along the celestial equator, they are unrelated to the twelve stations of the Western zodiac, which are situated along the ecliptic (the annual path of the sun through the sky).[2] The Jupiter stations do, however, correspond to the twelve "earthly branches" *(dizhi)* and the corresponding animal symbols of the Chinese zodiac.[3] In addition, the Jupiter stations correspond to the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions (see cat. no. 12), with two or three mansions occupying each station, depending on the angular extension of the mansions along the celestial equator.[4] Within each Jupiter station, the key constellations (including the Lunar Mansions) that fill the corresponding section of the sky are depicted.

The star maps begin with the Jupiter station Murky Hollow *(Xuanxiao)*, which contains three Lunar Mansions: Woman *(Nü)*, Emptiness *(Xu)*, and Roof *(Wei)*. The fourth map, the Jupiter station Great Plank-Bridge *(Daliang)*, includes as one of its asterisms the star cluster known in the West as the Pleiades and known to ancient Chinese astronomers as the Lunar Mansion Mane *(Mao)*. The fifth map illustrates the Jupiter station *Shichen* (the name of a deity), containing the Lunar Mansions Beak *(Zui)* and Triaster *(Shen)*, corresponding to the Western constellation Orion. The scroll ends with an anthropomorphic figure holding a bow, labeled "God of Lightning" (Leishen). In its inclusion of explanations of different forms of *qi*, this scroll resembles the other Tang dynasty star map that survives from Dunhuang, entitled *Book on the Prognostication of Clouds and Vapors (Zhan yunqi shu)*.

The significance of the Stein scroll lies primarily in its methodical arrangement of star maps that together comprise the earliest known depiction from any ancient civilization of the entire night sky as seen from the northern hemisphere.[5] Its importance in a Taoist context lies in its emphasis on the circumpolar region as the most important part of the heavens, with the concentration in this zone of such pivotal asterisms as the Celestial Pole *(Beiji)*, the Northern Dipper *(Beidou)*, Purple Tenuity *(Ziwei)*, and Wenchang (also the name of the later God of Literature), each of which plays a key role in religious Taoism (see, for example, cat. nos. 76, 78, and 89), and in the fact that, from early times, all stars were believed to have an impact on human fate.[6] In addition, as shown elsewhere (see cat. no. 12), by the Tang dynasty, if not earlier, almost all of the constellations shown here represented gods in the pantheon of religious Taoism (the Lunar Mansions, for example, appear as anthropomorphic gods in the Yuan dynasty [mid-fourteenth century] murals at the Eternal Joy Temple in Shanxi province). Of the circumpolar asterisms, the most important by far was the Northern Dipper, perceived from at least the late Shang dynasty (thirteenth/eleventh century B.C.) as an enormous celestial chronogram. In the *Records of the Historian (Shiji)* by Sima Qian (145–87 B.C.), the Dipper is described as follows:

> *Beidou* serves as the chariot of the emperor and effectuates its control over the four cardinal points by revolving around the center; it separates the *yin* and the *yang* and regulates the four seasons; it maintains balance between the Five Elements *(Wuxing)*; it regulates the moving of the celestial objects; it determines the epoch of the calendar.[7]

The custom of depicting constellations as series of dots joined by straight lines appears to have begun in the second century B.C.[8] In the Stein scroll, constellations are not only shown in this manner, but are also distinguished by their different colors (red, black, and white), corresponding to star groups catalogued by the Warring States period astronomers Shi Shen, Gan De, and Wu Xian.[9] The original star catalogues by these scholars were lost after the Liang dynasty (502–557), but their systems of categorization were passed down by others, having been codified into a single unified system by Qian Lezhi during the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479).[10]

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Star Chart

Ink rubbing of a stele at the Confucian Temple, Suzhou, Jiangsu province
Southern Song dynasty, Chunyou reign, dated 1247
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
183 × 100 cm
Stone Carving Museum, Suzhou

AT THE TIME THE STONE from which this Southern Song ink rubbing showing a star chart was engraved, in 1247, it was the most advanced celestial map anywhere in the world. It is labeled at the top "Chart of the Celestial Patterns" *(Tianwen tu)*.[1] The chart is significant in a Taoist context because it depicts the home of a vast number of gods in the Taoist pantheon, centering on the circumpolar region with the Northern Dipper and the Pole Star, the most important stars in the Taoist heavens. In addition to a large number of constellations, the celestial equator and the ecliptic (the apparent path of the sun in the sky during the course of the earth's annual rotation) are shown. The chart includes a total of 1,436 stars. The entire northern celestial hemisphere is shown, in addition to part of the southern sky, up to fifty degrees south of the celestial equator. The lines radiating from the northern celestial pole to the celestial equator mark the location in the heavens of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions *(Ershiba xiu)*.

The star chart was completed in 1193 by Huang Shang (1147–1195), a tutor to Prince Jia, the future Southern Song emperor Ningzong (r. 1195–1224). In 1247, over twenty years after Ningzong's death, it was carved onto a stone stele by Wang Zhiyuan.[2] The accompanying text has been described by Joseph Needham as "one of the shortest (and most authentic) expositions of the Chinese astronomical system."[3] The text states that there are 1,565 named stars (roughly ninety percent of these are shown on the chart), and mentions the ancient theory correlating cities and provinces to specific heavenly bodies. The ancient state of Zhou, for example, was tied to the Jupiter station Quail Fire, comprising the Lunar Mansions Willow *(Liu)*, Star *(Xing)*, and Spread or Extended Net *(Zhang)*.[4] The Northern Dipper is presented as a celestial clock and seasonal indicator as it rotates through the Lunar Mansions (as it had been perceived since at least the Han dynasty [206 B.C.–A.D. 220]).

The circumpolar region appears at the center of the chart. Here the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major) is clearly visible. It is one of the few constellations in which each component star is named on the chart (see cat. no. 78 for an anthropomorphic depiction of these stars). The ring around the perimeter is marked with the names of the Jupiter stations, the Lunar Mansions, the terrestrial branches *(dizhi)* corresponding to the Chinese zodiac, the names of the ancient states to which the asterisms corresponded, and the widths of the Lunar Mansions along the celestial equator that are accurate up to half a degree.[5] The boundaries of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions are indicated by the lines radiating out from the center to the perimeter. The large circle concentric with the inner boundary of the Central Palace (the circumpolar area) is the Celestial Equator; this runs through the Lunar Mansions (for example, the constellation Orion, the belt of which was the mansion known as Triaster *[Shen]*, is clearly visible along the Celestial Equator). The offset circle is the ecliptic, mistakenly shown here as a circle instead of an ellipse. The Milky Way is also clearly shown, meandering from one side of the chart to the other.

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Notes

Cat. no. 8

1. The complete excavation report on the Marquis of Zeng tomb can be found in Hubei Provincial Museum 1989. For a brief English summary of the tomb and its significance, see MacKenzie 1999: cat. nos. 92–109.
2. As F. Richard Stephenson has pointed out, the next complete list of the Lunar Mansions dates from roughly two centuries later, see Stephenson 1994: 519. Prior to this, the earliest known references to Lunar Mansions were found in the Book of *Songs (Shi jing)*, and in the inscriptions of certain ritual bronze vessels of the Western Zhou dynasty; see Stephenson 1994: 516–17.
3. Stephenson 1994: 523. For the original report, see Shaanxi Archaeological Institute and Jiaotong University 1990. The precise angular (equatorial) extensions of the lunar mansions are given in the *Master of Huainan (Huainanzi*; 139 B.C.); see Major 1993: 127–28.
4. See the anthropomorphic depictions of the Lunar Mansions in the fourteenth-century murals at the Eternal Joy Temple in Shanxi, illustrated in Jin 1997: pls. 50–52, 59–61.
5. See *Lacquerware from the Warring States to the Han Periods* 1994: no. 15.
6. Stephenson 1994: 514.
7. This despite the fact that the actual pole star has changed several times in the past several millennia owing to the precession of the equinoxes; see ibid.: 531.

Cat. no. 9

1. Major 1985–86: 65.
2. Ibid.: 68.
3. Cheng 1957: 167–68.

Cat. no. 10

1. See Sun and Kistemaker 1997: 116, fig. 6.2.
2. Similar Northern Wei sarcophagi have been excavated in Henan and Shandong provinces. Another example, carved in intaglio, is in the collection of the Temple of Guandi near Luoyang, Henan province.

Cat. no. 11

1. Robinet 1990: 374–76; see also Robinet 1997: 221, 271 n. 2.
2. Major 1993: 108–09, 64–65.
3. Robinet 1990: 382–83.
4. Ibid.: 383.
5. Ibid.: 384.
6. Goodrich and Fang 1976: 83–85.

Cat. nos. 12–13

1. See XHHP: *juan* 1, chap. 1: 379–380.
2. There is also a copy of the Osaka scroll by the Qing dynasty court painter Ding Guanpeng (active 1737–68) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: 6–7.
3. Jin 1997: pls. 19, 63–66, 69 (the Five Planets), and pls. 50–52, 59–61 (the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions).
4. This imitates the names of such Taoist magical diagrams as the *Diagram of the True Forms of the Five Sacred Peaks (Wuyue zhenxing tu*; see cat. no. 137).
5. For example, see T 1311, attributed to the Chinese monk Yixing (673–727), and T 1308, attributed to a "brahmin" monk named Jinjuzha from a "western country," both of which use Sogdian names for the planets and days of the week. These names are identified by Amoghavajra in T 1299 as being Sogdian *(hu)*; see Needham and Wang 1959: 258. The iconography of the Five Planets described in these two texts is nearly identical to that of the Osaka handscroll. This opens the interesting possibility that the Central Asian imagery in this painting comes originally from Sogdiana, and that the Graeco-Roman elements were introduced through a Sogdian or Persian source. In this case, the astrological treatise by Jinjuzha, which dates to around 806, is probably the most direct source for the Osaka handscroll still preserved.
6. See T 397.
7. See note 5.
8. See T 1308.

Cat. no. 14

1. For an excellent discussion of the textual history of the *Yi jing* or *Zhou yi*, see Shaughnessy 1993. For a translation of the *Yi jing*, see Wilhelm 1967.
2. Shaughnessy 1993: 219.
3. The various silk manuscripts found in this tomb are published in Chen 1996.
4. Shaughnessy 1993: 220.
5. On different meanings and contexts of the term *Xiantian*, see Robinet 1990: 385.
6. Seidel 1983: 302.
7. Kroll 1996b: 183.
8. Robinet 1997: 234 ff.
9. Ibid.: 236.

Cat. nos. 15–17

1. Examples were excavated from the tomb of the Shang dynasty queen Fu Hao at Anyang, Henan province, in 1976; see *Yinxu Fu Hao mu* 1980: pl. 68.4–5.
2. See Loewe 1979: 60–85.
3. For a detailed discussion of the Rietberg Museum mirror, see Brinker and Fischer 1980: 91–94, no. 32.
4. Ibid. Brinker's translation is adapted from Wenley 1962: 141, cited in Brinker and Fischer 1980: 92.
5. On this term see Soper 1967: 55–66.
6. Brinker and Fischer 1980: 92 n. 3.
7. The design of this mirror (or a nearly identical example) is reproduced in the catalogue of the imperial Qing dynasty bronze collection, the *Mirror of Antiquity of the Western Qing (Xiqing gujian)* of 1751, and also in *On Bronzes and Jades (Jinshi suo)* of 1821; see XQG], *juan* 40: 45, and JSS, *Jin* (bronze) section. A slightly smaller mirror with a nearly identical design was published in Beijing in 1935; see Rupert and Todd 1935: no. 352.
8. As F. Richard Stephenson has shown, however, surviving Han examples are only fragmentary. For another Tang depiction of the stylized constellations of the Lunar Mansions, from a tomb near Turfan, Xinjiang province, see Stephenson 1994: 537, fig. 13.12.
9. The inscription is translated in Needham and Wang 1959: fig. 53.

Cat. no. 18

1. The other is kept at Dunhuang; it is published in Ho 1987: 58, and Stephenson 1994: fig. 13.11.
2. The first mention of Jupiter stations is found in the *Spring and Autumn Annals (Lushi chunqiu)*; see Stephenson 1994: 515. Ritual offerings were made to the planet Jupiter as early as the late Shang dynasty (thirteenth/eleventh century B.C.), and are mentioned in oracle bone inscriptions found at Anyang, the last Shang capital; see Stephenson 1994: 514. Both the celestial equator and the ecliptic are shown on the Southern Song dynasty star chart of A.D. 1247 (cat. no. 19).
3. For a chart of these correspondences, see Schafer 1978c: 76, table 2.
4. Ibid. For a chart indicating the location of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, see Needham and Wang 1959: 235–37, table 24.
5. For a list of references to Han dynasty star maps, see Needham and Wang 1959: 276 n. d.
6. See the remarks of the Eastern Han dynasty scholar Zhang Heng to this effect, quoted in ibid.: 265.
7. Sun and Kistemaker 1997: 23, quoting from the "Treatise on Celestial Officials [Constellations]" *(Tianguan shu)* in Sima Qian's *Shiji*.
8. Harper 1978–79: 1, 6 n. 1.
9. Needham and Wang 1959: 263.
10. Ibid.: 263–64.

Cat. no. 19

1. For detailed studies, see Rufus and Tien 1945 and Pan 1976, no. 1: 47–61.
2. Sun and Kistemaker 1997: 31.
3. Needham and Wang 1959: 278.
4. Schafer 1978c: 76, table 2. The translations of the names of the Lunar Mansions used here are from Schafer 1978c, and Needham and Wang 1959: 235, table 24.
5. Stephenson 1994: 549.

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FUNDAMENTAL TO RELIGIOUS TAOISM is the concept of the sacred peak as a numinous pivot connecting heaven and earth. Central to the cosmological beliefs of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) was the worship of the Five Sacred Peaks (symbolizing and defining the four cardinal directions and the center) and other holy mountains. The earliest and most visually compelling images of such peaks are the mountain-shaped bronze incense burners *(boshanlu)* of the Han dynasty, the most spectacular of which was excavated in 1968 from the tomb of the Han prince Liu Sheng (second century B.C.; cat. no. 20). The image of a Taoist mountain paradise, populated by transcendent beings, is illustrated in the "Sacred Landscape" section (III.6) of this exhibition and catalogue by Chen Ruyan's fourteenth-century handscroll *Mountains of the Immortals* (cat. no. 144), which ties together the concepts of mountains as sites where the cosmic vital energy *(qi)* is most refined, where the natural ingredients (herbs and minerals) for Taoist elixirs of longevity and immortality are found, and where one can encounter immortal adepts.

The *xian* (adepts or immortals) were conceived of as perfected beings who had transcended *yin* and *yang* and achieved union with the Tao through self-cultivation. Han dynasty images of such figures were known as *yuren*, literally, "winged beings." The bronze example excavated from a Han tomb in Luoyang in 1987 (cat. no. 21) reflects the way in which such figures were conceived. Later images of immortals, including the thirteenth-century painting by Ma Yuan *Immortal Riding a Dragon* (cat. no. 28), are ultimately based on Bronze Age traditions, such as the descriptions of the "divine beings" *(shenren)* found in the *Zhuangzi* (c. 300 B.C.).

The most famous of the ancient immortals, the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), was one of the most powerful goddesses of early Taoism (see cat. nos. 24–27). Even before the emergence of religious Taoism, she was already worshipped at the imperial Han court. The most illustrious human encounter with the Queen Mother of the West was that of the Zhou dynasty king Mu, a meeting that, according to Chinese mythology, took place in the eighth century B.C. Other immortals whose cults continue to the present day in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are Master Red Pine (Chisongzi) and Wang Ziqiao.

Detail, cat. no. 22

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Mountain-shaped Censer

From the tomb of Liu Sheng at Lingshan, Mancheng, Hebei province
Western Han dynasty, second half 2nd century B.C.
Bronze with gold inlay
H. 26 cm; diam. 15.5 cm
Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang

MOUNTAINS HAVE PLAYED a key role in the history of Chinese religions. The image of the sacred peak as an axis joining heaven and earth has been prevalent for centuries in Chinese philosophical and religious thought. Mountains were sites where an adept could encounter perfected beings and gods, or the minerals and herbs that were the ingredients for elixirs of long life. One meditated and purified oneself on mountains and found caverns that were gates to paradise. Mountains were where the *qi*-energy that formed the world was particularly refined. In Taoist ritual the altar is visualized as a mountain that is symbolically (and sometimes actually) climbed by the officiating priest; in Taoist meditation the inner human body is visualized as a mountainous landscape, its forms simultaneously reflecting the structure of the natural landscape and the cosmos.[1]

Over time a cult of the Five Sacred Peaks developed, comprising mountains that defined the cardinal directions and the center: Mount Tai (Tai Shan) in the east, Mount Heng (Heng Shan) in the south, Mount Hua (Hua Shan) in the west, Mount Heng (Heng Shan) in the north, and Mount Song (Song Shan) in the middle. This group was codified by the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), and worship of the Five Peaks was widespread from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) onward.[2]

The perception of mountains as numinous pivots joining heaven and earth was given visual form during the Han dynasty in the remarkable bronze and ceramic incense burners known as *boshanlu* ("universal mountain censer").[3] This example was excavated in 1968 from the tomb of the early Han dynasty prince Liu Sheng, at Mancheng, Hebei province. It depicts a sacred peak inhabited by animals and transcendent beings. The flowing lines of gold inlay around the base suggest the clouds that were seen as the mountain's "breath," and the movement of *qi* that pulsates through the earth.

A huge variety of mountain-shaped incense burners have been excavated from Han dynasty tombs in China, reflecting the widespread popularity of this type, which appeared in its mature form during the reign of Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.).[4] This example was cast in three parts: the conical top, the bowl, and the stemmed, openwork foot. Inlaid with gold wires, the censer depicts a fantastic mountain covered with figures and animals. The flamelike peaks that jut up around the mountain's surface are perforated to allow the release of incense smoke.[5]

—S. L.

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Winged Figure

Eastern Han dynasty, 2nd century
Bronze with gold inlay
15.5 × 9.5 cm
Luoyang Museum, Henan

Excavated from an Eastern Han dynasty (25–220) tomb on the eastern outskirts of Luoyang, Henan province, in 1987, this winged figure *(yuren)* is one of the earliest three-dimensional sculptures to depict a realized being. Similar figures are often found as part of the decoration on Han dynasty bronze mirrors cast with cosmological diagrams, and on ceramic tomb sculptures. These figures, usually depicted with winglike appendages, were perceived as having transcended the bonds of *yin* and *yang* and as existing beyond time and space. They lived among sacred mountains, in a numinous realm removed from the world of humankind. Such figures are described in early texts of the Taoist tradition, such as the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi*. The former book, for example, includes the following passage:

> Jian Wu said to Lian Shu, "I was listening to Jie Yu's talk—big and nothing to back it up, going on and on without turning around. I was completely dumbfounded at his words—no more end than the Milky Way, wild and wide of the mark, never coming near human affairs!"
>
> "What were his words like?" asked Lian Shu.
>
> "He said that there is a Holy Man *(shenren)* living on faraway Gushe Mountain, with skin like ice or snow, and gentle and shy like a young girl. He doesn't eat the five grains, but sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas. By concentrating his spirit, he can protect creatures from sickness and plague and make the harvest plentiful. I thought this was all insane and refused to believe it."
>
> "You would!" said Lian Shu. "We can't expect a blind man to appreciate beautiful patterns or a deaf man to listen to bells and drums. And blindness and deafness are not confined to the body alone—the understanding has them too, as your words just now have shown. This man, with this virtue of his, is about to embrace the ten thousand things and roll them into one. Though the age calls for reform, why should he wear himself out over the affairs of the world? There is nothing that can harm this man. Though flood waters pile up to the sky, he will not drown. Though a great drought melts metal and stone and scorches the earth and hills, he will not be burned.[1]

The *Liezi* includes a similar description, expanding on these miraculous beings:

> The Guye mountains stand on a chain of islands where the Yellow River enters the sea. Upon the mountains there lives a Divine Man *(shenren)*, who inhales the wind and drinks the dew, and does not eat the five grains. His mind is like a bottomless spring, his body is like a virgin's. He knows neither intimacy nor love, yet immortals *(xian)* and sages serve him as ministers. He inspires no awe, he is never angry, yet the eager and diligent act as his messengers. He is without kindness and bounty, but others have enough by themselves; he does not store and save, but he himself never lacks.[2]

Both the *Zhuangzi* and the *Liezi* describe such beings as *shenren*, literally, "divine men," using the character *shen* that usually denotes a spirit or god. Their characteristics are similar to early descriptions of *xian*—adepts or immortals—beings that have broken the quotidian bonds of phenomenal reality through their transcendence of *yin* and *yang* and their union with the Tao.

Several similar bronze figures are known; among them are examples in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Arts and a private collection in Paris.[3]

—S. L.

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Stele in Memory of Fei Zhi

Eastern Han dynasty, 2nd century
Limestone
98 × 48 × 9.5 cm
Administrative Committee of Cultural Relics, Yanshi, Henan

THIS STELE IS THE ONLY REMNANT of a Han dynasty cult devoted to the realized being *(zhenren)* Fei Zhi.[1] It was found during the excavation of an Eastern Han dynasty (25–220) tomb to the east of Luoyang, Henan province, a few kilometers away from the boundaries of this city when it was the capital of the Eastern Han. The tomb in which this stele was found is unusual in that several bodies were found buried in it. The stele was placed on a pedestal with three cavities, which may have been used to hold offerings. Kristofer Schipper has described the stele as "not just a monument dedicated to the memory of the Taoist saint Fei Zhi, but also his altar and the seat of his spirit."[2]

The stele is as enigmatic as the tomb in which it was found, since neither Fei Zhi nor his disciples named in the stele are recorded in historical sources. According to the inscription, Fei Zhi first became famous for climbing up into a jujube tree and perching there for three years without coming down. Fei's eccentricities eventually brought him to the attention of the imperial court, and the stele indicates that he was summoned to the court twice, in 76 and 89, at the beginnings of the reigns of emperors Zhang (r. 75–88) and He (r. 88–105). Thanks to his aid in making "calculations" that helped the court to avoid inauspicious omens, he was awarded an official title. Fei is further identified with prominent figures from ancient China, including the "Confucian" *(ru)* scholar Yanzi, a contemporary of Confucius, and the magician Master Red Pine (Chisongzi).

Eventually, Fei acquired disciples, of whom the official Xu You (also unknown from historical records) is most prominently mentioned. Fei's cult seems to have been established by Xu You's son Xu Jian, who began making offerings to Fei in 169. The stele also attributes divine status to Xu You, who is claimed to have met with the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu; see cat. no. 24) on Mount Kunlun. Finally, the stele indicates that five disciples of Xu You, including a certain Master Xu (which may refer to Xu Jian), consumed an alchemical drug known as "stone marrow," which allowed them to leave the world as adepts.

Since the date of 169 mentioned on the stele precludes the possibility that it was made as a funerary memorial for Fei Zhi, who lived over half a century earlier, or that the grave mound was his, Schipper has suggested that the remains in the tomb may belong to the five disciples mentioned at the end of the inscription, to Xu Jian and his family, or to other members of the cult dedicated to Fei Zhi.

The inscription on this stele is not the only one of its kind to be preserved. There are similar stele inscriptions from the same period recorded in historical documents, including one devoted to the cult of Wang Ziqiao around Mount Song (also in Henan) dated to 165, and another to the cult of Tang Gongfang in the Hanzhong region, Shaanxi province, the same region where the Celestial Master movement first came to prominence under Zhang Lu at the end of the Han dynasty.[3] Unlike Fei Zhi, both of these figures have a long, well-documented history, and have played an important role in Chinese religion right up to the modern era.

This newly discovered stele increases our understanding of the late Han dynasty and serves as an important link between late Warring States politico-philosophical writings such as the *Zhuangzi* and the *Daode jing* and later religious Taoism. It bridges the historical gap between early myths and terms such as "realized being" in Warring States texts and their prominent use in later writings of the Taoist religion. As archaeological research in mainland China advances, new insights continue to be gained into the precedents that formed the foundations of religious Taoism and into the transition from the "classical" age of the Warring States to the flourishing of religion in medieval China.

—S. E.

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MA YUAN (ACTIVE C. 1190–C. 1225)
The Four Sages of Mount Shang

Southern Song dynasty, c. 1225
Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper
33.6 × 307.3 cm
Cincinnati Art Museum, Anonymous gift (1950.77)

MA YUAN'S HANDSCROLL depicts the Four Sages of Mount Shang, who fled into the mountains during the reign of the early Han dynasty emperor Gaozu (*r.* 206–195 B.C.).[1] These worthies' retreat into Mount Shang was motivated by their disagreements with the actions of the emperor and their desire to maintain their moral integrity.[2] The Four Sages' names were Dongyuan, Luli, Qi Liji, and Xiahuang. While often held up as paragons of Confucian virtue, by the fourth century, the Four Sages were also viewed as adepts *(xian)* renowned for their techniques of self-cultivation and alchemy. The *Baopuzi (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity)* by Ge Hong (283–343), for example, refers to all four figures as *xian* (adepts or immortals) and mentions that they taught alchemy to the famous strategist Zhang Liang.[3] In later tradition, the Four Sages continued to be seen as paragons by both Confucians and Taoists. They appear, for example, in the Song dynasty handscroll in the Freer Gallery of Art entitled *An Assembly of Immortals (Qunxian gaohui tu),* traditionally attributed to Li Gonglin (c. 1049–1106), which depicts a Taoist paradise populated with such diverse figures as the Yellow Emperor and Guangchengzi, the Queen Mother of the West, and the female immortal Magu.[4]

The Four Sages of Mount Shang lived solely on mushrooms, and one of the four, Luli, composed the "Song of the Purple Mushroom":

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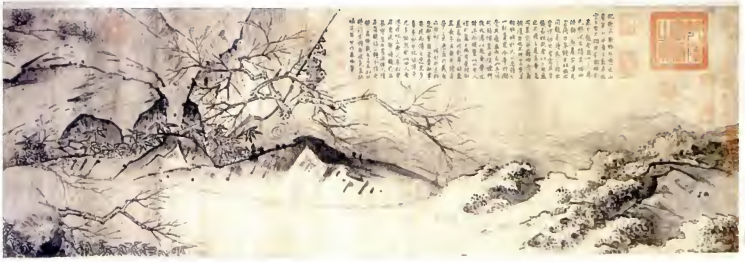

Silent is the lofty mountain;
Long is the deep valley.
Bright are [the] purple mushrooms;
They can still my hunger.
The ages of [the emperors] Yao and Shun are gone forever;
Whither shall I go?
A carriage and four, and lofty roofs,
All bring great worries [to the inmates].
If riches and honors entail submission to others,
I would rather be poor and lowly in order to live happily.[5]

Ma Yuan was a painter active at the imperial Southern Song court in Lin'an, Hangzhou province, during the reigns of Emperors Guangzong (r. 1189–94) and Ningzong (r. 1195–1224), and into the early part of Lizong's reign (r. 1225–64). The Cincinnati *Four Sages of Mount Shang* is one of his surviving works on paper, and has been dated to c. 1225. It is painted primarily in ink with occasional touches of light color, and depicts the Four Sages in a mountainous landscape. A stream flows from left to right through the background of the composition, emptying into a river or lake with crashing waves near the beginning of the scroll. The remote setting is accentuated by the quickly flowing water, the cliffs and grotto-like formations among the rocks, the gnarled pine trees, spiky plum trees, and lush bamboo. Two of the sages are seated on rocks and playing the board game known as *weiqi*, while a third leans on the trunk of a pine tree and watches. The fourth sage walks with an attendant along a mountain path and searches for mushrooms. The scroll is signed at the end, *Chen Ma Yuan* ("Your servant, Ma Yuan"), indicating that it was painted at the imperial court. The scroll has thirty-seven colophons by scholars of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, including inscriptions by Yang Weizhen (1296–1307) and Ni Zan (1301–1374).[6] The painting was owned by the great Ming dynasty collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590), and in the Qing dynasty entered the collection of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95), remaining in the Forbidden City until the early twentieth century.[7] The scroll bears two inscriptions by the Qianlong emperor, and still has its imperial Qing silk wrapper and inscribed jade pin.

Ma Yuan's handscroll emphasizes the close connection between hermits, immortals, and mountains in traditional China. Even before the emergence of religious Taoism in the late Han dynasty (second century), mountains were considered pure and remote places where one could encounter immortals. The rocks, water, pines, and plum trees of Mount Shang are symbols of the values the Four Sages stood for, including strength and moral integrity.

—S. L.

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Tomb Tile with the Queen Mother of the West

From Sichuan province
Eastern Han dynasty, 2nd century
Stamped earthenware tile
41 × 47 cm
Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu

25

Money Tree with the Queen Mother of the West and a Seated Buddha

From Sichuan province
Eastern Han dynasty, 2nd century
Lead-glazed earthenware and bronze
H. 177 cm
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Gift of the Connoisseurs' Council (1995.79)

One of the most popular deities of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) was the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), depicted in these two archaeological objects from Sichuan province. While the origins of this goddess in the early Bronze Age are murky, Xiwangmu emerged by the third century B.C. as a formidable deity in the Chinese pantheon. The "Inner Chapters" of the *Zhuangzi* list the Queen Mother of the West as a deity who "obtained the Tao."[1] According to the *Scripture of Great Peace (Taiping jing)*, a text that first appeared in the late Han dynasty, Xiwangmu was an immortal *(xian)*. During the Han, the Queen Mother of the West was worshipped by the imperial family, the aristocracy, and the literati, as well as by the common people.[2]

In legend, ancient kings and emperors sought out the Queen Mother of the West, and asked for her advice on the arts of rulership and self-cultivation (see cat. no. 26). Although originally not a Taoist deity, she was adopted into the pantheon of religious Highest Purity (Shangqing) Taoism in the Six Dynasties period (420–589) and is the principle female deity in the *Supreme Secret Essentials (Wushang biyao)*, a Taoist encyclopedia completed in 577, during the Northern Zhou dynasty.[3]

Above all, Xiwangmu was associated with the *yin* force of the *yin–yang* polarity, and with the phase (or element) metal in the Five Phase *(Wuxing)* system. *Yin* correlated with the west, the direction most strongly associated with death and rebirth. Nonetheless, in the funerary tile from Sichuan (cat. no. 24), in which the Queen Mother sits on a mat at a feast, she is flanked by a tiger *and* a dragon (see cat. no. 10), symbolizing her ultimate transcendence of *yin* and *yang*.

By the early Eastern Han dynasty (first century), the Queen Mother was associated with Mount Kunlun, a mythical paradise

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located to the far west of China.[4] Kunlun was perceived as an enormous mountain, or mountain range, that functioned as a cosmic pivot connecting Heaven and Earth.

In the earthenware tomb tile, excavated in 1965 from a tomb at Qingbaixiang in Xinfan near Chengdu, Sichuan province, Xiwangmu is entertained at a feast. Regally posed under a canopy, she faces the viewer while a group of figures and animals occupy the foreground. To the left, a hare holds a candelabra; behind the hare is a fox. In front of the hare two figures, either human or celestial courtiers, sit next to a low table. Directly in front of the Queen Mother a frog dances, while a bird and two other human or immortal figures look on at the left.[5]

A much stranger object is the so-called money tree *(qian shu)* from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (cat. no. 25). This is one of many examples that have been found in Eastern Han (second century) tombs in Sichuan, one of the areas in which Xiwangmu had the greatest following in this period.[6] These objects are typically made of a bronze trunk and branches set into a ceramic or stone base. The term "money tree" derives from the fact that the bronze branches are decorated with coin-shaped designs that imitate coins of the Han period.[7] The function of such money trees in late Han dynasty Sichuan was to provide a symbol of rebirth and eternal life for the occupant of the tomb.

In this example, the base is made of earthenware covered with an amber-colored lead glaze. The surface of the base is covered with molded designs depicting animals, culminating at the top with a figure riding on the back of a deer. From here the bronze tree ascends, with six levels of branches growing off the trunk; these are attached with tenons. Each branch consists of a horizontal stem, with images of coins growing above and below. Near the top is an image of the Queen Mother of the West, seated between two dragons under a canopy; above her, an immortal rides on the back of a dragon. A noteworthy feature of the decoration is the small figure of a meditating Buddha, situated below the figure of Xiwangmu. Buddhism entered China during the late first century, and as Wu Hung has shown, by the second century the Buddha was often seen as an immortal.[8] Similar images are found in other materials in the Eastern Han period, including stone carvings, ceramics, and bronze mirrors.[9] Such images would proliferate during the Three Kingdoms period (220–280) and after. The presence of the Buddha under Xiwangmu's image on the San Francisco money tree clearly conveys the superiority of the latter, and yet signals the openness among the Queen Mother's followers toward other systems of belief.

—S. L.

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TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO LIU SONGNIAN
(ACTIVE LATE 12TH–EARLY 13TH CENTURY)
Offerings for Long Life at the Turquoise Pond

Ming dynasty, early 16th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
198.7 × 109.1 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

THIS PAINTING DEPICTS the Zhou dynasty king Mu's visit to the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), a story that is ultimately about self-understanding and transcendence. Ancient texts describe King Mu (Muwang; r. 1001–946 B.C.) as the only human ruler to have arrived at the Queen Mother of the West's paradise on Mount Kunlun, located far to the west of China. Their meeting was brief and tinged with melancholy. The king, perhaps aware that he could never rise to the level of the goddess, bemoaned his unworthiness, and then returned home. The story is first found in the *Bamboo Annals*, said to have been excavated from a third-century-B.C. tomb in the third century A.D., and appears as well in the early Taoist text *Liezi*.[1] Its most elaborate version, however, is in the Tang dynasty text *Primordial Ruler, Metal Mother (Jinmu yuanjun)*, by the Taoist Du Guangting (850–933):

> King Mu gave the command to harness his eight fine steeds in two teams of four. . . . Riding full speed ahead for a thousand *li*, they reached the nation of the Great Sou Clan. The Great Sou Clan head then offered as tribute the blood of white swans for the king to drink; he set out ox and horse milk to be used for washing the king's feet. After the men . . . drank, they proceeded along the road.
>
> They spent the night in a fold of Kunlun on the sunny side of the Red Water River. On another day, they ascended Kunlun Hill, in order to inspect the palace of the Yellow Thearch [Yellow Emperor]. . . .
>
> Subsequently he was a guest of the Queen Mother of the West. As they toasted each other with drinks at the side of the Turquoise Pond [Yao Chi], the Queen Mother of the West composed poems for the king. The king matched them. Their lyrics were sad. Then he observed where the sun set. In a single day, it had gone ten thousand *li*. The king sighed and said, "I, the Unique Person [as Son of Heaven], am not overabounding with virtue. Later generations will certainly trace back and count up my excesses!" It is also said that the king grasped a white jade tablet and heavy multi-colored damask, offering them in order to acquire the secrets of the Queen Mother's longevity. She sang the "Poem of the White Clouds." On top of Cover Mountain, he carved a stone to record his traces, then returned home.[2]

In the painting, King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West sit facing each other on a terrace, surrounded by jade maidens (*yunü*). The setting is a mountainous landscape, representing the paradise on Mount Kunlun. In the foreground, just outside a roofed enclosure, the king's chariots and attendants await him among boulders and trees. Despite the scroll's traditional attribution to the Southern Song dynasty court painter Liu Songnian, the style is closer to that of the Ming dynasty Wu School master Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1551/2).[3] A similar painting in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, bears a spurious Qiu Ying signature, and may be by a close follower.[4]

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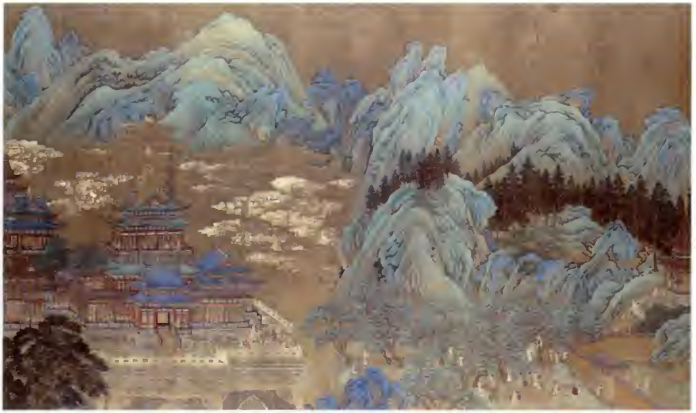

(detail)

27

Festival of the Peaches of Longevity

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
52 × 476 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Gift of the Herman R. and Helen Sutherland Foundation Fund (F72-39)

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Among the outstanding features of the Queen Mother of the West's paradise on Mount Kunlun were the peach trees that blossomed every three thousand years.[1] The earliest association of these transcendent peaches with the Queen Mother is found in the *Monograph on Broad Phenomena (Bowu zhi)* by Zhang Hua (232–300).[2] The peaches were believed to confer immortality on those who ate them. Zhang Hua's text describes the Queen Mother's visit to Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (r. 140–87 B.C.) in 110 B.C. as follows:

> The Queen Mother asked her attendants for seven peaches. They were as big as crossbow pellets. Giving five to the thearch [Emperor Wu], the Mother ate two. The thearch ate the peaches, then immediately took their pits and put them in front of his knees. The Mother said, "Why are you taking these pits?" The thearch replied, "These peaches are so sweet and lovely. I want to plant them." The Mother laughed and said, "These peaches bear fruit once in three thousand years." . . . Then Dongfang Shuo stealthily spied on the Mother from the southern side room of the basilica [the Nine Floriate Basilica], through the Vermillion Bird window lattice. The Mother saw him. She said to the thearch, "This small boy is spying through the window lattice. Formerly he came three times to steal my peaches." The thearch then greatly marveled at him. On account of this, people of the world say that Dongfang Shuo is a divine transcendent.[3]

The periodic blossoming of the peaches of longevity in the Kunlun paradise became a fixed part of the Queen Mother's mythology. This long handscroll in the Nelson-Atkins Museum depicts the festival of these peaches *(Pantao hui)*. The fantastic landscape is painted in an archaistic blue-and-green style, with gold accents on the rocks. The clouds are painted in white and pink pigments. The first part of the scroll depicts guests who approach an ornate marble gate *(pailou)*. Some of these figures walk, while others ride on rams, an elephant, a deer, a horse, and mythical beasts. One figure rides a blue ox and has a red parasol held over his head by an attendant; this may represent the sage Laozi (see cat. no. 1). Toward the center of the scroll, several elaborate palace buildings appear; these represent the palace of the Queen Mother of the West, and are painted with green, blue, and purple pigments and gold. The focus of attention is a grove of enormous peach trees, the ripe fruit of which is being picked by children and adolescents, as immortals and jade maidens look on from a nearby terrace. In one pavilion, a female orchestra plays on the *pipa* (lute), *sheng* (mouth-organ), *qin* (zither), drum, cymbals, flutes, and chimes. Further on, two cranes dance on a garden terrace, observed by a group of transcendents. At the end of the scroll, male and female figures gather on a high, open-air marble terrace and gaze at a pink cloud.

A longer version of this composition in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., is traditionally attributed to the Southern Song dynasty (thirteenth century) painter Fang Chunnian, but is later in date (seventeenth or eighteenth century) than the Kansas City scroll.[4] It preserves, however, the entire original composition, which is truncated in the Kansas City version. From the Freer version, it is clear that the Nelson-Atkins Museum scroll originally included a scene at the beginning, depicting guests crossing an ocean on chariots and mythical beasts as they approach the Kunlun paradise. In addition, the end of the scroll would have included a scene of cranes and phoenixes flying in elaborate patterns through the air.

—S. L.

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MA YUAN (ACTIVE C. 1190–C. 1230)
Immortal Riding a Dragon

Southern Song dynasty, early 13th century
Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on silk
108.1 × 52.6 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

IN THIS PAINTING an adept *(xian)* flies through the air on the back of a dragon.[1] At the lower right, a demon thrall holds his master's dragon-headed staff. The scene takes place against a background of clouds, from which the dragon has just emerged. The transcendent gazes out into space with an intense, knowing expression.

Descriptions of such figures can be traced to the Inner Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (c. 330 B.C.). According to Zhuangzi, this type of being, a "divine person" *(shenren)*, "sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas."[2] Dragons were potent symbols of the *yang* force and of the Tao, and from the Warring States period onward (475–221 B.C.) were depicted as the vehicles of gods and transcendents. Images of winged beings *(yuren)* who have transcended the bounds of *yin* and *yang* are often depicted mounted on the backs of dragons in funerary art of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and on bronze mirrors of the third and fourth centuries.[3] By the Song dynasty (960–1279), if not earlier, Taoist gods were often shown riding on dragons; an example in this exhibition is the image of the Taoist Official of Water (Shui guan) from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. no. 71). When human beings attained realization or perfection *(zhen)*, they were often described as ascending to heaven in broad daylight on the back of a dragon. The ascension of the Yellow Emperor, for example, is described in this way in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian (Shiji)*, compiled in 104 B.C.:

> . . . a dragon with whiskers hanging from its chin came down from the sky to fetch him. The Yellow Emperor mounted on the dragon's back, followed by his ministers and palace ladies, making a company of over seventy persons. When they had all mounted, the dragon rose from the ground and departed.[4]

A similar painting of an adept riding on the back of a dragon is also in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; it is attributed to the Song painter Zhao Boju (d. c. 1162).[5]

—S. L.

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Notes

Cat. no. 20

1. Schipper 1993: 91ff.
2. See Kleeman 1994b.
3. The term *boshanlu* appears to date to the late Six Dynasties period (sixth century); see Erickson 1992: 14. During the Han, such vessels appear to have been called *xunlu* or merely *lu*, both meaning censer.
4. Ibid.: 6.
5. Soot on the interior of the top indicates that the censer was actually used during Liu Sheng's lifetime: see Fong 1980: no. 95.

Cat. no. 21

1. Watson 1968: 33. For the Chinese text, see XYZDB: 53.
2. Graham 1960: 35. For the Chinese text, see XYLDB: 74.
3. See *Masterpieces from the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art* 1986: no. 306, and Desroches 1994: 126–27, no. 47.

Cat. no. 22

1. This entry is based on the study of the stele by Kristofer Schipper; see Schipper 1997.
2. Ibid.: 239; translated from French.
3. See, respectively, Chen 1988: 2, and Schipper 1991.

Cat. no. 23

1. For a comprehensive study of this scroll, see Avril 1997: 54–59, no. 27.
2. Among other things, the Four Sages disagreed with Caozu's choice of his heir; see ibid.: 54, 58 n. 1.
3. Ware 1981: 104, 273.
4. Selected details of this scroll are published in Lawton 1973: no. 34.
5. Translated by Achilles Fang in Avril 1997: 54.
6. These are discussed at length in ibid.
7. The painting is recorded in the imperial Qing catalogue compiled by Zhang Zhao, et al.; see SQBJ: 571–77.

Cat. nos. 24–25

1. See Watson 1968: 82. For the Chinese text, see XYZDB: 107. As Suzanne Cahill has shown, this is one of the earliest references to Xiwangmu, although references to a deity called the "Western Mother" (Xi mu) occur in the oracle bones of the Shang dynasty; see Cahill 1993: 12–14.
2. Cahill 1993: 21–24.
3. Ibid.: 34. Xiwangmu is also mentioned as an immortal (*xian*) in the *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhen'gao*; HY 1010), compiled by Tao Hongjing (456–536); for example, see *juan* 2: 10b–11a, where Xiwangmu is identified as the mother of one of the female deities who figures in the *Zhen'gao*.
4. Textual references that connect Xiwangmu to Mount Kunlun are found in both the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing*), and in the *Record of the Ten Continents* (*Shizhou ji*); see Cahill 1993: 19, 36–38, and Smith 1990: 110. The *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, traditionally attributed to Yu the Great and his assistant Yi (late third millenium B.C.), is variously dated to the Warring States (fifth–third century B.C.) or Han periods; see Fracasso 1993: 359–61. According to Suzanne Cahill, the *Record of the Ten Continents* is traditionally attributed to the immortal Dongfang Shuo (154–93 B.C.), active at the court of Han Wudi; see Cahill 1993: 36.
5. Two of these animals, the hare and the frog, were associated with immortality, procreation, and the yin force. Both animals were also associated with the moon, an ancient symbol of yin (just as the sun symbolized *yang*). As Wu Hung has shown, this funerary tile was originally placed on a wall between tiles depicting symbols of the sun and moon, further emphasizing Xiwangmu's position as a being "beyond opposing or conditional forces, thus representing eternity." See Wu 1987: 26, fig. 6.
6. For another example, see Rawson 1996: cat. no. 87.
7. As Chen Xiandan has shown, the money tree did not produce money, but instead symbolized the riches of a divine paradise, and was thus seen as a "tree of life"; see Chen 1997.
8. Wu 1987: 33. On other Buddhist images of the late Han, see Wu 1986.
9. Wu 1987: figs. 11–12.

Cat. no. 26

1. Cahill 1993: 46.
2. Ibid.: 123–24.
3. The fact that the painting is not by Liu Songnian, but resembles works by the early-sixteenth-century painters Zhou Chen, Tang Yin, and Qiu Ying, is pointed out in *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: 80.
4. Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 35.42.

Cat. no. 27

1. Sources differ on the periodicity of the peach trees' blossoming; they range from one thousand to three thousand years. See Cahill 1993: 178.
2. Ibid.: 54–55.
3. Ibid.
4. Freer Gallery of Art, acc. no. 08.170.

Cat. no. 28

1. Previously published in *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: pl. 2.
2. Watson 1968: 33; see also cat. no. 21.
3. See Cheng 1957: pl. 3, fig. 6 (depicting a pair of Han ceramic dragons ridden by winged figures, now in the collection of The Art Institute of Chicago, 1978.1029–30), and Nakano 1994: cat. no. 55.
4. Translated in Watson 1961, vol. 2: 52; cited in Dragan 1991: 148. This story also appears in the short biographical account of the Yellow Emperor in the *Biographies of the Assorted Immortals* (*Liexian zhuan*), attributed to Liu Xiang (77–6 B.C.) of the Han dynasty; see Kaltenmark 1987: 50–53.
5. *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: pl. 1.

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萬物將自化王者法道為政吏民庶薛子悉化為道化如欲作吾將鎮之以无名之樸失正變得耶〻改得正今王者法道民悉從正齊正而止不可復變〻為耶矣觀其將變道便鎮制之捻以无名之樸教誡見也王者不當法道鎮制之而不能制者世俗悉變為耶矣下古世是也无名之樸不將不欲道性於俗間都无所欲王者不當法之无欲以靜天地自止道常无欲樂清靜故令天地常正天地道臣也王者法道行誡臣下悉皆自正矣

THIS SECTION OF THE CATALOGUE introduces religious Taoism and focuses on two key moments in its early development: the deification of the sage Laozi and the emergence of the first Taoist church. One of the most complicated aspects of Taoism is its transformation from a philosophy to a religion. One catalyst for this transformation was the political disintegration of the Han dynasty in the second century A.D.; another was the impact on Taoism of Buddhism, a foreign religion that arrived in China from India over the Silk Road in the late Han dynasty. At about the same time, in the second century A.D., the sage Laozi was deified by imperial decree.

The origins of religious Taoism can be traced to Sichuan province in the second century, when the spiritual leader Zhang Daoling had a vision of the deified Laozi. In this vision Laozi commanded Zhang to organize his followers into a movement, which came to be known as the Way of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao). Zhang Daoling became the patriarch of the Celestial Master lineage. Central to this movement was the cultivation of a strict moral code and the belief in gods who, through rituals, could be invoked to aid humanity to achieve both its spiritual and material needs. These gods were perceived as beings composed of the most refined spirit, personifying and giving a recognizable face to the Tao.

The deification of Laozi was given early visual expression in stone sculptures that depict the ancient sage as a god. These works, dating to the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (386–589), illustrate the tremendous impact of Buddhism on Taoism. The two aspects of this influence explored here are the borrowings from Buddhist conventions in the early Taoist depictions of the deified Laozi, and the adaptation from Buddhism of the idea of reincarnation (originally a Hindu concept), reflected in images of the earlier manifestations of Laozi, for example, his incarnation as Guangchengzi during the reign of the Yellow Emperor (third millennium B.C.).

The remarkable stone sculptures shown here range in date from the Northern Wei to Tang dynasties (sixth to eighth centuries). Among these is a stele dating to 517, from the Forest of Stelae in Xi'an, China, which on one side depicts the deified Laozi (holding his usual attribute, a fan), and on the other the historical Buddha Shakyamuni. Syncretic works such as this, which make room for both religions, demonstrate the pragmatic approach to religion characteristic of traditional Chinese culture. (This phenomenon is explored further in section III.1, "Taoism and Popular Religion.") The sculptures of the deified Laozi from the Tang dynasty (618–906) illustrate the sage as the divine ancestor of the Tang emperors, and are early illustrations of the usefulness of Taoism in establishing political legitimacy.

Detail, cat. no. 34

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Stele with the Deified Laozi and Two Attendants

Northern Wei dynasty, Yanchang reign, dated 515
Sandstone
H. 43.5 cm
Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, Yamaguchi Collection

30

Stele with the Deified Laozi and Shakyamuni Buddha

Northern Wei dynasty, Xiping reign, dated 517
Limestone
203 × 87 cm
Forest of Stelae (Beilin) Museum, Xi'an

31

Four-sided Taoist Stele

Northern Qi dynasty, dated 554
Limestone
H. 70.6 cm
Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, Yamaguchi Collection

32

Votive Stele with the Deified Laozi

Sui dynasty, Kaihuang reign dated 587
Limestone
24 × 15 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Special Chinese and Japanese Fund (07.732)

THE SAGE LAOZI is known to have been worshipped as a god by the second century A.D., in the late Han dynasty. Two recorded stele inscriptions of the Eastern Han—the *Stele of the Sage Mother (Shengmu bei)*, dated 153, and the *Inscription for Laozi (Laozi ming)*, dated 165—both reveal a new view of Laozi as a god. The former text was the first to describe Laozi as equivalent to the Tao; the second records an imperial sacrifice to the deified sage enacted by Emperor Huan (r. 147–67) at Laozi's birthplace.[1] The *Stele of the Sage Mother* inscription includes the following lines:

> Laozi, the Tao:
> Born prior to the Shapeless,
> Grown before the Great Beginning,
> He lives in the prime of the Great Immaculate,
> And floats freely through the Six Voids.[2]

The *Inscription for Laozi* proves that by the middle of the second century Laozi was worshipped as a god by the Han elite. As Livia Kohn has shown, the sage was now seen as "the central deity of the cosmos, who was born from primordial energy, came down to earth, and eventually ascended back to the heavenly realm as an immortal."[3] This stele inscription reads in part:

> Laozi was created from primordial chaos and lived as long as the three luminants [sun, moon, and stars]. He observed the skies and made prophesies, freely came and went to the stars. Following the course of the sun, he transformed nine times; he waxed and waned with the seasons. He regulated the three luminants and had the four numinous animals by his side.[4] He concentrated his thinking on the cinnabar field *[dantian]*,[5] saw Great Unity [Taiyi][6] in his purple chamber, became one with the Tao, and transformed into an immortal.[7]

In the late Han and Six Dynasties periods, the deified Laozi became the central god in the pantheon of religious Taoism. The earliest images of the deified Laozi date to the fifth century, and are only known in significant numbers from the early sixth century onward (late Northern Wei dynasty). Several references to Taoist image-making survive in fifth-century texts.[8] As Stephen Bokenkamp has pointed out, Lu Xiujing (406–477), the compiler of the Taoist Lingbao scriptures, spoke out against the creation of ornate images for Taoist worship, indicating that such works were being made in southern China in the mid-fifth century.[9] The Northern Wei Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi (365–448) is also recorded in the *History of the Sui Dynasty (Sui shu)* as having commissioned Taoist images of Celestial Worthies *(tianzun)* for a temple near the imperial capital.[10] The majority of Taoist sculptures that survive from the Six Dynasties period come from the area around Xi'an in Shaanxi province. The four sixth-century examples included here range in date from 515 to 587 (late Northern Wei to Sui dynasties).

Images of the deified Laozi (now known as Taishang Laojun, or Supreme Lord Lao) are most often found on stone stelae, usually carved from sandstone or limestone.[11] The first stele, from the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, bears an inscription dated to 515, corresponding to the fourth year of the Yanchang reign of the Northern Wei dynasty (cat. no. 29). At this time China was divided between north and south, with the Turkic Toba ruling the Northern Wei (386–534), and Chinese emperors ruling the Liang dynasty (502–557). The Osaka stele is stylistically characteristic of many Taoist and Buddhist sculptures that have been found in the vicinity of Xi'an, an area that was part of the Northern Wei state in the early sixth century. This area played an important role in religious Taoism from the fifth century onward. One of the most sacred Taoist sites is the Observation Platform

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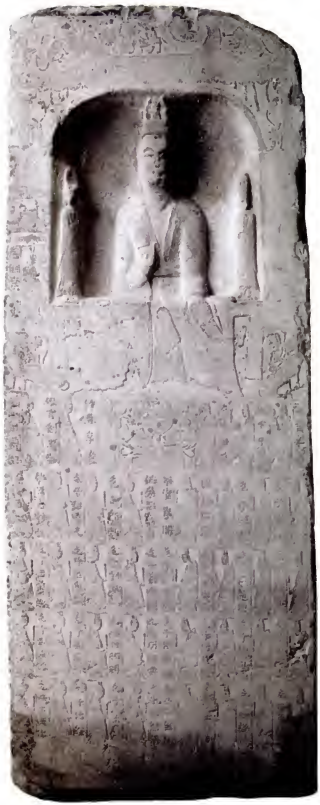

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(Louguan Tai), located at the base of the Zhongnan Mountains, about sixty kilometers southwest of Xi'an. This is where Yin Xi watched for the purple aura that filled the sky as Laozi approached on his ox as he left for the Western Regions, and where Laozi transmitted the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi.[12]

In its focus on a large central image of the deified sage, the Osaka stele is typical of a format commonly encountered among many Taoist sculptures from the Six Dynasties period. This figure sits in meditation and holds a fan in his right hand; this would become a standard attribute of the deified Laozi in Chinese art. He has a mustache, and on his head is a Taoist priest's cap. Carved in low relief behind Laozi are two intertwined dragons and circular images of the sun and moon. A border of coiled motifs, perhaps clouds, appears at the very top of the stele. The deified Laozi is flanked by smaller standing attendants, one of whom clasps his hands together, while the other holds a vase and a cup. Below the figure of Laozi is a scene depicting two standing worshippers making obeisance before an incense burner; as Kristofer Schipper has pointed out, in Taoism, "the offering of incense in the burner is the essential element of worship."[13] The stele's inscription is short, beginning on the right side with the date ("On the fifth day of the fourth month of the fourth year of the Yanping reign" [i.e., 515]), and concluding on the lower front with a list of donors; the latter section has suffered from damage.[14] The back and left sides are unadorned.

Scholars have long assumed that the basic format seen here—the large figure of the deified Laozi flanked by two attendants—was borrowed from the prevailing style of Buddhist sculpture, in which a central Buddha was flanked by smaller figures of bodhisattvas; this observation appears entirely correct. In addition, as Jean James has shown, the formula for many of the dedicatory inscriptions on early Taoist stelae were also borrowed from contemporary Buddhist practice.[15] While we know nothing of the precise mechanics of such borrowing, it appears to have been analogous to the well-documented borrowing of textual and ritual elements from Buddhism by early Taoists in the fourth and fifth centuries.[16]

Until recently the identity of the figures flanking the deified Laozi on such stelae has been a mystery. An inscription on the back of a Northern Wei stele in the Field Museum, undated but close in style and date to the Osaka stele, identifies the two flanking figures as Yin Xi (Yin xiansheng) and Zhang Ling (Zhang Ling xiansheng).[17] The figures are significant because these were the first human beings to receive revelations from Laozi. It was to Yin Xi that Laozi first transmitted the *Daode jing* (see cat. no. 1), while Zhang Ling (Zhang Daoling) was the first

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human being to experience a vision of the deified Laozi (later known as the Supreme Lord Lao [Taishang Laojun], or Celestial Worthy of the Tao and its Power [Daode tianzun], or merely Celestial Worthy [*tianzun*]). One result of Zhang Daoling's vision was his reception of the title "Celestial Master" *(tianshi)* from Laozi.[18] It is possible that the figures flanking the deified Laozi on many Six Dynasties and Tang (618–906) period Taoist sculptures also depict Yin Xi and Zhang Daoling. In later Taoist tradition, both Yin and Zhang became immortals.[19]

The large Northern Wei stele in the Forest of Stelae (Beilin) Museum, Xi'an, bears an inscription dated 517 (cat. no. 30).[20] Carved two years after the Osaka stele, it is over six feet tall and is four-sided, with niches carved into each side. The stele is extraordinary in that the primary image on the front is the deified Laozi, while the primary image on the back is the Buddha Shakyamuni.[21] Laozi is identified by his Taoist cap, the fan he holds in his right hand, and his mustache; the Buddha is identified by his *urna* (the raised bump at the top of his cranium), his *usnisa* (the tuft of hair at the center of his forehead), and the sacred gesture of his right hand, which is raised in *abhaya mudra*, signifying the absence of fear. The two figures are flanked by attending immortals and bodhisattvas, respectively. Laozi sits under a pavilion with *weichi* (owl's tail) finials at the ends of the ridge-beam.

The ecumenical nature of this work is emphasized by the careful attention to detail in the depiction of the Buddha and bodhisattvas and by the presence among the donors of two Buddhist monks *(bhikshu)* with shaved heads, their monastic names inscribed, flanking the bodhisattvas. This part of the stele could easily be mistaken for a Buddhist sculpture. The syncretic appearance, however, may be illusory. The stele lists over sixty donors, more than half of whom are members of the Lü family, and two of these are listed as Taoist priests *(daoshi)*. The overwhelmingly Taoist spirit of the stele is suggested by the many Taoist given names among the lay donors: Daoguang (Radiance of the Tao), Daonu (Servant of the Tao), Daoqi (Ascendance of the Tao), and Daozhen (Prize the Tao). There are different interpretations of the mixed Taoist and Buddhist images on such works.[22]

To either side of Laozi's throne are immortals riding on mythical beasts; both the figures and their mounts turn to look at each other. Immediately below the figure of Laozi is a large incense burner entwined by two dragons, with three donors facing the censer on each side. In all there are five registers of donors below the niche containing the deified Laozi. On the back, a canopy with stylized flames appears above the Buddha's niche, above which are many heads of celestial beings. A celestial angel

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appears at the left, and what may be a reborn soul emerging from a lotus flower appears at the right. Mythical beasts crouch to either side of the Buddha's throne, one of which has an elfin rider. Below is an incense burner entwined by dragons, just as on the front of the stele. The fact that several of the donors on this side of the stone are unnamed and the existence of blank spaces among the donors suggest that the front side was filled up with names first, with others then added on the back.

The stele's left side has a niche showing a priest or immortal seated with his hands folded in his lap. This figure wears the same cap as Laozi and his attendants, and is clearly Taoist. The three donors named as Taoist priests appear directly below this figure. While this figure is unidentified, he, like Laozi, sits under a pavilion with owl's tail roof finials. Four celestial angels resembling Buddhist *apsaras* soar through the air above. The stele's right side has a niche that appears to have contained a single figure of the bodhisattva Maitreya; the figure's head is missing, however, so its identity is not clear. The stele's dedication appears below this niche and comprises nine vertical columns of standard script, ending with the date, "The second year of the Xiping reign, the cyclical year *dingyou*" (i.e., 517).

The significance of the Beilin stele lies in the way in which it demonstrates the fluid boundary between early Taoism and Buddhism, giving equal place to the deified Laozi and the Buddha. While the precise mechanisms that determined the iconographic structure of such stelae remain unclear, works of this type clearly reflect the openness of the Chinese people to other religions and other gods. This fluid boundary allowed Taoism to accommodate other traditions and beliefs, among which were cults to local gods and immortals (see section III.1, "Taoism and Popular Religion"). In other inscribed examples from the sixth and early seventh centuries, Buddhist and Taoist titles of both deities and donors are often seemingly mixed up, as in the case when the central deity is Taoist, but the donors list themselves as Buddhist disciples, and vice versa.[23] The large numbers of Buddhist sculptures from the same area of Shaanxi province suggest that Taoism and Buddhism flourished side-by-side in this area during the late Northern Wei dynasty and were not necessarily seen as mutually exclusive systems of belief. Stephen Bokenkamp has suggested that by this time Taoists in Shaanxi had absorbed certain doctrines from the new Lingbao scriptures from southern China (see cat. nos. 53, 56).[24]

By the mid-sixth century, the arrangement of figures seen on the Northern Wei sculptures had become even more formalized. The Northern Qi dynasty (550–577) Taoist stele in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Arts (cat. no. 31), dated 554, is a good example. This stele is carved from limestone and has niches with the deified Laozi on all four sides. The front and back present the seated Laozi with two standing attendants. On the front, the figure of Laozi holds his usual attribute, a fan. These niches appear against a background of low-relief carvings, executed with great vitality; these include flying celestial figures among scudding clouds, an ornate arch above the niche, standing attendants to either side, and a censer, kneeling attendants, and lions below. Following the dedication and the cyclical date *jiaxu* (554) is a long list of donors.[25] A similar though undated Taoist stele is in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Many Taoist images survive from the Sui dynasty (581–618), during which China was reunited after over three centuries of disunion. The small stele in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, presents a niche with the triad of the deified Laozi with two standing attendants who hold tablets (cat. no. 32). Behind Laozi's head is a lotus-shaped halo. On either side of this central group are two seated lions. The inscription, carved below, reads:

> On the twenty-ninth day, [the cyclical day] *renshen* of the sixth month *(jiachen)* of the seventh year of the Kaihuang reign of the Great Sui [dynasty], the Taoist *[daomin]* Su Zun respectfully had commissioned a sculpture of Lord Lao [Laojun], above for seven generations of fathers and mothers, for the father and mother who gave him birth, and all his dependents and relatives. May they all achieve the Tao *[cheng Dao]* at one time.

This group of sixth-century Taoist stelae reflect the development and proliferation of images of Laozi during the Six Dynasties and Sui periods. These sculptures set the stage for images of the succeeding Tang dynasty, when the deified sage was appropriated as the divine ancestor of the imperial house.

—S. L.

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Stele with the Deified Laozi and the Jade Emperor

Northern Wei dynasty, Longxu reign, dated 527
Sandstone
27.8 × 27.5 cm
National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing

This finely carved stele appears to depict the deified Laozi with the Jade Emperor or Jade Thearch (Yuhuang).[1] The two primary figures are seated side-by-side in identical postures.[2] Both figures are bearded and wear the caps of Taoist priests. Their beards extend down over their hands, which are turned outward; their faces radiate expressions of calm detachment, with meditative, half-closed eyes. Behind them stand three smaller figures. Seated lions are carved in low relief on either side of the two primary figures. An inscription at the upper left identifies the larger figure on the left as Yuhuang shi (Master Jade Emperor).[3] This may be the earliest surviving depiction of the Jade Emperor in Chinese art.

The back of the stele is divided into two horizontal registers, carved with scenes depicting the stele's donors in low relief. At the top is an ox cart, with a female attendant next to the ox, and a female figure walking behind. Judging from the inscription to the immediate left of this scene, the standing female figure is probably Wang Ashan, the primarly donor of the stele. The lower register is divided into two scenes, both of which depict riders on horseback, attended by servants holding parasols.

The left side of the stele is inscribed, "On the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month of the first year of the Longxu reign [527], the female officer *[nüguan]* Wang Ashan commissioned two sculptures. May my mother and son long have virtuous households." The inscription continues on the back, in three sections: 1) "The Taoist female officer Wang Ashan [who] rides in a cart"; 2) "The niece Feng Wufang [who] rides on a horse"; 3) "The son Feng Faxing [who] rides on a horse." A similar sculpture in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, bears an inscription dated to 515, and may have come from the same workshop.[4]

One of the earliest scriptural sources for the Jade Emperor is the *Supreme Secret Essentials (Wushang biyao)*, a Taoist compendium dating to the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581).[5] By the Tang dynasty (618–906), awareness of the Jade Emperor was widespread among literati.[6] During the reign of the Northern Song dynasty emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), worship of the Jade Emperor was made part of the imperial cult.

The earliest recorded painting of the Jade Emperor was created in the tenth century by Shike in Shu (modern Sichuan). The painting was significant for its depiction of the Jade Emperor holding court, as the head of a vast pantheon:

> Assembled in the sovereign's presence are the celestial immortals *[tianxian]* and numinous officials *[lingguan]*, the golden boys *[jintong]* and jade maidens *[yunü]*, the Three Officials [Sanguan, the gods of Heaven, Earth, and Water; see cat. nos. 69–71], the Supreme Unity [Taiyi], the Seven Primes [Qiyuan, the gods of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper], the Four Saints [Sisheng; see cat. no. 107], the constellations everywhere, the deities of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, the lords of hills and streams, all rulers of the regions above or below the Earth.[7]

The Jade Emperor, perceived as the head of the popular pantheon, played an increasingly vital role in Chinese religion from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward. The Jade Emperor occupies a key position that bridges the Taoist and popular pantheons. Several Taoist gods, such as Zhenwu and Yisheng (see cat. no. 107), were called to serve as gods by the Jade Emperor,[8] and images of the Jade Emperor are often seen in Taoist temples today.

—S. L.

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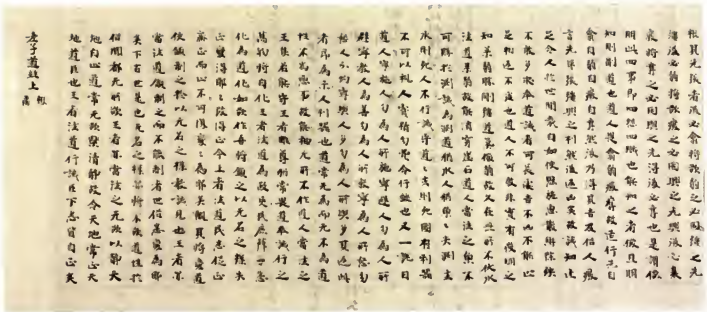

(detail)

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The Xiang'er Commentary to Laozi's Scripture of the Way, Upper Roll

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Northern Wei dynasty, early 6th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
26.7 × 900 cm
The British Library, London, Oriental and India Office Collections (Stein 6825)

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THE *XIANG'ER COMMENTARY* is a highly polemic Taoist work that is universally critical of other traditions, including the Five Classics of Confucianism. The commentary is truncated at the beginning, starting with chapter 3 of the modern edition of the *Daode jing* and continuing only to chapter 37. As in contemporaneous Buddhist texts, there are seventeen characters per column of text. The calligraphy has a balanced, architectonic appearance. Based on similarities with dated Buddhist scrolls from Dunhuang, this work most likely dates to the early sixth century.[1] An unrelated text appears on the back of the scroll, written in a much more informal script.

For a number of reasons, the *Xiang'er Commentary* to the *Daode jing* is one of the most important, most fascinating, and most perplexing of all early Taoist writings. First, its calligraphic style suggests that it was written two centuries before most of the other Taoist manuscripts found at Dunhuang, making it one of the earliest original sources on the Taoist religion.[2] Second, it is one of the earliest commentaries on the *Daode jing* to be influenced by religious Taoism. Together with the *Stanzas of the Lord on the River (Heshang gong zhangju)* commentary,[3] it is our earliest source for understanding how the *Daode jing* was seen within the religion that revered it above all other scriptures. Moreover, the *Xiang'er* and *Heshang gong* commentaries often stand in direct opposition to each other. When placed together, these two commentaries seem to suggest the earliest controversy on how to interpret the *Daode jing* within religious Taoism.

Finally, the *Xiang'er* is important for the role it has played in modern scholarship. Because of the difficulties involved in dating the composition of the scripture, and the significance that this dating holds for our understanding of the early development of Taoism, this brief, incomplete commentary is one of the most controversial of all early Taoist texts. Some Six Dynasties (420–589) sources attribute this commentary to Zhang Lu, the third patriarch of the Celestial Master tradition, the earliest and most fundamental of all the traditions that formed Taoism. Lu successfully established an independent theocracy when the Han dynasty collapsed, ruling for decades before he finally submitted to the kingdom of Wei in 215; he was enfeoffed by the Wei court, and his teachings gradually spread throughout China. He is believed to have been responsible for much of the early codification of the Celestial Master church. There are, however, virtually no writings that can be confidently attributed to Lu. Thus, if he did produce the *Xiang'er,* this commentary would be an extremely significant primary source for understanding early Celestial Master doctrines.[4]

At the same time, though, it was common in the Six Dynasties period to attribute writings to Lu or his grandfather Zhang Ling (Zhang Daoling), the first patriarch of the movement, since these two men were the most highly respected figures in the history of the church. The very attribution of a text to one of them makes it immediately suspect. Consequently, some scholars have suggested that the *Xiang'er* was not written until the Six Dynasties period, probably during the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479).[5] There is substantial evidence on both sides of this controversy, but the argument for a later date finds support in the fact that many of the terms and ideas appearing in this text have no outside precedents until the Six Dynasties period. For example, the *Xiang'er* uses the term "Taoism" *(daojiao)* as a reference to its religious competitors; the first texts other than the *Xiang'er* to use this term as a reference to the religion of Taoism date to the fifth century, two centuries after the supposed creation of the *Xiang'er.*[6] Consequently, if the *Xiang'er* was written by Zhang Lu, it would substantially change our understanding of many of the key doctrines and terms of Taoism, including even the name of the religion. On the other hand, if this text was written in the Six Dynasties and only attributed to Lu, which would seem to be more in accordance with the ideas it expresses, then the *Xiang'er* could be understood as a reactionary movement against the innovations of the fifth century, when Taoism as we know it today was first codified. This gives the *Xiang'er* a very different context, but does not diminish its importance, since according to this interpretation it would represent one of the earliest, if not the first, internal challenges to the newly formed religion of Taoism in the early Six Dynasties period.

—S. E.

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Wang Liyong (active 1120–after 1145)
The Transformations of Lord Lao

Southern Song dynasty, early 12th century
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
44.7 × 188.4 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Purchase, Nelson Trust (48-17)

Shown in Chicago only

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As THE LEGENDS around Laozi developed, he gradually changed from a figure limited by time and space to a deity with the power to appear in different places at different times, repeatedly taking human form as an imperial instructor to guide the development of Chinese civilization. The deification of Laozi was already under way in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220).[1] During the medieval period, the names taken by Laozi during these early manifestations were standardized,[2] and a list of scriptures revealed to each ancient ruler was developed.[3] In addition, by this time Laozi was given credit for transmitting to each of these emperors the fundamental developments of Chinese civilization, from fire and farming to the Eight Trigrams (see cat. no. 14).

In this handscroll Wang Liyong depicts ten manifestations of Laozi, and he indicates the names the deified sage took during each appearance, the cultural advances he taught to each ruler, and the scriptures he revealed to them. These can be summarized as follows:

1. In the beginning of the *Chiming* world age *(jie* or *kalpa)*, he transmitted the "Numinous Treasure" (Lingbao) scriptures;[4] in the beginning of the following *Kaihuang* world age, he transmitted the "Cavern of Divinity" (Dongshen) scriptures.[5] These revelations were accompanied by his manifestation to the most ancient Chinese rulers, the "Three Emperors" (Sanhuang), under the name of Master Gu.

2. In the time of Suiren, the legendary ruler credited with the discovery of fire,[6] Laozi appeared as the Imperial Lord of the Golden Tower (Jinque dijun).

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3. In the time of Fuxi, the inventor of the Eight Trigrams, Laozi appeared as Yuhuazi and transmitted the *Scripture of Primordial Yang (Yuanyang jing)*.

4. In the time of Shennong, the inventor of crop cultivation, Laozi appeared as Dachengzi and revealed the *Scripture of Primordial Essence (Yuanjing jing)*.

5. In the time of Jurong, the inventor of metal casting, Laozi appeared as Guangshouzi and revealed the *Scripture of Massage Which Circulates Essence (Anmo tongjing jing)*.

6. In the time of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi; see cat. no. 36), China's first great martial ruler and caster of nine magical tripods, Laozi appeared as Guangchengzi and revealed the *Scripture of the Utmost Way and Great Life (Zhidao taisheng jing)*.

7. In the time of Emperor Yao, Laozi appeared as Zhenxingzi and revealed the *Scripture of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao jing)*.

8. In the time of Emperor Shun, Laozi appeared as Xueyizi and revealed the *Scripture of Great Clarity (Taiqing jing)*.

9. In the time of Yu, who undertook massive land reclamation projects throughout China, Laozi appeared as Wuchengzi and revealed the *Scripture of Opening the Heavens (Kaitian jing)*.[3]

10. In the time of Tang of the Yin (Shang) dynasty, Laozi appeared as Chuanyuzi and (again) revealed the *Scripture of the Numinous Treasure*.

For the most part, the first six of these manifestations agree with the Northern Song biography of Laozi entitled *Biography of the One Who Seems like a Dragon* (*Youlong zhuan*; HY 773), compiled by Jia Shanxiang during the reign of Emperor Zhezong (*r.* 1085–1100), a few decades before this painting was made. Manifestations 7 through 10, however, do not correspond to the standard biographies of Laozi in the Taoist Canon. Wang may have been working with a source corrupted by scribal errors, since the names for manifestations 7 and 9 have been reversed; but other details of these manifestations do not agree with the standard sources.

The idea of Laozi's transformations had a significant impact on the development of the Taoist religion. Laozi came to be understood as instructor and special patron of the imperial family, an idea that gained strength as Taoism began to vie with Buddhism for imperial support. This doctrine culminated in the identification of the members of the Tang ruling house as the descendants of the Elder Lord himself, although it defined the relationship between the Taoist church and imperial court and served as a tool for political legitimation both before and after the Tang dynasty.

The signature by Wang Liyong at the end of this handscroll is preceded by the character *chen* ("servant" or "official"), indicating that this was an imperially commissioned painting. In addition, seals of Emperor Gaozong of the Song dynasty (*r.* 1127–62) suggest that the painting was commissioned by him and painted between 1134 and 1162.[4] Wang Liyong was a native of Tongzhou, Sichuan, and obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1120, during the reign of Emperor Huizong. After the Song capital was moved to Lin'an (Hangzhou), he served under Emperor Gaozong as a secretary in the imperial library. He was known for his talent as a calligrapher and figure painter, as well as for his knowledge of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*. The scroll also bears two colophons by the great Ming dynasty collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590).

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Wu Wei (1459–1508)
Discussing the Tao (Guangchengzi and the Yellow Emperor)

Ming dynasty, c. 1500
Handscroll; ink on paper
30 × 97.5 cm
Tianjin Municipal Art Museum

Of the early manifestations of the deified Laozi, none was as frequently depicted in art as Master of Vast Attainment (Guangchengzi), the spiritual advisor of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), traditionally believed to have lived in the third millennium B.C. The Yellow Emperor was seen as an ancestor of the Chinese people and a master of esoteric wisdom.[1] During the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), a blending of ideas attributed to two different schools of thought, traced to Laozi and the Yellow Emperor, gave rise to the so-called Huang-Lao school.[2]

The earliest text to describe the meeting between Huangdi and Guangchengzi, said to have occurred on Emptiness and Identity Mountain (Kongtong Shan—traditionally believed to be in Gansu province), is the eleventh chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, thought to have been compiled by the early second century B.C.[3] According to this narrative, the Yellow Emperor visited Guangchengzi and asked him about the Tao, saying that he would like to use this knowledge to nourish the people, and to "control *yin* and *yang* in order to insure the growth of all living things."[4] Guangchengzi responded by pointing out that instead of concerning himself with the world, the Yellow Emperor should focus on perfecting himself. The Yellow Emperor then gave up his throne and retired to a simple hut, where he lived alone for three months. He later asked Guangchengzi what he should do to master his own being and live a long life. Master Guangcheng then revealed that in order to pursue the Perfect Way, the Yellow Emperor had to cultivate emptiness and tranquility and distance himself from what was outside of himself.[5]

Wu Wei (1459–1508) was one of the great court painters of the Ming dynasty.[6] In this handscroll, Guangchengzi appears on the right, under a pine tree, while the Yellow Emperor sits facing him, sitting slightly lower than his teacher on a gently sloping hill. This theme is often encountered in Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasty painting, and owed its popularity in part to the perceived need for any ruler to be in harmony with the Tao in order to lead the people.[7] The Tianjin Museum scroll has a colophon by the Manchu calligrapher Tiebao (1752–1824), consisting of a transcription in standard script of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting jing*; see cat. no. 128), dated 1817.

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LIANG KAI (ACTIVE EARLY 13TH CENTURY)
Liberating the Soul from the Netherworld

Southern Song dynasty, early 13th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
26 × 73.9 cm
Mr. and Mrs. Wan-go H. C. Weng Collection

ONE OF THE FINEST surviving examples of Taoist painting from the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), this handscroll is also a rare early work by the painter Liang Kai. Painted in the refined *baimiao* (uncolored line drawing) technique, the scroll presents a visionary scene in which a Taoist god and his celestial entourage appear to a Taoist priest. On either side are smaller scenes relating to the primary theme of the scroll: liberation of the soul from the underworld.

Taken as a whole, this painting describes the magical operation whereby the souls of the Taoist faithful were liberated from the netherworld through a combination of religious and secular actions that assured the practitioner a place in the ranks of the celestial offices. The balanced composition of the painting highlights this combination. Each scene within a Taoist temple on the right corresponds to a scene in the secular world on the left: the ritual for the liberation of the patron's ancestors in the lower right, for example, is paired with the liberation of the patron's own soul in the lower left; the vegetarian feast in the middle right is paired with the freeing of captive animals in the middle left; and the commissioning of religious images in the upper right is paired with the giving of alms in the upper left. The central image of the Taoist priest in audience with a celestial deity joins the sacred and secular worlds, and shows the power of the Taoist priest to transform the secular into the sacred through the

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medium of Taoist ritual, which infuses the secular world with the sacred energy *(qi)* of the divine.

One particularly effective compositional element of the painting is the fact that the netherworld in the lower left lies just on the borders of the secular world. There is actually a gateway between the two, and the walls of the netherworld extend beyond the borders of the lower left-hand scene into the secular scene in the middle left. This conjunction gives the netherworld a presence not seen in many other paintings with similar themes and demonstrates Liang Kai's mastery of composition.

The theme of this painting received its principal exposition in the Numinous Treasure scriptures, especially the *Scripture of Conveyance (Duren jing)*, which by Liang Kai's time was becoming the most important of all Taoist scriptures; this scripture is still put in the most honored place in the present Taoist Canon from the Ming dynasty.[3] In particular, the "refinement and conveyance" *(liandu)* funerary rituals that developed around this scripture were especially popular during Liang's lifetime, and may have been a direct influence on the painting.[2]

The artist's signature, reading "[Your] servant *[chen]*, Liang Kai," can be found in the bottom left-hand corner of the painting. The presence of the character *chen* indicates that the painting was imperially commissioned at the Southern Song court in Lin'an (Hangzhou). During the Jiatai reign (1201–04) of Emperor Ningzong, Liang served as a painter-in-attendance *(daizhao)* at the imperial court. He is best known for his monochrome ink paintings of Chan (Zen) themes, many of which are preserved in Japan. This handscroll serves as important evidence that this great Buddhist artist painted Taoist themes as well, and titles of several other paintings by Liang with Taoist themes are also recorded, though none have been preserved.[3] Another surviving work that Liang painted for the imperial court is *The Buddha Shakyamuni Descending from the Mountain*, now owned by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo.[4]

The painting is followed by a copy of Wang Xizhi's *Scripture of the Yellow Court* (cat. no. 128) attributed to the great Yuan dynasty calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322); Zhao's signature, however, is a forgery, and the writing was actually done by a later calligrapher in his style. The contents of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* are unrelated to the theme of Liang's painting, and this text was probably added solely because the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* was a popular calligraphic text and contained Taoist themes. Following the transcription are colophons by the scholars Wang Zhideng (1535–1612) and Da Zhongguang (1623–1692). Liang Kai's handscroll is erroneously recorded in Wu Qizhen's *Record of Calligraphy and Painting (Shuhua ji;* c. 1677) as *Deities of the Scripture of the Yellow Court*.[5]

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卓白老坐小象

38

Portrait of Tao Hongjing

Yuan dynasty, 14th century
Album leaf; ink and light color on paper
36.7 × 30.4 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

THIS ALBUM LEAF depicts the Six Dynasties period Taoist master Tao Hongjing (456–536). It is accompanied by a colophon, dated 1344, comprising a short biography of Tao, written by the Yuan dynasty Taoist Zhang Tianyu (1283–1350). Originally from Qiantang (modern Zhejiang), Zhang Tianyu lived on Mount Mao, the site of Tao Hongjing's residence during his retirement, and he was, therefore, an especially appropriate person to comment on this portrait.

Tao Hongjing was one of the most prominent political figures of the Southern Qi (479–502) and Liang (502–557) dynasties.[1] He served as a high-ranking minister during the Southern Qi, and instructed the imperial princes in the Confucian classics. Although he retired from office in 492, he remained influential well into the next dynasty, and was known as the "hermit Grand Councillor" during the reign of Liang Wudi (r. 502–49). Tao had many other accomplishments as well: he was one of the most distinguished literati of the Southern Qi–Liang period, associated with figures such as the great poet Shen Yue (441–513), and he was a gifted painter and calligrapher. His correspondence with Emperor Liang Wudi is preserved in the first major compilation of treatises on calligraphy, the *Essential Record of Calligraphy (Fashu yaolu)*, compiled in the Tang dynasty. As Lothar Ledderose has shown, it is in Tao Hongjing's writings that the first mention of tracing copies of calligraphy appears.[2] A stone inscription attributed by many scholars to Tao, the "Inscription on the Burial of a Crane" *(Yihe ming)*, influenced the calligraphic styles of Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), two of the greatest calligraphers of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126). Ironically, Huang Tingjian claimed that the inscription was by Wang Xizhi (see cat. no. 128); it was Huang Bosi (1079–1118) who first identified it as the work of Tao Hongjing.[3] Tao was also prominent for his scientific endeavors: in addition to alchemical experiments, he was famous for his astronomical charts (see cat. no. 18) and his design of a water-clock.[4] He experimented with techniques for forging swords and is said to have presented to Liang Wudi swords of exceptional quality, intended for the practice of "corpse liberation" (see cat. nos. 58–59).[5]

For later generations, however, Tao's greatest achievement was probably the work he did collecting, editing, and annotating the fragmentary manuscripts of the original Highest Purity revelations (cat. no. 55). This work resulted in two major compilations, *Hidden Explanations for Ascending to the Perfected (Dengzhen yinjue;* HY 421) and *Declarations of the Perfected (Zhen'gao;* HY 1010). The Highest Purity revelations formed the basis for the first of the Three Caverns, the "Cavern of Perfection" section, and yet virtually everything we know about the earliest formulation of this scriptural tradition comes from Tao's writings. In addition, Tao described in some detail the later development of this tradition during the Six Dynasties period, so that his work is the foremost source for understanding the entire first century of development for the Cavern of Perfection scriptures.

Tao's studies of the Highest Purity manuscripts led him to become critical of the mainstream tradition of Taoism. He claimed, for example, that the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao) scriptures—which formed the second of the Three Caverns, the "Cavern of Mystery" section—were nothing more than "fabrications" in imitation of earlier Highest Purity writings. In addition, he criticized many of his predecessors, including Lu Xiujing (406–477), who he claimed had intentionally suppressed genuine manuscripts in favor of later corrupted editions. As a result, Tao did not support many of the Taoist doctrines that were already becoming standard by the middle of the Six Dynasties period. Before the end of the Six Dynasties period, however, Tao's own work was reincorporated into Taoist orthodoxy and became a part of the mainstream tradition.

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Deified Laozi

Tang dynasty, late 7th/early 8th century
Limestone
H. 56 cm
Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne; acquisition made possible by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Land of Northrhine-Westphalia, the Association of the Friends of the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne, and an anonymous private donor (Bc92.2)

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Deified Laozi

Tang dynasty (618–906)
Limestone
145 × 64 cm
Shanghai Museum

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Head of the Deified Laozi

Tang dynasty, 8th century
Marble
H. 43.2 cm
The Field Museum, Chicago, Mrs. T. B. Blackstone Expedition, Berthold Laufer Collection (121488)

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Stele with the Deified Laozi and Donors

Tang dynasty, Kaiyuan reign, dated 726
Sandstone
H. 45.7 cm
The Field Museum, Chicago, Gift of Duan Fang (32362)

THE WORSHIP OF the deified Laozi in religious Taoism reached a new level of significance during the Tang dynasty (618–906). In this period, Laozi was appropriated as the divine ancestor of the Tang imperial family, for both political and spiritual legitimacy. The fact that the ancient sage (now a god) and the Tang emperors shared the same surname (Li) helped make this possible. In 625 Emperor Gaozu announced that Taoism should be ranked ahead of Confucianism and Buddhism (in that order), and in 626 the direct connection between Taoism and the Tang ruling house was clearly articulated.[1] The increasingly important role of Laozi came about in part through the activities at the court of a Taoist priest of the Louguan (Observation Platform) Temple near Xi'an, Yin Wencao (622–688), who claimed to be a descendant of Yin Xi (to whom Laozi had first transmitted the *Daode jing*).[2] In 666, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong, the deified Laozi was given a new title, Supreme Emperor of Mystery Prime (Taishang xuanyuan huangdi).[3] In 675 a new edition of the Taoist Canon was compiled, and in 678 the *Daode jing* became a required text in the civil service examination system.[4] In 730, during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (Minghuang), imperially sponsored lectures on the *Daode jing* were held at the court in Chang'an (Xi'an), and two years later copies of the text were inscribed onto stone tablets, along with a commentary by the emperor.[5] An imperial order was promulgated in 733 to the effect that every household in China should own a copy of the *Daode jing*. Subsequently, in 743, during the Tianbao reign, Laozi began to be worshipped in the imperial ancestral temple. As Livia Kohn has written,

> These numerous manifestations and visions of the deity [Laozi] recorded in official inscriptions under the Tang were not only placed in various, often newly emerging, places of sacred impact but also show a completely different Lord Lao. No longer the far-distant cosmic creator and abstract symbol of cosmic harmony and state perfection, he has become the concerned ancestor of the ruler of the new dynasty, a deity who is close to humanity both as the third god of the trinity [the Sanqing; see cat. nos. 65–67] (and thus the teaching aspect of the Tao) and because he has active family ties on earth and is a responsible and caring ancestor to his descendants.[6]

Under Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–55), who was ordained as a Taoist priest, Taoism increasingly became a vehicle for con-

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solidating political legitimacy.[7] In 741 Xuanzong decreed that Taoist temples should be established throughout China, in the two imperial capitals (Chang'an and Luoyang) and in every prefectural capital; these were to be called Temples for the Sovereign Emperor of Mystery Prime (Xuanyuan Huangdi Miao).[8]

Four Tang sculptures of the deified Laozi are included in this exhibition. While only one is dated by inscription, all four can be stylistically dated to the seventh or early eighth century. The limestone images from the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne, and the Shanghai Museum are typical of the new, Tang period image of Laozi, who is often presented as a single seated figure without the standing attending figures seen in sixth-century images. Furthermore, both textual and artistic evidence indicates that in the early Tang a new grouping emerged, namely the Three Purities, of which the deified Laozi was one, the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun). The others in this new triad of the highest gods of religious Taoism were the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun) and the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun). It is conceivable that the sculptures from Cologne and Shanghai were originally parts of such triads. In addition, while identified as the deified Laozi (Laojun, or Lord Lao), neither image holds a fan, the attribute by which Laozi is usually identified from the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) onward. Because of damage, the Shanghai image holds no attribute, while the Cologne image holds a *ruyi* scepter, an emblem of good fortune that was originally a symbol of debate.[9] Both figures were originally shown resting their arms on a curved support called a *ji*, only traces of which remain. In addition, both figures sit on thrones whose form is derived from the "Sumeru throne," so-called because in a Buddhist context it represented the Indian *axis mundi*, Mount Sumeru. The stylized

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lotus petals (images of purity) at the base of the throne in the Cologne sculpture are another element borrowed from Buddhist usage.

While broken and fragmentary, the large head of the deified Laozi in the Field Museum, Chicago (cat. no. 41), like the Shanghai image, conveys a brooding, mysterious presence seen in many Tang dynasty images of the god. Carved in marble, this image once belonged to a larger-than-life-size sculpture. The remains of a tripartite beard and the Taoist cap identify the figure as the deified Laozi, now a Celestial Worthy *(tianzun)*. Very few large-scale sculptural images of Lord Lao survive from the Tang dynasty; one of the largest known is now in the Forest of Stelae (Beilin) Museum, Xi'an (unpublished).

Another image in the Field Museum is a small sandstone stele dated 726. A 1907 gift to the museum from the Manchu viceroy Duan Fang (1861–1911), who visited Chicago in 1906, this stele is unusual in depicting the deified sage with the donor and his family. The god is seated on a throne at the upper center, against a mandorla of flames. The donor and his wife kneel to either side, their hands joined in veneration. Below, the donor's four daughters also kneel on either side of a flat, inscribed surface that reveals the date of this stele ("Fourteenth year of the Kaiyuan era" [726]). While rare, similar images are known: a small limestone stele in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts Laozi, two attendants, and the kneeling donor with his wife; this sculpture is dated 754, at the end of the Tianbao reign.

The dedication on the Field Museum stele reads:

> The son Yang Zhen respectfully made this image of the Celestial Worthy *(tianzun)* for his deceased daughter Ling Kong, seven generations of his fathers and mothers, his living family, and all the beings of the world. Completed on the twenty-first day of the third month of the fourteenth year of the Kaiyuan reign [726].

On the back of the stele are inscriptions in Chinese (inscribed into the stone) and English (written in ink) documenting the gift of the stele to the Field Museum.

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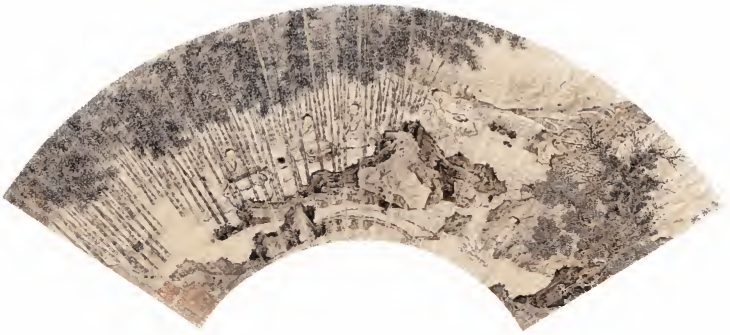

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Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1551/52)
The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove

Ming dynasty, c. 1540–50
Fan painting; ink and colors on gold-flecked paper
18.1 × 54.6 cm
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Asian Art Museum Foundation (B79 D51)

The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin qixian) were a group of poets, musicians, and scholar-officials active in the third century, in the vicinity of Jiankang (Nanjing), in south-central China.[1] The group included the musicians Xi Kang (223–262) and Ruan Ji (210–263), famous for their mastery of the *qin* zither and the *ruan* (a banjo-like instrument), respectively.[2] The other members of the group were Shan Tao (205–283), Wang Rong (234–305), Ruan Xian (234–305), Xiang Xiu, and Liu Ling.

The theme of the Seven Sages is often cited as a Taoist or "Neo-Taoist" subject.[3] The group's connection to the early religious Taoism of the Three Kingdoms period (220–280) was, however, tenuous. Instead, the Seven Sages were exemplars of Mystery Learning or Dark Learning (Xuanxue), a philosophical movement that sought understanding of the supreme reality (Tao) and questioned social conventions. The Xuanxue movement was ultimately derived from such texts as the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. As Erik Zürcher has shown, "it is useful to remember that Dark Learning was both created by and intended for *literati*, i.e., politicians and state officials, and definitely not by Taoist masters, hermits, or cave-dwelling mystics."[4] The Seven Sages lived at precisely the same moment that religious Taoism was beginning to spread beyond Sichuan province, the area of its first emergence. They sought the spiritual freedom taught in the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Many anecdotes about the Seven Sages are recorded in *A New Account of Tales of the World (Shishuo xinyu)*, compiled by Liu Yiqing (403–444).[5]

In Qiu Ying's fan painting, six of the sages are shown seated in a dense bamboo grove, situated next to a rushing stream. A seventh figure, accompanied by a servant, approaches the grove across a bridge at the lower right. Within the grove the zither player Xi Kang is clearly identifiable. He faces Ruan Ji, who plays the *ruan*.

This fan painting is a late work by Qiu Ying and is one of his finest surviving paintings. It is one of an album of ten Qiu Ying fans put together by the late Qing collector Pan Zhengwei (1791–1850).[6]

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Notes

Cat. nos. 29–32

1. Kohn 1998a: 39–40. The classic study of the *Laozi ming* is Seidel 1969a.
2. Kohn 1998a: 39.
3. Ibid.: 40.
4. The spirits of the four cardinal directions; see cat. no. 9.
5. On the cinnabar field (*dantian*), see cat. no. 128.
6. On the god Taiyi (Supreme Unity), see cat. no. 75.
7. Kohn 1998a: 40, citing Seidel 1969a: 123. The entire text of the *Laozi ming* is translated into French in Seidel 1969a: 122–28; the original Chinese text is on 129–30.
8. See Kamitsuka 1998: 64–66.
9. See Bokenkamp 1996–97: 64.
10. Ibid.: 64 n. 25, and Ware 1933: 248. On the activities of Kou Qianzhi, see Mather 1979.
11. For recent studies of Six Dynasties period Taoist sculpture, see Bokenkamp 1996–97; Abe 1996–97; Ishimatsu 1998; and Kamitsuka 1998.
12. The Louguan Tai is an active Quanzhen (Complete Realization) sect Taoist temple today; for a discussion of its history, see Chen 1985: 261–64. An alternate site (the Han'gu Pass, located to the east of Mount Hua, and south of the confluence of the Wei and Yellow rivers) was originally said to be the actual location of Laozi's transmission of the *Daode jing*; see Kohn 1998a: 20, 257–58. The shift of the site to the Louguan Temple occurred during the fifth and sixth centuries.
13. Schipper 1993: 22. It should be noted that incense burners are also frequently found in the decoration of sixth-century Buddhist stelae.
14. For a transcription of the inscription, see *Chūgoku no seki-butsu* 1995: 147, no. 89.
15. James 1989: 72.
16. See, for example, Zürcher 1980; and Bokenkamp 1996a: 269, in which Bokenkamp discusses the Taoist Lingbao texts (composed c. 400) as "the first Taoist scriptures to incorporate and redefine Buddhist beliefs, practices, and even portions of Buddhist scripture."
17. See the essay by Stephen Little in this volume, fig. 4.
18. On Zhang Daoling's visions of the deified Laozi in Sichuan in A.D. 142, 144, and 155, see Schipper 1993: 9–10, 57; Robinet 1997: 55; Kohn 1998a: 98, 300–302.
19. See the biographies of Yin Xi and Zhang Daoling in LXQZ.
20. Rubbings of the surface of this stele are published in *Seian hinin* 1966: pls. 29–31 (rubbings), text p. 10, and Zhang 1993: no. 12.
21. The earliest example of a work in which Buddhist and Taoist images are shown together is the Wei Wenlang stele of 424 (Northern Wei) in the Yaowang Shan Museum in Yaoxian, Shaanxi province; see Xiao Gaoshe 1991: pls. 1–8. Two similar examples to the stele of 517 exhibited here are in the Lintong City Museum, Shaanxi, and are dated 518–20 and 523; see Xiao Gaoshe 1991: pls. 63–68, 86–91.
22. Compare the approaches taken in Bokenkamp 1996–97 and Abe 1996–97.
23. See James 1989: 72–73.
24. Bokenkamp 1996–97: 63–66.
25. The inscription is transcribed in *Chūgoku no seki-butsu* 1995: 152.

Cat. no. 33

1. Previously published in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 1988: pl. 73. For an alternative identification of the two primary figures, see Abe 1996–97: 70.
2. The pairing of the two central figures resembles similar pairs in Buddhist art of the late Northern Wei dynasty (late fifth–early sixth century); these almost always depict the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, and the primordial Buddha, Prabhutaratna, sitting side-by-side in a stupa hovering in mid-air, a scene from the *Lotus Sutra*; see Davidson 1954: 1–6; fig. 1.
3. While Stanley Abe has suggested that the inscription reading *Yu Huang shi* is a later addition, I have examined the original sculpture carefully, and believe that the calligraphy is technically and stylistically coeval with that of the longer inscription on the back and side of the same stele; see Abe 1996–97: 70, n. 3.
4. Published in Sirén 1925, vol. 2: pl. 126B; and Abe 1996–97: fig. 1.
5. Lagerwey 1981: 126. In this text, the god is entitled Supreme Boundless Great Tao Vast Heavens Jade Emperor (Taishang wuji dadao haotian yuhuang shangdi).
6. The Jade Emperor is mentioned, for example, in poems by Han Yu (768–824), Liu Zongyuan (773–819), and Yuan Zhen (779–831); see Feng 1936: 245.
7. The painting is recorded in the *Deyuzhai huapin* by the Northern Song dynasty scholar Li Zhi; the translation is adapted from Soper 1949: 26–27.
8. See the account of Zhenwu's audience with the Jade Emperor in Seaman 1987: 112.

Cat. no. 34

1. See Ōfuchi 1991: 294–96. The entire text is translated in Bokenkamp 1997.
2. Most of what we know about Taoism comes from Ming dynasty (1368–1644) editions of Taoist scriptures contained in the Taoist Canon.
3. The *Heshang gong* commentary began during the Han dynasty, but seems to have been modified to include Taoist doctrines in the early Six Dynasties. See Kobayashi 1990: 241–68.
4. See Bokenkamp 1997: 29–77.
5. See Kobayashi 1990: 241–68, 328–56.
6. Prior to this, the term *daojiao* was understood more generally as the "teachings of the Way" and could be used as a reference to everything from Confucian texts to Buddhism. For the importance of formally establishing Taoism as a "teaching" (*jiao*), see Kobayashi 1991: 511–38.

Cat. no. 35

1. See Seidel 1969a for a study and translation of the earliest known writing to describe the many transformations of the Laozi, the Han dynasty *Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi* (*Laozi bianhua jing*).
2. The names given in the *Laozi bianhua jing* often differ from those of later times; the earliest list that accords with the later standard doctrine is found in HY 1196, which dates to the very beginning of the Liu-Song dynasty.
3. See HY 1425. This scripture apparently figured in the imperial debate of 626 which was sparked by the anti-Buddhist memorial by Fu Yi (554–639) presented to the court in 621. In a Buddhist polemic by the monk Minggai that resulted from this debate, the author of this scripture is identified as a certain Zhang Pan (dates unknown). The appearance of HY 1425 in this early-seventh-century debate suggests that it was already in existence by the end of the sixth century; see the *Guang hongming ji* (T 2103), *juan* 12.
4. These scriptures formed the basis for the second of the Three Caverns around which the present Ming dynasty Taoist Canon is arranged.
5. These scriptures form the third of the Three Caverns.
6. Laozi is here credited with the discoveries of each of these rulers.
7. HY 1425.
8. See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: no. 18, for a discussion the various seals on this painting. The seals of Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty are spurious.

Cat. no. 36

1. The Yellow Emperor is associated with the development of writing, sericulture, the calendar, music, mathematics, the arts of healing, and sexual techniques. See Yates 1997: 17, and Le Blanc 1985–86.
2. Among the texts attributed to this school are a series of Western Han dynasty (second century B.C.) manuscripts excavated in 1973 from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province; these are translated in Yates 1997: 103–53. There is some evidence that the Huang-Lao school originated in the state of Qi during the mid-Warring States period; see Yates 1997: 17–19.
3. A version of this story also appears in the *Master of Huainan (Huainanzi)*, dating to the second century B.C.; see Roth 1997: 57–58. Roth's article presents an extensive analysis of the story of the Yellow Emperor's meeting with Guangchengzi as recorded in the *Zhuangzi*. For yet another version of the story, found in the Tang dynasty Taoist text HY 1425, see Kohn 1993: 41. On Emptiness and Identity Mountain, see Min et al. 1994: 871.
4. Watson 1968: 119; for the Chinese text, see XYZDB: 144–45.
5. Watson 1968: 120.
6. Barnhart 1993: 223–41; see also Little 1991–92: 202–03. The Tianjin Municipal Art Museum scroll was previously published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 9: no. 7–0078.

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7. For another Ming example, see Christie's 1995: lot 35 (now in the Yale University Art Gallery); for a Qing example, see *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 1: 113, no. 7–025, and *New Interpretations of Ming and Qing Paintings* 1994: no. 35

Cat. no. 37

1. HY 1.
2. See Boltz 1983 and Boltz 1987a for a discussion of the *liandu* ritual in the Song dynasty (960–1279).
3. See Ferguson 1982 and NSYH, vol. 3: 1713.
4. Published in Loehr 1980.
5. SHJ, vol. 8: 59. This record is copied in NSYH, vol. 3: 1715. See the discussion of this painting in Lin 2000.

Cat. no. 38

1. See Strickmann 1979a for a detailed account of Tao Hongjing's life.
2. Ledderose 1979: 35.
3. See *Shodō zenshu* 1970–73, vol. 5, for a more detailed discussion of the *Yihe ming*. Strickmann 1979a: 155 provides further evidence from Tao's biography to support the attribution of the *Yihe ming* to him.
4. HY 300.
5. Tao's sword-making is discussed in Strickmann 1979a.

Cat. nos. 39–42

1. Barrett 1996: 27.
2. Kohn 1998a: 22–23.
3. Ibid.: 23; see also Barrett 1996: 32.
4. Barrett 1996: 37–38.
5. Ibid.: 56. See also Xiong 1996, which presents an excellent overview of Taoism during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong.
6. Kohn 1998a: 51.
7. Ibid.: 59.
8. See Xiong 1996: 263. On even earlier (seventh century) attempts to establish Taoist temples throughout the realm, see Barrett 1996: 31, 35.
9. See Davidson 1950: 242; as he shows, the original name of the *ruyi* was *tanbing*, or "discussion stick." The Cologne sculpture has been in Germany since 1929 and was previously published in Schlombs 1995. The presence of the *ruyi* scepter instead of a fan suggests that the Cologne image may actually represent the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun), who is often identified by a *ruyi* scepter (see cat. no. 66).

Cat. no. 43

1. The earliest known depiction of this theme dates to the fourth century, and comprises a group of impressed tiles excavated in 1960 from a tomb near Nanjing, Jiangsu province; see Soper 1980: fig. 1.
2. On Xi Kang, see Gulik 1941a.
3. See, for example, Laing 1974.
4. Zürcher 1972: 87. It is noteworthy that Ge Hong (283–343), author of the *Baopuzi* (*Master Who Embraces Simplicity*), criticized followers of the Xuanxue movement as "high-class idlers who disregard the rules of decorum and moral behavior and who waste their time in noisy gatherings 'falsely quoting *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*'"; see Zürcher 1972: 348 n. 11.
5. Mather 1976: 371 ff.
6. The album is recorded in TFLSHJ, *juan* 3: 235. The album bears a colophon by Wu Rongguang (1773–1843), dated 1841.

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RITUAL IS THE PRIMARY WAY in which human beings communicate with the gods who personify the Tao. Taoist ritual is a public event, designed to serve the needs of a community. The central figure in any Taoist ritual is the priest *(daoshi)*, who petitions the gods on behalf of the community he serves. Incorporating words, music, and dance, Taoist ritual is a performance closely linked to theater and may last from several hours to several days. In the course of a ritual, the priest visualizes his own return to the Tao, the source of all things. Among the sacred dance forms in Taoist ritual is the symbolic pacing of the stars of the Northern Dipper (the Big Dipper), the seat of the celestial bureaucracy of the gods.

The Taoist ritual space, or altar *(daochang* or *daotan)*, reflects the structure of the cosmos, and is visualized as a sacred mountain connecting the human and divine realms. The altar may be installed anywhere, and is taken apart when the ritual is complete. At the center of this sacred space is an incense burner, the most important of all ritual implements.

Taoist ritual can be broadly divided into two types: rituals for the living and the dead. In modern Taoism, the *jiao* is a rite of offering designed for the living, while the *zhai* is a rite of fasting for the spiritual well-being of the dead. The ultimate goal of both rituals is to reaffirm humanity's origins in the Tao and to celebrate the human covenant with the divine powers of the world.

Detail, cat. no. 49

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JIAO BINGZHEN (ACTIVE C. 1689–1726)
Taoist Ritual at the Imperial Court

Qing dynasty, c. 1723–1726
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
358 × 157 cm
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Purchase—Smithsonian Collections Acquisitions Program, and Partial Gift of Richard G. Pritzlaff (S1991.99)

THIS HANGING SCROLL shows a Taoist ritual being performed in a courtyard, on a three-tiered altar made of stacked tables. On top of the altar a young man, the patron of the ceremony, kneels in front of a table, while the Taoist priest officiating stands to his right under a parasol. An uninscribed plaque, perhaps a symbol of the principal deity to whom the ritual is directed, stands on the table, and the table is covered by a canopy, a traditional symbol of the heavens. On the ground to either side of the altar, musicians play wind and percussion instruments to accompany the ceremony.

When acquired by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, this painting was listed as representing "the Yongzheng emperor's nephew at a Taoist ceremony for the recovery of his father."[1] If this title is correct, then the painting would have been done sometime early in the Yongzheng reign (1723–35). The setting of the painting indicates that the ritual may have taken place in a private imperial residence rather than a Taoist temple, as is suggested by such details as the tiled courtyard and the potted plants and trees in the background. The theme suggests that this ceremony was a "fast" *(zhai)* ritual, one of the most important kinds of Taoist ceremonies. The fast ritual has an ancient history, first identified with the earliest Celestial Master movement at the end of the Han dynasty (second century); many descriptions of fast rituals, including personal accounts of participation in these rituals, survive from the medieval period.[2] Fast rituals were used for a wide variety of purposes, and well before the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) several types of fast rituals had developed, from ones intended for an individual to others celebrated for the entire country, with certain types of fast only being performed for the benefit of the imperial family or the emperor himself.

While there were many different kinds of fast rituals, they were most commonly commissioned for the benefit of a family member who was either ill, in which case the participants would pray for his or her quick recovery, or deceased, in which case the ritual would be performed to liberate the individual from the netherworld and enable him or her to ascend to the celestial paradises. The participants would subject themselves to ritualized penitence and self-denial as they confessed their and their families' wrongdoings, hoping thereby to gain merit and have their petitions heard by representatives of the celestial hierarchy. The merit they gained would then be transferred to the person for whom the ritual was being performed, in order to compensate for the accumulation of negative *karma* that had caused the illness or death. In this case, the emperor's nephew (if the subject has been correctly identified) would have performed ritual penitence in the hope that the merit he gained could be used to cure his father's illness, through the intercession of the Taoist priest who stands next to the uppermost altar table.

The most striking feature of this painting is the altar made from stacked tables. Three-tiered altars were already the most common type of Taoist altar by the Tang dynasty,[3] but early sources indicate that they were usually made from tamped earth. The use of tables in this ritual was probably a simplification necessitated by the setting, since a tamped-earth altar would have been difficult to build in the middle of a tiled courtyard in a private imperial residence. Although such simplifications are rarely mentioned in standard sources from the Taoist Canon, they are likely to have been common, given the circumstances of a particular ritual. They may often have been dictated by economic or practical concerns not taken into account by the theoretical works included in the Taoist Canon. Paintings such as this one therefore provide an important counterbalance to the image of Taoism gleaned solely from literary sources.

This painting is also of interest because it depicts a ritual commissioned by the Qing imperial family. The Qing dynasty rulers were active supporters of Esoteric Buddhism, but this painting serves as evidence that they patronized Taoism as well, and commissioned Taoist rituals for the benefit of members of the ruling house.[4]

—S. E.

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Taoist Ritual from The Plum in the Golden Vase

Qing dynasty, Kangxi reign, c. 1700
Album leaf; ink and colors on silk
39 × 31.2 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Uhlmann Family Fund, 1983 (F83-4/1)

THIS ALBUM LEAF illustrates chapter 66 of the sixteenth-century novel *The Plum in the Golden Vase (Jinping mei)*,[1] a Ming dynasty work that has been called by one translator "a landmark in the development of narrative art," compared to which "there is no earlier work of prose fiction of equal sophistication in world literature."[2] The painting depicts a Taoist funerary ritual commissioned by the principal character of the novel, Ximen Qing, for Li Ping'er, with whom he had had an illicit affair, and for whose death he was partly responsible by having forced her to take a dangerous aphrodisiac during her menstrual period.[3] The ritual was supervised by Huang Yuanbai, a high-ranking Taoist priest from the imperial court, and the caption next to the painting gives the title *Perfected Man Huang Sends Forth an Official Document Recommending the Deceased.* This painting is part of an album of over two hundred leaves, created at the Kangxi court and now dispersed, depicting the different chapters of *The Plum in the Golden Vase.*

The scene shown here was part of a complicated "fast" ritual (*zhai;* cat. no. 44) that went on for many days, and was designed to "refine and convey" *(liandu)* the soul of the deceased,[4] that is, to purify it of the negative *karma* that had accrued through one's bad actions while alive, and thereby convey (or "liberate") the soul from the tortures of the hells to the celestial paradises of Taoist adepts. The liturgical text of the ritual includes the following lines:

> His Benevolent Reverence Taiyi [cat. no. 75] descends on his mount,
> The dark passes of the ravines of endless night open one after another;
> Pairs of youths lead the way,
> As the soul of the dead is refined and climbs the cloudy steps.

The series of rites described in the novel include, among other things, making food offerings, burning incense and symbolic goods for the use of the dead in the afterlife *(huacai),* reciting scriptures,[5] and dancing the "Pace of Yu" (cat. no. 52) over a diagram of the stars of the Northern Dipper (cat. no. 18). Following the caption, the present scene shows Huang Yuanbai presenting official memorials to the Three Officials (cat. nos. 69–71) and the celestial bureaucracy requesting that the soul of the deceased be liberated from the underworld and given passage to the celestial realms. Huang stands before the altar, holding a "*dharma* cup of cleansing water" in his left hand and making a benedictional *mudra* gesture with his right hand. Although it is not depicted in the painting, the text indicates that the rite also called for a "seven star precious sword," a sword engraved with the stars of the Northern Dipper. Huang is dressed in a robe decorated with cranes, as described in the novel:

> Jade leaves are gathered in his star cap,
> Golden clouds are embroidered in his crane robes.

According to the novel, Huang's performance of the rite was so magnificent that he appeared to be "a living god" whose "spiritual purity was like the bright moon over the Long River."

The altar before which Huang stands basically accords with details in the novel, although the literary text describes an even more sumptuous setting for the ritual than is shown here. An incense burner and various ritual implements, some showing Buddhist influence, rest on the altar, together with candles, symbolic of illuminating the darkness of the netherworld, and food offerings, for the "hungry ghosts" who were its captives. On the highest level of the altar stand plaques inscribed with the names of the Three Purities (cat. nos. 65–67). Behind the altar hang paintings that appear to depict the Eight Immortals (cat. nos. 117–18); this detail is missing from the novel. To either side of Huang stand musicians who accompany him during the rite, playing various wind, string, and percussion instruments, including a *sheng* mouth-organ, vertical *xiao* and horizontal *dizi* flutes, lutes, drums, bells, cymbals, and gongs; a similar orchestra can be seen in the nearly contemporary painting by Jiao Bingzhen (cat. no. 44).

The Plum in the Golden Vase has been understood as a criticism of perceived corruptions and excesses of the late Ming dynasty, and the ritual shown here is a prime example of this social critique. The lavish offerings, rich clothes, rugs, and decorations in both the novel and this painting create an image of excess that turns the ritual into "overly elaborate funeral observances that are prime examples of conspicuous consumption."[6] In addition, the performance of a funerary ritual for the morally questionable Li Ping'er by an imperial representative such as Huang Yuanbai has been interpreted by some scholars as a violation of social mores, and it has been suggested that the use of certain specific Taoist scriptures in the ritual was a usurpation by Ximen Qing of imperial prerogatives.[7]

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Portrait of a Taoist Priest

Qing dynasty, 18th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
156 × 87.7 cm
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, The George Crofts Collection, Gift of Mrs. H. D. Warren (921.32.85)

Shown in Chicago only

47

Taoist Priest's Robe

Qing dynasty, 1650/1700
Embroidered satin
127 × 208.7 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Chester Beatty Gift (T.91–1928)

48

Taoist Priest's Robe

Qing dynasty, mid-19th century
Embroidered satin
139.6 × 156.2 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Samuel M. Nickerson Fund, 1947.514

49

Taoist Priest's Robe

Qing dynasty, mid-19th century
Embroidered satin
129.5 × 176 cm
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (42.8.296)

50

Taoist Priest's Robe

Qing dynasty, early 19th century
Painted silk gauze
147 × 170 cm
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (42.8.293)

51

Taoist Priest's Robe

Qing dynasty, mid-19th century
Embroidered silk tapestry
126 × 186.3 cm
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (42.8.118)

Among the most visually spectacular works of Taoist ritual art are the robes worn by officiating priests. The decoration of these robes presents images of the structures of the cosmos, which are unified in the Tao and in the person of the priest himself. A Taoist text from as early as the Six Dynasties period (420–589) describes regulations concerning Taoist priests' robes.[1] Actual Taoist robes survive from as early as the Jin dynasty (1115–1234),[2] excavated from the late-twelfth-century tomb of a Taoist named Yan Deyuan, near Datong, Shanxi province. This tomb contained two types of priests' robes: the more commonly encountered *jiangyi*, or Robe of Descent, and the less common *daopao* (Taoist robe).[3] The primary image in these robes is the crane, a bird associated with transcendence since at least the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), and probably much earlier. The Taoist adept Wang Ziqiao, said to have lived during the Zhou dynasty (c. 1050–256 B.C.), ascended to heaven on a crane.[4] The principal priest depicted in the Taoist ritual from the *Plum in the Golden Vase (Jinping mei)* has a robe decorated with flying cranes (cat. no. 45). References to the close connection between cranes and Taoist priests and their vestments are common in early literature. In the "Second Prose-poem on the Red Cliff" by Su Dongpo (1037–1101), for example, the poet encounters a Taoist priest in a dream, dressed in a feathered robe; it is clear from the context that these are crane feathers.[5]

The majority of surviving Taoist priests' robes date to the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties and the modern era, and are typically decorated with designs reflecting traditional Taoist cosmology. Characteristic designs on Ming and Qing examples include depictions of the Taoist pantheon, the Eight Immortals, the Eight Trigrams, the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, and the twelve animal symbols of the Chinese zodiac. The primary Taoist priest's robe is the Robe of Descent; three of the robes included in this exhibition are of this type, square in shape, with a round hole for the neck.[6] Such robes are normally yellow or red in color, although green, black, and other colors are known as well.

The portrait in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, is one of the few such images of a Taoist priest known (cat. no. 46). He wears a Robe of Descent decorated with dragons and the Eight Trigrams, and holds a *ruyi* scepter in his hands. The elaborate throne on which he sits is inlaid with "dream-stone" panels. He wears a blue cloth on his head, over which is a Taoist cap in gold, with the Eight Trigrams displayed on its leaves. Judging from the style of painting and the furniture, it appears likely that this work dates to the eighteenth century, possibly to the reign of Qianlong (1736–1795).

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The earliest robe in this group is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and dates to 1650/1700 (cat. no. 47).[7] It depicts gods of the pantheon, beginning at the top with the Three Purities (Sanqing): the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun), and the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun, the deified Laozi). Below these figures the Jade Emperor appears in a circle, with an entourage. Many of the gods have their names embroidered next to their images. A similar robe, lacking its original border, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[8]

The back of the Robe of Descent in the collection of The Art Institute of Chicago (cat. no. 48) is embroidered on a turquoise-green silk ground with roundels containing auspicious symbols including dragons, butterflies, and bats, surrounding a central roundel with a tower. Above this central roundel are three palaces representing the Taoist heavens of Jade Purity, Highest Purity, and Supreme Purity, with symbols of the sun and moon to either side and large multicolored dots representing constellations below. Other designs on the back include *lingzhi* mushrooms, phoenixes, and stylized forms of the character *shou* (longevity). The front of the robe is decorated with two towers. The hem is decorated with auspicious emblems, dragons, and other mythical beasts among waves.

The spectacular black-ground Robe of Descent in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts also dates to the nineteenth century (cat. no. 49). It is heavily embroidered with decorative panels containing immortals, auspicious and mythical animals (including

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the *qilin* and bear), birds, and flowers. The designs center on a large roundel depicting a tower, surrounded by discs representing constellations, and the talismanic "True Forms" *(zhenxing)* of the Five Sacred Peaks (see cat. no. 137).

The next example, also from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, is unusual in being made of gray silk gauze, with painted decoration (cat. no. 50). This early-nineteenth-century *daopao* is enlivened with dragons among clouds, talismans, and roundels containing the animals of the Chinese zodiac, in pale green, red, lavender, and gold.

The other *daopao* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, dating to the mid-nineteenth century, is embroidered on a red ground (cat. no. 51). Its decoration includes the tiger and dragon (symbolizing *yin* and *yang*), the Eight Trigrams, the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, the True Forms of the Five Sacred Peaks, discs symbolizing the sun and moon, a tower surrounded by dragons, the taiji *(yin–yang)* symbol, and large roundels containing cranes with mushrooms and sprigs of bamboo in their beaks.

—S. L.

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(detail)

52

YUAN MIAOZONG (ACTIVE EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY)
The Pace of Yu from Secret Essentials on Assembling the Perfected of the Most High for the Relief of the State and Deliverance of the People, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, 1444
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
35.4 × 12.7 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Chinois 9546 (1210/8)

The Pace of Yu is a Taoist ritual dance, named for the mythic Emperor Yu, founder of the Xia dynasty (traditionally late third–early second millennium B.C.). In this dance, the priest impersonates both Yu, who paced the boundaries of the terrestrial world, and the celestial god Taiyi (Supreme Unity), who paced the heavens.[1] The priest visualizes walking through the Dipper stars, dragging one foot behind him in imitation of the limp of Emperor Yu. The dance serves many functions, including exorcism and purification.

The Pace of Yu is a form of the ancient ritual dance known as "pacing the guideline" *(bugang)*, the origins of which can be traced to pre-Taoist rituals of the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.) and the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220).[2] As Poul Andersen has written, "It was from the Han dynasty milieu of ritual and divinatory speculation, commonly associated with the *fangshi* (magicians), that the Taoist practice of *bugang* (Pacing the [Celestial] Guideline) derived its theories."[3]

The earliest mention of pacing the Dipper in a Taoist context occurs in the Highest Purity (Shangqing) teachings, revealed to the fourth-century visionary Yang Xi.[4] Again, Andersen has explained the sacred dance:

> Each step is accompanied by an incantation which is pronounced by the adept standing in the star and which evokes the image of the deity of the star in question. References to the effects of the practice are scattered throughout the incantations, and they center on the notions of entrance into nothingness, obtainment of invisibility, and ascent to the Purple Court, Ziting (i.e., the palace of Taiyi, surrounding the celestial north pole), by way of the Barrier of Heaven, Tianguan, the seventh star of the Dipper.[5]

Yuan Miaozong's *Secret Essentials on Assembling the Perfected of the Most High for the Relief of the State and Deliverance of the People (Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao)* of 1116, shown here in a Ming edition, contains several diagrams illustrating the Pace of Yu.[6] The author was active during the Zhenghe reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100–25), and was a Taoist priest of the Great Law of Heaven's Heart (Tianxin dafa) sect.[7]

—S. L.

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53 (detail)

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Scripture of the Numinous Treasure Realized One Five Correspondences

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty, 7th/8th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
26.2 × 1,173.6 cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Pelliot Chinois 2440)

54

Supreme Highest Scripture of the So of Themselves Realized One Talismans of the Five Correspondences of the Limitless Great Way, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, dated 1445
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546 [666/1])

THE TANG DYNASTY MANUSCRIPT from Dunhuang *(Lingbao zhenyi wucheng jing)* is truncated at the beginning, but its ending identifies it with HY 671 from the present Taoist Canon. The fragment consists of nineteen pieces of joined yellowish brown paper. The text is inscribed within a lined grid, with seventeen characters per line. This scripture belongs to the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao) category of scriptures, which form the "Cavern of Mystery," the second of the "Three Caverns" into which all Taoist scriptures are classified. It contains five talismans *(fu)*, magical diagrams that correspond to the Five Phase system; these talismans extend well beyond the predrawn borders. Talismans were believed to be sacred images that mirrored the forms of the primordial energies at the inception of the world. Consequently, the scripture describes these talismans as follows:

> The "Numinous Treasure So of Themselves Talismans of the Five Correspondences of the Great Highest" came into being in the prior heaven, transforming together with the energy of the Way; they are the realization of the Way. From them came forth heaven and earth; the ten thousand spirits of heaven and earth all find

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> their source in the Numinous Treasure. . . . If you wish to serve the gate of profundity to the Grand Way of the Numinous Treasure, [then] wear these five talismans and the ten thousand spirits will all find their source in you.

Each talisman corresponds to one of the Five Phases, and the scripture associates them with the various elements that accord with this system: the stars, deities, mountains, parts of the body, seasons, sounds, colors, numbers, animals, days, and so on.[1] Since these talismans were believed to contain the fundamental energies of the Five Phases, they were ingested on special days throughout the year, when the practitioner would perform a meditation to absorb their essences.

In addition, these talismans were written in colored ink on silk and worn on the person of the meditator, or engraved on stones placed around the house in order to subdue the negative forces of the five directions. They were believed to have a number of magical powers, which ranged from curing illnesses and gaining popularity to reversing curses directed toward their wearer.

Because of the magical power believed to be inherent in each of these talismans, they were copied very carefully, so that the same talismans from the Ming dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon (cat. no. 54) are still very close to their Tang dynasty predecessors (cat. no. 53).[2] On the other hand, the Tang manuscript contains a number of interesting textual variants, the most noticeable of which is the use of the term "Buddha" where the Ming edition of the canon uses "teaching" *(jiao)*, and the term "bodhisattva" where the Ming uses "realized being" *(zhenren)*. These differences show the considerable influence of Buddhism on the early development of the Lingbao scriptures, while supplying evidence of later attempts to hide such influence.

Parts of this scripture have a distinctly popular character, and many of its practices differ from later orthodox Taoist rituals. These practices probably developed out of local traditions that were in vogue in the Jiangsu region when the scripture was written. For example, while the theoretical basis of the talismans described in the first section of the manuscript accords very well with orthodox Taoist doctrines from the later Six Dynasties period, the second section contains a number of unusual practices that seem to have little place in the orthodox tradition. These practices are primarily concerned with the use of figurines carved from poke root *(phytolacca acinosa)* which were placed around the household as guardian spirits. These figurines were used in conjunction with images of the Eight Trigrams and the Talismans of the Five Correspondences. Thus, this scripture is a very important document for our understanding of the popular religious practices of southern China during the early fifth century, and of the interaction between locally prominent family traditions and Taoism during its early development.

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咀呼天稱怨或自恚恨或密相猒蠱神衛散去歸天王相不復營護姦邪入其門妖怪起其室從軍不歸遠行不還困於口舌厄於縣官欲消此災解此罪者先行南稱符三十日次行東稱符九十日

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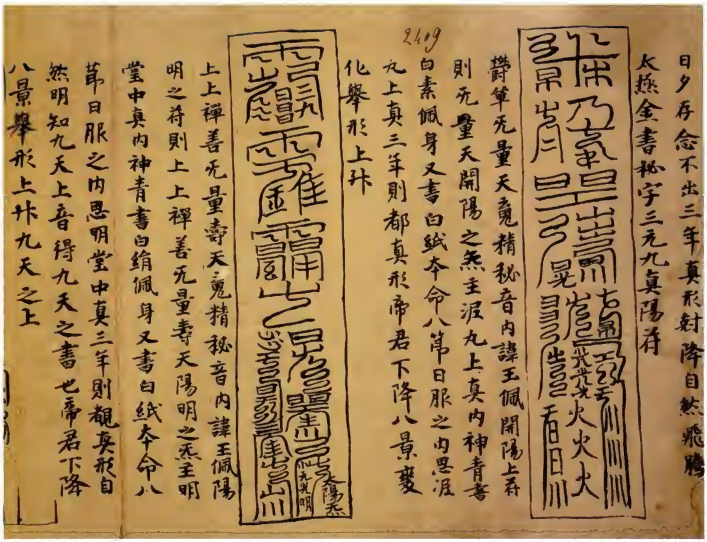

(detail)

55

Highest Purity Jade Girdle and Golden Crown, Golden Script Book of the Great Ultimate

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty, 7th/8th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
25.4 × 277.8 cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Pelliot Chinois 2409)

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THE BEGINNING AND END of this manuscript are truncated, but it corresponds to the work identified as HY 56 in the present Taoist Canon. Only about one-third of the complete text is preserved in this fragment. It is written on six joined pieces of yellowish brown paper, in relatively informal calligraphy. As in the other texts of this type discovered in Dunhuang, this manuscript is written within a lined grid, seventeen characters per line. It consists primarily of nine talismans *(fu)*, magical diagrams that derive from the most fundamental energies forming all existence. These talismans are associated with the "Jade Girdle" *(yupei)* from the title of the scripture *(Shangqing yupei jindang taiji jinshu)*, which is defined as the *hun*-soul or *yang*-essence of the Nine Heavens. Since this scripture is primarily concerned with meditation and visualization techniques, it uses a highly symbolic language with many different layers of meaning. Consequently, this essence manifests itself in several different ways, as the recitation that forms the scripture proper, as the deity that protects the scripture, as the nine deities that embody the Nine Heavens, and as the nine talismans possessed by these deities—the nine talismans illustrated in this manuscript.

At midnight on particular days throughout the year, the practitioner would enter into his or her "quiet room," a room reserved for worship and meditation, and recite the scripture. Then he or she would visualize the energy of the Jade Girdle descend from the Nine Heavens and encircle his or her body. After this, the practitioner visualized the nine deities representing the Nine Heavens, wrote the talismans associated with each of these deities, and ingested them, thereby absorbing the energies of these deities and the heavens they embodied. In order to facilitate the visualization of the different deities, a detailed description of each deity is provided, including alternate forms that the deity may take when it manifests in the world. Some of these deities could take rather unusual forms, appearing, for example, with multiple heads, or as animals, or as a human body with a bird's head, or as a bird with a human head. These images are very evocative, suggesting, on the one hand, ancient depictions such as those of nature spirits from the southern kingdom of Chu during the Warring States period, and, on the other, similar images that entered China with Tantric Buddhism; the images here, however, may have developed independently of either of these traditions.

Each of the concepts in this scripture has both a microcosmic and a macrocosmic significance, symbolizing celestial regions and energies as well as the corresponding regions and energies in the human body. For example, the meditations described are based on one of the most fundamental of all Taoist meditations, the "Three Ones." According to this meditation, there were three "palaces" *(gong)* or "cinnabar fields" *(dantian)* located inside the body: in the head, the heart, and the abdomen. Each of these palaces, known here as the "Three Primes," was occupied by a deity, and these three deities were manifestations of a more primordial "one" based on ideas implicit in the *Daode jing*. According to this scripture, after the "one" manifested into the "Three Primes," each of these in turn manifested itself threefold, resulting in the Nine Heavens, the nine deities, and the nine talismans of the Jade Girdle.

The Jade Girdle is paired with the "Golden Crown," which represents the *po*-soul or *yin*-essence of the Nine Heavens. Only the beginning of the section describing the Golden Crown is preserved in this manuscript. The symbolism of the Golden Crown is very similar to that of the Jade Girdle, and there is a single talisman for the Golden Crown in HY 56 that corresponds to the nine talismans for the Jade Girdle. In addition, there are two final sections preserved only in HY 56 that associate the Jade Girdle and the Golden Crown with the sun and moon, respectively.

This scripture belongs to the "Cavern of Perfection" category, the first of the "Three Caverns" into which all Taoist scriptures are arranged. This group of scriptures is commonly known as the Highest Purity (Shangqing) scriptures, since they were believed to provide one with access to the heaven of the same name. They grew out of the religious tradition of the Xu family from the Jurong area (modern Jiangsu) in the fourth century. Many of the first sacred writings of this tradition were revealed to Yang Xi (330–386), a medium employed by the Xus, who received his first revelations in 364. The writings of Yang, his patron Xu Mi (305–373/6) and Xu's son Hui (341–370), were collected, edited, and annotated by Tao Hongjing (456–536; cat. no. 38), one of the greatest Taoist scholars of the Six Dynasties period (420–589) and a close confidant to the imperial house during the Southern Qi (479–502) and Liang (502–557) dynasties.

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(detail)

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Great Highest Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure Subtle Scripture on Extinguishing and Conveying the Five Refinements and Reviving the Corpse

From Dunhuang, Gansu province
Tang dynasty, 7th/8th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
26 × 560 cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Pelliot Chinois 2865)

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THIS SCRIPTURE *(Taishang lingbao dongxuan miedu wulion shengshi miaojing)* is truncated at the beginning and end, but its contents correspond to HY 369 from the Taoist Canon, and also to another manuscript discovered in Dunhuang, known as Stein 298. The text, written on yellow paper, contains five stylized inscriptions written within a ruled grid.[1] These inscriptions are derived from the most famous of all Taoist scriptures, the *Scripture of Conveyance* (HY 1),[2] and they are based on a magical invocation contained at the end of the *Scripture*, which in turn is an imitation of similar incantations at the ends of Buddhist scriptures, called *dharani*.

This scripture contains one of the earliest descriptions of a Taoist funerary ritual. The celestial script version of the incantation was meant to be recited during this ritual and inscribed on five stones placed in the grave. Each part of the invocation was accompanied by an order directed toward the netherworld bureaucracy to aid the soul of the deceased. The Taoist priest conducting this ceremony would perform the Pace of Yu (see cat. no. 52) a number of times appropriate to each direction, read each part of the invocation and its accompanying order, and then bury the stone with the same inscription in the appropriate part of the grave. This ritual allowed the soul of the deceased to forego the tortures of the hells and ascend to the Southern Palace where new adepts were processed, or else to reenter the wheel of reincarnation.

The invocation upon which the inscriptions in this manuscript are based first appeared spontaneously in the sky during one of the sermons of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (see cat. no. 65). The characters that made up the invocation were formed of primordial energy, and consequently the written forms of these characters in the present manuscript are stylized to reflect this first manifestation. In this sense, the magical writing seen in this manuscript is different from the talismans *(fu)* seen elsewhere in this catalogue, since it reflects actual words, rather than an "abstract" diagram. In fact, Chinese characters were believed to derive from celestial equivalents that were harnessed by the Celestial Worthy and other deities from self-formed characters of pure energy, so that the magical writing seen here was actually thought to be a purer form of writing than common script.

Both the present manuscript and Stein 298 contain an additional section that is not preserved in HY 369, but that forms an integral part of the funerary ritual described therein. This section consists of a long memorial summoning the spirits of the five directions to order the netherworld bureaucracy to release the soul of the deceased and guide it back to life. At midnight on the night before the burial, the priest burned incense in the five directions, and then left this memorial exposed overnight beside the corpse.

This additional section, which comes at the end of the manuscript, also contains a number of stories about practitioners who benefited from this scripture. Some of these stories, particularly those about souls that return to re-animate their deceased corpses, are quite colorful. For example, a certain Zheng Renan reanimated his corpse, only to be set on fire by a terrified onlooker; unperturbed, his skeletal form continued to rise quietly, ascending to a post in the celestial bureaucracy. Other stories tell of reanimated corpses bursting out of coffins unearthed during public works projects. The initiates who figure in these stories were guaranteed positions in the celestial bureaucracy, but died before they were able to accumulate the merit necessary to ascend directly to the celestial realms "in broad daylight"; consequently, they had to undergo a period of further refinement in the netherworld before their souls could rejoin with their bodies and rise to the heavens. This idea was probably based on the doctrine of "corpse liberation" *(shijie)*, which was very popular at the time this scripture was first composed.

Like cat. no. 53, this scripture belongs to the Lingbao scriptures of the "Cavern of Mystery" category of Taoist scriptures, and probably dates to the early Liu-Song dynasty (420–479), during the formative phase of the Taoist religion. The funerary ritual described in this scripture dates to a period before the full standardization of Taoism, and is a very rare example of the early funerary practices that formed one of the foundations of later Taoist rituals. At the same time, since the present manuscript provides a more complete account of this ritual than is given in HY 369, this important document provides an invaluable resource for understanding the way in which early Taoism helped the living (and the deceased) pass through one of life's principal transitions.

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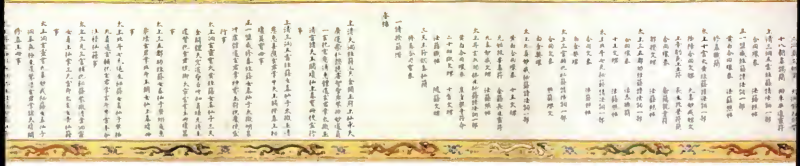

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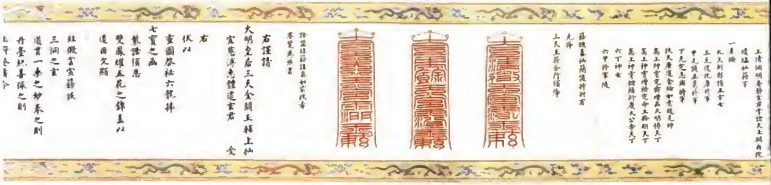

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57

Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang

Ming dynasty, Hongzhi reign, dated 1493
Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on paper
54.6 × 2,743.2 cm
San Diego Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Jeffers (1961.094)

Empress Zhang (1470–1541) was the sole consort of the Hongzhi emperor, Zhu Youtang (r. 1488–1505), who was widely admired as a model Confucian ruler, yet was also known for his belief in religious Taoism.[1] Between the first and seventh lunar months of 1493, the empress was ordained as a Taoist priestess. This handscroll is her ordination certificate. Both painting and document, it depicts fifty-two gods and immortals, and bears a long inscription by Zhang Xuanqing (d. 1509), the Celestial Master of the Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) sect of Taoism. The inscription outlines a ritual or series of rituals in which an important group of scriptures, talismans, and registers (lists of gods' names) were transmitted to the empress. The acquisition of the registers indicated she was a member of the same spiritual hierarchy as the gods.[2] In spiritual terms, Empress Zhang was elevated to the status of a realized being *(zhenren)*. For the empress, Taoism represented the highest degree of orthodoxy, ideally suited to aiding her husband in ruling the nation.[3] The pattern of imperial ordination seen here was established as early as the Northern Wei dynasty, when Emperor Tai Wudi (r. 424–51) was ordained in 442 as a Taoist priest by the northern Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi (d. 448).[4]

In the painting, the empress is depicted floating on a cloud in the heavens, accompanied by an entourage and a large group of deities and adepts. The empress's portrait is painted on a separate piece of paper which has been pasted over a section of the scroll that was intentionally left blank to receive it. It seems clear that the same painter who executed the remainder of the scroll painted this portrait. To the right of the empress is a portrait of Zhang Xuanqing. Among the other figures are the first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling; the Supreme Lord of Fate; Wenchang, the God of Literature; guardians of the four cardinal directions; celestial generals; the gods of the zodiac; jade maidens *(yunü)*; and the immortals Ge Xuan, Xu Xun (see cat. no. 115), and Fuqiu.[5] These figures are identified by small standard script labels inscribed in gold. At the beginning of the scroll is the title, inscribed in large "cloud-seal" *(yunzhuan)* characters: "Tablet of the Transcendent Who Superintends Reality, Red Writ of the Three Caverns" *(Sandong chiwen zong zhen xian jian)*. A repaired tear in the scroll that follows indicates that the first section of painted gods has been truncated. This missing section may have illustrated the highest Taoist gods, the Three Purities (see cat. nos. 65–67), which often appear at the beginning of scriptures in the Taoist Canon. The scroll terminates with its original Ming dynasty *kesi* silk wrapper, woven with dragons in blue, green, red, and gold threads.[6] The painting's upper, lower, and side borders are decorated with alternating black, white, green, red, and blue dragons.

The main inscription, at the middle of the scroll, is by Zhang Xuanqing, who became the forty-seventh Celestial Master of the Orthodox Unity sect in 1477.[7] It begins with four large characters, reading "Executive Bureau of Supreme Mystery" *(Taixuan dusheng)*. The text that follows is divided into seven sections:

1. The Celestial Master Zhang Xuanqing recounts the lineage of his scriptural tradition, going back to the Taoist god Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun).[8]

2. On the fifth day of the first lunar month of the sixth year of Hongzhi (1493), the Celestial Master requests permission from the celestial hierarchy to transmit certain scriptures to the Ming empress of the Central Palace (Da Ming zhonggong huanghou). The time of day (the *chen* hour, corresponding to the period from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m.), the place (the Blessed Plot [*fudi*] of Dragon and Tiger Mountain [Longhu Shan] in Jiangxi), and the name of the altar (the Ancestral Altar of Ten Thousand Methods *[Wanfa zongtan]* are listed.[9] Then permission is asked to transmit ten sacred scriptures that are descended from the first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling. These are listed as follows:

   1. *Register of the Scripture of the Great Cavern of Supreme Purity (Shangqing dadong jinglu)*
   2. *Register of the Five Thunder Scripture of the Three Caverns of Supreme Purity (Shangqing sandong wulei jinglu)*
   3. *Register of the Scripture of Cultivating Perfection of the Majestic Oath of Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi mengwei xiuzhen jinglu)*
   4. *Register of the Great Yellow Scripture of the Ten Palaces of the Most High (Taishang shigong dahuang jinglu)*
   5. *Register of the Scripture on the Highest Accumulated Merit of the Three Fives (Taishang sanwu dugong jinglu)*
   6. *Secret Register of the Seven Primes (Stars) of the Highest Northern Dipper (Taishang beidou qiyuan bilu)*
   7. *Secret Register of the Highest Three Officials Who Assist in Transformation (Taishang Sanguan fuhua bilu)*
   8. *Secret Register of the Subtle Precepts of the Highest Nine Perfections (Taishang jiuzhen miaojie bilu)*

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9. *Secret Register of the Highest Ascending Mystery Bload Lake Protection of Life (Taishang shengxuan xuehu baosheng bilu)*
10. *Tablet of the Transcendent who Superintends Reality of the Highest Three Heavens Jade Talisman and Contractual Writ of the Unifying Circlet (Taishang santian yufu zongzhen xianjian he tonghuan quanwen)* (referring to this handscroll).

This is followed by a request for a title and rank in the celestial bureaucracy to be conferred on the empress, and a prayer that the empress will enjoy long life and good fortune.

3. A list of accompanying documents, objects, and talismans that will enable the empress to use the scriptures and registers that have been conferred on her.

4. Licenses to perform the rituals and practices of each of the conferred scriptures.

5. The register (list of the deities) under the control of the ordained empress. This includes celestial Mystery Maidens *(xuannü)*; Celestial Generals *(jiangjun)* Tang, Ge, and Zhou; Marshal *(yuanshuai)* Zhao; Celestial Guards *(tianding)*; six *ding* Spirit Maidens *(liu ding shennü)*; and six *jia* Generals *(liu jia jiangjun)*, the last two groups corresponding to gods of the zodiac. Most of these gods are depicted in the painting.

6. Three large talismans ("Jade Talismans of the Three Heavens" [*Santian yufu*]), written in red ink, to be used by the empress for summoning the gods of her register. The three heavens refer to the Three Purities, and the names of these heavens (*qingwei* for Jade Purity, *yuyun* for Highest Purity, and *dachi* for Great Purity) are included in a stylized form in their respective talismans.

7. A final proclamation, beginning with a verification of the empress's oath, followed by the empress's new Taoist name: Empress of the Great Ming, Sovereign of the Three Heavens Golden-Gate Jade-Assistance High-Immortal Vast-Compassion Universal-Kindness Embodying the Tao *(Da Ming huanghou santian jinque yufu shangxian hongci puhui tidao xuanjun)*. Mention is then made of the "Seven-treasures" box and "Twin-phoenixes Brilliant Five-flowers" embroidered cloth in which the handscroll will be stored, along with a statement that the empress will serve the emperor ("the lord of the sagely Ming"). At the end is the final date (the seventh lunar month of the sixth year of Hongzhi, the cyclical year *guichou* [1493]), with the day itself left blank.[10]

Following this are eight enormous characters, reading "Increasing Prosperity and Ten Thousand Longevities, to Exist as Long as the Heavens" *(Yi long wan shou yu tian chang cun)*. Finally, after a length of blank paper, are depictions of nineteen more gods, including the Celestial Generals Tang, Ge, Zhou, and Zhao; twelve gods of the zodiac, comprising six female *ding* and six male *jia* gods; and three Celestial Guards *(tianding)*.[11]

Empress Zhang was a native of Xingji, located on the Grand Canal, about one hundred miles south of Beijing.[12] Her father attended the Imperial University. The Ming dynastic history *(Ming shi)* states that the future empress was conceived after her mother dreamt that light from the moon (a symbol of *yin*) entered her womb. She married Zhu Youtang in 1487, at the age of seventeen, one year before his accession to the throne. In 1491 she gave birth to Zhu Houzhao, the future Zhengde emperor. In 1495 the empress gave birth to a second son, who died a year later. At the beginning of the Zhengde reign (1506), Empress Zhang became Empress Dowager. She outlived her son and died in 1541, during the Jiajing reign (1522–66). No mention is made in the empress's official biography of her ordination as a Taoist priestess. Nor is any mention made of this event in the *Veritable Records of the Ming Court (Ming shilu)* or in the biography of the officiating Celestial Master, Zhang Xuanqing.[13]

Zhang Xuanqing was highly educated and recognized for his talents in poetry and painting. He was first ordained during the Chenghua reign, in the 1470s, and rose to the rank of Celestial Master in 1477. In that year he married a daughter of Zhu Yi (1427–1496), Duke of Chengguo, a member of the imperial family.[14] Zhang's activities at the court in Beijing also began before the Hongzhi reign. In 1486, at the end of the Chenghua reign, he was called to the palace in Beijing, where he performed a *jiao* offering ritual in the Hall of Imperial Peace (Qin'an Dian), the most important Taoist temple in the Forbidden City. In 1488 Zhang Xuanqing had an audience with the Hongzhi emperor, and subsequently became one of the latter's favorites. Zhang performed a *jiao* in 1490, on the occasion of the conception of the emperor's first child. When a son was born, the emperor bestowed on Zhang a jade belt, a gold cap, a silk robe, and silver. In 1498 Zhang was asked to pray for snow in the Temple of Worshipping Heaven (Chaotian Gong), with the result that a heavy snow fell the next day.

In 1501 Zhang Xuanqing introduced his successor to the emperor and requested permission to retire, which he did the following year. In 1504 Zhang presented the emperor with a self-portrait and an ancient sword that the emperor had requested. In return, Zhang was given gold coins and a portrait of Zhang Daoling, the first of the Celestial Masters. Zhang Xuanqing died in 1509.

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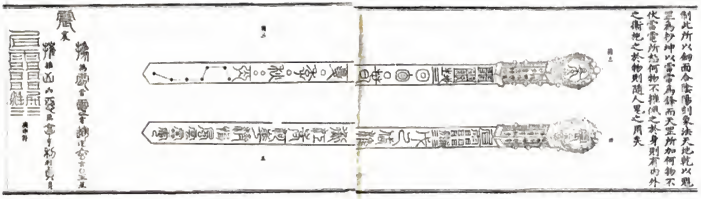

58 (detail)

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Highest Purity Illustration of the Sword and Mirrors That Hold Images, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, dated 1444
Original text by Sima Chengzhen, Tang dynasty, 8th century
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546 [428])

59

Taoist Ritual Sword

Qing dynasty, 18th century
Steel, brass, ray skin
L. 77 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, lent by Mrs. E. F. Jeffery (846.30)

THE INSCRIPTION ON cat. no. 59 copies part of the inscription from a sword possessed by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) of the Tang dynasty (618–906; cat. no. 58), whose reign marked the "golden age" of imperial China.[1] This sword was presented to the emperor by Sima Chengzhen (647–735), an eminent Taoist priest active at his court. The original sword is lost, but an illustration of it is preserved in the Ming dynasty Taoist Canon (HY 431; *Shangqing hanxiang jianjian tu*), shown here as cat. no. 58.

The original sword was known as the *Sword of Phosphorescence and Thunder (Jingzhen jian)*. It bore a number of symbols that developed upon the ideas of *yin* and *yang*, including the phosphorescence and thunder of its name, which are described as concrete manifestations of the primordial energies of *yin* and *yang*. The respective characters for these two concepts *(jing* and *zhen)* were inscribed on opposite sides of the sword's pommel. Under the character for "phosphorescence" was the following inscription:

Qian descends essence,
Kun responds to the numinous;
The sun and moon are imaged,
The sacred peaks and rivers are formed.

This forms the first part of the inscription on the Art Institute's sword. *Qian* and *kun* refer to the first two trigrams and hexagrams of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*, which represent *yang* and *yin* energy, respectively. These two trigrams were shown in two talismans etched on opposite sides of Xuanzong's sword. Stylized representations of the sun, moon, Northern Dipper (Ursa Major), and the Five Planets of traditional Chinese astronomy were also etched on the "phosphorescence" side of the sword, while the names of the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Rivers of China were etched on the "thunder" side of the sword, followed by the words "wind and clouds, thunder and lightning" *(fengyun leidian)*. The second half of the inscription on the Art Institute sword copies that found under the character "thunder" on Xuanzong's sword:

Spreading thunder and lightning,
Moving the mysterious stars;
Harmful wickedness is destroyed,
Beneficial purity is received.

The "mysterious stars" refers to the stars on the "phosphorescence" side of the sword, just as the previous passage described the peaks and rivers depicted on the "thunder" side; this implies the idea of *yin* within *yang* and *yang* within *yin*.

Taken as a whole, these images delineate the various combinations of *yin* and *yang* that form the world. Beginning with the unbroken lines of *qian* and the broken lines of *kun*, the most primordial representations of *yin* and *yang*, these two principles

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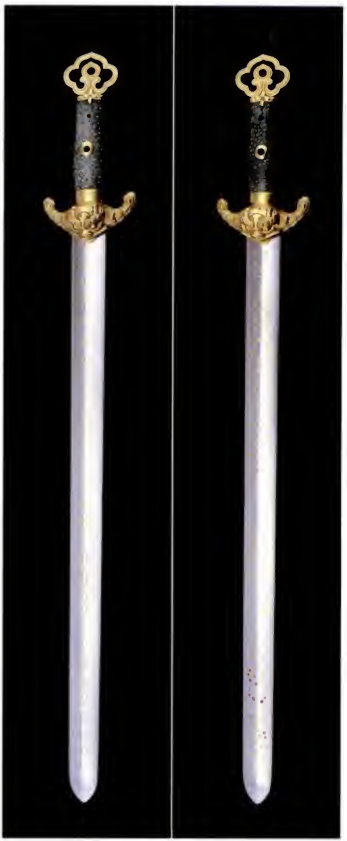
are combined to form the elemental manifestations of phosphorescence and thunder, which favor one idea but imply its opposite as well. These combinations continue to form the stellar bodies on the "phosphorescence" side, which represent the heavens, and the sacred peaks and rivers on the "thunder" side, which represent the earth. The sword is therefore seen as a microcosm of the entire cosmos.

Unlike the original sword, there is no inscription on either the pommel or grip of the sword in the Art Institute; the two separate inscriptions from the grip of Xuanzong's sword are combined into a single inscription on the blade of this later sword. In place of the stellar and earthly bodies on Xuanzong's sword, depictions of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions are inscribed on the opposite side of the blade, accompanied by the Northern Dipper. As a result, the balance between the heavens and the earth created by the placement of the sun, moon, stars, and geographical features on Xuanzong's sword is not preserved in this example.

The ancient Chinese considered swords to be powerful magical implements with many different uses. Xuanzong's sword supposedly had exorcistic powers, "gathering up ghosts and destroying wickedness." These powers came from the fact that swords were understood as a sacred microcosm that embodied primordial energy. In this sense, swords were closely connected with another sacred microcosm, the human body. This association of the human form with a sword is reflected in the idea of "corpse liberation" *(shijie)*, the belief that the body could be refined in the same way that a cicada or snake sheds its old skin as it develops a new one. Following this practice, some adepts *(xian)* would undergo a process similar to physical death in order to refine their bodies. When they "died," they would sometimes use a sword to take the place of their corpse in the coffin; this sword was like the skin left behind by a snake, taking the shape of the deceased but reverting to its original form after burial. In this way, the adept could hide the real significance of his death from the eyes of the profane. Among the prominent Taoist figures who used corpse liberation was Tao Hongjing (456–536; cat. no. 38), who supposedly left behind only a sword and his "empty clothing."[2]

—S. E.



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Taoist Ritual Sword

Sword: Ming dynasty, Yongle reign, dated 1403
Scabbard: possibly Qing dynasty, Qianlong reign (1736–95)
Steel, gold, and jade
L. 73.5 cm
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (19-5-2)

61

Taoist Ritual Sword

Sword: Ming dynasty, Hongzhi reign, 1500
Scabbard: Qing dynasty, 19th century
Steel and brass
L. 64 cm
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (19-5-3)

THE FIRST TAOIST RITUAL SWORD shown here (cat. no. 60) is noteworthy for having been given to a leading Taoist master of the Ming dynasty by the Yongle emperor (*r.* 1403–24). Both sides of the steel blade are inlaid with gold designs depicting stylized constellations, one of which is the Northern Dipper *(Beidou)*, the most powerful asterism in the Taoist heavens. A short gold-inlaid inscription on one side of the blade, just below the hilt, reads: "On the first month of the first year of the Yongle reign [1403], imperially bestowed on Gaodao Liu Yuanran." The sword's grip is made of jade; it bears a short inscription in seal script that reproduces part of the inscription on the grip of the sword given to the Tang emperor Xuanzong by the Taoist master Sima Chengzhen in the eighth century (cat. no. 58).

Liu Yuanran (1351–1432), a famous Taoist priest of the early Ming dynasty, was a native of Gongxian in Jiangxi province, and the son of a Yuan dynasty official. His official biography states that in 1393 he attracted the attention of the Hongwu emperor (*r.* 1368–98) with his abilities at rainmaking.[1] The emperor granted him the title Gaodao (Noble Tao), and Liu subsequently officiated in the Paying Homage to Heaven Palace [Chaotian Gong]. In 1421 the Yongle emperor moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, and Liu accompanied him to the north. During the reign of Xuande (*r.* 1426–35), Liu advanced to the rank of Great Realized Being *(da zhenren)*. When he retired in 1433, the Xuande emperor painted a landscape painting with a poem, and presented it to him.[2] The Ming history states that as a Taoist master, Liu Yuanran contributed to the ritual correctness of the imperial court through his "pure, calm, and self-controlled" personality.

As one of the leading Taoist priests in the imperial service, Liu Yuanran was a well-established and highly respected figure by the beginning of the Yongle reign in 1403, when this ritual sword was imperially bestowed on him. Liu was a priest of the Pure Illumination (Jingming) sect of Taoism, a school that grew to prominence in the Song and Yuan dynasties and stressed the fusion of Taoist and Confucian ideas (see cat. no. 115).[3]

The blade of the second sword (cat. no. 61) is inlaid with talismans in fine lines of gold. The handle has fittings of gilded brass, with a wheel *(chakra)*-shaped pommel. According to an inscription of 1849, written in gold on the leather scabbard, the sword was made in 1500, during the reign of Hongzhi (*r.* 1488–1505). In 1849 the sword was presented to a temple known as the Shrine of Numinous Response (Linggan Ci).

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Incense Burner with Li Tieguai

Ming dynasty, 15th/16th century
Bronze
31 × 23 cm
Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu

In any Taoist ritual, the incense burner is the single most important implement. As the Southern Song dynasty Taoist adept Bai Yuchan said, "You have only to set up the incense burner for the divine empyrean to be present."[1] The censer symbolizes the gate between the human world and the realm of the gods (and, by extension, the Tao). The presence of the incense burner sanctifies the space in which any ritual is enacted. The importance of incense in religious Taoism cannot be overstated. As John Lagerwey has shown,

> Incense . . . is not just a fragrant offering to the gods, making the altar a pleasant place for them to spend some time. It is what literally draws them to the altar, as to a magnet, and especially to the altar-body of the high priest, for the incense is in the first place a symbol of the Three Energies of his body, billowing up into the bizarre configurations of all primordial energy—"celestial seals"—and thus attracting its divine counterpart, its "other half" into the cave [of the altar].[2]

The incense burner sits on the altar table, known as the *dong'an* ("cave table"), symbolizing the numinous grotto in the mountain through which the priest communicates with the heavens.[3]

Very few incense burners that can specifically be said to be Taoist survive from earlier than the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). This bronze example was excavated in Qingsu village near Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province. The four legs descend from lion masks at the corners of the rectangular bowl. The lid is pierced with holes in the shapes of four of the Eight Trigrams. At the top of the lid is a handle in the shape of the Taoist adept Li Tieguai ("Iron-crutch Li"; see cat. no. 125), suggesting that this incense burner was designed for use in a temple of the Quanzhen (Complete Realization) sect.

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Taoist Ritual Tablet

Ming dynasty, 15th/16th century
Ivory
49 × 8.5 cm
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (11.125)

TABLETS *(HU)* LIKE THIS ONE, used during ritual audiences with deities from the Taoist pantheon, were modeled after the tablets carried by officials during imperial audiences. Depictions of the actual use of similar tablets during a Taoist ritual can be seen elsewhere in this catalogue (for example, see cat. no. 44).

The tablet is carved with four figures hovering in clouds above sacred mountains, on which grow magical fungi (*lingzhi*; see cat. no. 129). Above the figures is another mountain partially veiled by a coiling cloud, and above this celestial palaces supported by more clouds. Between the figures are four cranes, traditional symbols of longevity. The significance of the figures is not entirely clear, but they may have been inspired by Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*. The lowest figure probably represents the meditator, surrounded by a ring of energy *(qi)* directed upward.[1] The upper three figures suggest the microcosmic three cinnabar fields *(dantian)*, centers of energy in the head and upper and lower torso of the body, and the macrocosmic Three Purities (see cat. nos. 65–67). The attributes of the figures suggest an inner alchemical numerical progression that reduces the phenomenal world to its primordial energies. The lowest of these three figures is surrounded by the Eight Trigrams in the Later Heaven (*Houtian*; see cat. no. 14) arrangement, symbolizing *yin* and *yang* energy manifested in the world.[2] The next figure is surrounded by four circles, which may represent the inner alchemical refinement of the Eight Trigrams into the more fundamental trigrams of *qian* and *kun*, pure *yang* and *yin* energy, and *li* and *kan*, the first intermingling of these energies.[3] The final figure is surrounded by constellations, in particular the Southern Dipper (a group of stars in Sagittarius) and Northern Dipper (Ursa Major) to the left and right.[4] The Southern and Northern Dippers were traditionally believed to control (respectively) the records of life and death, and in this context they probably represent the further purification of energy into its most basic manifestation as *yang* and *yin*. As a result, the images on the tablet represent the refinement of energy from its limitless manifestations in the world to its eightfold manifestation in the trigrams, the further refinement of the trigrams into their constituent energies, and the eventual purification of these energies into pure *yin* and *yang*. The final stage of primordial oneness is represented by the heaven that resides even above the Three Purities, the ultimate goal of the inner alchemical process.[5]

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TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO CHEN ZHITIAN
Fourteen Portraits of Wu Quanjie

Yuan/Ming dynasty, second half 14th century
Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
51.8 × 834.8 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Richard E. Danielson (46.252)

THIS SERIES OF PORTRAITS depicts Wu Quanjie (1269–1346), one of the most famous Taoist priests of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).[1] Wu was a pupil of Zhang Liusun (1248–1322), himself a pupil of the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, Zhang Zongyan (1244–1292). During his lifetime, Wu Quanjie gained fame as a widely respected priest who was as comfortable in the Mongol court as he was among the literati of south-central China. He became a patriarch of the Mysterious Teaching (Xuanjiao) school of Taoism. The first patriarch of this school was Zhang Liusun, who had been summoned to Beijing in 1276 by the first Mongol emperor, Khubilai Khan (*r.* 1260–94).[2] The Xuanjiao school existed only during the Yuan, having been founded in 1287.[3]

Wu Quanjie began studying Taoism when he was twelve, and became a Taoist priest *(daoshi)* at the age of sixteen.[4] His teacher summoned him to the capital of Dadu (Beijing) in 1287, and subsequently Wu spent most of his time in the north. When the Yuan emperor Chengzong (*r.* 1295–1307) came to the throne, Wu Quanjie officiated at the *jiao* ritual of thanksgiving to celebrate the accession. In 1307 Wu was given the title "Heir to the Xuanjiao Patriarchy."[5] After his teacher's death in 1322, Wu Quanjie became head of this sect. He was put in charge of all Taoist affairs in the country, under the aegis of the Academy of

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Worthies (Jixian yuan), which also oversaw all Confucian activities, such as the Imperial University.[6] Wu was respected for his Confucian learning, and often recommended literati to positions at court. As Sun K'o-k'uan has shown, it was through such individuals as Wu Quanjie that the literati elite of the lower Yangzi valley obtained a voice, and thus a measure of influence, at the Mongol court:

> Xuanjiao, "the sublime teaching," was in effect a branch of the southern Tianshi Taoism that had been created by the edict of the Mongol rulers. Xuanjiao was purely a Yuan religious phenomenon, for the Xuanjiao patriarchy was obliterated by the founder of the Ming dynasty, Ming Taizu. What is more important, from the standpoint of the history of Yuan literati, is that Xuanjiao, a Taoist religious movement replete with beliefs in magic, divination, and immortality, was the product, not of Taoists acting on their own, but of Taoists working with the active cooperation of prominent Confucian literati and under the endorsement and sponsorship of the ruling Mongols. Xuanjiao was a distinctive form of Daojiao [religious Taoism], and from the standpoint of traditional elite Han Chinese culture it was highly refined and literary. It was also highly political. In effect, Xuanjiao Taoist culture and the culture of the Han Chinese literati were overlapping phenomena, and in some cases they were one.[7]

Among his many accomplishments, Wu Quanjie is credited with the building of the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue Miao) in Beijing. While the idea to build the temple was Zhang Liusun's, Zhang died before construction could actually begin. In 1322, under the direction of Wu Quanjie, the main hall was completed.[8] Aside from his skillful managing of Taoist affairs, Wu Quanjie was widely respected by contemporary Chinese literati for his upright character. He is described as follows in the Yuan dynastic history:

> [Wu] Quanjie elegantly favored making friends with literati [*shidafu*], and there were no favors he would not perform [for them]. In his relations with his elders, he was especially considerate and respectful, and in promoting [the careers of] talented persons, he feared only that he did not exert all his strength. As for helping those in poverty or in dire straits, he never let his mind be altered by personal debts or grudges. In his day he was highly regarded for his endowment of chivalric spirit [*xia qi*].[9]

The handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a rare document of Wu Quanjie's life. It includes fourteen portraits, depicting Wu between the ages of forty-three and sixty-three. According to a record of this composition in the early Ming catalogue *Coral and Munan Gems (Shanhu munan)* by Zhu Cunli (1444–1513), the scroll originally included seventeen portraits.[10] The Boston scroll has traditionally been attributed to Chen Zhitian, but its individual portraits were based on paintings by several artists, including Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). While the sequence of portraits generally follows a chronological progression, several are out of sequence.[11] Each portrait has a note indicating the date and circumstances surrounding the image, and an accompanying poem:

1. The first portrait depicts Wu in 1311. The note reads: "In the fourth year of the Zhida reign [1311], [Wu] returned to court. In Yan [Beijing] he lived in the Hall of Encircling the Pivot [Huanshu Tang].[12] [Thus was] made [this] *Portrait of Inner Observation [Neiguan xiang]*. Eulogized by Yuan Mingshan of Qinghe." The image is a bust portrait, depicting Wu within a circle. Wu wears a white robe with a blue lapel; a Taoist priest's jade cap is visible under his translucent horse-hair hat. The term *neiguan* (inner observation) refers to a Taoist practice of meditation, "a conscious introspection of one's own body and mind."[13]

2. The second portrait depicts Wu in formal ritual attire, holding an ivory tablet and seated on an elaborate wooden throne. The note reads: "In the second year of the Huangqing reign, the cyclical year *guiyou* [1313], [Wu] celebrated a great *jiao* ritual in the Palace of Eternal Spring [Changchun Gong, a Taoist temple].[14] He was honored and directed to take jade tablets to Mount Song [Henan] and the Ji River [Shandong].[15] [Thus was] made [this] *Portrait of Calming the Mind [Cunsi xiang]*. Eulogized by Zhao Mengfu of Wuxing." The presence here of Zhao Mengfu's inscription and poem is significant because it confirms the close relationships Wu Quanjie maintained with leading literati during his lifetime. Zhao Mengfu wrote many formal inscriptions for Taoist temples in Beijing and elsewhere.[16]

3. The third portrait depicts Wu in 1314, performing a Taoist ritual dance (*feibu*, or "flying pace"), most likely the "Pace of Yu" (see cat. no. 52). The accompanying note, by Yu Ji, states that in that year Wu's mother and father were granted official titles, and that the emperor gave Wu gifts of a *zun* beaker and clothing.

4. The fourth portrait depicts Wu in an informal white robe. Despite the informal pose, his status is indicated by the jade *bi* disc tied to his belt. The note describes Wu's return to Beijing after a trip to Jiangxi in 1315.

5. The fifth portrait depicts Wu Quanjie holding a *ruyi* (mushroom-shaped) scepter and seated under a pine tree

among rocks and bamboo. A crane dances in the foreground. Yu Ji's note states that Wu was greatly honored by the Yuan emperor Renzong (r. 1312–20), and that the original depiction of this scene was painted by Zhao Mengfu during this emperor's Yuanyou period (1312–20).

6. The sixth image depicts Wu in 1316, standing on a mountainous bluff and watching clouds. The note is by Yuan Jue of Siming (Ningbo, Zhejiang province).

7. The seventh image is a bust portrait from 1317. The note reads: "In the fourth year of Yuanyou, the cyclical year *dingsi* [1317], the Master concluded the cultivation of the Method of the Great Cavern *[Dadong fa]*. [Thus was] made [this] '*Niwan* Portrait' *(Niwan xiang)*. Eulogized by Zhao Mengfu of Wuxing." *Niwan* refers to the upper of the three Cinnabar Fields of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*. One of the key energy centers of the human body, it is visualized at the center of the head. *Niwan* can refer to a space, a palace, and a god.[17] The term first appears in the *Inner Scripture of the Yellow Court (Huangting neijing jing)*, a text dating to the fourth or fifth century.

8. The eighth portrait depicts Wu Quanjie during the Dade reign (1297–1307). He is shown near a waterfall on Mount Lu in Jiangxi, playing a *qin* zither under a pine tree while two cranes dance.

9. In the ninth portrait, Wu is shown in 1318, carrying out a *jiao* offering ritual at the court.

10. In the tenth portrait, Wu is shown in 1297, visiting the sacred Taoist mountain of Qingcheng Shan near Chengdu in Sichuan. On this trip from Beijing to Sichuan, Wu was asked to substitute for the emperor in worshipping the god of the Yangzi River.

11. The eleventh portrait shows Wu in 1318, in the Western Hills outside Beijing, listening to the wind in the pines.

12. The twelfth portrait depicts Wu during the Zhiyuan reign (1264–94), standing at the summit of Mount Heng, the great sacred peak in Hunan. The note states that Wu was instructed by Yuan Shizu (Khubilai Khan) to offer sacrifice to Mount Heng.

13. The thirteenth portrait depicts Wu in 1327, as a high-ranking Taoist priest at the Yuan court. He wears a blue robe and holds a tablet, and is shown conducting a *jiao* ritual in the Venerating Perfection Palace (Chongzhen Gong).

14. The final portrait depicts Wu in 1331, at age sixty-three, on the occasion of a *jiao* ritual he conducted at court. Here he leans on a three-footed arm-rest *(ji)* and discusses ritual techniques *(fa)*.

This handscroll is one of the few surviving portraits of a Taoist priest from the Yuan dynasty. A memorial portrait sculpture of Wu Quanjie was once installed in its own hall at the Dongyue Miao in Beijing, where it was worshipped as an icon to the temple's builder.[18] An original example of Wu Quanjie's calligraphy can be seen in his colophon to Chen Rong's famous *Nine Dragons* handscroll of 1244, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[19]

—S. L.

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Notes

Cat. no. 44

1. This title does not appear on the painting itself or on its mounting.
2. For example, see the account by Lu Xiujing (406–477) in HY 1268.
3. See Benn 1991 for a detailed study of early Taoist altars.
4. See Rawski 1998: 271.

Cat. no. 45

1. The *Jinping mei* was written during the second half of the sixteenth century and first published around 1618. For the history and importance of this novel, see the introduction in Roy 1993.
2. Roy 1993: xviii.
3. The principal characters of the novel are all described in Roy 1993.
4. For more on *liandu* rites, see Boltz 1983.
5. In particular, the *Jiutian shengshen zhangjing*; the significance of this particular scripture in the *Jinping mei* has been studied in an unpublished paper; see R. Wang 1999.
6. Roy 1993: lxxiv.
7. See R. Wang 1999.

Cat. nos. 46–51

1. The text survives as a Tang dynasty (618–906) Taoist manuscript from Dunhuang in Central Asia, and corresponds to HY 1117 in the Taoist Canon (*Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*; *juan* 5 includes regulations on robes for Taoist priests; see Ofuchi 1978–79: vol. 1, 223–42). The Dunhuang scroll is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Pelliot 2337).
2. Datong shi bowu guan 1978: pl. 2.
3. See Wilson 1995: fig. 6a–b.
4. The story of Wang Ziqiao was recorded on a late Han dynasty stele dated A.D. 165; see Chen 1988: 2; see also Ebrey 1981: 38–39. I am grateful to Joseph Steuber of the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, who kindly sent me a copy of his master's thesis; see Steuber 1996.
5. Watson 1965: 91–93.
6. Lagerwey 1987b: 291.
7. Previously published in Kerr 1991: pl. 28, and Wilson 1995: 44, fig. 3.
8. Acc. no. 46.188; published in Mailey 1978: no. 10.

Cat. no. 52

1. The division of China into nine ancient provinces *(jiuzhou)* was one of the many achievements credited to Emperor Yu; another was the quelling of annual floods and the harnessing of great rivers. Yu's earthworks and feats of hydraulic engineering symbolized the bringing of order to chaos.
2. Andersen 1989–90: 15–16. As Andersen shows, the Pace of Yu is mentioned in both the *Ri Shu (Day Book)*, a bamboo-slip manuscript excavated in 1975 from a tomb dated 217 B.C. (Qin dynasty) at Shuihudi, Hubei province, and the *Wushi'er bingfang (Fifty-two Healing Methods)*, a medical treatise written on silk discovered in 1974 in an early Han tomb at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province.
3. Ibid.: 21. On early conceptions of the Northern Dipper, see also Harper 1978–79.
4. Andersen 1989–90: 18, 37.
5. Ibid.: 38. Proper enactment of the Pace of Yu could result in transformation into a "terrestrial immortal," acquisition of the mushroom of immortality, and realization as a perfected being *(zhenren)*. As Andersen has shown, in the original Shangqing teachings of the Six Dynasties period, the Pace of Yu appears to have been an individual practice, unlike its later manifestation at the center of communal ritual. This change appears to have occurred during the Tang dynasty (618–906).
6. Boltz 1987a: 34.
7. Ibid.: 33. Boltz notes that "From the *Yijianzhi* stories [compiled by Hong Mai, 1123–1202], it appears that the Tianxin practitioners were recognized above all else for their expertise in the exorcism of possessing spirits that were thought to have caused various forms of mental disturbances" (ibid.: 37–38).

Cat. nos. 53–54

1. See the chart in Bokenkamp 1983: 451.
2. The Ming woodblock-printed version of this text has a superb illustrated frontispiece depicting the Three Purities (Sanqing), the highest gods of the Taoist pantheon.

Cat. no. 56

1. The accompanying commentary is not written in a grid.
2. The complete title is *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing*.

Cat. no. 57

1. See the biography of Zhu Youtang in Goodrich and Fang 1976, vol. 1: 375–80; see also Twitchett and Fairbank 1988: 353.
2. See Seidel 1983: 323. Seidel has shown that the imperial investiture ceremony was based on an ancient Taoist ritual.
3. Berling 1998: 956, 966. The imperial patronage of religious Taoism reached an apogee during the Jiajing reign (1522–66). Berling has shown that "the pattern of Ming imperial patronage of Taoist temples and rituals was repeated in virtually every reign." This provides a counterpoint to the better-known Ming imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhism; see Berger 1994: 107–10.
4. Mather 1979: 118.
5. Fuqiu was the teacher of the Zhou dynasty immortal Wang Ziqiao.
6. Despite the fact that the *kesi* wrapper appears at the end of the painting, it is clear that the scroll was meant to be read from right to left (see Sung 1999: 136).
7. Zhang's biography is recorded in *Han Tianshi shijia* (1607), a text in the Wanli period (1573–1620) supplement to the Taoist Canon; see HY 1452, and ZTDZ, vol. 58: 442–43 (*juan* 4: 8–10). The *Han Tianshi shijia* documents the lives of the Ming Celestial Masters up to 1565.
8. Zhang Xuanqing here prefaced his signature with the character *chen* ("servitor"), denoting that he is a servant of the court.
9. Dragon and Tiger Mountain was Zhang Xuanqing's home.
10. This is the case in many imperial inscriptions, such as tomb epitaphs or contractual agreements with the spirit world.
11. The zodiac gods have the heads of their corresponding animal symbols on their headdresses.
12. For Empress Zhang's biography, see MS, vol. 12: 3528.
13. For information on events in the life of the Ming Celestial Master, see Seidel 1983 and Huang Ming *enming shilu*, a text in the Taoist Canon (HY 1450) documenting events in the lives of the Celestial Masters from 1360 to 1605.
14. On Zhu Yi, see GCXZL, *juan* 5: 51a–55a. Bruyn 2000 points out that during the Ming, many of the Celestial Masters from Longhu Shan married into the imperial family. Through this marriage the Celestial Master obtained a brother-in-law in Li Dongyang (1447–1516), a highly influential Grand Secretary in the reigns of Hongzhi and Zhengde, and one of the finest poets of the Ming dynasty.

Cat. nos. 58–59

1. On Sima Chengzhen and Emperor Xuanzong, see Schafer 1978–79: 58. The Tang dynasty sword is also illustrated in Schafer 1978c: fig. 4. See also Kroll 1978.
2. On Tao Hongjing, see Strickmann 1979a.

Cat. nos. 60–61

1. MS, *juan* 299: 7656.
2. The Xuande emperor was well known as a painter; see Barnhart 1993: 53–57.
3. Berling 1998: 957–58.

Cat. no. 62

1. Schipper 1993: 85.
2. Lagerwey 1987b: 80. For examples of "celestial-seal" or "cloud-seal" script, see cat. no. 57.
3. Ibid.: 39.

Cat. no. 63

1. The ring of energy around this figure is similar to inner alchemical depictions of the union of fire (*yang* energy) and water (*yin* energy) in the energy centers of the body; for example, see cat. no. 133.
2. There is apparently a mistake in this arrangement, since the trigram *kun* is shown in the place of *li* as well as in its own position, while *li* is missing altogether.
3. See the introduction to section III.5 and the entries in that section for more detail on the significance of these trigrams in Inner Alchemy.
4. Both dippers are shown with seven stars, although in fact the Southern Dipper has only six stars. The number of stars in the dippers were sometimes altered for aesthetic balance; see cat. no. 78.
5. It was sometimes believed that there was a final highest heaven above the Three Purities called the *Daluo* heaven; the single peak and the palaces at the top of this tablet may refer to this ultimate celestial realm (see also cat. nos. 65–67).

Cat. no. 64

1. Wu Quanjie's biography is found in YS: 1160–61. Valuable information on Wu Quanjie can also be found in Yu Ji's long inscription on the *River Chart Immortal's Altar (Hetu xiantan bei)* in DYXGJ, *juan* 25: 5b ff. (see Sun 1981: 238–39).
2. Zhang Liusun was the most powerful Taoist at the Yuan court in the late thirteenth century. A sign of his influence was his success in seeing that the ban on Taoist scriptures that had been promulgated by Khubilai Khan in 1271 was no longer enforced.
3. As Sun K'o-k'uan has shown, the Xuanjiao school was formed by the Mongol emperors as a means of co-opting the authority of the Celestial Masters of the Orthodox Unity sect at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in Jiangxi province. As part of this program, in 1304 the Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan was summoned to court from Longhu Shan and given the title "Head of the Zhengyi School" (Zhengyi jiaozhu); see Sun 1981: 229, and Swann 1964: 17.
4. YS: 1160.
5. Sun 1981: 224
6. Ibid., see also Broeck and Tung 1951: 102.
7. Sun 1981: 212–13.
8. Wu Quanjie also played a role in the choice of the forty-third Celestial Master, Zhang Yuchu (1359–1410), a pivotal Taoist of the early Ming who began a new compilation of the Taoist Canon (eventually published in 1444–45); see Broeck and Tung 1951: 77. For a painting by Wu Bolí inscribed by Zhang Yuchu, see cat. no. 141.
9. Translated in Sun 1981: 225. Of all the Yuan literati, Wu Quanjie was probably closest to Wu Cheng, the greatest Neo-Confucian scholar of his day and a court official under the Mongols. Wu Quanjie and Wu Cheng came from the same home town. See Gedalecia 1981: 186–211.
10. SHMN: 372–75.
11. The same is true of the sequence of portraits recorded in the *Shanhu munon*.
12. The "pivot" (*shu*) refers to the axis determined by the relative position of the Pole Star and the earth. The Pole Star was called *Beiji* (Northern Extremity) or *Tian shu* (Pivot of Heaven). Both the terrestrial and celestial realms circumscribed this axis.
13. Kohn 1989a: 196.
14. The present White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) in Beijing is located just west of its predecessor, the Changchun Guan.
15. The jade tablets were offerings directed to the gods of Mount Song and the Ji River.
16. See, for example, Zhao's stele inscription at the Dongyue Miao, Beijing, entitled *Daojiao bei* (*Stele on the Taoist Religion*), and the handscroll in the Tokyo National Museum entitled *Record of the Restoration of the Three Gates of the Xuanmiao Guan*; see Broeck and Tung 1951, and *Shodō zenshū* 1970–73, vol. 17: pls. 1–5.
17. In the body, the god Taiyi (Supreme Unity; see cat. no. 75) dwells above the *niwan*; see Robinet 1993: 100. The *niwan* itself consists of nine cavities that correspond to nine celestial palaces; see Despeux 1994: 67.
18. Broeck and Tung: pl. 2. A copy made in 1999 stands in the same hall today.
19. Wu 1997: pl. 92. The *Nine Dragons* scroll also bears colophons by Ouyang Xuan and the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, Zhang Sicheng (dated 1331; see cat. no. 73), among others.

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THE TAOIST PANTHEON developed with the growth of the Taoist religion in the late Han and Six Dynasties periods (second–sixth centuries). By the Tang dynasty (618–906), the Three Purities (Sanqing), one of whom was the deified Laozi, were established as the highest gods of the Taoist pantheon. In religious Taoism, the gods are conceived of as pure emanations of the Tao. An important corollary is that the gods are ultimately less important than the Tao itself. Taoism has no supreme being, but teaches that there is only the Tao that spontaneously generates the cosmos.

Taoist gods can further be defined as those deities who are represented by revealed scriptures in the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)*. This characterizes the majority of Taoist gods, as opposed to the gods of popular religion, who more often begin their existence as human heroes or even animal or terrestrial spirits and who are eventually transformed into gods of the popular pantheon. Of the Three Purities, only the deified Laozi has his own mythology. Among the high gods of Taoism are the Three Officials (Sanguan): the gods of Heaven, Earth, and Water, who function as judges of human fate.

This section of the exhibition includes an eleventh-century handscroll by Wu Zongyuan in ink on silk, depicting deities of the Taoist pantheon, entitled *Procession of Immortals Paying Homage to the Primordial* (cat. no. 74). Paintings such as this may have served as models for murals in Taoist temples, and are iconographically significant because they allow us to reconstruct the Taoist pantheon at different moments in its historical development. The most spectacular surviving depictions of the Taoist pantheon are the fourteenth-century murals painted on the walls of the Hall of the Three Purities at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong), a Yuan dynasty Taoist temple in southern Shanxi province. These murals focus on eight major gods, painted on an enormous scale, each accompanied by a large entourage of deities. The eight principal gods are the Great Emperor of the South Pole Star, the Earth Goddess (Houtu), the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang), the Purple Tenuity Emperor (Ziwei dadi), Supreme Unity (Taiyi), Metal Mother (Jinmu, the Queen Mother of the West), Wood Sire (Mugong, the ancient Dongwanggong, Lord King of the East), and Gouchen (a celestial emperor representing the constellation surrounding the Pole Star). Among the lesser gods included are the deities of the Sun, Moon, and Five Planets, the gods of the Eight Trigrams, and the gods of the Chinese zodiac.

The images in this and other sections of the exhibition include paintings from several important sets of hanging scrolls made for use in the Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)*, a Buddhist rite developed in China for the universal salvation of all sentient beings from hell. Like other "fast" rituals common to both Buddhism and Taoism, the ritual was intended to establish merit *(gong)* for both the living and the souls of the dead in the netherworld, so that they might be released from the tortures of these hells and re-enter the wheel of reincarnation, or, better yet, ascend to the celestial realms. Until the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), sets of Water and Land Ritual paintings included depictions of the highest gods of religious Taoism, the Three Purities (Sanqing), but from the time of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25) onward, the inclusion of these images was forbidden in such sets. In many cases the images of Taoist gods that appear in surviving Ming dynasty sets of Water and Land Ritual paintings provide the earliest or finest known images of particular Taoist gods, and it is for this reason that they are included in the exhibition.

Detail, cat. no. 77

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Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning

Ming dynasty, 16th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
140 × 80 cm
White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan), Beijing

66

Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure

Early Qing dynasty, 17th/18th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
160 × 80 cm
White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan), Beijing

67

Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power

Early Qing dynasty, 17th/18th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
160 × 80 cm
White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan), Beijing

These three hanging scrolls, from two different triptychs, depict the three highest deities of the later Taoist pantheon, the Three Purities (Sanqing). The Three Purities rule over the highest three celestial realms of Jade Purity *(Yuqing)*, Highest Purity *(Shangqing)*, and Great Purity *(Taiqing)*, also called the Three Purities; these realms are often identified with the Three Heavens *(Santian)*.[1] Each of these three fundamental embodiments of the Way in turn transforms itself threefold, resulting in nine heavens, which then manifest in the four directions, for a total of thirty-six heavens. According to the Northern Song dynasty Taoist master Zhang Junfang (active early eleventh century),

> Originally, Taoism *(daojia)* arose from what has no beginning; it left traces and responded to impulses, giving birth to the Wondrous One (Miaoyi). The Wondrous One divided into the Three Primes (Sanyuan), the Three Primes transformed into the Three Energies *(Sanqi)* and the Three Energies transformed into the Three Materials *(Sancai)*.[2] When the Three Materials grew, then all the ten thousand things were prepared for.[3]

This vision of the inception of world is derived from chapter 42 of the *Daode jing*:

> The Way gave rise to the one,
> The one gave rise to the two,
> The two gave rise to the three,
> The three gave rise to all the ten thousand things.

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Although the deities of the Three Purities seen in these hanging scrolls were a fairly late development, the ideas that formed their basis began to appear as early as the fourth or fifth century. The threefold division of the world reflected in the "Three Energies" and the "Three Materials" described by Zhang Junfang was a fundamental part of the first attempts of the Celestial Master movement to organize the Taoist religion on a large scale in the fifth century. For example, an early Liu-Song dynasty (420–479) scripture[4] from this movement claims that Laozi (see cat. no. 1) first took shape from the Mysterious, Primordial, and Beginning energies (the Three Energies) that manifested from Great Nothingness *(Taiwu)*, and that he further spread these energies to form the heavens, the earth, and all things in between (in other words, the Three Materials). In addition, this scripture states that the teachings that Laozi transmitted to Zhang Ling, the founder of the Celestial Master movement in the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220),[5] were manifestations of the energies of the Three Heavens, and that part of Zhang's title was "Master of the Three Heavens" (Santian zhi shi).

This threefold division of the celestial realms and the energies that formed the world would eventually be associated with another three-part system, the Three Caverns *(Sandong)*. This system, first codified by the Liu-Song dynasty Taoist scholar Lu Xiujing (406–477), was a means for the Celestial Master tradition to incorporate scriptural writings from outside the movement, in particular those that included new teachings that had developed out of prominent family traditions in the area near the southern capital.[6] The Highest Purity scriptures, which centered around the Xu family from the Jurong area (southeast of modern Nanjing), were organized into the Cavern of Perfection *(Dongzhen)* category; the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao) scriptures (see cat. no. 53), which centered around the Ge family from the same area, were arranged into the Cavern of Mystery *(Dongxuan)* category; and a group of writings centered around the *Scripture of the Three Emperors (Sanhuang jing)*, which was connected with both the Xu and Ge family traditions through its supposed author, Bao Jing, were arranged into the Cavern of Divinity *(Dongshen)* category. While Taoist scriptures quickly expanded beyond the limits of these three scriptural traditions, the Three Caverns were maintained as the basis for organizing Taoist scriptures, and the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Taoist Canon is still nominally arranged according to the Three Caverns.

Gradually, attempts were made to incorporate these different three-part doctrines into a single, coherent system, which was then applied to the Taoist pantheon; the eventual result of these attempts was the Three Purities. Early versions of the Three

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Purities appeared in the Tang dynasty (618–906). For example, Wang Xuanhe, a Taoist encyclopedist active during the reigns of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang (r. 649–83) and China's only empress, Wu Zetian (r. 684–705), identified Jade Purity as the realm of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), Highest Purity as the realm of the Great Highest Lord of the Grand Way (Taishang dadao jun), and Great Purity as the realm of the Great Highest Elder Lord (Taishang laojun, or Laozi).[7] The Three Purities theory continued to mature through the Tang and Song (960–1279) dynasties, and variants were developed on the basic threefold division of the highest heavens and the deities associated with them. Zhang Junfang, who was the most prominent Taoist figure of his time, stated that Jade Purity is ruled by the Celestial Treasure Lord (Tianbao jun), Highest Purity is ruled by the Numinous Treasure Lord (Lingbao jun), and Great Purity is ruled by the Spirit Treasure Lord (Shenbao jun).[8] Above these three realms is one more heaven, the highest of the highest, which is the residence of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning. Zhang's theory is fully matured, and associates these three deities with the Three Heavens, the Three Energies, and the Three Caverns.[9] At the same time, though, this theory differs from both the Tang dynasty system set forth by Wang Xuanhe and the later system evident in these three paintings. Consequently, it seems that the idea of the Three Purities, while well developed and widely supported, was still not entirely standardized by the Northern Song period.

In addition, there is evidence that the Three Purities were incorporated into Buddhist ritual during the Northern Song, which indicates that the doctrine had already expanded beyond the boundaries of Taoism by this time.[10]

These three paintings represent the Three Purities as understood by the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect of Taoism (see below). The first deity, who rules over the realm of Jade Purity and is the patriarch of the Cavern of Perfection scriptures, is the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning. The second deity, who rules over the realm of Highest Purity and is the patriarch of the Cavern of Mystery scriptures, is the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun). The third deity, who rules over the realm of Great Purity and is the patriarch of the Cavern of Divinity scriptures, is the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun); the iconography of this last deity indicates to us that he is none other than Laozi (see cat. no. 1). These names and attributes are the end result of the various accretions that developed around the threefold division of both the celestial realms and the Taoist scriptures, beginning in the medieval period. They are at once the highest of all Taoist deities, the rulers of the most refined celestial realms, and the patrons of the three major sections of the Taoist Canon as it still exists today. As manifestations of the Three Energies, they are the source of all life, and as the patriarchs of the Three Caverns, they are the source of all knowledge.

These paintings differ from many of the other works in this catalogue in that they come from an active Taoist temple, the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) in Beijing, rather than from a museum. Thus, they not only are relics of past beliefs, but represent a tradition that is still alive, despite the hostile political climate of the recent past. The Three Purities are still revered in this temple, and their images hold a place of special honor in their own pavilion along the central axis of the temple grounds.[11] The White Cloud Monastery is the principal seat of the Complete Realization sect, one of the two major movements of Taoism in modern China.[12] This movement, which is best known for its doctrine of the "unity of the Three Teachings" *(Sanjiao yizhi)*, joining together the ideals of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, grew out of the chaos of the twelfth century after the fall of the Northern Song. It gained considerable political influence through the figure of Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), also known as Qiu Changchun ("Endless Spring"), a disciple of the founder of the movement, Wang Chongyang (1112–1170).[13] Qiu was first patronized by the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) ruling house, but his support was also sought by the Southern Song (1127–1279) imperial house and the Mongols under Chinggis (Ghengis) Khan (r. 1206–27). Qiu began to court the Mongol rulers, and, in 1222, at over seventy years of age, he traveled into Central Asia to meet with Chinggis Khan, thereby linking his movement with the rising Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), which would later gain control over all of China. The White Cloud Monastery was originally named after Qiu,[14] whose remains are said to be buried under the hall devoted to him, which is in front of the Pavilion of the Three Purities. The White Cloud Monastery also originally housed the Ming dynasty woodblock edition of the Taoist Canon, which formed the basis for all modern reprints of this compilation; this Ming edition of the Taoist Canon was kept in the second floor of the Pavilion of the Three Purities.[15] In this sense, the Pavilion of the Three Purities in the White Cloud Monastery can rightly be said to be the source for all contemporary research on the religion of Taoism, and the deities worshipped there remain the patriarchs of the modern scholarly tradition.

—S. E.

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Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning

Ming dynasty, late 15th/early 16th century
Glazed stoneware
H. 203 cm
Tsui Art Foundation, Hong Kong

The introduction of Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") Buddhism into China through trade routes in Central Asia had a tremendous impact on Chinese religion, including Taoism. Taoist writers began to reproduce the narrative style of Buddhist writings, and to develop deities in imitation of the many Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Mahayana pantheon. This trend is clearest in the figure of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning, an imitation of the supreme Buddhas of the Mahayana tradition.

After his initial appearance in the early fifth century, this deity quickly became the most important of all Taoist gods. By the Tang dynasty, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning was seen as the source of all Taoist teachings. Supposedly, Taoist scriptures first existed only as patterns that appeared in the pure energies of the unformed world, potent but unintelligible. The Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning took these patterns and refined them, casting them into gold and jade tablets with readable characters similar to talismanic script (see cat. no. 56). When the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning first revealed his teachings, the blind regained their sight, the deaf were able to hear, and withered bones even sprang from their graves, filled with new life.[1] Each time a Taoist priest recited the scriptures revealed by the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning, he re-enacted these miracles, freeing the souls of all living things from suffering and transforming his own body through the sacred energies contained in the scripture.

The Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning was eventually incorporated into the Three Purities (see cat. no. 65) as the highest of these three deities, and this assured him an unsurpassed position in the later Taoist pantheon. This large sculpture was most likely made as one of a set of three images depicting these Three Purities. The sculpture is made of separately fired and glazed parts that have been put together; this example is unusual in being largely intact.[2] The green, yellow, aubergine, blue, and transparent enamel glazes found here were widely used during the Ming dynasty for both Buddhist and Taoist ceramic sculpture, and are closely related to the glazes used in Fahua ware.

—S. E.

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TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO WU DAOZI
Taoist Official of Heaven

Southern Song dynasty, first half 12th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
125.5 × 55.9 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Chinese and Japanese Special Fund (12.881)

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TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO WU DAOZI
Taoist Official of Earth

Southern Song dynasty, first half 12th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
125.5 × 55.9 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Chinese and Japanese Special Fund (12.880)

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TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO WU DAOZI
Taoist Official of Water

Southern Song dynasty, first half 12th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
125.5 × 55.9 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Chinese and Japanese Special Fund (12.882)

72

Illuminated Manuscript of the Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Three Principles Who Protect and Prolong Life, Eliminate Disaster, Abolish Danger, Forgive Sins, and Confer Blessings

Ming dynasty, Chenghua reign, dated 1470
Accordion-mounted album; gold on indigo paper
30.5 × 21.3 cm (each page)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Asiatic Curator's Fund and Frederick L. Jack Fund (1996.58)

69

THE TRIAD OF GODS known as the Three Officials (Sanguan) emerged in the religious Taoist pantheon as early as the late Han dynasty (second century). These gods function as judges of human fate. According to a Taoist scripture of the fifth century (the *Taishang santian neijie jing*, or *Supreme Scripture on the Inner Elucidation of the Three Heavens*), the Three Officials played a role in the deified Laozi's initial revelation in A.D. 142 to the first Celestial Master of religious Taoism, Zhang Daoling. As a consequence of this revelation, Zhang Daoling "made a contract with the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water respectively, as well as with the generals of the star of the Great Year [*Taisui*, or

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Jupiter], so that they then entered the orthodox system of the Three Heavens and no longer opposed the faithful."[1] It is noteworthy that the origin of the Three Officials is older than that of the Three Purities (Sanqing), the highest gods of the religious Taoist pantheon (see cat. nos. 65–67).

The Three Officials also appear in such fifth-century Lingbao scriptures as the *Precepts of the Three Primes (Sanyuan pin)*, and the *Supreme Secret Essentials (Wushang biyao)*, a Taoist encyclopedia compiled during the Northern Zhou dynasty in the late sixth century.[2] Thereafter the Three Officials played a key role as intermediaries between human beings and the bureaucracy of the netherworld of the dead. Certain days of the ritual calendar were reserved for the offering of petitions to the Three Officials, when these gods would review an individual's merits and demerits: the seventh days of the first and seventh months, and the fifth day of the tenth month.[3] On these occasions, petitions to the Official of Heaven (Tian guan) were burned (and thus carried via smoke to the heavens), petitions to the Official of Earth (Di guan) were buried, and those to the Official of Water (Shui guan) were submerged.[4]

The theme of the Three Officials is recorded as having been painted as early as the Tang dynasty (618–906).[5] The earliest surviving depiction of these gods, however, may be that in the well-known Junkunc album, datable to the early Southern Song dynasty (twelfth century).[6] There the gods are shown with the official titles they were granted in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), and are accompanied by Emissaries of the Five Directions. The most elaborate depiction of the Three Officials from the Song dynasty (960–1279), however, is found in the triptych of twelfth-century hanging scrolls in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. nos. 69–71).[7] Painted in ink, colors, and gold on finely woven silk, with great visual coherence and meticulous attention to detail, these are among the finest surviving Taoist paintings of the Song dynasty.[8] Each painting depicts one of the Three Officials in his realm, surrounded by an entourage of lesser gods and attendants.

The Official of Heaven (cat. no. 69) is shown seated on a platform, surrounded by a large entourage of male and female attendants; the entire group floats on a pale reddish cloud against a void painted in green wash. The Official leans on a low table. Facing him is a kneeling acolyte holding a tablet. An elaborate mandorla appears behind the god, and a canopy is held over his head. This mandorla is decorated in ink and gold with twin dragons against a dense ground of floral scrolls. Fourteen attendants hold a variety of banners, standards, fans, and offerings. In the lower right corner, a single figure holding an axe ascends on a cloud.

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In the central painting of the Boston triptych (cat. no. 70), the Official of Earth is shown traveling on horseback through a landscape, accompanied by an entourage of attending gods, immortals, and demons. A parasol surmounted by a phoenix is held over the official's head. The god is dressed in the guise of an emperor of high antiquity *(shanggu)*, and holds a switch in his right hand. The figures accompanying the Official of Earth are both male and female. A demonic attendant walking behind the horse holds a falcon in his hand. At the bottom of the painting is Zhong Kui, the Demon Queller, accompanied by three demons and a monkey. The rocks and trees of the landscape are painted in a style derived from that of the Northern Song (eleventh century) master Guo Xi.[9] Like the earthforms, the foliage is painted primarily in ink, with occasional additions of pale green pigment; here the "crab-claw" brushwork in tree branches is also derived from Guo Xi. The painting of the figures is exceedingly fine, with sensitively rendered facial expressions.

The third painting depicts the Official of Water crossing the roiling waves of an ocean on the back of a dragon (cat. no. 71). The character *wang* (king) appears on the front of his crown. An ornate canopy is held over the official's head. He is accompanied by a host of attendants, including five demons at the bottom of the scroll; two of the attendants ride on the backs of sea turtles. The painting is executed primarily in monochrome ink, with occasional additions of orange-red pigment in the figures' robes. Gold highlights appear throughout the scroll, for example in the attendants' armor, staffs, and hats. The eyes of the dragon are painted red, with gold pupils. The roofs of an underwater palace emerge from the waves at the lower right corner. Above, in the clouds, the god of thunder (Leigong) pounds on a set of drums, while a red-robed scholar and a female figure appear in the upper right corner. The painting of the background waves, rendered in monochrome ink, stands among the finest depictions of water in Chinese painting, despite the fact that the lower edge of the painting is completely repaired.

As Wu Tung has shown, in Chinese paintings of the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, the Three Officials are more often depicted in one scroll.[10] The grouping of all three gods together does occur at least as early as the Song dynasty, however, as can be seen in a leaf in the Junkunc album. The Three Officials are also shown as a group in the fourteenth-century Taoist murals at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in southern Shanxi province, where they form part of the entourage of the star-god Gouchen.[11] A Ming painting in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, entitled *The Three Officials Conducting an Inspection Tour*, has traditionally been attributed to the Southern Song court painter Ma Lin (active early to mid-thirteenth

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72 (detail)

century).[12] Painted in ink and colors on silk, this work depicts all three officials and their respective entourages in one composition. At the bottom, riding a dragon through waves, is the Official of Water; in the middle ground, riding on a white mythical beast, is the Official of Earth; and at the top, riding in a cart pulled by another mythical beast, is the Official of Heaven. Despite the attribution to Ma Lin, it appears that this work should be attributed to an artist of the Ming dynasty, most likely working in the sixteenth century.[13] A slightly earlier image of all three gods together is found among the fifteenth-century Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)* paintings from the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si), now in the Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan.[14]

The early Ming illuminated Taoist scripture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. no. 72), is a transcription of a text in the Taoist Canon that describes the efficacy of the Three Officials. Composed in the Southern Song (1127–1279) or Yuan (1260–1368) dynasties, the full title of the text is *Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Three Principles Who Protect and Prolong Life, Eliminate Disaster, Abolish Danger, Forgive Sins, and Confer Blessings (Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miao jing)*, also known as the *Scripture of the Three Officials (Sanguan jing)*.[15] The Boston manuscript is a handwritten, accordion-mounted album. The frontispiece, painted in gold and pale blue pigment on indigo paper, depicts the Three Officials seated in a landscape. Each official is attended by a civil official or attendant. To the left a worshipper holding a tablet kneels on a rock slab, while a guardian and scholar stand in attendance at the right. In the left background are three carriages prepared for an inspection tour by the Three Officials of their respective realms. On the ground at the center, in front of the three gods, is a tortoise. The landscape includes rocks and pines with scrolling clouds above, all painted in gold. The text is written with seventeen characters per vertical column, a format imitating Buddhist *sutras*. The full title of the scripture appears following a short preface. A dedication at the end is dated to the second lunar month of the sixth year of Chenghua (1470), but states that the scroll was actually finished in the first lunar month of the preceding year:

> Made in the first month of the fifth year of Chenghua (1469). Within I devote my heart and grant funds (to make this) gold book, the *Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Three Principles Who Protect and Prolong Life, Eliminate Disaster, Abolish Danger, Forgive Sins, and Confer Blessings*, in order, through this action, to (accumulate) merit and (cultivate) virtue. I pray for my household, that it enjoy what is pure and auspicious, and that (the Three Officials) protect my family. This preface (is written) in order to unite and pacify fires and robbers, and to remove all *karma;* consequently I think of this. Inscribed on an auspicious day of the twelfth month, in the sixth year of Chenghua (1470).

While the majority of surviving images of the Three Officials from traditional China are paintings, sculptural images of these gods were also made. Among the finest of these are the set of enormous Ming dynasty wood sculptures now located in the main hall of the recently renovated Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue Miao) in Beijing; these colossal figures also date to the Chenghua reign (1465–87).[16]

—S. L.

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(detail)

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Uppermost Highest Spirit Thunder Jade Pivot Thunderous Peal Precious Scripture with Talismanic Seals

Yuan dynasty, Zhishun reign, colophon dated 1333
Woodblock-printed book, ink on paper
33.2 × 12.5 cm (each page)
The British Library, London (15103.aa.2)

THIS RICHLY ILLUSTRATED woodblock-printed book is an annotated edition of the Southern Song dynasty *Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot (Yushu baojing)*.[1] This scripture developed from the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) movement, which began as an imperial cult sponsored by the late Northern Song emperor Huizong (*r.* 1100–25); Huizong believed himself to be an incarnation of the supreme deity of this movement.[2] There are three commentaries included in this version, attributed to the Taoist master Bai Yuchan (1194–1228); the first patriarch of the Celestial Master movement, Zhang Daoling (second century); and a certain "Celestial Lord Zhang, Emissary of the Five Thunders." These commentaries are accompanied by a set of eulogistic poems attributed to Lü Dongbin (see cat. no. 120). The name of the scripture is explained by one of these commentaries as follows:

> Jade is the essence of the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon; it is the congealed flower of *yin* and *yang*, water and fire. . . . It does not decay, even after ten thousand years. Pivot means trigger, axis. It is the origin of life and death.

This scripture is said to have been revealed to the Thunder Master Luminous Elder (Haoweng) by a deity called the Celestial Worthy of the Nine Heavens Who Responds to the Primordial, with a Voice of Thunder, Transforming All. According to the commentary, "Thunder is the command of the heavens. . . . The heavens do not speak—thunder speaks for them." It was believed that this deity supervised a group of officers who controlled life and death, prosperity and failure, and that he was surrounded by an orchestra of thirty-six spirits (for the manifestations of the highest nine heavens in the four directions) who beat the drums that made the thirty-six different kinds of thunder. In this scripture, he is said to have taken a vow to save all beings who recite his name, probably in imitation of Buddhist deities such as Amitabha or Avalokiteshvara (Guanyin). Moreover, the scripture claims to aid all those who recite it during times of illness or difficulty and who employ the protective talismans included at the end of the scripture.

(detail)

This edition contains over two dozen illustrations corresponding to the narrative of the scripture, in addition to a magnificent frontispiece, a depiction of a procession of deities, and other supplementary illustrations; these are not preserved in the corresponding text in the Taoist Canon. In addition, this edition is one of the few (if not the only) printed versions of any Taoist scripture that predate the present, Ming dynasty Taoist Canon. As such, it is of unparalleled importance for our understanding of printed Taoist scriptures before the Ming, at the same time that it preserves a more complete edition of the *Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot* than those found in the Ming Taoist Canon.

The first illustration shown here, which comes toward the end of the scripture, accompanies a *gatha* metrical hymn, a feature adopted from Buddhist scriptures:

> The Highest Prince of Jade Purity
> Unites the thirty-six heavens;
> The Lord of the Nine Heavens Who Transforms All
> Changes his form for the worlds of all ten directions.
> With loose hair, he rides a magical beast *(qilin)*,
> With bare feet, he treads over layered ice.

The commentaries read the titles in the first and third lines as both referring to the Celestial Worthy who transmitted the scripture, although the illustration shows the Lord of the Nine Heavens (the central figure) in line three as a manifestation of the Highest Prince of Jade Purity (shown in the upper right, with a beam of energy directed from his upraised hand to the central figure), whose relationship with the Celestial Worthy is unclear owing to a lack of defining attributes. The Lord of the Nine Heavens is accompanied by a fierce figure who carries the records of good and bad actions, and four figures in charge of punishing wrongdoers are shown in the lower left corner. The other figures are all officials under the control of the Lord of the Nine Heavens, including many thunder gods. Of particular interest are the popular gods in the upper left corner: the Earl of Wind (Fengbo), shown with an animal skin that holds the winds; the Duke of

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Thunder with his circle of flaming drums; the Mother of Lightning, holding mirrors that emit lightning bolts; and the Rain Master, holding a cup full of rain and a branch with which to scatter it over the earth.

The second illustration shown here is the frontispiece. This frontispiece shows the initial revelation of the scripture in Jade Purity, the highest of the Three Purities (see cat. no. 65). The Celestial Worthy sits in a throne aflame with magical energy, flanked by two celestial guardians and a host of other civil and martial officials. In his hands he holds his principal attribute, a mushroom-shaped scepter *(ruyi)* of golden light. Phoenixes hover above him, while other magical animals sport before his throne. The Luminous Elder kneels before an altar in front of the Celestial Worthy as he receives teachings, followed by a host of other deities in the lower register of the image. Hovering above these deities in the upper register is a second line of deities, at least some of whom appear to be star gods.[3] The frontispiece is followed by an illustration of a procession (not shown here) of Taoist patriarchs *(jiaozhu)*, realized beings *(zhenren)*, celestial lords *(tianjun)*, and marshals *(yuanshuai)*, led by the Perfected Warrior (Zhenwu; see cat. no. 103). The procession includes many figures who are illustrated elsewhere in this catalogue, such as Lü Dongbin (see cat. no. 120), Emperor Guan (see cat. no. 83), and Marshal Wen (see cat. no. 87).

After the scripture come a commentary and two colophons. One of the colophons, written by the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, Zhang Sicheng, and dated to 1333, is printed in imitation of the Celestial Master's own script, which suggests that it was originally written to commemorate this edition. These three additions all identify this annotated version of the scripture with the Yuan dynasty figure Xu Daoling.[4] Little is known of Xu, but another scripture annotated by him in the Taoist Canon includes a commentary dated to 1334, indicating that he was still alive when this edition was published.[5]

—S. E.

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Wu Zongyuan (active early 11th century)
Procession of Immortals Paying Homage to the Primordial

Northern Song dynasty, early 11th century
Handscroll; ink on silk
58 × 777.5 cm
Private collection

Wu Zongyuan was one of the greatest painters of Taoist images of the early Northern Song dynasty (960–1126). Working in the style of the Tang dynasty muralist Wu Daozi (active c. 710–c. 760), Wu received many commissions to decorate the walls of Taoist temples in Kaifeng, the Northern Song capital.[1] An official as well, he attained the rank of Vice President of the Bureau of Parks, Lakes, and Mountains.[2] It is significant that the first half of his career, during which he was most productive, corresponded to the reign of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), one of the most devoted of all Northern Song rulers to religious Taoism.[3] Wu Zongyuan was recorded as having made handscroll copies of two Wu Daozi murals in Kaifeng.

Painted in ink on two pieces of pale brown silk, this long scroll (over seven meters) depicts a magnificent procession of Taoist gods, moving from right to left over a series of bridges that span a lotus pond. The composition resembles surviving murals depicting gods of the Taoist pantheon from temples of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), and Xu Bangda and others have suggested that it is a sketch for such a mural painting.[4] It is possible that it transmits the composition of either such a Tang mural by Wu Daozi, or one of Wu Zongyuan's own murals in a Northern Song Taoist temple. The scroll is truncated at the beginning. It presents an extraordinary vision of a celestial realm of the type described in the early visions of the Highest Purity (Shangqing) movement—a heaven populated by elegant gods and goddesses. Each of the deities is labeled, with names written in standard-script characters in cartouches adjacent to each figure. The painting is remarkable for the strength and fluidity of its brushwork, and is the earliest surviving Taoist work of its type. Despite its astonishing quality, the painting is clearly an unfinished sketch; this is evident from such details as the partially finished trees and lotus plants and the informal rendering of many of the figures' hair, painted in pale wash only with no further detail.

The Taoist deities in this handscroll are painted in different sizes, a reflection of their respective rank in the celestial bureaucracy. The primary deities, shown larger than their attendants, are the Great Emperor of Fusang (Fusang dadi), the Celestial Emperor of the Southern Pole [Star] (Nanji tian dijun), and the Eastern Floriate Celestial Emperor (Donghua tian dadi). The first represents the mythical realm from which the sun rises, the second the god who determines the length of human life, and the third Dongwanggong (Lord King of the East), the ancient consort of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), in his later manifestation as Mugong (Wood Sire). In the fourteenth-century murals in the Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian) at the Taoist Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi, both the Emperor of the Southern Pole Star and the Eastern Floriate Celestial Emperor are depicted in much the same guise, although seated.[5] In the Yongle Gong murals, which are nearly three hundred years later in date than the Wu Zongyuan handscroll, the gods are also surrounded by many other Taoist gods and realized beings.

Among the many attending gods in this handscroll are male and female figures with such names as Supreme Ultimate Immortal Marquis (Taiji xianhou), Nine Doubts Immortal Marquis (Jiuyi xianhou),[6] Primordial *Yang* Youth (Yuanyang tongzi), Supreme Clarity Immortal Earl (Taiqing xianbo), Supreme Cinnabar Jade Maiden (Taidan yunü), Opening Brightness Youth (Kaiming tongzi), Opening Radiance Youth (Kaiguang tongzi), Brahma Ether Maitreya Jade Maiden (Fanqi Mile yunü), and Brahma Treasure Cinnabar Glory Jade Maiden (Fanbao danchang yunü). Aside from the presence of names borrowed from the Buddhist world, it is noteworthy that in this painting, the attendant deities called "youths" (*tongzi*; literally, "lads") are all female. The precise scriptural source (if one exists) of this pantheon has yet to be identified.

The earliest reliable colophon on the scroll is by the Yuan scholar-artist Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322).[7] It is dated to 1304, and in it Zhao attributes the scroll to Wu Zongyuan. The scroll's current title was written by the epigrapher Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), and has been translated as *Procession of Immortals Paying Homage to the Primordial (Chaoyuan xianzhangtu)*. In this context, the word *yuan* (prime or primordial) refers to the Tao. There is a reduced-scale copy of this scroll in the Xu Beihong Memorial Museum, Beijing.[8] It is slightly later in date, painted on paper, and lacks the identifying inscriptions of the Wu Zongyuan scroll.

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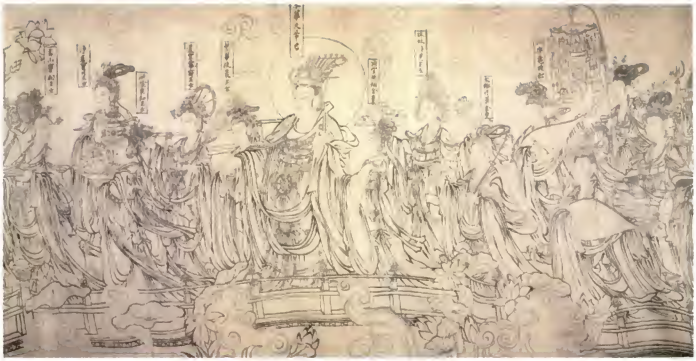

(detail)

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The God Taiyi and Attending Deities

From the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si), Youyu county, Shanxi province
Ming dynasty, c. 1460
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
116 × 61 cm
Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan

TAIYI (SUPREME UNITY) is one of the oldest gods of the Taoist pantheon. His worship can be traced to the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), well before the emergence of Taoism as an organized religion, and continues to the present day.[1] The early importance of this god has been confirmed by the recent discovery of a text known as *Taiyi Generates Water (Taiyi sheng shui)* from a fourth-century-B.C. tomb at Guodian, Hubei province. Based on his research on this text, Donald Harper has shown that Taiyi was a cosmogonic god, a creator of the universe whose actions mirror those of the Tao, who was already worshipped by the social elite in the Warring States period. Taiyi (or Donghuang Taiyi, the Eastern August Supreme Unity) is also the first god described in the "Nine Songs," a series of shamanistic hymns found in the ancient anthology the *Songs of Chu (Chuci)*.[2]

The early Han text *The Master of Huainan (Huainanzi)* states that Taiyi resides in the celestial palace known as Taiwei (Supreme Tenuity), later known as Ziwei Gong (Purple Tenuity Palace).[3] During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), sacrifices to the astral god Taiyi were part of the imperial cult.[4] The *Inscription for Laozi (Laozi ming)*, the late Han stele documenting Laozi's divination, states that Laozi "concentrated his thinking on the cinnabar field, saw Great Unity (Taiyi) in his purple chamber, became one with the Tao, and transformed into an immortal."[5] In the Han dynasty apocryphal texts known as *weishu*, the Northern Dipper was perceived as the instrument of Taiyi: "It is described variously as the ladle by means of which he pours out the primordial breath *(yuanqi)* and as the chariot in which he moves through the heavens."[6] A celestial god, Taiyi was sometimes known as the "supreme emperor of heaven."[7] He was associated with the star Kochab, known in Chinese as Thearch *(Di)*, part of the Little Dipper (Ursa Minor). A passage from the *Records of the Historian (Shiji)* of Sima Qian (second century B.C.) reads:

> The Dipper is the Thearch's carriage. It revolves around the central point and majestically regulates the four realms. The distribution of *Yin* and *Yang*, the fixing of the Four Seasons, the coordination of the Five Phases, the progression of rotational measurements, and the determining of all celestial markers—all of these are linked to the Dipper.[8]

Schuyler Cammann, citing the *Records of the Historian* and the *History of the Former Han Dynasty (Qian Hanshu)*, writes,

> The Han records state that after Wudi [r. 140–87 B.C.] came to the throne in 140 B.C., he regularly conducted the usual sacrifices to Heaven and to Earth, to the Five Emperors (legendary rulers representing the Five Elements), and to the Sun and the Moon (for Yang and Yin), in order to insure the orderly regularity of the universal process; but in 124 B.C. he was persuaded to adopt, in addition, the cult of Taiyi. At first this was merely an additional form of worship, using a separate shrine, but in 113 B.C., having been told that the Five Emperors were only this god's aides, Emperor Wu displaced from the central location in the imperial rites the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who represented the Center among the Five Directions, in order to give Taiyi the focal position in the state worship.[9]

According to recent research by Li Ling, images of Taiyi can be traced back to as early as the Warring States period.[10] During the Tang dynasty reign of Xuanzong (712–56), sacrifices to Taiyi were fully incorporated into imperial Taoist rituals.[11] By the time of the fourteenth-century Taoist murals of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong), a Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect temple in southern Shanxi province, Taiyi is shown in the guise of an emperor, with a mortarboard-type hat with tassels, and holding a tablet.[12]

In the Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)* painting from the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si), Taiyi is shown at the center, surrounded by five attending gods.[13] He clenches his hands together in front of his chest, as do the two attending gods in front. Of the remaining attendants, two hold lances, and one holds a pole with a white banner. Here Taiyi takes on the appearance of Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior), Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven, reflecting the enormous popularity and influence of Zhenwu during the Ming dynasty (see section III.3, "Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior"). At the time the Treasured Tranquility Temple Water and Land Ritual paintings were created, Zhenwu was the most important Taoist god in China. The resemblance of Taiyi to Zhenwu is unmistakable: both figures wear robes covering armor, and have long hair combed straight back from their foreheads (see cat. no. 103). Unlike Zhenwu, however, Taiyi wears boots (Zhenwu is usually shown barefoot).

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The Purple Tenuity Emperor of the North Pole [Star] and Attendants

From the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si), Youyu county, Shanxi province
Ming dynasty, c. 1460
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
117 × 60.5 cm
Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan

THIS SCROLL IS FROM a set of Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)* paintings; the surviving set comprises one hundred and thirty-nine hanging scrolls depicting a variety of Buddhist and Taoist gods and other beings.[1] These paintings were designed for use in a Buddhist ritual, but include some of the finest known depictions of Taoist gods. The goal of the Water and Land Ritual was the universal salvation of all beings, generic depictions of which are shown in the scrolls of this and other, similar sets that survive from the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties. The paintings include depictions of gods of the animal and plant worlds, human beings, and gods of the Buddhist, Taoist, and popular pantheons.

In the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si) painting, the Purple Tenuity Emperor (Ziwei dadi) appears in the central foreground, accompanied by six attendant deities. The background is taken up by swirling clouds. The Ziwei emperor is shown in the guise of a ruler of high antiquity *(shanggu)*, holding a tablet in his hands, and wearing a crown in the shape of a long horizontal board with tassles hanging from either end. He wears a blue outer robe decorated with dragons; his inner robes are red and green, with white hem and collar. The gods to either side also carry tablets of rank in their hands, while the other four attending gods respectively hold a canopy, banners, and a basket of flowers.

Like many Taoist gods, the Purple Tenuity Emperor and his attending deities were conceived of as celestial counterparts to the emperor and his court on earth.[2] One of the most powerful gods in the Taoist pantheon, the Ziwei emperor was viewed since at least the Han dynasty as a god controlling one of the most influential constellations in the northern sky. The emperor of the Ziwei court is still widely worshipped in Taoist temples today, and often depicted in painting and sculpture.

The first known mention of the Ziwei Palace is found in the *History of the Han Dynasty (Han shu)*, in a description of a comet that appeared in 138 B.C.[3] The early Han dynasty Taoist classic *The Master of Huainan (Huainanzi)*, presented to Emperor Wudi by Liu An (d. 122 B.C.), prince of Huainan, mentions the Purple Palace *(Zi Gong)*, the asterism ruled by the emperor depicted in the Baoning Si painting: "The Purple Palace is the dwelling place of the Grand Monad (Taiyi)."[4] The multiplicity of celestial gods that occupy the Purple Palace asterism is attributable to the simultaneous conceptualization of constellations as gods and as homes of gods. This correlative thinking is articulated in Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) texts, but appears to have originated earlier. It is significant that as the dwelling place of the older god Taiyi (conceptualized since the Warring States period as equivalent to the Tao), the Purple Tenuity *(Ziwei)* Court occupies a position in the heavens in immediate conjunction to the Northern Dipper and the Pole Star *(Beiji)*.[5] The Purple Tenuity court was one of three celestial courts *(yuan)* that enclosed large groups of constellations; the others were known as Supreme Tenuity *(Taiwei)* and Heavenly City *(Tianshi)*.[6] The individual star groups that comprised the Purple Tenuity court were first listed in the second century B.C., in the "Treatise on Celestial Officials [Constellations]" *(Tianguan shu)* chapter of Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian (Shiji)*.[7]

In the fourteenth century, the Ziwei emperor was still counted as one of the most important Taoist gods of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) pantheon, as depicted in the Yuan dynasty murals at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi province.[8]

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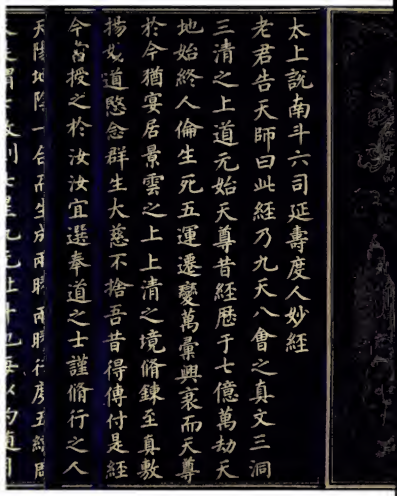
Marvelous Scripture of Salvation that Prolongs Life

Ming dynasty, Longqing reign, dated 1568
Accordion-mounted album; gold on indigo paper
25.9 × 11.9 cm (each page)
Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University,
Philip Hofer Bequest (85.1971.518)



(detail)

Although the outer cover of this Ming dynasty Taoist manuscript in the Sackler Museum bears the title *Marvelous Scripture of the Mysterious Numinous Northern Dipper That Prolongs Life, Revealed by the Most High [Laozi] (Taishang xuanling beidou yansheng miaojing)*, the text actually consists of several related scriptures. These were traditionally said to have been revealed in A.D. 155 by the deified Laozi to Zhang Daoling, the first Celestial Master, in Sichuan.[1] The texts were most likely composed, however, during the Five Dynasties (907–960) or early Northern Song (late tenth century) periods.[2] The complete group of texts to which these scriptures belong contains petitions for summoning key stellar gods, including the deities of the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper and the gods of the Southern, Eastern, Western, and Central Dippers.

The texts included in this manuscript are inscribed in gold ink on indigo paper, in the manner of Buddhist scriptures. According to a note in a cartouche at the end, the scriptures were transcribed with the well-being of the emperor and the nation in mind. The text is bound as an accordion-mounted album. The first text is entitled *Marvelous Scripture of Salvation of the Southern Dipper That Prolongs Life in the Six Bureaus, Spoken by the Most High [Laozi] (Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miao jing)*. Following this are scriptures entitled *Marvelous Scripture of the Eastern Dipper That Rules over Destiny and Protects Life, Spoken by the Most High [Laozi] (Taishang shuo dongdou zhusuan huming miao jing)*, *Marvelous Scripture of the Western Dipper That Records Names and Protects the Body, Spoken by the Most High [Laozi] (Taishang shuo xidou jiming hushen miao jing)*, and *Gold Mysterious Feathered [Immortal] Petitions of the Seven Primes [Stars] of the Northern Dipper (Beidou qiyuan jinxuan yuzhang)*. These texts are also found in the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)*, printed in 1444–45.[3] A final text, entitled *Mysterious Petitions on the Star Lords of the Sun, Moon, Five Phases [Five Planets], and Four Luminants, [Spoken by the] Most High [Laozi] (Shangqing riyue wuxing siyao xingjun xuanzhang)* includes petitions to the gods of the sun (Taiyang), moon (Taiyin), the Five Planets (in the following sequence: Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Saturn), and the invisible (and imaginary) planets Luohou (Rahu) and Jidu (Ketu). This text is not included in the fifteenth-century edition of the Taoist Canon.

A cartouche at the end of the manuscript depicts a celestial guardian holding a sword and a tiger on a chain. An inscription within the cartouche, unsigned, reads:

> Respectfully manifesting a sincere heart, [I] have inscribed in gold characters [these] various categories of Dipper Scriptures. [I] look up and pray that the great perfected on high bless [this] august nation, and guard the path of the emperor so that it is enduring

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and prosperous, so that [all] households and the nation enjoy prosperity, that the people be at peace, that all things be abundant, and that all dwellings be in order, forever abiding in good fortune and extended years. In the second year of the Longqing reign, the cyclical year *wuchen* [1568], on the first day of the first month of spring.

The scriptures are preceded by a superb illuminated frontispiece, also in gold on indigo paper, depicting the deified Laozi on an enormous throne, holding a fan. Over Laozi's head is a canopy, with beams of light emerging from clouds. He is flanked by celestial guardians, one of whom holds onto a dragon, while the others are armed with swords. A Taoist priest, perhaps representing the first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling, holds a tablet and kneels on a carpet in front of the deified Laozi. Auspicious emblems are scattered on the ground around this scene of revelation. To the left are eight gods, and in the upper right corner are six more gods, and four celestial figures with Taoist priests' caps; all of these figures hold tablets. In the upper left corner is a depiction of the goddess Marichi, a Buddhist deity, or possibly the Taoist goddess Doumu, the Dipper Mother, who some scholars believe was derived from Marichi (see cat. no. 98). The goddess has three heads (one a boar's head) and eight arms. She is seated on a throne-chariot pulled by seven pigs. In addition, the scene includes two Taoist marshals *(yuanshuai)*.

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Lords of the Root Destiny Stars of the Northern and Central Dippers

Ming dynasty, Jingtai reign, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
141 × 79 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, lent by Oscar L. Tang

THIS HANGING SCROLL belongs to a set of paintings imperially commissioned for the Buddhist Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)*. It depicts the deities of the Northern and Central Dippers, with one additional deity in the upper right corner.

Although the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major), and, to a lesser extent, the Southern Dipper,[1] appear most frequently in Taoist scriptures, there are actually five dipper constellations in Taoist astronomy, in accordance with the Five Phase system (see cat. no. 17):

> The Eastern Dipper governs the count of years, the Western Dipper records the names [of those who will ascend to the heavens], the Northern Dipper removes names from the records of death, the Southern Dipper enters them into the records of life, and the Central Dipper, the Great Leader, is the loftiest and most eminent.[2]

The lower register of the painting depicts the seven star-gods of the Central Dipper.[3] These gods are dressed in elaborately embroidered and decorated robes, with outer garments of yellow to indicate their centrality (yellow is the color of the center in the Five Phase system). They wear hats that distinguish their place in the celestial hierarchy, and bear the ivory tablets (see cat. no. 63) of high-ranking officials.

The gods of the Northern Dipper stand in the middle register of the painting, distinguished from the gods of the Central Dipper and partially obscured by the clouds upon which these latter deities float. The primary group of gods of the Northern Dipper consists of seven deities dressed in simple robes with lotus-shaped caps; unlike the gods of the Central Dipper, these figures do not have beards, and almost seem to be androgynous.[4] The iconography of these figures corresponds to other depictions in the Ming dynasty Water and Land Ritual paintings from Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si) and from the Yuan dynasty Taoist murals in the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi province.[5] This primary group of seven stars is accompanied by the gods of the two hidden stars of the Northern Dipper,[6] whose dress and appearance are distinct from the rest of the group. The gods of the Northern Dipper are also followed by an attendant who raises a parasol above them.

The term "root destiny" *(benming)* in the title of the painting alludes to the belief that the life of each person was governed by one of the stars of the Northern Dipper, depending on when they were born according to the traditional cyclical calendar. Six times each year,[7] on the cyclical day of one's "root destiny," the "Root Destiny Realized Officer" of that cyclical day would descend to the human world, at which time people born under the influence of that officer were to fast and make offerings.[8] While the identity of the deity in the upper right corner is not indicated in the title of the painting, he may be a variant of these Root Destiny Realized Officers, since his attendants bear offerings of peaches (symbolic of long life) and a sheep's head.

—S. E.

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Gods of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions

Ming dynasty, Jingtai reign, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
141 × 79.5 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 668)

Shown in Chicago only

THIS HANGING SCROLL from the Musée Guimet depicts seven of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions *(Ershiba xiu)*. The history of these gods extends to the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), and they have been depicted in Chinese art since that time (see cat. no. 8). The Guimet scroll is one of two scrolls from an early Ming imperial Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)* set that depict the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions.[1] The figures include a woman in a small boat, a bearded man in a jar, a ram-headed god, and a tiger-headed god holding a banner. These correspond to the Lunar Mansions *Shi* (House), *Xu* (Emptiness), possibly *Nü* (Woman), and *Zhang* (Spread). The gods emerge from a murky background of clouds and water. An imperial cinnabar seal at the top reads "Treasure of the Guangyun [Palace]." This palace was built in the Forbidden City in the fifteenth century, when the capital was moved from Nanjing to Beijing. An inscription in gold in the top right corner reads "On the third day of the eighth month, in the fifth year of the Jingtai reign of the Great Ming." The painting's title is inscribed along the right border in gold, and reads "Gods of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions" *(Ershiba xiu xing jun)*. An ink inscription in the lower left corner reads "By imperial order, directed and supervised by the Senior Eunuchs of the Directorate of the Imperial Household Service, Shang Yi and Wang Qin."[2]

The gods depicted here are significant because they are a vital part of the Taoist pantheon (see cat. no. 12). Appropriated into religious Taoism in the Six Dynasties period (420–589), they are frequently found in the entourage of higher circumpolar gods. In the Yuan dynasty (fourteenth century) murals at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi province, for example, the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions form part of the entourage of the Purple Tenuity Emperor (Ziwei dadi; see cat. no. 76).[3] Several of these figures appear in the Osaka Museum of Art handscroll entitled *The Five Planets and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions*, attributed to Zhang Sengyou of the Liang dynasty, including Emptiness *(Xu)*, the man emerging from a jar, who corresponds to the Western zodiac figure Aquarius.

—S. L.

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Emperors of the Five Directions and the Opening Heaven Great Sage Emperor of Mount Changbo

Ming dynasty, Jingtai period, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
140.5 × 79 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 686)

Shown in San Francisco only

THIS PAINTING IS ONE of the mid-fifteenth-century Water and Land Ritual *(Shuilu zhai)* set brought to France from China by the great Sinologist Paul Pelliot. Acquired in Beijing, these scrolls were originally created for use by the imperial court in the Forbidden City. Several other examples from this set are included in this exhibition (for example, cat. nos. 78, 79, and 81). In the foreground are the gods of the Five Directions, dressed as emperors of high antiquity, holding tablets of rank in front of them. They wear mortarboard-style crowns with hanging tassels. They are accompanied by three attendants, two of whom are martial guardians (one holds a banner), the other an old scholar holding a scroll. In the upper half of the painting is the Opening Heaven Great Sage Emperor of Mount Changbo, with attendants.

As early as the apocryphal texts *(weishu)* of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), the Gods of the Five Directions were believed to inhabit the circumpolar constellation Supreme Tenuity *(Taiwei)*, located next to the Northern Dipper *(Beidou)*. These gods are also known in Taoist literature from the Six Dynasties period (420–589) onward. That they formed part of the pantheon of later religious Taoism is corroborated by their appearance among the gods in the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) murals of the mid-fourteenth century. These gods are significant because they reflect the cosmic structure of the world, in which *yin*, *yang*, and the Five Phases (Elements) are in balance. They predate religious Taoism, and may have originated as chthonic gods of the Neolithic period. Governing all directions (east, south, west, north, and center), they correspond not only to the Five Elements, but to the seasons, the Five Sacred Peaks, the Five Planets, and the zodiac symbols as well.

The Emperors of the Five Directions can be identified by the colors of their robes. Center wears yellow, East wears green, South wears red, West wears blue,[1] and North wears purple (normally black). The Changbo Mountain Emperor at the top of the scroll wears the same regalia as the Emperors of the Five Directions. The identity of this god is still unclear. He has three attendants, two of them ancient scholar-officials holding tablets, the other a guard holding an axe.

An inscription in gold along the right border bears the title, "Emperors of the Five Directions and the Opening Heaven Great Sage Emperor of Mount Changbo" *(Wufang wudi Changbo Shan kaitian hongsheng di)*. The same dated inscription and imperial seal found on the other 1454 Water and Land Ritual paintings in the exhibition are seen here.

—S. L.

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Divine Immortals of the Five Paths and Transcendents Who Have Obtained the Tao

Ming dynasty, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
140.5 × 79 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 693)

Shown in San Francisco only

Part of an early Ming imperial set of Water and Land Ritual paintings, this hanging scroll depicts a group of Taoist adepts, realized beings, and immortals. The Five Paths represent five realms of existence, comparable to the Six Paths (originally Five Paths) of Mahayana Buddhism. One of the figures is shown as hermit, dressed in a robe made of leaves; others are shown as Taoist priests, wearing the cap that distinguishes members of the clergy; and still others are shown as scholars and adepts. The one recognizable figure is the immortal Liu Haichan, shown at the left with his three-legged toad (see cat. no. 124). One figure holds a basket of *lingzhi* mushrooms, one holds a flowering branch of a plum tree, one holds a book, one holds a scroll, and one holds a staff and a double gourd.

This scroll presents a generic depiction of Taoist worthies, visualized as part of the Taoist pantheon. Unlike the higher gods, these figures are distinguished by having started out as ordinary human beings. After cultivating the Tao and undergoing a spiritual and physical transformation, they achieved realization *(zhen)* and a state of being beyond *yin* and *yang*, and yet exist in the phenomenal world.[1] As models of virtuous human behavior, they also exist outside the normal confines of quotidian society. Such beings play a unique role in Chinese culture, having rejected conformity to Confucian norms, and yet functioning as saints who are capable of healing illness, of transforming themselves into myriad shapes and states of being, and of helping others attain the Tao.

One of the earliest texts to describe such beings is the *Biographies of the Assorted Immortals (Liexian zhuan)*, attributed to Liu Xiang (77–6 B.C.) of the Han dynasty.[2] This work includes biographies of such figures as the Yellow Emperor, Wang Ziqiao, Chisongzi (Master Red Pine), and the female adept Magu. During the Six Dynasties (420–589) and Tang (618–906) periods, such biographical accounts proliferated, and today the literature on Taoist adepts and immortals is voluminous.[3]

—S. L.

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Notes

Cat. nos. 65–67

1. The concept of the Three Heavens actually predates the Three Purities, and the association of the two is a later development (see below).
2. These are the heavens, the earth, and humanity.
3. *Yunji qiqian* (HY 1026), *juan* 3.
4. *Taishang santian neijie jing*, HY 1196.
5. Zhang Ling, otherwise known as Zhang Daoling, is often recognized as the first patriarch of the Taoist religion. For more on this figure, see Ōfuchi 1991: 39–46.
6. This theory on the development of the Three Caverns is set forth in Kobayashi 1990: 222–29. For an alternate theory, see Ōfuchi 1997, ch. 1.
7. *Sandong zhunang*, HY 1131, *juan* 7.
8. Zhang adapted these names from the fifth-century Numinous Treasure scripture *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* (full title: *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing*; HY 318), where they are also associated with the terms Jade Purity, Highest Purity, and Great Purity. This scripture in turn developed from the *Scripture of the Three August*, as can be seen from a quotation of the *Scripture of the Three August* contained in *juan* 6 of the *Wushang biyao* (HY 1130). See Kobayashi 1990: 217–40.
9. *Yunji qiqian* (HY 1026), *juan* 3.
10. *Fozu tongji* (T 2035), *juan* 46.
11. See the map of the White Cloud Temple in Yoshioka 1979: 250–52.
12. The other movement is the Celestial Master, or Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect.
13. On Qiu Chuji, see Waley 1931.
14. Previously, there was a temple first established in the Tang dynasty on this site, which was given to Qiu and renamed "Palace of Endless Spring" in his honor.
15. This is probably because the Three Purities were considered the patriarchs of all Taoist scriptures, as noted above.

Cat. no. 68

1. HY 1, *juan* 1. Similar miracles can be found in other Numinous Treasure scriptures from the same time. One might ask how there could have been any corpses to be revived at the beginning of time, but such inconsistencies were clearly irrelevant to the authors of the early Numinous Treasure scriptures.
2. Previously published in Mingze 1930: 555, pl. 1, and Christie's 1998: lot 108.

Cat. nos. 69–72

1. Schipper 1993: 61. On the role of Jupiter as a god in early Taoism, see Hou 1979: 200–209.
2. Kohn 1993: 102; Lagerwey 1981: 42–43.
3. Maspero 1981: 34, 82, 158–59.
4. Robinet 1997: 59–60.
5. Wu 1997: 150.
6. Martin 1913: pl. 20.
7. Previously published in Wu 1997: pls. 21–23.
8. Ibid.: 149.
9. See, for example, Guo Xi's masterpiece, *Early Spring*, in Fong et al. 1996: pl. 60.
10. Wu 1997: 150.
11. Jin 1997: pls. 20, 71.
12. *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: pl. 5.
13. Ibid.: 67.
14. Published in *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua* 1988: pl. 77.
15. Schipper 1993: 253. For the original text, see ZTDZ, vol. 58: 274–79 (HY 1430).
16. See *Beijing Dongyue Temple* 1999: 19–20.

Cat. no. 73

1. The cover of the present book bears the title *Gaoshang yushu leixing baojing fuzhuan*; the title at the head of the text is *Jintian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun shuo yushu baojing*, which corresponds to HY 99.
2. See the essay by Patricia Ebrey in this volume and Boltz 1987a: 26–30.
3. For example, the group of seven deities in the front of the line probably comprises the gods of the Northern Dipper, while the next group of six probably represents the Southern Dipper; see cat. no. 78 for a comparative image.
4. The afterword says that the scripture was unannotated before Xu, suggesting that the commentaries may in fact have been written by him. On the other hand, this statement may refer only to a group of notes found after the colophons. In any case, this printed edition seems likely to have been based on an edition of the scripture possessed by, and to an unknown extent annotated by, this Yuan writer.
5. See HY 750.

Cat. no. 74

1. Wu Zongyuan was known during his lifetime as a reincarnation of Wu Daozi; see Yu 1980: 537.
2. Bush and Shih 1985: 346.
3. See S. Cahill 1980: 23–44.
4. Xu 1984a, vol. 1: 95.
5. Jin 1997: pls. 12, 138.
6. Jiuyi (Nine Doubts) is a sacred mountain in Hunan province.
7. See Barnhart 1983: 52–53, 180.
8. Xu 1984a: pl. 33.

Cat. no. 75

1. On the relationship between Taiyi (Supreme Unity) and Taiji (Supreme Ultimate), see Robinet 1990: 381–82.
2. The "Nine Songs" are traditionally believed to have been compiled by the late Warring States period poet Qu Yuan (fourth century B.C.); see Hawkes 1959: 36–37.
3. Major 1993: 80; for the Chinese text, see HNZ: 70.
4. Kohn 1998a: 134. See also Li 1995–96: 2–3.
5. Li 1995–96: 40; for an alternate translation (in French), see Seidel 1969a: 123. Note that the original text has "underwent a bodily transformation" *(shen hua)* for "transformed into an immortal" *(xian hua)*, the reading of a later commentary; see Seidel 1969a: 123 n. 9, 129.
6. Anderson 1989–90: 24–25. Based on such textual sources of the early Han, it is conceivable that the figure riding the Northern Dipper like a chariot at the Wuliang Shrine in Shandong province (second century) represents Taiyi; see Chavannes 1909/1913, vol. 2: pl. 133; and Harper 1978–79: 2.
7. Anderson 1989–90: 29.
8. Harper 1978–79: 2.
9. Cammann 1961: 60–61.
10. Li 1995–96: 12–13. Li also discusses several images of Taiyi that survive from the Han dynasty.
11. Xiong 1996: 293, 314.
12. Jin 1997: pl. 13.
13. Wu 1988: 217.

Cat. no. 76

1. Based on a colophon of 1705 that records a remounting of the scrolls, it has been surmised that the set was an imperial gift to the temple at the time of its construction in 1460, during the Tianshun reign; see Wu 1988: 217. The scroll depicting the Purple Tenuity Emperor is labeled as "number 21, left" in the set.
2. Sun and Kistemaker 1997: 133–35.
3. Stephenson 1994: 527.
4. Major 1993: 80.
5. See cat. no. 18, the Tang dynasty star diagram from Dunhuang that includes a depiction of the Ziwei Enclosure.
6. Sun and Kistemaker 1997: 27–28.
7. Ibid.: 23.
8. See Jin 1997: pl. 46.

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Cat. no. 77

1. Kohn 1998a: 97–98, and 92, table 5.
2. Ibid.: 99.
3. HY 624 (Southern Dipper), HY 625 (Eastern Dipper), HY 626 (Western Dipper), HY 973 (Northern Dipper); see also ZTDZ, vol. 19: 12–16, 17–18, and 19–20.

Cat. no. 78

1. This constellation is formed of six stars in Sagittarius resembling Ursa Major.
2. HY 627. This scripture probably dates to the tenth century (see also cat. no. 77).
3. Sources from the Taoist Canon such as HY 627 indicate that there were only three stars in the Central Dipper; the reason for this discrepancy is unclear, but it is possible that the Central Dipper is here depicted as seven gods in order to correlate with the seven gods of the Northern Dipper shown in the middle register.
4. This may result from the Taoist belief already prevalent in the medieval period that the Northern Dipper actually consisted of two sets of stars, one visible group that was manifested by male deities, and another, invisible group manifested by female deities who were the "souls" and the source of illumination for the visible group; for example, see HY 428.
5. See *Baoming si mingdai shuilu hua* 1988 and Jin 1997. On the other hand, these gods are depicted with beards in the Ming dynasty Water and Land Ritual murals of the Pilu Temple; see Kang 1998.
6. It was traditionally believed that the Northern Dipper consisted of nine stars, two of which were hidden from the sight of normal people.
7. The traditional Chinese calendar is divided into a cycle of sixty days, so that each cyclical day occurs approximately six times (6 × 60 = 360) each year.
8. HY 622.

Cat. no. 79

1. The pendant, EO 692, is published in Weidner 1994: cat. no. 29, color pl. 15.
2. Translated by Wai-kam Ho in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: no. 131.
3. Jin 1997: pl. 19.

Cat. no. 80

1. The ancient symbolic color of West is white, which is also associated with death, and in painting is usually chosen to depict ghosts. It is perhaps because of this that the Emperor of the West wears a blue robe.

Cat. no. 81

1. For introductory studies of Taoist adepts and immortals, see Robinet 1985–86, Kohn 1990c: 1–22, and Penny (forthcoming).
2. Translated in Kaltenmark 1987.
3. One of the most extensive such works is HY 296, *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, compiled by Zhao Daoyi (fl. 1294–1307) during the Yuan dynasty; see Boltz 1987a: 56–58.

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III.1 Taoism and Popular Religion

Taoism is a flexible system of thought, and it allows the worship of many gods who are not, strictly speaking, Taoist. This section of the catalogue explores the fluid boundary between orthodox Taoism and Chinese popular religion, and between Taoist gods and popular gods. Local and popular deities began to be brought into the Taoist pantheon with increasing regularity from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward. The majority of popular gods can be defined as deities who are associated with specific locales in China (e.g., mountains and cities), nature spirits (e.g., gods of sacred springs and trees), human heroes who through their virtuous deeds have been transformed into gods, or animal spirits who have undergone a similar apotheosis.

The boundary between Taoism and other religious beliefs in China is so fluid that even images of the Buddhist deity Guanyin, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, are often found in Taoist temples. In the Song dynasty this syncretic approach led to the popular belief that the Three Teachings (Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism) were merely different paths to the same spiritual goal.

Among the popular gods examined here are City Gods (Chenghuang), gods of sacred mountains, nature deities, Wenchang (the national god of learning and scholarship who began his existence as a local snake god in Sichuan province), Guandi (the God of War, hero of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), and Zhong Kui (the Demon Queller).

Detail, cat. no. 91

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82

Investiture of a Local God

Ming dynasty, Chongzhen reign, colophon dated 1641
Handscroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
48.2 × 908 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Fletcher Fund (1938.31.1)

Painted on yellowish brown silk in the final years of the Ming dynasty, this extraordinary painting depicts the investiture of a local god into the Taoist pantheon.[1] The scroll consists of a long painted section depicting gods, followed by several attached pieces of silk with various colophons. The entire scroll is bordered by painted dragons, whose bodies alternate in different colors, interspersed with flaming pearls. The handscroll is significant because it documents a process that was increasingly widespread in China from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward, namely the petitioning of the throne or (from the Ming dynasty onward) the Taoist establishment of the Orthodox Unity sect for recognition of the spiritual legitimacy of local gods. The result of such imperially sanctioned recognition was that local gods and their human supporters enjoyed increasing prestige in both the spiritual and material worlds.[2] The entire process was often driven by economic concerns, for the conferring of legitimacy frequently led to increased opportunities for trade.

The painted section of the scroll, consisting of six pieces of joined silk, opens with a depiction of the court of the Jade Emperor, head of the popular pantheon. Among multicolored clouds, painted in red, blue, white, and pale yellow pigments, this god sits on a high throne under a parasol. He is dressed as an ancient emperor and wears a crown in the shape of a mortarboard with hanging tassels; he holds an official tablet in his hands. The god is surrounded on either side by attending gods and celestial guardians. These attending gods are both male and female. One holds a dragon while another holds a tiger—symbols of *yin* and *yang*. The female attendants hold banners with images of the sun and moon, also symbols of *yin* and *yang*. One of the male attendants is clearly recognizable as Zhenwu (the Perfected Warrior). Barefoot, he wears a black robe decorated with gold clouds and holds a tablet in his hands. Behind his head is a red halo. His identity is confirmed by the presence of the tortoise and snake, the ancient symbol of Xuanwu, the Dark Warrior. Significantly, Zhenwu stands in a subservient position to the Jade Emperor, who enfeoffed him at Mount Wudang (Wudang Shan) in Hubei province.

Beyond the court scene stands a red lacquer table, covered with offerings, including two blue vases holding lotus flowers and a tripod incense burner. A long line of seventeen officials follows, emerging from a red gate in the sky. Two guardians, one with a brown face and one with blue, attend this gate. On the other side the procession continues, with an envoy in a green robe and black hat, eight guardians holding halberds, standards, and parasols, a white horse with a groom, and eight bearers carrying a palanquin, with a tiger skin hanging out the door. This entourage is followed by a group of four tall guardians holding swords, with flames above their heads. Beyond this group are two youthful attendants holding lamps, other attendants holding a sword and a wrapped box, officials with green robes and red halos, and another youthful attendant holding another box. Above the head of this last figure, a flying messenger carries the mandate from the Jade Emperor to the local god, officially recognizing the latter as a legitimate deity.[3] Finally, the local god himself appears, standing large in a red robe, wearing a high black and gold crown, and holding an official tablet. The god looks straight out at the viewer, and is accompanied by two young attendants holding boxes.

Following the painting are several inscriptions. The first, written by a Taoist priest named Li Daoqing, consists of a record of the petition made to the Celestial Master Zhang at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan), Jiangxi, asking that the local deity, named Li Zhong, be recognized as a legitimate god. This text mentions the worthiness of the god and cites a ritual first used in the Southern Song dynasty in 1157 (during the Shaoxing reign). The inscription states that three Taoist registers were conferred on the god, namely registers corresponding to the three heavens of Jade Purity, Highest Purity, and Supreme Purity (these correspond to the realms of the Celestial Worthies of Primordial Beginning, Numinous Treasure, and the Way and Its Power [Laozi]). That the inscription was written by a Taoist priest is clear from the presence of an elaborate talisman, written in red ink over the Shaoxing reign date. The second inscription is signed by one Zhu Zhongsu, and is dated 1641, in the Chongzhen reign. It cites the virtue of the local god, and documents the protection he renders his followers. Zhu also specifically mentions the attached painting, describing it as a work that gives visual form to the transmission of Taoist registers to the deity. The final inscription comprises a list of names of patrons of the local god; this too is dated to 1641.

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Emperor Guan

Qing dynasty, Kangxi reign (1662–1722)
Ink, colors, and gold on silk
173 × 120 cm.
Plum Blossoms (International) Ltd., Hong Kong

Guandi (Emperor Guan) or Guan Gong (Duke Guan) is a god of the Chinese popular pantheon, a human hero who was absorbed into the Taoist pantheon in the Song dynasty (960–1279). He is the deified form of Guan Yu, a hero of the early third century. He was famous as a warrior and for his alliance with Liu Bei, founder of the Shu kingdom (221–263) in Sichuan, and Zhang Fei. Guan Yu is also one of the heroes of the Ming dynasty novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi yanyi)*, a fictionalized account of events of the Three Kingdoms period (220–280).[1] After he was killed, Guan Yu began to be worshipped as a god. Often called the God of War, Guan Yu became a deity of popular religion by the early Tang dynasty (618–906). Being a martial figure, he was worshipped as a celestial protector against all threats to the individual and the state. A special patron of the military, he was associated with loyalty and bravery, and he was also a killer of demons and queller of ghosts. He is still one of the most widely worshipped gods in China today.

By the twelfth century, if not earlier, Guan Yu was absorbed into the Taoist pantheon with the title Marshal *(yuanshuai)*.[2] In 1615, during the Wanli (1573–1620) reign of the Ming dynasty, Marshal Guan was imperially granted the title Emperor *(di)*.[3] As Henri Maspero has shown, Guandi was also a god summoned by spirit-mediums in planchette-writing seances.[4]

The menacing figure of Guandi dominates this scroll. Dressed in armor, boots, and swirling robe, he is accompanied by his two assistants, Zhou Cang (holding a banner) and Guan Ping (clasping his hands together).[5] The figures stand on a green ground, surrounded by swirling green, pink, and gold clouds against a brilliant blue sky. A gold cartouche at the upper right contains the god's name and title: "The Overseer of the Gate, Sage-Emperor Lord Guan." An inscription in ink along the bottom right border reads, "Sincerely Commissioned by the Imperial Prince of Qin, Zhuang" *(Heshi Zhuang Qinwang faxin cheng zao)*.[6]

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Great Generals of the Deserts and the Spirits of Grasses and Trees Who Dwell in the Void of Water and Land

Ming dynasty, Jingtai reign, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
140.5 × 78.5 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 684)

Shown in Chicago only

Among the gods of Chinese popular religion are thousands of deities of the natural world—gods of stones, trees, springs, hills, rivers, and lakes. This hanging scroll, part of the early Ming imperial set of 1454 depicting the Water and Land Ritual in the Musée Guimet, Paris, is devoted to the generic category of these spirits of nature.[1] Their presence in the world of Chinese religion is significant, for they are part of the divine matrix in which humanity is situated.

In the lower right corner of the scroll are a group of military generals; these depict the Great Generals of the Deserts (Kuangye dajiang) mentioned in the painting's title. At the lower left a robed tortoise rides on the back of a dragon; these represent the realm of animals, both real and mythical. Near the left border of the scroll is a young woman wearing a peony blossom in her hair; she is accompanied by a hairy gnome and a toddler with leaves sprouting from his head. The significance of this group is not clear. As Caroline Gyss-Vermande has shown, however, a similarly dressed female figure appears in the fifteenth-century Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si) set of Water and Land Ritual paintings in the Shanxi Provincial Museum, in the painting depicting the realm of animals and tree-spirits.[2] Finally, the most fascinating and bizarre deities are those shown at the upper left. These comprise spirits of the vegetable and mineral realms, and include beings in the shapes of trees, rocks, and air (a figure barely visible among the background clouds). This personification of living beings of the natural world clearly reflects the traditional Chinese belief that not only plants, but also rocks and minerals, are animated by the vital force *(qi)* created by the Tao, and, like gods and people, they have their own cycles of life and death.[3]

—S. L.

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City Gods of All Municipalities and Earth Gods of All Districts

Ming dynasty, c. 1600
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
214 × 103 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 734)

Shown in Chicago only

PART OF A late Ming dynasty set depicting the Water and Land Ritual acquired in China by Paul Pelliot, this painting depicts City Gods (Chenghuang) and Earth Gods (Tudi). The title of the scroll is inscribed in a cartouche in the upper left corner. Both City Gods and Earth Gods are deities of Chinese popular religion, and they are not, strictly speaking, considered Taoist gods. Of the two types, the oldest are the Earth Gods, shown at the top of this scroll. Their origins can be traced to early gods of the soil *(she)*, worshipped in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) and earlier. As David Johnson has written,

> When the Zhou feudal order was replaced by the Qin–Han bureaucratic system, cities, towns, and villages continued to have *she*. These sacrifices were mandated by statute as part of the official religion. In county and prefectural capitals, the expenses of the cult were evidently borne by the government; in villages and hamlets, the inhabitants had to meet the costs themselves. In Han times formal worship of the god of the soil in the county and prefectural cities thus was in the hands of the officials. The cult was thoroughly rationalized: the earth-god had long since been depersonalized and universalized, and was as featureless and abstract as the deities of the hills, rivers, thunder, rain, and other features of the natural world that received official sacrifice. The open altar was made of earth and was extremely plain, with only a stone pillar, representing the god, and a tree to mark it. Sacrifices there were offered only twice a year, on days in the second and eighth months fixed by statute.[1]

The emergence of the cults of both City Gods and Earth Gods out of the traditional worship of the ancient god of the soil appears to have begun during the Six Dynasties period (420–589) and to have accelerated during the Tang dynasty (618–906).

The gods in the foreground of the Guimet painting are City Gods; the existence of this category, literally known as "Wall and Moat Gods" *(chenghuang shen)*, can be traced to the early sixth century, in the Six Dynasties period.[2] The increasing worship of City Gods from the eighth century onward reflects the proliferating urbanization that characterized south and south-central China during the mid-Tang period.[3] Like many gods of the popular pantheon, City Gods often began as human heroes (frequently military generals) who were later deified on the local level. By the end of the Song dynasty, the cult of City Gods was supported by the state at the level of the municipality. When a newly appointed magistrate arrived at his post, he first paid his respects to the City God in the latter's shrine, and maintained a fixed schedule of sacrifice thereafter.[4] As Paul Katz has pointed out

> The cult of the City God gained increasing popularity during late imperial times because he was seen as the arbiter of a region's fate, the spiritual equivalent of the district magistrate. As the magistrate could punish evil-doers or intercede with the emperor on behalf of the people, so could the City God inflict calamities or act as a go-between between the people and the Jade Emperor during times of crisis.[5]

These observations have been echoed by Angelo Zito: "Every major locality had a City God temple inhabited by a god who held a heavenly bureaucratic rank equivalent to his earthly counterpart."[6] While Johnson has suggested that the rise of the City God cults was linked to the rise of the mercantile class from the Tang dynasty onward, other scholars, in particular Valerie Hansen and Barend ter Haar, have suggested that itinerant figures such as priests, doctors, and migrant workers could also have been responsible for the spread of these cults.[7]

There is evidence from as early as the tenth century that City God temples contained images (either sculptures or paintings) of their gods and attendants, and during the Song dynasty there is clear evidence of imperial recognition of the City God cult.[8] Occasionally a City God temple would be built in proximity to a Taoist temple. There was, for example, originally a sub-temple to the City God at the Yongle Gong (Eternal Joy Temple), the great Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) Taoist temple of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect at Ruicheng, Shanxi province.[9] Worship of City Gods continued through the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, and is still found today in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and many overseas Chinese communities.[10] The importance of the City God cults is reflected in stele inscriptions composed by the Qing dynasty Yongzheng (*r.* 1723–35) and Qianlong (*r.* 1736–95) emperors, in which these Manchu rulers made public declarations of their respect for the City God of Beijing.[11]

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The Realm of All Mountain Kings and the Six Spirits of the Household

Ming dynasty, c. 1600
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
214 × 103 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 742)

Shown in San Francisco only

This late Ming dynasty hanging scroll belongs to the same set as cat. no. 85, depicting the Water and Land Ritual. It depicts the generic categories of mountain gods and spirits of households. While the Household Spirits have remained gods of Chinese popular religion, some mountain deities (the gods of the Five Sacred Peaks, for example) were absorbed into the pantheon of Taoism by the late Six Dynasties period (sixth century). The mountain gods shown here represent lesser peaks, and their depictions are generalized. Five of the six Household Spirits (Jiazhai liushen) are shown at the top of the scroll: they are the Stove God (Zao wang), the Door God (Menshen), the God of the Kitchen Door (Hushen), the God of the Well (Jingquan tongzi), and the Earth God (Tudi).[1] The sixth, the Goddess of the Latrine (Sangu furen), is missing. One of the earliest known references to the Stove God is in the third-century text *In Search of the Supernatural (Soushen ji)*:

> During the times of Emperor Xuan of the Han (dynasty), Yin Zifang of Nanyang, who was by nature a filial man, had accumulated many blessings by alms and good acts. He took most pleasure in sacrifices to the Stove God, and one winter solstice morning during the ceremonial lighting of the stove, the god himself appeared. Zifang thanked it for his numerous blessings, and since there was a light-tan ram in the house, he sacrificed it to the Stove God.[2]

There is a great deal of information regarding the cults of mountains in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Since this period, a standard group of Five Sacred Peaks has been worshipped as gods in China. The origins of the veneration of individual sacred mountains *(yue)* can be traced back to the late Shang dynasty (thirteenth–eleventh century B.C.); such peaks are mentioned in the oracle bone inscriptions excavated at the last Shang capital, Anyang.[3] Mountains were seen as powerful forces in the Han and Six Dynasties periods. In Ge Hong's *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity (Baopuzi)* of the fourth century, there are famous passages that discuss ways of moving through mountains, and the herbs and minerals found on sacred peaks that aid self-cultivation and alchemy:

> All mountains, whether large or small, have gods and spirits *(shenling)*. If the mountain is large, the god is great; if the mountain is small, the god is minor. If someone enters the mountain possessed of no magical arts, he will certainly suffer harm. Some will fall victim to acute diseases or be wounded by weapons. When frightened and uneasy, some will see lights and shadows, others will hear strange sounds. Sometimes a huge tree will topple, though there is no wind, or a cliff will collapse for no reason, striking and killing people. Sometimes the man will flee in confusion, tumbling down a cavern or into a gorge; other times he will encounter tigers, wolves and poisonous insects that attack men. One cannot enter a mountain lightly![4]

Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* is also the first text to mention the sacred talismans or "true forms" *(zhenxing)* of the Five Sacred Peaks (see cat. no. 137). With the greater institutionalization of Taoism in the Tang dynasty, the gods of the Five Sacred Peaks came increasingly under the control of higher Taoist gods. In the early eighth century, the guidelines for imperial worship of these mountains were determined by the Taoist church.[5] Mount Tai (Tai Shan), in the east, has been perceived as the most important of the Five Sacred Peaks since the third century B.C., and by the end of the Song dynasty (960–1279) there was a temple to the god of Tai Shan in almost every major city in China.[6] The close connections between Taoism and mountains cults are illustrated by the fact that in 1349 a temple to the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue dadi) was built at the Yongle Gong in Ruicheng, Shanxi province, the birthplace of the immortal Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120–22).[7]

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87

TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO JIANG ZICHENG
Marshal Wen

Ming Dynasty, late 14th/early 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
124 x 66.1 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Fenollosa-Weld Collection (11.4008)

THIS PAINTING DEPICTS Marshal Wen, an exorcistic god of the popular pantheon who rose to prominence during the Southern Song (1126–1279) and Yuan (1260–1368) dynasties.[1] Marshal Wen, or Wen Yuanshuai, was best known as a deity who eradicated plague demons. It is significant that his cult arose along the coast of Zhejiang province, where plagues and epidemics were common events.[2] At the same time, Marshal Wen was also seen as a protector of the Tao who eradicated heterodox *(xie)* and licentious *(yin)* local deities, and a god that worked in the service of the god of the Eastern Peak (Tai Shan) to uphold traditional Confucian values such as filial piety.[3] Wen's biography in the *Daozang* makes clear that he served not only the god of Tai Shan, but also the Taoist god Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven.[4]

Like many gods whose worship spans the fluid boundary between Taoism and popular religion, Marshal Wen began as a local god who was absorbed into the Taoist pantheon (another example is the God of Literature, Wenchang; see cat. no. 89). Unlike Wenchang, however, the cult of Marshal Wen did not spread throughout China, but was limited to the south-central coastal provinces of Zhejiang and Jiangsu, and Sichuan in the southwest. He is still worshipped today in Taiwan.

Marshal Wen's cult originated in Pingyang, Wenzhou prefecture, located along the southern coast of Zhejiang province. By the mid-thirteenth century (1264), a temple honoring Marshal Wen had been built in Hangzhou, the Southern Song capital; this was known as the Temple of Boundless Numinosity.[5] Paul Katz has demonstrated that local merchants played a prominent role in spreading Marshal Wen's cult throughout Zhejiang, and that Taoist priests and scholar-officials also played key roles in supporting worship of this popular god. One of the primary literary sources on Marshal Wen, for example, is the Yuan dynasty stele inscription composed by the scholar-official Song Lian (1310–1381) in 1355 for a temple in Wenzhou prefecture.[6]

The earliest hagiographic source on Marshal Wen is a text in the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)* composed in 1247 by Huang Gongjin, a priest of the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) sect.[7] According to this text, *Biography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of Earth Spirits (Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan)*, the deity originated as a man named Wen Qiong who was born in Pingyang in the Tang dynasty (618–906).[8] Known for his martial prowess, he was ultimately transformed into a plague-fighting god who worked in the court of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue dadi). Among his responsibilities was the administration of the registers of life and death. Song Lian's stele inscription of 1355, in contrast, depicts Marshal Wen as a traditional scholar of the Tang dynasty who could perform the Pace of Yu *(Yubu)* by the age of seven (see cat. no. 52), and had memorized the Confucian Classics by the age of fourteen.[9]

In the Museum of Fine Arts painting, Marshal Wen is shown as a warrior dressed in red and gold armor and holding a sword with a gray-green blade. He stands against a pale green void, with swirling clouds filling the background; these are outlined in black and orange, with white highlights. The god's face is blue, and his lips and the tip of his nose are red. Marshal Wen's skin is also painted blue, while his hair is red with gold highlights; this is just as he is described in the *Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and their Origins (Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan)*, a text that probably dates to the Yuan dynasty.[10] On his head is a black cap, with a flower decorating the front. This flower is most likely the jade flower *(qionghua)* presented by the Jade Emperor to confer immortality. Epaulets with lion masks rest on his shoulders, and a broad sash around his waist is painted with winged mythical beasts in ink and pale blue and red pigments. A long purple ribbon holds this sash in place. Hanging around the god's neck is a red placard inscribed in ink and gold with the characters *Wuju xiaohan* ("The Carefree Man of the Empyrean"), a name also given to Marshal Wen by the Jade Emperor.[11] It is on the basis of this inscribed placard that the Boston painting can be precisely identified as a depiction of Marshal Wen.

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Marshal Wang

Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign, dated 1542
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
97 × 62 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Bequest of Dorothy Graham Bennett (1989.155)

DEPICTING A DEIFIED HERO of the early Tang dynasty (seventh century), this hanging scroll is a rare product of an imperial painting atelier in the Forbidden City during the Jiajing reign (1522–66). The Jiajing emperor was devoted to Taoism, and he had all the Buddhist temples in the palace shut down shortly after he took the throne.[1] This painting depicts the god Marshal Wang (Wang yuanshuai), a god of the popular pantheon known for his ability to crush human villains and malevolent river spirits.[2]

Among billowing clouds, the wrathful god is shown hovering over roiling, white-topped, dark green waves. Among the waves are many writhing snakes. Patches of blue sky, streaked with gold, appear at the top of the scroll. The god is depicted with reddish orange skin. He has wild red hair and fangs, and glowers down at the snakes below. He wears an orange placard over his shoulder, held in place by a rope and inscribed in gold ink: "Red heart, loyalty, and virtue" *(Chixin zhongliang);* this placard was given to him by the Jade Emperor. He stands on a flaming wheel. In one hand he holds a ball on a chain, and in the other a bucket.

At the top of the scroll, a Taoist adept holding a fan stands on a pink cloud. To the right are three gods, two with bird-beaks; these hold a trident, a ball on a chain, and a hammer and spike. To the left are three more gods; these hold swords, and one is shown with a bird's beak and a mustache. Below, near the left margin, a birdlike demon with lavender wings flies behind the central god.

The painting is inscribed at the upper right, "Painted by order of the Imperial concubine *[huang guifei]* Shen, in the beginning of summer of the *renyin* year of Jiajing [1542]." Over this is impressed a large red seal, now illegible and partially trimmed.

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DING YUNPENG (ACTIVE C. 1584–1638)
Wenchang, the God of Literature

Ming dynasty, Wanli reign, dated 1596
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
117.5 × 46.4 cm
The British Museum, London (1936.10-9.0129 Add. 170)

ONE OF THE most popular gods in late imperial China was Wenchang, the God of Literature. First worshipped as a snake god known as "the Viper" in Sichuan during the Six Dynasties period (420–589), he rose in prominence until by the Tang dynasty (618–906) he was worshipped as part of the imperial cult.[1] In the Song dynasty (twelfth century) the god revealed himself in anthropomorphic form as a Taoist god, the Divine Lord of Zitong.[2] From the Song onward, Wenchang was widely worshipped by the literati, particularly by candidates in the civil service examinations; he was also venerated for his powers of healing and exorcism.[3] His cult ultimately achieved a national following.

In the *Book of Transformations*, a text revealed to a twelfth-century medium named Liu Ansheng in Chengdu, Sichuan, the god Zitong demonstrates his cosmological origins:

> When Hundun [Primordial Chaos] first divided into opaque and clear,
> In the astral quarter of the Southeast the phosphors shone sharp and bright.
> In its midst was contained the billowing energies of the Great Monad [Taiyi, Supreme Unity].
> I was already in secret correspondence with the quintessence of Creation.
> Alone I occupied the stellar palace above the Twin Maidens [a constellation],
> Governing the Five Virtues, the quintessence of the Five activities.
> Abruptly tired of dwelling in this desolate region,
> I shed my slough and end my term, the fruit of the Tao achieved.[4]

The British Museum scroll by the late Ming painter Ding Yunpeng depicts Wenchang descending on clouds above an ocean. The god rides on a mule. He is dressed as a scholar-official, wears a peony in his hat, and holds a scroll in his left hand. He has an entourage, consisting of an old man with a book (his attendant Zhuyi, or "Red Robe") and two boys.[5] Below, in the foreground, Wenchang's acolyte Kuixing, a demonic figure holding a writing brush in his right hand and a weight (for measuring the worth of scholars) in his left, rides across the waves on the head of a dragon.[6]

The painting is finely executed in the *baimiao*, or uncolored line drawing technique. It is inscribed, "At the beginning of the middle ten-day [cycle] of the first month of summer in the cyclical year *bingshen* [1596], on the Day that Demons are Born, respectfully copied by Nanyu Ding Yunpeng."

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Lü Ji (c. 1440–c. 1505)
The Old Man of the Southern [Celestial] Pole

Ming dynasty, late 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
217 × 114.2 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

Lü Ji's LARGE HANGING SCROLL depicts Shoulao (or Shouxing), the God of Longevity (also known as the Old Man of the Southern [Celestial] Pole), accompanied by a white deer. The god appears to be bowing to the red sun that hangs in the sky above. On either side are blossoming trees and bamboo. The god is shown with a tall, domed cranium and white whiskers.

According to Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian (Shiji)*, a temple for the worship of the Longevity Star (Shouxing) was first erected by Emperor Qin Shihuangdi.[1] In antiquity, Shouxing corresponded to both an area of the sky bounded by the Lunar Mansions Horn *(Jiao)* and Neck *(Kang)*, and a star corresponding to Canopus, found in a constellation known as *Hu*:

> The Old Man Star *(Laoren xing)* located south of the *Hu* constellation (in the southeastern horizon), also known as *Nan ji* (Southern Pole), appears regularly in late autumn and disappears in early spring. When it is seen, peace prevails (in the nation) and the sovereign is blessed with a long life.[2]

In 736, during the Tang dynasty (618–906), Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56) revived imperial worship of Shouxing, and an altar devoted to this god was established in Chang'an (Xi'an).[3] The imperial decree read as follows:

> No virtue is greater than creation, and no happiness is greater than longevity. If there is an object [of longevity worship], why should it not receive ritual sacrifices? Now a memorialist says that in mid-autumn, the sun and moon meet in the Shouxing (Longevity Star) Mansion, which happens to fall within the month of my [Xuanzong's] birth. [He] would like to have it serve as an ancillary god in the sacrifices to She [the God of the Soil]. However, it is inappropriate ritual classification. The Shouxing Mansion governs the lodges of *Jiao* and *Kang*, which are the elders of the 28 *xiu* (lodges). In addition it (Shouxing) is known for [bringing] happiness and longevity. Will this emperor be the only one to enjoy its benefits? Are not the people under heaven desirous of the same? It seems Shouxing worship dates back to the Qin dynasty, which can be said to be old. Henceforth, it is decreed that the government agency in charge should set up a special altar of the Shouxing Mansion to conduct ritual ceremonies on the day of One Thousand Autumns *(qianqiu jie)*. It is also decreed that sacrifices should be made to the Old Man Star *(Laoren xing*, or Canopus) and the seven lodges [of the east], including *Jiao* and *Kang*. This should be recorded as the standard practice.[4]

One of the earliest known depictions of Shouxing is in a painting in the Musée Guimet, Paris, entitled *The Star-lords of Good Fortune, Emolument, and Longevity*, dated 1454, and a product of the imperial Ming court (cat. no. 91).[5] From the Ming dynasty onward, Shouxing or Shoulao (Old Longevity) is often seen in the company of the Eight Immortals (Baxian; see cat. no. 118).

This painting is signed in the lower left corner, "The respectful hand of Lü Ji" *(Lü Ji bai shou)*, followed by a seal reading "Seal of Lü Tingzhen of Siming" *(Siming Lü Tingzhen zhi yin)*. A single collector's seal appears in the lower right corner. Lü Ji was one of the leading court painters of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A native of Ningbo in Zhejiang province, he was one of the leading masters of bird-and-flower painting at the court of the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488–1505).[6] Figure paintings by Lü Ji are extremely rare, and this is one of the few known examples.[7]

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The Star-lords of Good Fortune, Emolument, and Longevity

Ming dynasty, Jingtai reign, dated 1454
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
140 × 78 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 689)

Shown in San Francisco only

WITH THE EXCEPTION of a painting in the Nezu Museum, Tokyo, entitled *The Three Stars Playing Weiqi* and attributed to the Yuan dynasty, the painting of the Three Stars in the Musée Guimet is the earliest known image of this group of gods in Chinese art.[1] Dated to 1454 and created for use in a Water and Land Ritual at the imperial Ming court in the Forbidden City (see cat. nos. 78–81), the scroll depicts a triad that has enjoyed great popularity from the fifteenth century onward: the gods known as Fuxing (Good Fortune Star), Luxing (Emolument Star), and Shouxing (Longevity Star). Of the three gods, the most ancient is (appropriately) Shouxing (or God of Longevity), shown at the upper left as an old man with white hair (see cat. no. 90). In the Musée Guimet scroll, all three gods wear the official caps and hold the tablets of Taoist priests. Accompanying them is a smaller attendant, who holds a small parasol with banners aloft. This group is shown against a background of clouds. A similar depiction of these gods appears in the painting entitled *The Three Stars, Nine Sources of Brightness, Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, and Twelve Palaces [of the Zodiac]* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, which may come from the same imperial Ming workshop (see the essay by Stephen Little in this volume, fig. 11). The title of the Musée Guimet painting is inscribed in gold in standard script characters along the right border. At the top right, also in gold, is the date, and an ink inscription at the lower left records the names of the officials who commissioned the painting.

As Mary Fong has shown, the earliest literary evidence for the Three Stars comes from a play entitled *The Festival of the Immortal Officials Fu, Lu, and Shou (Fu Lu Shou xian'guan qinghui)*, written by Zhu Youdun (1379–1439), a grandson of the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368–98).[2] In this drama, published in 1443, the Three Stars descend to the mortal world for the lunar New Year's festival. In another play by the same author, *The Eight Immortals Convey Wishes for Longevity at the Turquoise Pond*, the duties of the Three Stars are enumerated as multiplying happiness (Fuxing), conferring emolument or high salary (Luxing), and increasing longevity (Shouxing). Based on the literary and visual evidence, therefore, it would appear that this group first appeared in the early fifteenth century. As Fong has shown, the gods Fuxing and Luxing have no mythology of their own and no prior history before the early Ming dynasty.[3]

Although these gods are shown in the Musée Guimet painting as Taoist priests, Fong is also correct in pointing out that the Three Stars are not Taoist gods per se.[4] There are, for example, no texts in the Ming Taoist Canon *(Daozang)* devoted to this triad. This is significant because the Taoist Canon was compiled only a decade before the painting of this hanging scroll. The Three Stars appear instead to be gods of popular religion, quite possibly instituted at the imperial level in the early Ming. They do not appear, for example, among the more than three hundred Taoist gods depicted in the early-fourteenth-century murals at the Yongle Gong in southern Shanxi province. The Three Stars have remained gods of popular religion, and their images are among the most commonly encountered today of any Chinese gods.

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Dai Jin (1388–1462)
Zhong Kui Traveling at Night

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
189.7 × 120.2 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

Zhong Kui is one of the most popular gods in traditional China.[1] Although he emerged in the Tang dynasty as a god of popular religion at the highest level of society, by the Song dynasty he had been adopted into the religious Taoist pantheon. The story of Zhong Kui is about a scholar who becomes a demon-killing ghost, ridding the world of pestilence and evil:

One afternoon in the Kaiyuan era (713–742), Minghuang (Emperor Xuanzong), feeling ill after he had returned from a round of bow-and-arrow practice on Li Shan, fell asleep. He soon saw in a dream a small-size demon, wearing only knee-length trousers and one shoe—the other being tied at his waist—and holding a bamboo fan, in the act of stealing the favorite consort's embroidered perfume-bag and his own jade flute. Then, instead of escaping, the strange being began frolicking around the palace grounds with the loot. Minghuang therefore approached him and demanded an explanation. The demon respectfully replied that his name was Xu Hao and explained that "Xu" stood for "stealing indiscriminately for the sake of fun" and "Hao" for "replacing man's joys with sorrows."

Hearing this, the emperor became angry and wanted to call for his bodyguards. But at that very moment, a large-size demon, wearing a tattered hat, blue robe, horn waist-belt, and black boots appeared and nabbed the thief. Immediately afterwards, he proceeded first to gouge out the victim's eyes, then tore him to pieces and finally ate him.

When the emperor asked him who he was, the Demon Queller introduced himself as Zhong Kui, a *jinshi*[2] from Zhongnan, who ashamed at having failed the next higher degree of examinations during the Wude era (618–627), had committed suicide by dashing his head against the palace steps. He further mentioned that because the emperor Gaozu awarded him an honorable burial of a court official of the green-robe rank, he had vowed to rid the world of mischievous demons like Xu Hao. At these words, Minghuang awoke and found himself fully recovered. Without delay he summoned [the court painter] Wu Daozi and requested him to paint a portrait of the Demon Queller as he had seen him in his dream. When it was finished, the emperor examined it carefully and said, "You and I must have had a similar vision!" And he awarded Wu one hundred taels of gold.[3]

The long tradition of Zhong Kui paintings is traditionally said to have begun with this depiction by Wu Daozi in the early eighth century. By the mid-tenth century, we read that in Sichuan, "Each year, at winter's end, those in the Hanlin Academy who were skilled in painting ghosts and spirits customarily presented paintings of Zhong Kui to the court."[4]

Dai Jin (1388–1462), a professional painter from Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, was one of the earliest masters of the Zhe School of Ming painting. The painting is signed along the left border, "Painted by Dai Jin of West Lake" *(Xihu Dai Jin xie)*; this is followed by a single seal, *Jing'an* (the artist's *hao*, or nickname).

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Notes

Cat. no. 82

1. Previously published in Priest 1939.
2. On the mechanism of this process, see Hansen 1990: 23–24, 80–104.
3. For a study of similar celestial messengers in Water and Land Ritual paintings, see Gyss-Vermande 1991.

Cat. no. 83

1. See the discussion of Guandi in Maspero 1981: 150–55.
2. In both the twelfth-century album of Taoist gods in the Junkunc Collection, and the Yuan dynasty illustrated Taoist text entitled the *Scripture of the Jade Pivot* (*Yushu jing*, 1333) in the British Library (cat. no. 73), he is labeled as Marshal Guan (Guan Yuanshuai). For the Junkunc album, see Martin 1913.
3. On the multivalent roles played by Guandi, see Duara 1988.
4. Maspero 1981: 153.
5. On these attendants, see Goodrich 1991: 378–79, and Stevens 1997: 147.
6. Judging from the painting's style, the title probably refers to the early Qing dynasty Manchu prince Boggodo (1650–1723), who was the first to hold this title, which was used only by Manchu princes. The title *Heshang gimwang* was not used in the Ming dynasty, indicating that the painting can date only to the early Qing. On Boggodo, see Hummel 1943, vol. 1: 925–27. Boggodo's father, Sose (1629–1655), was the fifth son of Abahai (1592–1643), known to the Manchus as Emperor Taizu (Supreme Ancestor), even though he died before the actual establishment of the Qing dynasty in 1644.

Cat. no. 84

1. Previously published in Gyss-Vermande 1988.
2. Ibid.: 113–19.
3. On the worship of stones as gods, see Little 1999.

Cat. no. 85

1. Johnson 1985: 396.
2. Ibid.: 365–66; see also Hansen 1993: 91.
3. Johnson 1985: 401–02, 410–11.
4. Ibid.: 364.
5. Katz 1995: 61. The Jade Emperor was perceived as the head of the pantheon of popular gods (see cat. no. 33).
6. Zito 1996: 72.
7. Hansen 1993: 91, 108–09 n. 88. See also Haar 1990: 354.
8. Johnson 1985: 373, 370.
9. Katz 1996a: 76.
10. Johnson 1985: 364.
11. Translated in Zito 1996: 78–81.

Cat. no. 86

1. Goodrich 1991: 291–93.
2. DeWoskin and Crump 1996: 51.
3. Kleeman 1994b: 226. According to Alien 1991: 99, the sacred peak to which sacrifices were offered in the Shang dynasty corresponded to Song Shan (Mount Song) in Henan province.
4. Kleeman 1994b: 230–31.
5. Barrett 1996: 54–55.
6. Kleeman 1994b: 230.
7. See Katz 1993: 46.

Cat. no. 87

1. Previously published in Wu 1997: 263.
2. The hagiographical information on Marshal Wen in this entry is largely taken from Katz 1995.
3. Ibid.: 78.
4. Ibid.: 87–88.
5. Ibid.: 123.
6. ibid.: 88–91, 93.
7. Ibid.: 80–84. On the Shenxiao movement, see ibid.: 33; also Boltz 1987a: 26–37. For other sources on Marshal Wen, see Katz 1995: 93–106.
8. Katz 1995: 93–106. Katz's source here is HY 779.
9. Ibid : 90.
10. Ibid.: 94.
11. Ibid. For a woodblock print illustration of the god wearing the same inscribed plaque, see ibid.: 96, fig. 3.

Cat. no. 88

1. For a biography of the Jiajing emperor, see Goodrich and Fang 1976, vol. 1: 307–15.
2. Cheng 1996: 220.

Cat. no. 89

1. Kleeman 1993: 48–49. The full "autobiography" of Wen Chang is the focus of Kleeman 1994a.
2. Zitong is a place in Sichuan province; see Kleeman 1993: 52–53. Kleeman has noted that Wenchang's identity as a Taoist god was recognized by the imperial government only in 1316, during the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368); see ibid.: 57. For a Yuan dynasty depiction of Wenchang in the murals of the Yongle Gong Taoist temple in southern Shanxi, see Jin 1997: pl. 97.
3. Wenchang's celestial home is the Wenchang Palace, a constellation situated in immediate proximity to the Northern Dipper *(Beidou)*; see cat. no. 18, and Kleeman 1993: 52–53.
4. The revelation of the *Book of Transformations* to Liu Ansheng began in 1168; see Kleeman 1994a: 86–87.
5. See Stevens 1997: 104.
6. Goodrich 1991: 229.

Cat. no. 90

1. Fong 1983: 160.
2. Ibid., quoting from the *Jinshu (Dynastic history of the Jin)*.
3. Xiong 1996: 285.
4. Translation adapted from ibid.: 314–15.
5. An anonymous painting in the Nezu Museum, Tokyo, attributed to the Yuan dynasty, is said to depict the Three Stars, including Shousing, and if indeed it is pre-Ming in date, it would be the earliest depiction of this god in Chinese painting; see Ebine 1975, no. 21.
6. Yu 1980: 270.
7. For another exarnple, see the handscroll entitled *Birthday Gathering in the Bamboo Garden*, jointly painted by Lü Ji and Lü Wenying, published in Pan 1988; and Yang 1994: pl. 5.

Cat. no. 91

1. Despite the title of the Nezu Museum painting, it is not entirely clear that the scroll depicts the Three Stars (the figures are, however, shown as Taoist priests); see Ebine 1975: no. 21.
2. Fong 1983: 185.
3. Ibid.: 186.
4. Ibid.: 196.

Cat. no. 92

1. On Zhong Kui and his depiction in painting, see Little 1985: 22–41, and Liu Fang-ju 1997. On the image of Zhong Kui as a political symbol, see Lawton 1973: no. 35.
2. The *jinshi* was the highest degree in the civil service examinations in traditional China; it meant "presented scholar" because the successful graduates were presented to the emperor at court. See Miyazaki 1976.
3. Translated from Chen Wenzhu's *Tianzhong ji* (Record of heaven's center; 1589), in Fong 1977: 427–28. The account in the *Tianzhong ji* in turn quotes a lost text, *Tong yishi* (Left-over affairs of the Tang).
4. YZMHL, *juan* 2: 21b–22a.

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III.2 Divine Manifestations of Goddesses and Female

Among the religions of China, Taoism is distinguished by its emphasis on the vital role of the *yin* force—the feminine aspect of the world. In the *Daode jing*, attributed to Laozi, the Tao itself is described in this light:

> The Valley Spirit [i.e., the Tao] never dies.
> It is named the Mysterious Female.
> And the Doorway of the Mysterious Female
> Is the base from which Heaven and Earth sprang.
> It is there within us all the while;
> Draw upon it as you will, it never runs dry.[1]

From a cosmological viewpoint, the *yin* force, which as a complement to the *yang* (male) force symbolizes the feminine aspect of reality, has always been a fundamental element in Taoist belief. *Yin* and *yang* are seen as mutually complementary opposites whose interaction creates all the mechanisms of the universe; one cannot exist without the other.

This section of the exhibition introduces several of the most important goddesses of the Taoist pantheon. These deities personify the essence of the *yin* force, and have a long history in China as protectors of life and dispensers of longevity. As patron deities of women, goddesses such as the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) or Metal Mother (Jinmu), the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn (Bixia yuanjun, the Goddess of Mount Tai, the Sacred Peak of the East), Doumu (the Dipper Mother), Houtu (the Earth Goddess), and Tianhou (the Empress of Heaven, or Mazu) continue to be worshipped in China today. During the course of Chinese history, many of the Taoist deities who transmitted secret teachings to human visionaries have been female. The fourth-century Shangqing (Highest Purity) adept Yang Xi, for example, frequently obtained sacred texts from the divine realm through the intercession of the female realized being *(zhenren)* Wei Huacun.

Throughout the history of religious Taoism, female saints have also played a vital role in both popular and elite worship. Such influential figures as Master Geng, active as an alchemist at the Tang court in the ninth century, and Tanyangzi, a late-sixteenth-century teacher who had a wide following among many of the leading male literati scholar-officials of the late Ming dynasty in south-central China, are exemplary models of the powerful role of the *yin* aspect of being in daily life and belief. From the time of the first Celestial Master sect (second century) onward, both men and women could be ordained into the Taoist clergy. The longevity of this tradition is reflected at the imperial level, where empresses and princesses were regularly ordained as Taoist priestesses from the Tang dynasty (618–906) onward.

Detail, cat. no. 101

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Blessings for Long Life

Yuan dynasty (1260–1368)
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
91 × 45.3 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

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Wu Wei (1459–1508)
Female Goddess or Immortal

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
162.7 × 63.8 cm
Shanghai Museum

While untitled, the Taoist goddesses depicted in these two paintings almost certainly are Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, also known as Jinmu, or Metal Mother.[1] This is suggested by the presence of single phoenixes in the headdresses of both figures; the phoenix has been a key iconographic feature of Xiwangmu since at least the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), as seen in the murals of the Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing Dian) at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi.[2] In the National Palace Museum scroll (cat. no. 93), the identification is corroborated by the presence of the peaches held by the jade maiden *(yunü)* at the left; these are the peaches that grow every three thousand years in the Queen Mother's paradise on Mount Kunlun (see cat. no. 27).

One of the oldest female deities of China, Xiwangmu is mentioned in the "Inner Chapters" of the *Zhuangzi* (c. 300 B.C.) as a goddess who "obtained the Tao." She was associated with metal (one of the Five Phases or Elements), autumn, and the west, all aspects of the *yin* force. As a divine personification of *yin*, Xiwangmu was widely worshipped from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) onward. She emerged as a full-fledged Taoist goddess in the scriptures of the Shangqing (Highest Purity) school of religious Taoism in the Eastern Jin dynasty (fourth century). In addition to being a patron deity of women, she was a divine teacher who could control the length of people's lives, and was closely associated with the cultivation of virtue and immortality.[3] Significantly, she is still worshipped today in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and among many overseas Chinese communities.[4]

In the National Palace Museum scroll, the goddess is shown standing in a dignified posture, her hands clasped together in a

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gesture of worship. This, and the fact that she and her attendant face to the right, suggest that the painting originally belonged to a larger set, with the figures facing images of higher Taoist gods such as the Three Purities (Sanqing; see cat. no. 65–67). The goddess is dressed in elaborate robes, painted with superbly harmonized blue, green, red, pink, and lavender pigments. Her ornate metal crown has a single phoenix at the center. Her attendant holds a tray heavily laden with ripe peaches, ancient symbols of longevity and good fortune. The scroll bears seals of the Qing dynasty Qianlong (r. 1736–95), Jiaqing (r. 1796–1820), and Xuantong (r. 1909–11) emperors.

The painting by the scholar and professional painter Wu Wei (1459–1508) in the Shanghai Museum (see cat. no. 94) presents the goddess as a young woman of extraordinarily refined appearance.[3] This striking characterization of the goddess recalls the exalted description of the Queen Mother in the Six Dynasties period (420–589) text *Esoteric Transmissions Concerning the Martial Thearch of Han (Han Wudi neizhuan)*, quoted in the Tang Taoist Du Guangting's *The Primordial Ruler, Metal Mother (Jinmu yuanjun)*:

> The Queen Mother rides an imperial carriage of purple clouds, harnessing nine-colored dappled *qilin* [mythical beasts]. Tied around her waist, she wears the whip of the Celestial Realized Ones; as a belt pendant, she has a diamond numinous seal. In her clothing of multi-colored damask with a yellow background, the patterns and variegated colors are bright and fresh. The radiance of metal makes a shimmering gleam. At her waist is a double-bladed sword for dividing phosphors. Knotted flying clouds make a great cord. On top of her head is a great floriate topknot. She wears the crown of the Grand Realized Ones with hanging beaded strings of daybreak. She steps forth on shoes with squared, phoenix-patterned soles of rose-gem. Her age might be about twenty. Her celestial appearance eclipses and puts in the shade all others. She is a realized numinous being.[4]

Wu Wei's scroll is painted in ink alone with sharp tonal contrasts, and wet washes over energetic dry ink outlines. The painting depicts the goddess as detached and mysterious. Wearing voluminous robes, she wears a headdress with a single stylized phoenix in front, and holds a tablet of rank in her hands. Her face is summarily painted with sharp lines of very dry ink. The painting is signed "Xiaoxian" ("Little Immortal"), and bears two of the artist's seals: "Seal of Wu Wei" and "Battalion Commander of the Embroidered Uniform Guard" (a title in the imperial Ming painting academy).

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Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Bronze with traces of pigment
H. 96.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Samuel C. Rautbord (1967.333)

96

Saintly Mother Heavenly Immortal of the Eastern Peak

Ming dynasty, c. 1600
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
216 × 100 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 760)

Shown in Chicago only

One of the most popular Taoist deities from the Ming dynasty onward was Bixia yuanjun, the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn.[1] This goddess was the daughter of the male god of Mount Tai (Tai Shan), the easternmost of the Five Sacred Peaks, located in Shandong province. Mount Tai had been a focal point of imperial and popular worship since at least the Qin (221–207 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) dynasties.[2] Not only was the peak closely tied to rites related to the political legitimacy of the emperor, but it was also seen in the medieval period as the gateway to the realm of the dead.[3]

The Palace of the Clouds of Dawn (Bixia Gong), a shrine to the goddess, was built at the top of Mount Tai during the Ming dynasty, and is still a focus of pilgrimage worship.[4] Bixia yuanjun became the most popular female Taoist deity in China during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and unlike her father, was seen as a compassionate deity.[5] Her popularity is widespread today. Many cities in China have temples dedicated to Bixia yuanjun. In Beijing, the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue Miao) contains a hall dedicted to the goddess, as does the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan). In Taoist painting and sculpture, she is often accompanied by nine other attendant goddesses, including the Goddess of Children (Zisun niangniang) and the Goddess of Eyesight (Yanguang niangniang).[6]

The official Taoist hagiography of Bixia yuanjun is contained in a text entitled *History of Mount Tai (Tai shi)*, compiled by Zha Zhilong (fl. 1554–86) and included in the Wanli reign (1573–1620) supplement to the Taoist Canon, printed in 1607.[7]

The Art Institute's bronze sculpture of the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn (cat. no. 95) can be dated to the early Ming

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dynasty (fifteenth century), and was undoubtedly made for use on a Taoist altar. Dignified and imposing, the goddess can be identified by the three phoenixes in her headdress (her standard iconography). With her hands, the goddess forms a sacred gesture, not unlike the Buddhist *mudra* of "turning the Wheel of the Law" (although the position of the hands is reversed). Two small boys stand on her lap.

The brilliant hanging scroll in the Musée Guimet, Paris (cat. no. 96), depicts the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn regally seated in her celestial court, accompanied by six female attendants. Bixia yuanjun wears a robe edged with feathers and holds a tablet in both hands. Her headdress contains seven phoenixes. An inscription on the outer mounting records the title: *Saintly Mother Heavenly Immortal of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue tianxian shengmu)*. As Susan Naquin has shown, by 1600 the goddess was widely known by this title.

Many images of Bixia yuanjun survive from the Ming and Qing dynasties. They can almost all be identified by the presence of three, or sometimes more, phoenixes in the deity's headdress (as opposed to images of the Queen Mother of the West, in which the headdress usually has a single phoenix).

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The Lady of the Highest Primordial and the Empress of Earth

Ming dynasty, c. 1600
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
216.5 × 103 cm
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris (EO 717)

Shown in San Francisco only

THIS PAINTING was originally made for the Buddhist Water and Land Ritual (see section II.3, "The Taoist Pantheon"). It depicts two female deities, the Lady of the Highest Primordial (Shangyuan furen; above) and the Empress of Earth (Houtu; below), each accompanied by female attendants[1] holding auspicious items such as coral, a mushroom-shaped *ruyi* scepter, and a parasol. They float on multi-colored clouds that descend from above the top border of the painting.

The Lady of the Highest Primordial first came to prominence in the medieval period, and holds a special place in the legends surrounding the Highest Purity scriptures (see cat. no. 55). She is most famous for a medieval tale in which she appears to the Han dynasty emperor Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.), together with the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu; see cat. no. 26).[2] In addition, she was a teacher of the three Mao brothers, fabled Han dynasty figures who gave their names to Mount Mao, an important Taoist site, and who were seen as patriarchs of the Highest Purity scriptures. Later hagiographies of this goddess[3] still emphasize these medieval legends, but it is clear that she continued to play an active role in the Taoist pantheon in late imperial times.[4]

The Empress of Earth seems to have been worshipped as an earth spirit as early as the sixth century B.C., and is connected by such early texts as the *Zuozhuan* with ancient community altars to the soil *(she)*. Imperial rites to this deity were formalized by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty in 113 B.C.[5] Although the literal translation of this deity's name suggests that the deity is female, early sources indicate that the name was initially understood as the proper name or title of a male deity who eventually came to be seen as female by the medieval period. This probably resulted from the use of the character for "empress" *(hou)* in the deity's name, and from the popular associations between the earth and female or *yin* energy (as opposed to the male or *yang* energy associated with the heavens). In addition to her primary role as a divine manifestation of the earth, the Empress of Earth has secondary connotations as a protector spirit of graves and the deceased. Although the Empress of Earth appears here in the context of a Buddhist ritual, she figures prominently in the Taoist pantheon, and is one of the primary deities in the Yuan dynasty murals of the Hall of Three Purities in the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi province.[6] It is intriguing to note that in the murals of the Hall of Three Purities, the Empress of Earth is depicted opposite the Metal Mother (a title for the Queen Mother of the West), ancient companion to the Lady of the Highest Primordial, with whom she is shown in the present painting.

The depiction of the Lady of the Highest Primordial with the Empress of Earth in this painting suggests that the former goddess is used to represent the heavens, while the latter represents the earth. Moreover, the Lady of the Highest Primordial serves as a divine matriarchal figure, being called in later times Realized Mother of the Three Heavens,[7] while the Empress of Earth serves as patron protectress of the dead; so, taken together, these two goddesses seem to personify the entirety of human (and cosmic) existence from birth to death. As such, this painting is a particularly evocative expression of the goal of the Water and Land Ritual to address all the spirits of the natural and supernatural worlds—literally, all the spirits of the "water and land."

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The Dipper Mother

Qing dynasty, 18th century
Dehua porcelain
H. 24.8 cm
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection (B60 P1362)

It is unclear when worship of the Dipper Mother (Doumu) began, but she did not come to prominence until the late imperial period (beginning in the fifteenth century). There are several short texts concerning this deity in the Taoist Canon, including at least two biographies[1] and a ritual devoted to her[2] from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). As her name implies, she is the mother of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major). One of her biographies tells us that in countless ages past, she made a vow to "give birth to sacred children who would assist *qian* and *kun*[3] and aid Great Transformation *(zaohua)*." Later, when she was incarnated as a woman named Lady of Violet Light, consort to a certain King Zhou Yu, she was able to fulfill this vow. On a fine spring day, when all the flowers were in bloom, she was amusing herself in the royal gardens, and decided to bathe in the Pool of Warm Jade and Golden Lotuses. After she disrobed and entered the pool, she suddenly felt "moved," and nine lotus buds in the pool blossomed to reveal nine children.[4] A more elaborate account tells us that when she entered the pool, a "white jade tortoise platform with a precious throne shaped like a sacred *xie* beast"[5] rose out of the waters of the pool. The lady mounted the throne and began to meditate, and the Way (Tao) responded by casting a light that penetrated into the pool, transforming into nine golden lotus buds. After seven days, these lotuses suddenly rose to the heavens, transforming into nine precious towers with nine magical syllables formed from the energies that created them. These nine syllables in turn gave rise to nine stars. The elder of these stars were Violet Tenuity and Celestial August, two important stars in the central northern sky; their younger siblings were the seven stars of Ursa Major.[6]

The Dipper Mother is also identified with the moon, and in particular with the magical elixir concocted by the hare in the moon, associating her with an ancient Chinese myth and another female deity, Chang E (see cat. no. 101). The Dipper Mother dispensed this medicine to the world, curing illnesses and ensuring safe births.[7]

In order to commemorate the birth of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and their elder siblings, worshippers held a festival called the "Offering of the Nine Luminescences" *(Jiuguang jiao)* annually on their birthday. The power of this festival to undo the effects of negative *karma* has been likened to "nine suns shining on a mountain of ice."[8] The festival was apparently based on the *Realized Scripture of the Nine Luminescences (Jiuguang zhenjing)*, a scripture that still exists in the Taoist Canon.[9] This scripture reflects the idea of the "unity of the Three Teachings" of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism that was popular in late imperial China, being devoted to both the supreme Taoist deity, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), and to the highest deity of Esoteric Buddhism, the Buddha Vairochana. Similarly, the ritual devoted to the Dipper Mother found in the Taoist Canon also invokes both Taoist and Buddhist deities, including Vairochana, who is once again paired with the the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning.[10]

This blending of Buddhist and Taoist elements can also be seen in the figure of the Dipper Mother herself. It is thought that the Dipper Mother was derived from one of the twenty *devas* of Buddhism, Marichi, whose name means, literally, "ray of light." As her name implies, this goddess is intimately connected with stellar phenomena, and she is sometimes depicted holding the sun and moon aloft in two of her hands; the Dipper Mother seen here is also holding the sun and the moon. The vehicle of Marichi is drawn by seven pigs, which suggests the seven stars of Ursa Major, and the Dipper Mother is often similarly depicted with pigs for mounts. In addition, the Chinese transliteration for Marichi, "Molizhi tian," is given as one of the titles for the Dipper Mother in the ritual devoted to her.

This porcelain sculpture of Doumu from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco sits on a lotus throne. On her head is a crown; she has eighteen arms and a third eye in her forehead. Her hands hold numerous attributes, including sacred weapons and vessels.[11]

The Dipper Mother is still actively worshipped in China today, most notably at the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) in Beijing, where there is a chamber dedicated to her.

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The Alchemy of Master Geng

Ming dynasty, 16th century (traditionally attributed to the Song dynasty, 960–1279)
Hanging scroll; ink on silk
105.3 × 57.7 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

THIS PAINTING of a Taoist female alchemist depicts a scene at the Tang dynasty court in the mid-ninth century. The female adept known as Master Geng was one of a long tradition of *fangshi* ("magicians," or "technicians"—literally "method-masters") stretching back into the Bronze Age. Although records of female *fangshi* are rare, several antecedents are known from the Six Dynasties period (420–589) and earlier. The presence of such adepts, male or female, at the imperial courts of China was significant because they reflected the virtue of the rulers they served. Thus, beyond their abilities to create elixirs that would extend the lives of their patrons, their very presence added to the prestige of the ruler. Throughout Chinese history emperors and imperial families have been major sources of patronage for Taoist adepts. This tradition can be traced to as early as the emperor Qin Shihuangdi in the third century B.C., long before the advent of religious Taoism. During the Liang dynasty (502–557), Emperor Wudi was a great patron of the Taoist alchemist Tao Hongjing (456–536), despite the fact that Wudi was a devout Buddhist. The emperor funded a Taoist monastery on Mount Mao (Mao Shan) for Tao and supported his alchemical experiments.[1]

The story of Master Geng is related in Wu Shu's *Records of Strange Magician-Technicians Between the Yangzi and Huai Rivers (Jiang Huai yiren lu)*, dated to c. 975:

> Teacher Geng was the daughter of Geng Qian. When she was young she was intelligent and beautiful and liked reading books. Fond of writing, she sometimes composed praiseworthy poetry, but she was also acquainted with Taoist techniques, and could control the spirits. She mastered the "art of the yellow and the white" (alchemy), with many other strange transformations, mysterious and incomprehensible. No one knew how she acquired all this knowledge.
>
> In the Dazhong reign-period (847–859) the emperor, being fond of the elegant and fascinated by the strange, summoned her to the palace to observe her techniques. She was not added to the pool of palace ladies but was given special lodgings and called "Teacher" *[xiansheng]*. When having an audience she always wore green robes and held a tablet and when she spoke it was with brilliant eloquence and confident bearing. . . . The Teacher did not often demonstrate her (divination) techniques, but when she did so the results always came out as she predicted. For this the emperor valued her all the more.[2]

After once turning mercury into silver for the emperor, Master Geng was asked to turn snow into silver (this is the scene depicted in the National Palace Museum painting):

> On another occasion during heavy snow the emperor asked her if she could turn that into silver also. Saying that she could, she cut up some hard snow in the form of an ingot and threw it into a blazing charcoal fire. The ashes rose up and all was covered over with charcoal; then after about the time required to take a meal she said it was done, and taking out the red-hot substance, put it on the ground to cool, whereupon it brightened and took the form of a silver ingot, with the same knife-marks still on it. The undersurface, which the fire had reached first, looked like stalactites. Later the Teacher made a lot of "snow-silver," so much that she presented vessels made of it to the emperor on his birthday. . . .
>
> Later on the Teacher appeared to be pregnant, and told the emperor that she would give birth that night to a baby who would be a great sage. The emperor caused everything to be prepared, but towards midnight there came a violent thunderstorm, and the next morning she had regained her normal size, but no baby was to be seen. She said that the gods had taken it away and that it could not be got back.
>
> The Teacher was fond of wine, and just like other people in love affairs and sexual relations. Moreover in the course of time she fell ill and died. Formerly the holy immortals often mixed with human beings—perhaps she was one of them.[3]

It is worth noting that Master Geng's patron, Emperor Xuanzong, died from an overdose of cinnabar.[4] The National Palace Museum scroll depicts Master Geng seated before a charcoal brazier with the emperor facing her. Several vessels rest in the charcoal; these appear to be the silver vessels she made from snow. The painting is executed in ink on silk, and closely resembles in style the work of the Wu School painter Tang Yin (1470–1523).[5]

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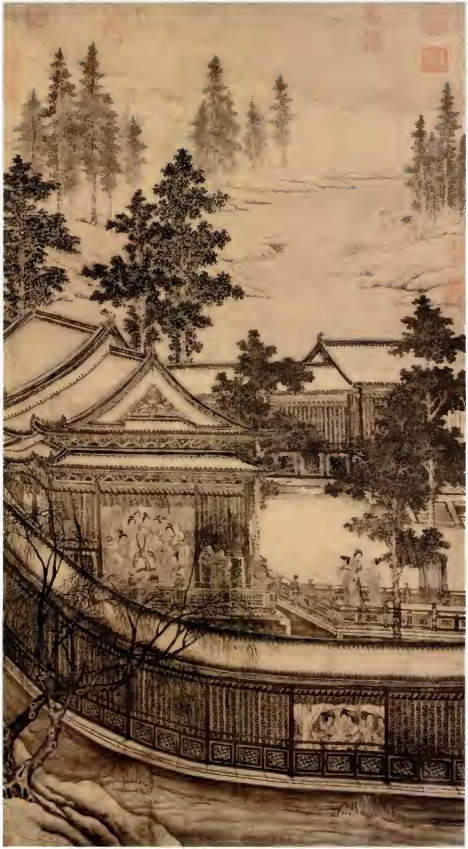

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You Qiu (active 16th century)
The Immortal Master Tanyangzi

Ming dynasty, Wanli reign, dated 1580
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
118.5 × 57.3 cm
Shanghai Museum

You Qiu's memorial portrait of Tanyangzi (1557–1580) presents an image of one of the most famous female Taoist adepts of the sixteenth century. The scroll was painted only three months after Tanyangzi's ascent to immortality, at the age of twenty-three in the ninth lunar month of 1580. This event was recorded by the scholar Wang Shizhen (1526–1590). As told by Ann Waltner,

> On the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 1580 a large crowd gathered in Zhitang, a small town in the hinterland of the splendid city of Suzhou, to witness an event they had long anticipated. A young woman, at twenty-three barely more than a girl, the daughter of one of the most prominent families of the region, was deep in a shrine at the grave of her dead fiancé. For years, people had been hearing stories about this young woman, about how she had not eaten grain for five years, about how she had visions of the Buddhist bodhisattva Guanyin and how she had visited the court of the Taoist deity the Queen Mother of the West. Even more surprising were the stories that her father and a circle of his distinguished colleagues had declared themselves to be her disciples. The crowd gathered and she did what she had promised them she would do. According to numerous contemporary accounts, she ascended heavenward in broad daylight and attained immortality.[1]

By the time she attained immortality the young woman had already had an enlightenment experience, after mastering the techniques of Inner Alchemy and creating an internal elixir.[2] Among the sacred texts revered by Tanyangzi were the Buddhist scriptures the *Heart Sutra*, the *Diamond Sutra*, the *Surangama Sutra*, and the *Vimalakirti Sutra*. The Taoist texts she studied included the *Daode jing*, the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting jing*; see cat. no. 128), the *Scripture of the Hidden Contract (Yinfu jing*; also known as the *Huangdi yinfu jing*; early seventh century), and the *Realized Scripture of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao zhen jing)*.[3] In the sixth lunar month of 1580, shortly before her death, Tanyangzi experienced a vision in which she visited the Queen Mother of the West.[4] This experience, during which esoteric teachings were transmitted to her, lasted several days.

One of the extraordinary aspects of Tanyangzi's brief earthly career is that her followers included numerous elite scholar-officials, beginning with her father, Wang Xijue (1534–1611), who after her death became Grand Secretary at the court of the Wanli emperor (r. 1583–1620). Tanyangzi's biography was written by Wang Shizhen, one of the most cultivated figures in the literary and artistic world of late sixteenth century. What is known about Tanyangzi derives largely from Wang Shizhen's text, which, along with a woodblock illustration of the moment immediately prior to Tanyangzi's ascent to immortality, is found in the *Stories of Exquisite Immortals, New Edition (Xinjian xianyuan jishi)* of 1602, a collection of illustrated biographies of holy women.[5] Tanyangzi's story is also characteristic of later Chinese religion, revealing the syncretic mixing of Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian teachings.[6]

In the painting Tanyangzi appears as she must have appeared in 1580. She is shown wearing an ochre robe with a pale blue hem, and with a black hat on her head. She holds a ritual sword in her left hand. Her skin is painted with pale white pigment, and her lips are red. The portrait is signed, "Painted by You Qiu of Changzhou, on an auspicious day of the twelfth lunar month of the year *gengchen* [1580] of the Wanli reign." You Qiu was a son-in-law of the Wu School painter Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1552).

According to a poem by Wang Chang (1725–1807), a mural depicting Tanyangzi was also painted by You Qiu on the wall of the saint's shrine at Taicang, near Suzhou.[7] It is likely that the hanging scroll in the Shanghai Museum depicts a similar scene, since the presence of a sword coincides with descriptions of Tanyangzi's final moments.

The inscription by Zhang Tao at the top of the scroll consists of a transcription of Tanyangzi's final Eight Admonitions, and other texts that were said to be by Tanyangzi herself.[8] Among these admonitions was "Do not believe that your teacher [Tanyangzi] was a sorceress outside the Tao who was a specialist in alchemy or sexual techniques."[9] Zhang's inscription is signed, "Respectfully recorded by the disciple Zhang Tao, in the twelfth month of the year *gengchen* [1580]."

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Chang E, the Moon Goddess

Late Yuan or early Ming dynasty, 1350/1400
Fan painting; ink and colors on silk
25 × 25 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Samuel M. Nickerson Endowment Fund (1947.534)

THIS PAINTING DEPICTS Chang E, the Moon Goddess, also known as Taiyin xingjun (Star-lord of Supreme *Yin*). Chang E was believed to live in the Guanghan Gong (Broad Cold Palace) in the moon. The moon itself was an ancient symbol of the *yin* force, and it is appropriate that its deity was a woman, also a pure manifestation of *yin*. Chang E was said to have stolen the elixir of immortality from her husband, the mythical archer Yi, and taken it to the moon; as a result, she was closely associated with longevity and immortality.[3] She was well established as a popular deity by the Tang dynasty (618–906).[2]

At the time of the Autumn Moon festival, on the night of the full moon in the eighth lunar month, an altar would be set up for worship of the moon and of Chang E. This festival was closely associated with women, since the advent of the full moon in the eighth month signalled the rising *yin* element in the annual cosmological cycle.[3] The following is a description of a sacrifice to the moon as practiced in the early twentieth century:

> Just at the hour when the moon is clear of the treetops and sails like a full-rigged ship into the high heavens, the service begins. . . . One after another the women [of the household] go forward and make their bows. Two candles are lighted. . . . Bundles of incense-sticks are stuck flaming into the family urn, but their light glimmers faintly in the floods of moonshine. The whole service lasts but a few moments. . . .[4]

The Art Institute fan depicts Chang E standing on a rocky plateau.[5] The goddess rests her left hand on the trunk of a pine tree (a symbol of longevity) that grows at the edge of a chasm. Behind the figure, a full moon rises among white clouds in a deep blue sky.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Waley 1958: 149.

Cat. nos. 93–94

1. The central figure of cat. no. 93 is identified as the Queen Mother of the West in *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: 79, pl. 24. The definitive study of Xiwangmu is Cahill 1993. The appellation "Metal Mother" appears to have first occurred in the Tang dynasty (618–906); see Cahill 1993: 68.
2. Jin 1997: pls. 140, 150.
3. See Cahill 1986a.
4. See, for example, Stevens 1997: 53.
5. Previously published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 2: 256, no. 1-0445.
6. Translated in Cahill 1993: 81.

Cat. nos. 95–96

1. The title *yuanjun* (literally, "primordial lord") was commonly used in the names of Taoist female gods. For a brief history of the cult of Bixia yuanjun, see Naquin 1992: 334–38.
2. See Bokenkamp 1996b: 251–60 and Chavannes 1910.
3. Bokenkamp 1996b: 252.
4. Boltz 1987a: 297 n. 277.
5. Naquin 1992: 334.
6. Ibid.: 335; see also Goodrich 1964: 62–63, 257–58.
7. Boltz 1987a: 105.

Cat. no. 97

1. Three attendants accompany the Lady of the Highest Primordial, while four accompany the Empress of Earth; this may derive from the association of *yang* (heaven) energy with odd numbers and *yin* (earth) energy with even numbers.
2. See Schipper 1965.
3. For example, see the Yuan hagiography in HY 296, *juan* 3.
4. For example, she is included in a list of goddesses for a ritual petition found in the Song dynasty text HY 1214, *juan* 3; I am grateful to Kristofer Schipper for this citation.
5. Relevant passages from the *Zuozhuan* and the *Hanshu* can be conveniently found in Lu and Luan 1991: 218–25. See also Chavannes 1910: 521–22.
6. Jin 1997.
7. HY 1214, *juan* 3.

Cat. no. 98

1. HY 45 and HY 621; these texts are undated, but they were completed sometime before the compilation of the Taoist Canon in 1444–45.
2. HY 1440; this text is included in the supplement to the Taoist Canon that was added in 1607.
3. These are the first two trigrams (and hexagrams) of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*. They represent the *yang* and *yin* energies of the universe.
4. HY 45.
5. This was a mythical animal resembling a cow that is said to have been able to distinguish the proper from the improper; it was one of the animals used to decorate official robes.
6. HY 621.
7. HY 621.
8. HY 45. The ritual centering on the Mother of the Dipper in HY 1440 also uses this metaphor, which suggests that it shares a common source with HY 45, and may have been inspired by this biography.
9. HY 42 (full title: *Yuqing yuanshi xuanhuang jiuguang zhenjing*).
10. HY 1440. In this instance the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning is called the Highest Imperial of Primordial Beginning.
11. Several other Dehua porcelain sculptures of Doumu are published in Donnelly 1969: pl. 99.

Cat. no. 99

1. Strickmann 1979a: 155–59.
2. Translated in Needham et al. 1976: 169.
3. Ibid.: 170.
4. This emperor is not to be confused with the more famous Emperor Xuanzong (Minghuang) of the early eighth century. Other Tang emperors who died of cinnabar poisoning were Xianzong (r. 805–20), Muzong (r. 820–24), and Wuzong (r. 840–46). Wuzong was responsible for the great anti-Buddhist persecution of 845; see Ch'en 1964: 226–33.
5. See *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: pl. 19.

Cat. no. 100

1. Waltner (forthcoming), chap. 1: "The World of Late Ming China." I am deeply grateful to the author for making this book available to me prior to its publication. Because this event was sacred, and because direct knowledge of it was secret, the details of Tanyangzi's ascent are not recorded by Wang Shizhen, her biographer; see Waltner 1987: 117.
2. Waltner 1987, 113. To her disciple Tu Long, a famous writer and connoisseur, Tanyangzi wrote in the manner of the *Daode jing*:

> Great beauty is no beauty. Ultimate words are no words. You have heard much of the Tao. The quality of the Tao which prevents it from being abandoned also prevents it from being recorded. Those who are wise do not spontaneously know it. Those who know it don't speak of it. Those who speak of it don't write of it: this is the mystery of the Tao.

3. Ibid.: 115; Waltner (forthcoming), chap. 6; "The Cult of T'an-yang-tzu."
4. Waltner 1987: 115–16.
5. A depiction of Tanyangzi, seated with a snake in the shrine to her dead fiancé, appears in the woodblock-printed version of her story, *Stories of Exquisite Immortals: New Edition (Xinjian xianyuan jishi)*, published in 1602 (reprinted in Wang 1989, vol. 1); see Waltner (forthcoming), The cult of Tanyangzi continued long after her death, well into the Qing dynasty.
6. The Confucian elements in her teachings are clear from her final admonitions, which include the directives "Love and respect your ruler and relatives," "Pity and empathize with widows and orphans," and "Cherish frugality; be moderate in your happiness" (Waltner [forthcoming]).
7. The mural was entitled *Ascending Heavenward in Broad Daylight*; by the mid-Qing dynasty this mural no longer survived.
8. Ann Waltner, private communication, May 14, 1999.
9. Waltner (forthcoming).

Cat. no. 101

1. Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West, was also associated with longevity and immortality. For the traditional story of Chang E, see Soymié 1962.
2. Schafer 1978c: 201–07; see also Goodrich 1991: 213–22. In her guise as the Star-lord of Supreme Yin, the goddess appears with the god of the sun (Taiyang or Supreme Yang) and the deities of the Five Planets in the entourage of the Purple Tenuity Emperor (Ziwei dadi) in the fourteenth-century Taoist murals of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in Shanxi; see Jin 1997: pls. 19, 48, 62.
3. Burckhardt 1982: 52–54.
4. Bredon and Mitrophanow 1927: 399; for a photograph of a modern "moon altar," see p. 404.
5. Previously published in Little 1996: fig. 13. This fan is similar to several other fans and album leaves that depict Chang E; see *Songren huace* 1979: pl. 2, *Yiyuan duoying* 1989: pl. 13, and Cahill 1961a: pl. 23. The Art Institute's fan bears a seal of the late Qing collector and epigrapher Wu Dacheng (1835–1902).

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III.3 Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior

The origins of the Taoist god Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior) can be traced to the late Warring States period (third century B.C.) and Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). In that time, the god was known simply as Xuanwu, or Dark Warrior. Represented by a tortoise entwined by a snake, Xuanwu was the ancient symbol of the north, and as such was visualized as the deity of one of the cardinal directions. In Han dynasty ceramic roof tiles, for example, Xuanwu appears along with the other animal symbols of the directions: the dragon of the east, the tiger of the west, and the bird of the south. In stone sarcophagi of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), Xuanwu again appears, often carved onto the foot slab (see cat. no. 102), accompanying the dragon and tiger that appear on the two long sides of the sarcophagus. Textual evidence suggests that a cult devoted solely to Xuanwu developed only in the seventh century, during the early Tang dynasty (618–906).[1]

The transformation of the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu) into the anthropomorphic god known as the Perfected Warrior (Zhenwu) occurred in the early Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).[2] Imperial recognition of this transformation happened during the reign of Song Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), who was deeply devoted to religious Taoism.[3] Zhenzong was the first to build a temple to Zhenwu in the capital of Bianliang (Kaifeng, Henan province), after the miraculous appearance of a tortoise and snake in 1017.[4] Xuanwu's name was changed to Zhenwu at this time, to avoid a taboo on the name of the Song imperial ancestor Zhao Xuanlang. Zhenwu was particularly associated with healing, and is said to have cured Emperor Renzong (r. 1023–64) from illness in 1056. Zhenwu's efficacious power even led the Tangut rulers of the Xixia dynasty (982–1227) to begin worshipping him in the early eleventh century. Two of the earliest surviving images of Zhenwu as an anthropomorphic warrior come from Xixia archaeological contexts. One, in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia, is a twelfth-century banner depicting Zhenwu with a tortoise and snake, recovered from the ancient site of Kharakhoto by P. K. Kozlov (1863–1935) in 1909; the other is a twelfth-century silk banner, excavated in 1990 from a ruined Buddhist pagoda in Helan county, Ningxia Autonomous Region.[5]

In 1018, under the Song emperor Zhenzong, Zhenwu obtained the title Perfected Warrior Numinous Response Perfected Lord (Zhenwu lingying zhenjun).[6] Under Song Huizong (r. 1100–25), in 1108, Zhenwu was given the title Marshal Yousheng (Yousheng yuanshuai).[7] The god's title was changed to Emperor *(di)* during the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368): after 1304 he was known as Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven, Primal Sage, and Benevolent Majesty (Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi).[8]

It was during the Northern Song dynasty that Zhenwu began to be associated with a powerful group of Taoist celestial marshals known as the Four Saints (Sisheng). Paintings of Zhenwu as Marshal Yousheng are known from the early twelfth century, and a fifteenth-century Ming painting in this exhibition also depicts him as one of the Four Saints (cat. no. 107).[9] These gods were perceived as spirit-guardians of the Taoist faith and of the nation. In contemporary Taoist rituals in southern Taiwan, a separate altar is still often constructed for the Four Saints, and the altar table is called "Wudang Mountain" after Zhenwu's sacred peak Wudang Shan (Mount Wudang) in northwestern Hubei province, an association that began in the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).[10]

The period of Zhenwu's greatest influence and popularity, however, was the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (Taizu, r. 1368–98), ordered sacrifices to Zhenwu on the god's birthday (the third day of the third lunar month) and the day of his ascension to heaven (the ninth day of the ninth lunar month). It was the third Ming emperor, Zhu Di

Detail, cat. no. 103

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(Yongle, *r.* 1403–24), however, whose personal devotion to Zhenwu led to the greatest rise in the god's national prestige. By this time, the god was seen as the eighty-second transformation *(bianhua)* of Laozi, and he was enfeoffed at Wudang Shan by the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang).[11] The celestial referents to the god included one of Zhenwu's weapons, the Seven Star Sword of the Three Terraces *(Santai qixingjian)*, which refers to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and to the powerful constellation called the Three Terraces *(Santai)*, located in immediate proximity to the Dipper.[12] The Yongle emperor was himself famous as a warrior, and in 1403 he usurped the throne from his nephew, the Jianwen emperor. The emperor credited Zhenwu with aiding him in this successful campaign.[13] In 1412 the emperor ordered a massive building campaign on Wudang Shan, Zhenwu's sacred peak, culminating in the construction of the Zixiao Gong (Purple Empyrean Palace; see cat. no. 109). At the top of Wudang Shan a cluster of sacred buildings was built, known as the Purple Forbidden City (Zijincheng)—the same name as the Forbidden City in Beijing. During the Yongle reign, Wudang Shan was renamed Taihe Shan (Mountain of Supreme Harmony), and took precedence over the Five Sacred Peaks, formerly the most important sacred Taoist mountains in China. At several times during the Yongle reign, miraculous manifestations of Zhenwu were seen at the mountain; these are recorded in both the Taoist Canon (see cat. no. 110) and in a large handscroll now owned by the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Monastery) in Beijing (cat. no. 111).

When Zhu Di moved the imperial capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1421 and rebuilt the Forbidden City, he constructed a temple to Zhenwu, prominently positioned along the north-south axis of the palace. This temple, the Qin'an Dian (Hall of Imperial Peace), is significantly the northernmost building in the Forbidden City, appropriate given the fact that Zhenwu is god of the northern celestial quadrant. The original temple burned down in the late fifteenth century, and it was subsequently rebuilt during the Jiajing reign (1522–66), a time of devoted patronage of religious Taoism. This temple still stands, situated on its own marble terrace and enclosed by its own wall, at the center of the Imperial Flower Garden (Yuhua Yuan) just inside the Martial Gate (Wu Men) of the Forbidden City. Despite Qing dynasty renovations carried out by the Yongzheng emperor (*r.* 1723–35), the temple is still dedicated to Zhenwu, and contains three large statues of the god as its primary icons.

It is clear that by the mid-fifteenth century, Zhenwu had become the most important god in the Taoist pantheon, to some extent even supplanting the deified Laozi.[14] No longer just a powerful god of healing and exorcism, Zhenwu was also a celestial protector of the emperor and the state. In the Ming, a popular novel entitled *Journey to the North (Beiyou ji)* appeared, recounting the story of Zhenwu's apotheosis. Gary Seaman has shown that this novel was possibly created in the context of spirit-writing cults of the period.[15] Imperial patronage of the Zhenwu cult continued through the remainder of the Ming dynasty. As John Lagerwey has written, "All Ming emperors after Chengzu [Yongle] announced their accession to the throne by sending a sacrifice to Zhenwu."[16]

Both painted and sculpted images of Zhenwu proliferated during the Ming dynasty. It is clear from those that survive that the god was worshipped by all levels of society. The dedicatory inscriptions on two fifteenth-century bronze sculptures of Zhenwu (one of which is included in the exhibition; see cat. no. 103) are indicative of the widespread devotion to this god. A small bronze image of Zhenwu in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, bears the following inscription:

> Offered by the Taoist believers *(dao xinshi)* Wu She, his younger brothers Wu Chan and Wu Si, and their families, who dwell in Hengshan Village at Clear Lake, in Lanxi County, Jinhua Fu [in Zhejiang province, one hundred thirty kilometers southwest of Hangzhou], who manifest their hearts, and have had cast [this] image of the Saint [*sheng*, i.e., Zhenwu], [for the] Hall of the Jade Maiden and Numinous Official [Yunü lingguan tang], in order to nourish those who pray for auspicious fate and the granting of wishes. Made by Shen Zhongyi of Bianliang [Kaifeng], on an auspicious day in the first month of the *jiachen* year [1424] of the Yongle reign.[17]

One of the rarest Ming images related to Zhenwu is an unpublished bronze sculpture depicting Wudang Shan, now in the British Museum, London.[18] This work, over one meter in height, depicts the sacred mountain, with the image of Zhenwu riding on the back of an entwined tortoise and snake flying through the air near the top. Included too are images of shrines and devotees, and the five Dragons Kings, ancient gods associated with the mountain, standing at the bottom.[19] It is entirely conceivable that this bronze replica of Wudang Shan functioned as a substitute for the actual mountain in rituals directed toward Zhenwu far from the mountain itself.[20]

Significantly, Zhenwu continued to be worshipped by the Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), and he is still worshipped in China today. In the Yanqing Guan, the primary Taoist temple in Kaifeng, for example, an over-life-sized bronze sculpture of the god, dated 1486, is still the central icon of worship.

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Section of a Sarcophagus with Xuanwu

Northern Wei dynasty, early 6th century
Limestone
55 × 52 cm
Private collection

THIS ELEGANT SCULPTURE was originally the foot slab of the sarcophagus of an aristocrat.[1] On the basis of its style and comparison with excavated examples, the carving can be dated to the late Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), after the capital had moved to Luoyang in Henan province (c. 500–534). The panel depicts Xuanwu, the ancient symbol of the north, in its traditional guise of a tortoise entwined by a snake. In addition, the paired animal symbol is accompanied by a male figure, dressed as a scholar or court official. A similar depiction of the tortoise and snake accompanied by a male figure holding a sword or club, carved in intaglio, is found on the foot slab of the famous Northern Wei sarcophagus in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, dated c. 525.[2] While the significance of this figure is not yet clear, it may represent an early personification of this powerful deity of the north. The background of the sarcophagus panel is carved with low-relief designs of swirling clouds. There are slight traces of red pigment in the eye of the snake. At the top of the slab is a low tang, for insertion into the top of the sarcophagus.

The symbolism of Xuanwu as the intertwined tortoise and snake emerged by at least the third century B.C. Xuanwu was already worshipped as a deity in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), as one of the four gods of the cardinal directions (the others are the dragon of the east, the tiger of the west, and the bird of the south). In early Taoist rituals, these gods were invoked by the priest to protect the sacred space of the altar.[3] Even after the emergence of Zhenwu (Xuanwu) as an anthropomorphic deity in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), the tortoise and snake continued to symbolize the god.

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CHEN YANQING (ACTIVE EARLY 15TH CENTURY)
Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, dated 1439
Gilt bronze
H. 36.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Robert Sonnenschein II (1950.1054)

THIS SCULPTURE OF ZHENWU is an excellent example of a small-scale image made for personal devotion. The figure conforms to the god's classic iconography, with bare feet and long hair. Zhenwu rests his hands in his lap; the left hand forms a sacred gesture. A dedicatory inscription incised onto the interior surface reads:

> The Great Ming dynasty. The devout Buddhist believer, Meng Zhen of the Shaanxi Regional Military Commission, of the Central Guard of Ganzhou [in modern Gansu], who resides in the city, [with his] family and others, now at Nanjing, vows to cast one statue of the Lofty Zhen[wu], so that above [we may attain] the reward of the Four Kindnesses, and below the aid of the Three Forgivenesses, [also] good fortune and all that we wish for. In the year *jiwei* of the Zhengtong reign [1439], cast by Master Chen Yanqing of Qiantang [Hangzhou], and gilded by Han Ye.

The fact that the donor of this work describes himself as a devout Buddhist, and yet commissions a work depicting a Taoist god, is fully characteristic of Chinese religious belief, in which devotion to different religions presents no apparent conflict.

Two other fifteenth-century gilt-bronze sculptures in North American collections were also made by Chen Yanqing in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. Both works depict the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun), the central of the Three Purities (Sanqing, the highest gods of religious Taoism; see cat. no. 65). The first, bearing an inscription dated 1438, was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; it was made for a temple in Gansu province. The second, in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, is inscribed but undated.[1]

Small-scale devotional sculptures of Zhenwu were widespread during the Ming dynasty, when worship of this god reached its peak. The promotion of Zhenwu by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–24) led to increasing devotion to the god, both at the imperial level and throughout Chinese society. Zhenwu's popularity is indicated by the enormous number of such images, the majority of which are made of either glazed stoneware or porcelain.

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Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven

Ming dynasty, 15th/16th century
Bronze with traces of pigments
H. 133 cm
The British Museum, London, Given by Messrs. Yamanaka (1908.7–25.2)

One of the largest known Ming bronze sculptures of Zhenwu outside of China, this work presents the orthodox image of the Perfected Warrior. Zhenwu sits in a dignified posture befitting his status as a celestial emperor, reflecting the title he received in 1304: Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven, Primal Sage, and Benevolent Majesty (Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi). The god's long hair is combed straight back and falls to his waist. He wears armor under his robe, with a dragon emblazoned on his breastplate. His feet are bare. He forms a sacred gesture with the two front fingers of his left hand, while his right hand rests in his lap. His eyes were originally inlaid. The armor and robe reveal traces of lacquer and gilding; elsewhere there are traces of pigment on the surface. Zhenwu's robe is decorated in front with a five-clawed dragon; the hem is decorated with clouds in low relief.

A similar but larger bronze sculpture, dated to the twenty-second year of the Chenghua reign (1486), is the central icon of worship in the Yanqing Guan, the primary Taoist temple in Kaifeng, Henan province. In its overall appearance, the British Museum sculpture also resembles smaller-scale images from the fifteenth century in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (dated 1424), and The Art Institute of Chicago (dated 1439; cat. no. 103).

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Shrine with Zhenwu and Other Taoist Gods

Ming dynasty, Yongle reign, dated 1406
Longquan celadon ware with gilding
H. 49.5 cm
The British Museum, London, Given by Sir Percival David (OA 1929.1–14.1)

This shrine, which incorporates images of the Three Purities (Sanqing; the highest gods of Taoism) with images of Zhenwu, is like hundreds of other shrines made at the Longquan celadon kilns in Zhejiang province.[1] Unlike the majority of such shrines, however, this example has a dated inscription incised into the back, under the glaze: "In the fourth year of the Yongle [reign], in the first month, an auspicious day."

The shrine forms a kind of miniature mountain with three grottos, and a disk, possibly representing the sun, at the top, where the god Zhenwu rides on a mythical beast. He can be identified by his long hair and bare feet. The middle grotto contains the Three Purities (cat. nos. 65–67), comprising the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun; center), the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun, holding a *ruyi* scepter; right), and the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun, the deified Laozi, holding a fan; left). A jade maiden *(yunü)* and golden lad *(jintong)* stand in attendance on the Three Purities. The lower grotto depicts the Jade Emperor, seated at the center, with Zhenwu seated to the right, and another female Taoist god seated to the left. Here Zhenwu's identity is confirmed by the turtle and snake intertwined at his feet.

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Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven

Ming dynasty, mark of Wanli reign (1573–1620)
Blue and white porcelain
46 × 20 × 15 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. F. Gordon Morrill (1979.785)

THIS BLUE-AND-WHITE PORCELAIN sculpture of the god Zhenwu, like the gilt-bronze example in the collection of The Art Institute of Chicago (cat. no. 103), was made for personal devotion. The identification of the sculpture as Zhenwu is clear from the presence of an entwined tortoise and snake on the platform in front of the god. The god's long hair and bare feet also conform to his standard iconography. An unusual (but not unknown) feature of this work is the third eye in the god's forehead. The figure's robe is painted with leafy branches and a dragon. A screen behind him is decorated along its border with bats, traditional symbols of good fortune. A six-character reign mark is inscribed in underglaze blue on the front of the stepped base: "Made in the Wanli reign of the Great Ming dynasty" *(Da Ming Wanli nian zhi)*.

The production of ceramic images of Zhenwu was very popular during the Ming dynasty. The majority of surviving examples are made of the same lead-glazed porcelaneous stoneware used for imperial and aristocratic roof tiles. Examples in Longquan celadon ware, white Dehua porcelain (blanc de chine), and enameled Cizhou stoneware are also known.[1]

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The Four Saints: The Perfected Lords Tianpeng, Tianyou, Yisheng, and Xuanwu

From the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si), Youyu county, Shanxi province
Ming dynasty, c. 1460
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
119.2 × 62 cm
Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan

Since the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), Zhenwu has been included as one of a group of Taoist spirit guardians known as the Four Saints (Sisheng). This painting, from the Treasured Tranquility Temple (Baoning Si) set of paintings on the Water and Land Ritual (*Shuilu zhai*; see cat. nos. 78–81), depicts these exorcistic guardians standing in a group among loosely defined clouds.[1] The two at the top, who resemble the wrathful Wisdom Kings *(mingwang)* of Tantric Buddhism, are Tianpeng and Tianyou. They are divine marshals *(yuanshuai)* who protect Taoism and the state.[2] Tianpeng, at the upper left, has four arms; the upper two arms hold a sword and an ax, the lower two arms hold a *vajra* (stylized thunderbolt) and *ghanta* (bell). Tianyou, at the upper right, has two arms, and holds a box in his hands. At the bottom of the scroll are Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior), on the right, and Yisheng (Respectful Sage), on the left. A similar grouping of the Four Saints appears in the twelfth-century album of Taoist gods in the Stephen Junkunc IV collection.[3]

The group known as the Four Saints first appeared in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).[4] According to John Lagerwey, the Four Saints figure in texts of the Orthodox Method Heaven's Heart (Tianxin zhengfa) movement, which originated in the tenth century.[5] The Four Saints were also worshipped as demon-suppressing deities in the Great Rites of Youthful Incipience (Tongchu dafa) movement, founded at the end of the Northern Song dynasty by Yang Xizhan (*r.* 1101–24).[6] This movement was a revival of the Highest Purity (Shangqing) sect at Mount Mao (Mao Shan) near Nanjing. The *Record of the Listener (Yijian zhi)* by Hong Mai (1123–1202) describes late-twelfth-century (early Southern Song dynasty) shrines to and images of the Four Saints, but in insufficient detail to determine their visual aspect.[7]

Although worship of the Four Saints can be traced to the Northern Song dynasty, the history of several of these gods extends back to the Six Dynasties period, and, in the case of Zhenwu (Xuanwu), to at least the Han dynasty. It was only in the Northern Song dynasty, however, that Xuanwu manifested himself as an anthropomorphic god whose name was changed to Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior).[8] The exorcistic god Tianpeng was invoked with an incantation that is already found in the Shangqing scriptures of the Six Dynasties period.[9] An example of such an incantation has been translated by Michel Strickmann.[10] As Judith Boltz has shown, "the efficacy of reciting the Tianpeng incantation is the subject of three accounts in Du Guanting's *Daojiao lingyan ji*."[11] Talismans of Tianpeng are illustrated in Yuan Miaozong's *Secret Essentials of the Supreme All-encompassing Reality (Taishang zongzhen biyao;* see cat. no. 52). As Paul Katz has shown, Taoist texts of the Song dynasty depict Tianpeng as an assistant to Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven.[12]

Yisheng, known after 1014 as Yisheng baode zhenjun (Perfected Lord, Respectful Sage of Precious Virtue), was a powerful spirit guardian of the Song state.[13] Yisheng's apotheosis is described in Wang Qinruo's *Biography of [the God] Respectful Sage of Precious Virtue (Yisheng baode zhuan)*, a text commissioned by Emperor Zhenzong during the Dazhong xiangfu reign (1008–16).[14] As in the case of Zhenwu, Yisheng was commanded by the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang) to manifest himself in the phenomenal world. According to Boltz, Yisheng was also "perceived as a cosmic agent who enforced the traditional values of the literati class, especially those preparing to serve in public office."[15] In the painting, the feet of both Yisheng and Zhenwu are bare, and both hold swords in their right hands; the image of Yisheng is completely derived from that of Zhenwu. Comparison with the depiction of the Four Saints in the album of Taoist gods in the Junkunc collection further suggests that the figure at the lower left in the Baoning Si painting is Yisheng, also shown with his left hand resting on his right wrist. That variations existed in the depiction of these gods is also clear, however, from the Junkunc album, in which Marshal Tianpeng is shown with three faces and six arms, holding the sun, moon, a bell *(ghanta)*, disk, sword, and halberd. Similarly, Marshal Tianyou is shown with two faces and four arms, holding a sword, a flaming wheel *(chakra)*, and a bow and arrow.

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Zhenwu and His Court

Yuan dynasty (1260–1368)
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
122.7 × 63.3 cm
Reiun-ji, Tokyo

◉ Important Cultural Property

In 1304 the Yuan dynasty emperor Chengzong (r. 1295–1307) granted the Taoist god Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior) the title Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven, Primal Sage, and Benevolent Majesty (Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi). This was the first time that Zhenwu obtained the title Supreme Emperor *(shangdi)*.[1]

The Reiun-ji hanging scroll, painted during the late Yuan dynasty (fourteenth century), presents an image of the god with his celestial court.[2] That the deity is presented as a crowned and enthroned emperor suggests that the painting was created after Chengzong had elevated Zhenwu. The identification of the main figure as Zhenwu is clear from the presence of the intertwined tortoise and snake on the ground in front of the throne. The god and his attendants are shown among swirling reddish clouds, against a blue sky. A transparent halo appears behind Zhenwu's head, and he wears a rectangular locket around his neck. Two martial guardians stand behind the throne. One holds Zhenwu's sword, and the other a banner decorated in gold with the seven stars of the Northern Dipper. Standing on either side of the throne are two female attendants, holding a box and a tablet, and two civil officials, holding a tablet and a bound book.

In the foreground stand four celestial marshals *(yuanshuai)*.[3] At the lower left is Marshal Guan (Guan Yu), the Three Kingdoms period (220–280) hero, who was adopted into the Taoist pantheon during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126; see cat. no. 83).[4] Marshal Guan appears in this guise as early as the twelfth century. He holds his customary attribute, a halberd with a long, curving blade. Next to him stands Marshal Zhao, holding a sword with multiple rings around the blade and a black-and-white tiger on a chain.[5] At the lower right stands Marshal Wen, the eradicator of plagues whose cult emerged in Zhejiang province during the Song dynasty (see cat. no. 87). Behind Marshal Wen stands Marshal Ma, holding a lance with a snake wrapped around the shaft.[6]

The high quality of the Reiun-ji hanging scroll suggests that it was the product of an imperial atelier. The scroll's astonishing state of preservation may be due to its having been kept for at least two centuries by a Buddhist temple in Japan.[7] A similar painting, dating to the fifteenth century (early Ming dynasty), is owned by the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.[8]

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XIE SHICHEN (1487–AFTER 1567)
Clearing Sky after Snow on the Purple Empyrean Palace at Mount Wudang

Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign, dated 1541
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
198.9 × 98.8 cm
Shanghai Museum

XIE SHICHEN'S PAINTING depicts the Purple Empyrean Palace (Zixiao Gong) on Mount Wudang (Wudang Shan) in Hubei province. The temple was built in 1413 on the orders of the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–24).[1] It is the best-preserved of all the Yongle period buildings at Wudang Shan. The Purple Empyrean Palace is located immediately under the Prince's Cliff (Taizi yan), where Zhenwu gained supremacy over the dark forces of the north.[2] Painted from memory, Xie Shichen's scene of the temple closely resembles the actual site as it appears today. This hall contains statues of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang), Zhenwu, and other gods.[3]

According to tradition, the immortal Yin Xi, to whom Laozi transmitted the *Daode jing*, had lived at Wudang Shan, and Taoist adepts were associated with the mountain since at least the second century B.C. In the Tang dynasty (618–906), Wudang Shan was listed as one of "Seventy-two Blessed Plots" *(fudi)* by the Taoist Du Guangting (850–933).[4]

John Lagerwey has shown that firmly documented Taoist activity at Wudang Shan can be traced to the twelfth century.[5] During the Yuan dynasty, the temples at Wudang Shan were rebuilt through the influence of the priest Wu Quanjie (1269–1346) (see cat. no. 64).[6] After the construction of the Purple Empyrean Palace in the Yongle period, all subsequent Ming emperors continued to venerate the mountain. At the beginning of every reign, an imperial emissary was sent to Wudang Shan to announce the new emperor's investiture. Among other imperial gifts, an important group of bronze sculptures was given to the Purple Empyrean Palace by the Chenghua emperor in 1479.[7]

Painted on dark silk, Xie Shichen's depiction presents a rare topographical view of the temple. The artist's inscription reads:

> This is [one of] four fantastic scenes within the Four Seas. When I was young I passed through this country [of Wudang Shan]. Now I do not have the strength to do it again. On impulse, inspired by longing to return to the scene, I gave it form in order not to forget it. The scene gradually emerged from within my eyes. In the ninth month of the twentieth year of Jiajing [1541], recorded by Xie Shichen.

At the bottom of the scroll, several travelers with their servants arrive at the cliff below the temple. From a path along a rushing stream, cliffs rise dramatically to the buildings above, perched among boulders and trees.

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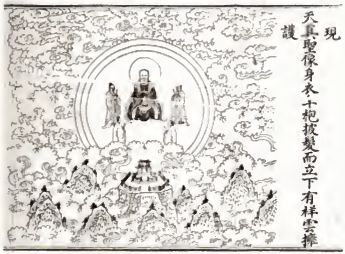

4

3

110 (details)

110

Illustrated Record of the Auspicious Responses of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven to the Great Ming Dynasty

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, 1444–45
Woodblock-illustrated book; ink on paper
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546 [952])

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Miraculous Manifestations of Zhenwu at Wudang Shan

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
56 × 85 cm (each section)
White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan), Beijing

Mount Wudang (Wudang Shan) in Hubei province was the traditional center of worship for Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, and legend says that he retired from the world on this mountain to cultivate the Way. During the upheaval in the struggle for power at the end of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), several of the Taoist temples (literally, *guan,* "observatories," and *gong,* "palaces") dedicated to Zhenwu on Mount Wudang were damaged, and in 1412 the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, Chengzu (the Yongle emperor, r. 1403–24), sponsored a series of restorations and rebuildings.[1] Chengzu sent Marquis Zhang Xin and Commandant-escort Mu Xin to supervise the restorations, giving them a labor force of over two hundred thousand troops. When the restorations were completed, the emperor entrusted the head of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect, the forty-fourth Celestial Master, Zhang Yuqing, to appoint his grandson Zhang Biyun and several other prominent Taoist masters to supervise a community of fifty Taoist priests in each of four major temples. Imperial edicts indicate that these restorations were undertaken as a sign of the emperor's devotion to Taoism, as thanks for the aid of the Perfected Warrior in securing the rule of his family, and also in memory of the first Ming emperor, Taizu (r. 1368–98), and his empress, Xiaoci. At the same time, Zhenwu was perceived as a special patron and protector of the Ming ruling house, so these projects carried an additional significance as a renewal of the relationship between the Ming dynasty and its closest ally in the celestial hierarchy.

This woodblock text (cat. no. 110) from the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)* contains illustrations of the miracles that occurred during the restoration projects.[2] These miracles were understood to be portents of the Perfected Warrior's approval for the projects, but they also functioned as political propaganda for the Ming ruling house, as can be seen immediately in the first illustration to the text. This plate shows people gathering in reverence at the pavilion in which the imperial edict to rebuild the temples on Mount Wudang—inscribed on a "yellow tablet" (yellow being the color for the center in the Five Phase system) —was kept during the restorations. According to the text, the nearby population was so impressed with Emperor Chengzu's devotion and the magnificence of his edict that they came from all the outlying lands to view his illustrious command, "filling the streets and blocking the roads." The pavilion itself was often luminous with spiritual light, and cranes and other magical animals gathered around it.

The second illustration in the scripture shows the appearance of Zhenwu during the reading of an imperial proclamation in honor of the god before the restoration projects were undertaken. On the night this proclamation was read, a black cloud appeared in the clear sky and approached the main temple from the northwest, stopping no more than a meter away from the imperial delegation. Writhing with thunder and lightning, it remained stationary over the temple for some time, and faint images of martial flags could be seen within it. Zhenwu himself appeared above the cloud to accept the emperor's proclamation; then the vision suddenly disappeared, and the sky was once again clear.

The following two illustrations show the appearance of magical plants on the mountain in the spring of 1413 after the restoration projects had begun. The first shows a group of people in the mountains gathering the leaves of *qianlin* or "soaring grove" trees, which are flourishing all over the mountain; these leaves were believed to cure all manner of illnesses. The following illustration shows a group of three people standing outside one of

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111 (detail; scene 1)

111 (detail; scene 15)

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the temples, staring up in wonder at the fruits of a "betel-plum" tree. According to legend, when the Perfected Warrior was living on Mount Wudang, he took a branch from a plum tree and grafted it onto a betel tree, taking an oath that if he accomplished the Way (Tao) then the branch would flower and produce fruit. The fruit of these trees, which was rare and considered to be an auspicious omen, had already begun to appear in unusual numbers early in the Yongle era (1403–24), in the years 1405–06, but in the spring of 1413 the entire mountain was adorned with the blossoms of this tree, and in the fifth month there was a crop of fruit such as had not been produced since antiquity.

The following two illustrations (shown here) depict Zhenwu's miraculous aid in the construction of the temples. The first (1) shows a giant tree trunk that was found floating upright in the river near the Yellow Crane Tower, a site in Wuchang county, Hubei province, where legend says that a magical being riding a yellow crane once stopped to rest. This four-meter-long trunk, which rose one meter out of the water, was floating suspended in the river, neither embedded in the bottom of the river, which was over five meters deep, nor moving with the current. The trunk was found by men in boats hauling timber to Mount Wudang for the restoration projects, and it was attached to a boat without difficulty and taken to the mountain, where it was used as the central beam in the principal hall of the main temple. The following illustration in the scripture (2) shows the discovery of an ancient temple bell in the river. A group of people traveling along the river was hindered by a violent wind and rainstorm, when suddenly the wind stopped and a giant bell floated to the surface. This bell was taken to Mount Wudang, where it was installed in the main temple.

The next eleven illustrations, two of which are reproduced here (3 and 4), all show appearances of Zhenwu himself in 1413, during the restorations. From the fifth to the eighth lunar months, Zhenwu appeared several times as the temple reconstructions proceeded, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by celestial civil and martial attendants bearing his banner, sword, or seal of office. The majority of these manifestations took place over the main temple compound on the highest peak of Mount Wudang, which is shown rising above the clouds, with a long stairway descending from the main entrance in the wall surrounding the temple. In addition, the fourth of these manifestations is depicted over one of the three subsidiary temples, shown farther down the mountain.

The date and authorship of this text are unknown, but it includes the text of an imperial stele commemorating the restoration of the temples at Mount Wudang dated to 1418, and its tone and contents, as well as its inclusion of several imperial edicts, suggest that it was written largely as a piece of propaganda for the emperor—thus, most likely an imperial commission. This account of miracles is of particular interest since it was written less than three decades before the compilation of the Taoist Canon: the events it recounts were still within living memory when the edition shown here was made.

The remarkable handscroll painting (cat. no. 111) from the Baiyun Guan, Beijing, also depicts manifestations of Zhenwu at Wudang Shan (here called Taihe Shan, or Mountain of Supreme Harmony).[3] A title inscribed on the outer mounting reads, *Wuliang fushou tu* ("Painting of Limitless Good Fortune and Longevity"). The scroll comprises fifteen scenes, each accompanied by an inscription describing the nature and location of various miraculous celestial displays; these inscriptions list the months (but not the year) in which the displays took place.

The first scene has lost its inscription, but the second scene, which depicts concentric rings of multicolored light over Heaven's Column Peak at Wudang Shan, is dated to the first day of the seventh lunar month. The final scene, dated to the thirteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, depicts a manifestation of the black image of Zhenwu over the same peak, accompanied by multicolored clouds and beams of light. The only scenes in the Baiyun Guan handscroll that may correspond to the illustrated text in the Taoist Canon occur in the eighth month: in the handscroll's sixth and seventh scenes, displays of five-colored concentric bands of light appear over Heaven's Column Peak; this is described as occurring thirty-one times on the seventeenth day of the eighth month, and fifteen times between the second day of the eighth month and the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month. The *Illustrated Record* in the Taoist Canon describes actual appearances of Zhenwu at Wudang Shan on the same days. In addition to depicting the varied topography of Wudang Shan, the Baiyun Guan handscroll is extraordinary for its bird's-eye-view depictions of such temple structures as the Jade Emptiness Palace of the Dark Heaven (scenes 3 and 4), the Flying Ascent Terrace (scene 5), and the Palace of the Five Dragons (scene 11). According to tradition, the painting was a gift to the Baiyun Guan from the Yongle emperor.[4] It is conceivable that the scroll was originally longer and consisted of even more scenes than those depicted here.

—S. E./S. L.

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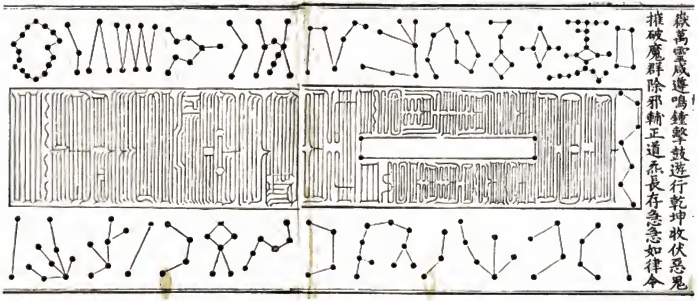

112

Register of the Supreme General, the Great Highest Dark Heaven Perfected Warrior, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, 1444–45
Woodblock-illustrated book; ink on paper
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546 [1196])

Registers *(lu)* were among the first documents given to a new initiate into a Taoist community by the early Way of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao).[1] They consisted primarily of lists of names of celestial generals who could be called upon for aid, and as a result, early registers were known by such names as "Register of One General," "Register of Ten Generals," and so on. The first of these registers were given to children beginning at the age of seven or eight, and were known as "child" *(tongzi)* registers.[2] Registers were also given to adult initiates, and because their reception was the initial act that distinguished members of the Taoist community from the outside world, the first title given to a Taoist novice was "register student" *(lusheng)*.[3] Registers were intimately connected with talismans *(fu)*, and served a similarly protective function.

The present text is an early Ming dynasty variation on these registers. Although the corpus of Taoist literature had expanded considerably beyond the scope of the early Celestial Masters tradition by the Ming dynasty, this text shows that registers continued to play an important role. This register (cat. no. 112) is dedicated entirely to the martial god Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, who is here called Supreme General, drawing a parallel between this deity and the generals of earlier registers. The register begins with an image of Zhenwu, showing standard

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elements of his iconography, such as loose hair, bare feet, and the totem animals of the northern region he rules, an entwined tortoise and snake. This image is followed by three magical invocations designed to "suppress," "dispel," and "halt" malignant spirits. These spells describe the most terrifying manifestation of the Perfected Warrior:

> My nose is like a mountain,
> My forceful eyes radiate light,
> My teeth are like a forest of swords,
> In my hands I hold the Seven Stars [of the Northern Dipper, or Ursa Major].
> Celestial demons and heterodox ways,
> All manner of malignant spirits,
> When they see me they turn to blood,
> Changing into powdered dust!

After these spells comes the magical talisman of the Perfected Warrior, bordered by the Northern Dipper on the top and surrounded by the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions. The significance of this talisman is not described in the text, but like the talismans illustrated elsewhere in this catalogue, it would have been used to protect against ghosts and demons. The talisman is followed by a list of spirits under the command of the Perfected Warrior, ranging from generals and warriors to envoys and jade maidens, and including well-known groups such as the six *jia* and *ding* spirits (see cat. no. 57). These latter spirits, who could be called upon in times of need, are a representative sample of the Perfected Warrior's full army, which consisted of some three hundred thousand troops.

The entire register was to be worn on the person of the recipient: "Serve and honor it, and ten thousand spirits will aid and protect you, while all malignant spirits will be dispersed. It will lengthen your years, and you will receive blessings beyond measure!" Taken as a whole, the register was a coordinated program of defense against both natural and supernatural forces, with talisman, spells, and celestial protectors who accompanied the recipient of the register wherever he went and guarded him against the dangers of an uncertain world.

The register itself is followed by a sample ritual for its transmission, which provides considerable information about the provenance of the text. This ritual indicates that the register was to be received from a representative of the hereditary Celestial Master of Mount Longhu (Longhu Shan, in Jiangxi province), which in the Ming dynasty was the headquarters of the Celestial Masters sect, by this time often called the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect. The ritual further mentions the forty-second, forty-third, and forty-fourth Celestial Masters by name, and consequently in its present state it was probably composed sometime during the period of the forty-fourth Celestial Master, Zhang Yuqing, who headed the Orthodox Unity sect from 1410 to 1427.[4] As such, it is nearly contemporary with the record of miraculous appearances of the Perfected Warrior on Mount Wudang described elsewhere in this catalogue (see cat. nos. 110–11), and was composed only about three decades before the printing of the edition from the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)* shown here.

—S. E.

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Zhenwu with the Eight Trigrams, the Northern Dipper, and Talismans

Qing dynasty, 17th or early 18th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors and gold on silk
59.9 × 42.6 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago, Russell Tyson Endowment (1999.566)

One of the most important roles of Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, was to protect against malevolent spirits. When he was first summoned to take up a post in the celestial hierarchy, the Highest Imperial (Shangdi) ordered him to "subdue the north [the direction of the demon capital of Fengdu] . . . and put a stop to all the wicked demons under the heavens."[1] His first assignment was to battle the demon kings who had risen up as the world became corrupt. During a great battle, these demon kings caused the energies of the trigrams *kan* and *li* (*yin*-water and *yang*-fire energy as manifested in the world; see cat. nos. 58–59) to manifest as a giant tortoise and snake, but the Perfected Warrior used his spiritual might to subjugate them under his feet.[2] After he had subdued the armies of the demon kings, he went to the Old Master (Laozi) so that his military feats could be recognized and his accomplishment of the "proper realized Way [Tao]" would be foretold.[3] The Old Master, however, pointed to the heavens and the earth, saying that there were still many malevolent spirits in the world, and the Perfected Warrior's accomplishment of the Way could not be foretold until the Lord of the Netherworld himself (Yenluowang or Yama) came with the Perfected Warrior before the Old Master to report that there were no longer any souls in the hells. Thereupon, the Perfected Warrior made a vow to take all the wickedness of the world upon himself, until there were no longer any demons or ghosts, or any souls left suffering.[4] As a result, he became the special protector of all those beset by harmful spirits.

The Perfected Warrior is shown here in this role. He is flanked by martial officers, one of whom holds a war-club, while the other bears his standard. Above these officers are the sun and moon, depicted as red and white disks; the officer under the sun is shown with a white face, while the one under the moon is red, balancing the composition of the painting at the same time that they express the idea of *yin* within *yang* and *yang* within *yin*. Below the Perfected Warrior are the tortoise and snake, both totem animals of the north in the Five Phase system (see cat. no. 9) and the manifestations of *yin* and *yang* from the battle story recounted above. Above this scene, the Eight Trigrams are shown in their "Later Heaven" *(Houtian)* arrangement (see cat. no. 14), that is, as manifestations of the energies of *yin* and *yang* in the phenomenal world. The Eight Trigrams surround an image of the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major; see cat. no. 18); above the trigrams is the constellation known as *Santai* (Three Terraces).

The rest of the painting is made up of seventy-two talismans, which are arranged around the Perfected Warrior in a manner reminiscent of Buddhist mandalas. These talismans are composed of stylized star-diagrams and talismanic script, and each talisman is accompanied by an inscription indicating its function. The large majority of these talismans protect against demons; the second talisman, for example, protects against "abnormalities in the shape of pigs, cats, dogs, or all those that eat their own young," while the forty-fifth talisman protects against "old trees that turn into sprites." Other talismans protect against all manner of social, natural, and supernatural disasters, from imprisonment and burglary to plagues and bad dreams. A smaller number of talismans bring good fortune rather than protecting against bad; these help oneself and one's family to live long, prosperous lives, and aid in such pursuits as attaining political office. The wide range of the talismans in the painting reflects the all-encompassing vow of the Perfected Warrior, and his special powers against all kinds of malevolent spirits.

Stylistic features of this hanging scroll suggest that it may have been done outside China, perhaps in Korea. The present mounting is Japanese. At the same time, the content and iconography of the painting are consistent with Chinese images of the Perfected Warrior.

—S. E.

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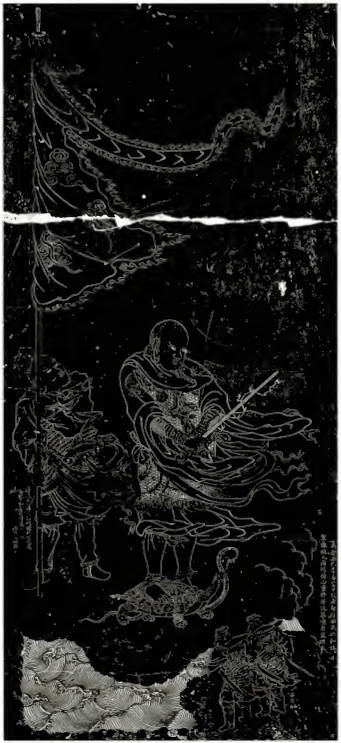

114

Zhenwu, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven

Ink rubbing of a stele from the Six Harmonies Pagoda, Hangzhou, Zhejiang province
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign, dated 1586
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
148.6 × 67.6 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Bequest of Laurence Sickman (F88–45/345)

THIS INK RUBBING is taken from a late Ming stone stele, itself based on an earlier stele, now destroyed. The image on the stele depicts Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, descending on a black cloud over swirling waves. The god stands on the back of an intertwined tortoise and snake. Zhenwu is shown wearing wind-blown robes over armor, and he brandishes a sword in his right hand. His long hair flies out behind his head, as he stares at the crackling flame that envelops the blade of his sword. Behind him an attendant stands and holds a fluttering banner on which appear stars of the Northern Dipper. Below, in the lower right corner, two martial figures genuflect to the god.

An inscription carved along the right border of the composition reads:

> On the fifteenth day of the first month of spring in the year *bingxu* of the Wanli reign [1586], Zhong Yin of Qiantang [Hangzhou] saw the image of the Saint *[shengxiang]* at the Six Harmonies Pagoda [Liuhe ta], which people had rubbed to ruin. Manifesting his intent, he again restored [the stele], and washed . . . and made [this] offering.

Next to one of the bowing figures below are the characters *Yu Jikan*, apparently a personal name. A damaged inscription along the left border reads in part, "Engraved by Chen Yinglong."

—S. L.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Lagerwey 1992: 295.
2. The most extensive study of Zhenwu's cult to date is Bruyn 1997. See also Grootaers 1952.
3. See S. Cahill 1980.
4. Lagerwey 1992: 295.
5. Piotrovsky 1993: no. 64, and *Guo zhi guibao* 1999: no. 273.
6. Bruyn 1997, vol. 1: 93.
7. Ibid.: 96.
8. Ibid.: 105.
9. The twelfth-century image is contained in the famous album owned by Stephen Junkunc IV, published in Martin 1913.
10. Lagerwey 1987b: 45. See also Lagerwey 1992 and *Wudang Shan* 1991.
11. Lagerwey 1992: 305.
12. Seaman 1987: 142. On the *Santai* asterism, see Andersen 1989–90: 30.
13. Seaman 1987: 25–26.
14. Kohn 1998a: 129–34.
15. Seaman 1987: 1–39 ("Introduction").
16. Lagerwey 1992: 326 n. 2.
17. I am grateful to Dr. Ursula Lienert of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, for giving me the opportunity to study this unpublished sculpture in February 1998.
18. The British Museum, 1990.12-19.1.
19. By the Yuan dynasty, one of the temples on Wudang Shan was the Five Dragon Palace; see Lagerwey 1992: 296. As Lagerwey shows, it was the five Dragon Kings who conveyed to Zhenwu the Jade Emperor's decree of his investiture as a god (321).
20. An analogous practice existed in Japan in the Edo period, of creating miniature earthen images of Mount Fuji in Edo (Tokyo) and elsewhere, to facilitate worship of the peak far from the actual mountain.

Cat. no. 102

1. One of the two long sides of the same sarcophagus, depicting a dragon and accompanying figures, is published in *Treasures of Ancient Chinese Sculpture* 1997: 33–36.
2. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 33-1543/1–3. Ink rubbings of the two long sides of this sarcophagus are published in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: 5, no. 4. The foot-slab is unpublished.
3. On the role of the deities of the four cardinal directions (*si ling*) in Taoist ritual, see Lagerwey 1987b: 44–45.

Cat. no. 103

1. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Dr. Herman Herzog Levy Bequest Fund (991.62.1).

Cat. no. 105

1. Previously published in Vainker 1991: pl. 119.

Cat. no. 106

1. A late Ming sculpture of Zhenwu in Longquan celadon ware is in The Art Institute of Chicago (1924.417). An example in Dehua porcelain, dated to the Kangxi reign (1662–1722), is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (79.2.481); this votive sculpture has gilt hands, and holes in the face where human facial hair was inserted. A Cizhou stoneware example, painted in overglaze enamels, is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow (38/520).

Cat. no. 107

1. Previously published in *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua* 1988: pl. 78.
2. In ibid., the Four Saints are said to be attendants to Ziwei dadi (Purple Tenuity Emperor), Emperor of the North Polar celestial region.
3. Previously published in Martin 1913. In the Junkunc painting, the Four Saints are accompanied by Cang jie, the mythical inventor of writing; on this figure, see Chaves 1977: 201–02. On connections between Taoist and Tantric Buddhist ritual, see Boltz 1987a: 264 n. 58.
4. Lagerwey 1987b: 45. In contemporary Taoist rituals in southern Taiwan, a separate altar is often constructed for the Four Saints, and the altar table is called "Wudang Mountain" after Zhenwu's sacred peak in Hubei province.
5. Ibid.: 95, 68.
6. Boltz 1987a: 32.
7. Cited in ibid.: 265 n. 63; for the original text see YJZ: 329, 799, 837.
8. See Major 1985–86: 65–86. Xuanwu was the ancient god and symbol of the north, visualized since the Han dynasty as an entwined tortoise and snake.
9. Boltz 1987a: 32.
10. Strickmann 1980: 228–29.
11. Boltz 1987a: 265 n. 62.
12. Katz 1995: 85n. 20.
13. Boltz 1987a: 32, 83–86.
14. Ibid.: 83–84.
15. Ibid.: 85.

Cat. no. 108

1. Bruyn 1997, vol. 1: 105.
2. For a detailed discussion of this painting, see Lin 1999: 155–62, fig. 25. Lin dates the painting to the early Ming dynasty (fifteenth century).
3. On the identification of the Taoist marshals in the Reiun-ji painting, see ibid.: 157–58.
4. On Guan Yu as a popular and Taoist god, see Duara 1988: 778–95.
5. Marshal Zhao appears with the same weapon in the twelfth-century Taoist album in the Stephen Junkunc IV collection; published in Martin 1913.
6. The same leaf in the Junkunc Taoist album that depicts Marshal Zhao includes a depiction of Marshal Ma, indicating this third eye and the lance with a snake wrapped around the shaft.
7. The painting's Japanese wooden storage box bears an inscription dated to the fourth year of the Hōreki reign (1754), stating that the painting once belonged to the great painter Kanō Tan'yū (1602–1674).
8. Published in Bruckner 1998: no. 7.

Cat. no. 109

1. Bruyn 1997, vol. 2: 444.
2. Lagerwey 1992: 296, 318.
3. See *Wudang Shan* 1991.
4. Lagerwey 1992: 296. During the Five Dynasties and early Song periods, the Taoist Chen Tuan (872–989) lived on Wudang Shan for twenty years; see Kohn 1990a: 9.
5. Lagerwey 1992: 302.
6. Sun 1981: 225.
7. Lagerwey 1992: 301.

Cat. nos. 110–11

1. For studies of Wudang Shan, see *Wudang Shan* 1991; Lagerwey 1992: 293–332, and Bruyn 1997.
2. HY 958. See also Boltz 1987a: 89–90; and the discussion of this illustrated text in Lin Shengzhi 1999.
3. A similar painting, based on cat. no. 110, is discussed in Wang Yucheng 1999.
4. Wang Yi'er, private communication, December 8, 1999.

Cat. no. 112

1. It is unclear exactly when registers were first used, but they were already a fundamental feature of the Celestial Master church by the early fifth century. See Chen 1985: 351–59, for a detailed account of early registers.
2. For example, see HY 1117, *juan* 4: 5.
3. See Kobayashi 1998: 136–42, for more detail on the early Celestial Master hierarchy.
4. See Zhang's biography in HY 1451, *juan* 3: 29–31.

Cat. no. 113

1. HY 957, *juan* 1: 10.
2. HY 957, *juan* 1: 12.
3. *Shouji*: this term suggests the Buddhist idea of foretelling one's future Buddhahood upon the pronouncement of the bodhisattva vow.
4. HY 957, *juan* 1: 22.

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INHERITING AN ANCIENT TRADITION of adepts who, through their own self-cultivation, transcended the bounds of the natural world, religious Taoism developed its own tradition of immortal practitioners of the Tao. This section of the exhibition catalogue explores visual depictions from the Song (960–1279) through Qing (1644–1911) dynasties of the individual's cultivation of moral virtue and perfection, which for those with sufficient faith and discipline led to longevity, immortality, and spiritual union with the Tao.

Included here are paintings of a variety of famous immortal adepts. Among these are Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Zhang Guolao, and Li Tieguai, all members of the well-known group known as the Eight Immortals, particularly worshipped by the Quanzhen (Complete Realization) sect from the fourteenth century onward. These figures, revered for their spiritual powers and worshipped as divine saints, are among the most popular figures in Taoism. The images shown in this section explore the immortals' exotic mythologies and unconventional behavior. Significantly, the cult of immortals and transcendents is regaining strength today among Taoist believers in China, and some Taoist temples are dedicated to the worship of these figures.[1]

The Taoist concept of immortality is typically fluid. As Kristofer Schipper has written,

> Who are these Immortals? There is no precise way to define them, no method is error-free, no ecclesiastical institution or tradition has ever confirmed their quality, no official canonization has ever distinguished the true Immortals from the false ones. Their stories do not allow a distillation of an exact doctrine, for there is no dogma defining how a body can become one with Tao. Every human being, whether big or small, humble or great, young woman or old man, musician, herbalist, clown, or scholar, may—on the sole condition of finding his or her own mountain—quit the treadmill of progress towards death and discover the return towards life. It is not even necessary to act intentionally: luck and a certain predisposition may sometimes be the only needed conditions, but nothing is guaranteed. It is necessary, however, to at all times be open and prepared to recognize, at a given moment of one's life, the mountain or the initiating Immortal, which some day is to be found on everyone's life path.[2]

Almost all Taoist immortals began their lives as human beings. Subsequently they underwent a spiritual and physical transformation, resulting in an existence beyond the bounds of *yin* and *yang*. Such beings are traditionally known as *xian*, translated as adept or immortal.[3] Cults of specific immortals are documented from early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), and include both male and female figures. The immortal Wang Ziqiao, for example, was said to have lived in the sixth century B.C. His attainment of immortality was commemorated in a late Han dynasty stele inscription of A.D. 165, and his biography appears in the fourth-century compendium entitled *Biographies of the Divine Immortals (Shenxian zhuan)*, traditionally attributed to the alchemist Ge Hong.[4] A similar late Han stele commemorating the cult of the immortal Fei Zhi, excavated in 1991 near Luoyang, Henan, is included in this exhibition (cat. no. 22).

The immortals have a remarkable function within Taoism. As free spirits who can move with ease between Heaven and Earth, they serve as role models for humanity in their cultivation of moral, spiritual, and bodily perfection, and can intercede on behalf of mortals with the gods and the Tao. Their often unconventional appearance symbolizes their rejection of quotidian norms, and belies their transcendent state of being.

Detail, cat. no. 124

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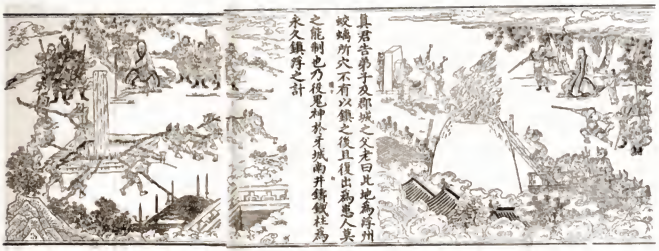

2b 2a

115

Illustrated Biography of the Realized Lord Grand Astrologer Xu, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, 1444–45
Woodblock-printed book
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546, 437/1-2)

Xu Xun (239–336)[1] is an important Taoist figure known for his ability to protect against plagues and "flood dragons" *(jiao)*, magical creatures believed to cause natural disasters. His legend brings together three different strands of China's religious and intellectual culture: popular religion, Taoism, and Confucianism.

The first of these forms the earliest, most fundamental stratum of the movement surrounding Xu Xun, who supposedly served as an official during the Jin dynasty (265–420), and is believed to have lived in the area surrounding Western Mountain (Xi Shan, in modern Jiangxi). His cult first developed in this area, and the Jade Prosperity Palace (Yulong Gong) on Western Mountain remained the focal point for worship of Xu throughout the imperial period. The biographies of Xu preserved in the Taoist Canon are primarily made up of local legends from the area around Western Mountain, and are closely linked to both the natural and human geography of the region. Popular worship of Xu continued in this area long after he was incorporated into the Taoist pantheon, co-existing with and often supporting the official Taoist rites performed in the Jade Prosperity Palace. In his *Collected Writings on the Jade Prosperity Palace (Yulong ji)*,[2] the eminent Taoist master Bai Yuchan (1194–1228) described several popular regional traditions around Western Mountain that were still flourishing in the early thirteenth century. For example, there were annual processions in which an image of

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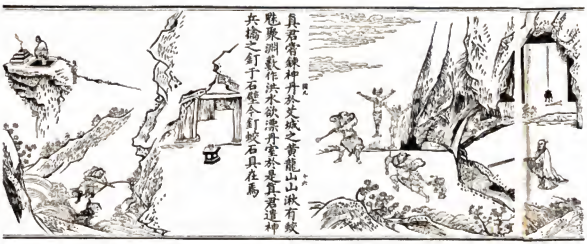

1b 1a

Xu would be paraded through the communities in the region; during these processions, the deity was believed to pay visits to other deities in the area connected with his legend.[3] An image of Xu's son-in-law, Lord Huang, was brought to the Jade Prosperity Palace every autumn to pay his respects, and once every three years an image of Xu was taken to visit his son-in-law and daughter in their temple. Merchants profited from these events, and every year they fought with each other to direct the procession of Lord Huang to their own shops as this deity left the Jade Prosperity Palace, believing that this would bring them good fortune over the next year.

When Xu was taken to visit his son-in-law and daughter, all the villages and towns would prepare offerings of incense to greet the deity as he passed by. During these processions, people singing ancient melodies carried the image of the deity in a palanquin decorated with carvings of a white horse and golden phoenixes, which were thought to be his mounts. People wearing headdresses constructed from bamboo frames with narrow bases and wide tops, and decorated with strips of colored cloth that hung down and covered their foreheads, accompanied the palanquin. Bai Yuchan described these practices as "ancient and strange," and suggested that they may have been remnants of customs dating back to the late fourth or early fifth century.

By the Tang dynasty (618–906), the cult surrounding Xu Xun was intimately connected with Taoism. Bai indicated that the temple devoted to Xu on Western Mountain was restored by the Taoist master Hu Huichao in the Yongchun reign (682–683). In addition, a biography of Xu Xun from the Tang dynasty tells us that the Taoist rite Great Fast of the Yellow Register *(Huanglu dazhai)* was practiced at this temple.[4] Xu Xun was patronized by both the Tang and Song (960–1279) emperors, and the Song emperors in particular strengthened the ties between Xu's cult and Taoism as he became a national deity. The name of the temple on Western Mountain was changed from Flying Carpet Observatory (Youwei Guan)[5] to Jade Prosperity Observatory (Yulong Guan) by Emperor Zhenzong of the Song (r. 997–1022). Zhenzong based this name on a passage from the Taoist *Scripture of Conveyance (Duren jing)*, which by the Song dynasty was already becoming the most important Taoist scripture. This name was further changed to Jade Prosperity Palace of Ten Thousand Longevities (Yulong Wanshou Gong) by Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25) in 1116, thereby elevating its status. These examples indicate both the close relationship between Taoism and the imperial family during this dynasty and the ability of the Taoist church to mediate between local traditions and the imperially sponsored national religion.

Finally, the cult devoted to Xu Xun also upheld Confucian ideals, in that many of the figures connected with the legend of

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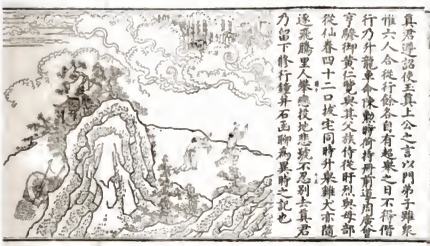

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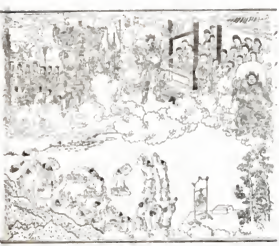

4a

Xu Xun were famous for their filial piety *(xiao)*. In particular, Xu's teacher, Wu Meng, is known as one of the twenty-four paragons of filial piety *(ershisi xiao)*. In the Tang dynasty, the movement surrounding Xu was known as the Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao), and, in addition to Taoist scriptures, this movement revered the *Classic of Filial Piety (Xiao jing)*, a work attributed to Confucius himself. In the chaos of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that ensued after Jurchen and then Mongol troops captured north China, the Way of Filial Piety was reborn as the Clear and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety (Jingming zhongxiao dao), one of the most important Taoist movements of its time. Under the influence of the doctrine of "unity of the Three Teachings" *(Sanjiao yizhi)* of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, the connections between Taoism and Confucianism were emphasized even more. Consequently, the example of Xu Xun shows the illusory nature of the opposition sometimes imposed upon Taoism and Confucianism, since these two intellectual traditions often shared the same beliefs.

Narrative illustrations of Xu Xun's life existed as early as the Northern Song (960–1126). Bai Yuchan tells us that three of the walls in the front hall of the Jade Prosperity Palace in Jiangxi were painted with scenes from Xu's life, while depictions of the annual processions described above were also painted elsewhere in the temple. These scenes may have provided inspiration for the woodblock illustrations in the present text, which was first completed sometime after 1295.[6] The version shown here, entitled *Illustrated Biography of the Realized Lord Grand Astrologer Xu (Xu taishi zhenjun tuzhuan)*, is contained in the Taoist Canon *(Daozang)* published in 1444–45.

In the first set of illustrations shown here, Xu is preparing an alchemical elixir. This magical operation is said to have been disturbed by flood dragons who tried to flood Xu's chamber, forcing him to incapacitate the flood dragons by nailing them to the side of a cliff. The first illustration (1a) shows Xu standing outside the chamber with an alchemical crucible while his soldiers torture two flood dragons nailed to the cliff. In the second illustration (1b), Xu first stops to pay his respects at the stone chamber where the famous patriarch of alchemy, Ge Xuan (164–244), completed an elixir. He then travels to a stream where he stops to sharpen his stone on a rock. Finally, he climbs a peak, and after making offerings to the Highest Imperial (Shangdi), he consumes the elixir.

In the second set of illustrations, Xu is commanding a group of spirits to prepare an iron pillar that will protect a dragon-infested area.[7] The first illustration (2a) shows a spirit climbing up to the mouth of a giant furnace where the pillar is being made. In the second illustration (2b), the pillar is placed in a well that had provided the flood dragons with access to the village. Xu informs the villagers that as long as the pillar remains upright, they will be safe from flood dragons, but if it ever leans he will return to protect them once again.

In the third set of illustrations, Xu and Wu Meng have employed two dragons to carry the boat in which they are riding. Partway through their journey, they decide to travel through a "cavern-heaven" *(dongtian)*, a paradisiacal dwelling for Taoist adepts that lay under a mountain. The owner of the boat, a common man, has been instructed to keep his eyes shut for the entire journey, but as the boat approaches the cavern-heaven,

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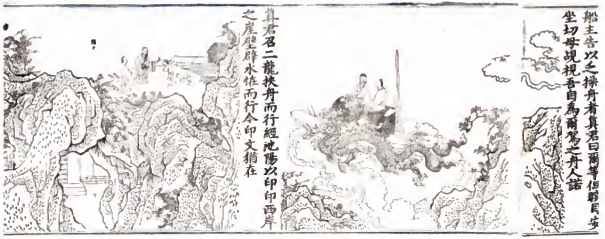

3b 3a

the bottom begins to scrape on the tops of trees, and the owner of the boat, overcome by concern and curiosity, opens his eyes to look. The dragons drop the boat and flee from his gaze. The first illustration (3a) shows the flying boat, and the second illustration (3b) shows the boat stranded on top of the mountain, while the owner, who has realized Xu and Wu are no ordinary people, begs these masters to teach him methods for attaining longevity.

The final set of illustrations shows Xu's ascent to the celestial realms. In the first illustration (4a), Xu ascends to the celestial realms in a magical carriage surrounded by clouds, accompanied by forty-two members of his family, including six disciples. Supposedly, even the dogs and chickens of the household rose up with him (see cat. no. 116). Two celestial warriors stand to either side of Xu's entourage, while villagers bid them farewell. In the second illustration (4b), two servants, a husband and wife, who were transporting rice and hence not present when Xu began his ascent, rush to see him one last time. In their hurry, they have overturned their rice cart, which can be seen in the left of the illustration.

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Cui Zizhong (d. 1644)
Chickens and Dogs Amid the Clouds

Ming dynasty, early 17th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
191.4 x 84 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

This painting shows the magician-scholar Xu Xun (239–336; see cat. no. 115) traveling with his family on a mountain far from civilization.[1] Xu wears the square cap of a Taoist priest and carries a scroll in his hand. The "chickens and dogs" of the title refer to a dog in front of Xu, humorously imitating the proud step and satisfied look of the ox as he leads the way, and a chicken in a cage on the servant's pole. While these images derive from Xu's biographies, they also allude to chapter 80 of the *Daode jing*, which says that in a well-governed kingdom, people might be so close to another town as to hear its dogs and chickens, but would never venture away from their homes to see it. This allusion emphasizes the reclusive theme of the painting.

Legend says that when Xu Xun ascended to the celestial realms, he was allowed to bring his household—even the chickens and dogs rose to the heavens along with him. The small group shown here accompanying Xu on his departure from earthly life stands in stark contrast to the large celestial entourage that greets Xu and takes him to the heavens in the *Illustrated Biography of the Realized Lord Grand Astrologer Xu* (cat. no. 115), from the Taoist Canon. While the illustrations in that book idealize Xu as a celestial official who triumphantly "rose to the heavens in broad daylight," Cui Zizhong shows him here rather as a hermit scholar who has turned his back on the corrupt world to seek a life of quietude in the mountains. This suggests parallels with famous paragons of virtue such as Bo Yi and Shu Qi, who protested the usurpation of the Shang dynasty by going into seclusion in the mountains, eventually starving to death.

Cui lived in Beijing, where he was famous as a figure painter, using a stylized archaism in his paintings modeled on the works of great masters of the past such as Gu Kaizhi (c. 344–406) and Wu Daozi (eighth century), both of whom were known for their connections with Taoism. Cui's life ended in tragedy; he died of starvation the same year the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty took control of China, in 1644.

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Vase with the Eight Immortals

Yuan dynasty, c. 1350
Longquan celadon ware
H. 25.4 cm
Private collection

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The Eight Immortals, the Three Stars, and the Queen Mother of the West at the Turquoise Pond

Qing dynasty, Qianlong reign (1736–95)
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on *kesi* silk tapestry
182.8 × 104.1 cm
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection (B62 D28)

From the Yuan dynasty onward, the Eight Immortals (Baxian) have been the most famous group of Taoist adepts in China.[1] They appear to have emerged as a discrete group during the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) in northern China, and are depicted in the ceramic tomb sculptures decorating the walls of Jin dynasty tombs near Pingyang, Shanxi province, dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[2] The emergence of the Eight Immortals as a group occurred within the context of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect of Taoism, which spread rapidly throughout China during the Jin and Yuan (1260–1368) dynasties. The most famous early depiction of this group is in a mural at the Hall of Purified Yang (Chunyang Dian) at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong), the great Quanzhen sect temple at Ruicheng, southern Shanxi province, dating to the

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mid-fourteenth century.[3] By the Ming and Qing dynasties, entire temples were dedicated to the Eight Immortals.

The members of the Eight Immortals are Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Li Tieguai, Zhang Guolao, Han Xiangzi, Cao Guoqiu, Lan Caihe, and He Xian'gu. The majority of these figures were said to have lived during the Tang dynasty (618–906). While the hagiographies of some of the Eight Immortals are straightforward, some appear to conflate different individuals. A thoroughly researched and coherent history of the cult of the Eight Immortals has yet to be written.[4]

Zhongli Quan, said in some sources to have lived in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), is considered the leader of the group, and is usually shown as a casually dressed scholar with a large stomach protruding through his partially open robe (see cat. no. 119). His most famous pupil, Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120–22), was a promising scholar who gave up pursuit of an official career after experiencing an entire lifetime of success and failure in a dream induced by meeting Zhongli Quan. Lü Dongbin may be the most popular of the Eight Immortals, and is the subject of many Yuan and Ming dynasty dramas. He is often depicted with a sword, and is sometimes accompanied by his familiar, the spirit of a willow tree. Both Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin are among the patron saints of Taoist Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*.

Li Tieguai (cat. no. 125), another very popular member of this group, was a promising Taoist adept whose body was cremated by a disciple while Li's ethereal self visited the deified Laozi. When Li returned after a week-long absence to find his body burned, he appropriated the corpse of a hideous, crippled beggar. Zhang Guolao (cat. no. 123), usually depicted as an old man, was a gifted magician, conforming to the ancient image of the *fangshi*, or "technique master." He was supposedly already hundreds of years old when summoned to the imperial court of Tang Xuanzong in the early eighth century. In the visual arts, Zhang is often depicted accompanied by his magic mule, which could be folded up like a piece a paper and stuffed into a small bag when not being ridden by his master.

Han Xiangzi was the nephew of the Tang poet Han Yu, and is usually shown as a young boy holding a flute or a "fish-drum." Cao Guoqiu, a tenth-century aristocrat and the patron saint of actors, is often depicted holding a fly-whisk or a pair of castanets; sometimes he is shown asleep, or staring at a *taiji* diagram. Lan Caihe is depicted as a young man holding the percussion instrument known as *jieban* (clappers). He Xian'gu, the only female member of the group, is often depicted holding a basket of *lingzhi* magic mushrooms, peaches, or a lotus flower.

The Eight Immortals are frequently depicted on celadon vases; the Longquan celadon vase shown here (cat. no. 117), dating to the early fourteenth century, is one of the finest known examples of its type. Each of the eight figures is molded in relief in its own panel around the surface of the octagonal vase. When the vase was glazed, the molded panels were covered in a wax resist, resulting in a striking contrast between the reddish-brown color of the ceramic body and the cool green tonality of the iron-oxide celadon glaze. Such vases point to the widespread popularity of the theme of the Eight Immortals by the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

From the early Ming dynasty (fifteenth century) on, the Eight Immortals were frequently depicted with Shoulao, the God of Longevity. One of the Three Stars (the gods of longevity, emolument, and good fortune), Shoulao ("Old longevity"), appears to have emerged in his manifestation as an old man with a huge, domed cranium in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (see cat. nos. 90–91). Such scenes are commonly encountered on Ming ceramics and other decorative arts from the Jiajing reign (1522–66) onward, and continued to enjoy great popularity during the Qing dynasty.

The superb eighteenth-century *kesi* silk tapestry from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (cat. no. 118) probably dates to the Qing dynasty Qianlong reign (1736–95).[5] Here the Eight Immortals are shown in a fantastic landscape, almost certainly depicting the Turquoise Pond (Yao chi) in the paradise on Mount Kunlun. The waves of the pond are shown below a precarious rock bridge that the immortals ascend on their way to a terrace above, where the Three Stars are already standing. The Queen Mother of the West approaches at the upper left, flying on a phoenix and accompanied by two jade maidens. Such refined *kesi* weavings may have been made as imperial birthday gifts during the Qianlong reign.

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ATTRIBUTED TO ZHAO QI (ACTIVE LATE 15TH CENTURY)
The Immortal Zhongli Quan

Ming dynasty, late 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
134.5 × 57.2 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (76.13)

THE TAOIST IMMORTAL Zhongli Quan is generally considered to be the leader of the Eight Immortals (Baxian) and the teacher of Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120–22). While some sources state that he was born during the Han dynasty, others state that "his dates are unknown."[1] His story in the *Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals (Liexian quanzhuan)* of 1598 reads in part:

> He [Zhongli Quan] was very strong. During the Han dynasty he served as a great general. Once, when attacking Turfan [in Central Asia], his side lost the advantage. He alone escaped on horseback and rode into a mountain valley. He lost the road, and at night entered a dense forest. There he came upon a barbarian monk, with disheveled hair brushing his forehead. On the monk's body hung a robe of knotted grass. The monk led him for several *li*[2] until they saw a village, and said, "This is where Master Donghua attained the Tao.[3] Here you can rest." He then bowed and disappeared.
>
> Zhongli was not inclined to rush into the village. After some time he heard someone say, "This must be the one the blue-eyed barbarian spoke of." He saw an old man wearing a white deerskin and holding a green bramble staff. The old man raised his voice and said, "Is this not the great general Zhongli Quan? Why didn't you spend the night where the monk lives?" Zhongli heard him and was much alarmed for he knew this was no ordinary person.
>
> At that point the place was transformed into a rude lair, and he found himself thinking of Luan birds and cranes [the attributes of immortals]. He then turned his mind to the Tao and begged the old man for the method of transcending the world. Thereupon the old man transmitted to him the Secrets of Extended Life *(changsheng)*, the Fiery Transformations of Gold and Cinnabar, and the Green Dragon Sword Technique. Zhongli then took his leave and emerged from his gate. When he turned around and looked back toward the village there was nothing to see.
>
> Later on he encountered the Perfected Being *(zhenren)* Huayang who transmitted to him the Interior Elixir of the Spatula and the Fire Talismans of Taiyi [Supreme Unity]. He also met the immortal Wang Xuanfu, from whom he obtained the secrets of longevity. Traveling through the clouds he arrived in Lu [in Shandong province] and lived in Zoucheng. Once he entered Emptiness and Identity (Kongtong) Mountain, and dwelt at the Peak of the Four Graybeards of Purple-Cinnabar. Again he obtained the Secrets of the Jade Casket, whereupon he became an immortal and left the world.[4]

This painting may originally have been one of a set depicting the Eight Immortals. Zhongli Quan is shown crossing the ocean waves and holding a double gourd in his hand. He has an intense expression and his stomach is bared. Around his waist is a belt of leaves. The waves over which he walks send forth white beads of spray as they break.

Although unsigned, the painting can be confidently attributed to the late-fifteenth-century Zhe School painter Zhao Qi, who worked as a court painter in the Forbidden City during the reign of the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488–1505).[5]

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The Taoist Immortal Lü Dongbin

Yuan dynasty, late 13th/early 14th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
110.5 × 44.4 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Purchase: Nelson Trust (62-25)

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The Taoist Immortal Lü Dongbin Crossing Lake Dongting

Southern Song dynasty, mid-13th century
Fan painting; ink and light color on silk
23.1 × 22.6 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Chinese and Japanese Special Fund (17.185)

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The Immortal Lü Dongbin Appearing at the Yueyang Pavilion

Southern Song dynasty, mid-13th century
Fan painting; ink and colors on silk
23.8 × 25.1 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund (17.170.2)

THE TAOIST IMMORTAL Lü Dongbin ("Lü the Cavern-guest") is a patriarch of the Quanzhen (Complete Realization) sect, and is included as one of the famed Eight Immortals (Baxian; see cat. nos. 117–18). Lü is believed to have lived in the late Tang dynasty (618–906), and his following became widespread during the Song Dynasty (960–1279). He is usually depicted in art as a handsome scholar, dressed in a white robe and equipped with a sword. According to mythology, he was widely celebrated as a swordsman, and for his skills in poetry, calligraphy, and the connoisseurship of wine.[1] In addition, he was revered as a specialist in the meditative techniques of *neidan* (Inner Alchemy), and as a healer, exorcist, diviner, and artisan.[2] A well-known example of Lü Dongbin's alchemical poetry reads:

> The water-drinking sea tortoise passes unnoticed,
> The mountain talisman burner is disliked by the demons.
> One grain of millet contains the whole world,
> In a one-quart alchemical vessel boil rivers and mountains.[3]

By the end of the Song dynasty, Lü was worshipped as the patron saint of merchants, pharmacists, ink-makers, and scholars. There are several different accounts of his life, a number of which stress his meeting with the immortal Zhongli Quan (see cat. no. 119). One of the best-known of these stories is "The

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Yellow-Millet Dream" *(Huangliang meng)*, in which Lü falls asleep at an inn while Zhongli prepares some millet for a meal. While asleep, Lü has a dream in which he experiences his entire official career, which ends in failure and disgrace. As Paul Katz has shown, this story became widely known after the publication and performance of the *The Yellow-Millet Dream*, a drama by the Yuan dynasty playwright Ma Zhiyuan (1260–1325).[4] As told in the Yuan compendium the *Illustrated Biographies of the Immortals (Zengxian liexian zhuan)*, the story reads:

> Once he [Lü Dongbin] entered into a tavern in Chang'an [Xi'an] to see a Taoist priest, dressed in a gray cap and white gown, spontaneously scribble a poem on a wall. It ran,
>
> Sit or lie—I always grasp a pot of wine,
> No need to tell my eyes to see the starry zone.
> Vast like heaven and like earth, I never have a name,
> Among so many mortals, I'm scattered and alone.

Impressed and attracted by the Taoist's strange appearance and unusual old age, as well as by the grace and naturalness of his verse, Dongbin bowed to him and inquired his name.

"I am Master Cloudchamber [Zhongli Quan]," he answered. "My home is the Crane Ridge in the Zhongnan Mountains. Would you like to join me in my wanderings?"

Dongbin hesitated to agree to this proposal, so Master Cloudchamber took him to an inn. While he attended to the preparation of a simple meal, Dongbin reclined on a pillow. Soon he became oblivious of his surroundings and fell asleep.

He had a dream. He dreamt that he went up to the capital as a candidate of the imperial examination and passed it at the top of the list. Starting his career as a junior secretary to one of the Boards, he rapidly rose in rank to positions at the Censorate and the Hanlin Academy. Eventually he became a Privy Councillor after he had occupied, in the course of his unbroken success, all the most sought-after and important official posts.

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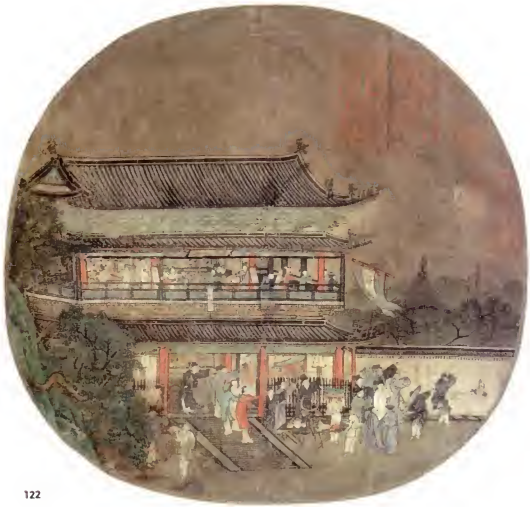

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Twice he was married, he further dreamt, and both wives belonged to families of wealth and position. Children were born to him. His sons soon took themselves wives, and his daughters left the paternal roof for their husbands' homes. All these events happened before he even reached the age of forty.

Next he found himself Prime Minister for a period of ten years, wielding immense power. This corrupted him. Then suddenly, without warning, he was accused of a grave crime. His home and all his possessions were confiscated, his wife and children separated. He himself, a solitary outcast, was wandering toward his place of banishment beyond the mountains. He found his horse brought to a standstill in a snowstorm and was no longer able to continue the journey.

At this juncture in his dream Dongbin woke with a heavy sigh. Lo and behold! The meal was still being prepared. Laughing at his surprise, Master Cloudchamber intoned a verse.

The yellow millet simmers yet uncooked,
A single dream and you have reached the world beyond!

Dongbin gaped in astonishment. "Sir," he stammered, "how is it you know about my dream?"

"In the dream that just came to you," Master Cloudchamber replied matter-of-factly, "you not only scaled the dizziest heights of splendor but also plumbed the uttermost depths of misery. Fifty years were past and gone in the twinkling of an eye. What you gained was not worth rejoicing over, what you lost was not worth grieving about. Only when people have a great awakening, they know that the world is but one big dream."

Impressed by this incident, Dongbin received spiritual enlightenment. He fell to his knees before the master and entreated him for instruction in the arts of transcending the limitations of this earthly sphere.[3]

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One of the earliest known depictions of Lü Dongbin with Zhongli Quan appears in the Hall of Purified Yang (Chunyang Dian) at the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong), the great Quanzhen sect Taoist temple in southern Shanxi province, built during the thirteenth century and painted during the mid-fourteenth century.[6] Significantly, the Eternal Joy Temple was built at Lü Dongbin's birthplace.[7] The walls of the Hall of Purified Yang are devoted to murals depicting fifty-two scenes from Lü's life.[8] The majority of these scenes are accompanied by cartouches with texts describing the adjacent stories; thirty-seven of these are direct quotes from the *Record of Divine Transformations and Miraculous Powers of the Lord Emperor of Purified Yang (Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji)*, by the Quanzhen Taoist master Miao Shanshi (fl. 1288–1324).[9] The Yuan dynasty portrait of Lü Dongbin from the Nelson-Atkins Museum (cat. no. 120) is slightly older than the Yongle Gong murals, and depicts the immortal as an elegant scholar standing in a pale brown robe tied with a black belt. On his head is a blue hat; a double gourd hangs from his belt. The tip of his magic sword emerges from under his robe.

The Southern Song dynasty fan painting from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cat. no. 121), depicts Lü Dongbin crossing the waves of Lake Dongting in southern China. Painted in ink and light colors on finely woven silk, the brushwork here is fluid and elegant. Placed asymmetrically to one side, the dignified figure projects an impassive expression as he crosses the gentle waves. Lü wears a white robe and a pale blue cap; the sash that ties his robe is also painted pale blue. In their expressive movements and variations in width, the lines that describe the immortal's robe convey the fluid movement of the figure as he crosses the lake. As Wu Tung has suggested, this figure resembles Southern Song paintings of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangzi River on a reed.[10] The fan has no inscription, and has no seals that might help identify the artist. A crease down the middle indicates that the fan was originally mounted with a central wooden or bamboo spine.

While Lü Dongbin was associated with many sites in China, one of the most famous in the popular imagination was the Yueyang Tower (Yueyang Lou) overlooking Lake Dongting in Hunan province. This tower, originally built during the Kaiyuan reign (713–41) of the Tang dynasty, became famous throughout China through the essay written by Fan Zhongyan (989–1052) entitled "The Pavilion of Yueyang" (1046).[11] Lü was often said to have visited the tower to drink wine. An early-twelfth-century account states that there was a portrait of Lü Dongbin in the Yueyang Tower, and according to Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener (Yijianzhi)*, another portrait sculpture of the immortal existed in the White Crane Temple in the city of Yueyang by 1172.[12] It was in Yueyang that Lü Dongbin encountered spirits of a pine tree and willow tree; these nature deities are depicted on either side of the north door of the Hall of Purified Yang at the Eternal Joy Temple.[13] The association of Lü Dongbin with the Yueyang Tower was even more widespread from the Yuan dynasty onward, with the publication of Ma Zhiyuan's play *Lü Dongbin Thrice Intoxicated at the Yueyang Tower*.[14]

A famous poem attributed to Lü specifically mentions the city of Yueyang:

> In the morning I travel to the North Sea, in the evening to Cangwu,
> In my sleeve is a blue-green snake [the name of Lü's magic sword],
> courageous and rough [is my appearance].
> Thrice I entered Yueyang, but no-one recognized me.
> Singing a song as I flew by Lake Dongting.[15]

The Southern Song fan painting from the Metropolitan Museum of Art entitled *The Immortal Lü Dongbin Appearing at the Yueyang Pavilion* (cat. no. 122) gives visual expression to Lü's association with this site. The anonymous painter has depicted the tower in great detail. A large banner hangs from the second story; on it the characters *Yueyang* are visible. Guests on the second floor, interrupted from their banquet, rush to the balcony, while those on the first floor run outside and point to the upper right, where the figure of Lü Dongbin appears flying through the air. A whitewashed wall at the lower right is covered with graffiti, which includes a depiction of a man riding a mule; next to this is written the cyclical date *dingsi*, which may correspond to 1257. The many scholar-officials gazing up at the flying figure in this painting reflect the enormous appeal of Lü Dongbin among both the common people and the literati. This appeal, which cut across social and economic boundaries, made Lü one of the most famous and popular of all later Taoist immortals.[16]

—S. L.

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The Immortal Zhang Guolao

Ming dynasty, 15th century (traditionally attributed to the Song dynasty, 960–1279)
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
183.8 × 104.1 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

Zhang Guolao, also known as Zhang Guo, was a historical figure active during the reigns of Empress Wu of the Zhou dynasty (r. 684–705) and Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang (r. 712–56). According to the official *History of the Tang Dynasty*,[1] he was an old man who frequented the mountains in the area of modern Hebei and Shanxi, living as a recluse. He was believed to know secret arts for longevity, and claimed to have lived for several hundred years. Once he was summoned by Empress Wu, but feigned death in order to avoid meeting with her. Later, he was once again seen wandering in the mountains in Hebei, and in 733 Emperor Xuanzong sent an emissary to greet him. Zhang refused this emissary by stopping his breath, appearing dead for some time before he finally revived. However, Xuanzong persisted, and eventually persuaded Zhang to come to the capital, where he was welcomed with great reverence. A handscroll by the Yuan dynasty court painter Ren Renfa (1255–1328) in the Palace Museum, Beijing, depicts this meeting.[2]

While at the capital, Zhang had a number of encounters with the emperor, who continually tested his magical abilities. On two occasions Xuanzong introduced Zhang to men with a special expertise in predicting the ages of others; the first man became confused when he saw Zhang, and the second failed to see him at all, even though they were facing each other. Another time, the emperor had Zhang's rotted teeth knocked out while he was asleep from too much wine; Zhang applied special medicine from a pouch kept near his breast to his gums, and, after another nap, he woke up with shiny white new teeth.

The emperor was so impressed with these events that he decided to marry an imperial princess to Zhang, but Zhang laughed at this proposal, and eventually left the capital for the northern sacred peak, Mount Heng. He nevertheless remained on good terms with the emperor, who gave him several departing gifts and bestowed upon him the honorary title "Master Who Penetrates Mystery." Xuanzong also established a Taoist temple called the Observatory of Perching on Rose-colored Clouds (Qixia Guan) in Zhang's honor.

Zhang is depicted here as an old man, which corresponds to his description in the *Old Dynastic Records of the Tang*. He is shown as a hermit in the mountains, attended by two jade maidens *(yunü)*, common figures in the entourages of high-ranking realized beings *(zhenren)*. One maiden places an offering of incense into a censer *(ding)* in front of Zhang, while the other stands behind him, holding a mushroom-shaped *ruyi* scepter. Zhang and his attendants in the lower right are balanced in the upper left by a peach tree, a crane, and other traditional symbols of longevity. The painting bears the seals of the Qing dynasty emperors Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Xuantong.[3]

Zhang is best known as one of the Eight Immortals (see cat. nos. 117–18). This group appears to have first developed out of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) movement during the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), and includes some of that movement's patriarchs, such as Lü Dongbin, in addition to historical figures such as Zhang from the Tang and Song dynasties. The Eight Immortals were a favorite subject for dramas, novels, and artistic works in the Yuan and Ming dynasties, and are still popular as gods of good fortune and long life today.

—S. E.

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YAN HUI (ACTIVE LATE 13TH–EARLY 14TH CENTURY)
The Immortal Liu Haichan

Yuan dynasty, 13th/14th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
161 × 79.8 cm
Chion-ji, Kyoto

◉ Important Cultural Property

YAN HUI'S PAINTING of Liu Haichan is one of the earliest known images of this adept. Liu lived during the turmoil of the Five Dynasties period.[1] He served as Grand Councillor for Liu Shouguang, who established himself as emperor in 911, only to be captured and executed shortly thereafter. While serving Liu Shouguang, he was visited by a Taoist using the pseudonym Zhengyangzi (Master Upright Yang), who initiated him into the secrets of Inner Alchemy. At the end of their meeting, Zhengyangzi requested ten eggs and ten coins from Liu; he placed one of the coins on a table and stacked the remaining coins and eggs on top of it, in the shape of a pagoda. Liu marveled at the feat and said, "This is precarious indeed!" Zhengyangzi responded that it was not nearly as precarious as Liu's present life, and then cast aside the coins and departed. Liu realized the danger he was in, and the next day left behind his riches and his post to become a hermit. He became known as Haichanzi (Master Sea Toad), from which the name of Liu Hai or Liu Haichan derives. Legend has it that he also received teachings on Inner Alchemy from Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120–22), and consequently he came to be seen as the fourth patriarch of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect. He is particularly famous as a master of Inner Alchemy, and is sometimes included in the Eight Immortals.

In this painting, Liu sits on a rock next to a bamboo grove and a stream. A three-legged toad, one of Liu's standard iconographical elements, sits on his shoulder. The adept grasps the toad's leg with his right hand, and holds a flowering and fruiting sprig from a peach tree in his left hand (the peach is an ancient symbol of fertility, longevity, and purity).[2] Liu has a quixotic, resigned expression on his face.

—S. L./S. E.

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Yan Hui (active late 13th–early 14th century)
The Immortal Li Tieguai

Yuan dynasty, late 13th/early 14th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
161 × 79.8 cm
Chion-ji, Kyoto

◉ Important Cultural Property

Perhaps the most famous surviving image of Li Tieguai ("Iron-crutch Li"), this painting by Yan Hui depicts the Sui dynasty (581–618) Taoist adept in a mountainous landscape.[1] It is also one of the earliest known images of Li, predating the murals of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle Gong) in southern Shanxi province by at least two decades.[2] Sitting on a rocky outcropping by a stream, with a crag and waterfall in the distance, Li glowers up at a miniature, ethereal form of himself that flies heavenward on a cloud. Barefoot and disheveled, he wears a double gourd at his waist—a symbol of the joining of Heaven and Earth in the adept's own body. His crutch leans against the rock on which he sits. Li's bizarre physiognomy and contorted right hand, which appears to have just released the flying figure above, convey his otherworldly persona with arresting clarity.

The Ming dynasty compendium the *Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals* (*Liexian quanzhuan*; 1598), compiled by Wang Shizhen, contains the following account of Li Tieguai:

> Li Tieguai had an eminent disposition. He attained the Tao at an early age. While cultivating realization in a mountain cave, Li Laojun [the deified Laozi] and Master Wenqiu [an adept of the Shang dynasty] often descended [from heaven] to his mountain retreat, where they instructed him in Taoist teachings.
>
> One day he was about to attend a meeting with Laojun on Mount Hua [the sacred peak in Shaanxi province]. Li said to his disciple, "My physical body will remain here—if my ethereal soul *[hun]* does not return in seven days, you may cremate my body." On the sixth day the disciple's mother fell ill and he had to rush home, so he cremated the body. On the seventh day Li's spirit returned, but his body was gone and he was not pleased. He thereupon possessed the corpse of a man who had starved to death, and rose up. Because of this, his form is that of a crippled man—but he was not like this originally.[3]

Li Tieguai became one of the most popular of all Taoist adepts, and was one of the Eight Immortals (see cat. nos. 117–18). He is still worshipped in China today (his image appears on the altar of the Eight Immortals Temple in Xi'an).

—S. L.

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HUANG JI (ACTIVE 15TH CENTURY)
Sharpening a Sword

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk
170.7 × 111 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

THIS PAINTING DEPICTS the Taoist immortal Li Tieguai sharpening a sword against a stone.[1] Li is identified by his crutch, which leans against a nearby rock. A stream rushes by in the background, and branches of a pine tree loom overhead. The immortal wears a tattered, pale blue-green robe around his waist; his skin is painted with brown pigment. A bright red double gourd hangs from his waist, tied with a blue sash. Around his head is a white headband; his lips are painted with pale red pigment. The astral emanation rising from his torso suggests his ability to transport himself anywhere in time and space (see cat. no. 125).

The significance of this scene is not entirely clear. Howard Rogers has pointed out that the sword is usually associated with Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120, 121) rather than Li Tieguai.[2] Since Huang Ji created this image of Li Tieguai for the imperial Ming court, Rogers's theory that the immortal is shown here as a spirit-guardian of the state may be correct. In religious Taoism, swords were both a standard part of the ritual paraphernalia of Taoist priests (see cat. nos. 58–61), who used them for purification and exorcism, and the powerful attributes of such martial gods as Zhenwu (see cat. no. 114) and Marshal Wen (see cat. no. 87).

The painting is signed in the upper left corner: "Painted by Sanshan Huang Ji, Judge *[zhenhu]* in the Embroidered Uniform Guard, on duty in the Palace of Humane Knowledge" *(Zhi Renzhi Dian Jinyi zhenhu Sanshan Huang Ji xie)*. This is followed by two seals, reading *Kemei* (the artist's *hao*, or nickname) and "Daily approaching the pure and radiant" *(Rijin qingguang)*. The latter seal was used by several court painters in the fifteenth century, and indicates that the artist worked in the immediate presence of the emperor. Very little is known about Huang Ji, and this is his only known surviving work. He was a native of Houguan (now Fuzhou) in Fujian province, and worked at the imperial court in the late fifteenth century.[3] There is a short colophon on the mounting by the Qing dynasty prince Yongxing (1752–1823).[4]

—S. L.

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SUN JUE
Female Immortals

Ming dynasty, dated 1410(?)
Fan painting; ink and colors on silk
25 × 23.3 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art: Purchased, Museum funds (29-40-48)

THIS FAN PAINTING depicts three female Taoist adepts, dressed in skirts made of leaves and jackets made of grass. All three figures are shown as young women, their hair neatly arranged and held in place with combs; each is also barefoot. The right figure holds a staff, and has a backpack containing bananas, twigs, and cloth-wrapped bundles. The middle figure holds a strange root figurine with sprigs of leaves in its hands. The left figure has the most elaborate backpack, containing a bamboo-painted fan, a woven parasol with mushrooms, a skull, a double gourd, herbs, and tassels. The adepts walk along a mountain path, next to rocks and a pine tree. These figures resemble early depictions of the female Taoist adept Magu (Hemp Lady). A Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) painting of Magu in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts this female adept in much the same guise as the figures in the Philadelphia Museum fan—in a mountainous landscape, barefoot, her hair arranged in a topknot, and dressed in a jacket of leaves.[1] A similar group of figures also appears in the Song dynasty handscroll in the Freer Gallery entitled *An Assembly of Immortals,* traditionally attributed to Li Gonglin (1049–1106).[2]

Magu's biography appears in the Jin dynasty text entitled *Biographies of the Divine Immortals (Shenxian zhuan)* by Ge Hong (283–343). Believed to have lived during the reign of Emperor Huan (*r.* 147–67) of the Han dynasty, Magu was the sister of an adept named Wang Fangping.[3] Her appearance was that of a young woman of eighteen, yet since becoming an adept she was said to have thrice seen the Eastern Ocean turn to mulberry fields, an indication of her transcendence of time.

The fan painting bears a short inscription, partially illegible, along the right border. This includes a cyclical date that may be *gengyin;* given the painting's style, this may correspond to the year 1410. This is followed by an unknown artist's signature, which appears to read *Sun Jue.*

—S. L.

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Notes

Introduction

1. For example, the Eight Immortals Temple (Baxian An), the largest Taoist temple in Xi'an, Shaanxi province.
2. Schipper 1993: 164.
3. For discussions of the Taoist concept of immortality, see Robinet 1985–86: 87–105; Kohn 1990b: 622–40; Kristofer Schipper, "The Immortals," in Schipper 1993: 160–82; and Penny (forthcoming).
4. On Wang Zhijiao, see Holzman 1998c, Steuber 1996, and Ebrey 1981: 38–39. Another important source of early stories of immortals is the *Biographies of the Assorted Immortals (Liexian zhuan)*, attributed to the Han dynasty author Liu Xiang; translated in Kaltenmark 1987.

Cat. no. 115

1. These are the dates suggested in Schipper 1985: 822–23. Xu Xun's dates vary in different sources; later biographies claim that he died in 374. at 136 years of age.
2. This work can be found in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, HY 263, *juan* 31–36.
3. The popular practices described here can be found in ibid., *juan* 34.
4. *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*, HY 449. Schipper 1985: 819 dated this text to the ninth century. It is likely to date from the Tang since it uses a name for the temple on Western Mountain that fell out of use when the temple was renamed by Emperor Zhenzong of the Song (see below).
5. The legend surrounding this name is discussed in Schipper 1985. The term "observatory" for Taoist temples supposedly derives from the Tower Observatory *(louguan)*, which Yin Xi ascended to see the ether rising from Laozi as he approached the pass to leave the lands ruled by the Zhou. The continued use of this term suggests the importance of observing stellar phenomena in Taoist practices.
6. Boltz 1987a: 75 points out that this text refers to Xu by a title bestowed upon him in 1295.
7. In the Tang version of the story contained in *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan*, HY 449, this pillar forms spontaneously from the blood of a dragon that has just been killed.

Cat. no. 116

1. There are other paintings by Cui with the same theme in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Palace Museum in Beijing. See Little 1988: 30–31.

Cat. nos. 117–18

1. See Jing 1996.
2. *Pingyang jintmu zhuandiao* 1999: 308–19.
3. Jin 1997: pl. 236.
4. Compare the very different methodologies used in reconstructing the life of Lü Dongbin in Jing 1996 and Baldrian-Hussein 1986.
5. Previously published in Bartholomew 1995: fig. 22. For similar images, see Fong 1983: 185.

Cat. no. 119

1. XHSP, *juan* 19: 55. The Song emperor Huizong owned what was believed to be an original cursive script handscroll by Zhongli Quan.
2. A *li* is approximately one-third of a mile.
3. Master Donghua or Donghua dijun (the Eastern Floriate Emperor) was a mythical figure, revered as the first patriarch of the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect of Taoism.
4. LXQZ, *juan* 3: 6a–b. Translated in Little 1988: no. 6. This account presents the traditional view of Zhongli Quan as accepted in the Ming dynasty.
5. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: no. 132. The attribution to Zhao Qi is supported by a similar depiction of the immortal Lu Haichan in the Nezu Museum, Tokyo, which is signed "Zhao Qi" and which bears the seal: "Daily approaching the pure and radiant (i.e., the emperor)" *(Rijin qingguang)*. The same seal was also used by the Hongzhi court painters Lü Ji and Lü Wenying; see Cahill 1978: 108.

Cat. nos. 120–22

1. Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 133. The information that follows is taken largely from this excellent article.
2. See ibid.: 136, for a discussion of *neidan* works ascribed to Lü Dongbin and his teacher Zhongli Quan. Many poems by Lü on the theme of inner Alchemy are recorded in the *Quan Tang shi* (Complete poems of the Tang dynasty); see QTS: 2095–2105.
3. Translated in Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 138.
4. Katz 1993: 57. For a discussion of *The Yellow Millet Dream*, see Jackson 1983: 97–109.
5. Translated in Kohn 1993: 126–29 (from the Yuan dynasty compilation *Illustrated Biographies of the Immortals [Zengxion liexian zhuonJ*). As Baldrian-Hussein points out, one work of Zhongli Quan's calligraphy was recorded in the Northern Song imperial catalogue, the *Xuanhe shupu* (1120); see XHSP, *juan* 19: 55. For another version of the "Yellow Millet Dream" story, see Katz 1996a: 92.
6. Jin 1997: pl. 230. The Hall of Purified Yang murals were completed in 1358 by the muralist Zhu Haogu and his pupils.
7. Katz 1996a: 72.
8. These scenes are discussed in ibid.: 84–91. See also Katz 1999.
9. Ibid.: 75.
10. Wu 1997: 204–05.
11. Translated in Strassberg 1994: 158–59.
12. Cited in Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 155.
13. Jin 1997: pls. 237–38.
14. Jackson 1983: 109–23.
15. For other translations, see Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 158; see also Wai-kam Ho's translation in Lee and Ho 1968: no. 191.
16. Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 165–69; Katz 1993: 53–59.

Cat. no. 123

1. JTS, *juan* 191.
2. See *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 1993: pl. 37.
3. *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: 71.

Cat. no. 124

1. HY 296: 49.5–7.
2. In antiquity peachwood figures and wands were used for exorcism; see Bodde 1975: 131–32, 136–37.

Cat. no. 125

1. This scroll bears two seals of Yan Hui along the upper right border.
2. For the image at the Eternal Joy Temple of Li Tieguai crossing the ocean with the Eight Immortals, see Jin 1997: 246.
3. LXQZ, *juan* 1: 2b.

Cat. no. 126

1. Previously published in Mu 1982: pl. 23, color pl. 7; and *Circa 1492* 1991: no. 289.
2. *Circa 1492* 1991: 436.
3. Mu 1985: 35, 238–39.
4. For the Chinese text of this colophon, see ibid.: 238–39.

Cat. no. 127

1. Wu 1997: no. 148. This work is by Chen Yuexi.
2. Freer Gallery of Art acc. no. 18.13. Several sections of this scroll (although not the one referred to here) are illustrated in Lawton 1973: no. 34.
3. See the biography of Magu translated in Kohn 1993: 355–58.

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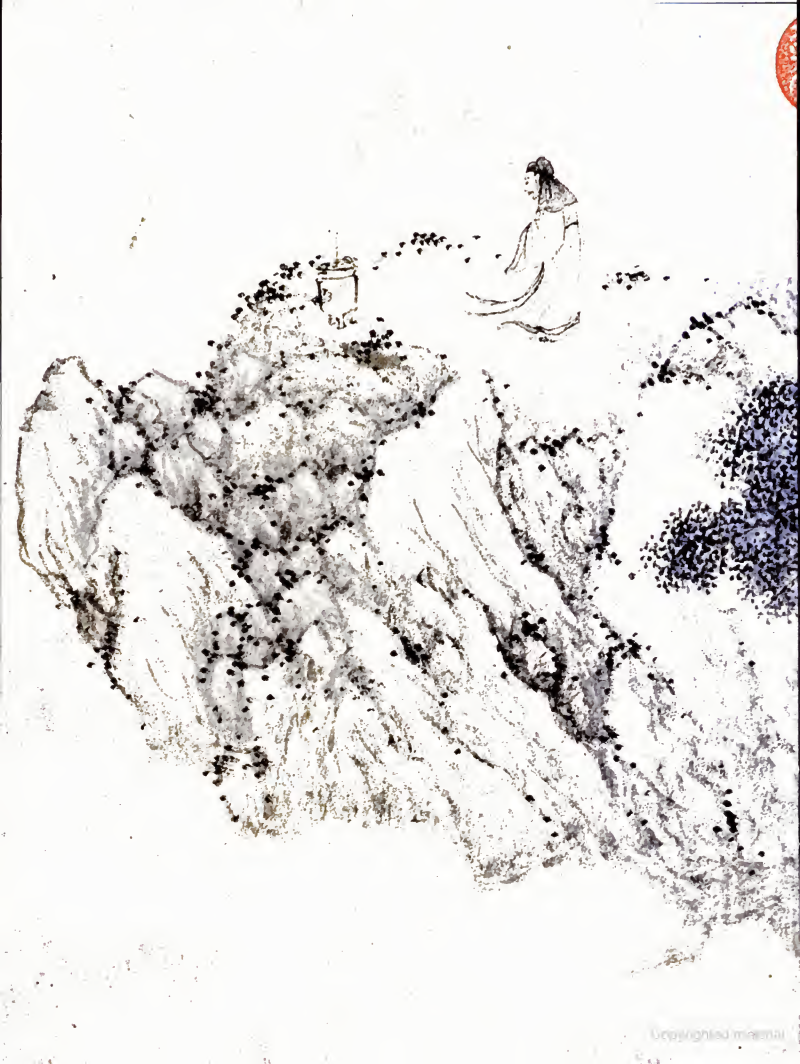

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THE MEDITATIVE PRACTICE known as Inner Alchemy *(neidan)* was designed as a means to achieve individual spiritual perfection. Its focus was on visualization and the use of symbols drawn from chemical alchemy *(waidan)* and the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)* to aid the adept in the process of purification, spiritual renewal, and achieving union with the Tao. The techniques of Inner Alchemy were based on two traditions: ancient disciplines of meditation and self-cultivation, and laboratory experiments in the preparation of elixirs that could both physically and spiritually transform the adept. These disciplines required the cultivation of one's moral integrity and spiritual purity; without these, other efforts would fail.

Although elixirs were believed to confer health, longevity, and even immortality, the creation of these elixirs could be expensive and dangerous. Chemical alchemy involved the collection, refinement, and transformation of ingredients such as cinnabar, lead, gold, malachite, sulphur, mica, saltpeter, and orpiment, some of which are extremely toxic. Death often accompanied their ingestion, but with faith in one's spiritual worthiness, it was believed that the adept would immediately rise to heaven. In its fundamental aspect, chemical alchemy concerned the manipulation of time and space. By refining the rare ingredients for elixirs, the adept gained control over *yin* and *yang*, in the end achieving a state of transcendence over phenomenal reality. The astonishing properties of the elixirs mentioned by the alchemist Tao Hongjing (456–536) are suggested by their equally astonishing names: Efflorescence of Langgan, Powder of Liquified Gold, Dragon Foetus, Jade Essence, Gold Elixir, and the Nine-times Cycled.[1]

Inner Alchemy, in contrast, refers to a technique combining meditation and breath control to visualize the creation of the elixir in the inner landscape of the adept's own body. In this mode, the internal energies *(qi)* of the human body were used to create the elixir. When successfully achieved, this visualized elixir transformed the practitioner, who was reborn as a divine, embryonic immortal. As alchemy began to be reinterpreted as an internal process, theorists found an important conceptual model to bridge the outer and inner alchemical traditions in the trigram symbolism developed by Wei Boyang (see cat. no. 130). According to Inner Alchemy, *qian* (three unbroken *yang* lines) and *kun* (three broken *yin* lines) represent the first move away from the undifferentiated oneness at the beginning of the world. After *qian* and *kun* became distinct, they intermingled to form the Eight Trigrams and the Sixty-four Hexagrams of the *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*. Within the body, the *yang* energy of *qian* is manifested by the trigram *li* (a *yin* line enclosed by two *yang* lines), which is represented by the alchemical element mercury and the dragon, while the *yin* energy of *kun* is manifested by the trigram *kan* (a single *yang* line enclosed by two *yin* lines), represented by the alchemical element lead and the tiger.[2] *Kan* and *li* are secondary manifestations of *yin* and *yang*, containing both of these energies within them.

The goal of the inner alchemical process is to join these energies in a symbolic crucible and purify them in the fires of a symbolic furnace in the body. As a result, the inner *yang* line of *kan* is joined with the outer *yang* lines of *li* to reconstitute the trigram *qian*, thereby purifying the energies of the body into a pure *yang* "elixir."[3] This theoretical framework underlies the artworks shown in the following entries, many of which show the specific phases in which the *yin* and *yang* energies of the body are reintegrated into an undifferentiated oneness. Central to these works is the idea that the goal of a Taoist transcendent was not immortality per se, but spiritual perfection and union with the Tao.

Detail, cat. no. 134

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WANG XIZHI (307–365)
Scripture of the Yellow Court

Eastern Jin dynasty, dated 356
Ink rubbing of a stone engraving of the Song dynasty (960–1279)
Album; ink on paper
25.2 × 11.2 cm (each page)
Palace Museum, Beijing

THE *SCRIPTURE OF THE YELLOW COURT (Huangting jing)* is one of the most difficult of all Taoist scriptures to understand. It describes the different regions inside the body, the deities that inhabit these regions, and the energies *(qi)* and essences *(jing)* that vitalize the body as they circulate through it. These components are all incorporated into an act of meditation, an inner visualization, the primary goal of which is to nourish an embryonic form that enables the meditator to refine the body and gain endless life.[1] The language of this scripture, however, is terse and imagistic, and does not provide keys to understanding the significance of many of the terms that appear within it. This ambiguity has led many scholars to propose that the text may have been more of a memory aid recited during meditation than a meditation manual as such.[2] In addition, there was probably a commentarial tradition, either oral or written, that accompanied this scripture when it was first written—an early tradition now lost.[3]

The version of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* attributed to Wang Xizhi differs from other editions of the scripture in many important ways. For example, all other editions begin with the statement "Laozi made these heptasyllabic [seven-character] lines while dwelling in reclusion, in order to explain the form of the body and all its spirits," thereby attributing the scripture to Laozi. But this opening is absent from Wang Xizhi's text, and its absence suggests that the identification of Laozi as the author of this scripture may not have been standardized until after the middle of the fourth century. Even if this were the case, however, the scripture was still intimately connected with Laozi and the *Daode jing* by Wang Xizhi's time. Wang's text also contains stylistic variations not found in other editions. In particular, he opens the scripture with four lines of four characters each before changing to heptasyllabic verse, while all other editions are heptasyllabic throughout. This four-character structure shows similarities with passages resembling the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* in the *Master Who Embraces Simplicity (Baopuzi)* written by Ge Hong (283–343).[4]

There are in fact two scriptures that bear the name *Scripture of the Yellow Court*, an "inner" *(nei)* scripture[5] and an "outer" *(wai)* one.[6] Wang Xizhi's text corresponds to the outer scripture. The provenance of the inner scripture is fairly clear, since it contains ideas that developed in the Highest Purity scriptures (see cat. no. 55). It was supposedly revealed to the matriarch of the Highest Purity movement, Wei Huacun, in 288, but it may not actually have been composed until revelations were given to Yang Xi (330–386) in 364 by the deified Wei Huacun and a number of other realized beings *(zhenren)*.[7] The provenance of the outer scripture, on the other hand, is a matter of some controversy. It is much shorter than the inner scripture, which includes most of the outer scripture, although in altered form. This redundancy has led some scholars to propose that the inner scripture was developed from the earlier, outer scripture,[8] while others have suggested that the outer scripture could just as well be a summarized, "exoteric"[9] version of the older, "esoteric" inner scripture. In any case, the version attributed to Wang Xizhi, which is dated to 356, is the earliest extant text of either version.[10] Consequently, this edition is the oldest primary source for the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*.

Like many aristocrats of the Eastern Jin dynasty, Wang Xizhi, who is commonly regarded as the greatest early Chinese calligrapher, belonged to a family that adhered to the Celestial Master sect of religious Taoism (Tianshi dao).[11] It is widely recognized, for example, that the presence of the character *zhi* in Wang Xizhi's name was an indication of his affiliation with this sect (the same is true of the fourth-century painter Gu Kaizhi).[12] According to the *Jinshu (Dynastic history of the Jin)*, Wang Xizhi followed Taoist self-cultivation practices, such as the gathering of herbs and minerals for enhancing health and longevity.[13] These activities were carried out in conjunction with his close friend, the adept Xu Mai, whose brother Xu Mi was the principal patron of the early Highest Purity revelations from which the inner version of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court* developed. As Lothar Ledderose has shown, Wang Xizhi was "more than merely superficially involved in Taoist beliefs."[14] In the last years of his life (after 361), Wang is described as "following the arts of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) and Laozi."[15]

—S. E./S. L.

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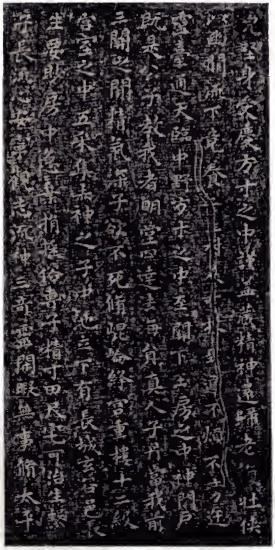

129

Classification of Supreme Numinous Treasure Mushrooms, from the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign

Ming dynasty, Zhengtong reign, dated 1445
Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper
35 × 11.3 cm (each page)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Chinois 9546/1387)

MUSHROOMS PLAYED a vital role in early Taoism. Even before the emergence of religious Taoism, mushrooms were sought for their magical powers. Qin Shihuangdi (r. 221–210 B.C.) and Han Wudi (r. 140–87 B.C.) both sent magicians *(fangshi)* in search of such fungi. Many adepts were said to live on mushrooms; for example, Pengzu, who lived to be over seven hundred years old, ate only mushrooms. According to the *Soushenji (In Search of the Supernatural)* of the early third century,

> Pengzu was a Yin (Shang) dynasty minister whose surname was Qian and who given name was Jian. He was the grandson of Emperor Zhuanxu and the middle child of Luzhong [Ends of the Earth] family. He lived during the Xia and survived until the end of the Shang dynasty—he is said to have been 700 years old. His regular food was the cinnamon fungus (the *lingzhi*).[1]

As Michel Strickmann has shown, the cult of magic mushrooms in China is ancient.[2] Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian (Shiji;* first century B.C.) states that mushrooms were believed to be among the sacred plants that grew on Penglai, one of the isles of the immortals in the Eastern Ocean.[3] Since at least the Han dynasty, the appearance of strange and auspicious mushrooms has portended virtuous emperors:

> During the reign of the emperor Wu, in the year 109 B.C., according to the *History of the Former Han Dynasty,* a mushroom with nine stalks from a single root grew in a room of the summer palace. A general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the empire, and the Song of the Mushroom Chamber was composed. The text of this song has been preserved.[4]

The use of mushrooms that enable the adept to see the numinous world is common in many cultures.[5] In the Six Dynasties period (420–589), as well, mushrooms (specifically "mushrooms that nourish the divine" or *yangshen zhi*) are mentioned as among the numinous plants growing on the isles of the immortals.[6]

One of the earliest discussions of the importance of mushrooms in a Taoist context is in Ge Hong's *Baopuzi (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity).* In this text, Ge describes several types of mushrooms, including rock, wood, herb, and flesh mushrooms:

> The rock ones are semblances of mushrooms in stone. They grow on famous mountains by the sea. Along island streams there are formations of piled rocks resembling flesh. Those seeming to have head, tail, and four feet are the best. They look like something alive. They are attached to boulders, and prefer high, steep spots, which sometimes render them inaccessible. The red ones resemble coral; the white ones, a slice of fat; the black, wet varnish; the blue, kingfisher feathers; and the yellow, purplish gold. All of them glow in the darkness like ice, being easily visible at night from a distance of three hundred paces.[7]

It is noteworthy that many varieties of mushrooms are in fact luminescent at night, just as described by Ge Hong.

The *Classification of Supreme Numinous Treasure Mushrooms* is believed to have been written during the Song dynasty (960–1279), and is included in the Taoist Canon printed in the mid-fifteenth century. The edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale has a printed frontispiece depicting the Three Purities (Sanqing). A cartouche at the end of the text contains the date: "Zhengtong 10th year [1445], 11th month, 11th day." The text illustrates 126 varieties of mushrooms, some commonplace and others fantastic in form. All are said to confer longevity, to varying degrees. For example:

> The Yellow Jade Mushroom grows on Mount Penglai. Its color is yellow, and its taste bitter. Dongwanggong ate it and became immortal, and lived for 90,000 years. The yellow tiger and yellow fish guard it. It consists of three levels; the lower level has three branches.

Many of the mushrooms in this text are described as being surrounded by multicolored clouds; others have astounding shapes. The text is part of a long tradition of mushroom handbooks, of the type referred to by Ge Hong.[8]

—S. L.

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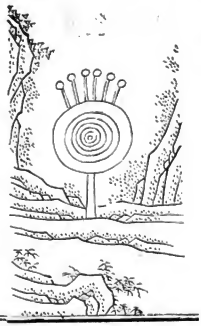
黃玉芝

黃玉芝生於蓬萊山其色黃味辛東王父食之壽九萬歲仙矣黃虎黃魚守之三重下重有三枝（一有生乳蓋莖並黃也

白雲芝

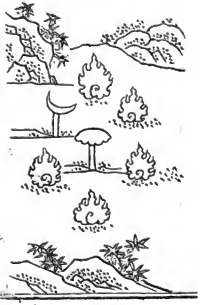


白雲芝有五色圓如鼓上有六孑赤色莖亦赤色味酸食之萬年仙矣

赤精芝

赤精芝赤色炎起味甘鐵刀採之陰乾百日食之二千年仙矣二人守之似火炬樣莖炎俱赤

金精芝



金精芝味甘木刀採食之千歲仙矣陰乾百日食之五段似火焰起朱色一朱蓋朱莖一蓋如初生月莖青色

130

WANG SHIZHEN (1526–1590)
The Alchemist Wei Boyang, from the Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals

Ming dynasty, 1600/30
Woodblock-illustrated book; ink on paper
20.7 × 12.6 cm (each page)
Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

WEI BOYANG is a semimythical figure from the Kuaiji area of modern Zhejiang believed to have been active in the middle of the second century. The biography contained in the *Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals* is based on the *Biographies of the Divine Immortals (Shenxian zhuan)* by the great Jin dynasty alchemist and scholar Ge Hong (283–343).[1]

According to legend, Wei entered into the mountains with three of his disciples, where he successfully concocted an alchemical elixir. Already doubting the worthiness of two of his disciples, however, Wei devised a trial to test their devotion. He brought along with him a white dog, and when the elixir was completed, he suggested to his disciples that they first test it on the dog. Yet, unbeknownst to his disciples, Wei had set aside some unfinished elixir, knowing that this incomplete elixir was poisonous and would cause whoever consumed it to die. Wei then fed this unfinished, poisonous elixir to the dog, who promptly fell over dead. Nonetheless, apparently unaffected by what had happened, Wei expressed to his disciples his resolve to consume the failed concoction:

> I have turned my back on the paths of the world, and left behind my family. If I do not become an adept from this [elixir], I would still be ashamed to return home. Life and death are one; I will consume it.

Naturally, Wei too died when he took the poisonous elixir. At this point, one of his disciples stated that his master must have had his reasons for taking the elixir, and, putting his faith in his teacher, he also consumed the poisonous elixir and died. The other two disciples refused, however, thinking that it was better to live a few more decades than to risk death for a dubious chance at immortality. After these two faithless students descended from the mountains to make funerary arrangements for their apparently foolhardy companions, Wei, who had actually taken the completed elixir to counteract the effects of the poison, revived, and he proceeded to administer the real elixir to the faithful disciple and to the dog, who were both restored to life.[2]

The present woodblock print illustrates this story, showing Wei and his faithful disciple together with the dog that accompanied them to the magical realms of adepts and realized beings.

As we can see from the above story, Wei practiced chemical alchemy *(waidan)*. However, he was best known in the later imperial period for his influence on the tradition of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*, which reinterpreted the alchemical process and its terminology as representing an internal physiological and spiritual meditation.[3] Much of Wei's later fame derives from the alchemical treatise attributed to him, the *Contract of the Three Unities of the Zhou Dynasty [Classic of] Changes (Zhouyi cantong qi)*, a work that seems to have begun as a treatise on chemical alchemy in the late Han dynasty.[4] The principal innovation of this text is the use of trigrams from the *Book of Changes (Zhouyi* or *Yi jing)* to explain the alchemical process, as seen in the opening passage:

> *Qian* and *kun* are the gateway to change *(yi)*, the father and mother of the various hexagrams. *Kan* and *li* are the walls, the straight axle in the moving hub.

The prominence of imagery from the *Book of Changes* in this work led one of its later commentators, the Five Dynasties writer Peng Xiao, to state: "Master Wei is saying that the cultivation of golden elixir and reverted cinnabar is analogous to [literally, "follows the same road"] the building and transformation [of the world]. Consequently, he relies on the symbols of the *Book of Changes* to discuss it." The symbolic language of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* eventually became one of the primary foundations for later Inner Alchemy, and consequently it is seen as one of China's great spiritual classics.

—S. E.

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虞生

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Illustrations of the Sealed Verification of the Golden Elixir of the Reverted Cinnabar

Qing dynasty, 17th/18th centuries
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
20 × 1,200 cm
White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan), Beijing

THIS HANDSCROLL *(Jinye huandan yinzheng tu)* contains twenty illustrations that depict the "work" of Inner Alchemy from beginning to end. The illustrations are accompanied by poems that sometimes help to explain them, but that are often just as suggestive and cryptic as the images themselves.[1] The author's preface tells us that the images were originally divided into two main groups, "Images of Outer Methods" *(waifa xiang)*, comprising illustrations 1 and 3–10, and "Images of Inner Methods" *(neifa xiang)*, sections 11–19. These groups were supplemented by two separate images (2 and 20), which represent, respectively, the first awareness of differentiated existence, and the final return to undifferentiated oneness. Taken as a whole, the illustrations show the entire alchemical process from the movement out of undifferentiated oneness into the multiplicity of the world, and the return from this multiplicity to oneness through the reintegration of complementary opposites. This process is analogous to the western alchemical principles of coagulation and dissolution.[2] The illustrations in the text (not all shown) are as follows:

1. The Original Root
An empty circle represents the state of undifferentiated oneness (equivalent to the Tao).

2. Startled Awakening
The six paths of reincarnation: in the hells, as a hungry ghost, as an animal, as an *asura* (a kind of lesser spirit), as a human, or as a *deva* (deity). This indicates the development of differentiated existence from the "original root."

3. [The Trigrams] *Qian* and *Kun*
Thirty-six palaces flanked by the sun and moon are on a magical mountain that rises from a square island in the ocean. The square shape of the island indicates that it represents earth (as opposed to the heavens), while the palaces probably represent the thirty-six heavens of Taoist and Buddhist cosmology. This indicates the arising of the entire cosmos from the initial differentiation of *yin* (trigram *kun*) and *yang* (trigram *qian*).

4. Alchemical Vessels
A man, who represents the alchemical furnace and the trigram *qian* (three unbroken *yang* lines), and a woman, who represents the tripod or crucible and the trigram *kun* (three broken *yin* lines), are shown. This indicates the goal of Inner Alchemy to harmonize *yin* and *yang*.

5. Lead and Mercury
A male child in a circle, who represents the alchemical element mercury and the trigram *kan* (one unbroken line between two broken lines), and a female child in a circle, who represents the alchemical element lead and the trigram *li* (one broken line between two unbroken lines), are shown.[3] This suggests the gradual intermingling of *yin* and *yang*.

6. Harmonization
This is a diagram of the twelve earthly branches *(dizhi)* that represent the twelve spatial directions and times of day, connected by lines. This indicates the full development of differentiated space and time, but also the interconnectedness of these differentiations.

7. Realized Land
A palace is shown rising from a lotus encircled by a wall with a single gate; the accompanying poem discusses the difference between "true" or alchemical lead and "ordinary" lead. This and the following illustrations show the beginning of the process of reunification.

8. Selection
An alchemical crucible covered by a sword on a three-tiered altar is depicted. In front of the altar is a toad with three legs, with a ray of light coming from its mouth that envelopes a crane; these are further symbols of *yin* and *yang*.[4] This illustration reintroduces the crucible of illustration 4 as the central theme of the alchemical process.

9. Systematization
This illustration depicts a temple compound with stairs leading to a gateway on the left, a temple building, and a three-tiered altar in the courtyard. The three tiers of the altar represent the heavens, earth, and humanity. Exorcistic swords are placed at the four corners of the altar, and are decorated with hanging mirrors that also serve an exorcistic function. This illustration begins the actual ritual process of refining an alchemical elixir.

10. Support
A central figure that may represent the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major) sits on a three-tiered altar, with a dragon and a tiger descending on the right and left sides. The figure is flanked by two

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beings who the poem suggests represent civil and military officials. The meditator assumes the central role of the Northern Dipper, and draws the essences of *yin* (tiger) and *yang* (dragon) into himself.

11. Consuming Cinnabar

A dragon and a tiger's sport with a magical pearl over the ocean. The images of reunification are gradually refined.

12. Nine Tripods

These are the nine tripods cast by the Yellow Emperor as signs of his mandate to rule over the nine traditional regions of China, punctuated by five orbs resting on clouds, which may represent the Five Planets or the Five Phases. Symbolically, the meditator assumes the role of the Yellow Emperor uniting the entire (interior) world, and his crucible is transformed into the nine tripods of this mythical figure.

13. Bringing Forth the Fire

The meditator is shown in two conjoined circles, with his back to the viewer. He is surrounded by the eight trigrams. Beneath him is a flaming crucible. The entire image is encircled by depictions of different phases of the moon and several inscriptions. This is the inner mystery of the alchemical process, where the meditator absorbs the Eight Trigrams and refines them (and himself) over time in his inner crucible.

14. Taking Away the Fire

The same two conjoined circles of section 13 are again depicted, but they are now empty. They are surrounded by the "embodiment" *(ti)* trigrams *qian* and *kun* above and below, and the "use" trigrams *kan* and *li* to the right and left. The entire image is encircled by phases of the moon and more inscriptions. The meditator has been reduced to his principal elements, *yin* and *yang*, shown as two conjoined circles and as the "embodiments" (primary manifestations) and "uses" (secondary manifestations) of these two principles in the four most essential trigrams.

15. Adding and Taking Away

A ray of light comes forth from a crucible surrounded by a dragon and tiger and placed on a three-tiered altar. Within the ray of light the three *hun* or *yang* souls of the body rise to the left, while the seven *po* or *yin* souls of the body rise to the right. The accompanying poem says:

> The *yin po*-souls harmonize with lead, daily decreasing,
> The *yang hun*-souls combine with mercury, growing ever-more vigorous . . .
> Adding mercury and taking away lead, entirely by means of fire.

The meditator's being is purified of its *yin* elements and becomes pure *yang* energy.

16. Bathing or Purification

An infant hovers on clouds that rise from a crucible on a three-tiered altar. The meditator, now shown as an infant symbolizing pure *yang* energy, undergoes a final purification. Interestingly, this purification is through water *(yin)*, in contrast to the previous purification by fire *(yang)*.

17. Golden Elixir

A dragon hovers in a fiery atmosphere over a pearl, beneath which is a flaming crucible on a three-tiered altar. The meditator's body has been completely purified into a magical elixir, shown as the dragon and pearl, more symbols of *yang* energy.

18. Embracing the Primordial

A man meditates under a pine tree. Now that the body is purified, conciousness is transformed into pure light through meditation on primordial oneness.

19. Audience with the Primordial

The man rides on clouds that rise from a fire. With body and conciousness both pure, the meditator ascends to meet with primordial oneness.

20. Returning to the Primordial

The empty circle suggests that the meditator has reunited with undifferentiated oneness, completing the cycle.

The handscroll is a Qing dynasty (seventeenth/eighteenth century) copy of a series of illustrations attributed to a Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) writer using the pseudonym "Master Dragon Eyebrows" (Longmeizi); this author's preface is dated to 1218. The same text can be found in the Ming dynasty Taoist Canon.[6] Little is known of the author, but he claims to have studied under the disciples of a certain realized being named Liu, who in turn appears to have been a student of the famous Zhang Boduan (984–1082). Zhang's *Writing on Awakening to Realization (Wuzhen pian)* is considered to be one of the standard works on the principles of Inner Alchemy.[7] A prefatory note by a later editor named Wang Qidao dated to 1234 further identifies this text with the great Southern Song Taoist scholar Bai Yuchan (1194–1229). There is also an epilogue by a certain Lin Jing dated to 1249, which affirms the lineage of the text as belonging to the school of alchemy known as "Violet Light" *(ziyang)* after Zhang Boduan's pseudonym.

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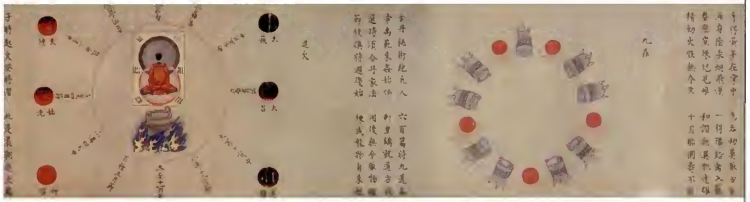

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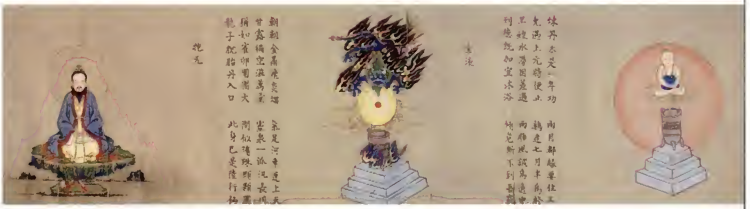

18 17 16

The history of this handscroll and its contents is inextricably linked with the Complete Realization (Quanzhen) sect, even though its alchemical teachings developed independently of this movement. As the Complete Realization sect rose to power in the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), the lineage from Zhang Boduan to Bai Yuchan was traced back to the Liao dynasty (916–1125) master Liu Haichan (see cat. no. 124), the fourth patriarch of the Complete Realization movement. Although the present text probably predates the formal establishment of this lineage, the image of a three-legged toad in section 8 may already suggest a connection with Liu, since such a toad was often depicted as part of his iconography. The secrets of Inner Alchemy were revealed to Liu by Lü Dongbin (see cat. nos. 120–22), the third patriarch of the Complete Realization sect. By the middle of the Yuan dynasty this lineage came to be known as the "southern" lineage of the Complete Realization sect, in opposition to the "northern" lineage founded by Wang Chongyang (1112–1170), historical founder of the Complete Realization movement.[2]

Since the Yuan dynasty, the headquarters of the northern lineage has been the White Cloud Monastery, where this handscroll is now kept.

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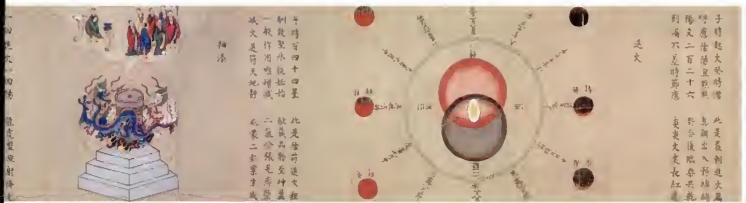
9 10 11



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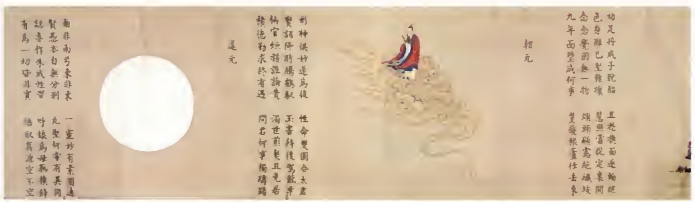

19 20

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1b

1a

132

Directions for Endowment and Vitality

Ming dynasty, Wanli reign, dated 1615
Woodblock-illustrated book; ink on paper
30.8 × 26.3 cm (each page)
The British Library, London (15113.e.6)

THE *DIRECTIONS FOR ENDOWMENT AND VITALITY (Xingming guizhi)* is a Ming dynasty treatise on Inner Alchemy, richly illustrated with over fifty diagrams and images.[1] The breadth of its text and illustrations led Joseph Needham to call it "the *Summa* of physiological alchemy [*neidan*]."[2] As its title suggests, the work is principally concerned with the "endowment" (*xing*, often translated as "nature") and "vitality" (*ming*, often translated as "life" or "life-span") of human life. Essentially, *xing* and *ming* together compose the most fundamental energy that animates the human body, and the purpose of this treatise is to return the secondary energies of the body to the primordial purity of this primary energy.

The first and second illustrations shown here (1a and 1b), called the *Illustration of Broad Illumination* and the *Illustration of Reverse Illumination*, show the inner landscape of the body from the front and back. The first depicts a meditator sitting cross-legged. In his left hand he holds a crow enclosed in a circle, an ancient symbol of the sun, and in his right hand a hare enclosed in a circle, the corresponding symbol of the moon. On his forehead a composite character formed from the three-character phrase "to join endowment and vitality" *(he xingming)* is enclosed in another circle. These three circles represent the *yang* and *yin* energies of the body to the left and the right, and their union in the center. The symbolic crucible of Inner Alchemy is shown in the meditator's abdomen, the place of the lowest of the three "cinnabar fields" *(dantian)*, which Needham defined in this context as centers of "vital internal warmth."[3] The second illustration shows the spinal cord, which is flanked by the kidneys in the lower body; the kidneys are defined as "dragon fire" on the right, a symbol of *yang* energy within the *yin* side of the body, and "tiger water" on the left, a symbol of *yin* energy within

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2b

2a

the *yang* side of the body. The top circle in the second illustration, which corresponds to the composite character "to join endowment and vitality" in the first, encloses the character's "primordial spirit" *(yuanshen)*.

The third image (2a) is called the *Illustration of Bringing Together the Four Symbols.* The animals of the five phases (see cat. no. 9) are shown: the Dark Warrior (an entwined tortoise and snake), representing water and the kidneys on the bottom (north); a red bird, representing fire and the heart on the top (south); a blue-green dragon, representing wood and liver on the left, reading the diagram as if facing the viewer [east];[4] and a white tiger representing metal and the lungs on the right (west). These animals are directed towards the alchemical crucible, here labeled "realized will" *(zhenyi)*. The realized will is explained in the text as "the prime of the trigram *qian* [three unbroken *yang* lines], the mother of the heavens and the earth, the root of *yin* and *yang*, the source of water and fire, the ancestor of the sun and moon, the font of the three materials [the heavens, the earth, and humanity], and the progenitor of the Five Phases."

Finally, the fourth illustration (2b) is called *Illustration of the Marriage of the Dragon and the Tiger;* Needham has already pointed out the sexual connotations of this title.[5] A blue-green dragon, symbol of *yang*, and a white tiger, symbol of *yin*, are shown infusing their energies into the alchemical crucible. A girl dressed in blue-green robes rides the dragon, symbol of *yin* within *yang*, while a white-faced boy rides the tiger, symbol of *yang* within *yin*. These images suggest the trigrams *li* (two unbroken *yang* lines enclosing a broken *yin* line) and *kan* (two broken *yin* lines enclosing an unbroken *yang* line), which represent mercury and lead, the two fundamental elements transformed in the inner alchemical operation.

The origins of this book are obscure, but it quotes several Ming dynasty writers, such as Luo Nian'an (1504–1564), so it can be dated to the late sixteenth century. The copy shown here was made during the first printing of the work in 1615. It is attributed to a disciple of a certain Master Yin, about whom very little is known.

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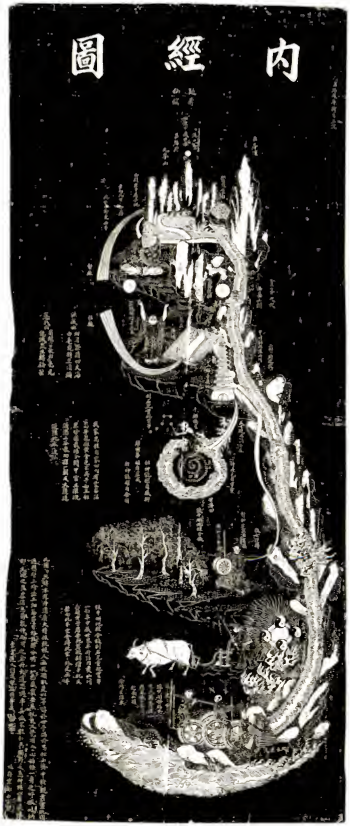

133

Illustration of Inner Circulation

Qing dynasty, 19th century
Ink rubbing; ink on paper
133 × 56 cm
Richard Rosenblum Family Collection,
Newton Center, Massachusetts

THIS RUBBING, entitled *Illustration of Inner Circulation (Neijing tu)*, shows the circulation of bodily energies that create an internal physiological elixir that will give long life, culminating in an ascent to the heavens. It is largely an illustration of two poems, attributed to Lü Dongbin, that are found in their entirety on the left side of the rubbing, and in parts with the specific images they describe.[1]

The rubbing consists of a diagram of the head and torso, seen from the side. The entire diagram is framed on the right by the spinal cord, which connects the lower torso with the cranial cavity. Within the three major sections of the body—the head, the upper torso, and the lower torso, the areas of the three "cinnabar fields" *(dantian)*—complementary images of *yin* and *yang* energy are shown intermingling. Several other images based on inner alchemical principles and visualization techniques can also be seen; of these, the "three passes" of the spinal cord through which energy moves up and down the body—here shown as three gate-towers—are particularly notable.

Beginning in the cranial cavity, there are nine peaks that suggest the "nine palaces" *(jiugong)* of traditional Taoist meditation; these peaks represent the *yang* energy of the upper body. Within these peaks lies a "numinous platform" *(lingtai)* that implies the ultimate goal of alchemy, an audience with representatives of the celestial hierarchy. A stream of "spirit water" *(shenshui)* flows down from these mountains—down the spinal cord—illustrating the idea that "Water flows down from the head and is called 'spirit water,' while realized energy rises from the [lower] cinnabar field and is called 'proper fire.'"[2]

Below the peaks are two dots representing at once the eyes and the sun and moon, symbols of *yang* and *yin* energy. Above the eyes there is a "white-haired old man with eyebrows hanging to the ground"; his robe is covered with stylized versions of the character for long life *(shou)*. This man represents the *yin* alchemical element lead, and may have a secondary association with Laozi.[3] Below this man is a "blue-eyed foreign monk with arms raised to the heavens." This monk represents the *yang*

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alchemical element mercury, and may have a secondary association with either Bodhidharma or Maitreya.[4] The placement of the *yin* image of the old man over the *yang* image of the young monk implies the idea of *yin* within *yang* and *yang* within *yin*, and the reversal of these energies that is part of the inner alchemical process.

The cranial cavity is framed on the left by the *ren* and *du* energy conduits *(muo)*, two of the paths in which energy *(qi)* travels during its circuit through the body. The *du* conduit is the sole conduit that traverses the center of the body from top to bottom, while the *ren* conduit is associated with the womb, giving these conduits a special significance for the inner process.[5]

The middle of the body is dominated by images of the "Weaving Girl" and "Herd Boy" stars, two stars traditionally seen as lovers who meet in the sky once a year. The Weaving Girl represents the kidneys, seat of the element water *(yin)* in the Five Phase system. She sits at a spinning wheel, and a current of energy rises from her to the trachea, shown as a twelve-storied tower that "holds secret explanations." Completing the circuit, a double-current of energy descends from this tower to the Herd Boy, who sits in the middle cinnabar field of the heart, seat of the element fire *(yang)* in the Five Phase system. As Joseph Needham has pointed out, these two images together represent a lesser circulation intermingling the *yin* and *yang* energies of the kidneys and the heart, which corresponds to the greater circulation of the entire body.[6]

The other major internal organs are also indicated in this section by inscriptions, and there are several more symbolic images. Of particular interest is the grove of trees to the side of Weaving Girl. Trees represent the element wood in the Five Phase system, which is associated with the new growth of spring and the rise of *yang* energy from the pinnacle of *yin* in the winter months. Here, however, the proximity of the trees to the Weaving Girl suggests a *yin* correspondence, which brings to mind passages such as "The liver is wood, which flourishes in the west; the lungs are metal, which comes forth from the east—these are the patterns *(li)* of the Five Phases turned upside down."[7] The normal place of wood in the Five Phase system is in the east, while metal is placed in the west; in Inner Alchemy, however, the placement of these elements is reversed in order to refine *yin* and *yang* energies. Moreover, this grove also illustrates a line from one of the poems attributed to Lü Dongbin that talks of "planting golden coins," and in another version of this illustration, the trees are "money trees" that bear coins for fruit.[8] The golden coins of the poem suggest the *yin* element metal, and consequently the grove of trees represents a secondary union of *yang* wood and *yin* metal that corresponds to the primary union of water and fire described above.

Finally, the Herd Boy holds in his hands the Northern Dipper (Ursa Major), a traditional image of the circumpolar zone of the sky; this image strengthens both the connections between the torso and the stellar regions, already implied by the Weaving Girl and Herd Boy, and the centrality of the middle cinnabar field in the heart.

In the very bottom of the rubbing, we see *yin* water representing the trigram *kan*. The inscription to the right reads, "The waters of *kan* flow in reverse." This reversal is accomplished by a boy and girl (*yang* and *yin*, or *yin* lead and *yang* mercury) operating treadmills that drive the water upward. This water rises to become *yang* fire, which joins with the "spirit water" of the cranial cavity, representing the extraction of the unbroken line of the trigram *kan* to replace the broken line of the trigram *li*. These two trigrams are thereby refined into the pure *yang* energy of the trigram *qian* (three unbroken lines), the elixir of Inner Alchemy.

The alchemical operation itself culminates in the alchemical crucible of the lower cinnabar field, which unites water and fire. The elixir is shown as four interlinked *taiji* symbols, which hover over the crucible, emitting rays of *yang* energy.

The "iron ox" *(tieniu)* to the left of the alchemical crucible is an image drawn from the first line of the poem quoted to the left: "The iron ox ploughs the field, planting golden coins." Needham interprets the ox as follows: "The ox [represents] the beast of evil desire which has to be ridden and controlled by Everyman. . . . the ox is the motive power for the circulation of *chhi* [*qi*, energy] and *i* [*yi*, will] in the body."[9] Accordingly, the ox represents the body itself, and the physical and mental inertia of slothfulness which must be overcome to accomplish the alchemical "work."

The rubbing was taken from a carved wooden tablet (now lost) in the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun Guan) that was commissioned by Liu Chengyin and completed in 1886. According to the inscription in the lower left corner, the carving was based on a painting Liu saw in a library on a certain Tall Pine Mountain (Gaosong Shan). Other examples of the same theme exist, including a Qing dynasty color painting done in the painting academy of the imperial palace.[10]

—S. E.

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WEN BOREN (1502–1575)
Spring Dawn at the Elixir Terrace

Ming dynasty, 16th century
Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper
30.1 × 124.8 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

WEN BOREN WAS a nephew of the famous Ming dynasty painter Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), and one of the leading artists of the Wu School of literati painting.[1] His short handscroll entitled *Spring Dawn at the Elixir Terrace* depicts a mountainous landscape, colored in muted ochre and pale blue pigments.[2] The landscape of cliffs and rounded boulders opens at the left with a balustrade-lined path bordering a stream. Beyond a footbridge, the path disappears behind a cliff, only to reappear in the middle of the scroll, where a boy carries a hoe and a basket of purple mushrooms. Among densely foliated deciduous trees, the path, again bounded by a balustrade, disappears once more into the entrance of a cavern. Beyond this, at the top of a narrow ridge, a thatched roof appears. The painting ends with a depiction of a Taoist adept, standing alone on a promontory surrounded by an ocean of clouds, with a pale mountain range visible in the far distance. The object of the adept's attention is a crucible that stands on a rock; in this reaction vessel the elixir is being refined. A jet of vapor shoots upward from the crucible's mouth. The painting is signed, "Sketched by Wufeng Wen Boren."

Actual experiments in laboratory alchemy were in fact rare after the Tang dynasty (618–906), owing in part to the great expense of obtaining and preparing the proper ingredients, and in part to the proliferation of the practices of Inner Alchemy.[3] The greatest phase of true laboratory alchemy appears to have taken place during the Eastern Jin (317–420) and Six Dynasties (420–589) periods. In one of his visions of the Perfected Being Lady Wei Huacun, Yang Xi (330–c. 386) was told of the numinous elixirs that dedicated adepts could hope to create:

> Some will cyclically transform in their furnaces the darksome semen *(you jing)* of cinnabar, or refine by the powder method the purple ichor of gold and jade. The Langgan elixir will flow and flower in thick billows; the Eight Gems *(ba qiong)* will soar in cloudlike radiance. The Crimson Fluid will eddy and ripple as the Dragon Foetus *(long tai)* cries out from its secret place. Tiger-Spittle and Phoenix-Brain, Cloud Langgan and Jade Frost, Lunar Liquor of the Supreme Pole *(Taiji yueli)* and Divine Steel of the Three Rings *(sanhuan linggang)*—if a spatulaful of (one of these) is presented to them, their spiritual feathers will spread forth like

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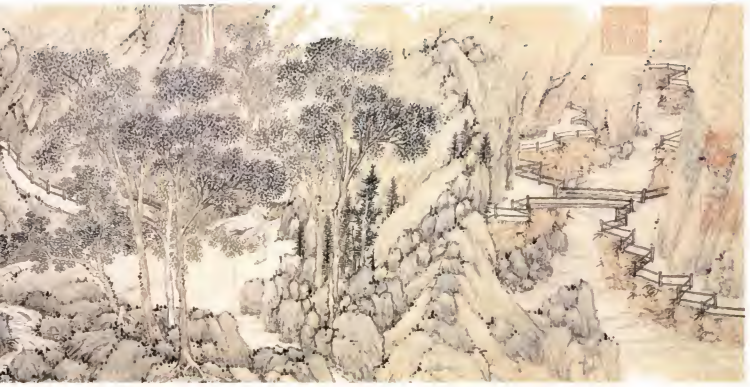

pinions. Then will they (be able to) peruse the pattern figured on the Vault of Space, and glow forth in the Chamber of Primal Commencement.[4]

Depictions of the alchemical process in Chinese painting are surprisingly rare. The earliest known examples date to the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368). A painting in the British Museum attributed to Yan Hui (active late thirteenth–early fourteenth century), for example, depicts three of the Eight Immortals (Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, and Li Tieguai) seated around a crucible in which the elixir is being prepared; cast onto the exterior of the reaction vessel are the Eight Trigrams of the *Book of Changes*, symbolizing the cyclical transformations of *yin* and *yang*.[5] Such images are better known from the Ming dynasty, and survive from the hands of such artists as Qian Gu (1508–1578) and Chen Hongshou (1598–1652), in addition to Wen Boren.[6]

Although it would appear that Wen Boren's painting depicts the alchemical preparation of an elixir, it is more likely that it is a visual metaphor for Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*: the creation of the elixir within the adept's own body through meditation and visualization. The techniques of Inner Alchemy were widely practiced from the Song dynasty (960–1126) onward, largely supplanting experiments in laboratory alchemy. Nonetheless, as Nathan Sivin has pointed out, the language of both Outer (chemical) and Inner (visualized) Alchemy was often interchangeable, and it is frequently difficult to tell from Taoist alchemical texts which technique, or body of techniques, is being referred to.[7] That Wen Boren's handscroll is an allegory of Inner Alchemy is corroborated by the presence of an attached colophon in cursive script, written by the late Ming artist and dramatist Xu Wei (1521–1593).[8] This text is written in the classical language of Inner Alchemy, in which the component aspects of the vital energies *(qi)* within the human body are directed toward the creation of the inner elixir, following the symbolism of *yin* and *yang*, the Five Elements (Phases), and the Eight Trigrams.[9]

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Mirror with Taoist Adept under a Pine Tree

Song dynasty (960–1279)
Bronze
D. 14.6 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

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Mirror with Taoist Adept in Front of a Cavern-Heaven

Yuan dynasty, Zhishun reign, dated 1331
Bronze
D. 19.9 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

THE BACKS OF THESE bronze mirrors are cast with designs depicting Taoist adepts obtaining the alchemical elixir. Similar mirrors have been excavated from sites in both northern and southern China, and include examples dating to the Song (960–1279), Jin (1115–1234), and Yuan (1260–1368) dynasties.[1] The decoration of these mirrors tends to follow a fixed format: an adept sits in contemplation under a pine tree, while an attendant approaches, carrying either a vessel containing an elixir or a tray with peaches or other gifts. The adepts are usually accompanied by such animals as a crane, turtle, or deer. Sometimes an attendant or messenger is shown descending from the sky on a cloud, bearing a vessel or tray; sometimes the attendant emerges from the door of a cavern-heaven (*dongtian;* see cat. no. 148). Like the scene depicted in Wen Boren's *Spring Dawn at the Elixir Terrace* (cat. no. 134), these images appear to be allegories of Inner Alchemy.

The Song dynasty mirror (cat. no. 135) depicts a Taoist adept seated under a pine tree. He wears flowing robes, and has a halo behind his head.[2] In the foreground are a tortoise and crane, both symbols of longevity. On the left side, a figure descends on a cloud and offers the adept a vial, presumably containing an elixir.

The second mirror (cat. no. 136) bears a Yuan dynasty date: "Recorded in the *xinwei* year of the Zhishun reign" (i.e., 1331).[3] A bearded adept is shown at the right, seated on a rock under a pine tree. He is accompanied by a female attendant holding a tray; on the tray is what appears to be a tortoise. To the right, a deer, a male attendant holding a jar emitting beams of light, and a crane emerge from the open door of a cavern-heaven. The deer and the figure carrying the vessel cross a short bridge over a stream and approach the adept. An inscription in a cartouche next to the deer reads "Made by He Dezheng of Zhang Commandery in Hongdu [an old name for Nanchang in Jiangxi province]." A third inscription appears inside the door to the cavern-heaven, and reads *Yujun Changsha,* which may be translated, "Lodging with a lord in Changsha." There are similar mirrors in the Baoji Museum, Shaanxi province; the Museum of East Asian Antiquities in Stockholm; and the Museum for Applied Arts, Frankfurt; these, however, have no inscriptions.

—S. L.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Strickmann 1979a: 132–33.
2. These associations are complicated by the fact that *kan* and *li* include both *yin* and *yang*, so that they can sometimes be represented by symbols of either principle.
3. Although the emphasis on the reconstruction of *qian* which is sometimes apparent in alchemical texts seems to create a bias towards *yang* energy rather than a balance (or integration) of *yang* and *yin*, the complementary reconstruction of *kun* could also be implied. See, in particular, Needham et al. 1983: 47–67.

Cat. no. 128

1. See Kroll 1996a: 149.
2. See, for example, Schipper 1975, and Robinet 1993: 55–96.
3. There are still later commentaries from the Tang dynasty preserved in the Taoist Canon; see Robinet 1993.
4. Schipper 1975.
5. Full title: *Huangting neijing jing*. The first four stanzas of this version of the *Huangting jing* are translated in Kroll 1996a: 152–55.
6. Full title: *Huangting waijing jing*.
7. For an ink rubbing that transmits Yang Xi's version of the text (preserved in Dong Qichang's *Xihong tang fatie*), see Ledderose 1984: fig. 10.
8. For example, see Schipper 1975.
9. The term "outer" can have the connotation of "exoteric," while the term "inner" can signify "esoteric," although these meanings are not necessarily applicable here.
10. Wang Xizhi's original manuscript of the *Huangting jing* was destroyed during the An Lushan rebellion of 755; see Ledderose 1984: 261.
11. Ibid.: 248.
12. Ibid.
13. Holzman 1997: 308.
14. Ledderose 1984.
15. Holzman 1997: 308. Ledderose 1984: 249, has pointed out that over two hundred cinnabar tablets were excavated from the tomb of Wang Xizhi's cousin Wang Danhu, who was buried near Nanjing in 359; for the original excavation report, see Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui 1965.

Cat. no. 129

1. DeWoskin and Crump 1996: 2–3.
2. Strickmann 1966: 1–22.
3. Ibid.: 6.
4. Ibid.: 7.
5. For examples of mushroom cults among the native peoples of Alaska and Mexico, see Rudgley 1993: 68–71, 73–74.
6. Needham et al. 1974: 122–23.
7. Ware 1981: 179.
8. Strickmann 1966: 15.

Cat. no. 130

1. This biography is contained in the *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, *juan* 109. On the *Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals*, see Hu 2000: no. 7.
2. There are similar stories about other alchemy masters from the medieval period; for example, see the *Zhen'gao*, HY 1010, *juan* 5: 8.
3. On the physiological character of Inner Alchemy, see Needham et al. 1983.
4. Pregadio 1995: 155–73, suggests that the *Zhouyi cantong qi* may have had a somewhat more complicated history, beginning as an "apocryphal" (*wei*) commentary to the *Book of Changes*, being reinterpreted as a treatise on outer alchemy in the Six Dynasties, and finally being adopted by theorists of Inner Alchemy in the Tang–Song period.

Cat. no. 131

1. The first seven poems are translated in Kohn 1993: 230–35.
2. See Needham et al. 1983 for a preliminary comparison of Western and Chinese alchemical techniques.
3. Note that this is a reversal of the usual attributions of *kan* and *li*; *kan* is normally associated with *yin*, female, and lead, while *li* is normally associated with *yang*, male, and mercury (see cat. nos. 58–59). This reversal is explained by the *yang* line within the *yin* trigram *kan*, and the *yin* line within the *yang* trigram *li*, which are being represented here to indicate the presence of *yang* within *yin* and *yin* within *yang*.
4. The three-legged toad is a symbol of the Taoist adept Liu Haichan; see below and cat. no. 124.
5. These are ancient symbols of *yin* and *yang*.
6. HY 151.
7. For a study and translation of this work, see Robinet 1995.
8. The first four patriarchs of both lineages, through Liu Haichan, are the same. Supposedly, Wang took the teachings of these patriarchs and established the northern lineage, while Zhang Boduan used their teachings to develop the southern lineage of Inner Alchemy. In actuality, the teachings of Zhang Boduan developed prior to the Complete Realization sect, and the concept of a "southern lineage" was developed by the Complete Realization sect primarily to incorporate the independent alchemical traditions that had developed out of Zhang's teachings during the Song dynasty.

Cat. no. 132

1. Many of these illustrations, including the ones discussed here, are reproduced in Needham et al. 1983.
2. Ibid.: 229.
3. Ibid.: 38.
4. Alternately, the dragon and tiger could be read as reversed symbols indicating *yin* in *yang* and *yang* in *yin*; see ibid.: 58.
5. Ibid.: 104.

Cat. no. 133

1. Wang 1991–92. The poems can be found in HY 1473, *juan* 4: 16 and *juan* 5: 11.
2. HY 149: 13.
3. *Xiuzhen shishu*, HY 263, *juan* 26: 6, Wang 1991–92, and Needham et al. 1983: 116.
4. *Xiuzhen shishu*, HY 263, *juan* 26: 5, Wang 1991–92, and Needham et al. 1983: 116.
5. The achievement of the inner elixir was often likened to the conception of an inner symbolic fetus or child; see cat. no. 131.
6. Needham et al. 1983: 114.
7. HY 149: 14.
8. This alternate version can be found in Wang 1991–92: 143.
9. Needham et al. 1983: 100; see also Wang 1991–92.
10. Despeux 1994: 48. Despeux also discusses the present image, and translates the inscriptions.

Cat. no. 134

1. On Wen Boren, see J. Cahill 1978: 149–51.
2. Previously published in *Changsheng de shijie* 1996: pl. 21.
3. Sivin 1980: 240.
4. Ibid.: 216.
5. Binyon 1927: pl. 31.
6. Qian Gu's *Cinnabar Clouds of Dawn (Danxia tu)* is published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 1: 83, no. 5-008; an unpublished album leaf by Chen Hongshou depicting a Taoist adept seated under a pine tree in front of a blazing crucible is in the Freer Gallery of Art (acc. no. F80.136a). I am grateful to Steven Allee and Jan Stuart for informing me of the existence of this painting.
7. Sivin 1980: 211.
8. On Xu Wei as a painter, see J. Cahill 1978: 159–63.
9. I am grateful to Shawn Eichman for his draft translation of Xu Wei's colophon.

Cat. nos. 135–36

1. For illustrations of representative examples, see Kong and Liu 1992: 736–42, 860–62.
2. In the recent catalogue of mirrors in the Beijing Palace Museum collection, this figure is mistakenly identified as a Buddha; see *Gugong cangjing* 1996: no. 137.
3. Ibid.: 157.

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One of the earliest texts of religious Taoism, the *Scripture of Great Peace (Taiping jing)*, teaches a profound respect for the Earth as a living body. This section of the exhibition catalogue explores the traditional Taoist concept of the natural landscape as sacred and reflecting the inherently divine structure of both the cosmos and the inner human body (i.e., macrocosm and microcosm). The divine correspondence between the outer terrestrial and inner landscape of the human body is a fundamental aspect of Taoist techniques of visualization and Inner Alchemy, and can be seen in such works as the *Illustration of Inner Circulation (Neijing tu;* cat. no. 133), a diagram that originated in the Six Dynasties period (420–589).

This concept of the Earth as a sacred body is often given visual expression in Chinese paintings. The earliest Chinese texts that discuss the theory and practice of landscape painting, for example, emphasize the importance of the artist capturing and conveying the dynamic movement of vital energy *(qi)* that defines and animates the dynamic forms of the earth. The concept of the Earth as sacred is explored here on several levels. First is the concept of the sacred mountain. Mountains are revered throughout Taoist history as places where adepts meditate, pursue alchemy, and encounter immortals and gods. In mountains can be found numinous cavern-heavens *(dongtian)*, mysterious grottoes that are actually gateways to the spirit world. A direct extension of this concept of sacred space is the frequent siting of Taoist temples on or near mountains.

Examples of these concepts of sacred space as illustrated in Chinese painting include Juran's *Seeking the Tao in the Autumn Mountains* (cat. no. 138), Ni Zan's *The Crane Grove* (depicting an outdoor Taoist stone altar; cat. no. 139), Dai Jin's *Seeking the Tao in a Cavern-Heaven* (cat. no. 148), Wen Zhengming's *The Seven Junipers* (a painting of seven trees that are living symbols of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper; cat. no. 147), and a large topographical painting by Guan Huai, a Qing court artist, depicting the Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) sect temple complex at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan) in Jiangxi province (cat. no. 151).

Detail, cat. no. 151

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Illustration of the True Forms of the Five Sacred Peaks

Rubbing from a stone stele at the Taoist Temple of the Central Peak, Mount Song
Ming dynasty, Wanli reign, dated 1604
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
270 × 118 cm
Dengfeng Bureau of Cultural Relics, Henan

TAOIST PRACTITIONERS, and the religious ascetics in China before them, have always had a passion for mountains, rivaled only by that of great nature poets such as Xie Lingyun (385–433). The great patriarch of chemical alchemy Ge Hong (283–343) says the following in his *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity (Baopuzi)*:

> Those who mix medicines, who are avoiding political turmoil or who seek quietude in order to practice the Way, have always gone into the mountains.[1]

However, the very remoteness from civilization that gave mountains their value also made them dangerous places, and Ge Hong continues, "Most of those who do not know the methods for entering mountains encounter troubles and harm." In order to protect themselves from tigers, wolves, and mountain spirits, who would cause tree branches and boulders to fall on unwary travelers and misguide them over precipitous cliffs, Taoists would wear (and sometimes ingest) talismans, believed to imitate the "true forms" *(zhenxing)* of, and thus embody the energy of, the mountains they climbed. These talismans would cause the gods of the mountain to protect their wearer, and lesser spirits to submit to his (or her) commands.

This rubbing was taken from a stone stele kept at the Zhongyue Miao, or Temple of the Central Peak, on Mount Song in Henan province. The temple has a number of stelae illustrating this theme, of which this is the oldest. It shows the "true forms" of the Five Sacred Peaks *(wuyue)* of China. They are as follows: the Eastern Peak of Mount Tai (Shandong province), shown in the upper right, the Southern Peak of Mount Heng (Hunan province), shown in the lower right, the Western Peak of Mount Hua (Shaanxi province), shown in the lower left, the Northern Peak of Mount Heng (Hebei province), shown in the upper left, and the Central Peak of Mount Song (Henan province), shown in the middle. Each "true form" is accompanied by an inscription that tells where the peak is located, which of the Five Planets it corresponds to in the Five Phase system (see cat. no. 17), and what god rules over it. Additional information, such as the most famous classical reference to the peak, the titles given to its god in the Kaiyuan era (713–41) of the Tang dynasty, and the changes made to the titles in the Song dynasty (960–1279), is also included.

Above the talismans there is an inscription dated to 1604, during the Wanli reign (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, by the government official Fang Damei,[2] who served as a Regional Inspector of Henan for the Censorate when this was written. Fang states that the "true forms" of the Five Sacred Peaks were first given to Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty (r. 140–87 B.C.) by the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu). This statement is based on a medieval legend of Emperor Wudi, wherein he was given sacred scriptures by the Queen Mother of the West and the Lady of the Highest Primordial (see cat. nos. 26, 97). He mounted these scriptures on violet brocade with a coral roller, placed them in a gold case and sealed them in a box of white jade. However, Wudi's nature was too violent and lustful to be suited to the Way, and after becoming disappointed with his progress, the Queen Mother caused all the scriptures, and the building in which they were kept, to be burned. Fortunately, the emperor transmitted a copy of the "true forms" of the Five Peaks to his minister Dong Zhongshu, and all later copies derived from this one.[3] While this story resides in the realm of legend rather than historical fact, the "true forms" existed in some shape by the Jin dynasty (265–420), and are mentioned prominently by Ge Hong, who says, "I have heard Master Zheng [Ge's teacher] say that there are no more significant works on the Way than the *Writ of the Three August* and the *Illustration of the True Forms of the Five Peaks*."[4]

The "true forms" of the Five Peaks seen here were common in both China and Japan, and can also be found on later stelae such as one dated to 1682 in Xi'an, of which the Field Museum in Chicago has a rubbing.[5] At the same time, the Ming dynasty Taoist Canon, which was printed over a century before the present stele, preserves an alternate version of the "true forms" of the Five Peaks;[6] the former are more abstract and talismanic, while the latter resemble maps that highlight areas of sacred significance within each peak.

—S. E.

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JURAN (ACTIVE C. 960–80)
Seeking the Tao in the Autumn Mountains

Northern Song dynasty, 10th century
Hanging scroll; ink on silk
156.2 × 77.2 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

JURAN WAS A BUDDHIST MONK active in the tenth century. He worked at the courts of the Southern Tang (923–36) and Northern Song (960–1126) dynasties, in Nanjing and Kaifeng. A pupil of the great landscapist Dong Yuan, Juran became one of the most famous painters in Chinese history. He and his teacher were described as follows by the Northern Song critic Shen Gua (1031–1095) in his *Casual Writings from the Stream of Dreams (Mengqi bitan)* of c. 1090:

> In the Jiangnan area [south of the Yangzi] during the time of the Southern Tang's second ruler [r. 926–34], there was a Director of the Northern Park, Dong Yuan, who excelled in painting and was especially skilled in distant views with autumnal mists. He mainly depicted the real mountains of Jiangnan and did not make brush-drawings of extraordinary heights. After him, the monk Juran of Jianye [Nanjing] followed Yuan's method and fathomed marvelous principles. Generally the brushwork of Yuan and Juran should be viewed at a distance. Their use of the brush is very cursory and if [their paintings are] seen from nearby, they may not seem to resemble the appearance of things; but, if viewed from afar, scenes and objects are clear, and deep feelings and distant thoughts [arise], as if one were gazing on another world.[1]

The title of Juran's *Seeking the Tao in the Autumn Mountains* fully expresses the meaning of this remote and dynamic landscape. Situated in a ravine, sitting under the eave of a thatched dwelling and entertaining a guest, a recluse contemplates the vital energy *(qi)* of the mountains that visibly swirls around his retreat. The landscape in this painting is a symbol of cosmic process, and simultaneously a symbol of the inner spirit-landscape of the human body. "Seeking the Tao" here suggests that the adept is aware of the numinous life-force that creates and gives form to the terrestrial landscape, and of the fact that what seems solid is actually in flux—a flux generated by the flow of *qi* through the earth. These ideas lay at the heart of the Chinese discipline known as *fengshui* (geomancy).

—S. L.

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Ni Zan (1306–1374)
The Crane Grove

Yuan or early Ming dynasty, c. 1360/74
Handscroll; ink on paper
30.5 × 54 cm
China National Museum of Fine Arts (Zhongguo Meishu Guan), Beijing

A native of Wuxi in Jiangsu province in south-central China, Ni Zan was one of the most famous painters in Chinese history.[1] Ni's family was devoted to the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect of religious Taoism. Shortly after his birth, Ni's father died. He was subsequently brought up by his half-brother, Ni Zhaokui (1279–1328), who was closely acquainted with the Taoist adept Zhang Yu (see cat. no. 38) of Mount Mao (Mao Shan) and with the priest Wu Quanjie (see cat. no. 64).[2] Ni Zan spent most of his life during the Mongol-ruled Yuan dynasty (1260–1368). As a young man he was widely admired for his poetry, calligraphy, and painting. As the hold of the Mongols weakened in the 1350s, affluent families like Ni Zan's suffered from exorbitant taxation. To escape this burden, Ni gave his estates and most of his possessions to relatives and friends, and lived for nearly twenty years on a houseboat.

The Crane Grove is dedicated to a Taoist priest of the Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) sect named Zhou Xuanzhen (b. 1328), whose sobriquet was Helin (Crane Grove).[3] This painting is the only surviving work by Ni Zan depicting a Taoist ritual space.[4] At the center of the scroll is a grove of trees with a stone altar *(shi tan)* next to a riverbank. The painting is followed by twenty colophons, including inscriptions by several Yuan scholars and the

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Ming artists Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) and Dong Qichang (1555–1636).[5] These colophons are deeply informed by religious Taoism. The Yuan scholar Zheng Cai, for example, writes:

> Among the sounds of jade chimes, [you] worship Purple Tenuity,[6]
> Wending through the void, the white crane has flown [here] with his flock.
> We know [from this] that the consort of Heng Shan has arrived,[7]
> Is this not the Prince of Mount Gou who has returned?[8]
> Close to Heaven, the Jasper Altar has beckoned him to descend,
> The moon-born pearl trees are scattered with his coming and going.
> One admires you, sir, who have attained the Tao and penetrated boundless space,
> As the five-colored spring clouds cover your robes.[9]

Further evidence that Ni Zan was closely acquainted with Zhou Xuanzhen is provided by a poem in Ni's collected writings, inscribed on a now-lost portrait of the Taoist priest:[10]

> Settling in Perfection in the high halls of Purple Emptiness,[11]
> He rests his phosphor [chariot] in the mysterious palaces of the Utmost Tao.[12]
> His sword reflects the bright moon through jade and pearl trees,
> His belt ornaments make tinkling sounds in the numinous wind of the Seven Star Junipers.
> Led by the Purple Luan [bird] and [sounds of] pan-pipes,
> He is followed by White Jade Lads.
> He is a transformed hermit, manifested like Zuo Yuanfang,[13]
> In summoning demons and spirits, he resembles Qi Shaoweng.[14]
> Exhaling *yang* and inhaling *yin*, he supports primordial creation,
> Enfeoffing mountains and summoning clouds, he employs the God of the Soil.
> Three plucks of his zither and the hundred gods delight,
> The womb-immortal dances in the vastness of the red clouds of dawn.[15]

—S. L./S. E.

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NI ZAN (1306–1374)
The Purple Mushroom Mountain Dwelling

Ming dynasty, c. 1370
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
80.5 × 34.8 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

WHILE UNDATED, this landscape by Ni Zan can be attributed to the final decade of his life.[1] The phrase "purple mushroom" in the painting's title refers to the Four Sages of Mount Shang (see cat. no. 23). These four hermits of the early Han dynasty lived on mushrooms, and one of them, the alchemist Luli, composed a song known as the "Song of the Purple Mushroom." In the Six Dynasties period (420–589), the Four Sages were perceived as Taoist hermits, and are called *xian* (immortals) in Ge Hong's *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity (Baopuzi)*. [2]

In his inscription on this painting, Ni Zan alludes to the purple mushrooms of Luli's song:

> The mountain dwelling faces the Jade Sea,
> . . . the Purple Mushrooms are lustrous.[3]
> Over the clouds, one flies with "duck shoes,"
> In the moon, one hears phoenixes and pipes.
> Wood smoke rises from the stone stove,
> Bamboo and snow are scattered before the columns.
> Who sees noble scholar Chen?
> Serene, he is skilled at nourishing life *(yang sheng)*.[4]

The image of the purple mushroom was common in Yuan poetry written by Taoist scholars. A poem by the adept Yu Ji (1272–1348) that refers to the breathing techniques of Inner Alchemy alludes to the purple mushroom as a symbol of self-realization:

> A thousand years, embracing the subtle respiration,
> Moving together with the sun and the moon;
> Looking forward to the time when I will become a yellow-haired one,
> Daily awaiting the growth of the purple mushroom.[5]

In their apparent simplicity, Ni Zan's landscapes present a world detached from the social turmoil that shook China in the fourteenth century. Ni's cultivation of his moral integrity at a time when intellectuals were faced with difficult political choices made him a cultural hero during his lifetime. His Taoist orientation is apparent from both his collected writings and the friendships he cultivated with Taoist priests and adepts. He was, for example, a good friend of the great landscape painter Huang Gongwang (1269–1354), a Complete Realization (Quanzhen) adept who was an expert in divination and *fengshui* (geomancy).[6]

—S. L.

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Wu Boli (active late 14th–early 15th century)
Dragon Pine

Ming dynasty, late 14th century
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
120.9 × 33.5 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Gift of Douglas Dillon (1984.475.3)

Wu Boli was a Taoist priest who lived in the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties.[1] Active at the headquarters of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect, Wu was closely associated with another Taoist priest of this sect, Fang Congyi (c. 1301–after 1378), whose work is also represented in this exhibition (cat. no. 143). Both Wu and Fang lived in the Highest Purity Palace (Shangqing Gong); this temple is depicted as it appeared in the eighteenth century in Guan Huai's topographical painting of Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan; cat. no. 151). In 1406 Wu Boli was ordered by the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–24) to accompany the Forty-third Celestial Master *(tianshi)*, Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), to search for the immortal Zhang Sanfeng at Mount Wudang (Wudang Shan) in Hubei province.

As a painter Wu Boli specialized in scenes of withered trees, bamboo, and stones. While unsigned, Wu's *Dragon Pine* bears one of the artist's seals. As Chiang I-han has shown in his study of this scroll, Wu's painting reflects the clear influence of the tenth-century masters Dong Yuan and Juran (see cat. no. 138).

This scroll bears an inscription at the top by the Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu. In addition to being the leading Taoist cleric in China during the early Ming dynasty, Zhang was a prolific artist, famous for his paintings by the age of fifteen.[2] Among the collectors' seals on the scroll is the "half-seal" used as an inventory mark during the early Ming reign of Hongwu (1368–98).

The ancient pine tree of Wu Boli's painting is a symbol of longevity, and of the Tao itself. Like the dragon, and similarly symbolizing the *yang* element, it exists in proximity to water, symbolizing *yin*. As Wen Fong has shown, the powerful animation of the tree brings to mind the description of a pine tree by the tenth-century landscapist Jing Hao:

> Among the trees, one had grown to occupy a huge area by itself. Its aged bark was covered with green lichen. It looked as if it were a flying dragon riding the sky, or as if it were a coiling dragon aiming at reaching the Milky Way.[3]

—S. L.

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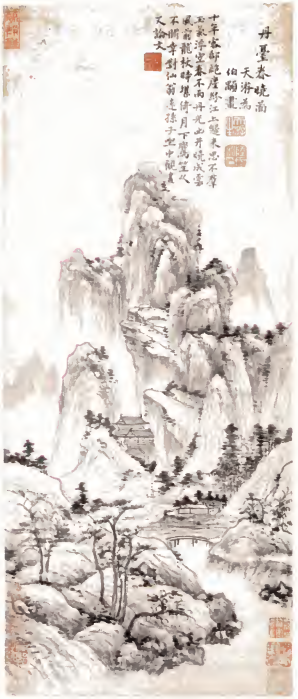
142

Lu Guang (c. 1300–after 1371)
Spring Dawn at the Cinnabar Terrace

Ming dynasty, c. 1369
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
61.3 × 26 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift (1982.2.2)



Lu Guang's small hanging scroll depicts a Taoist temple in a mountainous landscape. Recent research suggests that the painting depicts Mount Mao (Mao Shan), an ancient Taoist center near Nanjing in Jiangsu province.[1] Painted in dry monochrome ink, the scroll depicts a towering mountain peak with lesser peaks to either side, at the base of which is a Taoist temple. The "cinnabar terrace" of the painting's title probably refers to the slanted terrace just below the tall central peak. On this terrace, enclosed by a low fence or balustrade, is an outdoor Taoist altar. This type of altar appears in several other paintings of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, including works by Ni Zan and Shao Mi.[2] The character *dan* in the title can mean both cinnabar and elixir. Furthermore, it is likely that the title refers not to the chemical refining of the elixir of immortality, but to Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*, in which the internal energies of the adept's own body are channeled through visualization to create the "inner" elixir.

The artist's inscription, written at the upper right, reads:

> Picture of "Spring Dawn at the Cinnabar Terrace," painted by Tianyu [Lu Guang] for Boyong.
>
> Ten years I stayed in guest houses, cut off from the dust and disorder [of the world].
> On the river, returning home, I think of solitude.
> Jade vapors *[yu qi]* float in the Void, in the Spring there is no rain,
> The elixir's glow emerges from the well, becoming clouds at dawn.[3]
> In the wind, from time to time I lean on a dragon staff,
> Under the moon, [I hear] the Luan [bird] and *sheng* [pipes], sounds I haven't heard for a long time.
> Rejoicing, I face the old immortal, far away from family.
> Seated in their midst, we examine paintings and discuss literature.

While little is known about Lu Guang's own beliefs with regard to religious Taoism, he is known to have painted this subject more than once, suggesting that, like his contemporaries Huang Gongwang (1269–1354) and Ni Zan (1306–1374), he was aware of and may have practiced the Taoist techniques of Inner Alchemy.[4]

—S. L.

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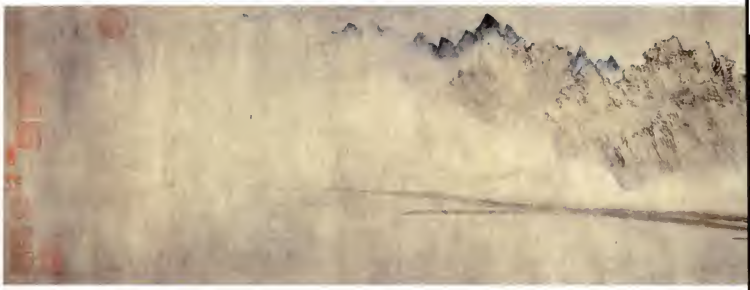

143

FANG CONGYI (C. 1301–AFTER 1378)
Cloudy Mountains

Yuan dynasty, c. 1360
Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper
26.1 × 144.5 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange (1973.121.4)

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Fang Congyi was a Taoist priest of the Highest Purity Palace (Shangqing Gong) at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan; see cat. no. 151), the headquarters of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect in Jiangxi province.[1] Although he spent most of his life at Dragon and Tiger Mountain, he worked briefly in Dadu (Beijing) in the 1330s. His nickname was Fanghu (Square Jar), the name of one of the isles of the immortals in the eastern sea (see cat. no. 149). He was known to and admired by many of the leading literati of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), including such figures as Song Lian (1310–1381), who wrote several colophons on his paintings.[2] Fang was one of several Yuan Taoist priests who were also painters; among these were the Celestial Master Zhang Yucai (*r.* 1295–1316) and Deng You (*c.* 1300–after 1378), a monk who trained at Dragon and Tiger Mountain and later served as abbot of a Taoist temple in Wenzhou, Zhejiang.[3]

Contemporary accounts of Fang Congyi hint at his deeply religious and cultivated persona. The scholar Wei Su (1303–1372), who knew Fang, wrote in a colophon on one of his works:

> Fanghu studied the Tao at Dragon and Tiger Mountain. Undefiled by worldly dust, the workings of his mind are superior. Often he paints landscapes which have an extraordinary flavor. Wuyi, Kuanglu, Heng, Tai, Huabuzhu, these are all mountains which he frequently depicted for me. As for the Immortal Cliffs, it is the place where he habitually sits and passes his leisure time. Moreover, this man voyages beyond the world and is unfathomable. When inspired, he gives spontaneously without even asking your name; otherwise, he will not produce one stroke.[4]

Another Yuan scholar, Li Cun (1281–1354), wrote:

> Fanghu's brush pursues the state of immortality. Accordingly, it gives shape to the shapeless, and returns that which has shape to shapelessness. That this can be done in painting must indeed be the ultimate achievement of art. If Fanghu were not himself an immortal, could he have done this?[5]

Fang Congyi's *Cloudy Mountains*, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has been described as "among the most spectacular of Fang's extant works."[6] Beginning with a densely textured spit of land with lush trees and rounded masses of earth, with the elegant roofs of a temple visible at the right, the painting proceeds to depict a long mountain range that turns and twists like a dragon flying through space, only to dissolve completely into empty mist at the end of the scroll. As several scholars have observed, this work strikingly conveys the subtle transformations of solid matter into vital energy (*qi*) and vital energy into solid matter that characterize the workings of the natural world. As Richard Barnhart has written, speaking of another work by Fang, "This kind of almost tangible sense of ongoing process intertwining the natural world, man, and artistic creation might be thought of as the unspoken, underlying meaning of all Yuan scholar-painting, but few succeeded better than Fang Congyi in giving it vivid, direct visual expression."[7]

—S. L.

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144

CHEN RUYAN (C. 1331–1371)
Mountains of the Immortals

Yuan dynasty, late 14th century
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
33 × 102.9 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. A. Dean Perry (1997.95)

CHEN RUYAN'S handscroll presents a classic illustration of an immortals' paradise, as conceived by Taoists from at least the Six Dynasties period onward. Comprising a range of mountains painted in the blue-and-green *(qinglü)* style, the painting depicts a realm far from the dusty world. At the upper right a red-walled Taoist temple nestles in a steeply ascending valley. In a clearing, a realized being *(zhenren)* sits on a carpet next to a *qin* zither and *lingzhi* mushrooms, while watching a young attendant who dances with two cranes. Toward the end of the scroll, two immortal figures walk in another clearing, among auspicious animals and numinous plants. In the air above, another immortal flies on the back of a crane. Waterfalls and clouds are evidence of the mountains' breath, or *qi*.

The presence of azurite (blue) and malachite (green) pigments in the painting alludes both to antique styles of painting and to Taoist elixirs, for both minerals were used in elixirs from at least the Six Dynasties period onward.[1]

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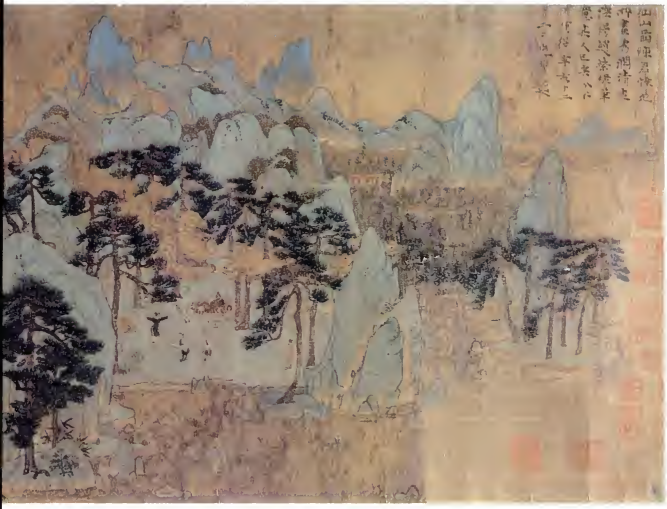

Chen Ruyan lived for most of his life in Suzhou, Jiangsu province.[2] He was a close friend of Ni Zan (1306–1374) and Wang Meng (1308–1385), both of whom were known for their Taoist images (Ni Zan and his family were also supporters of religious Taoism).[3] When the rebel Zhang Shicheng took control of Suzhou toward the end of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), Chen Ruyan served as a military advisor to Pan Yuanming, Zhang's brother-in-law. After Zhu Yuanzhang established the Ming dynasty in 1368, Chen traveled to the new capital, Nanjing, and accepted an official post as registrar *(jinglu)* of Jinan, Shandong province. Due to an unknown offense, Chen Ruyan was executed in the autumn of 1371.

The Cleveland handscroll is unsigned, but bears an inscription by Ni Zan at the upper right:

> *Mountains of the Immortals* was painted by Master Chen Weiyun [Chen Ruyan]. In its rich elegance and pure detachment, he has profoundly captured the brush-spirit of Zhao Ronglu [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322]. Who else could have done this? Now one can no longer obtain [his works]. On the second day of the twelfth month of the year *xinhai* [1371], inscribed by Ni Zan.

Ni's allusion to the works of Zhao Mengfu as the model for Chen Ruyan's painting is born out by such blue-and-green style landscapes by Zhao as *The Mind-Landscape of Xie Youyu* in the Princeton University Art Museum.[4]

Mountains of the Immortals was Chen Ruyan's best-known painting from the early Ming dynasty onward.[5] The scroll bears seals of Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590), Zhu Zhichi (late Ming dynasty), Liang Qingbiao (1620–1691), Gao Shiqi (1645–1704), and Lu Xinyuan (1834–1894).[6]

—S. L.

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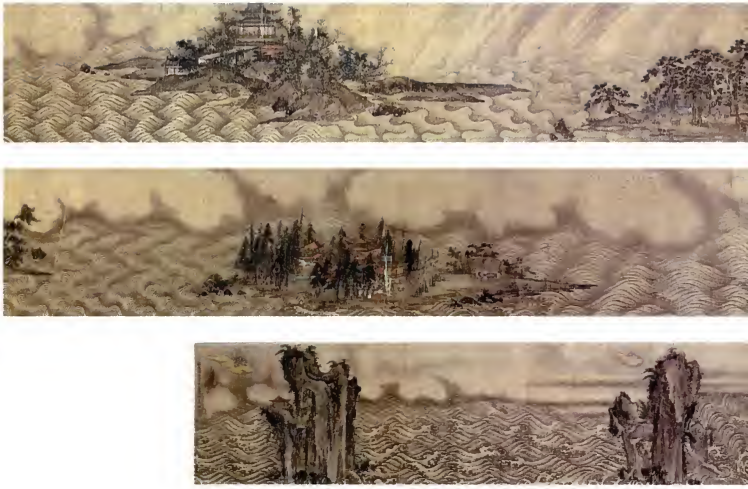

145

PUGUANG (ACTIVE C. 1286–1309)
Isles of the Blessed

Yuan dynasty, late 13th/early 14th century
Handscroll; ink and colors on silk
31.5 × 970 cm
Kaikodo, New York

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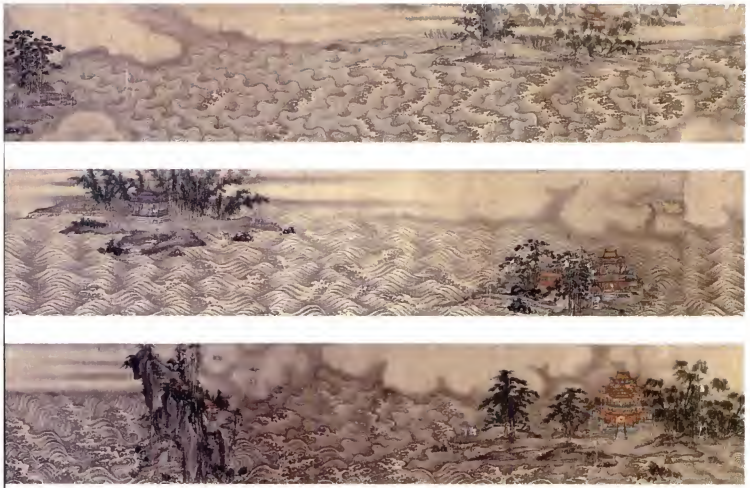

PUGUANG'S *ISLES OF THE BLESSED* depicts an ocean, the mysterious waves of which are alternately tempestuous and calm. Scattered over the surface of the ocean is a chain of islands. The first seven float like rafts on the water, while three at the end, with sheer, unapproachable cliffs, are firmly anchored in the depths. The latter almost certainly represent the immortals' islands known as Fanghu, Yingzhou, and Penglai.[1] Temples and palaces inhabited by Taoist adepts appear on each island. The first seven islands may represent the human realm, while the last three comprise the realm of the perfected beings *(zhenren)* who approach the islands flying on cranes and clouds.

The ocean in this painting is a symbol of transformation. In Taoist thought, change is the fundamental nature of reality. This belief provides the intellectual underpinnings of the ancient *Book of Changes (Yi jing)*, the visual symbolism of which was adopted by Taoism as a way of illustrating the transformations of *yin* and *yang*, symbolized here by the constantly shifting patterns of the waves.[2]

Puguang was a Buddhist monk from Datong, Shanxi province. He was born during the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and died in the early Yuan dynasty (1260–1368). He knew both Wanyan Shou (1172–1232), a Jin prince and painter, and the painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322).[3] Like Zhao, he served as a scholar-official in the early Yuan government. He was particularly famous as a calligrapher.

This handscroll is signed, "Puguang, Chief Academician in the Zhaowen Academy, made in the Moon Pool Meditation Hall." The scroll is characteristic of early Yuan paintings in the lineage of the Southern Song court painter Ma Yuan (active early thirteenth century). Comparison with Ma's *Views of Water* album in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and the *Sketches of Water* attributed to Ma in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, confirms an early Yuan date for the scroll, as Howard Rogers has shown.[4]

—S. L.

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146

LENG QIAN (ACTIVE 14TH CENTURY)
Mount Boyue

Yuan dynasty, Zhizheng reign, dated 1343
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
84.4 × 41.4 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

LENG QIAN WAS A Taoist master and musician of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), and was closely acquainted with the Moslem poet Sadula and the statesman Liu Ji.[1] During the reign of the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368–98), Leng was appointed to the post of Chief Musician in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.[2]

Leng Qian's *Mount Boyue* is one of the earliest surviving travel paintings known in the history of Chinese painting.[3] Painted in dry and heavily textured ink on paper, the work depicts the convoluted landscape of the Yellow Mountains (Huang Shan) in Anhui province (despite its title, which refers to a nearby mountain, also in Anhui). The painting records a trip Leng Qian and Liu Ji took to this geologically fantastic region of Anhui in 1343. Leng's own inscription on the scroll reads in part:

> Onward we went in successive stages for several tens of *li*, and we began to catch sight of Tianmen [the Gate of Heaven, a notch between two slopes of the peak known as Tiandu, the Peak of the Heavenly Citadel, in the Yellow Mountains]. We paid homage to the sacred images and gazed with enjoyment at mountains and rivers. . . . Far-off peaks rose, one above the other, piercing the clouds and joining the heavens. Forest groves spread out before them. I asked one of the locals (what it was) and he answered, Huang Shan. It could be reached in a day's journey, so we set out upon the trek. Along the way we encountered strange pines and wondrous rocks; lofty, majestic peaks and cliffs; flying waterfalls and bubbling streams; . . . emaciated monks and strange beasts; monkey chattering and bird calls. (All of these) lay in my heart and took hold of my imagination. Creeping vines led us to the summit of the mountain. (There was) the Yangzi River all in a ribbon with Jinling [Nanjing] clearly evident. There were great expanses to the north and south, in all directions it was remote and untamed, entirely screened off from my vision. Liu said, "Up ahead we would stray into the mountains of the immortals" *(xian shan)*.[4]

In Leng's painting, the actual voyage through the landscape is translated into a single fixed view, yet one that is simultaneously full of dynamic movement. The transition between the human world and the realm of the realized adepts implied in Liu Ji's remark quoted in Leng's inscription recalls the similar transformations of the world described in such ancient texts as Sun Chuo's (320–377) account of ascending the Tiantai Mountains. As Richard Mather has written:

> The "Poetic Essay on Roaming in the Tiantai Mountains" is, at one level, a record of the poet's mystical experience of identity with the non-actual reality embodied in mountains and streams. Much of it is, of course, vivid physical description of the ascent of one of China's most scenic mountains. . . . But the metaphysical level is unmistakably present. After a brief preface, the essay proper begins with a general statement of the Great Void (Taixu) and its manifold activity within the natural world. It proceeds to a specific location of the Tiantai Range in space—in "magic Yue," then clearly implies that its ascent leads beyond space and time.[5]

At the top of the ascent, the poet is "within the realm of Taoist immortals" and "in perfect accord with the Tao."[6] The significance of both Sun Chuo's prose-poem and Leng Qian's painting rests on the ancient Chinese view of certain mountains as sacred pivots that connect Heaven and Earth. This perception certainly characterized the Yellow Mountains of Anhui depicted in Leng's painting, said to be the site where the Yellow Emperor ascended to immortality.

—S. L.

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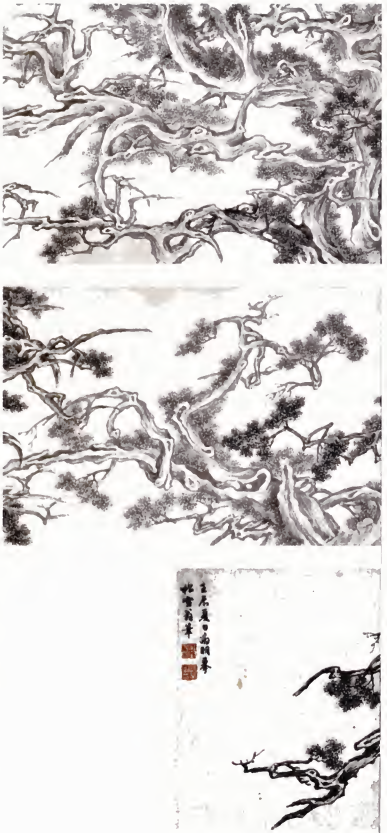
Wen Zhengming (1470–1559)
The Seven Junipers (The Seven Stars)

Ming dynasty, Jiajing reign, dated 1532
Handscroll; ink on paper
22.8 × 362 cm
The Honolulu Academy of Arts, Gift of Mrs. Carter Galt, 1952 (1666.1)



Wen Zhengming's topographical handscroll depicts seven juniper trees planted in the year 500 (Liang dynasty) on the grounds of the Zhidao Guan, a Taoist temple in Changshu (Yu-shan), Jiangsu province.[1] It is clear from the poem written at the end of the scroll that the seven ancient trees were perceived as Taoist immortals, and as representations of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, the most powerful constellation in Taoist cosmology. Like his teacher Shen Zhou (1427–1509), Wen chose to depict only the upper portions of the trees.[2] In the painting, the junipers writhe across the surface of the paper, the trunks and branches interlocked. The brushwork is dry and scumbled, with occasional passages of wet ink wash and dense dotting. In its contorted, twisting movements, this work is one of Wen Zhengming's boldest compositions.

The long poem inscribed by Wen Zhengming after the painting does not appear among Wen's collected literary works, but is recorded in the *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1725) as being by Huang Yun, a native of Kunshan and contemporary of Wen Zhengming.[3] In this poem, the seven junipers are described as being planted by realized beings *(zhenren)*, taking "the form of the Dipper," and being "arranged like an immortal's altar." The relationship between the trees and the Northern Dipper is clearly stated; on one level, the trees are representatives on earth of the stars of the Northern Dipper, also known as the "seven primes" *(qi yuan;* see cat. no. 78). With their strange, ancient shapes, the trees are compared to "leviathans *(kun)* transformed, soaring through the sea, or the *Peng* bird quickly striking" (an allusion to the *Zhuangzi*), and to "the jade trees of Penglai (one of the three islands of the immortals in the eastern sea)." The scroll has a colophon by Chen Daofu (1483–1544), also written in 1532.

Wen Zhengming's painting is remarkable for its realistic depiction of the Seven Junipers of Changshu, which still stand today in the temple precincts of the Zhidao Guan. In a Taoist context, the trees are powerful symbols of the divine realm of the heavens, and of such human virtues as moral integrity.

—S. L.

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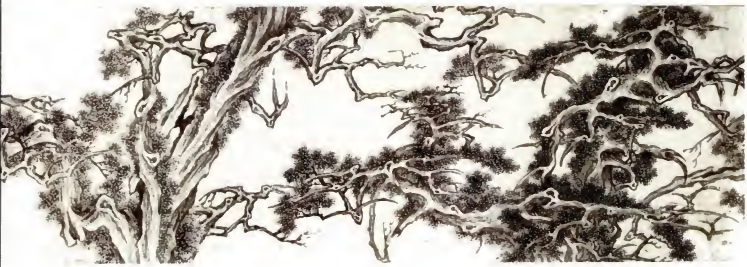

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148

DAI JIN (1388–1462)
Seeking the Tao in a Cavern-Heaven

Ming dynasty, 15th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
210.5 x 83 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

DAI JIN WAS ONE of the great professional Zhe School masters of early Ming painting. His painting gives visual form to the ancient Taoist belief in numinous caverns that penetrate within sacred mountains, and that function as gateways to paradise and the realm of the Tao.[1] In the painting, an adept ascends a path among tall pines and towering cliffs toward the entrance of a cavern-heaven *(dongtian)*.[2] The figure has a Taoist cap on his head, visible under his translucent cowl. Within the grotto's opening, a balustrade-lined pathway disappears into the mist. Such scenes are commonly encountered in traditional Chinese painting. In addition to representing a real or idealized space, the cavern-heaven can also represent the sacred interior space of the adept's own body, as visualized through the techniques of Inner Alchemy *(neidan)*.[3]

Although the system of Ten Great Cavern-Heavens and Thirty-six Lesser Cavern-Heavens was codified by the Taoist master Du Guangting (850–933) in the late Tang dynasty, a system of such numinous caverns already existed in the earliest revelations of the Highest Purity (Shangqing) school in the fourth century.[4] Du wrote in the preface to his *Record of Cavern-Heavens, Blessed Places, Ducts, Peaks, and Great Mountains* (*Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji*; A.D. 901):

> When Heaven and Earth divided and the clear [ethers *(qi)*] separated from the turbid, they fashioned the great rivers by melting and the lofty mountains by congealing. Above they laid out the stellar mansions, below they stored the grotto-heavens. The affairs of each of these being administered by great sages and superior Perfected, they contain divine palaces and spirit residences, jade halls and gold terraces: soaring structures of congealed clouds, formed from solidified ether.[5]

Dai Jin's *Seeking the Tao in a Cavern-Heaven* symbolizes both the veneration of cavern-heavens in the terrestrial landscape and the adept's inner spiritual journey toward achieving the Tao *(cheng dao)*.

—S. L.

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Wang Yun was a professional painter active in Yangzhou, Jiangsu province, during the Kangxi (1662–1722) and Yongzheng (1723–35) reigns. His depiction of the island known as Fanghu (Square Jar) is one of the finest known depictions of this mythical Taoist paradise.[1] Also known as Fangzhang, Fanghu was one of the sacred islands sought by the first emperor of the Qin dynasty (r. 247–09 B.C.), who longed to become one of the perfected *(zhenren)*. The *Records of the Historian (Shiji)* by Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 B.C.) records that a *fangshi* (magician) named Xu Fu, from the state of Qi (in modern Shandong province), convinced the emperor to fund an expedition to find the three "divine islands" *(shen shan)* in the eastern sea.[2] These islands were called Penglai, Fangzhang (Fanghu), and Yingzhou, and were inhabited by immortals *(xian)*.

Fanghu is also mentioned in the *Liezi*, a text attributed to the philosopher of the same name (who lived c. 400 B.C.) that was designated a Taoist classic in the eighth century:[3]

> Within it [the eastern ocean] there are five mountains, called Daiyu, Yuanjiao, Fanghu, Yingzhou, and Penglai.[4] These mountains are thirty thousand miles high, and as many miles round; the tablelands on their summits extend for nine thousand miles. It is seventy thousand miles from one mountain to the next, but they are considered close neighbors. The towers and terraces upon them are all gold and jade, the beasts and birds are all unsullied white; trees of pearl and garnet always grow densely, flowering and bearing fruit which is always luscious, and those who eat of it never grow old and die. The men who dwell there are all of the race of immortal sages *(xian sheng)*, who fly, too many to be counted, to and from one mountain to another in a day and a night.[5]

Wang Yun's painting depicts Fanghu rising from an ocean roiling with waves. Surrounded by mysterious vapors, the island is dotted with numinous trees and vegetation, immortals' palaces, and caverns from which waterfalls descend. The mountain is painted with pale blue and green pigments, with pale pink blossoms among the trees. The palace buildings are painted green and red, with gold roofs.[6] At the upper left is a short inscription by the painter, which includes the title *Painting of Fanghu* and the date: "Painted for Helao the Taoist, in a summer month of the year *jimao* [1699], copying a Song [dynasty] artist's original."

—S. L.

149

Wang Yun (1652–1735 or later)
The Fanghu Isle of the Immortals

Qing dynasty, Kangxi reign, dated 1699
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
142 × 60.3 cm
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Fortieth Anniversary Memorial Acquisition Fund (F75-43)

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150

YUAN YAO (ACTIVE 1739–80)
Autumn Moon over the Dew Terrace

Qing dynasty, Kangxi reign, dated 1721
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
215 × 137 cm
Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne (A89.1)

YUAN YAO'S ELEGANT PAINTING depicts the imperial Jianzhang palace of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), built in the year 104 B.C. by Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.).[1] Seen bathed in moonlight, a prominent feature is the tall marble terrace at the upper right, topped by a bowl designed to catch dew. Known as the Dew Terrace (Lutai), this structure reflected the belief that an emperor's virtuous reign would be acknowledged by Heaven, which would send down "sweet dew" as a sign of its approval. One of the earliest mentions of this concept is in chapter thirty-two of the *Daode jing,* attributed to Laozi:

> The Tao is constant, but has no name (= fame);
> Although the Uncarved Block is subtle (= small, minute),
> In Heaven and Earth, all submit to it.
> If barons and kings would but possess themselves of it,
> The ten thousand creatures would flock to do them homage;
> Heaven and Earth would conspire to send Sweet Dew.[2]

Mindful of such models, and as a public mark of his virtue, Emperor Wu of the Han built the Dew Terrace within his palace grounds, to demonstrate Heaven's acknowledgment of his right to rule. Similarly, the appearance of mysterious vapors, spontaneously generated by the sky, was recorded during the reign of Han Guangwu, when the emperor carried out the Feng ritual of legitimation on Mount Tai, in Shandong province, in A.D. 56.[3] In mirror inscriptions of the Six Dynasties period, Taoist feathered beings were said to live on dew, and the image of auspicious dew descending from heaven was associated with Taoist sacred sites as late as the Ming dynasty. In the poem attached to Wen Zhengming's *The Seven Junipers (The Seven Stars)* handscroll (cat. no. 147), for example, sweet dew was said to descend to the temple site because of the presence of the sacred juniper trees, which functioned as a natural altar.

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GUAN HUAI (ACTIVE LATE 18TH CENTURY)
Taoist Temples at Dragon and Tiger Mountain

Qing dynasty, late 18th century
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
86.9 × 285.7 cm
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Shane and Marilyn Wells (M.87.269)

THIS LARGE HANGING SCROLL depicts the headquarters of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) sect at Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu Shan), Jiangxi province. Painted in the late eighteenth century by the court painter Guan Huai, this idealized view may have been commissioned on the occasion of an imperially funded renovation of the temples. Legend states that in the late Han dynasty (second century), the first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling, refined the elixir of immortality at this site. In the late Tang dynasty, the mountain was listed as one of the "Seventy-two Blessed Plots" *(fudi)* or sacred Taoist sites in China by Du Guangting (850–933).[1] The association of the mountain with the Orthodox Unity sect and the hereditary Celestial Masters can be securely traced to no earlier than the late Southern Song dynasty (thirteenth century).[2] The site was continually occupied as the headquarters of the Zhengyi sect from the Song dynasty until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion.[3] Even after its renovation in the late nineteenth century, the site was again destroyed after 1949, with the coming to power of the Communists under Mao Zedong. It has only recently been renovated again, and today flourishes as one of the most important Taoist sites in China.

Guan Huai's painting depicts Dragon and Tiger Mountain from a bird's-eye-view perspective. Its meticulous technique reveals the influence of both the early Qing dynasty Orthodox School of painting and Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining; 1688–1766), the Italian Jesuit priest who was one of the most popular painters at the courts of the Yongzheng (r. 1723–35) and Qianlong (r. 1736–95) emperors. The temple buildings, with their red columns and orange walls, provide a vibrant contrast to the surrounding landscape, which is painted in ink and pale washes of ochre and green pigment. Blue, green, lavender, white, and yellow foliage appears throughout the scroll. The painting is signed at the lower left: "Respectfully painted by [your] servant *(chen)*, Guan Huai." Numerous topographical features and buildings within the painting are labeled in carefully inscribed standard script characters. The name Longhu Shan (Dragon and Tiger Mountain), for example, is written on the tall peak at the upper left.

Two temple complexes appear in a mountainous landscape, with a river meandering in the foreground. The buildings of each complex rest on marble platforms or foundations. The first complex, at the right, labeled on the detached gate bordering the river as the Supreme Highest Purity Palace, comprises three main halls within a walled enclosure. This temple is said to have first been built in the late Tang dynasty (ninth century), when it was called the Perfected Immortal Monastery.[4] It underwent renovations in the Northern Song (960–1126), Yuan (1260–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, and was given the name Supreme Highest Purity Palace (Tai Shangqing Gong) in 1687, during the reign of Kangxi (1662–1722). The temple's inner gate is labeled "Dragon and Tiger Gate." In sequence, the three main buildings are labeled "Treasure Hall of the Three Purities," "Perfected Wind Hall," and "Pavilion of Jade Perfection." The second temple complex, at the far left, is

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labeled "Monastery of Orthodox Unity" (Zhengyi Guan) on the outer gate. The three main halls of this complex are labeled "Hall of the Numinous Official," "Column Base of the Immortal Lineage," and "Pavilion of the Jade Emperor."

As is typical of sacred Taoist sites, many topographical features around the two temple complexes are also labeled. Along the top of the scroll, a slowly rising hill at the upper right is labeled "Heavenly Response Mountain," near the top of which is an enclosure with a gate, two pavilions, and a cave entrance. The gate is labeled "Hut of Quiet Understanding," the second pavilion "Crane Returning Pavilion," and the domed cave entrance "Cavern Where the Perfected Being Empty Quietude *[Xijing zhenren]* Refined the Elixir." A peak to the upper right of the second temple complex is labeled "Guanyin Summit," a reference to the Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion, while a nearby waterfall is labeled "Horse-tail Water[fall]." Other topographical features in the lower half of the painting include (from right to left) "Dragon Well Mountain," "Prior Heaven Mountain," "Pond of the Seven Stars" (a reference to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper), "Pond of Heavenly Unity," and "Cloud-embroidered Stone." Finally, just near the summit of Longhu Shan, is a cavern entrance labeled "Cavern Where the Perfected Being [Zhang] Daoling Refined the Elixir."

Little is known about Guan Huai, the painter of this scroll. He was a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, who in 1780 passed the *jinshi* civil service examination.[5] Guan eventually rose to the rank of Vice-Minister of the Board of Rites *(libu shilang)*. He excelled at literary composition and landscape painting, in which he worked closely with Dong Gao (1740–1818), another court painter of the late Qianlong period.

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Notes

Cat. no. 137

1. HY 1177, *juan* 17.
2. Fang's dates are unknown, but he obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1586. He was a native of Zhili (modern Hebei province).
3. This legend is recounted in HY 292, which may date to as early as the fifth century; see also Schipper 1965.
4. HY 1177, *juan* 19.
5. Published in Munakata 1991: 113.
6. For example, see HY 441.

Cat. no. 138

1. Translated by Roderick Whitfield in Bush and Shih 1985: 119.

Cat. no. 139

1. On Ni Zan, see Wang 1967: 15–46.
2. *Yuan si dajia* 1975: 25–26. As Wai-kam Ho has shown, Ni Zan's elder brother "was officially head of the prefectural diocese [of the Zhengyi sect] carrying the imperially consecrated title, *Xuanzhong zhenren* [Perfected Being within Mystery]." See Ho 1968: 111 n. 136.
3. Zhou Xuanzhen was a native of Jiahe, Zhejiang province. He studied to be a Taoist priest at the Purple Emptiness Monastery (Zixu Guan) in Jiaxing, Zhejiang province. In his later years, he moved to the Utmost Tao Monastery (Zhidao Guan) in Changshu, Jiangsu province. In the early Ming dynasty, he was summoned by Ming Taizu to the imperial court in Nanjing; see Min 1994: 672.
4. Previously published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 1986–98, vol. 1: 36, no. 3-003.
5. Other colophons are by Wen Peng (1498–1573), Wen Jia (1501–1583), Mo Shilong (active c. 1552–87), and Cheng Zhengkui (active c. 1630–74).
6. Purple Tenuity (Ziwei) is the name of both the circumpolar zone of the sky (the Purple Tenuity Palace, or Ziwei Gong) and a Taoist god; see cat. no. 76.
7. Heng Shan (Mount Heng), in Hunan province, is the southernmost of the Five Sacred Peaks.
8. The Prince of Mount Guo[shi] was Wang Ziqiao, a famous immortal said to have lived during the reign of King Ling (r. 571–545 B.C.) of the Zhou dynasty. Wang ascended to immortality on the back of a crane from Mount Goushi, near Mount Song (Song Shan) in Henan province. See Kaltenmark 1987: 109–14.
9. Numinous "five-colored clouds" are often signs in Taoist contexts of auspicious and divine portents; see cat. nos. 110–11. This poem is transcribed in Zhao 1998: 77.
10. QBQQJ: 415.
11. This is a reference to the Purple Emptiness Monastery (Zixu Guan) in Jiaxing, Zhejiang province.
12. This is the Utmost Tao Monastery (Zhidao Guan) in Changshu, Jiangsu, home of the famous Seven Junipers (Seven Stars) painted by Wen Zhengming in 1532 (cat. no. 147).
13. This refers to Zuo Ci, a *fangshi* (magician) at the court of Cao Cao in the Three Kingdoms period; see DeWoskin 1983: 83–86. Zuo Ci was famous for his ability to transform himself into different creatures and to vanish through walls.
14. A reference to Li Shaojun of the state of Qi (in Shandong), a *fangshi* at the court of the Han emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.).
15. The last two lines are an allusion to lines 6–7 of the *Inner Scripture of the Yellow Court (Huangting neijing jing)*, a text often recited by Zhou Xuanzhen in his last years:

> Three plucks of the zither heart causes the womb-immortal to dance,
> The Nine Energies are translucently clear, emerging from between the mists.

Cat. no. 140

1. Previously published in *Yuan si dajia* 1975: no. 308.
2. Ware 1981: 104, 273. The Four Sages of Mount Shang are often presented as model Confucian hermits, but that they were perceived as models of Taoist self-cultivation is further suggested by their presence in a Song dynasty (960–1279) monochrome ink handscroll in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting a Taoist paradise populated by immortals; see Lawton 1973: no. 34.
3. The first characters in this line are damaged and illegible.
4. The poem is recorded in QBGQJ: 123.
5. Sun 1981: 239.
6. On Huang Gongwang's involvement with Taoism, see Hay 1978. In 1334 Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang preached together in the Hall of the Three Teachings (Sanjiao Tang) in Suzhou; see Kao 1978: 26. In 1359 Ni Zan inscribed two unambiguously Taoist poems on Huang Gongwang's *Mountains of the Immortals (Xianshan tu)* of 1338, now in the Shanghai Museum; see *Yuan sijia huaji* 1994: pl. 1.

Cat. no. 141

1. See Chiang 1974: 33–35, 51–62.
2. Ibid.: 34.
3. Fong 1992: 475, quoting the translation in Munakata 1974: 11.

Cat. no. 142

1. Munakata 1991: no. 52.
2. See Ni Zan's *The Crane Grove*, which depicts an outdoor Taoist altar, from the Zhongguo Meishu Guan, Beijing (cat. no. 139), and Shao Mi's 1638 *Album of Landscapes Illustrating the Road to Linging*, in the Seattle Art Museum, in Munakata 1991: no. 71(d).
3. Given the Taoist language of the inscription, it is possible that the character *jing* (well) in this line refers not to an actual well on earth, but to the Lunar Mansion called Well; see Schafer 1978c: 82.
4. See the biography of Lu Guang by Chu-tsing Li in Goodrich and Fang 1976, vol. 2: 994–95.

Cat. no. 143

1. The definitive study of Fang Congyi is Neill 1981. See also Cahill 1976: 127–28.
2. Sun 1981: 231.
3. Works by both artists are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see Fong 1992: pls. 81, 112.
4. Neill 1981: 52.
5. Translated in Barnhart 1983: 166.
6. Neill 1981: 116. The painting is also published in Barnhart 1983: fig. 81, and Fong 1992: pl. 113. See the excellent discussion of this work in Neill 1981: 116–20.
7. Barnhart 1983: 170, speaking of Fang Congyi's *The Romantic Spirit of the Eastern Jin* (dated 1360).

Cat. no. 144

1. Hay 1985: 46–50.
2. MHL, vol. 2: 19. See also Goodrich and Fang 1976, vol. 1: 163–65. For a detailed study of Chen Ruyan, see Brown 1985.
3. See, for example, Ni Zan's *The Crane Grove*, from the Zhongguo Meishu Guan, Beijing (cat. no. 139), and Wang Meng's *Cinnabar Mountains, Ying Ocean, and Ge Zhichuan [Ge Hong] Moving his Residence*, published in *Yuan sijia huaji* 1994: pls. 109–10.
4. Fong 1984: no. 6.
5. The scroll is first recorded in YYB, vol. 1: 710 (this edition mistakenly records the title as *Xianrü tu* instead of *Xianshan tu*).
6. See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: no. 114.

Cat. no. 145

1. See Rogers 2000: 235. See also cat. no. 149.
2. On the history of the *Book of Changes*, see Shaughnessy 1993.
3. Rogers 2000: 76–77.
4. Ibid.: 233.

Cat. no. 146

1. See T. W. Weng's biography of Leng Qian in Goodrich and Fang 1976, vol. 1: 802–04. On Sadula, see Strassberg 1994: 262–66. On Liu Ji, see Goodrich and Fang, vol. 1: 932–38.

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2. *Mingren chuanji ziliao suoyin* 1978: 279. Biographies of Leng Qian are contained in GCXZL, *juan* 118, and MSZ, vol. 8: 5976–78.
3. See the discussions of this work in Ganza 1986 and Cahill 1992: 259–61.
4. Ganza 1986: 10.
5. Mather 1961: 231–32.
6. Ibid.: 232.

Cat. no. 147

1. Ecke 1954: 22; see also Ecke 1965, vol. 3: pl. 55. For a more detailed discussion of this scroll, see Little (forthcoming).
2. Shen Zhou's painting is published in Cahill 1978, pls. 42–43, and in *Circa 1492* 1991: no. 312. Another version, most likely a copy, is published in *Chūgoku kaiga* 1975: pl. 79.
3. Huang Yun's poem is entitled "The Seven Star-Junipers of the Zhidao Temple in Changshu;" see QDGJTSJC, *Caomu, juan* 258: 11a–b. It is not clear whether the poem was composed by Wen Zhengming or Huang Yun. See also Ecke 1954.

Cat. no. 148

1. Previously published in Mu 1982: pl. 58.
2. The symbolism of the grotto is pervasive in religious Taoism. The central ritual altar table, for example, is called a "cavern-table" (*dong'an*); see Lagerwey 1987b: 37, 39. The Taoist Canon (*Daozang*) is divided into three "Caverns," known as the Caverns of Perfection (*Dongzhen*), Mystery (*Dongxuan*), and Divinity (*Dongshen*).
3. In the realm of Taoist Inner Alchemy, interior became exterior, and vice versa. The cavern-heaven came to symbolize the transformation of the human body into a reaction vessel, "a form of interiorized 'counter-universe'"; see Verellen 1995: 272.
4. Ibid.: 270–76.
5. Ibid.: 272.

Cat. no. 149

1. Previously published in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* 1980: 257, and Munakata 1991: no. 66.
2. Nienhauser 1994a: 142.
3. On the date of the *Liezi*, see Barrett 1993: 298–308.
4. It was said that the first two of these islands (Daiyu and Yuanjiao) later drifted away because the turtles on whose backs they rested were stolen by a giant.
5. Graham 1960: 97. This passage is found in the chapter entitled "The Questions of Tang" (referring to King Tang of the Shang dynasty). For the Chinese text, see XYLDB: 153–54.
6. An earlier depiction of Fanghu, painted by the Ming Wu School painter Wen Boren in 1563, includes an ornate marble ritual platform as one of the island's architectural features; see Fong et al. 1996: pl. 200.

Cat. no. 150

1. Previously published in Hempel et al. 1992: no. 64.
2. Translated in Waley 1958: 183.
3. Bokenkamp 1996b: 253, 259.

Cat. no. 151

1. *Dongtian shengjing* 1987: 89–90.
2. Schipper 1993: 15.
3. Ibid.: 17.
4. *Dongtian shengjing* 1987: 90.
5. Yu 1980: 1514.

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Chinese Names and Terms

Abaoji 阿保機
Afang 阿房
An Shigao 安世高
Anhui 安徽
Anyang 安陽
ba qiong 八瓊
Bagua 八卦
Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾
baihu 白虎
baimiao 白描
bairi shengtian 白日升天
Baishi Guan 白石觀
Baiyun Guan 白雲觀
Bajun 巴郡
Balinzuoqi 巴林左旗
bao 寶
Bao Jing 鮑靚
Baoguo Si 寶國寺
Baohe Dian 寶和殿
Baoji 寶鷄
Baoning Si 寶寧寺
Baxian 八仙
Baxian An 八仙庵
Beidou 北斗
Beiji 北極
Beijing 北京
Beilin 碑林
Beiyue Miao 北嶽廟
ben mo dao zhi 本末倒致
benming 本命
Bi Yuan 畢沅
bianhua 變化
Bianjing 汴京
Bianliang 汴梁
Bixia Ci 碧霞祠
Bixia Gong 碧霞宮
Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君
Bo Yi 伯夷
Bo'ai 博愛
boshanlu 博山爐
boshu 帛書
Boyong 伯顒
Boyue Shan 白岳山
bugang 步綱
Buxu 步虛
Cai Bian 蔡卞
Cai Jing 蔡京
Cai Tao 蔡壽
Caishen 財神
Cang Jie 倉頡
canglong 蒼龍
cao 曹
Cao Cao 曹操
Cao Guojiu 曹國舅
Cao Pu 曹鋪
Chan 禪
Chang E 嫦娥
Chang'an 長安
Changbo Shan 長白山
Changchun Gong 長春宮
Changning 長寧
Changsha 長沙
changsheng 長生
Changsheng dadi 長生大帝
changsheng qingjiu zhi shu 長生軽擧之術
Changshu 鼠然
Chao Fu 巢父
Chaotian Gong 朝天宮
chen (hour) 辰
chen (servant) 臣
Chen 陳
Chen Daofu (Chen Chun) 陳道復（陳淳）
Chen Guan Huai gong hui 臣關槐恩增
Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬
Chen Jinggu 陳靖姑
Chen Jiru 陳繼儒
Chen Ma Yuan 臣馬遠
Chen Mu 諶姆
Chen Rong 陳容
Chen Ruyan (Weiyun) 陳次言（惟允）
Chen Tuan 陳摶
Chen Wenzhu 陳文燭
Chen Yanqing 陳彥清
Chen Yuexi 陳月溪
Chen Zhitian 陳芝田
cheng Dao 成道
Cheng Zhengkui 程正揆
Chengdu 成都
Chengguo wang 成國王
Chenghua 成化
Chenghuang 城隍
chenghuang shen 城隍神
chengwu 成物
Chenxing 辰星
Chifeng 赤峰
Chiming 赤明
chisongzi 赤松子
chixin zhongliang 赤心忠良
Chongfu Gong 崇福宮
Chongqing 重慶
Chongquan 重泉
Chongxuanxue 崇玄學
Chongyang Dian 重陽殿
Chongzhen 崇貞
Chongzhen Gong 崇真宮
Chu 楚
Chu Hui 褚慧
Chuanxi pingyuan 川西平原
Chuanyuzi 傳預子
Chunyang Dian 純陽殿
Chunyou 淳祐
ci 祠
Cixi 磁禧
Cizhou 磁州
Cui Bo 崔伯
Cui Zizhong 崔子忠
Cunsi xiang 存思像
Da Ming huanghou santian jinque yufu shangxian hongci puhui tidao xuanjun 大明皇后三天金闕玉輔上仙宏慈溥惠體道玄君
Da Ming zhonggong huanghou 大明中宮皇后
Da Shangqing Gong 大上清宮
da zhenren 大真人
Dacheng Dian 大成殿
Dachengzi 大成子
Dade 大德
Dadi Shan 大癡山
Dadong 大洞
Dadong fa 大洞法
Dadu 大都
Dai Jin (Wenjin) 戴進（文進）
Dai Miao 岱廟
Daiyu 岱輿
daizhao 待詔
Daliang 大梁
Daming Gong 大明宮
Dantian 丹田
Danyang 丹陽
Dao (Tao) 道
daochang 道場
Daode tianzun 道德天尊
daoguan 道觀
Daoguang 道光
Daojia 道家
Daojiao 到教
daojun 道君
Daojun huangdi 道君皇帝
Daoling zhenren liandan dong 道陵真人煉丹洞
Daolu si 道路司

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daopao 道袍
daoshi 道士
daotan 道壇
Daozang 道藏
Datong 大同
Daxing 大興
Daxiongbao Dian 大雄寶殿
Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符
de 德
deguang 德光
Dehua 德化
Deng Chun 鄧椿
Deng Yu 鄧宇
Dengfeng xian 登封縣
Dening Dian 德寧殿
deshi 德士
di 帝
Di guan 地官
dian 殿
ding (cauldron) 鼎
ding (cyclical mark, god) 丁
Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬
Dingjiazha 丁家閘
dingli 頂禮
dingsi 丁巳
dizhi 地支
dong 洞
Dong Gao 董誥
Dong Qichang 董其昌
Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒
dong'an 洞菴
Dongfang Shuo 東方朔
Donghua tian dadi 東華天大帝
Donghuang Taiyi 東皇太乙
dongnan 東南
Dongshen 洞神
dongtian 洞天
Dongting Hu 洞庭湖
Dongwangfu 東王父
Dongwanggong 東王公
Dongwei xiansheng 洞微先生
Dongxiao Gong 洞霄宮
Dongxuan 洞玄
Dongyuan 東園
Dongyue 東嶽
Dongyue dadi 東嶽大帝
Dongyue Miao 東嶽廟
Dongyue tianxian shengmu 東嶽天仙聖母
Dongzhen 洞真
dou (dipper) 斗
Dou (empress) 竇
Doumu 斗母
du 督
Du Guangting 杜光庭
Duan Fang 端方
Duguang 都曠
Dunhuang 敦煌
Duolun 多倫
Ershiba xiu 二十八宿
Ershiba xiu xing jun 二十八宿星君
Erxian Guan 二仙觀
fa 法
Fahua 發華
Fajia 法家
Falin 法琳
Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹
Fanbao danchang yunü 梵寶丹晶玉女
Fang Chunnian 方椿年
Fang Congyi (Fanghu) 方從義（方壺）
Fang Damei 方大美
Fang Xuanling 房玄齡
Fanghu 方壺
fangji 方伎
fangshi 方士
fanguang 返光
Fangzhang 方丈
Fanqi Mile yunü 梵氣彌勒玉女
fawang 法王
Fei Zhi 祀跋
Feibu xiang 飛步像
Feiliangui Guan 飛廉桂觀
Feng 封
Feng Abiao 馮阿標
Feng Faxing 馮法興
Feng Wufang 馮無方
Feng Yiman 馮義滿
Fengdu 豐都
Fengqiu 風丘
fengshui 風水
fengyun leidian 風雲雷電
Fenyang 汾陽
Fosi 佛寺
fu (bat) 蝠
fu (good fortune) 福
fu (talisman) 符
Fu Hao 傅好
Fu Jiang 浮江
fudi 福地
Fujian 福建
Fulushou 福祿壽
Fuqiu 浮丘
Fusang dadi 扶桑大帝
Fuxi 伏羲
Fuxing 福星
Gan De 甘德
Gansu 甘肅
ganying 感應
Ganzhou 贛州
Gao 高
Gao Shiqi 高士奇
Gao Yi Que 高翊闕
Gaodao 高道
Gaodao Liu Yuanran 高道劉元然
Gaoping 高平
Ge 葛
Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫
Ge Hong 葛洪
Ge Xuan 葛玄
gen 艮
Geng Qian 耿謙
Geng Xiansheng 耿先生
gengchen 庚辰
Gengsangzi 庚桑子
gengyin 庚寅
Genyue 艮嶽
gong 宮
gongfu 功夫
Gongxian 鞏縣
Gongzi 巩子
Gou Shan 緱山
Gouchen 句陳
Goushi Shan 緱氏山
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之
Gu xiansheng 古先生
gua 卦
guan 官
Guan Huai 關槐
Guan Ping 關平
Guan Yu 關羽
Guandi 關帝
Guangchengzi 廣成子
Guangdong 廣東
Guangdu 廣都
Guanghan 廣漢
Guanghan Gong 廣寒宮
Guangong 關公
Guangsheng Si 廣勝寺
Guangshouzi 廣壽子
Guangxi 廣西
Guangxu 光緒
Guangyuan 廣源
Guanmiao mingzhen 觀妙明真
Guansheng 關聖
Guanyin 觀音
Guanyin ding 觀音頂
Gugong 故宮
Gui 鬼
Gui Dao 鬼道
guichou 癸丑
Guixi 貴溪
Guizhou 貴州
Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛
Guo Xi 郭熙
Guo Xiang 郭象
Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕
Guodian 郭店
guqi 古氣
Gushe 姑射
gusi 古寺
Guye 姑射
Han 漢
Han Feizi 韓非子
Han Gaozu 漢高祖
Han Guangwu di 漢光武帝
Han Huandi 漢桓帝
Han Jingdi 漢景帝
Han Wendi 漢文帝
Han Wudi 漢武帝
Han Xiangzi 韓湘子
Han Xuandi 漢宣帝
Han Yu 韓愈
Han'an 漢安
Han'gu 函谷
Hangzhou 杭州
hanshisan 寒食散
Hanyuan Dian 含元殿
Hanzhong 漢中
Haotian 昊天
He Dezheng 何德正
He Xian'gu 何仙姑
he xingming 合性命
Hebei 河北
Hegui Ting 鶴歸亭
Hejia Shan 何家山
Helao 鶴老
Helin 鶴林
Helin tu 鶴林圖
Henan 河南
Heng Shan (northern sacred peak) 恆山
Heng Shan (southern sacred peak) 衡山
Hengshan (village) 橫山
heqi 合氣
Heshi Zhuang Qinwang faxin cheng zao 和碩莊親王發心誠造
Hetu 河圖
Hong Mai 洪邁
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Hongdongxian 洪洞縣
Hongdu 洪都
Hongwu 洪武
Hongxi 洪熙
Hongzhi 弘治
hou 后
Hou Jin 後金
Houguan 候官

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Houtu Miao 后土廟
Hu (birthplace of Laozi) 苦
Hu (Sogdian) 胡
hu (tablet) 笏
Hu Chao 胡超
Hu Huichao 胡惠超
Hua Qiao 華僑
Hua Shan 華山
huacai 化財
Huagai xing 華蓋星
huagai zhi zuo 華蓋之坐
huang 皇
Huang Bosi 黃伯思
Huang Chuping 黃初平
Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾
Huang Gongwang 黃公望
huang guifei 皇貴妃
Huang Ji (Kemei) 黃濟（可美）
Huang Quan 黃筌
Huang Shan 黃山
Huang Shang 黃裳
Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅
Huang Xiufu 黃休復
Huang Yun 黃雲
Huangdi 黃帝
Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐
Huangjun 皇君
Huanglao 黃老
Huanglao dao 黃老道
Huanglao zhi dao 黃老之道
Huanglu 黃籙
Huanglu dazhai 黃籙大齋
Huangqing 皇慶
Huanshu Tang 環翠堂
huasheng 化生
Huayan Si 華嚴寺
Huayangxia Guan 華陽下館
Hubei 湖北
Hui 會
Huichang 會昌
huimiao banxue 假廟神學
Huizong 徽宗
hun 魂
Hunan 湖南
Hundun 混沌
hunmen 魂門
Hunyuan Dian 混元殿
huoyao 火藥
ji (armrest) 几
Ji (area) 冀
Ji (river) 濟
jia 甲
Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔
Jiajing 嘉靖
Jian mu 建木
Jiang Zicheng 蔣子誠
jiangjun 將軍
Jiangnan 江南
Jiangsu 江蘇
Jiangxi 江西
jiangyi 降衣
Jiangzhou 江州
Jiankang 建康
Jianwen 建文
Jianyang 簡陽
Jianye 建業
Jiao (lunar mansion) 角
jiao (ritual) 醮
jiao (teaching) 教
Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞
Jiao Hong 焦竑
jiaoqi 交媾
jiaozhu 教主
Jiaqing 嘉慶
Jiaxing 嘉興
jiaxu 甲戌
jiayin 甲寅
Jiazhai liushen 家宅六神
Jidu 計都
jie 劫
jie zhang 節杖
jiliu 祭酒
Jin (dynasty, 265–420) 晉
Jin (dynasty, 1115–1234) 金
Jin Ci 晉祠
Jin Yunzhong 金允中
Jinchang 金昌
Jing (area) 荊
jing (essence) 精
Jing (lunar mansion) 井
jing (sacred or classic text) 經
Jing Hao 荊浩
Jing Shan 荊山
jingli 經歷
Jingming 淨明
Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道
Jingquan tongzi 井泉童子
jingshe 精舍
Jingshi 靜室
Jingtai 景泰
Jingtong An 靜通庵
Jingzhen jian 景霄劍
Jinhua fu 金華府
Jinjuzha 金剪吒
Jinling 金陵
Jinmu 金母
Jinmu yuanjun 金母元君
Jinshen Dian 謹身殿
jinshi 進士
jintong 金童
Jinyiwei 錦衣衛
Jisi zhi 祭祀志
jiu jie zhang 九節杖
jiugong 九宮
Jiuguang Jiao 九光廟
Jiuquan 酒泉
Jiutian shendan 九天神丹
Jiuyao 九曜
Jiuyi Shan 九嶷山
Jiuyi xianhou 九嶷仙侯
jiuzhou 九州
jiwei 己未
Jixian Yuan 集賢院
jue 爵
Juran 巨然
Jurong 句容
Kaifeng 開封
Kaiguang tongzi 開光童子
Kaihuang 開皇
Kaiming tongzi 開明童子
Kaiping fu 開平府
Kaiyuan 開元
kan 坎
Kang 亢
Kang Youwei 康有為
Kangxi 康熙
kesi 緙絲
Kongtong Shan 崆峒山
Kongzi Miao 孔子廟
Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之
Kuaiji 會稽
Kuanglu Shan 匡廬山
Kuangye dajiang 曠野大將
Kuixing 魁星
kun (leviathan) 鯤
kun (trigram) 坤
Kunlun 崑崙
Kunlun Shan 崑崙山
Kunning 坤寧
Kunshan 崑山
Lan Caihe 藍采和
Lang Shining 郎世寧
Langgan 琅玕
Langzhong 閬中
Lanxi xian 蘭谿縣
Lao Dao 老道
Laojun 老君
Laoren xing 老人星
Laozi 老子
Laozi huahu 老子化胡
Le Shan 樂山
Leigong 雷公
Leishen 雷神
Leng Qian 冷謙
li (mile) 里
li (trigram) 離
Li 李
Li Bo (Li Bai) 李白
Li Cun 李存
Li Daoqing 李道清
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Li Shaojun 李少君
Li Song 李嵩
Li Tieguai 李鐵拐
Li Zhi 李贄
Li Zhong 李忠
Lian Shu 連叔
liandu 煉度
Liang 梁
Liang Kai 梁楷
Liang Qingbiao 梁清標
Liang Wudi 梁武帝
Liao 遼
Liaoning 遼寧
libu shilang 禮部侍郎
Liezi 列子
Lin Jing 林靜
Lin Lingsu 林靈素
Lin Mo 林默
Lin'an 臨安
ling 靈
Lingbao 靈寶
Lingbao jun 靈寶君
Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊
Linggan Ci 靈感祠
Lingguan Dian 靈官殿
lingguang 靈光
Lingjing 靈境
lingtai 靈台
lingzhi 靈芝
Lingzu Dian 靈祖殿
Linshui furen 臨水夫人
Lintong 臨潼
Liu 柳
Liu An 劉安
Liu Ansheng 劉安勝
Liu Bei 劉備
Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠

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Liu jia jiangjun 六甲將軍
Liu Ling 劉伶
Liu Sheng 劉勝
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Liu Song 劉宋
Liu Songnian 劉松年
Liu Xiang 劉向
Liu Xu 劉昫
Liu Yan zhuan 劉炎傳
Liu Yiqing 劉義慶
Liu Yuanran 劉淵然
Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元
Liuhe Ta 六和塔
Long Meizi 龍眉子
long tai 龍胎
Longhan 龍漢
Longhu men 龍虎門
Longhu Shan 龍虎山
Longjing Shan 龍井山
Longmen pai 龍門派
Longqing 龍慶
Longquan 龍泉
Longxu 隆緒
Lou 婁
louguan 樓觀
Louguan Tai 樓觀臺
lu (censer) 罏
lu (register) 籙
Lu (state) 魯
Lu Ban 魯班
Lü Dongbin (Chunyang) 呂洞賓（純陽）
Lu Guang 陸廣
Lü Ji 呂紀
Lü Ji bai shou 呂紀拜壽
Lu Shan 廬山
Lü Wenying 呂文英
Lu Xinyuan 陸心源
Lu Xiujing 陸修靜
Luan 鸞
Luli 角里
Luo Nian'an 羅念菴
Luofu Shan 羅浮山
Luohou 羅喉
Luoshu 洛書
Luoyang 洛陽
Lushan 廬山

lusheng 蘆生
Lutai 露臺
Luxing 祿星
Luyi 祿已
Luzhong 陸終
Ma Junxiang 馬君祥
Ma Lin 馬麟
Ma Yuan 馬遠
Ma yuanshuai 馬元帥
Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠
Magu 麻姑
Mahao 麻濠
Mancheng 滿城
mandao 慢道
Mao 茅
Mao Shan 茅山
Mawangdui 馬王堆
Mawei shui 馬尾水
Mazu 媽祖
Meng Zhen 孟臻
mengwen 蒙文
Menshen 門神
Mi Fu 米芾
mian 冕
Mianyang 綿陽
miao 廟
Miao Shanshi 苗善時
miaoyi 妙一
mijiao 密教
Min Jiang 岷江
min yi xin xiang 民義信向
ming 命
Ming 明
Ming Chengzu 明成祖
Ming Renzong 明仁宗
Ming Taizu 明太祖
Minghuang 明皇
Mingtang 明堂
mingwang 明王
Mingyingwang 明應王
mizei 米賊
mo 魔
Mo Shilong 莫是龍
Moli zhi tian 摩利支天
moya keci 摩厘制解
Mu Xin 沐昕
Mugong 木公
Nanchang 南昌
Nanji 南極
Nanji dadi 南極大帝
Nanji laoren 南極老人
Nanji tian dijun 南極天帝君
Nanjing 南京
Nanxi 南溪
Nanyang 南陽

nei 內
neidan 內丹
Neiguan xiang 內觀像
Ni Zan 倪瓚
niangniang 娘娘
Niujiaozhai 牛角寨
Niwan 泥丸
Niwan xiang 泥丸像
Nü 女
nüguan 女冠
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
pailou 牌樓
Pan Dechong 潘德沖
Pan Zhengwei 潘正煒
Pantao hui 蟠桃會
pei zhi 配治
Peng 鵬
Peng Shan 彭山
Peng Xiao 彭曉
Penglai 蓬萊
Pengxian 彭鮮
Pengzu 彭祖
Pingcheng 平城
Pingyang 平陽
pipa 琵琶
po 魄
pu 樸
Putian 莆田
Puyang 濮陽
puzuo 蒲座
qi 氣
Qi 齊
Qi Liji 綺里季
Qi Shaoweng 齊少翁
qi yuan 七元
qian 乾
Qian Gu 錢穀
Qian Lezhi 錢樂之
qian shu 錢樹
qianlin 萬林
Qianlong 乾隆
Qianqiu jie 千秋節
Qiantang 錢塘
Qiantian 前天
Qianyuan Si 乾元寺
qilin 麒麟
Qin 秦
Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝
Qin'an Dian 欽安殿
Qing (area) 青
Qing (dynasty, pure) 清
Qingbaixiang 清白鄉
Qingcheng Shan 青城山
Qinghe 清河
Qinghua 青華

qinglong 青龍
qinglu 青綠
Qingxiao Men 青霄門
Qingyang Gong 青羊宮
Qiu Chuji (Changchun) 丘處機（長春）
Qiu Ying 仇英
Qixing tang 七星墩
qiyun shengdong 氣韻生動
Qu Yuan 屈原
Quanzhen 全真
que 闕
Qufu 曲阜
Qunxian gaohui tu 群仙高會圖
Quren 曲仁
Quyang 曲陽
ren 仁
Ren Jiyu 任繼愈
Ren Renfa 任仁發
renshou 仁壽
renyin 壬寅
Renzhi Dian 仁智殿
Rijin qingguang 日近清光
Rong Cheng 容成
ru 儒
ruan 阮
Ruan Ji 阮籍
Ruan Xian 阮咸
Ruicheng 芮城
ruyi 如意
Sa Dula 薩都拉
San Mao jun 三茅君
San Qing 三清
sancai 三才
Sandong 三洞
Sandong chiwen zongzhen xianjian 三洞赤文總真仙簡
sanduan shenxian jing 三段神仙鏡
Sangu furen 三姑夫人
Sanguan 三官
Sanhuan linggang 三環靈剛
Sanhuang 三皇
Sanjiao 三教
Sanjiao heyi 三教合一
Sanjiao Tang 三教堂
Sanjiao yizhi 三教一旨
Sanqi 三氣
Sanqing 三清
Sanqing Dian 三清殿
Santai 三臺
Santai qixing jian 三臺七星劍
Santian 三天
Santian yufu 三天玉符
santian zhi shi 三天之師
Sanyuan 三元

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Shandong 山東
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Shang Yi 尚義
Shangdi 上帝
Shanghai 上海
Shangjing 上京
Shangmiao 上廟
Shangqing 上清
Shangqing Dian 上清殿
Shangqing Gong 上清宮
Shangqing zhenren 上清真人
Shangyuan 上元
Shangyuan furen 上元夫人
Shangzhen zixu yuanjun 上振紫虛元君
Shanxi 山西
Shao Mi 邵謎
Shao Yong 邵永
Shaoxing 紹興
She 社
she huagai zhi zuo 捨華蓋之座
shehui 社會
shen (body) 身
Shen (imperial consort) 沈
Shen (lunar mansion) 參
shen (spirit, god) 神
shen dian 神殿
Shen Gua 沈括
shen gui 神龜
shen hua 身化
shen nü 神女
shen ren 神人
shen shan 神山
shen shu 神樹
Shen Yue 沈約
Shen Zhongyi 沈仲義
Shen Zhou 沈周
Shenbao jun 神寶君
sheng (crown of Xiwangmu) 繩 > 勝
sheng (mouth organ) 笙
sheng (saint) 聖
Shengmu 聖母
Shengmu Dian 聖母殿
shengxian 升仙
shengxiang 聖像
shenling 神靈
Shennong 神農
shenshui 神水
Shenxiao 神霄
Shenyang 沈陽
Shenyue Guan 神嶽觀
shi (cosmic board) 式
Shi (lunar mansion) 室
shi (origins) 始
shi (teacher, master) 師
Shi jun 師君
Shi Shen 石申
shi tan 石壇
shidafu 士大夫
shi'er gong 十二宮
Shijiazhuang 石家庄
shijie 尸解
Shiziwan 柿子灣
shou 壽
shouji 授記
Shouxing 壽星
shu (pivot) 樞
Shu (Sichuan province) 蜀
Shu Han 蜀漢
Shu Qi 叔齊
Shui guan 水官
Shuilu zhai 水陸齋
Shuishen Miao 水神廟
Shun 舜
Shuping 叔平
Shuyu 叔寓
si 寺
Sichuan 四川
sheyuan 四合院
siling 四靈
Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎
Sima Guang 司馬光
Sima Qian 司馬遷
Siming Lü Tingzhen zhi yin 四明呂廷振之印
Sishen 四神
Sisheng 四聖
Song Defang 宋德方
Song Guangzong 宋光宗
Song Huizong 宋徽宗
Song Lian 宋濂
Song Lizong 宋理宗
Song Ningzong 宋寧宗
Song Renzong 宋仁宗
Song Shan 嵩山
Song Zhenzong 宋真宗
Su Shi (Dongpo) 蘇軾 (東坡)
Su Zun 蘇遵
Sui 隋
Sui Wendi 隋文帝
Suiren 遂人
Suixing 歲星
Sun Chuo 孫綽
Sun Jue 孫珏
Sun Simiao 孫思邈
Suzhou 蘇州
tadao 踏道
Tai Shan 泰山
Tai Shangqing Gong 太上清宮
Taibo 太白
Taicang 太倉
Taidan yunü 太丹玉女
Taiding 泰定
Taifu Guan 太符觀
Taihe Shan 太和山
Taiji 太極
Taiji Gong 太極宮
Taiji xianhou 太極仙侯
Taiji yueli 太極月曆
Taijiquan 太極拳
Taiping 太平
Taiping Dao 太平道
Taiqing 太清
Taiqing Gong 太清宮
Taiqing xianbo 太清仙伯
Taishang 太上
Taishang dadao jun 太上大道君
Taishang daojun 太上道君
Taishang laojun 太上老君
Taishang wuji dadao haotian yuhuang shangdi 太上無極大道昊天玉皇上帝
Taishang xuanyuan huangdi 太上玄元皇帝
Taisui 太歲
Taitai 太太
Taiwan 臺灣
Taiwei 太微
Taiwei Gong 太微宮
Taiwu 太無
Taixu 太虛
Taixuan dusheng 泰玄都省
Taiyang 太陽
Taiyi 太一 (太乙)
Taiyin 太陰
Taiyin xingjun 太陰星君
Taiyuan 太原
Taizhong 臺中
Taizi Yan 太子巖
Taizu 太祖
tan 壇
tanbing 鉈鈉
tang (hall) 堂
Tang (dynasty) 唐
Tang Gaozong 唐高宗
Tang Gongfang 唐公房
Tang Hou 湯侯
Tang Muzong 唐穆宗
Tang Taizong 唐太宗
Tang Wuzong 唐武宗
Tang Xianzong 唐憲宗
Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗
Tang Yin 唐寅
Tangdi 湯帝
Tanyangzi 曇陽子
Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
ti 體
tian 天
Tian guan 天官
Tian shu 天樞
Tianbao 天寶
Tianbao jun 天寶君
Tianchang Guan 天長觀
Tiandi 天帝
Tiandi hui 天地會
tianding 天丁
Tiandu 天都
Tianhou 天后
Tianhuang 天皇
Tianhuang dadi 天皇大帝
Tianjin 天津
tianjun 天君
tianmen 天門
Tianpeng 天蓬
Tianqing Guan 天清觀
Tianshi (celestial master) 天師
Tianshi (heavenly city) 天市
Tianshi dao 天師道
Tianshi fu 天師府
Tianshun 天順
Tiantai 天台
Tianwen tu 天文圖
tianxian 天仙
Tianxin dafa 天心大法
Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法
Tianyi Chi 天一池
Tianying Shan 天應山
Tianyou 天佑
Tianzhen 天真
Tianzun 天尊
Tiebao 鐵保
tieniu 鐵牛
Tongchu dafa 重初大法
Tongming Dian 通明殿
tongzi 童子
toujian 投簡
toulong 投龍
Tu Long 屠隆
Tudi 土地
Tuo Jiang 沱江
wai 外
waidan 外丹
waidao 外道
waifa xiang 外法像

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Wan Shanglie 萬尚烈
Wanfa zongtan 萬法宗壇
wang 王
Wang Anshi 王安石
Wang Ashan 王阿善
Wang Bi 王弼
Wang Chang 王恒
Wang Chongyang (Wang Zhe) 王重陽（王喆）
Wang Fu 王符
wang guan 王冠
Wang Laozhi 王老志
Wang Liyong 王利用
Wang Meng 王蒙
Wang Qidao 王啟道
Wang Qin 王勤
Wang Rong 王戎
Wang Shen 王燊
Wang Shizhen 王世貞
Wang Wenqing 王文卿
Wang Xijue 王錫爵
Wang Xizhi 王羲之
Wang Xuanhe 王懸河
Wang Yangming 王陽明
Wang Yun 王雲
Wang Zhe 王喆
Wang Zhiyuan 王致遠
Wang Ziqiao 王子喬
Wang Zixi 王仔昔
Wanli 萬曆
Wanshou Gong 萬壽宮
Wei (dynasty) 魏
Wei (lunar mansion) 危
Wei (river) 渭
Wei Boyang 魏伯陽
Wei Hanjin 魏漢津
Wei Huacun 魏華存
wei ji 偽技
Wei Su 危素
Wei Tawudi 魏太武帝
Wei Wenlang 魏文朗
Wei Zheng 魏徵
weichi 尾螭
Weiming Dong 未明洞
weiqi 圍棋
weishu 維書
Wen Boren (Wufeng) 文伯仁（五峰）
Wen Jia 文嘉
Wen Peng 文彭
Wen Qiong 溫瓊
Wen Yuanshuai 溫元帥
Wen Zhengming 文徵明
Wenchang 文昌
Wenshui xian 文水縣
Wenwang 文王
Wenzhou 溫州
Wenzi 文子
Wong Tai Sin (Huang daxian) 黃大仙
wu (non-being) 無
Wu (district) 吳
Wu Boli 吳伯理
Wu Chan 吳禪
Wu Cheng 吳澄
Wu Dacheng 吳大猷
Wu Daozi (Wu Daoxuan, Wu Daoshi) 吳道子（吳道玄，吳道士）
Wu Men 武門
Wu Meng 吳猛
Wu Quanjie 吳全節
Wu Rongguang 吳榮光
Wu She 吳社
Wu Shu 吳淑
Wu Si 吳泗
Wu Wei 吳偉
Wuxian 巫咸
Wu Zetian 武則天
Wu Zhuo 吳琢
Wu Zongyuan 武宗元
wuchen 戊辰
Wuchengzi 務成子
Wudang Shan 武當山
Wude 武德
Wudoumi 五斗米
Wudoumi Dao 五斗米道
Wufang wudi Changbo Shan kaitian hongsheng di 五方五帝常伯山開天弘聖帝
Wuhan 武漢
Wuji 無極
Wuji Men 無極門
wuju xiaohan 無拘霄漢
Wuren You Qiu 吳人尤求
Wutai Shan 五台山
wuwei zhi shi 無爲之事
wuwu 戊午
Wuxi 無錫
Wuxing (five phases) 五行
Wuxing (town) 吳興
Wuxing qiyao zhi xiang 五行七曜之象
Wuyi Shan 武夷山
wuyue 五嶽
Wuyue Dian 五嶽殿
Wuyue Guan 五嶽觀
Wuyue Miao 五嶽廟
Wuyue zhenxing tu 五嶽真形圖
Xi Kang 嵇康
Xi mu 西母
Xi Shan 西山
Xia 夏
Xia Cui 夏崔
xia qi 俠氣
Xiahuang 夏黃
xian 仙
Xi'an 西安
xian hua 仙化
xian shan 仙山
xian sheng 仙聖
Xiang Xiu 向秀
Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴
Xiangfu Gong 祥符宮
xianren 仙人
xiansheng 先生
Xiantian 先天
Xiantian shan 先天山
xiantong 仙童
xianyou 仙友
xiao (filial piety) 孝
xiao (pan-pipes) 簫
Xiao Baifang 蕭百芳
Xiaodao 孝道
Xiaokang 孝康
xiaomuzuo 小木作
Xiaoxian 小仙
Xianzong zhushi 仙宗柱石
Xichang 西昌
xie (heterodox) 邪
xie (mythical beast) 獬
Xie He 謝赫
Xie Lingyun 謝靈運
Xie Shichen 謝時臣
Xie Shouhao 謝守灝
Xie Youyu 謝幼與
Xihu Dai Jin xie 西湖戴進寫
Ximen Qing 西門慶
xin 心
Xindu 新都
xing (inner nature) 性
Xing (star) 星
Xing'an 興安
Xingqing Gong 興慶宮
xinhai 辛亥
Xinjiang 新疆
Xinjin 新津
Xiping 熙平
xiuzhen 修真
Xiwangmu 西王母
Xixia 西夏
Xu (family) 許
Xu (lunar mansion) 虛
xu (void, emptiness) 虛
Xu Bangda 徐邦達
Xu Daoling 徐道齡
Xu Fu 徐福
Xu Hao 虛耗
Xu Hui 許翽
Xu Jian 許建
Xu Mai 許邁
Xu Mi 許謐
Xu Qin 徐沁
Xu Wei 徐渭
Xu Xun 徐遜
Xu You 許由
Xu Zhichang 徐知常
xuan 玄
Xuanchu 玄初
Xuande 宣德
Xuanhe 宣和
Xuanjiao 玄教
Xuanjiao Yuan 玄教院
Xuanmiao Guan 玄妙觀
Xuannü 玄女
Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝
Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi 玄天元聖仁威上帝
Xuantong 宣統
Xuanwu 玄武
Xuanxiao 玄枵
Xuanxue 玄學
Xuanyuan huangdi 玄元皇帝
Xuanyuan huangdi Miao 玄元皇帝廟
Xuanzhong zhenren 玄中真人
Xujing zhenren liandan dong 虛靜真人煉丹洞
xunlu 薰蘆
ya mu 座墓
Ya'an 雅安
Yan Deyuan 閻德源
Yan Hui 顏輝
Yan Liben 閻立本
Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿
Yanchang 延昌
Yanfu Gong 延福宮
yang (force) 陽
Yang (name) 楊
yang sheng 養生
Yang Weizhen 楊維楨
Yang Xi 楊羲
Yang Xizhen 楊羲真
Yangping Shan 陽平山
Yangping Zhi 陽平治
yangshen zhi 養神芝
Yanguang niangniang 眼光娘娘
Yangzhou 揚州
Yangzi 楊子
Yankang 延康

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Yanluo wang 閻羅王
yannian shishi 延年石室
Yanqing Guan 延慶觀
Yanyou 延祐
Yao 堯
Yao Boduo 姚伯多
Yao Chi 瑤池
yao qian shu 搖錢樹
Yao Silian 姚思廉
Yaowang Shan 藥王山
yi (idea, intent) 意
Yi (archer) 伊
yi long wan shou yu tian chang cun 益隆萬壽與天長存
Yin (dynasty) 殷
yin (force) 陰
yin (licentious) 淫
Yin Wencao 尹文操
Yin Xi 尹喜
Yin xiansheng 尹先生
Yin Zifang 陰子方
Yinghuo 熒惑
Yingjing 瀛經
Yingtian 應天
Yingzhen Guan 迎真觀
Yingzhou (island) 瀛州
yinyang 陰陽
Yisheng 翊聖
Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖保德真君
Yixing 一行
Yizhou 益州
yong 甬
Yongji 永濟
Yongle 永樂
Yongle Gong 永樂宮
Yongshou Si 永壽寺
Yongxing 永興
Yongzheng 雍正
you (being) 有
you (dark, obscure) 幽
you jing 幽精
You Qiu (Fengqiu) 尤求（風丘）
you zhi 遊治
Yousheng yuanshuai 佑聖元帥
Youyu xian 右玉縣
Yu (area) 雍
Yu (emperor) 禹
Yu Ji 虞集
Yu Jikan 余吉刊
yu qi 玉氣
yu zhi yu hua bing shu 御製御書并書
yuan 緣
Yuan Chengzong 元成宗
Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗
Yuan Mingshan 元明善
Yuan Renzong 元仁宗
Yuan Shizu 元世祖
Yuan Yao 袁曜
Yuanjiao 員嶠
Yuanmiao Guan 元妙觀
yuanqi 元氣
yuanshen 元神
Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊
Yuanshuai 元帥
Yuanyang tongzi 元陽童子
Yuanyou 元佑
Yubu 禹步
Yuci 鬱次
yue (sacred peak) 嶽
Yue (state) 越
yuetai 月台
Yueyang 岳陽
Yueyang Lou 岳陽樓
Yuhuang 玉皇
Yuhuang da tiandi 玉皇大天帝
Yuhuang ge 玉皇閣
Yuhuang Miao 玉皇廟
Yuhuang shi 玉皇士
Yuhuazi 鬱華子
Yujun Changsha 寓君長沙
Yulong Gong 玉隆宮
Yulong wanshou Gong 玉隆萬壽宮
Yunjin shi 雲錦石
Yunnan 雲南
yunü 玉女
Yunü Lingguan Tang 玉女靈觀堂
yunzhuan 雲篆
Yuqing 玉清
yuren 羽人
Yushan 虞山
Yuyao 餘姚
Zao wang 灶王
zaohua 造化
zaojing 藻井
Zeng 曾
Zenghou Yi 曾侯乙
Zetian Shengmu Miao 則天聖母廟
zhai 齋
zhai guan 齋館
Zhang (empress) 章
Zhang (lunar mansion) 張
Zhang Biyun 張碧雲
Zhang Boduan 張伯端
Zhang Daoling 張道陵
Zhang Guolao 張果老
Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥
Zhang Heng 張衡
Zhang Hua 張華
Zhang Huang 章潢
Zhang Jiao 張角
Zhang Junfang 張君房
Zhang Liang 張良
Zhang Ling (Daoling) 張陵（道陵）
Zhang Ling xiansheng 張陵先生
Zhang Liusun 張留孫
Zhang Lu (Celestial Master) 張魯
Zhang Lu (Ming painter) 張路
Zhang Pu 張普
Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰
Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇
Zhang Shangying 張商英
Zhang Sheng 張盛
Zhang Shicheng 張士誠
Zhang Sicheng (Taixuan) 張嗣成（太玄）
Zhang Suqing 張素卿
Zhang Tianyu 張天雨
Zhang Xin 張信
Zhang Xiu 張修
Zhang Xuanqing 張玄慶
Zhang Yu (Zhang Tianyu) 張雨（張天雨）
Zhang Yucai 張宇材
Zhang Yuchu 張宇初
Zhang Yuqing 張宇清
Zhang zhenren 張真人
Zhang Zongyan 張宗演
Zhao Boju 趙伯駒
Zhao Daoyi 趙道一
Zhao Ji 趙佶
Zhao Lingrang 趙令穰
Zhao Lingzhi 趙令畤
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
Zhao Qi 趙麒
Zhao Xuanlang 趙玄朗
Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥
Zhaosheng kangui cishou 照聖康慰慈壽
Zhaotong 昭通
Zhe 浙
Zhejiang 浙江
zhen 真
Zhenfeng Dian 真風殿
zhenfu 鎮駙
Zheng Cai 鄭采
Zhengde 正德
Zhengtong 正統
Zhengyangzi 正陽子
Zhengyi 正一
Zhengyi Dao 正一道
Zhengyi fawen 正一法文
Zhengyi Guan 正乙觀
Zhengyi jiaozhu 正一教主
zhenjue 真訣
zhenren 真人
Zhenwu 真武
Zhenwu lingying zhenjun 真五靈應真君
zhenxian 真仙
Zhenxian Guan 真仙觀
Zhenxing (Saturn) 鎮星
zhenxing (true form) 真形
Zhenxingzi 真行子
zhenyi 真意
zhi 治
Zhi Renzhi Dian Jinyi zhenfu Sanshan Huang ji xie 直仁智殿錦衣籙駙三山黃澤寫
Zhida 至大
Zhidao Guan 致道觀
Zhili 直隸
Zhinan Gong 指南宮
Zhishun 至順
Zhizheng 至正
Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Zhong Yin 鍾隱
Zhongdu 中都
Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本
Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 中國道教協會
Zhongli Quan 鍾離權
Zhongnan Shan 終南山
zhongzhen 眾真
Zhou 周
Zhou Cang 周倉
Zhou Chen 周臣
Zhou Hui 周暉
Zhou Lingwang 周靈王
Zhou Muwang 周穆王
Zhou Xuanzhen (Xuanchu) 周玄真（玄初）
Zhou Yu 周御
Zhuolong Gong 濯龍宮
Zhu Cunli 朱存理
Zhu Di 朱棣
Zhu Haogu 朱好古
Zhu Houzhao 朱厚照
Zhu Yi 朱儀
Zhu Youtang 朱有燉
Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
Zhu Zhichi 朱之赤
Zhu Zhonglian 朱仲廉
zhuan 篆
Zhuang Zhou 莊周
Zhuangzi 莊子
Zhulin qixian 竹林七賢
zhuque 朱雀
Zhurong 祝融

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Zhuyi 朱衣
Zi Gong 紫宮
Zijincheng 紫禁城
Zisun niangniang 子孫娘娘
Ziting 紫庭
Zitong 梓潼
Ziwei 紫微
Ziwei Beiji 紫微北極
Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝
Ziwei yuan 紫微垣
Zixiao Gong 紫霄宮
Zixu Guan 紫虛觀
ziyang (violet light) 紫陽
Ziyang (county) 資陽
zizhi 紫芝
Zong Bing 宗炳
Zongmi 宗密
zongshi 總師
Zongyang Gong 宗陽宮
Zui 醉
zun 尊
Zunyi 遵義
zuo 座
Zuo Ci 左慈
Zuzhou 祖州

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HY 45 *Yuqing wushang lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing* (Jade Purity unsurpassed Numinous Treasure realized scripture on the so of itself fundamental birth of the Northern Dipper)

HY 56 *Taishang yupei jindang taiji jinshu shangjing* (Supreme highest scripture on the jade girdle and golden crown of the ultimate golden book)

HY 97 *Taishang lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* (Supreme Numinous Treasure inner tones of all the heavens and so of themselves jade letters)

HY 149 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* (Ultimate undifferentiated prime illustration of cultivating realization)

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T 397 *Da fangdeng daji jing* (Scripture of the great assembly of great doctrinal universality)

T 1299 *Wenshu shili pusa ji zhuxian suoshuo jixiang shiri shan'e xuyao jing* (Scripture spoken by the Bodhisattva Manjushri and all adepts on the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of times and days and the goodness and wickedness of the radiances of the Lunar Mansions)

T 1300 *Modeng jiaying* (Scripture of Matanga)

T 1308 *Qiyao rangzai jue* (Explanation on dispelling the disasters of the Seven Radiances)

T 1311 *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* (Brahmanic fire net of the Nine Radiances)

T 2035 *Fozu tongji* (Chronological record of Buddhist patriarchs)

T 2059 *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks)

T 2060 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Continued biographies of eminent monks)

T 2102 *Hongming ji* (Collection of immense brightness)

T 2103 *Guang hongming ji* (Extensive collection of immense brightness)

T 2110 *Bianzheng lun* (Discourse on distinguishing the orthodox)

T 2145 *Chu sengzang jiji* (Collected records on releasing the Tripitika)

3. Dynastic Histories

JS *Jinshu* (Dynastic history of the Jin). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.

JTS *Jiu Tangshu* (Old dynastic records of the Tang). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975

LS *Liangshu* (Dynastic records of the Liang). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.

LiaoS *Liao shi* (Dynastic history of the Liao). 5 vols. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1974.

MS *Ming shi* (Dynastic history of the Ming). Reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1974.

SS *Song shi* (Dynastic history of the Song). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.

SuiS *Suishu* (Dynastic records of the Sui). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.

XWDS *Xin wudai shi* (New history of the Five Dynasties). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

YS *Yuanshi* (Dynastic history of the Yuan). Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.

4. Other

BTL Zhao Lingzhi (1175–1231). *Bintui lu* (Record of the retired guest). 10 *juan*. Songyuan biji congshu edition. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983.

CB Li Tao (1115–1184). *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (Supplement to the long compilation of the penetrating mirror of government). 600 *juan*. Reprint, Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1961.

DYXGL Yu Ji. *Daoyuan xuegu lu* (Record of studying antiquity in the garden of the Way). 1341. Reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu, n.d.

GCXZL Jiao Hong, comp. *Guochao xianzhenglu* (Record of presented evidence of the current dynasty). 1616. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1987.

GSZ Huangfu Mi (215–282). *Gaoshi zhuan* (Biographies of exemplary gentlemen). Reprint, Zaixuetang congke, n.d.

HHS Fan Ye. *Hou Han shu* (History of the latter Han). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.

HJ Deng Chun. 1167. *Huaji* (Painting continued). Reprinted in *Huashi congshu* (Collected texts on the history of painting), vol. 1: 267–356. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962.

HNZ Liu An, et al. *Huainanzi* (The master of Huainan). Reprint, Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1995.

HuaJ Tang Hou. 1329. *Hua jian* (The mirror of painting). Reprinted in *Huapin congshu* (Collected texts on the classification of paintings), edited by Yu Anjian, 393–425. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982.

HZL Wang Mingqing (1127–after 1214). *Huizhu* (Record of shaking the flywhisk). 20 *juan*. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.

JLSS Zhou Hui. *Jinling suoshi* (Miscellaneous events of Jinling [Nanjing]). 1610. Reprint, Beijing: Wenwu guji kanxing she, 1955.

JSS Feng Yunpeng and Feng Yunyuan, eds. *Jinshi suo* (On bronzes and jades). 1821.

LX Hong Kuo. *Li xu* (Addendum to *Interpreting Han Clerical Writings*). 1168–69. 3 vols. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan.

LXABJ Lu You (1125–1210). *Laoxue'an biji* (Brush notes from the old scholar's hut). 10 *juan*. Tang Song shiliao biji edition. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.

LXQZ Wang Shizhen, comp. *Liexian quanzhuan* (The complete biographies of the assorted immortals). 1598. Reprint, Shanghai: Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan, 1961.

MHL Xu Qin. *Ming hua lu* (Record of Ming [dynasty] painters). 1673. Reprinted in *Huashi congshu* (Collected texts on the history of painting), vol. 2. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974.

MSZ He Qiaoyuan. *Mingshanzang* (Treasury of famous mountains). 8 vols. 1640. Reprint, Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyin chubanshe, 1993.

NSYH Li E. *Nan Song yuan hualu* (Record of paintings of the Southern Song dynasty Painting Academy). 1721. Reprinted in *Huashi congshu* (Collected texts on the history of painting), vol 3: 1593–1790. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974

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QBGQJ Ni Zan (1306–1374). *Qingbige quanji* (Complete writings of the pure and secluded pavilion). Reprint, Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970.

QDGJTSJC Jiang Ting, et al. *Qinding Gujin tushu jicheng* (Imperially commissioned compendium of diagrams and texts, ancient and modern). 1725.

QHW Yan Kejun, comp. *Quan Hon wen* (A complete collection of writings from the Han), vol. 11. Beijing: Commercial Press.

QSS *Quan Song shi* (Complete Song [dynasty] poems). Edited by Fu Xuancong. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1991.

QTS *Quan Tang shi* (Complete Tang [dynasty] poems). 1707. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986.

RZSB Hong Mai (1123–1202). *Rongzhai suibi* (Scattered notes from the studio of appearances). 74 *juan*. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978.

SGZ Chen Shou. *Sanguo zhi* (Record of the Three Kingdoms). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.

SHJ Wu Qizhen. *Shuhua ji* (Record of calligraphy and painting). C. 1677. Reprinted in Lu Fusheng, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Complete texts on Chinese calligraphy and painting), vol. 8: 1–123. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993–97.

SHMN Zhu Cunli (1444–1513). *Shanhu munan* (Coral and munan gems). In *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Complete texts on Chinese calligraphy and painting), edited by Lu Fusheng, vol. 3: 323–465. 11 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992.

SHY *Song huiyao jigao* (Draft of the collected Song [dynasty] documents). Edited by Xu Song (1781–1848), et al. 460 *juan*. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957.

SQBJ Zhang Zhao, et al. *Shiqu booji* (Precious satchel of the stone channel). 1745. Reprint, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971.

SXJSZ Wu Shushan. *Shaanxi jinshi zhi* (Record of metal and stone [inscriptions] of Shaanxi). 32 *juan*. Shike shiliao xinbian edition. Reprint, Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1977.

SXZ Ge Hong. *Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of the divine immortals). Changsha: Hunan yiwen shuju, 1894.

TFLSHJ Pan Zhengwei. *Tingfon lou shuhua ji* (Record of calligraphy and painting from the Pavilion of Listening to the Sails). 1843. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1970.

TJCBJSBM Yang Zhongliang (1241–1271). *Tongjian changbian jishi benmo* (Topical history drawn from the continuation of the comprehensive mirrors). 150 *juan*. Guangya shuju, 1983.

TWSCT Cai Tao (d. after 1147). *Tiewei shan cong tan* (Compilation of remarks from Iron-Fence Mountain). 1 *juan*. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

WXTK Ma Duanlin (1254–1325). *Wenxian tongkao* (Comprehensive investigation of documents). 348 *juan*. Shitong edition. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936.

XHHP *Xuanhe huapu* (Xuanhe painting catalogue). 1125. 20 *juan*. Reprinted in *Huashi congshu* (Collected texts on the history of painting), vol. 1: 357–641. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974.

XHSP *Xuanhe shupu* (Xuanhe calligraphy catalogue). 1120. 20 *juan*. Reprinted in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (Complete texts on Chinese calligraphy and painting), edited by Lu Fusheng, vol. 2: 4–59. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993.

XQGJ Liang Shizheng, comp. *Xiqing gujian* (Mirror of antiquity of the Western Qing). 1751.

XYLDB *Xinyi Liezi duben* (Study manual for *Liezi*). Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1985.

XYZDB *Xinyi Zhuangzi duben* (Study manual for *Zhuangzi*). Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1985.

XZZTJ Bi Yuan (1730–1797), et al. *Xu zizhi tongjian* (Supplement to the comprehensive mirror in aid of government). 20 *juan*. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957.

YJZ Hong Mai (1123–1202). *Yijianzhi* (Record of the listener). 4 vols. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.

YYB Du Mu. *Yuyi bian* (Compilation of entertained thoughts). C. 1500. Reprinted in *Meishu congshu* (Collected texts on art), vol. 1: 706–11. 3 vols, 1936. Reprint, Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1986.

YZFS Lie Jie. *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards). 1145. Reprint, Taipei: Shanwu, 1974.

YZMHL Huang Xiufu. *Yizhou minghua lu* (Record of famous painters of Yizhou [Sichuan]). 1006. Reprinted in *Huashi congshu* (Collected texts on the history of painting), vol. 3: 1375–1432. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974.

ZHWQN *Zhonghua wuqian nian wenwu jikan* (Five thousand years of Chinese cultural relics). Taipei: Zhonghua wuqian nian wenwu jikan bianji weiyuanhui, 1983–.

ZTDZ *Zhengtong Daozang* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong reign), 61 vols. 1444–45. Reprint, Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1988.

ZZTJ Sima Guang. *Zizhi tongjian* (Penetrating mirror of government). Reprint, Shanghai: Shangyu, 1929.

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May your travels and
adventures take you far
beyond where we left off in
The Four Winds —

warmly

Albert Cullum

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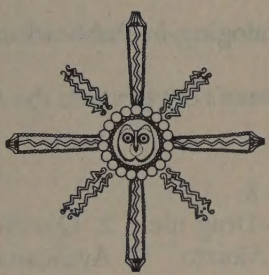
THE FOUR WINDS

A Shaman's Odyssey into the Amazon

Alberto Villoldo

and

Erik Jendresen



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For Candi
Lover, sister, wife, friend.

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Preface

In 1973 I embarked upon a journey that has no end. It began as a romantic quest to experience the effects of a legendary potion. It was inspired by youthful idealism and a Ph.D. dangling like a carrot in front of my nose. I traveled to Peru, into the Amazon, and found what I was looking for. That was the easy part.

Sixteen years, three books, and many lifetimes later, I am compelled to tell the story of my journey, the story of those years.

Every mystical tradition, from the Jewish cabala to the Upanishads of the Hindus, recognizes the existence of things that can be known but not told. There are certain qualities of sense experience that seem to defy description. Frequently our most vivid and important experiences are the very ones that confound us in the telling; it is easier to abandon the effort than to relate them poorly. Such is the nature of my adventures, and two years ago I was in a dilemma. I needed to relate my story, to communicate what I knew, yet I was confounded as to how to tell it.

Many years ago a half-blind soothsayer told me that there are two kinds of people in this world: those who are being dreamed and those who are dreamers. I needed someone to dream with, someone whom I could trust, someone who believed in the things that could be known but not told—and was willing to write about them nevertheless.

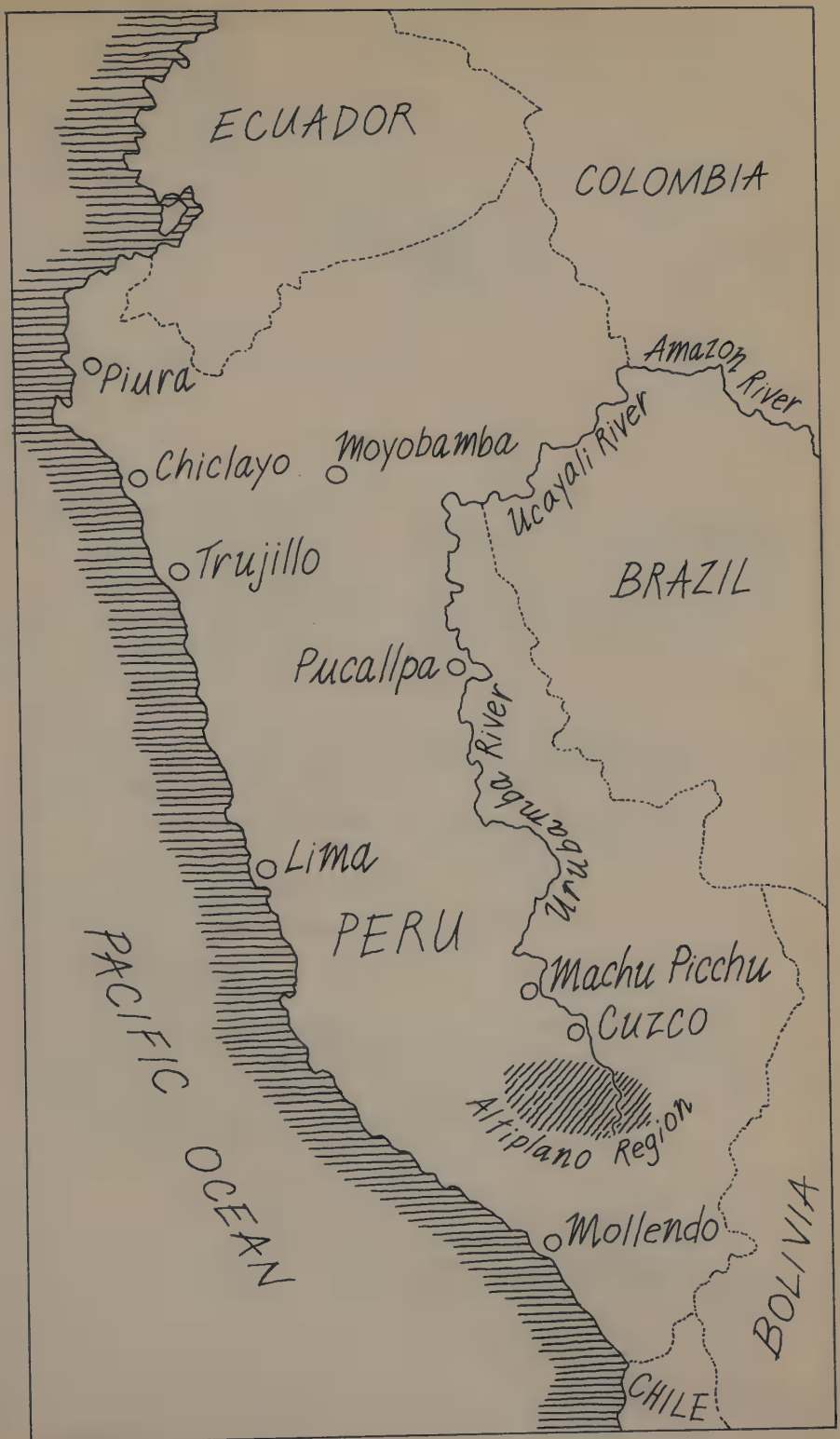
Erik Jendresen and I met in 1979. In 1982 he moved to Mexico to write, and although we were more or less aware of each other's lives, we did not see each other again until the spring of 1987. In the meantime I had continued my work in Peru, and Erik had written for the stage and the screen.

In April of 1987 we traveled to Brazil together, and spent three weeks talking, reading my journals, and wandering the beaches of Rio de Janeiro.

The Four Winds is the result of our friendship and collaboration. It is my story, in his words, and it is true.

Alberto Villoldo
January 1, 1990
Palo Alto, California

THE FOUR WINDS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Mollendo
BOLIVIA
CHILE

Prologue

I am moving. And breathing.

I move through a many-layered collage of wet leaves, hanging vines, reds, yellows, greens washed gray by moonlight. My head hangs low to the ground. Faster, I pant. The ground yields slightly beneath the pads of my . . . hands and feet? They move in cadence with the throbbing in my chest. My breath is hot and humid; my heart beats too fast, and I can smell myself beyond the moist tangle of the jungle.

There is the clearing and there am I, sitting cross-legged, naked, and shining wet in the moonlight. My head is thrown back and my throat is taut, exposed. Arms thrown out lax to my sides, hands palm up on the soil.

I watch myself from the edge of the jungle. Still but for my breathing. Behind me the jungle stirs sleeplessly.

I move with the lithesomeness of a shadow, following the contours of the clearing's edge to circle my prey.

Soundlessly. Closer.

Now we are breathing together. My head falls forward. My chin touches my chest. I raise my head, open my eyes to stare into yellow cat eyes, my eyes, animal eyes. A half-breath catches in my throat, and I reach out to touch the face of the jungle cat.

October 28, 1975

Third day back in the jungle. Three days waiting while Ramón prepares the *ayahuasca*. There was a full moon last night and he placed

the fetid brew in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree that sits by the lagoon behind his thatched hut.

Tonight I will take the *ayahuasca* and Ramón will guide me through the ritual, take me to meet death. This time, I am prepared. Antonio saw to it, and Ramón knows, somehow, that I have done my work, completed my work of the South since—was it two years ago? Yes. That the *medico americano,* the gringo psychologist, showed up in the middle of the Amazon jungle with a taste for "the vine of the dead."

The jungle overwhelms me. The air is thick, more than a tropical density. Oxygen-rich, fragrant, humid, yes, but it feels like energy. The force of the jungle. I have become more sensitive to this sort of thing. . . .

It certainly exerts a force on my perspective of this world. Eden. The Earth's garden. I can imagine the Amazon as bottomless, a crack in the world from which spilled the living soul of the planet. A life of its own, conscious, greater than the sum of its parts.

Last night in that full moon, I wandered far from Ramón's and, in a little clearing beside an overgrown temple ruin, sat down to meditate upon this force.

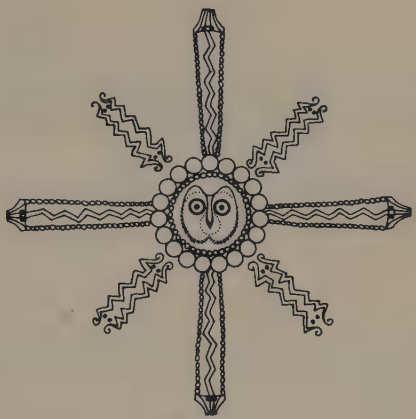
I do not know if I "left my body" and . . . *became* the jaguar that was stalking me. Though my pragmatism has been shaken by my adventures, enough of it is still intact that I must qualify such experiences.

I do know that I met some part of myself last night and my heart beats faster even as I write this.

This afternoon I fasted in preparation for this evening. I made my way to the bend in the river, and, on my small, sandy patch of shore, remembered all that has brought me here and that tonight will mark the halfway point along this Medicine Wheel. When I reflect upon the events of the past two years, I realize that I do not have the power of imagination to anticipate what lies beyond tonight's "work of the West."

Can it be any more extraordinary than what has come before?

South



1

No mind is much employed upon the present; recollection and anticipation fill up almost all our moments.

—*Samuel Johnson*

I left California in February 1973. It was winter in San Francisco when I boarded the jetliner, and the middle of summer when I unfastened my seatbelt in Lima, Peru. I mention this because it served then to remind me that I had made a passage through time as well as a trip through space.

As I look back on that departure and the events that led me to it, I know that any one of them could be construed as the beginning of this chronicle. It is easy to assign significance to the moments of one's past, to see fate in history.

So this story could easily begin with my adventures among the Huichol Indians of northern Mexico, or my work with doña Pachita, the notorious healer and surgeon of Mexico City, or even my research into the spiritist practices of Brazil.

Were I to go back even further, I could cite the influence of doña Rosa, the one-eyed black fortune-teller who lived on the outskirts of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and warned me of my preoccupation with death and the uncommon realms of consciousness. I am even tempted to begin with my nanny, an Afro-American third-generation Cuban, who performed weird and wonderful rituals to summon the spirits in her little room at the end of a hall in our house in San Juan.

Or, further still, I could describe the sensations of a near-death, out-of-body experience during a blood transfusion at the age of two and a half. And I could foreshadow my predisposition to study the mind/body relationship by claiming a grandfather who became chief of surgery at a New

York City hospital at the turn of the century and returned to his native Cuba to build a hospital in the city of Havana.

But this is not an autobiography, and I have documented much of the above elsewhere. I will begin simply by saying that I had reached a critical point in my studies and the fulfillment of my doctorate in psychology at the Humanistic Psychology Institute. After three years of behavioral science, learning theory, clinical psychology, theoretical systems, and neuroanatomy, a year of clinical therapy at a community health care clinic, and a few brief forays into North and Latin American Indian healing traditions, I was restless, eager to do something different.

Something different from the antiseptic theories of Western psychology. Something different from the atrophied healing traditions of the North American Indian reservations, where the old myths and legends survive as quaint folklore.

Like many of my contemporaries, I was unimpressed with the traditional Western model of psychology. In my youthful arrogance I found it convenient to regard the practice of psychology as a patchwork process in which therapists seek to understand a person's problems by dissecting and rationalizing his or her condition, symptom by symptom, making an inevitable connection to inadequate parenting or a traumatic childhood experience. Ironically, the process itself substantiates, even reinforces, the pathology. Neuroses are cultivated for harvest during therapy.

Again and again I had found myself taking a patient by the hand and hacking a pathway through his or her tangled conscious and subconscious to the revelatory meadow of the unconscious mind.

I saw contemporary psychologists as dowdy, bespectacled paleontologists, and the fears, preoccupations, behavioral traits, or other symptoms that they sought to treat in therapy were bone fragments stuck in the surface of the psyche. They labored to collect these fossils and, piece by piece, reconstruct the skeleton of the beast within. Meanwhile, somewhere on the terrain of the unconscious, the fully fleshed-out creature wreaked its havoc.

And, in the laboratory, neurologists were slicing and staining the human brain and attempting to map neural pathways in hopes of finding the human mind and the nature of consciousness.

It was in this tradition that I had been trained. I knew how to work with the mind from the outside in, and I craved to be inside looking out. I was cynical, arrogant, impatient with the system, and judgmental of the

complacency with which so many stuck a Ph.D. at the end of their name and hung up a shingle.

I was not alone. My attitude and ideology were by no means unique. On the contrary, questions regarding the nature of consciousness and the definition of mind had been posed with elegant simplicity for millennia. They are questions which remain unsolved. I would not indulge in this elaboration were it not for the nature of the adventure that lay ahead. I outline my disposition merely as a point of reference, an intellectual pre-flight checklist.

In my dissatisfaction I turned backward in time and tradition, turned my attention from the clinical psychology and neurology of the modern human to the clinical mythology and folklore of the primitive human. After all, mental and physical health are issues of equal importance, whether one is a Chama Indian of the Upper Amazon or an investment banker of the Upper East Side.

I had been able to design my doctoral thesis to support a study of traditional healing practices in the Americas and was fortunate to draw as my thesis adviser one of the world's foremost researchers in states of consciousness. Dr. Stanley Krippner was a pioneer in the study of paranormal phenomena. As director of the Maimonides Medical Center's dream laboratory, he had helped to bring dream research out of the basements and into the laboratories of universities across the country.

From San Francisco, the most accessible examples of primitive culture are in the American Indian reservations of the Southwestern United States. After I had studied the Navaho Indian tradition for a few months, it became clear to me that the displacement and acculturation of the tribes had resulted in the displacement of their tradition. My attempt to study the healing practices of the Plains Indian had been like trying to study the eating habits of a culture by examining a museum display of native basket weaving.

After that I had logged a few months in Mexico City and been fortunate enough to develop a close relationship with urban healers, who dispensed herbal remedies and practiced a variety of esoteric healing techniques, including psychic surgery. I had witnessed much sleight of hand and some spontaneous healing. This was controversial stuff, but a step in the right direction.

As so often happens, the critical instant, the decisive moment that would change the focus of my studies and the course of my life, came when

I least expected it, in a room at the end of an echo-tiled hallway at the University of California.

Brian Woodruff was an old friend, a first-year medical student at the University of California, San Francisco. I was fulfilling a graduate program requirement at the in-patient ward at a mental health care clinic north of the city, and Brian was hustling to complete his first-year requisites when he called me to suggest a late-night dinner in the city. I was to meet him at the medical school, room 601. It was after 10 P.M. when I stumbled out into the mental ward parking lot and headed south through the fog and into San Francisco.

The double door to the University of California Medical School anatomy laboratory was ponderous, institutional gray. The sound of its bar lock ricocheted off cold linoleum.

The room was the size of a small warehouse and blue-gray bright with fluorescent light. There were four rows of bakelite-topped tables upon which vague shapes were draped with black rubberized sheets. The stench of formalin wrinkled my nose. Brian set a stainless steel hacksaw beside a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken and an empty beer bottle, and slid off the tall stool at the head of his table.

"Hey, man! Pull up a stool. The chicken's getting cold."

Brian's cadaver was that of a young woman. The rubber sheet had been folded back to expose her upper chest, neck, and head. Her skin was like calf's hide, her complexion gray and tinged with olive drab.

"This is Jennifer," Brian said. "We've been together all semester." He lifted the surgical saw. "She's taught me more about the human body than I knew there was to learn. I'll never forget her."

"Brian . . ."

"Tonight she's going to lose her head for me, and I wanted you to be here."

"Thanks."

His eyes held mine in a matter-of-fact stare.

"You don't get to see a decapitation these days without a hundred-grand student loan and a year's worth of medical school. I thought you'd be interested."

"Why?"

"Psychologist."

"Yeah," I said. "When people lose their heads, they come to me."

He stared at me for a second, trying to gauge my tone of voice.

"You don't have to do this if you don't want to," he said. "I just thought—I mean, if you're uncomfortable . . ."

"It's all right," I said.

"If you'd rather . . ."

I looked at the bucket of chicken. "I'm just trying to stay away from fried foods," I said. I wasn't prepared to admit that I was strangely revolted, yet irresistably fascinated by the body on the table. He handed me a beer.

"Eat afterward?" he said.

"If we can."

"Incredible, huh? Just down the hall there's a lab where they conduct the foremost research in recombinant DNA. One floor down, neurologists are teaming up with biochemists and computer gurus to simulate the neural pathways of simple brain functions. But here we are cutting up dead people just like Leonardo da Vinci did five hundred years ago." He looked around the room at all the black-draped figures.

"We start on the back because it takes a while to get used to what you're doing, and it's easier if you don't have to look at the face—as if they can really look back at you and make you feel guilty for violating them with a scalpel."

He reached down and cupped the cadaver's chin in the palm of his hand. Her head moved back slightly.

Decisively, he placed the serrated blade of the saw on a wedge of cartilage between the exposed vertebrae of her neck. I couldn't take my eyes from it. When the head was free from the body, he held it in both hands.

"You wouldn't believe some of the more creative things that anatomy students think of to do with other people's body parts." He placed her head on the table, wiped his hands down the front of his smock, and handed me a drumstick from the bucket and took one for himself.

"Here's to science," he said.

"Extra crispy," I said.

We ate the drumsticks and I watched him suck the bone clean. We talked about our plans for the future: he was committed to a four-year graduate program. The discipline was imposed, sink or swim. Mine was

self-imposed and lacked direction. While we talked he took what looked like a large dental drill from a drawer, plugged it into an electrical socket, and selected a bit, a round, disklike blade about two inches in diameter.

"They save the best for last," he said, and the handpiece whirred. "Hold her for me, will you?"

I took the head in my hands and positioned it for him, and he brought the spinning blade down on the forehead. When he was through, when he had rotated the head a full 360 degrees, he switched off the little saw. The whine of the blade still rang in my ears. There was a curious smell in the air, and a fine powder of bone dust lay on the face and clung to its eyelashes. He leaned over and gently blew it away.

"Imagine," he said. "No human being has ever seen Jennifer's brain. You and I are the first. Drum roll, Maestro."

And he pulled the calavarium away from the skull. I had seen a human brain. I had seen many, floating in formalin-filled lab jars. But that moment will always live for me.

Aristotle thought that the brain cooled the blood, that thinking was a function of the heart. René Descartes described the brain as the pump of a nerve fountain. It has been compared to a clock, a telephone switchboard, a computer, yet the mechanics of the brain are far more intricate than any analog. Theorist Lyall Watson wrote that if the brain were so simple that we could understand it, we would be so simple that we couldn't. And the source of all this theory and speculation was the walnut-shaped, fleshy, gray mass of tissue before me.

Brian looked at me and nodded his head toward Jennifer's. Once again I placed a hand on either side of her face, and Brian eased the brain from her head. He stood weighing it in his hands for a moment, then handed it to me. It was heavy.

Brian interrupted the silence.

"I don't believe it either," he said.

I smiled back at him, placed the thing on the table, sat on my stool, and folded my arms. It was easy to make the distinction between Jennifer and the 110 pounds of flesh on the dissecting table before me. It took no great leap of my imagination to accept that her body had ceased to function when her heart had stopped forcing oxygen and nutrient-rich blood through her tissues, and that this brain had regulated all of the systems that had animated it.

But the body does not define the person. Jennifer had lived for forty years. Fifteen thousand days of consciousness. Twenty-one million minutes of being Jennifer. One billion three hundred million instants of experience unique to her and to no other living being, for none other than Jennifer had inhabited her space and experienced her perspective. At the time of her death, each of those moments, the totality of what it had been to be Jennifer, lived as memories. Just as Brian and I were seeing her brain, she had undoubtedly seen things that no one else had seen. She had experienced emotion, intuition, and flashes of creativity. She had felt joy and anguish as only Jennifer could feel them. It was hard to believe that all that had been Jennifer was lost because this thing in front of me wasn't working anymore.

Jennifer had been conscious. What had happened to her conscious*ness*? Where had it gone? I could not help but resist the notion that it had simply ceased to be, that all that had been Jennifer was lost forever.

"What's next?" I asked.

Brian poked his nose back into the bucket of chicken. He grimaced and chose a powdery roll. "Neurology," he said. "The brain gets dissected in neurology class. Slice, stain, study its structure." He glanced down at the three pieces of Jennifer's head. "There's still some work to do on her face, but I'll get to it later." He stuck the roll in his mouth, unplugged the electric saw, and removed the bit from the handpiece.

"Aren't you supposed to have a partner?"

He nodded, wrapped the cord around the handpiece, and gave it to me. "Yeah. It's strictly one corpse per couple. I wasn't here the day we chose our co-cutters, so I got Stephanie. That goes in the drawer."

I slid open the drawer, put away the saw. "Where is she?"

"Safe in bed. Toes all tucked up. She wanted to miss this part."

I lifted a copy of the *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* from the drawer and held it up.

"Uh-huh." He nodded at the magazine. "She wants to do her residency in psychiatry. You'd think she wouldn't have missed this. Stephanie would rather medicate people with personality disorders than heal them. And she has a . . . problem with the human body."

I laughed at him. The sound echoed eerily. "Very bitter," I said. "So you're in love. How long has this been going on?"

"Three months. She's going to change her specialty, settle down into a monogamous relationship, and we'll live happily ever after."

He pointed with his scalpel at the magazine in my hands. "She thinks someone should go down into the Amazon and find the folks who dispense the 'vine of the dead.' "

"What?"

"Page 256." He grinned broadly. "It would take a psychiatrist, someone who speaks Spanish. Of course you're 'just a psychologist. . . .' "

The literature on the *ayahuasca,* also known as "the great medicine," the "visionary vine," and the "rope of the dead," was scarce and confused. The most significant research in its use had been conducted by anthropologist Marlene Dobkin de Rios, the author of the article that I took home with me that evening. Dr. Dobkin de Rios's studies had been carried out on the outskirts of the jungle town of Iquitos, and focused on the use of *ayahuasca* in folk healing and religious and magical rituals. The source of the *yagé*, the broth made from the visionary bark of the *ayahuasca*, was the *ayahuascero,* the jungle shaman or medicine man to whom the methods of its preparation and the attendant rituals had been passed down for generations.

The first Western record of *ayahuasca* use was made by British botanist Richard Spruce in 1851. Spruce identified the vine as *Banisteriopsis caapi,* a climbing vine or liana that used jungle trees for support. Subsequently a handful of early twentieth-century explorers and traders of the Upper Amazon referred to the *yagé* as a potion made from the bark of the vine and the leaves of select jungle plants.

I read of reports of the specificity and recurrence of archetypal images and visions shared by two, three, or more people under the influence of the *yagé*, telepathic experiences, and the use of the vine for psychiatric purposes, a sort of jungle psychotherapy led by the *ayahuascero*. The plant was referred to as the "vine or rope of the dead" because it reportedly "took one to the portals of death and back again." Based on the richness of the mythology and on depictions of the visionary vine on ceramics, and in rock and cave paintings, the use of the plant and ritual for visionary purposes seemed to be rooted in the prehistory of South America.

This was the adventure for which I yearned. I would go to Peru, not just to sample the psychoactive effects of an obscure jungle vine, but to

study the psychological traditions and altered states of consciousness of the medicine men and women, the shamans of the Amazon. Peru: the only country in the Americas where the Indian outnumbered the white man.

The two weeks following my dinner with Brian were spent searching for references to the vine and reviewing all that I knew about shamanism. One of the most definitive sources on the subject was the authoritative, if prosaic *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaigues de l'extase* by Mircea Eliade. Eliade's study described shamanism as a religious phenomenon occurring throughout Asia, Oceania, the Americas, and among the ancient Indo-European peoples. Throughout this vast area the magico-religious life of society centered on the shaman, "at once magician and medicine man, miracle doer, priest, mystic, and poet." To Eliade, shamanism was a "technique of ecstasy."

I pored over anthropological and ethnological journals and texts. By the end of that second week I knew little more than when I started. Shamanism was a tradition found in virtually every primitive society, in every forgotten corner of the globe. In general, the shaman was a "person of knowledge," a "man or woman of vision," a mediator between the natural and supernatural forces of nature. Because these were the forces that the shaman held responsible for health and disease, the shaman was a healer. And, although ignorant of modern medicine, the shaman was said to be able intuitively to diagnose disease and, through ritual, could effect a positive change in a patient's health.

Legend held that the shaman acquired his or her extraordinary abilities through arduous study and ritual-laden exercise and by journeying into other realms of consciousness.

The concept of this primitive person as a traveler within the domains of consciousness fired my imagination. Was it possible to witness the nonconscious workings of the human mind? Must we rely on the vaguely recalled images and visions of our dreams as our only contact with the unconscious? Or are there ways to access the unconscious mind consciously?

By the time the check came from the student loan office, I had been packed for two days. I was holding a brand new passport and a reservation on the next flight to Miami and a connecting flight to Lima. It would be the last time for many years that I would be fully prepared for anything.

I called Brian, invited him and Stephanie to dinner, and spent the last

of my loose change on fresh pasta, vegetables, salad greens, and a bottle of 1968 California cabernet sauvignon.

I also bought a journal, a small, leatherbound volume of 250 blank pages.

"Can I have your car?" Brian helped himself to another plateful of salad.

"My car?"

"Yeah. In case you don't come back."

Stephanie frowned, but her eyes were smiling. "Brian!"

He shrugged. "Anything can happen. He's going into the Amazon, and we're talking about a 1964 Porsche, Stephanie. A convertible. Needs body work and new seats, but I could handle that."

"Is it dangerous?" she asked casually. Stephanie was a handful. She was tall and athletic, with a straight nose, strong chin, auburn hair, and blue eyes. Effortlessly beautiful, she worked at being tough. Medical school does that to some people.

"I don't know," I said. "I haven't been there yet."

"You'll probably be captured by Oogly Boogly Indians and inculcated into their tribe," Brian said. "All they'll find is a soiled diary with 'February thirteenth. Heading upriver' scrawled in pencil on the last page."

I smiled down at the gift Brian had brought, an authentic Bowie knife with a nine-inch steel blade in an oiled black leather sheath.

"Or," said Stephanie, "you'll find refuge in the altered state of some jungle brew and never come back to reality."

"You don't think much of all this, do you?"

She smiled into her wine glass. "Psychedelic drug therapy was researched to death in the fifties and sixties. Albert Hofman, Grof, Leary, Metzner. . . ."

"LSD wasn't researched to death," I said. "It was condemned to death, federally. I'm not interested in LSD, and I'm not talking about clinical research in psychedelics."

In 1943 Dr. Albert Hofman had synthesized lysergic acid diethylamine, a substance two thousand times as strong as mescaline, the most powerful psychoactive then known. A decade of subsequent clinical research was followed by unprecedented social experimentation. By the time

the substance was federally banned, it was estimated that between one and two million Americans had experienced life-altering, or at least consciousness-altering, experiences. Much of the research of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s was funded by the U.S. government. I had gotten tapped, and so had my thesis adviser, by the Army Chemical Corps and the Technical Services branch of the CIA to join a couple of hundred others investigating mind-altering substances for the government and the Chemical Warfare Service. Their programs included both animal and human experimentation. There was a lot of money in it, and many academics opted to participate. The government research opportunities were unlimited. We had turned them down.

I watched Stephanie sip her wine, and leaned toward her over the table between us. "We're neophytes, Stephanie. Whether we're wearing white lab coats, administering drugs to mice and Japanese fighting fish, or interviewing tripping schizophrenics." I lifted the bottle of cabernet and filled her glass. "I'm not interested in that. It's a blade of grass."

"A blade of grass?"

I nodded. I knew what was coming would provoke her. "Claude Lévi-Strauss, the anthropologist, said that the civilized man needs to understand the workings of a blade of grass before he can comprehend the universe. The primitive seeks to know the nature of the universe so that he can appreciate the dynamic beauty of a blade of grass." She looked at Brian as though she were expecting him to say something about all this. I drained the wine bottle into his glass.

"I'm interested in folks who have entered and explored nonordinary states of consciousness for hundreds or maybe thousands of years. They're not students, they're masters, and if they know how to enter other realms of consciousness, access heightened states of awareness, healing states, then they know something that I want to know."

Her eyes narrowed. "And you expect to hack your way through the jungle and find some medicine man who's willing to share his mythology and his ritual with you."

"Yes," I said. "I do."

"Here's to it," said Brian.

He raised his glass and so did I. Stephanie smiled and lifted hers. The glasses chimed over the center of the table. Hers seemed to hold its note longer than ours, but it could have been my imagination.

When they had gone and the plates had been scraped, I dug my un-

opened journal from my duffel bag, cracked it open, and folded back the first page.

Emerson said that those who write to themselves write to an eternal public, and my first lines were necessarily melodramatic.

February 7, 1973

If the unconscious mind communicates with us through the imagery of dreams, draws from a lexicon of images to talk to us, can we not learn its vocabulary and talk back to it? Communicate consciously with the unconscious? Enter it? Alter it?

Are there states of consciousness in which we can disinhibit the body's latent healing capabilities?

Let us begin with the states of consciousness.

The only way to *study* consciousness is to experience its states directly.

2

all ignorance toboggans into know
and trudges up to ignorance again.

—e. e. cummings

You can fly into Cuzco only in the morning. The capital of the ancient Inca empire lies in an Andean valley at eleven thousand feet above sea level. The afternoon updrafts make the approach to the airfield unnavigable.

The captain muttered something through the crackling distortion of the cabin loudspeakers. The "Fasten Seatbelts" sign blinked erratically in red, and the thirdhand DC–8 banked sharply to the left, winged through a narrow gap in the overgrown mountain range, and entered the valley of Cuzco, the oldest continuously inhabited city on the continent.

Scarcely eight hours before, sometime around 2 A.M., the ten-hour flight from Miami had ended in Lima. The night was humid and starless. My senses had been deadened by the all-night flight, neutralized by the fluorescent lights and the conditioned air of the cabin, and I was struck, as I always was, by the smell of a foreign city. Lima was diesel fuel, pork rinds frying in old oil, exhaust fumes, industrial stench, and a barely discernable tang of sea air.

An *aduana* official with brilliantined hair squinted up at me, stamped my passport, and granted me ninety days in his country. I made a nest of my duffel bags and backpack, settled into a corner of the concrete-and-tile terminal, and waited for my connecting flight to Cuzco.

February 10, 1973

I feel like averting my eyes, denying the ugliness of the city that I will see when the sun rises. It's the romantic in me.

Lima. Another capital of another third world country.

Four hundred years ago, the Spanish conquerors leveled a pine forest that stretched to the sea, and Lima is a desert city. Once the hub of colonial South America, now conquered by the twentieth century. The industries have been nationalized, the republic is governed by a military junta, and a third of the country's fifteen million have come here to live in the squalor of the *pueblos jovenes* on the outskirts of town, to find work to buy bread or cornmeal or beans.

I don't want to see this.

I did see it, of course. Although I would return to Lima, pass through it many times during the next decade, come to know its museums, colonial hotels, and other charms, I shall always think of the city as I saw it that morning from the air, when the sun hovered above the horizon like a perfect orange ball, its rays filtered out by the *garúa*, the coastal fog that mingled with the smog and blanketed the capital of Peru in mist the color of wet ashes.

Cuzco was breathtaking—literally. The high-altitude air was cool, bright, sparkling fresh, and, like anything worth having, hard to get. I shielded my eyes from the sun, the sharp contrasts of light and shadow patterning the mountain faces and Spanish tile roofs. I hailed a taxi and headed downtown.

There is a legend that tells of Manco Capac, the first Inca, the "son of the Sun," born in the waters of Lake Titicaca, sovereign ruler of the Quechua Indians, who, when he had come of age, assembled his brothers and set out "toward the hill over which the Sun rose." He carried with him a golden rod. When he reached this valley surrounded by four great snow-capped peaks, he plunged the rod into the Earth and it disappeared. The sacred spot was Cuzco, "the Earth's navel," and here he founded his capital sometime around A.D. 1200.

His successors conquered most of Peru and Bolivia. The ninth Inca, Pachacuti, expanded his territory north to Ecuador and south to Argentina,

and, by the time the Spanish arrived, the Inca Empire was the greatest kingdom the Western hemisphere had ever known.

And Cúzco was the seat of this empire, the largest city in the Americas, a wondrous metropolis built in the shape of a jaguar, where the Sapphi and Tullumayo rivers were diverted to flow beside stone-flagged streets criss-crossing the city. It was a place of great temples and fortresses, engineering and architectural achievements without parallel in American antiquity, nested between the terraced hillsides of this remote Andean valley.

Captain Francisco Pizarro marched into Cuzco in 1533. By that time the Europeans had "discovered" their New World, and smallpox and the common cold were spreading faster than the epidemic conquest. Pizarro installed a young nobleman named Manco as a puppet ruler, but Manco fled from the capital to raise an army of a hundred thousand to lay seige to the Spaniards in Cuzco. The last great battle of the Spanish conquest of Peru was fought at Sacsayhuaman, at the "head" of the jaguar-shaped city, and armor-plated men on horseback swinging steel swords and wielding firearms won out over men with clubs, spears, slingshots, and arrows. Finally the empire, its millions of subjects and unimaginable wealth, fell to a relatively small company of Spanish soldiers, and Manco fled high into the Andes, where none could follow, to a hidden sanctuary fortress called Vilcapampa.

February 11

Spent the day knocking around Cuzco. Now at a little desk by the open window in my room at the hotel—a cozy little place with a colonnaded courtyard, fountain, bougainvillea, the works. Colonial Latin America.

There's a fiesta on somewhere, I can hear the music on the cool night air. This is a magical city. A real monument to the history of Latin America.

For instance, the Plaza de Armas. Wonderful. Flags flying.

This was the heart of the Inca city. Now a classical Spanish plaza surrounded by colonial arcades. There is the cathedral, the churches of Jesus Maria and El Triunfo, and La Compañia. All built on foundations made from the great stone blocks of Inca temples and palaces torn apart by the Spaniards to support their places of Catholic worship. An Inca wall, a wall of the palace of the great Pachacutec, is now a wall in the Café Roma. I ate there.

The base of the church of Santo Domingo is the Corinacha, the "golden courtyard," an Inca temple whose perfectly fitted walls were once covered with gold. Astonishing.

Funny how the United States seems light years from this place. Thinking changes. If you let it. If you have no tour schedule to maintain, if your agenda is specific to being here rather than getting to the next place you're going to. . . .

Different time. Life moves at a different tempo. Time to digest.

Cloistered, protected. Not from the world, for the earth is in evidence here, nature is everywhere, from the whitewashed adobe and red clay tiles and rough-hewn beams, to the fruits and vegetables still dirty with soil, to the cobblestones, to the vista of the mountains that surround the place. Terraced hillsides and snow-capped peaks.

Nature in evidence subtly in the hats the men and women wear to shade their eyes from a sun that beats down upon them, shines directly upon their city, unfiltered by the by-products of civilization. Remarkable, really. Very real. Essentially a place on Earth inhabited by man rather than a complex built on a framework of concrete, steel, and asphalt. A city that lives in nature, but hasn't replaced it.

I'm here because the Andes are the Himalayas of South America, and Cuzco is its Katmandu—the travel hub. From here I can head for the jungle, but I'd rather go knowing something. Could go to Iquitos, where Marlene Dobkin de Rios did her research, but would rather not. In Mexico I found that there was a subculture of *curanderos,* a network of hearsay, so I'll start in the market, ask a few questions.

Tomorrow.

The market was set up along an Inca wall that stretched between two of Cuzco's 360 churches. Latin American markets are more or less the same, from Mexico to Chile. Cobbled walkways lead you through a maze shaded by umbrellas or stretched *manta* cloth on stilts, where the most vibrant colors of nature are arranged in pyramids or overflowing from wooden crates worn smooth from years of handling. Reds: tomatoes, apples, sides of beef and rosy pork, sliced watermelon, peppers, chiles. Yellows: papayas,

squash blossoms, lemons and grapefruit brought from the lowlands, bananas, peppers, chiles. Oranges: squash and pumpkins, mangoes, carrots, chiles. Purple eggplant and cabbage. Dappled breadfruit and grenada fruits spotted yellow-brown like a leopard. There are the grays of salted fish and sacks of grain. Little mounds of canihua and quinoa seeds, corn, wheat, and barley, arranged on burlap blankets or palm-mesh mats on the flag-stoned sidewalks, and, at your feet, dogs and chickens, household goods and utensils, both wooden and tin, nylon net *bolsas*—pastel shopping bags with plastic handles, ceramic bowls, and Inca artifacts reproduced in shopworn clay.

The vendors, proud and passionate, sing, shout, exclaim the praises of their produce, entice the people with the ripeness, heartiness, tenderness, freshness of their fruits, vegetables, meats, and poultry. What will you have? Here! Look at what I have brought for you! Look at the colors, feel the texture, smell the ripeness, taste the succulence! How many? And the pan of the crusty metal scale jerks and the needle swings wildly. *¡Medio kilo!* Only two *soles!*

I purchased a rainbow-colored *bolsa* and maneuvered my way through the throng of housewives, cooks, hungry Indians, wide-eyed schoolchildren. I bought a fresh-baked roll of sweet bread here, a banana there. Drank a blended mango and papaya drink at a linoleum juice counter.

On the edge of the market, a thick-skinned, shriveled old woman sat, legs folded beside her, on a woven mat near the sidewalk. She was an herbalist, the native druggist. Strips of bark, bits of dried seaweed, withered leaves, tiny mounds of sulphur, quinine, and other powders and grains were arranged in tidy little piles before her. Bottles of oils, sun-dried snakeskins, jars of animal organs, tiny packets—twists of paper. Her eyes were like craters, and she had the devilish look that goes with the trade.

"¿Tutacama ninacha?"

What did she say? I smiled into her eyes. *"¿Perdón, señora?"*

"¿Tutacama? ¿Munacquicho fortunacquata?"

Quechua. The language of the Indians. I had heard its curious clipped and guttural rhythms in the market, but most of the vendors spoke Spanish. The old woman reached down into the folds of her woven skirt and held three leaves in the palm of her hand. Even the palm was wrinkled.

"¿Fortunacquata?"

"She is asking if you wish to have your fortune told."

Spanish. The voice came from my right shoulder. I turned and looked down. A young man, possibly eighteen or twenty. A white shirt and navy

blue trousers, a stack of books under his arm. He had a flat Indian face and a nose that started high on his forehead and curved down, dividing his face into two halves. He smiled up at me. "She does not speak Spanish, only Quechua. Do you wish your fortune?"

"Yes. Thanks."

He grinned and gave her the go-ahead, and she blew on the leaves and let them fall to the mat. A quick glance was all it took before she peered up at me and rattled off something in Quechua.

"Hmmm." The young man touched the end of his nose with his forefinger. "You are on a quest," he translated, "looking for something that will save your life."

She nodded, then added the punch line.

He grinned again. "And it will kill you if you do not find it, and it might kill you if you do."

I liked that.

"You are looking for something?" he asked.

"I'm looking for a healer, a good *curandero,*" I said.

"You are sick?"

"No. But I would like to meet one. A good one. Do you think she knows of one?"

"She will tell you that she is one."

"If she were a good one, she wouldn't be selling her medications in the market."

"That's true," he said. "I think there are some healers. . . . But if you are not sick. . . . You are a tourist?"

"No. I'm from a university in the United States." I dug a few *soles* from my pocket and handed them to the old woman with a smile and a nod.

"A university! You are a student?"

"Well, a teacher, actually. Psychology."

He wagged his head up and down as though he now understood something profound. "We have a university. I am a student. You should see Professor Morales!"

The Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cuzco lay in a mountain cul-de-sac near the edge of town. It was an unimpressive complex

of two-story, weathered concrete buildings ventilated by louvered windows that had been modern in 1940; the university had been founded in 1692. My young friend of the market had neglected to mention that the school was on strike and the place was more or less deserted, though it was, I think, a Monday.

The philosophy department was at the end of a dreary gray corridor. A pink three-by-five card taped to the door told me that Professor Morales's class would be meeting in the cafeteria.

Why the cafeteria was open and functioning during a strike, I'll never know. I chalked it up as one of the mysteries of Latin America, where things are seldom as they seem and rarely as they should be.

Professor Morales's students were already filing out by the time I found the cafeteria in the basement of the main building. The man I sought stood near a table in the center of the room. His hands were buried deep in the pockets of his trousers, and his head was bowed as he listened, nodding, to a young Indian student at his side.

He was a small man, no more than five feet six, but not slight. He had a durable and compact shape, but it was mostly hidden in a pin-striped suit that was out of fashion in 1945 and had lost its shape soon after. His hair was gray and straight, parted in the middle and brushed back from his forehead, but his eyebrows were black and hooded his eyes.

He withdrew a hand from his pocket and placed it reassuringly on the student's shoulder, said something, and the young face brightened. The student made an awkward little bow and joined a girl waiting for him at the door.

"Professor Morales?"

"Yes?"

I introduced myself. His eyebrows arched as I listed my credentials, not exceptional by U.S. standards, but he looked around the room and back, as if to wonder what this university could possibly have to offer me.

I mentioned my experiences with Mexican healers, my desire to study the use of the *ayahuasca* and explore the primitive healing traditions of the Peruvian shaman. I needed advice, I said.

"I am merely a philosophy teacher," he said. "You should go to Lima. There is a museum of anthropology there."

This was going to be a dead end. "I have heard of it," I lied. "But I'm a psychologist, a therapist. I want to find an *ayahuascero* and experience his form of therapy firsthand. I want to write about it."

"Write about it?"

"For my doctoral thesis."

His eyes moved down from my face, down my shirt front, down the strap of my shoulder bag, stopped on the bag, and continued on down my trousers to my hiking boots. Then he lifted his eyes to a spot somewhere on my forehead. His eyes reminded me of someone, but I couldn't place it.

"What brings you to me?"

"I was told that you knew something."

His face brightened into a handsome smile. "And where did you hear this?"

"In the market."

"In the market! There I am known only for my ability to bargain with the fruit vendors." He frowned. There was a trace of suspicion in his voice. "Do you speak Quechua?"

"No. I was trying to communicate with an herb seller. A young man intervened on my behalf. It was he who mentioned your name. He said that you knew something about the *curanderos*."

He nodded his understanding. "One of my students, no doubt. Very polite to help a traveling stranger."

He pushed back the shirt cuff protruding from the sleeve of his jacket and looked at his watch, an old Timex. "Would you like a little coffee?"

3

Experience is the name everyone gives to their mistakes.

—Oscar Wilde

"So." Professor Morales lifted the lid from a sugar bowl and dipped his spoon into the mound of coarse, unrefined sugar. "Do you seek to have an experience, or to serve an experience?"

"Pardon?"

"With the *ayahuasca*."

"I don't understand."

"How will I explain. . . ." He held the spoonful of sugar just above the oil-spotted surface of his coffee. "Have you ever taken the Sacrament?"

"Professor?"

"The Eucharist. The consecrated bread and wine of the Catholic faith. The body and the blood of Christ. Have you tasted it?"

"Yes."

"You are Catholic?"

"No." I looked down at the spoon, hovering motionless.

"But you have knelt before the altar."

"Yes."

He nodded. "You have taken the wafer on your tongue, and it stuck to the roof of your mouth and tasted like cardboard, and the wine was cheap and sweet."

I laughed. "Yes."

"You have done this, yet you are not Catholic. You have had an experience of the Holy Communion, but you have not communed." Carefully, he lowered the spoon onto the surface of the coffee. The liquid seeped into the sugar from the edges of the spoon, and the little mound was saturated

crystal by crystal. "*Experience* rather than experience served." He tipped the spoon and the thick sugar syrup oozed into the coffee. "The ritual did not serve you, for you did not serve the ritual. It is a question of intent."

I smiled at this and said: "My intentions are strictly honorable."

"You intend to study the use of the *ayahuasca* by the Peruvian shaman?"

"Well. . . . Yes."

"*That* is your intention. What is your purpose?"

I took a deep breath and let it go. Professor Morales reached his hand across the table. The cuffs of his white shirt were slightly soiled. He touched my forearm with a gently weathered hand. "You are growing impatient with my . . . semantics."

"Not at all," I lied.

"You are Latin, yes?"

"I was born in Cuba."

He nodded and stirred his coffee. I studied his brow, the bridge of his nose, the sculpture of his cheekbones, his hair. Indian. The head of the department of philosophy of the Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad was an Indian. A Quechua Indian. His ancestory was pure, unviolated by the Spanish conquest. But not untouched.

And I had the sudden conviction that he knew a great deal, that his wisdom was profound and his eccentricity genuine. For some reason, by some fluke of association, I thought of Merlin. As I did so, he reached into the pocket of his jacket and withdrew a tiny bird's nest. He made a sort of "hmmm" sound and produced a pair of ivory dice, a couple of kernels of corn, and a small Mexican God's eye: a cross formed by two straight twigs woven together with white and red yarn, forming a diamond-shaped bull's-eye. Tassels of green yarn dangled from the ends of the twigs. He placed this in the center of the table, returned the other objects to his pockets, and sipped from his coffee.

"The *ayahuasca* has been studied, has been written about in scholarly journals."

"Marlene Dobkin de Rios. Yes. I have read her papers. She is an anthropologist," I said.

"And you are a psychologist. You have read these accounts and are curious about the effects of this folkloric plant on the human psyche and the . . . unconscious mind."

He blinked and his eyes moved from mine, shifted to the left and

seemed to focus on a point somewhere over my right shoulder. I turned my head to follow his gaze. An empty table in the corner near the door to the cafeteria. When I turned back he was smiling at me. His eyes were younger than his face; walnut brown iris and ebony black pupil stood out in sharp definition against veinless whites.

"You want to taste the *yagé,* and you are drawn to it by a fascination with death." He sipped again from his cup.

"It's true, then?"

He raised his eyebrows for a question.

"The *ayahuasca* takes you to meet death?"

"That is the claim, yes. *Aya* is Quechua for "death." *Huasca* is "rope" or "vine." The "rope of the dead." It is one of the sacred medicines of the shamans of the Amazon jungle, and that is where you must go to find it. But if you do this, if you work with an *ayahuascero. . . .*" He cocked his head, grinned. "And if you survive, and if you write about your experience and speculate on its effects, who will read it?"

"Professors at my university. Psychologists."

"And this will win for you a doctorate?"

"Yes. This and my work with healers in Mexico."

"I am surprised that any scientist in the United States would be interested in such subjective experiences."

"Psychology is still a young science. It is not yet even fully accepted *as* a science, and I am capable of reporting objectively on my experiences."

His eyebrows arched. "Is any man able to be objective about his *own* experience?"

"Perhaps not, but I can document the psychological effects I experience just as I have documented the physical effects of traditional healings that I have witnessed."

"Undoubtedly. But which is more important, the cause of healing and the cause of a psychological experience, or the effect—the end result?"

I thought about this and framed my answer carefully. "They are of equal importance, but one must judge the effect before investigating the cause."

"That is a Western answer. It is rational. But you are on the brink of a realm in which cause and effect cannot be separated. If you enter this realm it will become important to understand this relationship." He leaned forward over his cup. "*Your* cause must be clear, for it will determine the effect. Your experience will be affected by what you bring to it, how you approach

. . . the . . . the *ayahuasca* ritual, for example. The realm of the shaman requires one to be impeccable of intent. It is quite a challenge."

"You know a great deal about this."

He shrugged. "I teach philosophy. I am an Indian, the only one here." A graceful sweep of his hand included the whole university. "An Indian, and an old one at that, so I must be wise." He laughed at this and said: "There are ancient traditions in my country. It is a very rich culture, and I grew up with its myths and have studied its legends. Shamans are the masters of the myths and often the makers of the legends. Men and women of knowledge, the physicians, psychologists . . ." He nodded. "Yes . . . and the storytellers of a community. They understand the forces of Nature and use those forces to maintain the health and well-being of their people." He drained his cup, set it on the saucer, and pushed them to one side. "They are the caretakers of the Earth. An intriguing notion when understood. On the surface, very quaint."

"How should I proceed?"

"Follow your instincts. They have brought you this far."

"Yes, but where will I find a shaman who is willing to work with me?"

"The villages of the *altiplano,* the high desert plateau. You will find healers, perhaps a self-styled sorcerer or two. You do not speak Quechua and you will need to hire the services of a translator. But you are interested in the *ayahuasca,* the medicine of the jungle. Do you have a piece of paper?"

I nodded quickly and dug into my pockets. Coins, my hotel room key. I reached for my shoulder bag. At last I was going to get something concrete. I pulled my journal from the bag.

"There is a custom," said Professor Morales, staring at the unworn binding, the unfingered pages, "that a shaman will share his or her knowledge with all who seek it if they present themselves with impeccable intent, purity of purpose. That is how you will know a *hatun laika,* a master shaman, from a simple healer. If you wish to enter the other world, the world of the shaman, if you wish to journey through the Medicine Wheel, then you will need to find a *hatun laika,* and you will need to be prepared to approach him or her as a student, as a beginner, not as a . . . psychologist." He produced an old-fashioned fountain pen from the breast pocket of his jacket. "If you wish simply to taste and to study the use of the *ayahuasca* you will need only to meet one who is skilled in its preparation and the rituals of the jaguar path. I have heard of a man . . . No, no! Do not tear it!"

He reached across the table and placed a hand on the page that I was set to rip from the journal. He smiled and pulled the open volume toward him. He unscrewed the cap from the pen and wrote something in the upper right corner of one page.

"The jaguar path?"

"The journey West. The second cardinal point on the Medicine Wheel." He blew gently on the ink and closed the journal, and his eyes rose to meet my curious gaze.

"The Medicine Wheel," he said again.

I shook my head.

"The Medicine Wheel, the fourfold path of knowledge. It is also called the journey of the Four Winds. It is the legendary journey that an initiate undertakes to become a person of knowledge." He lifted the God's eye from the table.

"Yes?"

"Yes. The Medicine Wheel is the mandala of the Inca shaman, although there exists no real symbol for it, just as there are no writings, no figure of worship, no human prophet, or son of a deity. None are needed. The journey through the Medicine Wheel is a journey undertaken to awaken vision and to discover and embrace the Divine within oneself, to reestablish one's connection with Nature and the mystery of the cosmos, to acquire skills and the wisdom to use them." He turned the God's eye by twisting its base between his finger and thumb.

"The Four Winds are marked out like the cardinal points of a compass." He pointed to the base of the God's eye. "It begins in the South, the serpent path, where one goes to shed the past, just as the serpent sheds its skin. The jaguar path in the West," he pointed to the left point on the cross, "is where one loses fear and faces death. In the North one takes the dragon path to discover the wisdom of the ancients and to create a union with the Divine. Finally," he pointed to the tip of the right arm of the cross, "the eagle path of the East—the flight to the Sun and the journey back to one's home to exercise one's vision in the context of one's life and work. The legends claim that this is the most difficult journey the shaman undertakes."

He replaced the God's eye in a jacket pocket. "It is said that few complete this journey of initiation. There are few true shamans, few true persons of knowledge. Many who tread this path stop along the way and are

content to be healers and medicine men. They become masters of their own direction. And then there are those who become trapped by power." He made a fist. "Lost along the way. It is a journey that can take a lifetime." He relaxed his grip. "But it is a charming program, don't you think? And so much less complicated than the sephiroth of the Jewish cabala or the Buddhist pathways to nirvana."

He pushed my journal back across the table. "But you are concerned with the *ayahuasca,* which is said to aid one along the path of the West. I have heard of a man, an *ayahuascero* in the jungle near Pucallpa. I have written his name and rough directions in your book. You can fly there from here."

"You have met this man?" I asked.

"No. One of my students is from the area and has told me of him. He has quite a reputation. I have often thought of taking myself there, but I have not found the time." He looked again at his watch. "I must leave you now. I am meeting a class at the ruins of Tambo Machay. If you return to Cuzco, I would be greatly pleased if you would be my guest to lecture to them about Western psychotherapy. They would be most interested." He smiled. "And so would I."

He looked about him, patted his pockets, and stood. I jumped to my feet and offered my hand. "Thank you, Professor Morales, for your time and patience. I was fortunate to find you." He waved it off. "And I *will* return," I said. "It would be an honor to lecture to your students."

Again, the professor's attention was drawn to something over my shoulder. I turned and this time there was something to see. Two young Indians stood dripping wet at the doorway to the cafeteria. Their straight black hair was matted to their foreheads and their clothes were sopping. They were barefoot, clutching their shoes to their stomachs. They stared wide-eyed and expectantly at the professor.

"Why do you carry your shoes, *jovenes*?"

"It is raining, maestro."

"Yes," said the professor, patiently. "I guessed that. We will have our class here in the cafeteria. But why do you go barefoot?"

They looked down at the floor. "We do not want to get our shoes wet."

Professor Morales sighed and placed a hand on my shoulder. "Yes," he said in careful English. "It would be an honor to lecture to them."

February 13
Airborne over the Amazon

Experience and experience served.

I sit in my window seat in this trembling relic of an airplane that was probably overhauled sometime during the Eisenhower administration. Outside the twin propellers tear the air to shreds and pull me closer to some jungle airstrip, and I am reminded of a similar flight three summers ago.

Oaxaca, Mexico. The Huichol Indians. Experience? Or experience served?

In 1969, at the end of my senior year of college, with a bachelor's degree in inter-American studies, I was accepted to the master's program at the new Humanistic Psychology Institute. To make ends meet during my senior year, I had been teaching summer school Spanish to a small private high school class, and when word came of my acceptance into the master's program, I decided to celebrate by organizing a four-week field trip to Mexico. It was a toss-up whether the students or their parents were more eager for the kids to disappear for the summer.

After a month of touring Mexico City and, southeast, to the Yucatán Peninsula and the home of the Mayas, I packed the students back to San Francisco, their suitcases crammed with dirty clothes, heads filled with colloquial Spanish, eyes widened by their first experience of the third world. I stayed on, flew to Tepic, on the west coast of Mexico, and hired a pilot and his single engine Cessna to take me to Mesa del Nayar, in the state of Oaxaca.

We were forced to buzz the narrow mountain airstrip twice to clear the runway of livestock: wandering pigs, sheep, skeletal cows, all shepherded by a little boy dressed in white. His name was Gerardo and I hired one of his burros to take me into the mountains above the mesa, to a village that proved to be his own.

I stayed with the Huichols for three weeks. I lived in their village, dazzled their children with maps of the world drawn in the sand, learned

something of their isolated culture and the significance of the brightly colored yarn paintings for which the tribe was famous. A painting, made by pressing naturally dyed yarn onto a beeswax-covered board, was used to portray the psychodynamic of a person in a pictograph, a "spirit catcher." The artist was a sort of psychologist who carefully designed a painting to tell the story of a client's condition. The decisive moment in this form of therapy was the moment when the soul was captured in the picture. The artist/healer would then alter the picture subtly and thereby effect a change in the client's condition.

Tourism is now the principal source of revenue for the Republic of Mexico, and the paintings have become popular curiosities, colorful souvenirs; Day-Glo synthetic yarn has replaced natural color and fiber, and the art form has all but lost its meaning.

But there, in that remote mountain village, on a stool in the doorway of her adobe *casita,* Gerardo's grandmother, doña Juanita, worked the yarn with deeply stained, callused fingers. She attributed much of her skill and insight to *hikuli,* peyote, the sacred cactus of the rural Indian tribes of Mexico.

Had I had the time and means to stay with the Huichols for more than a few weeks, I might have accompanied the members of the village on their annual pilgrimage to the northeastern desert to gather peyote on the slopes of the sacred mountain of Wirikuta. I might even have "learned to think as a Huichol" by ingesting the cactus in their company.

Instead, at the end of the second week, Juanita suggested that I "go be" with the peyote. She pointed to the crest of a mountain some two miles from the village, and instructed me to go there and meditate for two afternoons, to eat nothing, to clear my mind. So I spent two afternoons sitting cross-legged on a scorched mountaintop, trying to think of something to think about, falling asleep in the warmth of the Mexican sun.

On the evening of the second day, I returned to find Juanita standing on the outskirts of the village.

"You have the same problem a deer has," she said. "You always come down a mountain the same way you went up."

I had read accounts of the psychedelic effects of peyote, the beatific visions, the voices of whispered wisdom, the experiences of time without sequence, and my empty stomach fluttered with adrenaline as she pressed five peyote buttons into my hand and told me call upon the spirit of the

plant, to chew them carefully, to imagine that I was chewing the flesh of the Earth.

Dutifully, I hiked back to my mountaintop perch and took the peyote buttons one after the other. They tasted like twice-puked puke. Their vile bitterness set me trembling, and I spent an hour retching over a manzanita bush.

Then my stomach relaxed, the spasms were gone, and I felt alone. The manzanita bush shimmered in the white heat of the sun, and I was sitting on a world of sharp contrast, an Earth that I was not part of, but apart from.

Displaced, an alien who did not belong, dispossessed by the rocks, the twigs, the dirt, the radiant manzanita, the vista of Nature before me, I was forsaken.

I touched the brown dirt with the palm of my hand and felt its warmth, and it stuck to the sweat that oozed from my pores, and I brought the palm to my face, touched it, and the dirt smeared across my cheek and mixed with the drool at the corner of my mouth.

And the whiteness of the sunlight turned to a glowing yellow, then a radiant orange as I smeared my face with mud of dirt and sweat and saliva.

I stripped off my shirt and painted myself with russet earth, camouflaged myself, slathered my chest, arms, and neck and felt myself collapsing. As the mud dried and cracked, I knew that I was of the Earth and that it was to the Earth that I would return. This mother would care for me, cradle me, love me, although all I had done was walk upon her, unmindful of her, seeking my own pleasure, living my own melodrama.

The sun was setting and I stared at it with dilated pupils. I sucked it in through my eyes and felt its glow saturate my tissues from the inside out, held in by the shell of dried, caked-on mud. A planetary poultice.

I remember becoming aware of my breath. I breathed with the sun. I could set the sun with my breath, perceived myself setting the sun, lower with each exhalation. I remember marveling at the discovery, testing the depth of my breathing against the progress of the sun toward the horizon. A deep breath, two lungs full, a long sigh, and it was gone. And I slept.

I woke up sometime after midnight and made my way down the mountain, taking care to return to the village by a different route. Juanita was waiting for me. She eyed me suspiciously and I embraced her, let her lead me to my bed.

Ten hours later I awoke to the stink of my body, stumbled into the late

morning sunlight, and washed in the cool waters of the river that ran down from the mountains and beside the town. Downstream there was a widening in the river, a sort of pool, where I floated on my back and stared at the mountain-blue sky. A bolus of peyote and earth swallowed the day before rushed from my lower intestines in a sudden diarrheal evacuation. I moved upstream and washed myself, climbed out of the river, felt chastised. I sat on the bank and realized that no matter how much earth I smeared on myself, I was still a white man who shits in the waters from which others drink. I learned more about ecology from that one incident than from all of the books and articles I have read since.

I returned to California dressed like a Huichol: white pants, white shirt, colorful woven sash at my waist.

But I was in my early twenties then, and was convinced that the profoundness of my experience gave me the right to such an affectation. The right to advertise.

February 13
Later

We've dropped to a thousand feet. The green density of the jungle below has taken on definition, botanical detail.

A wide turn to the right, and we're . . . circling the airstrip—a gray scar—no, a tear in the woven fabric of the jungle, the deep green mantle of the Earth.

I suspect that my time with the Huichols, my communion on the mountaintop, was merely an experience. Perhaps as superficial as my reaction to it. Counterfeit spirituality. Wearing another's costume does not make one kin.

Shitting in the river may have been the most genuine act of that particular journey.

I did not serve the peyote experience (I did not know how to), yet the experience served me, continues to serve me, as I question my level of preparation for what may lie ahead and below in some invisible clearing in this jungle.

Professor Morales hinted that I was not prepared for the jungle, for the "jaguar path of the West." First comes the "South," something

about shedding the past. . . . Interesting how my past is with me now. The Huichols. . . . Anxiety. Morales's words have gotten under my skin.

Two hundred, one hundred feet above the airstrip, and we are level with the trees! Chihuahuaco trees that would dwarf a redwood and set the standard scale of the Amazon jungle. Primeval. The land of giants.

A blast of heat that carried with it the smell of the jungle greeted my arrival in Pucallpa. The airport was everything it should have been. Sturdy pillars held up a thick thatched roof gray with age and airplane exhaust. Tattered mosquito netting, here and there a corrugated metal wall, a rusted tin Coca-Cola sign, worn benches, mosquitoes. On the edge of the airstrip, a bus with a makeshift wooden roof, a couple of battered pick-up trucks.

The fifty-meter walk from the plane to the shady door beside the Coca-Cola sign had me fighting for breath, my cotton shirt sticking unpleasantly to my back. A bead of sweat broke free from my chest, and I felt it course down my belly as I stood before an old Westinghouse fan, leaned against the counter of the bar.

I waited while a little woman, an Indian, filled her nylon net bag with dripping wet soda bottles and counted out her *soles* for the barman, a fat, fresh-faced native. The transaction completed, she lifted a burlap-wrapped parcel onto her head, and, balancing it there, hefted the shopping bag by its plastic handles and headed out, into the heat. I looked after her a moment, realized that she was bare-breasted, pictured a *National Geographic* cover photo, and turned to the proprietor.

"Cerveza, por favor."

"¡Sí, señor!"

The little man smiled broadly, reached into a washtub crammed with beer bottles and soda bottles in ice water, drew out an Amazonas. He wiped it off with a damp towel, popped off the cap, and set it before me with a flourish. *"Una cerveza fria para el . . . español."*

"Not Spanish," I said. *"Gringo, americano."*

"But your accent . . ."

"Cuban."

His eyes widened. "Truly?"

"Before the revolution." I grinned and raised the bottle. *"Salud."*

"Salud, señor." He leaned over the bar and looked down at my backpack. "Engineer?"

I shook my head. He gave me the eye. "Oil," he said.

"No."

His lower lip came up to lap the upper. "You are not an American rancher. . . ." He brought his hand down on the counter with a soft slap. "A consultant!"

I laughed. "Psychologist," I said.

He frowned.

I said, "Doctor."

His face cleared. "Ah!" He thought about it for a second or two and said: "No. You are too young."

"You are right," I said. "Perhaps the heat will make me grow older."

"Do not mind it," he said. "Soon your body will slow down. Your heart will beat slower and you will stop sweating. You will adjust. Another beer?"

"No, thank you. I need to go down the highway. Is there a bus or taxi?"

"No. The bus is gone. How far?"

I brought my journal out of my bag and found Professor Morales's notation.

Don Ramón Silva
From Pucallpa airport south on Trans-Amazon Highway to kilometer 64. Follow path to the left two kilometers.

He peered down at the page with the earnest look of someone who cannot read.

"An hour," I said. "South."

He squinted and pointed out the door to a boy of twelve dragging a dirty canvas bag across the pavement. "Jorge. He takes mail to a plantation. He can take you." He rubbed together the forefinger and thumb of his right hand.

The Trans-Amazon Highway is a decaying two-lane pathway through the jungle. Tropical rains and sweltering heat have cracked and pitted the

roadway, and here and there thick lianas creep up the shallow embankments and slither far across the pockmarked pavement from both sides, as though to close the wound. Natives are forever keeping the jungle at bay, hacking away the groping fingers of Nature with worn-out machetes.

Jorge and I bounced along on the rusted springs of the cracked vinyl seat of his pick-up. A plastic virgin of Guadalupe hanging from the rear-view mirror jerked like a puppet at the end of its string. We talked about baseball, about the U.S. restaurant companies burning down the jungle to raise cattle, about the rubber plantation three hundred kilometers away.

I got out at the white wooden post marking kilometer 64. There seemed to be no break in the foliage left or right until Jorge jumped down from behind the wheel and pointed to a delicate banana palm standing knee high among the giants.

"Trail," he said.

We stood in the middle of the road, looked at each other for a moment, and he shrugged, shoved his hands in his pockets.

I slapped a mosquito on my cheek.

It had rained here the night before, and steam was rising from the roadway. All around, the cicadas droned and the jungle hissed. The air was thick with pungent mist and the grumble of the old pick-up's engine was lost in the steady, breathless hum of the Amazon.

"Why do you go in there?" he asked.

"To see a man."

He nodded and gazed down the road.

"Stay on the path," he said, without looking at me. "If you step off you get lost, never find it again."

"Thanks," I said.

"De nada." He climbed back up into the cab, jerked the door closed. I dug into my pocket and came up with a handful of *soles*. He rested his arm on the door, looked down at the money in my hand, squinted over my shoulder to the tangle of trees, vines, dripping leaves, and then smiled into my eyes. The smile was much too wise for his twelve-year-old face. He shook his head at the money and revved the engine. It backfired with a percussive clap. And something screamed.

"Los monos," he said. Monkeys.

"Thanks for the ride," I said.

"Buena suerte," he said. Good luck.

I stood in the middle of the Trans-Amazon Highway and watched the truck rattle away, distort, waver in the shimmering heat waves, disappear like a mirage.

February 13
Later

Following the path. Four feet wide, hard to distinguish. Here everything is overgrown, exaggerated, tangled and wet. The jungle floor is pulpy. An overwhelming sense of the Earth as a living thing, walking on its flesh. . . .

I've been following it for an hour. It. Shit. I think this is the path. Not sure. Senses on the alert. Catching the movement of light and shadow, eyes fixed to jungle floor, peripheral threats . . . jungle noise like white noise, steady sshhhhhhhhh, but it's background to the rustle and squish of my footfalls, moist snaps of old vines and branches, the slap of leaves . . . sinuses filled with the pungent sweetness of decay that smells like life, like a shut-up greenhouse . . . the touch of fronds and vines, vines that stretch, reach across my way and waver, brush my face . . . the taste of anxiety.

I've stopped by this tree because I've been moving too fast. My heart is beating too fast. I'm breathing too fast. Thinking too fast. I would like to know that Don Ramón Silva lives at the end of this path. Let's hope so, 'cause it's a long way back to Pucallpa. I've stopped here to rest and reassure myself.

Am I afraid?

No. Can't define this feeling. It comes in through my pores. Energized. But I could sleep here and now. Stimulated. But my pencil moves thoughtfully across the paper. Very alive. I've never felt Nature like this. It knows I'm here. I can *feel* it and I know it can feel me and I feel that it knows I am here. My God, what a powerful thing this is!

My back to the tree, my legs stretched out before me, crossed at the ankles, I closed my journal around the pencil, shoved it into my pack. I closed my eyes and listened to the jungle sing. I don't know how long I listened. I felt

myself winding down, my metabolism slowing, comfort growing within and around.

Was something slithering?

I jerked awake, hands to the ground, and pushed myself back hard against the tree. Nothing. No movement. No snakes. Just a change in the light, about a half-hour's worth: a shift in the dappled patterns, the chunks of light cut up by the tangled ceiling of leaves and branches and vines.

What startled me so?

I moved to get up. There was resistance, a gentle tug, and I looked down at my body. Here and there, on my legs, at my side, by my arms, creepers, long delicate feelers touched me, had begun to bend to coil around me. I didn't mind.

The clearing was thirty meters away, a hundred feet from where I had stopped.

No one's home.

The house sits in its clearing like the archetype of the primitive jungle paradise. A thatched roof over an L-shaped platform, walls of palm-frond mesh. Chickens, a pig tethered to a banana palm.

Out back (though it's hard to tell front from back), the jungle floor gives way to sand on the bank of a little lagoon. Ducks or mud hens with brown and green feathers. The lagoon is surrounded by the fringe of the jungle. An old, cracked dugout canoe is overturned on the bank, stern end in the water, covered with algae slime.

There is a dead chihuahuaco tree, a twisted, hollowed-out trunk on the edge of the clearing, and near this, a fire. A couple of tin cans—oil cans—filled with a dappled reddish-brown, purple, and orange liquid. The colors don't quite mix. A clay pot is hanging from a wooden brazier over the fire, and a broth is bubbling inside—a funny, sour smell.

Sit and wait. Using the thick exposed roots of the chihuahuaco tree as the arms of a chair.

"You are here!"

I struggled to my feet, got tangled in the roots of the tree. He'd

come from behind the tree, from out of the jungle. He stood about five feet four inches, a body that had been toughened by the jungle. He had a soft, square Indian face, large hooked nose, and long upper eyelids that gave his eyes an Asian slant. His hair was silver-gray and thick, brushed back from a deeply wrinkled forehead. Deep creases ran down either side of his nose to the corners of his mouth. His lips were brown, the same color as his skin.

"Don Ramón Silva?"

"Ramón," he said, and grinned, and I shook his hand. Short, thick fingers, large, maybe arthritic knuckles. He cocked his head and looked up at me out of the corner of his eye.

"*Bienvenido,*" he said.

Later

He knew I was coming. He expected me. He saw me in a dream.

But he did not expect me to be so tall.

I told him I was a psychologist. He nodded.

I told him that I had heard of him in Cuzco. He smiled.

I told him that Professor Antonio Morales Baca had told me where to find him. His face showed no recognition. Then he looked past me. His eyes widened as though with surprise, then he grinned, nodded as though he understood something.

"We will have a *toma,*" he said.

"A *toma*?"

"Yes." He pointed to the brazier. "*La soga.*" The rope.

"An *ayahuasca* ceremony?" I asked.

He nodded. "Have you eaten?"

Food! I hadn't even thought about it. I remembered swallowing down a plateful of scrambled eggs at six o'clock in the morning. The airport in Cuzco. I looked at my watch. It was quarter to six. Twelve hours. I was ravenous.

"No," I said. "I'm very hungry."

"*Bueno,*" he said. "Then you will have a good appetite in the morning."

Fifty meters from the clearing there is a bend in the little river. The water of the lagoon is clear but almost stagnant; here it flows lazily away into the jungle, into the Amazon.

I've stripped and bathed, wrung the sweat and dust out of my clothes. I feel refreshed but achingly hungry. I am to return to the clearing after the sun sets.

So here I sit, cross-legged on a wet, sandy shore and wait for another experience. I don't know how to serve this one, either. I'm either going about this all wrong, as Professor Morales hinted, or the experience will speak for itself. Don Ramón seemed to accept me without hesitation, so I've either managed to present myself impeccably (I can't imagine how) or there are no prerequisites for this work (Ramón does not strike me as indiscriminate). It can't be the wool poncho I brought as a gift from Cuzco—he'll never use it anyway, it's so bloody hot. So I don't know what to think about this. It's almost like a set-up and that's unreasonable, illogical, and presumptuous.

Morales said something about cause and effect being indistinguishable. Maybe I should stop thinking about it.

This will be my last entry before tonight's ceremony. Before I take the *yagé*.

This is for you, Brian:

February thirteenth. Heading upriver.

4

And Jehovah God also laid this command upon the man: "From every tree of the garden you may eat to satisfaction. But as for the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you must not eat from it, for in the day you eat from it you will positively die."

—Genesis 2:16–17

I sat on a *petate,* a mat of woven palm fronds in the center of a room. The room was large, taking up the whole of the short leg of the L, and barren. Vertical rough-hewn wooden poles, the criss-cross pattern of palm frond walls, and, above, the underside of the thatchwork roof resting on an open framework.

One wall was open to the lagoon, and moonlight reflected off its surface and into the room. Four crude candles had been placed at the four corners of the *petate,* and they burned with tall unwavering ribbons of orange flame.

I sat cross-legged, wrists resting on my knees, and looked down at two objects glowing in the candlelight: a tall hardwood pipe carved in the figure of an Indian holding a cup, like an offering in the palms of his hands, a serpent coiled at his feet. Loosely packed tobacco hung over the edge of the cup. Beside this was a harp, a simple, hollowed-out length of hardwood, a thin wire stretched taut between its ends.

The sound of the jungle was different at night. The steady, sweltering hiss of tropical day had resolved itself into the rhythmic chant of a million insects. Somewhere a deep, resonant hum was matching its tempo, and I looked out to see Ramón silhouetted against the glistening path of moonlight on the lagoon. The murmur of his chant was measured to the cadence of the jungle. His hands held something: a bowl? He raised the thing to the sky.

I could not make out the words of his song, but the refrain was steady,

and the verse changed four times as he turned and faced each of the four directions.

It was a bowl, a wooden bowl, that he set between us, and it was filled with the broth I had seen by the fire. A thick liquid the color of mushroom soup, beet juice, and carrot juice, it gave off a pungent tang. I thought of my tissues, starved for food, anxious to absorb anything. The *yagé* looked potent and dangerous.

"You are thinking about death," he said.

I met his eyes and nodded.

His eyes moved smoothly left and right, rested on a point above my head. "It is a fungus that grows inside us."

He raised the pipe, pulled a twig from the pocket of his shirt, caught a flame from one of the candles, and held it over the tobacco. He puffed long and hard on the mouthpiece, and the tobacco crackled, sparked, and glowed. One strand, a tiny tobacco ember, broke free and fell to the floor and died. He took the smoke deep into his lungs, exhaled a long, steady stream of acrid fumes, then puffed and blew smoke over the *yagé*. The smoke hung in the motionless air, hovered over the surface of the liquid, and curled around the lip of the vessel. Then he leaned back and puffed heartily. The tobacco glowed red hot within the thick wooden walls of the pipe, and he leaned forward toward me, blowing smoke on my chest, down my arms, around my head, into my lap. Then he handed me the pipe.

The tobacco was stronger than any I had tasted. It caught in my throat and burned my lungs and I gagged, coughed, blinked away my tears, and drew deeply. Ramón was humming again, eyes closed, rocking gently back and forth, a weird melody of mumbled words with no refrain. A slight breeze set the candles wavering and played across the hairs at the back of my neck.

Then he opened his eyes and they shifted to the left. Focused. I turned my head to look, but he reached out and stopped me, his hand on my cheek. I met his eyes. He lowered his hand and took the pipe.

"You are fortunate to have such a power stalking you."

"What power is that?"

"A cat, my young friend! A jaguar black as the night. A most powerful ally, but you have much work to do before you can claim it as yours." He nodded. "The spirit of the *ayahuasca* is also a jaguar. When you have met death, it will take you across the back of the rainbow and into the next

world." He nodded his approval. "Call upon your jaguar now. Summon it to help you on your journey."

Call upon it? I closed my eyes and imagined myself standing at the end of the path to Ramón's house, whistling for the cat. Here, kitty! I couldn't help myself.

But it took an effort to keep my eyes shut. My eyelids were fluttering and my heart was beating fast with anticipation. The jitters.

I took inventory. The woody taste of the jungle tobacco, palms damp, neck and shoulders held rigid. Nervous energy, anxiety. I took a deep breath and tried to release it slowly, evenly, lowered my shoulders. A jaguar. Stalking me. All right. How shall I call upon it? Visualize it. Conjure up a picture. A sleek panther, black like polished . . . ebony. Pitch black. I imagined it moving fluidly, stealthily through the jungle, just like they're supposed to.

"Así es mejor." That is better.

The voice came from somewhere above. I opened my eyes on nothing. Ramón was gone. A cloud had passed before the moon, and the room was darker, the blackness pierced only by the candle flames. Smoke. He was behind me, blowing smoke at my back.

He returned to sit before me. He set aside the pipe.

"Tonight we will bring the death out of you."

He hooked his thumb over the edge of the bowl and held it before me.

"Drink."

A tremor went through my stomach as I took the bowl in both hands and lifted it to my lips. It smelled sour and my throat tightened as I took my first sip. Cold, like sour mushroom soup, an acid milkiness and bitter aftertaste. I felt it go down, coat my insides.

I nodded and offered him the bowl. He shook his head.

"All of it," he said.

He raised his hand and made a fist, and the muscles of his forearm contracted. *Poder*. Power. Strength. A universal symbol of vigor and fortitude.

What the hell. A deep breath and I opened the back of my throat and poured it down. Two convulsive swallows and it was in. I placed the empty bowl between us and sucked the residual broth from the inside of my mouth.

He approved. "Lie down now," he said.

I stretched out on the palm-frond mat, and stared up at the dark peak of the thatched roof. I closed my eyes and entertained a moment of perspective. I riffled through my memory and took stock of my situation. What was I bringing to the experience? My education. Where was my power? In years of theory; chalk diagrams; frayed spiral-bound pages of notes, volumes of them; textbooks; stories of psychosis and treatment, cause and effect, complexes, dreams, analysis, all of the imaginings of all of the men and women who had struggled to define the experience of ordinary consciousness and understand the influences upon it. Thinking about thinking. Psychology. The crackpot science based on nothing but theory, ideas about ideas, thoughts about thoughts. Of the frontiers of science, this was the first, and "civilized" man had only just gotten around to it.

Consciousness is like a body of water. Conscious mind and unconscious mind. The surface of the sea and its unseen depths. I ran with the metaphor. Modern psychology had taught me to study the depths, to speculate on the geography of the bottom, by observing the color of the water, the patterns of the waves, the stuff that floated up to the surface. Ask questions of a patient and get answers back. Like sonar. Send out a signal and listen to what bounces back and try to piece together what lies below.

But we hadn't learned how to dive in to see for ourselves. Afraid of getting wet? Watch the waves and see how they break and guess how deep is this ocean. . . .

Waves breaking on a sandy shore. Water sliding up the sand, sucked, saturated, sparkling crystals of wet sand shining, sunlit. Surf sounds. I open my eyes, and the sound swells and pinpoints of candlelight are rising from the four corners around me. Floating up toward the thatched roof. Neon red and pastel green luminous particles floating toward the peak and swirling . . . no . . . *coiling* . . . tightly . . . tighter. Ready to spring. The center cannot hold, is taking form and rushes, plummets toward me from the ceiling. A thundering roar and the light has jaws; I shudder at its impact.

A hand falls on my face. I flinch, but I can feel the hand and I can feel my face, so it must be my hand. What's feeling what? My mouth is open and I can feel my tongue with the tips of my fingers, but I do not feel my fingers with the tip of my tongue. Numb. Face like putty. Lump of tongue.

A sound with a texture, a colored vibration . . . a green resonance, the color of the jungle reverberates through my body, from my ears to my feet.

The room shifts, rotates upward, because I've lifted my head. Ramón, eyes closed, holds the one-stringed harp to his mouth and plucks the wire and his head vibrates with green neon and he shapes the sound with his lips and I watch it coil down the hollow of the harp. His eyelids part and his eyes take mine and lead them left to where the shadow moves, slinking around the perimeter of the room. A shadow with depth, 3-D. Follow it. The shadow stops, and the walls move left, and the room spins on Ramón's axis.

Dizzy and diseased. Oh, the smell! Fumes rising with my breath from corrupted innards. Guts withering in the vapors of decay. Spoiled tissues moldering inside. I shudder at Ramón's touch. I look down. Hand on my arm. I can see the rot inside, under my skin. He points to the jungle.

"Purgate."

Beyond the end of his finger the sand is iridescent, and my feet sink and slide in its glow. The jungle is alive with light. Spinning ultraviolet orbs that I know are elemental forces of Nature—the trees, the plants, shimmer. Drawn to the chihuahuaco, my palms on its warm bark, my body arched, vomiting fungus. *Purgate,* purge yourself uncontrollably, cathartically, from the soles of your feet. What is this toxic stuff? My stomach is like a bulb contracting, sucking the rot from intestines and expelling it with each wrenching contraction.

The tree moves, the bark shifts beneath my hands, and I fall away, backward to the sand, and watch this snake, this water boa, unwind its thick, thick brown, black, and yellow shining body from around the trunk of the tree. The size . . . unspeakable . . . Satchamama . . . serpent . . . guardian of the Amazon opens its mouth to me, webbed pink tissue, a clucking, croaking sound, and a sharp breath draws in the sweet night air, and still the body moves in layers from around the tree. No end to it. Then its tail thuds to the sand. Its head at the water's edge, cleaving its path, a sparkling wake across the mirror surface of the lagoon and away, through a black gap in the phosphorescence of the jungle.

My belly moans, movement. Scramble to my feet. Urgent. In the bushes holding onto a vine, pants bunched around my feet, holding my ankles down, evacuating my bowels, wiping myself with leaves at hand. Clean, scoured out, I stand and look, and lose myself in the beauty of the jungle. It has revealed itself to me. It *does* have a spirit.

The vine pulls at my hand. Vine? No. Ramón's arm.

He whispers: "Do not be overpowered by the *ayahuasca*. Do not be seduced. Attend to the ritual."

The ritual? I thought this *was* the ritual!

He leads me to the water's edge. I am submissive. Trust. Must give myself to his care, because I fear the pull of the jungle and the influences of the night on my fresh self. I see the lagoon, the crispness of its liquid surface.

"Can you go in?" he asks softly, mother to child.

Oh, I . . . wonder . . . shattering the surface . . . the shards could cut me and I could fall into the blackness below . . . tumble, bleeding through the blackness.

His lyric song brings me back to the water's edge, standing in the sand. Hallucinating wildly. Again. Can I go in? Let me see. I look down at the liquid mirror. I want to touch its . . .

Reflections. . . . My face, shining brightly, particles of light skittering away from its edges, skipping across the glassy surface. . . . The moon. Three-quarter moon. Stars shining through pinpricks on the water's surface. A shadow moves across the field of reflected sky, and I twist my head to look up. Something in the air. Well. . . .

Ripples of concern wave across my brow. Face looking up at me from the surface, so smooth. I lean over and it grows, smiling back at me. I am relieved. I reach out and my fingers touch the water and the reflection floating there wavers gently. Fingers move through water to its edge.

I pinch its edge between thumb and forefinger and lift it, lift my reflection from the surface of the lagoon. Like the skin or film that forms on a cup of cocoa, it has no weight. Limp, sodden reflection hanging, dripping from the ends of my fingers, twisting, writhing into a liquid stringiness, bits and pieces of face falling in colorful drops, drip . . . drip to the sand. Sand at my feet.

Bird!

A bird the size of a dog, all black and gray, wrinkled pink neck stretched from a flouncy ruffled collar and a hard, battered beak, pecks at the pieces. Stabbing at the sand.

Jab . . . jab . . . jab, jab.

Stop it!

Feathers bristle, its eyes roll, and it hops . . . awkward . . . grotesque

step . . . back. Wings stretch eight feet, gray-tipped jungle size. Its screech echoes over the lagoon. . . .

"Condor."

Ramón's hand tightens on my arm. "You have much work to do, my friend. Come! Quickly. Before it returns . . ."

Back inside the hut, a world of shadows. I sit across from Ramón and stare at his face. He lifts the one-stringed harp to his mouth and plucks and the room vibrates to the chord. Green and red. Water music. Pillars are wet.

Again. Lower. An octave. His heavy lids lower. Drop of water from thatch above.

Again. Lower. An octave. Flowing down.

Again. Lower. Octaves of time. . . . His face sags and blanches, drawn and hollow-cheeked. The harp falls away with his old hand, and he opens his eyes to smile at me one last time. Death.

His head falls lifeless, lax, to one side, eyes clouded and mouth bent in a last grin and drooling . . . something . . . ooze. . . .

My hands cover my eyes, hide them from the sight. Falling, like falling in a dream. Feel the sickening thrill in my loins, the flutter of falling. Through . . . layers, one by one. Intricate lacework, architecture . . . planes of time . . . and space! Possibilities and choices. No hand-hold. Sliding too fast to see what lies between them, knowing they are important. Vastly important.

Light below. Tunnel vision.

Tunnel? Light?

If I move my legs out of the way, I could see better, but it's hard to move. Legs asleep. Arms? Tightening, not responding. Neck hardening and cool spreading down. Rigor . . . setting. Mortis . . . coming surely. Inside tissues not giving, and my heart thumps slower against hard walls, rigid, bloodless cavity.

Light growing, glowing white. Last nausea swelling, a final bolus thickening, rising, hardening in my throat, and I . . .

Can't . . . breathe. Oh . . . no. . . .

There's smoke coming from Ramón's mouth. The pipe again. Sweet, woody smells. Blowing it onto my chest and it's swirling. Look at that little vortex—that smoke swirling on my chest! The room is singing, a gentle, lilting hum. The sound of breathing. Long, deep breaths. Hot breath. That's

mine. Taste the air and feel the tears swelling your eyes. You're back. I'm back. He's smiling, but shaking his head side to side, slowly.

"Come with me."

I rolled over and pushed myself up, trembling from the woven mat. On my knees, on my feet, I used him as a crutch. Let it be over.

An old woman with braided gray hair slept on a mattress in a room we passed. Ramón's wife. I lifted my watch to my face, but the dial just confused me. It was still dark and the sounds of the jungle were back.

There was a small mattress, made up with a single sheet and a pillow, in a room at the end of an open hall.

Yes. Let me sleep now and forget this and live to see another morning.

The darkness behind my eyelids was filled with laughter, colors still ricocheted inside, off the walls of my skull. I tossed and fretted, soiling the single sheet with my sweat. I struggled out of my pants and lay there, fighting to dull my awakened senses, feeling every fiber of the sheet against my naked skin, tasting the acid of my saliva. There was a lingering smell of candle wax and the essence of tobacco smoke, and the whir and hiss of insects echoed intricately in my head. The laughter mocked me. Shadows mixed and mingled. I reached under the sheet and felt my belly, the muscles there, found that I could contract and relax them, each one of them, separately, at will. And there was something else. An emptiness, a hollowness inside, where I fancied that the jungle breeze, the gentle wind that moved the leaves, moved inside of me, in the empty spaces in my gut, emptied of . . . what? Memories?

I never saw her come into the room, never saw her at any distance allowing a full description. I only know what she felt like, lying next to me in the darkness, the textures of her body and her clean smell, the closeness of her Indian face, shining eyes, black hair cushioning the weight of her head on my shoulder. So simple. I need not bear this night alone and sleep without comfort. This daughter of . . . the jungle was here to reassure me, to hold me, to hold.

I held her close. Nothing had ever been so effortless, so natural, so easy.

My footfall crashes onto the moist soil, sound is magnified a thousandfold, and I flinch from disturbing the peace and harmony of the jungle . . . this perfect garden.

No need to step on it, I can float through it and up, away from the Earth and into the blackness between the stars, an exultation of freedom and purity. Very fast I can travel along the note that Ramón plays, that I have heard before. The tone of a crystal wine glass, a thread of sound that I follow as it synthesizes into an electric hum and numbers glow red in the darkness. 6:00. Her hand reaches out clumsily and bats at the bedside table, cluttered with tippable things, and the sound is a constant, whining buzz.

Stephanie! Sits upright, terrified, covers her breasts with a bunched white sheet, looks for me. I feel you, Stephanie. Deeply. Do you feel me. There? Startled? Don't be alarmed. I know you can't see me, because I'm too black and I move too perfectly. Just a breathless shadow, but I'm strong enough to take you. Now.

I woke up, all of a sudden, alone. The sun was flooding the little room with tropical heat. I hate waking to sunlight. It always gives me a headache.

I pushed myself back up against the wall, scooted my butt up the mattress, rubbed my face awake. Where was she? Wait. Stephanie or that girl? I yanked aside the sheet, and there was the evidence of our loving.

I pulled on my trousers. Shirt? In the other room. I stood and threw out a hand for support, and it almost went through the palm mesh wall. I found a vertical post, leaned against it, and tried to clear my head.

There was no one home. In the large room around the corner, on the central mat, was my shirt, neatly folded, My pack. Beside them, a bowl of fruit.

I squatted there and fed myself. The fruits—I think there were mangoes, papayas, bananas—were exquisite, succulent, and their juices saturated my starved tissues.

No one was home. I looked for Ramón by the lagoon, beyond the chihuahuaco tree, and down the path to the bend in the little river. I bathed

there, soaked in the warm water of the shallow stream, and returned to the deserted house feeling alive, but less than human.

February 14

Brain dead.

This pencil feels funny on the paper. Scraping, scratching at words that can't possibly express my feelings. Scrape scrape. Scratch scratch. Stupid to write with a pencil anyway.

There. Found a pen. Now this is no good either. Too slippery. Make an effort, now, because in a few days your head is going to clear and you'll get serious again and you shouldn't waste paper, anyway. See? There you go.

Why am I talking to myself? Why? Because there's NO ONE HERE TO TALK TO. Feel like screaming. Go off into the jungle and start screaming.

I might just as well have survived a car accident, a near-death experience. Yes, I'm glad to be alive and everything does look different, better, brighter, take a breath, think about it, resolve never again to take respiration for granted.

Let's get this straight. I almost died. I *know* it. If Ramón hadn't breathed smoke into me—God! those spinning vortices—I'd have plunged into that light or slipped and slid through and between those . . . those . . . planes of ~~reality~~ (think twice, three or four times before using that word again) and gone away.

Jennifer on a slab.

So I feel the relief, yes it's great to be alive, and I think (though I'm in no condition) that I experienced myself, my consciousness, or let's say my thinking awareness, as separate from my body, and of much more importance than this flesh.

But goddamn it! The fear was consuming, paralyzing. What's *really* scary is what was behind the visions, on the *other side* of the shadows, *between* all those planes and layers, *under the surface* of this pretty little lagoon.

I missed it all because I was dying and too fucking scared.

There's more to this, and I've missed it. I was a guest at my own funeral and I missed it.

I'll wait here at the foot of the *chihuahuaco,* where the serpent was. I'll wait here and feel the ecstasy of each breath, the rapture of the jungle and my living presence.

But I know there's more to be had, more to being human than this, and I'm not at peace, and won't be until I understand what it is that I've missed. Again.

I'll sit and wait for Ramón.

Ramón never came.

Sometime around noon I headed back down the path to the highway. It was hotter than the day before and I shone with sweat. A mosquito got stuck on my arm. Its wings plastered to my wet skin.

I waited for two hours, sitting on my pack, and it took no effort at all to think of absolutely nothing. I caught a ride on a wagon, a shallow, flatbed wooden wagon, a pallet attached to a truck axle and a couple of worn-out tires, pulled by a burro led by a hunchbacked Indian.

We got to Pucallpa eight hours later.

In 1967, as a philosophy student at the University of Puerto Rico, I had heard a lecture by Dr. Stanley Krippner, the director of the Maimonides Medical Center's dream laboratory. Afterward, at the reception, he met my enthusiasm for his topic with a challenge. Puerto Rico had a rich spiritist tradition; why not study the dreams of the soothsayers and spirit mediums of San Juan?

And I had found doña Rosa, a one-eyed black fortune-teller living in a tiny apartment on the bottom floor of an urban housing development on the edge of San Juan. She was a fierce old woman with a patch over her bad eye, a leaf held in place by a strip of palm. The good eye was like a precious stone in a hideous setting, and the full range of her expressions were reflected in the facets of that eye, and she read my fortune by gazing with it into a fishbowl. We became friends.

"There is a power stalking you," she said. "You have great things to

do, but you will do nothing of any importance until you stop running and turn to meet it face to face."

She told me to drive to El Yunque, the rainforest mountain outside of San Juan. Go there and wait, she said.

I did so. I parked off the road among the banana trees and tropical scrub. I sat cross-legged on the hood of my car and waited.

I don't remember falling asleep, but you never do. I do remember leaning back against the windshield and closing my eyes on the dusk.

A twig snapped. My back arched and I was on the ground on all fours, hands and feet, scrambling in pitch blackness, crashing through the bushes, rolling to my left, something clammy touching my cheek. I clawed at the banana palm leaf sticking to my face and stopped breathing, and as my eyes adjusted to the night I saw my car and the lights of San Juan. My pants were torn and my knee was bleeding through a dirty gash. I'd sprained my wrist, and when I breathed again I limped back to my car.

Things that murmur, creak, wheeze, go bump in the night. I could not bring myself to tell Rosa. I was too embarrassed. But when I visited her a week later, she looked me in the eye and frowned. "You failed," she said.

"I fell asleep," I said. "And something startled me."

"You lost an opportunity," she said.

February 14
Much later

Nightime, Pucallpa riverfront hotel. Huddled in bed. Writing by flashlight. River-boat sounds. Old cargo steamers, outboard-powered dugouts headed downriver.

Just a couple of questions. For the record.

The cat, the jaguar. What is it?

The colors and lights of the jungle.

The serpent. Satchamama. How did I know that word?

The condor and my face. My God! I know that happened, I can still feel its sticky wetness on the tips of my fingers.

The architecture.

The spinning smoke.

That girl. Ramón's daughter? I might have really blown it there.

Stephanie. Of all people. What I felt for her.

Bothered by the girl. How tender that scene and how erotic! But, Jesus! What if she came to me for comfort? To nurse me through the night? What if Ramón gave her to me to hold. Only. I can see that. Woman, my complement. Fill me out with your femaleness and we'll travel into sleep, into the night, into the garden.

So what do I do? She is there for me completely and I kiss her, I love her, I take advantage of her, I do what every man would do. I collapse the intimacy of the moment into a sexual encounter.

Should I have stayed until Ramón returned? Or was he waiting for me to leave?

I stayed in Pucallpa for five days, explored the piers and cargo boats that had ventured there, to the last navigable port in the Amazon, thirty-five hundred miles from the Atlantic. I visited Lake Yarinacocha, swam with the pink-bellied dolphins, and sunbathed on its gray sand beaches. The more I wrote the closer I came to explaining my experience with Ramón—and the further I strayed from understanding it.

5

Much learning does not teach understanding.

—Heraclitus

Back in Cuzco the strike was over. Students hustled through the halls with an earnestness peculiar to Latin American schools. Here higher education was a privilege, not a right, and not likely to be taken for granted.

I had been directed to a classroom at the end of a hall. I stood looking through the little window set into the door and watched the faces of Professor Morales's students as the professor, looking distinguished despite the silliness of his suit, walked among them.

I counted sixteen students, only two women. They were mostly Indian, Quechua, but then so was Peru. Unlike the Mixtec and Aztecs of Mexico, who had mixed with the Spanish conquerors to form the mestizo Mexican, the Peruvian Indian had maintained the bloodline, although Spanish and other whites still ruled the military and the government and held most of the republic's wealth. Few Indians held university professorships.

There was movement at my elbow, and I looked down to see the Indian student the professor had been counseling in the cafeteria the week before. He had a harried, sheepish look. Late to class.

"Disculpeme, señor."

I stood aside and he pulled open the door. Professor Morales looked up and smiled at me, and the student slid into an empty seat. I stepped into the room and stood close to the wall.

"The English prelate and scholar William Ralph Inge said that the whole of nature is a conjugation of the verb *to eat.* What do you think he meant by this?"

A hand went up. A red-haired, freckled boy.

"Fernando?"

"What is a prelate, *maestro?*"

"A high-ranking member of the clergy, such as a bishop or an abbot. But, Fernando, what do you think he meant by his words?"

Fernando looked down at the spiral notebook on his desk.

A girl with light brown hair and a crimson scarf raised her hand.

"Yes, Francesca?"

She dropped her hand and smiled. "You are what you eat?"

Professor Morales shook his head. "That is just another proverb. Come now! 'The whole of nature is a conjugation of the verb *to eat*.' " He reached into one of his bulging jacket pockets and withdrew an apple. He placed one hand on the tardy student's desk, leaned toward him, and took a bite out of the apple. "Juan Ignacio," he said around a mouthful of the fruit, "what is the primary function of life?"

The young man slowly raised his deep brown eyes. "Eating, *maestro?*"

"Eating! Say it with confidence, Juan Ignacio, for you know it is true!" He pushed himself back from the student's desk and moved to the front of the class. "Eating. This is Nature's constant. Life depends on eating other life. Think about it! Eating, consuming, digesting. It is not the primary function? The driving force? Chickens pecking at the sand, llamas grazing on the hillsides. In the forests and the jungles and the deserts of the Earth, Nature is engaged in feeding. Eating and being eaten. Primary. Primal, is it not? Yes, Francesca, you *are* what you eat and you will be eaten. Here in this simple fact is an elegant example of the inseparability of life and death. Life itself lives by killing and eating life."

He set aside the apple, went to the blackboard, and, with a stump of chalk from his pocket, drew a circle open at the top and then filled in the details. The *uroboros,* the serpent eating its own tail. He stepped back from his drawing.

"Life as an immortal force, perpetuating itself. And here is a symbol. The serpent eating its own tail. The serpent, so simple a creature, so primal. A traveling digestive system, that is all. A creature that sheds its skin and renews its life, sheds its past and wriggles forth. And here," he tapped the board with the chalk, "here is the serpent eating its own tail, a circle, an unbroken, unending path. Immortality. The life force itself. Life is immortal and lives by killing and eating life itself.

"And we will find the serpent as a symbol in the philosophies and

religions of humanity, from the Old and New Testaments to the Upanishads of the Hindu to the traditions of your Indian ancestors. The serpent is a universal symbol. It represents an elementary idea, an idea common to the consciousness of us all. And these symbols are what Carl Jung called the 'archetypes of the unconscious.' They are powerful forces of Nature and myth."

He dropped the chalk into a pocket and looked at his watch. "Tomorrow we will have a special surprise: a psychologist from the United States, who will tell us how the human brain works. Do not be late for our guest." He grinned over their heads at me, and they all turned to look, and I felt the blood rush to my head. I nodded awkwardly. I had hardly expected him to put me on the spot, but I was just beginning to know Antonio Morales Baca.

Books thumped, papers shuffled, zippers zipped; the class collected itself and headed out into the hall. The professor asked Juan Ignacio to stay for a moment, and the young Indian shuffled up to him, head bowed. "Excuse me for being late, Professor . . ."

"Juan Ignacio Peralta Villar. Always look into another's eyes. No matter who they are. Men will receive your gaze as a sign of confidence and strength. Women find it irresistible."

"Yes, sir."

"How is your mother?"

"She cannot breathe, *maestro*."

Morales looked up, either to make sure I was still there or as a sign for me to leave. I was feeling a little put out, so I held my ground. The professor lowered his voice.

"Did you take her to see Dr. Barrera?"

"Yes, *maestro,* thank you. He said she was allergic, that it would be this way always, and the medication . . ."

"Is very expensive, isn't it?"

"Yes, sir."

"Well. . . ." He looked up at me again. "There is a man named Gomez," he said, and mentioned an address. "Perhaps you should take your mother to see him. He practices a different kind of medicine."

My introduction to Maximo Gomez and the healings that he performed would be documented in *Realms of Healing*. I would spend two weeks living

with Maximo and his wife, Anita. Two weeks that would culminate in an incident that would have a profound effect on my education, on my understanding of the realms that I was destined to explore.

At Professor Morales's suggestion I accompanied Juan Ignacio and his mother to a simple whitewashed apartment house on the outskirts of town. Señora Peralta clearly suffered from acute asthma. Every breath required conscious effort, and her face was drawn and hollow from sleeplessness. Walking across town was out of the question, so I hired a taxi.

A teen-aged Indian girl was helping an ancient man down the front steps when we arrived at the address. She supported him with one hand, and, I noticed as I paid our driver, carried his cane in the other.

A tall, delicately boned woman stood smiling at the top of the steps. One hand rested on her pregnant belly, the other held open the door.

"Brother Maximo is treating someone, but he will be with you soon," she said. She led us to the kitchen: wooden floor, counter, and sink. The room was filled with plants, green and thriving in pots and tin cans, dead and drying, hanging from the open beams and the top of the windowsill. We sat around a brightly colored oilcloth-covered table. There was a light green parakeet, a *lorito,* in a tin-and-wire cage by the window.

Brother Maximo. *Brother.* Professor Morales had told me that Gomez was an "esoteric healer" recently in Cuzco from Lima, that the local medical association was pressing a lawsuit against him for practicing medicine without a license, that here was an opportunity to observe his practice.

"You did not mention him before," I said.

He shrugged. "You wanted to meet an *ayahuascero.*" He smiled into my eyes and continued. "And by the look of you, you succeeded."

"Does it show?"

"You look like you've seen a ghost."

"I'd like to talk to you about that. . . ."

"Certainly. Tomorrow. After your lecture." He had patted me on the shoulder and Juan Ignacio and I had gone off to fetch his mother.

Now, the woman who had met us at the door poured strong Peruvian coffee from a tin pot. I introduced myself.

"Yes," she said. "Brother Maximo is expecting you." She smiled, and placed a demitasse cup before me. "I am Anita, Brother Maximo's wife. You are welcome here." I thanked her for the coffee and wondered who'd foretold my itinerary and sent it around to everybody. So far no one had seemed much surprised at or interested in my presence. I passed it off as an ego-

tistical fancy, added sugar to the bitter coffee, smelled the smell of all the herbs, listened to Señora Peralta wheeze, and studied Anita's face. There was something almost ethereal in her presence, something careworn around her eyes, a sense of resignation, maybe.

Maximo was a mestizo; he had a light Indian face and a scraggly Spanish beard that only partially covered the craterlike scars of smallpox. An attention getter. Short and stocky, energetic. He obviously thought quite a lot of himself. He exchanged a few whispered words with Anita and glanced sideways at Juan Ignacio and his mother. Then his face broke into a crooked smile, and he left Anita and put out his hand to me.

"Welcome, my brother! And you have brought your cat, your owl, and your deer with you!"

I shook his hand. "Well, I hope they're housebroken," I said.

He frowned, more confused than annoyed. He turned to Juan Ignacio's mother. "Come," he said, and gestured toward the open door.

I followed, but reluctantly. How many times in Mexico had I been used to endorse the status of the healers I had visited? How many times had I seen patients reassured by the presence of the "*doctor Americano,*" the important scientist who had traveled from the United States to meet the great healer?

The living room was Maximo's clinic. It was a cramped, simple room with a bare wood floor, some chairs, a table covered with herbs and oils, a small cot in the center. There was a window with a view of Salcantay, the highest of the four snow-capped peaks of Cuzco. There were candles everywhere: stumps of beeswax, red Christmas candles, votive candles of dark yellow wax poured into small glass tumblers. But none of these were lit. The whitewashed room was naturally bright, and electrical fixtures on the cracked walls and an incandescent bulb hanging on a wire from the ceiling diffused the shadows cast by the late afternoon sunlight streaming through the window.

Juan Ignacio was asked to wait in the kitchen and, after Maximo explained that I was an "important medical man from the United States," Señora Peralta removed her blouse and lay face down on the cot. She was at least fifty pounds overweight, and this position proved too much for her lungs, so Maximo instructed her to sit up, which she did, clutching her blouse to her chest. Maximo walked around the cot, circling her, watching her out of the corners of his eyes.

"Breathe deeply," he said, and she made a self-conscious effort to do

so. Then he stopped at her back and, eyelids fluttering half-closed, placed his hands on either side of her spine. He traced an invisible line with the forefinger of his right hand, stopped, and pushed his fingertip deep into her fatty flesh. She sighed and flinched and he told her to relax, continuing to trace lines down her back, applying pressure at various points, sometimes twisting his thumb or forefinger and leaning into it. She grunted with pain and I saw that his fingers were leaving red blotches and deep fingernail marks along her back.

He removed her shoes and touched a point on her left foot. Then he lifted her long black skirt and zeroed in on acupressure targets on her veined calves and puckered thighs. Then he walked away, leaving her there, shoeless, her skirt bunched at her hips. Eyes closed, she held her blouse to her chest and rocked back and forth, still breathing with a mucousy wheeze. He went to Anita and she handed him a short twig covered with coffee-colored bark and still bearing one dried leaf.

"You can go now," he said to his wife and turned abruptly back to the señora.

"Get dressed."

She opened her eyes and managed to slip into her blouse without exposing the front of her brassiere.

"Take this branch," he commanded. "I have blessed it. Boil it in water from Tambo Machay and drink the tea three times a day. Come back to me in two days. That is all."

So he used acupressure, worked along the meridians that the ancient Chinese had charted two to three thousand years ago. He prescribed herb teas, acted pompous, and told her to come back for another treatment. I had witnessed this scene a dozen times among the urban healers of Mexico. And I had watched doña Pachita slice people open with a hunting knife and remove tumors; had even held aside the intestines of a "bladder transplant" patient in the candlelit back room of her Mexico City home. I wasn't much impressed with Brother Maximo.

"I'll find a taxi," I said.

Maximo shook his head. "No. You will not find one in this poor part of town. And I want her to walk. Please stay and eat with us."

I said my goodbyes to Juan Ignacio and his mother, and Maximo ordered Anita to go out and buy some food. His tone was infuriating. We sat at the kitchen table.

"You are here for long?"

I told him that my stay in Peru depended on my success in finding and working with traditional healers.

"You are from a university in the United States?"

"California," I said.

He repeated the word slowly, emphasizing the four syllables. "I have heard of it," he said. I told him of my interest in healing traditions, mentioned that I had spent time in Mexico and was eager to study and write about the psychology of healing. He seemed impressed. He filled two glasses with a clear liquid from a bottle out of the cupboard.

"You have heard of me," he said.

"Professor Morales, at the university here, suggested I meet you."

"Oh." His eyes grew slightly rounder and then he nodded quickly. "Yes. He has been to see me also."

"For treatment?"

"No. Just to meet me. *Salud!*"

"Salud." I raised the glass, sipped the liquor, and shuddered. It was like sweet gin and burned on the way down.

"Pisco," he said.

I nodded and took another sip. The second one was easier. "You use acupressure," I said.

He raised his brows. "Eh?"

"With Señora Peralta. You followed the Chinese acupuncture meridians. Where did you study this?"

Maximo shook his head and suspicion clouded his face. "I am sorry. I do not know of this. What is it?

I explained to him the concept of the Chinese tradition, the two thousand–odd points located along vertical meridians of *ch'i* energy running through the body, but it just seemed to confuse him. Finally he laughed it off. "No, no! I do not do any such thing. It is much simpler. I look at the rivers of light and follow them. Where there is a blockage, I clear it."

This was new.

"Rivers of light? What do they look like?"

"Oh . . ." He stuck out his lower lip in the effort to describe them. "They are . . . light . . . blueish sometimes . . . like streams of energy. They flow through the aura. I can see them," he reached out and held his finger half an inch from the skin on my arm, "there. . . ."

"You can see them now?"

"Yes. If I look."

Maybe it was the *pisco*. Maybe it was the altitude. It was probably the combination of the two. In any case, five minutes later I was standing on a chair, stripped down to my shorts, and Maximo Gomez was drawing the "rivers of light" on my body with a tube of Anita's lipstick. I gave him my camera, curious to compare the "rivers" with an acupuncture chart when I got back to San Francisco, and he was snapping away when Anita came home with a *bolsa* full of groceries. She dropped the bag, burst into tears, and ran from the room. It was her only tube.

February 23

Need a plan. Maximo has invited me to stay. "Stay with us and learn." Learn what? More about esoteric urban healers? Well, sure.

What I *could* do is stay here for a while and study Maximo's practice.

What I *want* to do is follow up the *hatun laika*, master shaman, rural wizard angle.

What I *need* to do is sort out what happened to me in the jungle.

Got a letter. From Stephanie. Of all people. Must've mailed it the day I left. Thanking me for the dinner, apologizing for her "attitude."

I think she likes me.

Perfect. I'll unlock the secrets of the human mind. My laboratory will be the jungles, high forest plains, and desert wildernesses of the world. I'll experience the states of consciousness and realms of healing of primitive, skilled mystics, glean their wisdom and translate it into a workable Western form. With her help. A classically trained Western psychiatrist, a rationalist. Yin to my yang. Left brain to my right. We'll bridge the gap between the instinctual wisdom of the ancients and the pragmatic, hard-won "facts" of modern, civilized man. Hand in hand, perfect balance. Right.

Why must I see a mate in every beautiful woman I meet? There's a limbic function for you. Reduce everything to sex.

Limbic brain. Talk about that tomorrow. Lecture to Morales's students. Knock 'em cold with some brain theory.

But there's no denying that I . . . felt her that night in the jungle. I wonder what her bedroom really looks like.

I'll send her a postcard. Something like:

"Ramoń's daughter was beautiful. Wish you were her."

Note: Buy lipstick for Anita.

She's the more genuine of the pair. Maximo talks a good line, but she has a look. . . . Maybe it's the pregnancy. Wholesomeness. Innocence. Power. He treats her like a dog on a choke chain.

The next day at four o'clock Professor Morales introduced me to his class as a young doctor of psychology from the United States. It had been evident that Morales was unique within the university, and not only because he was an Indian. During the strike I had not seen a soul save for a janitor, the cafeteria staff, and the old professor's loyal students. I had heard the tail end of his lecture, and I knew that Morales was a rare breed, an educator rather than a simple teacher, that he had created a learning environment for his students, had won their respect, had personally engaged them in the learning process, and, I was sure, had taught them more than the university catalogue promised. Now it was my turn.

I started off with Lyall Watson's line: "If the human brain were so simple that we could understand it, we would be so simple that we couldn't," and proceeded to outline the basics of the tribrain theory.

The tribrain theory, I explained, is closely tied to the evolution of *Homo sapiens.* It describes the human brain in terms of three "subbrains," which developed separately and independently: the ancient reptilian brain, the limbic brain, and the more recent neocortex.

The first, the reptilian brain, is not much different from the primitive brain that powered the dinosaurs. This brain regulates and maintains the machinery of the human body, including growth and tissue regeneration, movement, circulation, respiration, and other physical systems. It is the brain of habit, an indispensable survival tool for the ancient reptiles, who lacked the ability to evaluate their decisions once they were made, to change their minds.

What the dinosaurs lacked in intelligence they compensated for with brute strength, plowing through life rather than steering a course through it. The great reptiles lacked any predators to challenge their supremacy, and the complexity of their brains was in direct proportion to the simplicity of their lives.

With the extinction of the dinosaurs and the rise of the mammals, the

requisites for survival became more complex. The demands of the environment on the warm-blooded, more vulnerable mammals were such that their brains developed to nearly one hundred times the size of the cold-blooded reptile brain (in proportion to body weight). In early humans the instincts of the reptilian brain were complemented by a new neurocomputer, the limbic brain.

Whereas the reptilian brain of both the dinosaur and the human was programmed with an unfaltering obedience to instincts, the limbic brain was programmed with a new language: the emotions. Over time the limbic brain became the prime driver of human experience with its four emotionally laden response programs: the "four F's:" fear, feeding, fighting, and sex. These four drives have controlled human behavior since the birth of our species.

The limbic brain is responsible for fence building and territorial thinking, for raiding and plundering neighbors' villages, and for branding as enemies those whose skin color or features are unlike our own.

Guided by the emotionally volatile, nonrational, acutely intuitive limbic brain, early humans began to form hunter/gatherer tribes and villages and to develop social rituals and laws that would regulate and temper the impulses of the limbic brain.

One hundred thousand years ago, in a curious and as yet unexplained evolutionary quantum leap, the brain of *Homo sapiens* nearly doubled in size. In one fell swoop Nature endowed our ancestors with a powerful neurocomputer they would not learn to use for thousands of years. The neocortex provided a logical, rational thinking cap for the superstitions and ritualistic thinking of the limbic brain.

The left and right hemispheres of the neocortex are associated with mathematical, spatial, and abstract thinking. Its frontal lobes are a center of higher brain function we know little about, but they almost certainly house the faculty of foresight. The ability to see the tool or weapon hidden in a length of bone, to see the sculpture inside the stone, to look ahead, to plan the seeding and harvesting of crops, to imagine, and to dream set humans apart from the other animals and allowed them to forge their own destiny.

With a simple tool, a digging stick that would become a rudimentary lever, and then a plow, humans began to take control of their environment. The hand of Nature was joined by the hand of humanity.

The emergence of the neocortex was the dawn of what is called mind, for with it came the ability of the brain to reflect upon itself. Early man

could now encounter his reflection in a forest pond and, rather than running away or throwing a stone at the apparition, could stand entranced by the image of himself, could begin to see and understand himself. Until this point in history, early man had been able to perceive the environment that surrounded him. Now, he could perceive something else—his own reflection in Nature. He could reflect on himself, on life, on destiny, on God.

The neocortex is also the brain of language. Language allows us to define and communicate the experience of our senses and our inner life. The limbic brain lacks the power of speech, communicating instead through body language, gesture, symbols, and music. Now sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, and emotions—all of the stimuli that the limbic and reptilian brains would simply record and react to—could be expressed with words.

The reptilian brain served the self-sufficient creature (the dinosaur), and the limbic brain flourished among the members of a small tribe or hunting band. The neocortex required a larger social unit to create the culture necessary for it to explore its potential, to create science, music, art, and architecture.

Intelligence was augmented by increasing the number of intelligent brains linked together in a society whose beliefs, traditions, folklore, and knowledge formed a society of mind, a community of consciousness greater than the sum of its parts. Soon towns developed links with other towns through commerce. Eventually the Earth was enveloped in a global network of trade and communication. But the four F's of the primitive limbic brain had to be restrained before individuals could coexist in large numbers. Religious dictates, commandments, and common law acted to restrain the emotional and often aggressive instincts of the limbic brain.

This was all pretty dry stuff, but Professor Morales's students ate it up. I could have talked about the ten billion neurons of the human brain and the hundred trillion bits of information they processed. I could have rambled on about neural networks, holographic memory and localized brain function theory, neurotransmitters, synaptic gaps, and receptor sites, and they would have struggled gamely to understand it all. As it happened, they got a simple evolutionary model: a body brain, a feeling brain, and a thinking brain.

Fernando, the red-haired Spanish boy, raised his hand.

"¿Disculpeme, doctor, pero que es la conciencia?" What is consciousness.

I took a deep breath and said:

"I don't know. Like God or love, it seems impossible to define accu-

rately. We all know we have one, although we do not know exactly what it is.

"It has been defined as the component of waking awareness perceptible by an individual at any given moment. But that's not good enough. Consciousness is our awareness of the experiences of our senses, and that awareness cannot be limited to our waking state. After all, we see, hear, smell, taste, and feel when we dream. We need to explore the limits of our perception, conscious and unconscious, before we can begin to define consciousness, or mind.

"In laboratories in the United States, we dissect the brain and examine its tissues. But just as the wetness of water cannot be described by H_2O, by the properties of hydrogen or oxygen, the properties of consciousness cannot be derived from the neurology of the human brain." I erased my simple schematic chalk drawing of the brain.

"But the fact that you are able to ask that question, that we are here wrestling with these concepts, is a celebration of our new brain," I tapped my forehead, "this neocortex. I know I haven't answered your question. It is a good question, but, ultimately, one you will have to answer for yourself."

"The wetness of water . . . ," said Professor Morales when the lecture was over and the students had thanked me. "Very intriguing," he said.

"John Stuart Mill," I said. "It's an old metaphor."

"You have accumulated a great deal of knowledge," he said, glancing at the clock on the wall above the chalkboard. The clock read 3:15. It had not moved since I had gotten there. It had probably read 3:15 for years.

"I suppose I have," I said. "But it's not much good unless I can understand it. You can accumulate knowledge until you're blue in the face, but you don't necessarily end up any the wiser. I suppose wisdom comes when you take all that information," I swept my hand across the room, the empty desks, "and use it to discover something new about yourself. To self-reflect." I turned to the professor. "That's what you meant about the difference between having an experience and serving an experience, isn't it?"

He nodded. "More or less," he said. "What was your experience in the jungle?"

I told him about finding Ramón, the jaguar, the psychedelic qualities of the *ayahuasca,* the serpent, Satchamama, my reflection on the lagoon, and the condor, the feeling that I was dying. All of it. I told the part about the

young woman as though it were another hallucination. I tried to explain the sensation of being in Stephanie's bedroom.

Professor Morales listened carefully, poker-faced. When I was through he turned to me and said: "What do you think it all meant?"

"I don't know," I said. That made twice in one day. "My overwhelming feeling was fear. It got in my way. My clearest sense is that I could have gone further, that there was something more to . . ." I stopped again. "Like the lagoon. Standing on the brink but too scared to jump in. Limbic response. Fear."

"Mythically," said Morales, "the *ayahuasca* takes you to meet death. The place of the West on the Medicine Wheel is where one confronts death and is taken by it."

"Resurrection? Rebirth?"

"In a mythical sense, yes. The shaman is one who has already died. He has overcome our greatest fear and is free from it. Death can no longer claim him. He casts no shadow."

"But I didn't die. Ramón brought me back."

"Because you were not ready for the experience. The *ayahuasca,* like any sacred medicine, is a signpost where a path diverges: it helps you along the way, yet is useless and misleading unless you are on the path to begin with. Don Ramón was guiding your ritual and must have sensed that you were not prepared."

"How?"

Morales just looked at me and raised his eyebrows. Dumb question.

"What do you think would have happened if he had not brought me back?"

"You are better qualified to answer that than I am," he said. "Perhaps a dangerous psychotic episode? But then, Westerners have generally associated the shamanic experience with psychosis, have they not?"

"Uh-huh. From the Western perspective of reality, the world of spirits and such things is the world of the psychotic. Abnormal."

"Leave it to the Western culture to define normality," he said.

"What is Satchamama?" I asked.

"The spirit of the Amazon. The great serpent."

"An archetype?"

"Let's say an archetypal spirit."

"I thought it was real."

"Well, of course you did. And it was. How can you distinguish between the reality of a serpent you meet in waking consciousness and one encountered in, for instance, a dream state?"

"That's an old question," I said. "The only difference is that in the one instance your eyes are open and in the other they are closed."

"A shaman would say that if you see with your heart and feel with your head, the position of your eyelids is of no consequence."

"Where will I find a shaman who will show me that?"

"What do you think of Maximo?" he asked.

I told him what I thought. That he seemed to be like other urban healers that I had encountered, that he was congenial, pompous, and had invited me to stay and learn with him, but I was more interested in the concept of the *hatun laika,* the master shaman/sorcerer that Morales had mentioned.

"In two weeks we will be in recess," he said. "A two-week vacation. I was planning on taking a little walking tour, following parts of the Urubamba River along the *altiplano.*"

"I was thinking of going there myself," I said, watching him closely. "Hiring a translator."

Professor Morales scooped the chalk from the desk and into his pocket. He grinned. "I am not for hire, my young friend."

"I didn't mean to suggest . . ."

He waved a hand at me. "But if you know how to travel light and sleep outside, then you are welcome to accompany me. I would gain a companion, and you might learn some Quechua."

"Thank you. The fact is, I can't afford a translator. I can barely afford the hotel."

"Accept señor Gomez's offer," he said. "You will save the money you would otherwise spend at a comfortable hotel, and perhaps you will learn something new. In two weeks we will see what we can find in the country."

And so it was settled. We would set out into the high plateau, the *altiplano* of Peru, and search for a *hatun laika,* a master shaman. But first I would spend two weeks living with Maximo and Anita. "Stay with us and learn," Maximo had said and I did. I learned that Maximo was a talented clairvoyant, an enigmatic healer whose training included the cabala, the tarot, yoga, nutrition, herbology, and applied astrology—what he called cosmobiology.

Although Maximo's practice was a healthy one and served his patients

well, it was unspectacular. His techniques included the laying on of hands, massage, water treatments, acupuncture, and herbal remedies. I learned that he employed the help of spirit guides, two of them, to help him in his diagnoses as well as during the healings themselves. Whatever his paranormal talents were, there were always a variety of possible psychological and physiological explanations for his results.

I also learned something of the willingness of people to put their faith in something new. Maximo was practical enough about his diagnoses to be able to distinguish between those cases requiring his herbal or paranormal intervention and those that were purely psychological. He began to refer the latter cases to me, and, within a week, I was known as *el médico americano*, the gringo healer. As was my custom, I took careful notes on Maximo's cases, a few of which would appear in *Realms of Healing,* for example, Paliza, the quadrapalegic Peruvian artist who would later dance at his own wedding.

Maximo was a great sensitive, I've no question about that. He exhibited wonderful visionary abilities, but although Maximo acted the part of the mystic to perfection and sought recognition as a privileged healer, his greatest secret was that his wife, Anita, was the better healer of the two. She was invariably present during every diagnosis, and his consultations with her were masked by the abruptness and scorn with which he treated her.

He never let down the mask, never yielded to her but once: at the end of my second week, when she told me that it was time for me to acquire vision.

6

The eye altering alters all.

—William Blake

Anita and I became friends. One morning in the middle of the second week of my stay, I accompanied her to the market. After an hour and a half of pressing avocados, dodging pigs, squeezing oranges, bartering for limes, sniffing cantaloupe, stepping over chickens, stripping corn husks, tripping over dogs, knocking on watermelons, colliding with housewives and children, with two *bolsas* full I steered us toward the center of town and into the Café Roma.

She protested, of course. I suspected that she had never been in a restaurant. I leaned the *bolsas* against the old Inca wall and ordered a couple of coffees and some pastry.

"Tell me about the . . . animals that Maximo sees," I said. I leaned across the table. "That you see."

Her eyes, roving the restaurant, stopped on mine, then dropped to the tablecloth. "The power animals," she said. "The elementals."

A white-jacketed waiter set our coffees and a plate of sugary breads before us, reached across, and drew the sugar bowl to the center of the table.

"They exist in nature," she said when he had gone. "They are nature energies that unite with you. The power animals serve you and you serve them. They are a part of you. They are bonded to us at each of the seven chakras." She watched me peel the thin foil from a pad of butter. "They are simple forms of energy, but powerful beings. Just as the spirit guides connect us with the spirit world, we connect the power animals with our world. And they connect us with nature."

"What do they look like?" I asked, struggling to understand.

"Animals," she said.

"So I have seven of these animals?"

She sipped her coffee and shook her head. "No. They do not always connect to each of your centers of energy, and sometimes they hide or are too young to look like anything. Of course, you can acquire more. Sometimes there are two at a chakra." She broke a piece of bread in half and offered one piece to me. I smiled and shook my head. I watched her eyes and wondered if they saw things I couldn't.

"How do you see them?"

"By not looking," she said. "It is difficult to explain."

"What are mine?" I asked. "What do you see?"

She took a moment, debating, and then said: "There is a cat, a jaguar. Here." She touched her pregnant belly. "But your relationship with it is confused. There is also a great black cat that is . . . following you, but they are one and the same. Because you have not received it, claimed it as a part of you. And it *is* a part of you. It is stalking you. It is very powerful. It is challenging you to meet it." Again, she placed her palm on her belly. "This is the center of all life, where my child is growing within me, where you were tied to your mother and fed in her belly. This cat is your mother seeking to nurture you with a gift of power. Not your biological mother, of course. I am speaking of the Earth."

"The Earth?"

She nodded. "Pachamama, the great mother, gives us the gift of luminescent energies, life forces that we represent as power animals. They are with us until the day when we return our physical bodies back to her, back to the Earth. This jaguar is your principal power in nature. Your coffee is cold."

"Hmm?" She pushed the cup and saucer toward me. I lifted the cup and drained it. "What else?"

She set aside her pastry and swept the crumbs from the tablecloth and onto her napkin. "There is a deer." She touched the base of her throat and smiled. "A stag with wonderful antlers. An owl rides with it, perched on one of the antlers. These are at your throat chakra, your center of expression and communication. There is great dignity and wisdom. This is very beautiful."

"Is that all?"

"They are the most fully formed." She frowned and looked at the tablecloth.

"Yes?"

She shook her head. "Tell me," I said.

"There is something else. It is not yours. I spoke with Maximo about it. . . . It is from somewhere else."

"What is it?" I confess, she had my attention.

"A bird. Like an eagle. It too is following you. It is . . . tracking you."

"What does it want?"

"I don't know," she said. "And you will not know unless you encounter these forces."

"How do I do that?"

"There are many ways," she nodded. "You must learn how to see." She folded her hands in her lap and nodded again. "Yes," she said, "I will speak to Maximo. I think it is time you learn to see."

March 10, 1973

Maximo and Anita have something in store for me. My "apprenticeship" with them is drawing to a close. In three days the university goes into recess, and Professor Morales and I will set out trekking.

They have been very good to me. Maximo has provided me with some provocative material, and, all in all, I've benefited from living with them, observing a folk healing practice at its most practical and workmanlike. Living here, if even for a couple of weeks, has taught me something about faith. The faith in the eyes of the people who line up to this door every day. The poor, the middle class, even a superior court judge. The other day, an enterprising old Indian woman set up her charcoal brazier in the street and fried dumplings for the gathering. People on crutches, paralyzed, depressed, skin-diseased, diabetic. . . . It's like something out of the Old Testament. Or the New Testament. Or the waiting room at San Francisco General. In any case, I'm anxious to get on with it. See what the countryside has in store.

Went to the *farmacia* today, spent about ten bucks on a selection of U.S. brand lipsticks for Anita.

Still trying to sort through her explanation of the power animals. I've tried to press her for more, but she's all but mute around Maximo, yields to his running commentary on things spiritual. Curious relationship. His abrasiveness, so distasteful to me at first, is,

I think, a kind of spiritual machismo. He's intimidated by Anita's grasp of all that he claims to be the master of. She lives what he talks, and he knows it. Macho response, knee-jerk chauvinism to cover his insecurity.

Pachamama/Mother Earth concept has me going. So much of my psychology, Western psychology, is rooted in problems with mom. Here is a way of setting her free. One need not go through life feeling abandoned, pushed away from a mother's breast, cast into a hostile world, kicked out of paradise. The Indian (through rites of passage?) bonds with the Great Mother, the Pachamama, the Earth that continues to feed us, house us, clothe us, and even receive us in death.

This afternoon Maximo asked to borrow my Bowie knife. He's been admiring it for over a week. I'll give it to him when he tries to return it. Sorry, Brian, but I'm sure you'd approve.

With past experience in mind, I've determined to devote myself to whatever ritual the Gomezes have planned, so I'll follow their simple prescription: Fasting (yet again), this time for three days. Eat only bee pollen, drink only lemon water and herb tea. Cleanse my *chakras* twice a day with the water at Tambo Machay.

I found my way to the temple on the afternoon of the day of my breakfast with Anita. I had eaten nothing since that morning, and remember thinking that I should have taken the half-pastry she'd offered me.

Tambo Machay is the "Temple of the Waters," a three-tiered spring built by Inca masons on the outskirts of Cuzco, three colossal steps of interlocking white granite set into the mossy banks of a hill. Its water flows from a central spout on the upper tier, branches into two on the riser of the second step, then converges again at the base of the temple.

The sun was setting behind Soiroccocha, at 18,197 feet, the lowest of four great mountains of the valley of Cuzco. I stripped to the waist, and, in the long cool shadows of late afternoon, placed my hands under the spout, shivered, and washed my chakras.

The concept of seven principal energy centers is common to most primitive cultures and religions, although it is generally associated with the yogic practices of the Hindus. Patanjali, the writer (or writers) that systematized the disciplines of yoga, described them in detail. The first is at the

base of the spine, at the genitals; the second is slightly below the navel—the "belly of the Buddha"; the third is the pit of the stomach, at the solar plexus; the fourth is at the center of the chest, at the heart; the fifth is at the base of the throat; the sixth is above and between the eyebrows; and the seventh, the crown chakra, is at the top of the head. They have been described as spirals of energy, vortices of light, spinning clockwise, like the smoke I saw at my chest that night in the jungle. Appropriately enough, they all correspond to nerve bundles or plexuses along the spine and with the seven major endocrine glands.

As instructed, I washed them with wet fingertips, counterclockwise. I unzipped my pants and my skin tingled with the sensation of my light touch and the icy cold water.

For the next two days, at dawn and at dusk, fortified with bee pollen, lemon water, and weak herb tea, I made my way to the hillside and, as un-self-consciously as I could, went through the motions. I even tried to visualize the chakras as whirlpools of light, of energy.

I returned to the house after sunset on the third day. I felt empty, but satisfied with my attention to the regimen. I thought I was ready for anything.

I could smell the candlewax as soon as I entered the kitchen door. And something else: the pungent woodiness of burning sage. The lights were out in the kitchen, and a warm glow came from the living room door. It was cold, even in the house, and the light was inviting, and I went in.

It was quite a spectacle. The plain little room had been all but cleared of furniture. The cot, the sofa, the wooden table, were gone, and a haze of smoke hung low in the cold, smoke that caught and diffused the flame glow of each of the forty or fifty white candles there. The candles marked out a circle in the center of the room and, from there, covered the floor, filled the corners. Within the circle there were two bowls, one large candle, two straight-back wooden chairs ten or twelve feet apart. Anita, hands folded in her lap, sat on one of the chairs. There was a small bundle of bound sage smoldering in one bowl, flower water in the other, petals floating on the surface. Maximo stood, arms folded, within the circle.

I felt a sudden thrill of affection for these people, for their care and consideration. Even though I was skilled at concealing it, I suspected that they could always glimpse the flickering light of skepticism behind my eyes, the hem and haw of doubt in my voice when we discussed the esoterica of

their belief system. Here they had made a considerable effort for me. For my own good. So that I might acquire their "vision."

"It's beautiful!" I said.

Anita smiled without looking at me. Maximo said, "Sit down, my friend."

I stepped carefully between the candles on the floor and sat on the chair opposite Anita. Her head was bowed and she was breathing with such regularity that had she not smiled, I would have thought her asleep.

"Take off your shirt and jacket," Maximo said, and, although I was still feeling the chill of the night, I did so, folded them, placed them under my chair. It was then that I noticed my Bowie knife, unsheathed beside the bowl of flower water in the center of the circle. I looked questioningly up at Maximo.

"It is time for you to acquire vision," he said. "Because you are particularly thickheaded, we must resort to unusual means."

I looked over at Anita. She had not moved.

"Close your eyes now and breathe deeply from your stomach. Calm yourself."

I closed my eyes and breathed deeply, and wondered what my razor-sharp hunting knife could possibly have to do with acquiring vision.

A sudden draft of night air reminded me somehow to attend to Maximo's instruction, and I tried to ignore the knife and concentrate on relaxing. I could hear Maximo softly murmuring, calling upon his spirit guides, the "brothers superior," to bless our circle of fire and let none enter uninvited. Then my name. He was calling upon my spirit, inviting my jaguar to enter the circle of light and curl itself at my feet. He invoked the Earth, the Pachamama, wind, water, and fire. He called upon the power animals to come and be fully present, to make themselves known to me, then lapsed into what I think was Quechua and I caught the names of the four *apus,* the four great peaks surrounding the city. It was quite splendid, but through the drama of it all, as I sensed the air clearing and the light slowly fading, I began to feel a vulnerability, an anxiety for what was to come. It was almost exhilarating.

I heard a window close, and Anita. "Open your eyes," she said.

The fresh night air had cleared the room of sage smoke; the smoldering sage bundle was gone, yet its tang still lingered in the air. The candles outside of the circle had been snuffed and all that was left was the central

candle and the candles that defined the circle itself. Anita was staring at me, at my forehead, so I could not catch her eyes. Then she looked up at Maximo and handed him something. A tube of lipstick! She smiled at me and nodded, and Maximo crossed the circle to stand at my side. He squinted at my forehead and touched it with the lipstick.

"*Abajo*," Anita said. Lower. "Ah, ah, ah! *There*!"

The difference was no more than a quarter of an inch. Slowly he began to draw the lipstick down toward the bridge of my nose. He stopped between my eyebrows, then drew another line across the first. I imagined the lipstick cross on my forehead, realized that I was holding my breath, and Anita said: "Keep breathing."

I exhaled, inhaled evenly. Anita told Maximo that it was too low, and he drew his finger firmly across the space between my eyebrows, wiped it on his pants, and I saw the lipstick stain. Anita nodded and I felt him draw a circle around the cross. When he was through he stepped back, cocked his head to regard his work. Anita said that it was correct, and he capped the lipstick and handed it back to her.

Anita and I locked eyes. She took an exaggerated breath and blew it out through pursed lips; her eyes fixed on mine. She was inviting me to match her rhythm and I did so. As we breathed together across the inside of the candle-rimmed circle, Maximo knelt in its center. He lifted my knife and washed the blade with the flower water, then passed it once or twice over the candle flame in the merest gesture of sterilization.

Sterilization. I knew he was going to use the knife on me, or was he? Gesture. Ritual. Drama symbolizing an act. Were these not all part of the healer's repertoire? Of course they were.

"Do not be afraid," said Maximo, and Anita began to chant softly, lyrically in Quechua. "Stay with your breathing," he said. "Meditate upon the candle flame. This will not take long."

He rose from beside the candle and bowl, and, holding the knife before him, came to stand before me and slightly to the right. I could still see Anita staring at the target on my forehead. I dropped my eyes to the candle flame wavering seductively on the floor between us and wondered what I'd gotten myself into.

I confess that Anita's presence forced me to face it stoically. I am not particularly proud of this. It is a weakness of the human male to feel challenged to conceal such emotions as fear in the presence of a woman. There

was even a moment, and this passed at the speed of light, when I wondered which I feared more: the touch of the blade or the fear itself. Then I felt the point of the knife touch my forehead, and, for an instant, became acutely aware of my flesh.

I was sweating in the cold of the room. My body was rigid, my fingers curled around the ends of the arms of the chair, like a death grip. Maximo placed his left hand on the top of my head and said: "Release your tension. Breathe out your fear. Follow Anita."

I exhaled, allowed my shoulders to drop, my fingers to go lax and Maximo pressed the tip of the knife into the skin high on my forehead and I flinched . . .

"Breathe."

. . . and a thin trickle of blood ran to the bridge of my nose, along its side to the crease beside my nostril and down my upper lip. I opened my mouth, felt the drop hanging there, and tasted it with the tip of my tongue. My blood. Familiar taste. Then Maximo, holding my head in place with his left hand, drew the knife blade down, down the center of my forehead and it hurt like hell and I felt the skin part, slashed, and the blood flowed freely, following the course laid down by the first trickle.

Shut off the pain, I told myself, but telling myself didn't do any good, so I closed my eyes and tried to control my breathing, although every breath was a series of rapid gasps and I closed my eyes and welled-up tears broke free and stuck to the sweat on my face.

I had no choice but to stay with it and fight the pain that made me tremble, and Maximo made short order of the second, horizontal cut, and the blood began to flow over my eyelids. Warm liquid flowing from my wounded head, scarred for life?

"Do not worry," I heard Anita say. "You will still be handsome. We are simply cutting through the psychic crust that hides vision from your third eye."

Then Maximo cut around the cross, cut a circle around the cross on my forehead and I felt the metal blade touch my skull, and a wave of nausea welled up from my stomach. The blood was flowing down to my chin and running down the sides of my neck and under my chin like drool and dripping to my chest. I lifted my lids and blinked reflexively at the blood and tears in the corners of my eyes, felt the blood on my cheeks, and saw it on my chest.

"All right now." Maximo's fingers gripped the top of my head and I knew that I was a fool and he took a corner, a flap of skin, between the blade and his thumb and pulled.

"Shit!"

"No, no, my friend. All is well. Calm yourself."

Anita: "Your vision will open like the blossoming of a rose."

I must have gone into mild shock at this point. I felt Maximo peel away the four sections of skin from my forehead, skin resisting, sticking, tearing, blood washing down my face and neck and chest. I disengaged from the pain, visualizing my nerve endings as cauterized, shriveled dead things that couldn't possibly send the signals of pain to my brain, and I stopped feeling the pain, only the pressure of the blade, the pulling at my flesh, the warm wetness of the blood. Savage . . . Disfigured . . .

"What do you see?"

"Huh?" I opened my eyes, but the lids were sticking with thickening, drying blood. "What?" They must have been closed for a while. . . .

"What do you see?"

I looked up at Maximo standing beside me, Anita seated across the room. She was leaning forward slightly.

"You." I said. "I see you. The room, the candles . . . " My breath caught in my throat all a lump and I sobbed. Anita, the candles, my vision, distorted as my eyes filled with tears, a confusion of blood and tears. I wiped at my eyes and my hand was trembling, tingling. I was hyperventilating. What had they done? What had I done?

"Do not worry. It will come. Prepare yourself. You must trust us and trust yourself, completely. Soon. Breathe."

And Maximo was at my forehead again. He scraped at the wound in my forehead and the pain was excruciating. I clamped my eyes against it and swallowed back a scream. My head was throbbing behind closed eyes. A dark redness behind my eyelids.

"What do you see?"

Again I opened my eyes. Anita in her chair. The room, the candles all hazy. I blinked away the haze.

"Here!" she said, and touched her forhead, her throat, her heart. . . . What was I going to see? I squinted back at her and shook my head.

I was beyond the pain now. It was medically not feasable, I knew, but the fear was gone and I was resigned to my condition. I felt detached

somehow and the nausea had been replaced by a thrill in my stomach. Adrenaline. So when Maximo repeated the procedure a third time, I closed my eyes and felt nothing but the pressure, the scraping. And then there was a light, the kind of light that you see after staring at a light bulb or a fire and you close your eyes and blink, the light of an image burned briefly into your retina. That kind of light.

I opened my eyes and saw something. Anita was leaning forward in her chair, hands gripping the chair arms, and there was a strange radiance around her. There was a luminescence, a small hazy brightness at her forehead, throat, and her pregnant belly glowed, sort of. Fleeting, all of it. I blinked and looked again through a milky gauziness and saw color around her, green and red, like a rainbow fading in the mist.

"Now do you see?"

I blinked, wiped at the blood coagulating on my eyelids, tried to focus, and the colors and lights were gone.

"Look!" she said. "Not with your eyes! What do you see?"

My heart was pounding. I relaxed my focus, stopped trying, and there came a moment I will never forget.

Anita's forehead dissolved, just gave way to nothing, and I saw the head of a horse superimposed like a holographic image over her head. There for an instant, but vivid. I saw it. I held my breath and looked at her, softened my focus, and the aura of light around her became more distinct, brightly colored blue and violet, almost gaseous.

"What do you see?"

I started to laugh. "Colors," I said. "And a . . ." I hesitated. "A horse?"

"Yes!" She laughed and clapped her hands.

"That is it," said Maximo. He dropped his hand on my shoulder.

Anita asked if I saw her aura.

Her *aura*. Was it really?

"I think so," I said.

"What color is it?"

"Blue. Soft blue and . . . violet."

"That is right."

And there were other things, but they were vague and lacked shape. Lights like fireflies spinning on the outskirts of the circle. Hazy, luminous, amorphous shapes. If I looked too hard they were gone. There was a small cat—I don't know what kind—at her chest or in it, it was difficult to qualify

its location, but I saw it there where the surface of her blouse gave way, became almost diaphanous.

"Look at me," she said. "Do not focus, look with your third eye. Look at my aura. Do you see it?"

I did. I couldn't help laughing.

"Close your eyes."

I closed them, and instead of blackness, the background was gray and the light and the colors lingered. I lost Anita, but what she called her aura remained, but different, yellow.

"What do you see?"

"Yellow."

"Yes!"

Then it was red, glowing like a stop light on a rainy day. "Is it red?" she asked.

I nodded. She could change the color. She was testing me.

Then I could see her. The aura shifted and I could see Anita. I remember raising my hand and touching my eyelids to make sure they were closed. She was coming closer. Her hand, faintly glowing blue and violet again, reached out toward me and I lifted my hand to touch hers.

I opened my eyes as we touched. She was there, standing before me, smiling. I began to cry. The trauma, the tension, the release, was too much, and I was overcome with emotion, just emotion. I laughed and cried and Maximo washed my face and chest with a damp cloth.

"You did well, my friend. Now you must work to keep your vision. It is a gift."

There was blood caked to my face and dried on my chest, and Anita brought a bowl of warm water from the kitchen and another bowl that smelled like tea. They washed me with the cloth and the water turned red and Anita drew a moist brown leaf from the second bowl and applied it to my forehead. It stung. There were three or four leaves altogether, I can't exactly remember, but they bound my head with a strip of some plant to hold them in place over the wound.

Maximo told me that it wasn't that bad, that I could not remove this poultice for three days. "Do not lift the leaves from their place," he said. "And do not exercise this new vision too hard." He told me to sleep, that my night would be filled with dreams.

March 13

Middle of the night, 2 A.M. I'm in the living room and having a hell of a time. I'm scared shitless and it's fabulous. Something has happened to my visual perception centers. I can't explain it, I'm almost scared to try because maybe it'll go away. I . . . don't know what to say here. Jesus God! I've submitted myself to a mutilation. If I'd known, I'd never have gone through with it and I'd have missed this, and the thought of missing it makes me anxious even now.

Slow down.

All right. In the living room. Anita and Maximo are asleep and the house is quiet except for the sound of Lorito in her little tin cage in the kitchen. Everything is as it was a couple of hours ago here except the candles are all out (I lit one to write this by) and I'm sitting on the floor, back against the wall looking at the circle of burned out candles and the two chairs. The scene of the crime.

It's very quiet. Wait a minute.

All right. I just went into the kitchen. Little Lorito on her perch. All the lights are off and when I shifted my focus, say instead of focusing on her, focus on a point half an inch or so in *front* of her, I can see this soft light, much like the Kirlian photographs I've see. Yes, it's what auras are supposed to look like—a soft hazy light and there are colors. Lorito's is sort of blue-green. I can't believe I'm writing this.

Back up. Classical ritual circle of fire, in this case, candles. Incantations and chanting. Anita, possibly in a hypersensitive state, guides Maximo in drawing a circle presumably around my sixth chakra, my "third eye." The son of a bitch cuts me, down and across and around the circle, peels off the sections, the four quarters of the "pie," and *scrapes* my forehead and I start seeing things.

I can't sleep. Went to my sleeping bag in the hallway and lay there until they had gone to bed and I couldn't get blackness when I closed my eyes. Light gray behind my eyelids. Went to the bathroom mirror. There are these leaves on my forehead and a headband of some long leaf like a palm leaf. I hesitated before looking.

Maximo cautioned me not to. Do I or don't I? I peeked. Lifted an edge of the leaf. The leaves are marinated or something because they're not stuck to the wound. I satisfied myself with a glimpse of a raw, inflamed redness under the leaf. I won't take it off for three days. I know I'll really look in the morning, though. Can't help it.

Went to the window and there's all sorts of madness! The trees and hillsides have a kind of soft iridescence in the night and there are lots of spinning lights like fireflies. Maybe they are fireflies.

March 14
Morning

Exhausted. Anxious. Fell asleep last night but might just as well have run a triathalon. The experience of the dream has buried itself somewhere deep in the flesh of my brain. Fading from recognition like a cloud that you watch because it looks like something. You look away then try again to find it, but it is gone—the cloud is still there but the shape is no longer recognizable—you've lost it. A watercolor dream. Abstract, light and shadow and glowing orbs and there was a cat. That's something. I knew it was the thing that scared me off the hood of my car at El Yunque, it was the thing that moved in shadow around the walls of Ramón's hut. And I knew it was the thing that Antonio saw over my shoulder. Like dogs do. You're sitting in the room with the dog. Reading or watching television and all of a sudden the animal's attention is drawn to something. It gets up, ears pricked, staring, fixated at something in the next room. What is it? You get up and look and there's nothing there. Nothing. Not a thing. You pat the dog reassuringly, he whines his anxiety and you chuckle and go back to your book. Like that. Some dream. It was a black cat, a jaguar and so very black that I could not even make out the contours of its body, but there was a sun shining and when the cat moved in its undulous way towards me, the sun glinted off its fur and it sparkled with gold.

Woke up and rolled over and felt the cool nylon of the sleeping bag on my cheek and the memory of last night came crashing down on me. Felt the stuff on my forehead, still miraculously in

place, went to the mirror and lifted the leaves without even thinking about it. There's a scab that's formed under the leaves. Scab. Around the perimeter of the circle. What has it been? Eight hours since Maximo cut into my head? And there's a scab. Formed on what looks like a very bad scratch. The skin around it is red and inflamed. A scab in eight hours. What did I expect? Well, with all the blood and pain, I expected to see bone. What the hell happened to me?

Things look normal, not paranormal. Everything's got edges this morning. Back to normal including my rationality. The whole thing has the quality of a dream. Like I had this nightmare and brought back an organic head bandage as a souvenir.

I know that in cultures the world over a healer can create a "ritual space" like a circle of fire and do their dance and sing their incantations and create ceremony that will affect those who are conditioned to believe it will affect them. This is the creation of an altered state in a willing individual and let's not kid around, that stuff works. Works on a purely subjective level just like a placebo.

And here I am. Like Maximo said, "particularly thickheaded." In my normal operating state of consciousness, I perceive the world much in the same way that everybody else does. Let's accept the possibility that in a different state, an *altered* state of consciousness, my awareness, my *perceptions* might also be altered. All right. What's it going to take?

What drives "normal" people raised in a rational Western culture to behave *ab*normally? To behave *ir*rationally? When do we "lose our grip?" There's hunger. That can drive us to act out of desperation and, if it's bad enough, to hallucination. Then there's panic. Fear. The grip of terror. There's physical conflict. Violence and rage. There's love. Desire. The exultation of an orgasm. Jealousy. Jealous rage, temporary insanity.

Fear, feeding, fighting, sex. For the life of me I can't think of any others. Limbic response systems that can drive us over the edge. Into altered states. Naturally, without specific mind-altering substances.

If, in the absence of drugs, it takes one of these, then surely fear was the operative element of my altered state, my altered perceptions. I was scared shitless. Acute stress.

I know that I'm pulling the rug out from under the experience. I am compelled to write it off to the power of suggestion on a mind bent by fear and pain. Surely a simplistic psychological interpretation is available: Maximo scraped the wound three times, scraped until I "saw" something. By "seeing" I could stop the torture.

Does that make Maximo and Anita craftsmen of suggestion? Manipulators of fear?

Such an explanation does not deny the fantastical quality of the state, does not deny the astonishing programmability of the human mind, yet fails to explain how I managed to pass Anita's aura color test.

Setting aside the cause of the state of mind, the question remains: Was I creating what I saw or was what I saw there to be seen? Did I project the images or were my visual perception centers reorganized, allowing me to perceive, to become visually sensitive to, things I'd never perceived before?

Can ask all the right questions, can objectify this 'til hell freezes over. I am left with the experience.

Maximo returned the knife to me that day. I shook my head.

"No. It is my gift to you," I said.

He grinned, nodded, took my hand, and placed the knife on my palm. "Thank you," he said, "but it has opened your vision to the real world, and it is for you to keep. It has been blessed. It was given to you by a friend, and it has been used by a friend. Keep it close to you, and cherish it as an object of power."

How he knew that it had been a gift, I don't know. As I said, he was an extraordinary clairvoyant.

We said goodbye the next day. I was to meet Professor Morales at the train station. Anita gave me a bandanna to cover the bandage on my forehead. I kissed her and thanked her for her kindness. Maximo gave me an *abrazo,* and told me to take care crossing the *altiplano,* to beware of the eagle that was following me.

A few years later I learned that Maximo had left Anita, that when he left his wife his healing powers began to fade. He relied on his clairvoyance and simple herbal cures to make a living among Lima's millions.

7

Why level downward to our dullest perception always and praise that as common sense?

—Henry David Thoreau

Professor Morales was waiting for me at the train station. I did not recognize him at first. The baggy suit, bulging pockets, and frayed white *manta* shirt had given way to a pair of rough-woven wool trousers, sandals, a blousey shirt, a simple brown poncho with a cream-colored border, and a wide-brimmed slouch hat with a satin band. A cloth bag hung from a braided cord on his shoulder, and a small, colorfully woven pouch was attached to the thin leather belt that held up his pants. In jeans, hiking boots, cotton safari shirt, parka, and backpack, I thought I was ready for anything, but then, so was he.

March 15

We have left Cuzco and the Urubamba river valley for the *altiplano,* the high plateau of central Peru. We travel third class. Oh yes. The train station. I gave a handful of *intis,* about a dollar's worth, to a boy of twelve who seemed to be soliciting for a sightless woman who must have been his grandmother. I joined Morales at a small stand where he was purchasing bread and fruit.

"Do you feel better?" he asked.

"What do you mean? I feel fine."

"That *propina,* it made you feel better?"

"Yes," I admitted. "And I'm sure it helped . . . a little."

He placed the food in his shoulder bag.

"Yes. You Americans take care of the poor, don't you."

His sarcasm stunned me, but before I could reply, we were off, running for our train.

Wooden benches, many with no backs. Chickens, pigs, a small goat attached to its owner by a piece of nylon clothesline tied to a hind leg.

Straw. The smell of maize, corn cakes and tobacco and the *campesinos* themselves. Mostly Quechua, most speak Spanish, all are unspeakably poor. With his Indian features, his hat, his poncho, and shapeless trousers, Professor Morales could be one of them. I soon discover that the fruit and rolls are not for us as much as for them; his words are for their benefit, not mine.

His eyes are a magnet and soon we are sharing our food with a handful of peasants made not to feel grateful, who listen as the professor talks to me in simple Spanish about the grandeur of his heritage, the native Peruvian, the cultural legacy that was laid waste by the *conquistadores*. "We" (he includes our fellow passengers with a simple gesture) "domesticated over a hundred food products, including the potato, established a social security system; built paved roads up to three thousand miles long, suspension bridges and tunnels to join our empire. We charted the course of the Sun and the Moon, and when we traveled, we always brought seed as a gift to a new town. We carried kernels of corn." (He produces one from his trouser pocket.) "Corn, the gift of the Sun, the Sun in its center. We are truly a great people of the Earth."

We got off at a rural train station.

"The way to help the poor is by restoring their culture," he said. "We are a raped and beaten people. The source of their hunger is the loss of their past. The Indian needs bread, yes. But he also needs pride. And hope. Here, in his belly."

On the platform one of our small audience of farmers tugged at my shoulder, nodded toward Morales's retreating figure and pulled down his lower eyelid with a callused forefinger. A Latin gesture. *Mucho ojo*. Beware.

We set off from that train station, headed off across the barren plateau known as the *altiplano,* a rugged plain of granite-studded pastures and deep *arroyos,* jagged gullies through which the water ran in the rainy season. South southeast the Andes piled upon one another, rising high above the ten thousand–foot elevation of the plateau. The air was exquisitely fresh, crisp, exhilarating to both of us. Antonio moved with the gait of an antelope. He set the pace and we talked.

I realize now that I did most of the talking; although it seemed as though we were getting to know one another, somehow I was the one telling the story. I told him of my childhood in Cuba, the family's escape to Florida, my year at a university in Pennsylvania, and our subsequent move to Puerto Rico. I told him about doña Rosa and my return to the United States, traveling across the country with Victoria, my first long-term lover, and our breakup over infidelities and irreconcilable differences. I outlined my experience at the university, described my little one-room house on a hill in Sonoma, my work at the Latin American Counseling Center that I had founded in my senior year, my training in psychology, my impatience with the system, and the scorn with which the science was regarded. He seemed particularly interested in my accounts of the neuroses and psychoses that I had treated in therapy.

We stopped by the bank of a little creek. Morales dipped into his pouch and formed little balls of yucca paste and cornmeal. I had brought along some strips of dried beef, and we lunched on this simple food and water from the stream.

"It is fascinating, really, how a philosophical difference between two cultures can lead to such extreme differences in practical psychology," he said.

"Yes?"

"The Western world," he said, "the 'civilized' nations, what is called the 'first world' cultures, rule the Earth by right of their economic and military strength. And the philosophical foundation of the Western culture is based on a religion that teaches of the fall from grace, original sin, and the exodus from the Garden of Eden. This concept is fundamental to the mythology of the West, and it represents Nature as hostile and man as corrupt."

I dipped my collapsible camping cup into the stream and offered it to him.

"Adam and Eve eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and bad," he said. He took a drink and handed back the cup. "And God

said: 'Cursed is the ground on your account. In the sweat of your face you will eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken. For dust you are and to dust you will return.' "

" 'And so,' " I quoted, " 'he drove them out and posted at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubs and the flaming blade of a sword to guard the way to the tree of life.' "

"It is such a peculiar myth," he said, "The emphasis is not man's relationship to his environment, to Nature, to the Garden, but man's relationship to himself as an outcast, fending for himself, becoming self-conscious in a hostile world. The Westerner has accepted this tradition, has promoted this concept through art and literature and philosophy. Indeed, it has become ingrained and second nature, has it not?"

"I suppose it has," I agreed. "You can live your entire life in a city, for instance. It provides shelter, a controlled environment, and acts as a buffer between the individual and Nature. Even foods in supermarkets are treated before they are consumed, either artificially ripened, colored, or preserved, then packaged for consumption."

"So the Westerner," he said, "the outcast from the Garden, has turned inward, and, it is interesting that within such a culture, when the individuals experience a psychological crisis of some sort, a psychotic or neurotic episode, they will turn to religion or the psychiatrist or medication instead of to Nature to become well again. To become normal. Is this not so?"

I nodded. He offered me a ball of yucca and cornmeal.

"But," he continued, "you end up with an entirely different focus when the tradition of a culture is not founded on the fall from grace, where man was never banished from the Garden of Eden and lives close to Nature and Nature is a manifestation of the Divine. In those cultures a psychotic break or a schizophrenic episode is magical. The unconscious mind opens up, and, if the person is young, he or she is encouraged to dive into it, not pull back from the brink. They fall into their unconscious, into the realm of pure imagination, the realm of Jung's archetypes, into a world of spirit. They are allowed to experience other realms of their own minds and they are changed as a result. In many primitive cultures, they become the medicine people. They have experienced the Divine."

"So," I said, "you propose that psychotic episodes and schizophrenic crack-ups should be encouraged?"

"I propose nothing of the kind. It would be dangerous to promote such incidents within your culture, because your mythology is based on

thousands of years of tradition that such episodes are not normal, are unnatural, are unhealthy. I am merely pointing out a difference. In primitive cultures the opening of the unconscious is a blessing. It is *unusual,* yes. But not unnatural. These are children of the Earth, the Garden, living in Nature, not banished from it. In such a culture everything is *of Nature*. Natural. Even a psychotic episode. It is safe, especially when guided by one who has had a similar experience."

"Madness is a social distinction?" I said.

"Precisely," he said.

"So do all shamans, at one time or another, experience such a psychotic incident?"

"Not necessarily," he said. "They know the doorways and can learn how to open them. And to step through them, sure-footed."

"I suppose the myth of the exodus from the garden has had a profound effect on Western thought," I said.

"It is a given!" He exclaimed. "Look at the great Western philosophers of the twentieth century: Nietzsche, Sartre, Camus, Beckett, these existentialists! Brilliant *reasoners*." He tapped the side of his head. "Virtuosos of logic. But they *begin* with the premise that man is alone, a fugitive from Nature. They never question this, but go on logically to describe a philosophy based on the uniqueness and isolation of the individual in a universe indifferent or even hostile to man!" He turned away and washed his hands in the stream and splashed the spring water on his face.

"The ultimate realization is despair," I said. "The ultimate solution is often self-destruction."

"Yes," he said, and pulled a bandanna from his pocket and wiped his face. "But we were never banished from the Garden, you see. The ground was never cursed on our account, as your Bible claims. Nature is not hostile to us. We are her caretakers."

We passed a village that first day. I saw it at the base of a little terraced hill to the north.

"Should we go there?" I asked.

"No, I don't think so," he said, and we headed away from it to follow a dry riverbed around a small hill, and it was late afternoon before we came upon another.

We had been hiking a steep embankment and found ourselves on top of a ridge, perhaps five hundred feet high. The slope below was terraced Inca-style. The terraces were at least two hundred yards long, six to eight

feet high, and faced with smooth, interlocking granite blocks. We skirted the edge of the terraces along a pathway paved with large flagstones and descended to the village at the base of the hill.

The distinction between poor and primitive is important here. The people live in ancient thatched-roof stone huts and more modern adobe ones. They farm the fields and terraces, grow corn and potatoes, raise pigs and chickens and llamas on the same land that their ancestors cultivated three thousand years ago. The men farm, the women help in the harvest and weave.

There was a *tienda* sporting a bent and pitted Coca-Cola sign, selling stuff from the city, such as soda and beer and some canned and packaged foods, soap, cigarettes, a few hardware items, bridles, belts, burlap and nylon bags. There was a little market area on one of the two streets. There were seeds, grains, coca tea, a few fruits, baskets, some clothing. Primitive, yes. But poverty is subjective.

Some miles to the south, the *altiplano* fell away to low jungle valleys, and the fruits we purchased were tropical: mangoes, a papaya, a couple of streaked orange bananas.

The fruit stand was tended by an Indian girl of ten or twelve: dark complexion, Asian eyes, high cheekbones, and a long, curved nose. Her shining black hair was pulled back in a long braid that fell from beneath a narrow-brimmed hat. She wore a long black skirt, a red-and-green patterned blouse, and a burlap shawl. She was shy with strangers and as we selected our purchase, a hard-faced older woman appeared in the stone doorway of the *casita* behind her. She eyed us suspiciously, but when Morales greeted her in Quechua, her face softened toward him, although she couldn't keep her eyes from my clothes and the bandanna that covered the mark on my forehead.

He interpreted his conversation for me afterward.

"We are looking for a healer," he said after the pleasantries.

"Your companion is sick?"

"Well, yes. He has a very bad stomach ailment."

"He should take *manzanilla* tea."

"Do you have some for sale?"

"Oh yes!" she said, and disappeared into the house. We completed our transaction with the girl, and then the mother returned with a little cloth bundle.

"Thank you, señora," he said, and asked the price.

"No, no. Please take it for your sick friend."

He bowed and said thank you. "I am sure this will help, although if the cause of his sickness is not physical, he will need to see a good healer."

"There is one," she said, "and he is very powerful. A sorcerer who came to Zunita last summer." She pointed over our shoulders, toward the hill in the direction of the village that we had passed by. "He is a magician."

"Do you know this *laika's* name?"

"He is called don Jicaram."

We thanked the woman and headed west.

"So shouldn't we go to that village?" I asked when he had recounted the conversation.

He looked to the western horizon. "No," he said. "It is in the other direction, and there is only an hour or so of daylight. There are other villages and this sorcerer she spoke of sounds like the traveling variety. He won't be there now."

"But perhaps they know where he is from," I said. "He must have a village of his own."

"Not necessarily. I have heard of some who keep moving from village to village."

Morales set off with determination, and I reminded myself that I was his guest. I tried to guess his agenda. He had never mentioned the purpose of his little walking tour, and I had assumed that he was going to visit relatives, perhaps the village of his birth. Fine. But my time was limited and I was getting anxious.

As the sun set and the high-altitude chill set in, we stopped by the edge of a pine grove, where a tumble of smooth granite boulders marked the site of some unidentifiable Inca structure. Morales built a neat little fire: a grid of twigs, dried moss in its center, and I lit it with a disposable lighter. We ate fruit and dried beef and potatoes wrapped in corn husks and baked in the coals. I removed the bandanna from my head, and he gazed at the mark, now a faint reddish circle that looked as though I'd pressed the rim of a glass into my forehead.

"Tell me about this," he said. I described the carving of my third eye in graphic detail. He was delighted.

"So what do you make of it?" he asked.

"I don't know," I said. "I think I was the victim of an elaborate ritual designed to induce massive hallucinations."

"Do you really?" He cocked his head. "That leaves much that is unexplained, does it not?"

"Plenty. I know that Maximo cut me, and it felt as though permanent damage was done, but that was three days ago and look at it!"

"I can see."

"When I saw that horse and told Anita, she was pleased, but what if I'd seen a . . . a salamander! She could have agreed to anything."

"But you did not see a salamander, because it was a horse."

"You think it was real?"

"These so-called power animals are energies of Nature, elemental spirits that we personify as animals. I like to think of them as a merging of you and a force in Nature. A manifestation of an archetypal energy in time and space. Primitive consciousness personifies them as animals, and they assume that form when we connect with them. That is a good theory at least."

"Like any theory in this realm," I said. "Untestable."

"Well, what do you expect? In a dream we may witness some very real event that we experienced when we were awake being interpreted into symbols. In the same way you may define one of these Nature energies as an animal, but that interpretation does not take place in our rational, reasoning mind—that neocortex that you spoke of to my class. Theory and the testing of theories are part of our rational processes. They are intellectual and academic. Those conventions cannot apply to these phenomena."

"That's a fine argument," I said. "But *if* Anita has 'connected' with this energy form and sees it as a horse, and *if* I see it as a horse, and all this takes place on, say, a symbolic level, then that implies a common consciousness."

"A common ground," he said, and nodded emphatically. "That is why the symbols are universal. You find them in every culture in the world. What do you suppose it is that makes people respond in the same way to a particular painting, story, or song? Is it not appealing to that common ground, expressing something that is commonly felt deep within humanity's consciousness?" He placed another chunk of wood on the fire. It popped and sizzled and a cluster of sparks arced to the ground and died.

"The shaman," he said, "knows that there is a sea of consciousness that is universal even though we each perceive it from our own shores, an awareness and a world that we all share, that can be experienced by every living being, yet is seldom seen by any. And the shaman is the master of this other

world. He lives with one foot in this world"—he placed his hand on the ground,—"and one foot in the world of spirit."

"The conscious and the unconscious?" I asked.

"If you must," he said. He paused. I remember staring across our fire, watching the firelight play with his soft, hawklike features.

We fell silent and stared at the fire. The fresh log was burning now, charring, cracking, and the flames grew from the contours of its sides.

"Buckminster Fuller—the architect?" I looked up to see if he recognized the name.

"Yes?"

"He once said that fire is the release of the energy of the Sun from the wood of the tree."

He rocked back and grinned. "That is wonderful," he said. "Another common ground. The energy of the Sun, the source of everything there is."

"Maybe that is why many aboriginal people refer to even rocks as 'thou.' Ultimately, animal, vegetable, mineral, we all come from the same source. The Sun. And we are just temporal forms of that energy."

"Of course," he said. "And the power animals are another form, at least to our people. And the light, the aura that you are so unwilling to admit that you saw around Anita, is to her what the flame is to this log: a body of energy, formless, radiating her energy."

"Do you believe that?" I asked. I felt like a kid, telling ghost stories by a campfire.

"I believe that man has become accustomed to this state of consciousness, this waking awareness, and it is presumptuous to believe that it is the only state in which our perceptions are real."

He poked at the fire with a stick, and the chunk of wood split in half and collapsed in a shower of sparks.

"It is pure folly," he said. "And such a belief places severe limitations on the very objectivity that you value so dearly. Experience is always subjective and to deny the *reality* of any experience is to deny a part of oneself."

March 15

Writing by the lingering light of the fire. Morales has blanketed himself in his poncho. I've rolled out my sleeping bag.

So many stars. In the darkness of this night and at this altitude you feel closer to them.

He is a wonderful companion. Somehow, arguing over such issues as the nature of awareness, subjectivity, comparative mythology, etc. is more persuasive when one's classroom is in Nature and not a lecture hall. The issues seem more tangible, more poetic, and less discursive.

The concept of the shaman as an individual holding dual citizenship in the conscious and the unconscious mind has fired my imagination. A primitive explorer in realms of consciousness which he or she regards with as much respect and reverence as we assign to the "un-altered" waking state in which we are accustomed to living. Western science is only now approaching the subjective nature of reality. Quantum physics, the outcome of an event is influenced by our observation of it, all that good stuff.

Yet the shaman begins with this assumption—no, with this belief—a belief acquired in the course of his own experience, not as the result of a preexisting philosophy, religion, paradigm. Shamanism worships no Christ, no Buddha, no Muhammed or Krishna.

So where will we find a *hatun laika*?

The separation of Man from Nature provokes the hell out of me.

Note: Look up passage in Genesis re God creating the birds, the trees, and all of the Earth to serve man. Shamans believe in the contrary, that we were created stewards, caretakers of the Earth.

That the rift between man and Nature happened is not in question. It's appealing to think that it happened along with the advent of the neocortex, self-reflexive thought, awareness of self, when he was first able to distinguish between himself and others, himself and his environment, good and bad.

Isn't the Exodus from the Garden merely an allegory of this Cartesian revolution? This "I am," this conscious separation of Man from Nature? Six, eight thousand years ago, with the self-assertion of the neocortex?

"Of course it is an allegory," said Morales when I put the question to him over a breakfast of tea and fruit.

"There is nothing wrong with the tale," he said. "The problem is the way it has been told, the way it has been taken to heart and taught by the

priests. Instead of an elegant description of an historical event or evolutionary step, it is seen as a literal statement of fact, as humanity's condition. It is always dangerous when the metaphor of myth becomes a religious dogma enforced by priests."

"Our shamans."

"What?"

"The priests."

"No."

"Hasn't the priest taken the place of the shaman in the Western culture?"

"No," he said. "The priest is a functionary. Men enter the priesthood and come to a preexisting dogma. They come to understand it and maintain it and teach it. Their experience of religion is an experience of faith, but not of direct communion. Their communion is with a tradition, rarely with an experience. They accept the faith and its conventions and its faults. They are the caretakers of myth, not the makers. The shaman is a mythmaker, and the source of his faith is his own experience of the Divine in Nature."

March 16

Have never walked so much in my life. Have no idea how many miles we've covered.

We've visited two more villages, much the same as the first, and bypassed another. We live on a diet of ground corn, fruits and vegetables purchased in villages, an occasional piece of meat, tea made with fresh spring water, and snacks of Morales's yucca and corn paste. I've become accustomed to its blandness and it is quite fortifying.

We continue our discussions. Wandering across this vast plateau, the snow-capped Andes in the distance, the jungle lowlands and the Amazon to the south, I have begun to feel less of a visitor to this place and more of an inhabitant. The vista is a constant reminder of the true nature of my home. I don't need all this stuff—frame backpack, waterproof parka, thermal socks. I look at Morales and he is at home here. He moves through the forests and across the meadows with a lighthearted assurance, an elegant simplicity that I can't help but admire. He takes nothing for granted.

His contentment is the same contentment that I've seen on the faces of the people of the little hamlets that we find at the base of a hill or a gently sloped terrace or near the bank of a stream.

The values of the rural Indians are dictated by the land they live on, not assigned by the community. I remind myself that most of the world, geographically, is inhabited by such people, ruled by such standards.

No great revelation there, it's just a firsthand perspective.

He hardly needs to point out that Nature informs the primitive philosophies of the world directly. Nature exits the Judeo-Christian scene after condemnation in Genesis and only appears in cameo here and there—usually in moments of epiphany and revelation: Moses climbing a mountain to receive the commandments, Jesus going into the wilderness for forty days and returning with his message. . . .

We continue to talk about such things. And others. We pass a half-buried Inca structure, tumbled down, reclaimed by meadow grass, and we talk about his ancestors. He inevitably brings the conversation around to the shaman, the individual whose "testament is Nature itself, whose hymns are the music of the rivers and the winds." I would like to believe that such people exist like I once wanted to believe in Santa Claus.

As for this don Jicarum, we continue to hear of him. Hearsay. No one knows where he is from, but his reputation has spread on the wings of rumor.

They say he can change the weather.

In the morning we head west southwest, where there is a healer named Jesus.

8

The unknown always passes for the marvelous.

—Tacitus

Had it not been for his reputation as a sorcerer and master healer of *susto*—the "evil eye"—Jesus Zavala probably would have been the village idiot. Twenty years ago a stroke had paralyzed much of his left side, including his face. The corner of his mouth curved down in a permanent pout, and he had a habit of wiping it with the first knuckle of his right hand, so the lip was chapped and flaky. His left eyelid was nothing but a flap of dead skin drooping over most of his eye, but the good eye, the right one, reminded me of doña Rosa's. It glistened.

He lived in a time- and weather-worn adobe hut on the edge of the village. The adobe blocks were bare, inside and out, gray-brown dried mud with bits of rock and straw showing, and the roof was half tile, half straw.

Jesus sat on a woven rug in the middle of the swept dirt floor. There was a clay stove, a bed made of pine needles, and a little altar to the Virgin Mary. Morales told me that villagers brought food to Jesus twice a day.

I sat cross-legged before him, and Morales squatted, resting comfortably on his haunches, and Jesus grunted and drew three coca leaves from a little woven bag. He blew on them, dropped them on the mat, and we all stared down at them. Without moving his head he raised his eye to look at me, then his eye moved past my face and roved the room, the walls, the ceiling.

"The *rastreo de coca,*" whispered Morales. "A simple form of divination."

Jesus slapped the mat with the palm of his hand, drew three more

leaves from the bag, blew on them, and tossed them to the mat. They fell to form a V with a line under it. Jesus raised his head and touched the lower lid of his bad eye with his forefinger, then leveled the finger at my face.

"Black magic," said Morales, and then asked him a question in Quechua. For a reply the old man lifted his hand above his head, palm flat, and moved the thumb and little finger up and down.

Morales grinned. "A bird," he said. He fired off a string of questions, and Jesus variously nodded and shook his head.

"He says that a powerful sorcerer has sent a large bird after you. Have you offended any sorcerers recently?"

Naturally the incident in Ramón's hut suggested itself, but I said I didn't think so and asked what Jesus recommended I do about this bird. The old man's answer, gleaned from another series of rapid-fire yes/no questions, was that this bird would stalk me until I knew what I had done, that I would need to confront it, and, eventually, confront the sorcerer. He told me to beware. I agreed to do this.

"Do you have any questions for señor Zavala?"

"Tell him we are looking for a *hatun laika,*" I said. "A powerful sorcerer known as don Jicaram. Has he heard of him and does he know where we will find him?"

Morales nodded and put the question to the old cripple. I could not understand the Quechua, but I caught the words *hatun laika* and the name we had heard twice now in the past four days: don Jicaram.

I watched Jesus' withered face, watched his eye widen as though with surprise. He grunted. It was like a laugh. He eyed Morales with suspicion, then me. Confusion? He raised his hand, palm up, gestured toward Morales and then toward me. Then he brought his palm to his chest with a dull slap. I didn't understand. I looked at Morales, frowned, and shook my head. And Jesus spoke, a short series of forced grunts, for the stroke had left him unable to articulate.

"What did he say?"

Morales's face was not altogether expressionless; I think one eyebrow might have been raised a quarter of an inch. "That he is with us now," he said.

I turned my head and smiled back at the disabled Indian who thought himself a master shaman.

"*Ayee me,*" I said. Thank you, in Quechua. Morales got up and placed

a coin among the pine needles at the base of the altar to the Virgin Mary.

Jesus led us to the door. He place his hand on my arm and I looked down at him. He was smiling. He dropped his hand, reached behind him, and drew his fingers up the seat of his pants as though wiping himself. The healthy side of his mouth curved up in a grin, and the skin around his good eye crinkled in good humor, and he wagged his finger at me and shook his head.

We left the village and walked in silence for at least half a mile, heading west. At length we stopped and Morales turned and looked back in the direction of the village, but it had disappeared behind the crest of a hill.

"Why did he stop you at the door? Wipe himself? Did that mean something to you?"

"In the jungle," I said. "That night with Ramón. *Ayahuasca* is a purgative. . . ." We were in the forest again, or it could have been a eucalyptus grove. We never knew until we came out the other side.

"What happened?" he asked, grinning.

"First I threw up, vomited my guts out—that's when I saw the snake."

"Yes?"

"Then I ran into the bushes and shit everything in my bowels. It was incredible. Violent. Cathartic."

"I shouldn't wonder."

"I wiped my ass with a couple of leaves . . ." He started to laugh. ". . . and they must've been poison ivy or a jungle relative." He was holding his stomach now, leaning against a tree. "I got a rash you wouldn't believe." I turned, faced the direction from which we'd come, and screamed, in English, "How the hell did *you* know!" And my companion slid down the tree that was supporting him and sat, laughing, on the ground. I fell to my knees and joined in. The fact was that I'd purchased ointment at the *farmacia* where I bought Anita's lipstick and I'd run out of it just the day before. The rash was gone, but the thought of it lingered.

"You civilized folk," said Morales, wiping the tears from his eyes. "When you're not pissing in a creek, you're wiping your ass with poison leaves!"

"Well, what about it?" I asked when we'd picked ourselves up and were on our way. "How do you explain his knowing?"

"How do you explain his knowing," repeated Morales thoughtfully.

I shook my head, waved my hand in vague sort of way. "No, no, let's not get off on semantics and philosophical flights of fancy."

"It is just that your question reminded me of the old problem of defining the ultimate truth: that which can be known but not told." He pulled a stick of cinnamon bark from his pocket and chewed on it. "There is knowledge that cannot be explained."

"I know that," I said. "You know . . . that I know . . . that you know . . . that I know that."

"I am not so sure," he said. "So do not be impatient. Jesus Zavala would fall into the category of a soothsayer. He is more technician than shaman."

"Technician?"

"The *rastreo de coca* is his art. A form of augury not unlike the *I Ching* or the tarot. In his case it is combined with rather well-developed visionary capabilities."

"Anita mentioned that there was an eagle following me," I said.

"Did she? Perhaps it has something to do with your time in the jungle."

We stopped by a cluster of rocks and a narrow *arroyo* cut into the forest floor. A spring. Water gurgled from between the granite stones. Morales soaked and filled a goatskin *bota* that he had purchased in Jesus's village.

"Divination is a curious art," he said. "It has survived so many thousands of years."

"At least 2000 B.C.," I said. "Mesopotamia. There are cuneiform texts that describe the practice for consulting destiny by pouring oil on water, studying the shapes made by smoke rising from burning incense. A thousand years later the Chinese were using the *I Ching*."

"And what has your research told you about its meaning?" he asked.

"I think that it's related to the development of the neocortex," I said. I shrugged off my pack and sat on the edge of the little *arroyo*. "The frontal lobes gave man foresight, the ability to look—or at least plan—ahead. He was curious and perhaps threatened by, the uncertainty of the future. By seeing destiny as a series of chance events and creating a way to consult it, he began to bring order to the future, narrowing down all the possibilities into one or two. You could guess that those whose frontal lobes were better developed became the prophets and soothsayers of their community, divining love, fortune, war, illness. . . ."

I got up, impatient with myself. "But what difference does it make? It's all speculation. Oil on water, smoke, sticks, leaves, tarot cards: ways of

approaching the randomness of the future in a random way. Chance patterns."

"Patterns *interpreted* by the mind," said Morales. He slung the water-swollen *bota* over his shoulder. "It is intriguing that modern man is fascinated by the possibility of such things, yet discards them as meaningless, superstitious games. But don't psychologists use ink blot patterns on paper to tap into the minds of patients?"

"The Rorschach test," I said.

"Precisely. The theory is that these random patterns will suggest certain things. Your thinking brain may tell you that it is a meaningless blob of ink, but you respond *instinctively* with 'butterfly,' or 'tree,' or whatever else 'comes to your mind.' Where do these things come *from*? The unconscious?"

"So you think the *rastreo de coca* is a way of tapping into the unconscious mind of the soothsayer who uses it?"

"Perhaps," he smiled. "It's a thought."

"But if the interpretation is right, then the information was already *in* the unconscious."

"As you said, it's all speculation."

"In any case, Jesus said nothing about the future. He came up with this bird issue and knew about something that happened to me a month ago."

"A memory."

"Well, yes."

"There are shamans who will tell you that memory is not kept in the brain—neither is consciousness, for that matter—but in the body and in the fields of energy that surround the physical body. They are able not only to see these fields, but to reach out with their own and see the other's history, their present, their possible destinies, even. Señor Zavala's coca leaves are childish compared with such a thing."

"So where do we find such a shaman?" I asked. Tradition and folklore was fine, but I was growing impatient with all the theory.

Morales just smiled and shrugged his shoulders.

We made camp early that day. It turned out that the little rock spring where we stopped was met by another underground source fifty yards away, and we followed the widening *arroyo* all afternoon. It became a creek, then a ten-foot-wide stream, and we stripped and bathed in its sparkling cold water. Morales cooked beans that night over our fire.

I did not write in my journal that evening. I fell asleep almost immediately after dinner. And I dreamed a funny sort of dream. In it, Morales and I were playing hide and seek with a seed pod. A mimosa seed pod six inches long and two inches wide. He'd hide it in the forest while my eyes were closed and then tell me to find it. Without looking for it.

The next morning I figured it had something to do with finding the *hatun laika* named Jicaram.

And when I awoke I knew that we never would. That we'd never find this master shaman, this sorcerer, this "man who had already died."

And then we did.

9

Neither the sun nor death can be looked at steadily.

—La Rochefoucauld

It was midafternoon when we emerged from the floor of the valley we had been following since late morning. We were near the edge of the *altiplano,* where it began to fall five thousand feet to mountainous jungle, green like moss, mist-filled valleys. We stood, entranced by the tropical vista below us, and then someone coughed.

There were three of them. Three men. Two were in their thirties, dressed in patched, threadbare jeans. One wore a faded baseball cap and something like a hunting vest with zippers and pockets, the other, a soft felt hat with a floppy brim and striped shawl crisscrossing his chest and tucked into his pants. He wore a pair of old lace-up boots with cracked leather and broken soles. The third man was older. He could have been sixty or seventy; at this altitude and in this climate it was hard to judge. He was thin and wrinkled; his clothes were baggy, and a poncho hung from bony shoulders. His hat was broad-brimmed, tightly woven straw, a domelike crown with two thin braids.

As we turned the old man stepped forward and removed his hat. He half-glanced over his shoulder at the other two and they followed suit. Then he faced forward and dropped his eyes to the grass.

"Tutacama, taytay," said Morales.

"Tutacama," said the old man.

Morales gave me a look. "Stay here," he said. "They are Quechua. I will speak to them."

I took off my pack, set it on the ground, and leaned on it while Morales approached the trio and engaged the old man in conversation. They

spoke for about three minutes. Clearly the old man wanted something, and he seemed self-conscious, almost embarrassed. The two younger men said nothing, merely exchanged glances and stared at my backpack. The old man also glanced up over Morales's shoulder and gave me a deferential look. He turned and pointed past his companions, back into the hills. Morales nodded, said something, and looked at me. The old man smiled in my direction and then they all nodded. The professor placed a hand on the old man's shoulder, then turned and walked back.

"They are from a village back in the hills. We passed it this morning."

"I didn't see a village," I said.

"There is an old woman. A white woman, and she is dying. They saw us passing and have asked for our help."

"So let's go," I said.

The village was tucked into a hillside a mile or so away. It was built around and incorporated a substantial Inca ruin. There were sections of wall built of granite blocks so expertly cut and fitted together that friction alone had held them in place for centuries. Plants grew from square niches meant to hold the ends of wooden support beams. In many places sections of walls had been repaired by the villagers with adobe and uncut stones. Grass-thatched wood and adobe huts had been built against the Inca walls and around a stone-flagged central courtyard where two large stone mortars had been carved into the rock floor. We had passed within three hundred yards of the place.

The Incas had built a hamlet here, near the edge of the *altiplano,* an outpost of their civilization. Now, a thousand years later, their descendants were living in its ruins, farming the terraces that sloped down the hill from the village, repairing their masonry with mud and rock, for the artistry had been lost, the skills long forgotten. Their heritage, like their village, lay in ruins.

There were chickens, pigs, a llama in the courtyard. An Indian woman was grinding maize in one of the mortars. She stopped when we entered, nodded her head, and disappeared.

The old man led us to one of the huts. In the courtyard the shadows were growing long, and it took a moment for my eyes to adjust to the darkness of the room. A woman, her head covered by a black shawl, stood holding a candle and murmuring at the head of a bed, a pallet supported by two wooden crates in the center of the room. She looked up at our entrance and moved to leave, but Morales held up his hand, and she just stepped back

against the wall. He said something to her in Quechua and she handed him the candle. Its flame cast our shadows wavering against the adobe walls.

There was a woman lying there, stretched out on the pallet, an Indian blanket pulled up to her chin, her arms resting outside of it and by her sides. It was impossible to judge her age, she was so emaciated. Her skin was yellow with jaundice and stretched taut over the bones of her face; the tendons in her neck were sharp ridges. Her hair was short and gray; her eyes stared blankly at the ceiling from hollowed-out sockets. Her mouth was open, her lips cracked and colorless, drawn back slightly from dried, calcium-spotted teeth, and her breath came in raspy whispers in and out.

Her hands were large but the skin was yellow and withered. There was a simple gold band on the fourth finger of her left hand, loose, leaning forward against a swollen joint.

She made no movement, no telltale sign of awareness, nothing to show us that she knew we were there.

Morales turned and looked at me, held up the candle, and I stepped forward and took it. He passed his hand over her face and her eyes remained fixed on the ceiling. With the forefinger and thumb of each hand he took the edge of the blanket and folded it back down from her chin to expose the top of a simple cotton dress buttoned up the front. A silver crucifix at the end of a string of rosary beads lay on her chest and around her neck.

"A missionary," he whispered.

Morales turned his head and rested his ear on her chest, listened for a moment, and then straightened. He turned and asked the old man a question. I leaned over and passed the candle back and forth across her expressionless face.

Her pupils were fixed and dilated. I watched the candle flame move back and forth, reflected on the glassy surface of her eyes. I listened, as Morales had, to her heart, so slow, so very faint that I could barely hear it for the whispered conversation taking place in the corner.

I looked down at the tarnished silver crucifix and wondered how she had come to this place.

Then Morales touched my sleeve, and we walked out into the sunset-lit courtyard.

"She was brought here two days ago by Indians from below." He gestured toward the hillside and, beyond it, the jungle.

"Her liver has failed," I said. "I think she's in a coma."

"Yes." He looked up at the sky, clouds tinged with pink and orange. "We have been invited to stay," he said. "We will spend the night here."

"Of course," I said. Behind him, there were women moving in and out of the hut. "What can we do?"

"Nothing. She will die tonight. We can only help to free her spirit."

I didn't know what to make of it.

Twenty or thirty candles had transformed the mud-and-straw hut into a sort of chapel. I sat on a sack of corn husks by the door and watched my companion, seated across the room from me, eyes closed, head resting back against the stone Inca wall. Motionless.

The Old Man was with us. I had learned that his name was Diego. An old woman, who I supposed was Diego's wife, gently applied a moist cloth to the dying woman's face.

I had thought of fetching my journal and writing of the experience, but abandoned the idea as inappropriate, too clinical. Besides, what would I have written? My thoughts in the presence of death? Would I have wondered about her life, the things she had seen, the inspiration she had felt to leave her native land and bring her faith to the jungles of Peru? Would I have compared her to Jennifer's dissected cadaver, by now incinerated in a furnace at the University of California? Probably.

Would I have related the experience to Early Man witnessing the death of one of his tribe, and the dawning awareness of his own mortality? Maybe.

But I didn't write any of these things. I didn't really even think them at the time. I felt nothing but the solemnity of a moment that had lasted nearly two hours.

A room had been prepared for us. Someone of the village had been displaced, a room swept clean, and I had left my backpack there. Morales had left his hat, *bota,* and little food pouch, and we had returned to stand vigil.

Suddenly there was a long, loud, rasping breath, and then it stopped. Was that it? Diego's wife stepped back from the head of the bed. Morales opened his eyes. Nothing had changed on the dying woman's face.

Then she exhaled and the rhythmic breathing began again. She was still alive.

Morales stood, looked at Diego's wife and inclined his head toward his place against the wall and she went there and sat.

The room was warm from so many candles, insulated from the cool of the evening by its thick adobe walls. Nevertheless, I was surprised when Morales took the top of the blanket and pulled it down to expose the missionary's body. Her dress reached to below her knees and she wore sandals, and her feet, bony and yellow with jaundice, had shrunk within them. He folded the blanket, lifted her feet, and placed the blanket, like a pillow, under them, then removed her sandals and handed them to Diego. Then he closed his eyes and massaged her feet for half an hour.

When he was through he moved to the head of the bed, and, ever so gently, lifted her head and removed the rosary beads from around her neck. Nothing changed in her breathing or her expression as he eased her head back into place. He placed the beads in the palm of her left hand and closed her fingers around them.

He looked at Diego and nodded, and the old man got up and motioned to his wife. She rose and so did I. Eyes to the floor, she moved around the foot of the bed, bowed slightly to my companion, and went out. Diego bent over and placed the sandals just outside the door. He straightened, looked at my friend, bowed his head, and whispered: *"Ayee me, don Jicaram."*

And he left us alone.

What?

I looked at my friend, now standing at the head of the bed, his hand on the dying woman's forehead. He raised his eyes and we stared at each other for a moment. He said: "Blow out the candles. One by one."

I just stood there, staring at him. Was this possible?

"The candles. Please."

I moved to the little ledge that ran like a shelf around the room. My mind was racing, but out of gear. I leaned over and blew out a candle. I couldn't think clearly. I must have misunderstood Diego. Then I heard Morales chant, a low, murmured Quechua song. I looked back over my shoulder, and his eyes were closed, his hand still on her forehead, and his lips moved almost imperceptibly. Slowly he opened his eyes, those Rasputin eyes, and they held my gaze for a moment, told me to get on with it, and

I did. I blew out the candles until his chanting stopped and he said: "That will do."

There were three candles left, and the smoke from those snuffed hung in the air. He was at her side now, and he placed his hands just above her right leg and swept them down toward her feet as though brushing something away. Again, from her thigh, down her leg, over her foot, and his hands stopped in the air just beyond her foot, and he flicked his fingers, flicked them like flicking water, away toward the wall. Three times he brushed his hands down her leg and flicked his fingers. Then he moved to her left leg and repeated the procedure.

I moved to her head and listened for her breathing. It was the same, a shallow, labored respiration. Morales lifted her right arm by the wrist and "brushed" this too with a decisive movement. Then the left, but he was careful to keep her fingers curled over the rosary; the little crucifix dangled in the air. There was something eerily methodical and workmanlike about him as he replaced her arm by her side and began to unbutton her dress from the neck down.

When he had finished, there was nothing exposed but a three-inch-wide midline of yellowed skin, sharp outlines of ribs and sternum, a shrunken stomach, and thick cotton underpants too big for her now.

He started at a spot a inch or so above her groin. His hand, first and second fingers extended, began to make a circle in the space between her legs, a counterclockwise circular motion, and he drew his hand away, still spiraling, away and up into the smokey air. First chakra. He did this three times, then started on the second chakra, beginning at a spot half an inch from the surface of her underpants, a perfect circle, three-inch diameter, slow, faster, spinning, up and away.

Her stomach, her heart, the deep hollow at the base of her throat, her forehead—I stepped to one side—and then the top of her head.

When he was through he stood near her head, and I saw his eyes lose their focus, an almost imperceptible shift in the direction of his pupils, and then a blank, almost glassy . . .

"Look."

I took my eyes from his face and looked down at the body, the ever so slight rise and fall of her chest.

And Morales hit me in the head.

It was lightning fast. His elbow came up and struck my forehead

a hard, sharp blow. My head swam for an instant. My hand flew to the spot reflexively.

"What the hell . . ."

"Look!" he said.

It was an instant, nothing more. There was something on the surface of her body. Something milky and translucent an inch or so above the contours of her body. Then it was gone.

"Stand here."

He took my arm with a firm hand and brought me around to the head of the bed.

"Look now. Soften your focus."

I let my vision go blurry, and he tapped a delicate circle on my forehead with his fingers and then struck it with his knuckle.

And there it was. Out of focus, but clearly there, an ever so subtle glow now three to four inches from her skin as if a luminous mold of her body were emerging from the flesh. I had to concentrate not to focus. I felt an involuntary chill up my back.

"Keep breathing now," he said.

I exhaled, inhaled as evenly as I could that nothing would disturb the quality of my vision.

"Am I really seeing this?" I whispered.

"Oh, you are seeing it, my friend. A view that we have forgotten, that has been clouded by time and reason."

"What is it?"

"It is she," he said. "It is her essence, her luminous body. She would call it spirit. She wants to let go. Soon now. We will help her."

I turned to look at him and there was . . . something, but it was gone. Something around his head, on his shoulders, but I blinked and saw nothing but the sharp outlines of his face, softened only by the orange candlelight.

Morales worked on her for another hour. He repeated the procedure that I had witnessed before, repeated it with the same patient intensity, never hesitating, dedicated to the work at hand.

I stepped outside. For a moment. I breathed in the cool night air and tried to clear my head, but . . . Don Jicaram? *Truly?*

Outside the sky was clear. There would be a full moon in another week. The stars were brilliant, and in the courtyard fifteen or twenty villagers were gathered around a large fire. Someone was singing a lilting tune,

in Spanish, which surprised me. There was activity and the air carried the smell of rich food. All was as it should be. Normal.

And behind me, in the candlelight, a man I had come to think of as a friend, this idiosyncratic, strangely poetic professor of philosophy was disengaging a dying woman's "luminous body" from her physical body, helping her to die. And Diego had said, "Thank you, don Jicaram."

I rubbed the spot on my forehead. It was tender. I turned back into the room.

The contrast between my view of the outside—the courtyard, the activity, the moon and the stars—and that which greeted me when I turned will always give me a thrill.

Morales was bent over by her head, his lips less than an inch from her ear, whispering. Suddenly her chest heaved and she gasped as the air rushed through her mouth and into her lungs. It stayed there.

"Exhale!"

And there was a long wheeze, like a labored sigh, as her last breath seeped from her chest, out through her open mouth. And then I saw, suddenly, as though out of the corner of my eye, the milky luminescence, which I had not noticed since I had turned back into the room, lift and coalesce into something amorphous, without specific shape; something translucent and milky like an opal hovered there over her chest, twelve to eighteen inches over her chest. Then Morales clapped his hands sharply over her sternum, and then it was over her throat, her head, and then it just wasn't there.

"My God," I said. Morales looked up.

"Did you see it?"

I approached the bed and looked down at the face. Strange how you can see the death. She had been in a coma, expressionless, yet death still managed to show itself in the softening of her face and rigidity of absolute stillness. The face of death is unmistakable. No blood moves beneath its surface, no veins pulse imperceptably. No living thing can be so inert. Life, like death, is a visible thing, and death *is* a mask, a mask of final stillness.

"What was it?" My voice was a whisper.

"What the Quechua call the *viracocha*." He drew down her eyelids with his fingertips. He buttoned her dress and pulled the blanket up to cover her completely. "I am glad that you saw it," he said. Then he blew out the remaining candles.

The village had cooked a pig in don Jicaram's honor. They had dug a pit and slain a hog and roasted it on a spit. And there was *chicha,* a beer made from corn.

Melchor (the one with the baseball cap) spoke Spanish. He told me that Diego had met don Jicaram many years ago. The *hatun laika* had been passing through and had stopped at the village and cured Diego's father of something that he couldn't translate, but I think was emphysema. The old man had since died but, said Melchor, he could breathe his last breath freely thanks to don Jicaram. Two days ago, when the Indians had appeared, carrying the old missionary woman on a litter, the villagers had not known what to do. Diego had gone into the *campo* and left there an ancient carved stone that the shaman had given to his father. It was a blessing that we had come.

Digesting the meal took all my remaining energy. The *chicha* beer had gone to my head, already spinning with the events of the past few hours. I excused myself and found my way to our room, where fresh straw had been laid down. I was too confused, too stupid with sleepiness to write in my journal. I unrolled my sleeping bag, unlaced and pried off my boots, and slid in.

I dreamed.

On my back, belly up on the sand. Looking at the sun, whiteness of sunlight, no need to squint. It's okay, I'll just lie here and look at it. But that's bad for the eyes.

Close them. Eyelids orange now. Breathing sweet desert air rushing into my lungs. Warm peacefulness, sunny comfort. Can stay here forever. . . .

Movement. A jagged shadow lurches across the field of light glowing through my closed lids. My stomach flutters danger and my eyes open on fear. A sudden threatening shadow from nowhere . . . far off . . . coming *fast*. . . . It swoops and screams and I roll sideways in the sand with the impact of the bird's talons tearing across my stomach. Roll, again on my back, sweating fear. I prop up on elbows in the sand, crane my neck to look down at the sandy, bloody gash in my taut belly, red with blood, yellow fat, then the black eagle, the monster is back, filling the sky, battering my body with its wings, pinning my arms under its blows, the dull ache of dream pain

in my thighs, its bone-white talons embedded there. Pinching, clamping my guts, my intestines, in a surgical beak, wriggling its feathery neck, tugging wildly, out of control frenzy of hunger, working my organs out through the tear in my stomach.

Take it! Tear it out and be done for Christ's sake! It stretches its wings, blots out the sky, and jerks at my entrails, and feathers bristle and I scream as it spreads its wings and flexes its feathers, bristling . . .

"Wake up!"

I gasped for breath and sat up, half out of the sleeping bag, fingers dug into the straw. Morales was leaning on his elbow, his poncho a blanket.

"You should not have made love with Ramón's daughter," he said.

March 20

Don Jicaram. How? Does he lead a double life? One minute the mild-mannered Professor Morales of the city, then into a nearby Inca temple and it's . . . don Jicaram! Shaman! *Shazam!*

Well, why not? Still, it's stunning to think that all this time my companion was the very man we were seeking. What a charade. And to what purpose?

He was biding his time, watching me, testing me. My intent. My trip into the jungle, my time with Maximo and Anita—have those been trials too? When we first met, that day in the cafeteria, he told me that there was a custom that a shaman would share his knowledge with any who asked as long as they presented themselves with impeccable intent. Purity of purpose.

Have I done this? Or has his identity come out by accident, by our happening upon this village and this old woman? The revelation came with such simplicity, such dramatic elegance. . . .

All this time that I have been seeking a *hatun laika*, a subject to study, *he* has been studying *me*. Teaching me. What next?

And what has happened to my vision? Did I see her energy body disengage?

Mornings always seem to bring into question the events of the night before.

When we left the village, we did not retrace our steps back to the edge of the clearing, but rather headed north across the tundra. An hour passed before I asked him about the dream.

"The eagle is from Ramón," he said. "It has been following you ever since your return from the jungle. It showed itself to you in your dream."

"But you have seen it," I said. "Jesus Zavala divined it. Anita and Maximo talked about it."

"Yes?"

"Well?"

He stopped and cocked his head. "Do you hear that stream?"

I listened. A distant pattering of water over rock. "Yes."

"It is somewhere over that little hill."

"Right."

"Let us say that I am familiar with this particular spring and its rocky shore. I sit here and build a fire while you wander off in the direction of the spring. You come back an hour later, completely wet. Your hair, your shirt, your pants, your boots. I say to you, 'You have been swimming.' You would not be surprised."

"Of course not."

"Of course not! You are wet. The water shows. Then I mention that you should have taken your clothes off before swimming."

"But what if I had tripped and fallen into the stream?" I asked, thinking the example childish and the reasoning flawed.

"But remember, I know the stream and the sharp rocks that make its shore and bottom, and I see that your clothes, although wet, are not torn or damaged in any way."

"All right," I said. "That's just deductive logic, based on what you know and what you observe."

"Yes, like Sherlock Holmes," he said.

"Anyone would have come to the same conclusion."

"Undoubtedly, because we are all accustomed to reasoning based on what we are used to seeing: the evidence of our conscious, waking awareness. But that awareness is only a fraction of our total awareness. It is as easy for me to see that you are all wet as it is to see this power that Ramón has

sent after you. It clings to you like the wet clothes. Sight is a skill. So is vision. You have had glimpses of such things. You should begin to understand."

"My training, my conditioning, prevents me from understanding."

"Yes. Your conventions tell you one thing, your experience, another. It is characteristic of Westerners to need to understand something before acknowledging its worth or even accepting its existence."

"Well," I said, "I *haven't* seen this eagle."

He shook his head. "You did last night."

"In a dream."

"So although you are not conscious of this power, you are *unconscious* of it. Close your eyes and dream, my friend. Master dreaming and you master the unconscious. The truest experience of life is when we dream awake."

"So you are suggesting that a shaman can see the unconscious of another?"

He shook his head. "Why must you reduce everything to a simple sentence? You will never grasp the essence of these concepts with simple word formulas. You must think like a poet. Think in terms of metaphor and imagery.

"Take, for example, the lagoon that you have described behind Ramón's hut. Here is a poetic expression of the psyche. The surface that we are accustomed to seeing is dependent upon what lies below. The unseen depths support the surface, yes?"

"Yes. I thought of that analogy."

"Good. Then perhaps you will understand."

We were off again, walking down a grassy hill.

"We are used to standing on the shore and seeing the surface of the lagoon. We can deduce very little of what lies below the surface. Anyone can fall into the lagoon, but they would have no idea of what dangers the depths might contain. It could be very deep, there could be plants waiting to entangle, dangerous currents. There could be *pirañas*."

"Fear could keep you from diving in," I said.

"Indeed, it could. But if you change your perspective on the water, see where the Sun shines on its surface and look at it from that point of view, from above, where the eagle flies, then you can see into its depths, see what supports the surface, see what lies below."

"The unconscious," I said.

"If you must." He sighed. "Once you acquire the vision, you can know the lagoon and swim where you will."

"I understand," I said. And I did, completely. Then he took the metaphor one or two steps further.

"That perspective allows you to see not only the present condition of the lagoon, but much of its history, everything that has touched its surface and sunk to the bottom. You can even see the effect that whatever has penetrated the surface has had on the life of the lagoon: a sunken log that plants have grown on and fish must swim around. Everything that has ever fallen into the lagoon has somehow altered its character. Some things are deeply embedded and are no longer distinguishable, but all of them are visible."

"Its past is visible."

"Yes, and the effect that the past has had."

"It's a good metaphor," I said. "But if you compare the mind to a pond, you imply the geography, the banks that hold the water there. The vessel that contains the liquid. A specific place within which the mind resides. That's an argument for the localization of consciousness within the brain, that the mind is inside the skull."

"I did not compare the mind to a pond, I compared it to that lagoon that frightened you. A lagoon is part of a stream. It is a place where the shore widens and the center deepens and the water slows, but the water is, nevertheless, constantly flowing through it." He grinned. "I can even travel upstream, nearer the source, and affect the lagoon in any number of ways by affecting its source. I can place an object in the stream that, eventually, if nothing interferes along the way, will reach the lagoon, and, if it stays there long enough, it might sink in." He glanced up at me out of the corner of his eye. "I can place my hand in the water and cause a ripple in the stream that will eventually reach the lagoon and reverberate through it. It might even upend the canoe you are sitting in, or save you by washing you ashore."

I laughed. "So what do I do about this eagle?"

He stuck a stick of cinnamon bark in the corner of his mouth. "Learn to see it. Learn what it has to teach you and then return to the jungle. You will need to return. To complete your work of the West."

And so began my apprenticeship with Antonio Morales Baca. Don Jicaram. He had told me that were I to meet a master shaman I would need to

approach him as a student, not as a psychologist. But although I use the word *apprenticeship,* it was friendship that formed our bond.

At the end of a day's journey from Diego's village we came to a little hill in the middle of a meadow. At the crest of the hill was an Inca ruin, tumbled down, its foundation half-buried in soil and brushed by grass. It looked as though it had grown out of the hill. It was dusk as we ascended and turned to gaze back down at the sparsely grown forest on one side and, on the other, the slope of a valley that descended more than a mile from the *altiplano* down to the deep green Urubamba valley.

"An observation post," said Antonio. He slapped the side of the granite wall with his palm. "One of hundreds that linked the Inca Empire."

He led me through a gap in the wall into a little enclosure of fallen granite blocks, and grass. One of these blocks, a near-perfect specimen of Inca stone carving, lay by the base of one wall. He motioned for me to grab one corner, and we turned it onto its side to expose a rock-lined hole eight inches deep, a foot wide, two feet long, probably part of an ancient irrigation canal. There was a long bundle there, wrapped in an old brown-and-red woven Inca cloth.

"What's this?"

"My *mesa,*" he said. "We need a fire."

I trotted down the hill and gathered some firewood, and returned to find that he had built a four-sided framework of twigs, a tiny pyre, with a pile of dried grass in its center. He lit this with a match, and we built our fire around it.

"We won't eat tonight," he said, and untied a bit of twine around the parcel and spread the cloth on the grass. Inside there were two short staffs and a soft leather pouch.

"The *mesa,*" he said, "is a collection of power objects through which one engages the forces of Nature. It is the center of ritual."

"And this is your *mesa?*"

He nodded. "It is very simple and very old. You will find others to be quite complex, with power objects for every occasion." He winked at me. "Every phenomena. But a *mesa* can be as simple as a bed of pine needles and a few stones."

He planted the staffs in the soil at the upper corners of the cloth. The staff on the left was of a dark hardwood carved like a lefthanded spiral. The one on the right was of polished bone or ivory, and was crowned by a handle in the form of a hooked beak.

"They represent polarity," he said. "Darkness and light." Then he proceeded to place objects from the pouch onto the cloth.

There were not many and he did not explain their individual significance to me at the time. There was a piece of carved obsidian, half jaguar, half bird: earth and sky, the winged realms. There was a wooden fish or dolphin for access to the underworld, water, the psyche; a tiny gold owl, no more than two inches high, that represented night vision and the wisdom of the darkness. Many years later I would learn that such an object was dreaded by some shamans, for it held the power of lost and ancient knowledge and had little to do with simple healing. There was an eagle, carved from some dark gray stone and inlaid with diamond abalone shell slivers. "Each one of us has a universe within," he would later tell me, and this object was used to fly into it. And there were other things, stones and shells, a shard of crystal, a small wooden bowl. All were worn smooth from centuries of use, like fetishes in an anthropological museum.

Finally he withdrew an antique glass-and-silver flask from the pouch. It was half filled with a greenish brown liquid like Chinese tea.

"Tonight we will engage with ritual," he said. "You have made important steps in acquiring vision, but you still move through Nature like an outcast, awkwardly. You should move through the forest or across a meadow as you should move through life: with confidence, respect, and grace."

The sun had disappeared over the horizon, and our fire crackled, sent sparks rising into the graying sky.

"Tonight you will take San Pedro for the first time," he said. "San Pedro, Saint Peter, the keeper of the gates of heaven. It is also called *huachuma,* 'flesh of the Gods.' "

"Communion," I said.

"Yes. Imagine the San Pedro cactus, standing alone, its arms raised to heaven and its roots growing deep into the Earth. It is the medicine of choice of the shaman, helping the shaman to enter the body of the Earth, to meet the Mother Goddess, to come face to face with the power of Nature. It grows in all of the temperate zones of Peru: the coast, the *sierras,* the desert, and the jungle. Its preparation is a closely guarded secret. When simply boiled it produces a mild euphoria, but when the essence of the plant is distilled and married with the flavors of cleansing herbs, it becomes a visionary medicine of great spirit and power. It must not be abused.

"It is the plant of ritual, of vision. In the South it helps you to see your

past in its most brazen form; in the West it gives you the strength to face death; in the North it shows you the way to mastery; and in the East it helps you to call upon your power animals, to acquire their skills as you need them to acquit yourself effectively in the world, to cast no shadow, to leave no tracks." He paused and nodded. "Yes, and it conditions you to be able to access these . . . higher capabilities of your own accord. These higher states."

He unscrewed the silver cap of the flask and poured a small quantity—about half a jigger's worth—into the bowl.

"Its use is specific and sacred. You have used drugs in the past, but without motive, purity of purpose, and a connection to the Earth, any 'mystical' experience is psychological drool. The irresponsible use of any drug only mimics and forestalls the real union with Nature and the Great Spirit. It is like entering a spiritual whorehouse and debasing your highest self in the most dangerous way, by burning up your life force. The shaman's task is to strengthen this life force, expand the envelope of energy that surrounds the human body, and vitalize it, by accumulating personal power." He stopped and blew a puff of air to one side as though to dismiss the subject, like blowing out a candle. "What you are about to receive is a natural plant substance that will cleanse and bring balance to your body and the energy fields that surround you. Only when the body, mind, and spirit are in balance can the shaman make a real act of power."

He handed me the bowl. "Stand and salute the four directions."

I took the bowl, stood beside the fire, turned my back on Antonio and faced south. I didn't really know what to do. Then his voice came softly, in gentle Spanish tones, from behind me.

"We call upon the Satchamama, the great serpent of Lake Yarinacocha, the spirit of the South, to come to us. Wrap yourself around us, ancient Mother, fold us in your coils of light."

I raised the bowl to the southern sky. I felt self-conscious, toasting the air.

"Hey!" he said, and it sounded like an *amen,* and I said: "Hey!"

I turned to the horizon, looked at the distant peak where the sun had left us.

"We call upon the spirit of the West, Mother-Sister Jaguar, golden jaguar that eats the dying Sun. Come to us, you who have seen the birth and death of galaxies. Let us look into your eyes. Teach us with your grace."

What was it that Ramón had said about the jaguar?

"Hey!"

"Hey!"

I told myself to concentrate on the ritual and faced north.

"We summon the wisdom of the North, the place of the ancient masters, grandmothers, grandfathers. I bring you one who is not of my people, but of our people. Receive him, welcome him. Bless us in our work that we may one day enter your crystal palace with but a single thought and sit in council among you. Hey!"

I raised the bowl to the north and turned to the east.

"Hey!"

"And we call upon the spirit of the East. Come to us from your mountaintop, great eagle. Teach us to see with your eyes, that our vision may penetrate the Earth and the heavens. Fly with us now and watch over us. Teach us to fly wing-to-wing with the Great Spirit. Hey!"

"Hey!"

I turned and Antonio motioned for me to bring the bowl down to the Earth. "To the Pachamama, great Mother Earth . . ." The intonation of a prayer. "You who feed us and nurture us at your breast, teach us to walk on your belly with beauty and with grace. Hey!"

"Hey!"

He raised his hand and I lifted the bowl to the sky.

"Great Spirit Viracocha, mother and father, we salute you, that all we do is in your honor. Hey, hey!"

"Hey!"

He nodded for me to sit across from him. He nodded again and I drank the San Pedro. It tasted faintly of anise.

Antonio closed his eyes and began to breathe deeply, exhaling through pursed lips. I followed his example and soon the rhythmic rustle of a rattle marked the tempo of my breathing in three-three time. His chant was Quechua. I wondered where the rattle had come from. I thought about what he had said, about San Pedro, a plant I had heard of, about his discourse on the use of substances without motive, purity of purpose, connection to the Earth. Experience and experience served. Then I gave myself over to the hypnotic rhythms of rattle and chant. I became aware of my body. There was a tightness in my neck and shoulders, a soreness from the straps of my backpack. Eyes closed, I dropped my shoulders, moved my head from side to side, sinuously stretching the muscles. It felt wondrous. I lifted my shoulders and rotated them back, and never before had I experienced such musculature, such an immediate relief and relaxation, and I

realized that my motions were unusually fluid, sensitive to each sore muscle, stretching, unclenching. Eager to explore this new facility, I twisted my upper body, placed my right hand on my left knee and pulled myself, torqued my body to the left and felt three vertebrae crack. Then to the right and three more popped and the relief was tremendous. I wanted to move, to stretch and exercise, and the light of the fire was beating against my eyelids—a light show of pinpoint colors, as though single pastel photons were passing in between the cells of my lids, penetrating to the pupil and registering at the visual cortex at the back of my brain.

I had no idea how much time had passed, but then I opened my eyes and, for an instant, there was something so hawklike about Antonio's face that I blinked it away. He was smiling at me over the *mesa*. He sipped from a tiny bottle that I had not noticed before, then reached down and lifted the gold owl from the cloth and held it between his palms as though in prayer. Then he took the little object in one hand and held it before him and blew a fine spray of sweet oil on it. The smell of the oil penetrated my nostrils and hummed in my head. The gold owl caught the light from the fire and seemed to glow. Then he made a fist around it, extended his arm toward me, and opened the fist.

"Take it. With your left hand," he said.

I took it.

"Hold it, and close your eyes, and see it with your inner vision. A power object is a focal point, like a tuning fork."

I closed my eyes and imagined my forehead opening . . . glowing . . . the light was violet.

"That is the way. Excellent, my friend."

And I saw a woman, a dream image woman with owl wings folded around her, a feathered shoulder lifted, head turning to look at me over the shoulder, eyes opening, feathers . . . opening . . . with eyes. Eyes in the feathers. I caught my breath. I opened my eyes and looked down at the object on my palm, then up into his eyes.

"How do you feel?"

"I feel wonderful."

"Get up and walk," he said. "Go down the hill and into the forest."

I leaned over to replace the object. His hand touched mine.

"No, no. Take this with you. Never leave a *mesa* or medicine circle without protection."

I nodded for some reason and stood. My legs were aching to move and

I did. I moved out of the light of the fire and down the hill and into the forest.

A pine tree grove that resonated. The trees were defined each by their own light, glowing pastel outlines that moved with the branches swaying ever so slightly, pine needles vibrating in the northerly breeze. Living things with flesh and nutrient fluids coursing through them, drawing upon the Sun's light, which seemed to linger in each of them, rising from the soil. . . . How was it that I had never noticed that before? Their gentle presence was tangible, known to me for the first time, and I had walked among them only hours before, not seeing, unaware of their spirit, their gently pulsating life. Their consciousness. Our kinship was profound and I felt the breeze at my back and I began to run. Did my feet touch the ground? Yes, so perfectly, swiftly across the pine needles.

I had never run like that, running from nothing, toward nothing, moving so swiftly for the sake of the movement itself, the exhilaration of grace, slaloming though the forest on no path, the cushion of cool soil and pine needles, faster. I ran with my whole body, feeling every muscle loose and tuned in perfect harmony, the air parting, swirling around my back. . . .

"Close your eyes. . . ."

The light shed by the trees reassured me that they were still there, and I moved, ran, liberated from sight, through the forest, like the air.

I knew that something was moving me, something inside of me that I had never felt before.

10

For in and out, above, about, below,
'Tis nothing but a Magic Shadow-show,
Played in a Box whose Candle is the Sun,
Round which we Phantom Figures come and go.

—*Omar Khayyám*

March 22

Still reeling from the events of the past few days. The death of the missionary, my first experience with San Pedro. The revelation of Antonio's identity sits undigested in my stomach.

I saw a magician once, a slick trickster. He, or rather, his sequined assistant, rolled a footlocker to center stage. With her help he stepped into a mailbag secured at the top by a chain and padlock, and the bagged magician lay down in the locker. The lid was closed and locked at four points. His assistant stood atop the chest, lifted a curtain from the floor to surround herself, and . . . dropped it. Or did she? For it was the magician who stood smiling from atop the case, and when the padlocks were removed, his assistant emerged from the mailbag. In the blink of an eye.

I was eight. I remember the moment, how it forced me to think, to replay all that I had seen.

Let me see it one more time.

Just one more time to discover the secret of the wonder of the thing.

Antonio lifted a palmful of pine forest earth and gazed upon the pine nee-

dles with the earnestness of a tea leaf reader. The coarse brown dirt fell to the ground through the spaces between his fingers.

"There are two kinds of people in this world, my friend. There are those who are dreamers and those who are being dreamed." His eyes glanced at me sideways.

"There comes a time in every man's life when he must encounter his past. For those who are dreamed, who have no more than a passing acquaintance with power, this moment is usually played out from their deathbeds as they try to bargain with fate for a few more moments of life time." He moved his hand from side to side, sifting, then dropped his gaze to the stuff on his palm.

"But for the dreamer, the person of power, this moment takes place alone, before a fire, when he calls upon the specters of his personal past to stand before him like witnesses before the court. This is the work of the South, where the Medicine Wheel begins.

"You see, we assemble our present with the bits and pieces of our past, seeking to avoid those circumstances that caused us pain, seeking to recreate those that brought us pleasure. We are helpless captives."

I cleared my throat. " 'Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it,' " I said.

"Or to avoid it," he stressed. "And I am not speaking of *remembering* the past. Anyone can *remember* the past and, in remembering, we reframe it to serve and justify our present. Remembering is a conscious act and therefore subject to embellishment. Remembering is easy."

He blew the remaining pine needles from his palm to reveal a charred wood chip, an acorn-sized cinder, a relic from a *campesino* campfire.

"The person of power sits in the prisoner's dock alone before the fire. He *confronts* his past. He hears the testimony of these . . . specters. And he dismisses them one by one. He acquits himself of his past. Do you comprehend this?" He lifted his eyes from the cinder and fixed them upon mine. "The man of power has no past, no history that can claim him. He has cast aside his shadow and learned to walk in the snow without leaving tracks."

He looked down at his palm and raised an eyebrow, as though seeing the tiny cinder for the first time. He grinned, let the cinder roll down his palm to his fingertips, and held it before him. "How appropriate. Isn't it lucky I found it here."

March 23

Our work has begun in earnest. By Antonio's reckoning we will reach Quillabamba by noon tomorrow and catch the train back to Cuzco, from there to Aguascalientes and on to the ruins of Machu Picchu, where I will perform my "work of the South."

Have spent the last two days exercising my vision and trying my patience, the last two nights discussing the theory of things past.

Antonio has refused to discuss my San Pedro experience, how I ran in the forest at night with my eyes closed. He became impatient when I blamed it on the psychoactive effects of the San Pedro. It was the ritual, the summoning of power through ceremony—why must I always dismiss an experience with the handiest explanation? What happened, he said, was that my mind had spread its wings and taken flight.

Why, he asked, must I wake up the next morning and think myself again an outcast from Paradise when I had run in Nature free, unfettered?

I have been touched by power, he said.

I call it a wild and magical run through the woods, lucky that I didn't fall and rip my face open.

It rained the night before last. Torrential. We found half-shelter under a granite outcrop in the forest. Yesterday, while our things dried in the sun, Antonio instructed me to sit on a boulder that stuck out above a rain-swollen pond.

For three hours I sat there, contemplating the reflection of my face and the clouds in the sky above and behind.

Fascinating thing and so simple: Both the clouds, thousands of feet above, and my face, three feet from the surface of the pond, are reflected on the flat plane. Antonio told me to focus on the reflected clouds and, when I did, my image split into two out-of-focus blurs. The trick, he said, was to work the muscles of my eyes to bring the two faces into focus while maintaining my concentration on the clouds.

This is not easy. Just when I thought I had it, I'd realize that I'd

stopped focusing on the clouds. . . . start again. But the trance state that it produces is profound. There were moments when I lost myself altogether. He told me also to concentrate on the space *between* my two faces and there were moments, flashes, when I thought I saw things. Other faces. My father's, my grandmother's. I don't know. These occurred later, when I was in such a meditative state that I know I'd lost track of time and situation. My awareness of the moment was abnormal, deep trance, and Antonio had to shake me out of it. Later he reminded me of the myth of Narcissus, spurned by Echo, so captivated by his own image in a forest pond that he was transformed into a flower growing on its bank.

The exercise is designed to retrain the eyes to look at the spaces in between things. Like Anita, who he said could look at a spot half an inch from my face while keeping my face in focus and there see my aura. My chakras spinning. My energy body.

"You are trained to focus on objects, on things," he said. "The world of the shaman happens in the spaces in between things."

Games with consciousness. Awareness games. A curious meditative state can also be created by watching myself watching myself. Aware of awareness. Aware of myself breathing myself breathing. Hard to describe. I sit looking at our evening fire. I start a dialogue with myself:

"I'm sitting here, looking at the fire."

Sitting, looking at the fire.

"I'm sitting, looking at the fire."

Sitting, looking at the fire.

"I *really am* sitting here, looking at the fire!"

Yes. Still sitting, looking at the fire.

On and on, over and over, like a mantra. The I who a nanosecond ago was preceiving myself looking at the fire through my eyes, really is looking at the fire. It is a strange duality, watching my own mindstream. The duality of the self that is engaged in the act and the self who is aware of the first self's reality and can describe it as it happens. It is almost a way of stopping thought. Antonio calls it stopping time.

Tomorrow I will begin a fast to prepare for my work of the South, to shed my past like the serpent sheds its skin.

The past. As individuals we are at the mercy of our past. The traumas of our past prey on our fear in our present. The joyous events feed on our present, limiting our future as we seek to recreate the circumstances of past joys.

Does this hold true for a family? A tribe? A nation? A race? A culture? The species?

Antonio's answer would be that it does until the individuals gain control over their destiny. Free themselves from their pasts. And he proposes that in this shamanic model one can confront one's past.

Literally.

We boarded the train at Quillabamba station and got to Cuzco by noon. My dream of a fresh melon and papaya juice downtown was waved off by my companion, as were the taxi drivers who offered to take us there. From the station we headed on foot for Tambo Machay.

"It is called the Bath of the Incas by most," said Antonio. We climbed to the top of the hill. "Imagine." He squatted down, resting on his haunches, elbows on knees, hands clasped before him. "The United States is overrun by another race of people, who do not believe in your ways. The population is killed or beaten into submission, the cities are laid waste, the Library of Congress is destroyed utterly, so that no records remain. A thousand years later an archaeologist picks his way through the rubble and uncovers the reflecting pond that now stands before the Washington Monument. In a few years the guidebooks refer to it as the Bath of the Americans."

"And what *is* Tambo Machay?" I asked.

"The source of Cuzqueña, the finest beer in Peru." He laughed, pushed himself up, and shoved his hands deep into the pockets of his trousers. "The Temple of the Waters. A place of cleansing and purification. Its source is the convergence of four underground rivers from the four directions. The four niches in the wall of the upper level once housed figures representing the four *apus,* the four great snow-capped peaks that surround Cuzco, the four cardinal points of the Medicine Wheel. The Inca trail to

Machu Picchu begins there." He pointed to a ridge ten kilometers to the East. "It is eighty kilometers to Machu Picchu, and it was here that the traveler filled a *bota* and cleansed the chakras before the trek to the citadel."

"We walk to Machu Picchu?"

"We take the train. At," he consulted his watch, "1:10. The Indian train," he said. "There is time for you to fill your canteen. There is a ritual."

March 24

Ritual. Ceremony. Are they the mechanisms with which early man accessed the limbic brain of imagery and the reptilian brain of body function? Turned on the visionary faculties of the neocortex? If one approaches ritual with pure intent and the firm conviction that it will transform them somehow, alter consciousness, heal, then is it not a placebo of sorts? We behold a feather. Our neocortex allows us to reason that it came from a bird (we may even know what kind of bird), that feathers are used by man as ornaments and for dusting. . . . But we are told that this feather has special power, that when held in the left hand and passed under the nose while chanting "do wop do wop, sha na na," it will cure hiccoughs or even a serious disease.

For those who truly believe this to be so, the feather has become a magical symbol with healing properties. It has been transformed into an *image* that the limbic brain can believe. The neocortex understands, the limbic brain believes, the reptilian brain effects the change by relaxing the muscle spasm when the feather is passed under the nose.

Those who cannot free themselves from the logic of the neocortex, who see just a feather, will sneeze when it tickles their nose. Their hiccoughs remain; their condition is unchanged.

Hospital studies have shown that a placebo is as effective as morphine in 80 percent of the patients that are told that what they're getting is a revolutionary new painkiller.

The placebo effect is based on tricking the brain into believing in a powerful cure. Is it possible that instead of tricking the brain as one would a child, that we can ally its healing resources?

If our primitive brain, our unconscious mind, expresses itself through symbols during our dreams, can we not use our neocortex to string together symbols (as we do words) to communicate with *it*?

If we can consciously communicate with our primitive brains, the brains of body functions and the four F's, can we not reprogram them?

I stripped to the waist and followed Antonio's instructions, beginning at the uppermost spout, working my way down and across the second tier, where the water branches into two streams, to the bottom, where they meet again as one, drinking the ice cold water, cleansing my seven chakras by "unwinding" them counterclockwise. Then I "charged" them, spun them clockwise. It felt, as it had before, vaguely ridiculous, numbingly cold in the thin Andean air.

Antonio met me at the base of the temple.

"Fill your canteen." He handed it to me and I placed it in the stream of sparkling water. "Some will claim that the purpose of the ritual is to cleanse the psychic debris attached energetically to your chakras, loosening the energy coordinates of who you have been so that you may reorganize them to serve who you are becoming or, at least, who you will be today."

He folded his arms across his chest and regarded the temple. "Water is a universal ritual cleansing agent. John the Baptist was its greatest advocate in the West." He smiled broadly and turned to look at me. "But self-conscious ritual is no ritual at all. Attend fully to the steps we take. You must give yourself to the process, as you did when you ran in the *altiplano*. Try not to let your focus blur or your attention stray. You must honor these exercises and honor yourself as you perform them."

March 25

Despite our friendship, Antonio thinks I am conceited. A twenty-four-year-old hotshot psychologist brimming with information, data, academic and paperback philosophy, lugging a backpack full of thermal underwear and toilet paper.

I can see it now and then in his eyes and in his smile, and on his lips when he refers to my "*study* of shamanism."

Just when I thought I'd passed his tests, earned his respect, impressed him with my earnestness, I catch this smile.

Machu Picchu, grandfather peak. Huayna Picchu, lover peak. Their mossy granite slopes rise dizzily from the protective serpent coil of the white waters of the Urubamba. We left the dingy train station at Aguascalientes and made our way to the edge of the river.

"You may cross the river here," Antonio said. He squatted and produced his bag of yucca and cornmeal. "You should follow Bingham's course up the side of the mountain, retrace the steps of the first white man who entered Machu Picchu. There is a cave, there." He aimed his forefinger at a spot two-thirds of the way up the mountain, to a dimple in a sheer bald spot of white granite. "Take your thermal blanket, the water in your canteen. It is comfortable, though cold at night. Tonight, tomorrow, tomorrow night, and the day after, stay there and fast. Before the Sun sets on the third day, make your way to the top, to the ruins. As you go, collect wood for your fire. Choose it carefully, but do not enter the ruins. I will meet you there."

"And then?"

"We will lay out the *mesa* and summon the frayed ends of your past, and you will do your work of the South." His tone was matter of fact.

He sighed and squinted up at the late afternoon sun. Before us the Urubamba tumbled and roared through the valley. Near us, near its shore, little eddies swirled bits and pieces of flotsam into spirals.

"This is what you must do, my friend. You are young, but have left much debris behind you. You are a bundle of loose ends. The past keeps you bound to your image of yourself. You must put yourself into a fire that will consume your past, but will not burn you. Erase your personal history." His fingers, kneading together yucca and cornmeal, moved quickly. "Shed your past as a serpent sheds its skin. This is what you will do in Machu Picchu, but first you must prepare yourself as best you know how. You must spend this time remembering, calling upon your memories of the past, thinking about who you have been and what you have become. Apply *your* psychology to yourself. See where it takes you. You will find it difficult, yet this is what you must do . . . as a student. What you do in the ruins you will do

for yourself as a man." He leaned forward and handed me a portion of yucca and cornmeal paste.

"Knowledge can be had only when one can exercise power over destiny, and your destiny is a daily victim of your past. Spirit cannot grow with the dead flesh of the past clinging to it. You must bring no history to your study of shamanism." He looked down at the food in his hand and laughed.

I smiled at his good humor. "What's funny?"

"I sound like a real mystic, eh?"

I took the course prescribed by Antonio, following, as he had remarked, the footsteps of Hiram Bingham, the "discoverer" of the sacred city of the Incas, in 1911.

Later

Western conceit. Hiram Bingham, intrepid gentleman explorer in the golden age of adventure, when rugged individuals were knighted for their rugged individualism. Wide-brimmed felt hats, leather boots laced to the knee, or leggings, travel-worn notebooks with rough pencil sketchings of the masonry of a bygone race perched atop a beetling crag or masked by creeping vines and dripping orchids.

Romance, adventure, and the satisfaction of revealing to the world the treasures of ancient cultures in faraway lands.

Perhaps that is how Bingham saw himself. But when a "civilized" man is shown a place where third-world natives have lived for centuries, he is called its discoverer. As if the natives were keeping a secret from the rest of the world.

I think there's some truth in this, although my tone is cynical. If Bingham hadn't "discovered" the lost city at the top of this pinnacle, I wouldn't have had to climb it on an empty stomach.

The cave that Antonio had pointed out from the far bank of the Urubamba was little more than a hollow, a cleft in a bold granite wall. A lip of mossy soil led across the face to the entrance, and along this I groped. The sun was setting in deep orange, and I moved hand in hand with my shadow across the smooth rock face two thousand feet above the river. There was room to

turn at its entrance, and I did so, to gaze back down into the Urubamba Valley.

Later

Tucked away in my little hole I feel abandoned, embarrassed. A little scared, and I know how hungry I can get. But I've transcended all of that before. I've pushed myself before, denied myself comfort in the name of adventure or to acquire some experiential trophy.

The sun has set and the last rays of March 25 are brushing the underbellies of the clouds with salmon pink and orange. I can sit back eight feet, back against the stone wall, and see this through the irregular opening of my tiny cavern, framed by the lips of the mouth of this cave. I feel like Jonah.

And day sighs into night.

I've made my nest—unpacked my backpack—all the shit I've been carrying. Survival kit, including needle and thread, fishing hooks, salt tablets, waterproof matches, band-aids, snake-bite thingamajig, thermal blanket. A Hershey bar.

With almonds.

I'd forgotten about that. I've placed it on a little granite shelf.

Later

This is not easy. My mind is so filled with recent events, and I am hyperconscious of my situation and the purposefulness of this effort.

Perhaps that's it. I am trying to make this preparatory time into a significant self-revelatory experience. I am trying too hard, and I know better.

Frustrated though. So much information. Need time to digest and distill and instead I am preparing myself to engage with my past and this fourfold path of knowledge.

Random thought: Seems that those who seek spiritual adventure inevitably end up social castaways. As if they lose themselves somewhere along the way, redefining their identity in terms of their "quest." Silly sycophants. Sycophanatics. Disciples, promoters of a

mystical convention or spiritual tradition. Astrology, numerology, Judaism, Catholicism and all its et ceteras, Hinduism, and all the other isms. Belief systems, paradigms. Reductionism? The scientific method? The crowning glory of Western thought? How many professors have I seen genuflecting before the altar of hypothesis and clinical validation?

And then there are the figures of worship: Jehovah, Christ, Guatama Buddha, Mohammed, Krishna.

But Antonio, professor of philosophy, amiable companion, shaman. Awfully well adjusted for a "person of knowledge." He seems to take it all in stride. A pragmatic mystic.

I miss the *altiplano*.

Tired. I'll try to sleep now. Face my situation in the morning.

I dreamed that night, but the memory scattered, helter-skelter, displaced by the panicky disorientation of waking in a strange place. I gargled with the water from Tambo Machay, rolled up my sleeping bag, and ventured out onto the ledge.

The morning was Andean, and a few deep breaths of chilled thin air restored me. A mist had settled into the green Urubamba Valley, obscuring the river nearly half a mile below my little hermitage.

I sat cross-legged on the ledge, closed my eyes to the splendor of the vista, and willed myself into as blissful a state as I could manage.

In his preface to *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist,* Philip Reiff writes, "Man is tied to the weight of his own past, and even by a great therapeutic labor little more can be accomplished than a shifting of the burden." The Western tradition of psychotherapy certainly substantiates this observation. Western people excavate their past with the tool of memory, an unreliable instrument at best. And we are ill used to exhuming our past fully and alone. We are more accustomed to summoning our pasts to represent ourselves to others with the stories we choose to tell, the incidents we select to embellish our personalities. We are iconographies of carefully framed impressionistic and abstract paintings. During my brief time on an Indian reservation in the U.S. Southwest, I heard of the tradition of telling your life story to a stone: a distinctly humbling experience if taken seriously. It is easier to address to an object, be it a pebble, a rock, or a passive therapist, than it is to address

yourself. Perhaps the act of telling lends order to an otherwise shapeless quantum of memory.

I cannot recreate the structurelessness of my experience in the side of that mountain; but I can touch on the highlights, for they form the conscious foundation for much of what happened on the evening of the third day and the early morning of the fourth.

My paternal grandfather. Large, liver-spotted hands too rough for a surgeon's, but he was an old man. Wispy gray-white hair, and a softly creased aquiline face. I think he smiled at my father. He was graduated from Columbia School of Medicine in 1905 and became chief of surgery at a New York City Hospital. In the 1920s he returned to his native Cuba and built a small clinic in the city of Havana, only to find that the municipal public works could not provide his facility with adequate electricity. He built a hydroelectric plant to light his hospital. He was an eclectic Catholic and a devout capitalist.

My father was an attorney and businessman with a healthy practice and a vigorous bank account. A handsome man with wavy hair and a pencil mustache, dashingly aristocratic. He lunched with Batista. Stubborn, opinionated, self-absorbed. In the 1940s he successfully sued the Vatican for a divorce from his first wife, maintained custody of his son, and married my mother a few years later.

My birth was incidental to my parents' preparations for a European vacation. When they returned from "the Continent" my mother is said to have been surprised to find a new addition to the household. She was a beautiful lady with liquid brown eyes lifted in adoration of my father.

I was raised by my nanny, and I like to think that I was saved from many of the more mundane parent-related neuroses that are a psychotherapist's bread and butter. Tati was an Afro-American, third-generation Cuban, the descendant of salves. As I remembered her, she must have been in her mid twenties. We bathed together, showered together, played together, but she was a servant, like our chauffeur. This was before the revolution. I loved her dearly, treated her shamefully.

March 26

The impotence of my feelings of regret for past behavior is exaggerated by my isolation here. It's a lot easier to fast when you know

that food is at least available. I listen to my stomach and force myself to meditate on its noise. This may be an appropriate visualization as I reach into my gut to bring up memories. And the longer I apply myself to the task, the emptier my stomach becomes.

Tati was a spiritist. She used to flush medicines down the toilet. I remembered sneaking down from my room to peer through the bushes at old Rodolfo, Tati, others of the household staff, and friends of theirs who were strangers to me, singing, dancing, spinning in the moon and candlelit night in the yard by the sea wall when my parents were away. Dark adventures, armed with a pocketknife and Boy Scout flashlight, climbing down from my window, crawling over the sea wall to hunt for hermit crabs.

When I was ten years old I heard gunfire and felt our home rocked by nearby explosions. Time was meaningless to these early recollections, and it may have been weeks or months that we lived with these sounds. People walked in different ways on the streets of Havana in 1959. A woman—a neighbor whom I do not remember knowing—hosed blood from her sidewalk. I stopped going to school and my father's face was lighted by the yellow glow of burning papers in the fireplace. That was in the house of a family friend, close to the airport.

My fingers were smaller than his, and I shoved tight rolls of hundred-dollar bills into cigar tubes; he removed the light switch plates and dropped the tubes down between the walls. I remembered that he had not been there when we left Havana. The airport confused me.

Miami was surf fishing for lunch with my older half-brother, my sister playing in the sand, and my father meeting with people, a house full of white-collar refugees and leaders of the counterrevolution.

I thought we were a family again in Puerto Rico, but hindsight had touched up the faded snapshots of my memory. Father was reestablished in business, the construction business, and I felt like a freak at the Jesuit High School of San Juan. Summers at the Caribe Hilton. I was on the swim team and thrilled to win medals, which I still keep in my sock drawer at home. And I helped the surveyors at construction sites. After all, I was the son of the owner.

Teaching SCUBA to tourists. One couple had a daughter with wavy blond hair, and we made love awkwardly in a coral forest twenty feet down.

March 27
Morning

Today should be easier. I can leave here before the sun sets. The end is in sight.

Have thought a lot about Victoria. First love, first commitment. Driving across country, her purple VW. I loved her as much as I was capable of loving. Perhaps I have never loved, just labeled my feelings with the word. The definition changes over the years.

She taught me to play bridge. Determined to impress her and her friends with my intellectual prowess, I struggled manfully through the night. Performance anxiety. The intensity of my concentration was trancelike. I stumbled into bed countless hours later, only to fall into a waking sleep, dreaming vividly hand after hand, spades, hearts, diamonds, clubs, bidding, tricks, slams and grand slams. I woke up exhausted.

Like this morning. I cannot remember falling asleep, merely waking to memories of my memories of the night before.

All the loose ends, all the polluted relationships, all the sorrows and joys.

The second full day was humbling. I found that I could no longer meditate on the condition of my stomach. I focused instead on the Hershey bar. Exercise was out of the question; after three push-ups I felt that I was burning precious fuel.

My memory of that day is with me still. I can call upon it now and relive its ruthlessness. We all experience moments of mortality, pangs of insignificance in relation to the Earth, the cosmos. You may be walking along a beach. The dog has bounded off after a piece of driftwood or a Frisbee. You gaze thoughtfully after her, down the long sweep of shoreline. The sound of the surf wafts through your subconscious, a whimsical *leitmotiv* reminding you of the omnipresent rhythm of Nature. You turn to the horizon and the setting sun; your personal concerns become meaningless and you sigh at your smallness, the immortality of a grain of sand, the infinitely abiding universe. The dog is back, errand accomplished, wet and frisky. She drops the Frisbee at your feet. You smile at her, pick it up, and get on with the game. My experience in that hillside cave was somewhat less

sentimental, saved from cliché by the heartlessness of hunger and the intensity of my loneliness.

I dwelled upon my choices, the identity that I had created for myself, the people I had touched and how I had touched them. The people I had used and how I had used them. How I had been used.

Later

Today I feel abandoned, *desterrado,* like that time with the peyote only more so.

If I were to die tomorrow, what would I leave behind? Is there anything of value? Anyone I've helped? Or are my acts handouts, like that *propina* at the train station? How authentic is the work I do? Am I handing out therapy like Band-Aids? Maybe it's even worse. Maybe doing therapy is a handout to myself. Am I merely acquiring stature?

Trying to nap. Unable to sleep. Waiting for the sun to drop. I close my eyes, exhausted from the effort of remembering, and I think I can feel the walls of my stomach rubbing against each other. Water from my canteen coats my insides. I can feel it go down. I close my eyes, but I've started something I cannot finish.

Renting the house in the woods with Victoria. Holding forth on the subject of my bachelor's thesis, playing the world-wise rebel. A romantic rogue with the soul of a poet. She saw right through me.

You con artist.

I open my eyes. The sun has intruded upon my hole. Half of my face is sunburned. I'm sweating. My neck is cramped. I drink.

I am hungry and stupid enough to think that I know hunger. But even the salt of my tears refreshes me. I am spoiled and continue to spoil myself.

Hunger is the greatest teacher. No wonder the psychology of the west is oral and anal. We are overstuffed.

Sometime in that late afternoon I realized that measured by my peers I was a success, a twenty-four-year-old *wunderkind* psychologist, a wild-ass protegé; yet measured by the Earth, whose granite walls enveloped me, I was a parasite. My purpose was, as yet, ill defined; I was living for myself.

And then I left. I packed my gear, then sat for a time watching the Earth rotate away from the Sun. There was still another hundred feet to climb, and I had no idea of what waited for me at the summit. Would Antonio be there? Would I confront the ghosts of my past?

I wondered also if I would encounter the memory of the past two and a half days, and, if I did, what it would look like.

The ruins of Machu Picchu have been assigned many functions since their discovery in 1911. They have been called the last refuge of the Incas, the last Inca capital, the Lost City of the Incas, a secret hideaway for the Chosen Women, the Virgins of the Sun. Salcamayhua, the seventeenth-century Peruvian historian, recorded that the first Inca, Manco the Great, ordered works to be executed at the place of his birth, consisting, in part, of a masonry wall with three windows. The presence of such a structure indicated to Bingham that rather than being the last capital of the Incas, Machu Picchu may have been the birthplace of the first. Later it would occur to him that it might have been both, that he had, in fact, discovered Vilcapampa, the principal city of Manco and his sons, the Incas' final refuge from the Spaniards.

Half an hour of climbing brought me to a rounded granite promontory, and, around this, a flight of a dozen stone-faced terraces, each the height of a man. With less than half an hour before the sun set behind the distant range to the right of Huayna Picchu, I made my way along one of the widest terraces. Here and there I saw walls of ruined houses, glimpses of the exquisite granite joinery of the Sacred City. A huge overhanging ledge; below it a cave lined with perfectly fitted stone, above it and behind, the Temple of the Sun following the natural curvature of the rock, keyed to it by master stonecutters. I proceeded along the side of the mountain, knowing that I was edging along the perimeter of the city, below the ruins. The altitude and my anticipation conspired to make my breathing short and labored. Ahead of me and to the right, a grassy knoll sloped up and away from me. The glow of the setting sun touched its summit: a small thatched structure, an irregular object, and the figure of Antonio waited for me in the dusk. I realized that I had neglected to collect my wood, had forgotten his instructions. A long flight of stone steps led to the base of the hill and

hugged the side of a moss-grown broken wall. I made my way up, pausing to pick up a twig here, a small branch of mesquite there.

I passed the Gateway of the Sun without turning to look in, and, turning my back on it, panted resolutely up the hill. Halfway up I stopped to lift a sliver of wood from a tangle of weeds. I turned and caught my breath at the spectacle before me. Overgrown and semiexcavated shells of buildings, granite ashlars, temples, walls of mortarless stone, plazas and courtyards, all in shades of flecked white-and-gray granite, green moss, and pastel lichen. A hundred terraces. Beyond the ruins, towering above them to the north, the pinnacle of Huayna Picchu. Below me, to the west, the Temple of the Sun and a sheer cliff falling away to the Urubamba. To the east a small ruined temple with three great windows facing the direction of the rising sun. Fog was rising from the valley below and to the west, the direction from which I had come. It rose vertically and bent slightly to the east, swirling over itself as though to cover the city or like a hand groping for a handhold.

Before a thatched-roof hut at the top of the hill the Death Stone sat like an abandoned canoe, a miniature ark high and dry on the summit of Ararat.

Antonio's smile of welcome was expansive. My ordeal must have left its mark.

"You look terrible," he said.

"Gracias, profesor."

"And you will need more wood."

I sloughed off my pack and wandered away to complete the errand. Where had Antonio been for the past three days? Twice I caught myself staring in wonder at the setting of my adventure, a fossilized citadel, an aerie of pre-Columbian culture shrouded in mist like the ruins in an Arthurian legend. I remembered Antonio's instructions to choose the bits and pieces rather than to collect them like kindling, so it took more than half an hour to produce two armfuls. At the top of the knoll Antonio handed me a length of twine, and I secured my bundle and set it aside.

"When can we enter the ruins?"

"You cannot."

"I cannot?"

"You can enter the *ruins* as a tourist whenever you wish, although that is a profanity born of ignorance." He turned his back on the Death Stone and gazed at the ruins below. "But you may not enter the *city* until you have

completed your work of the South and the West, until you have learned to live the life of a spiritual warrior, until you have freed yourself from your past and faced death, until you have disengaged yourself from your physical body, as we do when we die."

"Then why are we here?"

"For you to begin your work of the South, but you will do this outside of the city limits. There is a cave below the Temple of the Condor." He gestured to the right, toward the edge of the ruins.

"To fully address your work of the South, you must release yourself from fear. Fear is in the realm of the West, where you confront death. But you cannot exorcise death until you have completed your work of the South. It is something of a vicious circle, a Mobius strip . . ."

"A catch-22."

"Your work of the West will come later. Tonight we can only put death on the agenda, do what we can to prepare you for your ritual. The Death Stone is in the shape of a canoe, with its bow facing west. It is here that an initiate's spirit leaves the body and travels West to the regions of silence and death. The legends say that it returns from the East, where the Sun rises and new life is born."

"The legends?"

"Yes. Lie on the stone, with your head facing the bow. Take a few minutes to calm yourself."

I stretched out on the cool granite slab and tried to will my heart rate to a meditative rhythm. He left me alone and I closed my eyes on the twilight. The temperature had dropped to a comfortable cool, and I had forgotten the hollowness of my stomach. The stillness of the approaching night was complete, its silence enhanced by the stirring of the dry grass. What was Antonio doing? As my breathing became regular I heard his whistle, faint and almost breathless. I sensed him beside me and heard his chant, a polysyllabic rhythm reverberating like the hum of a tuning fork. The temperature was dropping and a faint stirring of air at my forehead sent a shiver down my spine. It would be another cold Andean night. I looked up through my eyelashes as he passed his hands from my forehead to my throat, on to my sternum. Disengaging my chakras; spinning them counterclockwise; charging them; spinning them clockwise; chanting into them. I took stock of my sensations and felt nothing but relative tranquility, a slight easing of my anxiety and anticipation, concern over the lack of specific sensation.

I felt nothing.

The chant ended with a decisive *¡hoy!* He whistled again, softly, and it faded with the breeze.

"You can get up now."

I opened my eyes and though scarcely five minutes had passed, the night was upon us. Sparkling stars above low cirrus clouds, and the ruins were luminous in the moonlight. Antonio was squatting by his *mesa,* a few feet away.

"Sit there."

I sat cross-legged, facing him over the Indian cloth.

He handed me the wooden bowl. There was more San Pedro in it this time. "Your work is with the serpent tonight. Call upon the spirit of the South, summon it here, and salute the four directions. You know what to do."

I stood and raised the cup to the south and tried to remember the formula. "I call upon the spirit of the South, the serpent, Satchamama. Come to me, help me to shed my past." It had sounded better when he said it. "Hey."

"Hey!" he shouted. "Power, my friend. Purpose. You needn't address yourself to the wind. You do not need to say anything. Think it. Summon the power and salute the Four Winds as you would form a prayer."

That was easier. I did my best, said a silent prayer to each of the cardinal points, visualized the animals that represented them, the jaguar, the dragon, the eagle. Then I saluted the Mother Earth and the Great Spirit, drank half the contents of the bowl, took my place, and offered it back to him.

"All of it," he said. Just like Ramón.

I leaned my head back and drained the cup and set it on the cloth. Then I closed my eyes and breathed slowly, rhythmically, trying to orient myself to some center.

I opened my eyes and he was looking not at me, but at something between us; the focus of his eyes was not on my face, although he seemed to be looking directly upon me. The spaces in between things.

What was he seeing?

His focus shifted and he fixed my eyes with a searching look.

"You have been avoiding power all these years," he said. "Not acclaim or recognition—you barter for them regularly—but power in the face of Nature. Before you connect with your power you must shed your past. And

the past must be recaptured before it is freely released." He handed me the little bottle of sweet oil and then drew the carved bone staff from the soil.

"The sword of fire, of light," he said, and handed it to me. "Charge it. Hold it in your hands and summon its power. From the East, the place of vision and the rising Sun. Blow sweet oil on it."

I took the liquid into my mouth. It was strong, pungent on my taste buds, but I held it in my mouth and raised the staff and blew a mist of the stuff into the air, onto my hands and the staff they held.

"Take this with you. Hold it in your left hand. If you sense danger hold it firmly in your right. It is to sever your connections with your past."

He lifted my bundle of wood from the ground, took my arm, and led me away from the *mesa* and down the hill. My heart pounded with anticipation. I felt nothing from the San Pedro.

"Can I enter the ruins when I am finished?" I asked.

"You are not going to be finished," he said.

"Where are you going?"

"I have my own work to do."

The entrance to the cave was hidden in a fold of granite on the side of the hill beneath the Temple of the Condor. On the ground before the entrance was a small stack of wood and dry grass.

"The cave is shaped like an L," he said. "Go to the turning point, and use this wood to build your fire. Not a white man's fire; do not burn all your wood at once. Build it four by four. Place your memories in the fire one by one. Do not put a stick or branch in the flames unless it has a memory."

"All right."

"Face the wall. Concentrate on the fire," he said. "Do not allow it to die. Do not take your eyes from it. You can lose yourself if your attention strays. Call upon the vision of the eagle. The song of the East, *hoy, hoy, charaguay, charaguay, hoy*." He placed a hand on my shoulder. "I will see you in the morning."

I found the apex of the cave by the sulfur flare of six or seven matches. There must have been two entrances, for the place was ventilated by a gentle

cross-breeze. I planted the staff in the dirt floor of the cave and built my fire as he had: four-sided, four groups of four sticks, dried grass in its center. I had almost exhausted my match supply by the time I lit the little pyre. The grass crackled, the kindling held its flame, and the granite walls were illuminated by its light. I remember asking myself if the flames were not slightly more defined than most, or had the quality of my vision changed? Was this an effect of the San Pedro? I could not recall ever seeing anything with such clarity.

I fed the fire with bits from Antonio's pile until I felt confident of its flames. I sat back and even as I looked, the flames changed, my perception of them changed. My focus was shifting and what had been sharply defined became luminous, glowing, as though seen through a gauze. I lifted the staff from the dirt and checked my vision against its edges. Though I could see every detail, every crack and imperfection in its ivory surface, the fire still shimmered opaquely.

I closed my eyes and breathed deeply, mimicking Antonio's style. The light of the fire beat against my eyelids and the sensation was dizzying. Then the light began to flicker and play its game behind my eyelids as it had on the *altiplano,* but there was a sound, a rushing sound associated with the tiny particles of light. The colors were luminous, pastels, glowing like embers.

I opened my eyes. The fire was radiant and I felt comfort in its glow. I looked at the pile of wood I had collected. Which to choose? A worn piece of mesquite caught my eye. It was smooth like driftwood, like a small bird with wings pressed close to its side, streamlined for a dive. I set aside the staff of the light, lifted the object from the pile, and placed it squarely in the center of my fire. It settled into the flames; its weight pressed down on a charred branch and its edges browned. My eyes shifted, searching for an image, not knowing what to expect. There was something, movement in my peripheral vision. I turned slightly to look for it and felt a surge of adrenaline. But the light from the fire played against the walls of the cave, tricking me. I exhaled, realized that I had been holding my breath. My body was tense, my back and shoulders rigid with expectation. I was trying too hard.

Breathe.

Again I closed my eyes to assess my condition and wonder at the effects of the San Pedro. The lights were there still, but larger, more luminous, and they rushed past me with a sound like wind through the trees and the regularity of ocean surf. One luminescent orb lingers before me. An-

other. I raise my hand and brush aside the mosquito netting of my little bed and wriggle on the cool sheets to make room for this presence. It moves, hovers next to me, and I feel that it is smiling.

I cannot remember opening my eyes. All I know is that one instant I was a very little boy, snug in bed, and in the next I was back, in the cave, below Machu Picchu, before the fire. I looked at my watch. 8:04? The bird-shaped hunk of mesquite was charred, black and gray, glowing. Had I fallen asleep? A dream image, a memory of a dream. Experience of a memory of a dream. A child's secret. Suddenly I thought of Tati. A picture of her intruded itself into my thoughts, and I reached for another offering, a curved mesquite branch still bearing a few leaves at the end of a twig. I leaned forward over crossed legs and placed it on the fire.

I shivered, shuddered convulsively, and my stomach sickened with adrenaline. There was fear on the back of my neck, and my eyes shifted away, reflexively probing the darkness beyond the dancing shadows and the firelight. The staff of the light! Which hand to hold it in? A bolus of something rose in my throat. *What!* I haven't eaten for three . . . I retched, coughing spasmodically, and a draft of cool air lifted ash and spark from the fire. Smoke, a pungent haze of incense, beeswax votive candles, cheap Cuban cigar. Tati is stripped to the waist, and her skin glows with sweat in the candlelight as she rocks rhythmically back and forth over a bowl of smoldering leaves. She is doing something with her mouth, but her back is to me.

"Come here, boy!" Her voice is low, guttural, like Rodolfo the gardener's.

"Tati?"

She turns and I catch my breath. Her face is twisted, grimacing; her eyes upturned and heavy-lidded. A cigar hangs pendant from her pouting lower lip.

"Come here." The cigar wags at me. "Stand here."

I am four. She is my nanny. I do as I am told, and stand before the bowl of burning stuff. She takes the cigar from her mouth, turns it around, and molds her lips around the wrong end, the burning end, and inhales, smoking backward, filling her lungs with smoke and blowing it back into my face, purifying me with smoke. "You are a good boy, a good young boy, and strong. I will visit you in your dreams."

"Tati?"

"No."

I reach out and touch her wet mahagony skin.

"I want some milk, Tati. Get it for me. Now."

The mesquite leaf sizzled, hissed, and blistered above the embers. I felt my face, touched it with my hand, seeking reassurance. Wet. My face was wet. Three days' growth of beard. A tear caught in the corner of my mouth, and I tasted it with the tip of my tongue. A sob convulsed my chest and I realized that I was weeping. This is not a dream. Not a dream. Distinctly visual. Straight to the perception centers . . . limbic. Hallucination. No. None of the whimsy, the eccentricity, of hallucinogenic states. Stay with it.

The branch collapsed, its center crumbled into the live coals.

Focus.

The next branch was heavier than it should have been. Or was I getting weaker? Nonsense. But it was just a little branch. I placed it in the fire's center. Rounded bluish flames hovered above and around dying embers. Was there enough flame to ignite this wood? How could I have let it burn so low? And . . . what is on the palm of my hand? I turn it palm up and stare with wonder at the brown-and-white-striped conical shell that fills the center of my childish little hand. Grains of moist sand cling to my skin, in the delicate creases of my palm. The shell tickles and moves. A pointed, furry leg like a tiny finger ventures out from beneath the shell. I grasp my wrist to steady the hand. Musn't scare it. The shell shifts and the miniature crab appears. Hermit crab. Tiny legs and delicate claws. It moves, scurrying sideways across my open hand, tumbling from it onto the sand at the water's edge.

I looked down at my hands. The right was clenched, the left covering it, holding it close to my stomach. I pried open the fingers and held it close to my face. It was moist with sweat. No sand, my palm, familiar, adult.

I looked up. The walls of the cave seemed to have reformed themselves, closed in on all sides. I was in the center of a granite eggshell. Fear spread from my belly up, into my chest, my heart, my throat, and the light from the fire seemed to throb as its color changed from yellow to orange, and blackness threatened to snuff it out. I could not let it die, yet the only fuel left was that which I had gathered. No choice, but a pile of choices.

Without taking my eyes from the embers I reached blindly for wood, placing a mesquite stem and a tiny bough of heather into the coals before recalling Antonio's admonition. One at a time.

My father. His despair at the loss of his fortune, his land, his place, his world. He holds his head in his hands and weeps as I reach for him across

the flames. He is a victim of a persona that has lost everything, everything taken from him, but he clings to it, a stranglehold on his identity. There, across from me, separated from me only by a fire that is consuming me.

I hold myself, hugging the ivory staff to my chest, rocking back and forth, keening with the weight of his pride and my own desperate desire to please him, to play his game, to adapt to the world of *his* values, *his* standards, his conceit. I see that he will never be free from his pride, and that I will release myself from the competition. I wipe a tear from under my chin. I will free myself from his example and distance myself from his disdain, but my *abuelita,* my grandmother, shakes her head. "Take care of him, Bombi." My baby name. "Do not abandon him."

From that instant I could not stop. I fed the fire with the cuttings of my past, and the vapors rose from the fire, swirling, spiraling, cavorting, in a babble of moments and emotions.

Of all of my experiences in the realms of healing and consciousness, the twelve hours I endured beneath the Temple of the Condor were perhaps the most poignant. I have carried its memory in my heart ever since.

Someday I shall shed it too. I shall encounter those twelve hours and release them into the flames of another fire. But for now, I can see myself still, cross-legged before the steadily burning cinders, crying, laughing, deep in the throes of self-induced catharsis. Cell by cell, hair by hair, finger by finger, limb by limb, placing myself into the fire. Friends and relations, patients, the faces of Huichol Indians staring with wonder at a map of the world drawn in the sand. There were instants when I thought it was over, when the fire would burn down, and I would invoke Antonio's chant, summoning the vision of the eagle and blowing on the embers, raising smoke and sparks before consigning another twig or branch or bough to the flames. A draft of air would clear the room of smoke, but images would linger, their presences surrounding me, penetrating me.

And there were unidentified emotions, a woman I did not know, a face familiar but unknown to me, images that were not mine, that bore no relation to who I had been, and, with them, the urge to dump my remaining wood into the fire.

Sometime that morning the fire died. The ordeal ended and the walls of the cave were once again the walls of the cave.

I walked out, carrying the ivory staff by my side. Antonio sat on a rock, silhouetted by the bright morning sun. I remember that he placed his hand on my shoulder.

"Did you have enough wood?" he asked.

"Yes. There was some left over."

"There always will be," he said.

Together we climbed up to the Temple of the Condor, the edge of the ruins. A busload of tourists had arrived, and we watched them make their way down the hill from the Death Stone and enter the Lost City of the Incas. Then Antonio led me down a path, away from the ruins.

"You will return here many times," he said. "The next time you will enter the city, and the stones carved by the hands of the ancestors will speak to you."

I was too tired to wonder about the meaning of his words.

March 28

Perhaps there are two kinds of memory. All those we carry with us, available to conscious recall, like those I remembered during my fast. Subjective memories. Sounds, images, feelings, trivial details that are made all the more vivid as we assign significance to them with the benefit of hindsight. They are the memories of retrospect.

Under hypnosis an adult can remember the color of his crib. Objective memory. Like those I engaged and wrestled with. They had a life of their own. Like a dream, not subject to conscious control, they ran wild. Independent of me. Not retrospect, but retrospectacle.

But I am in no condition to write about this. We are in a small hostel in Aguascalientes. There are hot springs here at the base of Machu Picchu.

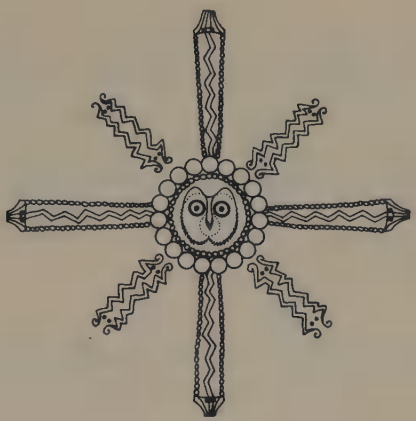
I remember that Albert Einstein once defined science as the attempt to make the chaotic diversity of our sense experience correspond to a logically uniform system of thought.

So how do I approach what has happened to me in a scientific fashion? I leave for California in two days.

My pen is getting heavy and my writing sloppy, but it occurs to me that as the nature of our sensory experience changes, so must our science, our definition of our system of thought, the way in which we think.

I'll think about it in the morning.

West



11

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuffed blossom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?

—*William Shakespeare*

The airport in Cuzco was socked in. The sky had fallen, the clouds settled over the city. Visibility at the airport was measured in feet; the last departure had been more than two hours ago, and flights were backing up into the following morning when, I was assured with a Latin grin and a definitive nod, the fog was "scheduled" to lift.

I had returned to Cuzco to find a message waiting for me at the hotel. Though I was no longer registered there, a handful of *soles* at the reception desk had bought me an address and phone number in case of emergency. There was even a letter from Brian. The phone message was from my father. My paternal grandmother had suffered a stroke. Perhaps, he suggested, I should return to California via Miami.

I had booked a flight, Antonio and I had dined together, and, the next day, he had accompanied me to the airport.

I shook my head, hefted my backpack over one shoulder. "You can't *schedule* fog," I said.

He looked at his watch. He was as I had seen him that first day, Professor Antonio Morales Baca. A baggy suit, frayed white shirt, dark tie, hair combed back, pockets bulging. Impeccable sloppiness. His skin was a few shades darker from the sun of the *altiplano,* and there was a healthy lightness to his manner, a rejuvenation that showed at the corners of his eyes and on his mouth when he smiled.

"It will clear," he said. "Half an hour."

I looked down into his eyes and smiled. "You think so."

"Of course."

"How do you know?"

He grinned. "Because I am an Indian."

I laughed. "I almost forgot. Indians know everything."

"Everything but how to live in a godless world of physical objects and right angles." He placed his hand on my shoulder. "I must go. I have a class at one o'clock."

"Thank you," I said.

"Thank *you,* my friend. We are good traveling companions."

I opened my mouth, but there were no words.

"You have tasted knowledge," he said. "Soon you will have an experience of power. But do not wait for it."

"Goodbye," I said.

I offered him my hand, and he just looked down at it and shook his head. "It is said that shamans say goodbye only once."

I kept my hand before him. "Who says such things?" I asked.

"We do," he replied. "You and I do. For us it will always be *hasta pronto.*" Until we meet again.

And he took my hand.

Half an hour later the fog cleared. The sky opened up over the airport, and a young woman in an Aero Peru uniform announced the boarding of the flight from Cuzco to Lima.

I spent a day in Miami. My father looked me up and down. His eyes were tired and he frowned at my hair, uncut since California, my mustache, and rumpled clothes. "You should see your grandmother," he said.

"That's what I came for, Papi," I said.

I shaved, and Soledad, my parent's maid of forty years, gave me one of my father's pressed and starched shirts. I took my grandmother to lunch.

The stroke had been minor, a cerebrovascular accident. Her frailty was nothing more than old age. She took my arm and I led her into a brightly lighted restaurant near the water.

We talked of this and that. She was excited for me, or sensitive to my excitement. I looked well, she said, and she liked my long hair. She was squinting a lot and I asked was there anything wrong.

"It is so dim. They should turn up the lights."

I reached across and removed the thick glasses from her face and wiped them with a linen napkin and slid the bows back through her gray hair and over her ears.

"That is much better," she said, and laughed without embarrassment. We had always laughed like that together. Her hand sought mine across the tablecloth and we sat there, at a table for two, holding hands like lovers. This woman who had mothered me, who had appeared to me in a fire in Machu Picchu, whose spirit was so strong, but whose body was wearing away with the friction of time. We would never sit like that again. I knew it then, and I smile at the memory now.

I returned to California. It had been winter when I left, and it was the first day of spring when I returned. I started compiling my notes for my thesis, resumed my work at the mental health clinic, obtained a grant from the Office of Child Development to develop mental health programs for the Head Start school system, opened a small private practice, and fell in love with Stephanie.

Brian's infatuation had gotten him nowhere. Mine was a one-way ticket, a package tour to a place I had been before and would return to again and again. Yes, the human experience depends on pairs of opposites, yin and yang, and darkness and light cling to one another; the darkness enhances the light and the light defines the darkness, and the centers of pleasure and pain lie next to one another in the human brain, and you rarely experience one without stimulating the other. I loved Stephanie and we shared the anguish and ecstasy of being together and being apart.

As I had suspected, she was a handful: a stubborn romantic, a sensitive feminist. She was still recovering from a traumatic separation, a two-year relationship with a dental student named Edward, when we fell in love. We feasted off of one another that spring. We agreed on monogamy that summer.

My work at that time was unique in its diversity. I began to incorporate my thesis notes into a book, *Realms of Healing*, that I would write with Stanley Krippner. At the clinic I was exposed to examples of extreme psychosis: multiple personality disorders, schizophrenia (an ill-defined condition), sociopathic breakdowns, and attempted suicides. In my private

practice I guided patients through depression, sexual insecurity, substance abuse, and trauma. And at the Head Start school I witnessed firsthand the standards for achievement and the criteria for normality that is imposed on the young. I watched underprivileged and minority students, children of half a dozen cultures, conform to our culture, become assimilated to an educational system. Children customized to fit in, to serve the program so that the program could serve them. It should have been the other way around. A question-and-answer–oriented system of evaluation and teaching that failed to play to the personal and cultural strengths of the individual child was, in my radical eyes, producing systematically mentally retarded kids.

It didn't take long for me to develop a reputation as flamboyant and eccentric in my work at the clinic, as hotheaded and arrogant with regard to education.

Strangely enough, although I was acutely aware of the effects of my work with Antonio, I didn't talk about it much. I thought about him a great deal in those first few months, even made a point of finding a spot in the Sonoma hills, a nature retreat, a waterfall an hour's hike into the hills, where I would go on weekends to meditate and exercise my vision. But for the most part, my work of the South was confined to my consciousness and the pages of my journal.

June 1, 1974

Back from the clinic. Glass of wine and . . . thought I'd crack you open and fill a page. It's been too long. Gloria was readmitted tonight. Ascension Thursday. First it was Ash Wednesday, then Good Friday. They saved her again and tomorrow morning it'll be my turn. Back to the drawing board.

Still feeling centered, potent. The effects of my work in Machu Picchu? Gut-wrenching, soul-searing ritual—an evening's worth in a state of consciousness in which the elements of my personal history were dealt with directly, visually, cathartically. Not analytically, intellectually . . . neocortically? There I go, trying to localize the stuff that dreams are made of. Assign it to the limbic brain. That's the problem. There are no straight lines, no convenient theories, no pigeonholes. So how do I integrate my experience? I know that the

work of twelve to twenty-four month's worth of intensive therapy was accomplished in a night. If I accessed my unconscious, do I need to explain the process? If I want anybody here to understand it, I do. If credibility is important to me . . . who am I kidding? Science has determined the nature of our reality ever since the age of reason, and you can't apply scientific method to consciousness, be objective about that which is the very essence of the subjective experience. I must content myself with having experiences, *serving* experiences, collecting "data."

Sounding sour and cynical. Why?

Stephanie hasn't called.

Gloria is back.

Gloria Pierce was almost a nun, a novitiate on leave from a convent near Napa. She was twenty-three years old, a contemporary Mary Magdalene: sensuality touched by piety. She had made her novitiate vows on the first of the year after twenty-three years of preparation. Christ had appeared to her mother during three days of labor, and Gloria's devotion to God was pre-ordained, prenatal.

A nun's vows are her wedding vows, her ritual marriage to Christ. Here was a young woman who had been engaged to Him since birth. An arranged marriage. Her devotion was genuine and passionate, and passion was her demon. Gloria's emerging sexuality had taken her by surprise, had proved too much for her. Lust was the object of her despair. She was, in her mind, a virgin living in sin. So she had cut her wrists crosswise on Ash Wednesday.

She had been stitched up at the county hospital and hustled over to the mental health clinic for evaluation and counseling by one of my colleagues. Then she did it again, on Good Friday. I was on call.

I took a lot of flak regarding my "approach." We used the hospital as our therapy environment: the emergency room, the intensive care unit, the maternity ward. Trauma, death, birth. We snuck out for long walks in the Sonoma woods, and she began to open up, share the anguish of her feelings of lust and her love of Christ, the agony of her self-inflicted orgasms.

Soon her history began to assert itself, and we got past the emergency and started scraping away at her past. Her scars were healing; one the color

of oyster flesh (Ash Wednesday), one delicate and rosy. Daily sessions became weekly. Then she missed one, then another. She had failed to return my call the day before. She couldn't. She'd drunk from a can of Drano.

Now the scars were forming inside. Throat, stomach, Drano-scorched mucous membranes.

I'll never forget walking into her room. She did not look up, just stared at the wall, clutched a pillow like a child or a lover. The fear in her eyes was infectious, and something snapped inside of me. I told her that if she wanted to die she could use my Swiss army knife, but she'd have to cut *down,* not across. She'd have to make the sign of the cross with the slashes on her wrists.

I dug into my pocket and pulled out the knife. Nickels and quarters scattered across the sheets and rattled on the floor.

"Here," I said, and tossed the little red knife onto the bed sheet. "Do it right."

She threw it at me.

I sat on the bed and held her until her tears turned to laughter, and I realized that I had a lot to learn. Nothing anyone had ever said to her had made the critical difference. The decisive moment had evolved spontaneously out of fear, through drama.

She was discharged the following week. She quit the order soon afterward. I was summoned to the chief psychiatrist's office and thoroughly chewed out for my unprofessional conduct. I argued that our profession had become a palliative. We were psychoparamedics, patching up people's psyches until the next crisis. I saw Gloria months later, when she called to introduce me to her fiancé.

One Friday in June, I realized that I had a free weekend. Stephanie was visiting her parents in Santa Barbara; I'd seen my last patient at the clinic, my last client at my office, and, although I could have spent a couple of days working on my thesis, I opted instead to prepare some San Pedro. The cactus itself was fairly common, readily available, and, although I knew little of its preparation, I sliced one up, boiled it for a few hours in a liter of

water, funneled it into a canteen, and headed off for my spot in the woods, an hour's hike from a dirt road above the far end of a private vineyard.

It had rained late into the spring that year, and there was still water flowing over the thirty-foot rock face and into a shallow pond at its base and along a rocky creek bed into the woods. I sat on a tiny sand bank in the middle of the stream: coarse sand and smooth stones and leaves and twigs from the overhanging oak trees. Sat there and meditated on the sound of the water trickling over the stones; robins arguing over piracantha berries; the smell of oak, oats, wine country earth; the sun on my upturned face.

And I felt as though I had returned to be in the company of my natural environment. I felt closer to the life of my little nature retreat than ever before. It was as though I had learned how to feel at ease with Nature in Peru and had brought the lesson back home with me. The life of the *altiplano* had been Antonio's, and this was mine.

Sometime in the midafternoon I drank a cupful of San Pedro. I paid my respects to the four directions, called upon the archetypal spirits of the Four Winds to come and sit with me, and drank. I had gone without breakfast and lunch, nevertheless, after another hour I felt nothing. My blissful state was altered only by my expectation of the effects of my concoction. I started to think about Antonio's references to the distillation of the plant and the use of "cleansing herbs." Then I realized that, deep down, I was recalling his last words, his reference to an experience of power.

Years later I would learn that only certain San Pedro cactus, grown, tended to, and prayed over by shamans in "power places" in the mountains, had any effect. The American garden variety that I had prepared produced nothing but a toxic stomach upset.

It was a hot day. Sunlight reflected off the surface of the water that rippled gently on either side of my sand bank. I took off my shirt and stood. Testing my sensations. Is anything happening? Do I feel anything? Forget it. I'm becoming preoccupied with the substance, and that's getting in my way. I feel fine. I feel good. Relax and feel the strength of a body at ease. I'll walk over there to the waterfall. Through the water. My boots are wet now, and besides, they're awkward. I'm not hiking, I'm standing in a stream. Take them off, throw them back onto my sand bank, my *mesa*. The water falls so carefully over the rock, steep, it slips and slides down the slick algae-slime face from . . . thirty feet? I can climb that. There would be a

good spot there beside the stream. Easy. I can climb it quickly, elegantly, hands and feet.

Swiftly. Like a cat.

And there I sat, in near bliss, where the little brook fell over the rock cliff, level with the tops of the oak trees, my sand bank and my hiking boots looking very small.

There was nothing particularly mystical. There were no great epiphanies, merely a mildly euphoric sense of accomplishment, a sense of coming home and being there fully.

I don't know how much later it was when I realized my situation, realized that I didn't remember climbing up the rock face. It was growing dark when my reasoning brain kicked in, and I peered down the face of the cliff and was astonished to see that there were no handholds, there was no conceivable way of getting down. To the right, where the water ran, it was slick with organic film. To the left and directly below, it was a vertical drop of thirty feet. My boots were down there. My little daypack, canteen, car keys. I knew that I had to go down, had no idea how I'd come up, and, as the sun set and darkness fell, I felt fear in my stomach. There was movement in the trees below. Lights and shadows. My fear was palpable, intensified by the coming night. I debated how to proceed, resolved to recapture the power and strength I had felt hours before. I visualized my cat.

My cat. For some reason the thought of this alleged power animal presented itself to me. Here, I reasoned, was an opportunity to test it, to call upon it. I closed my eyes and imagined it emerging from the jungle—no, woods, these woods, moving steadily, purposefully, head low to the ground, legs moving in perfect cadence, paws flopping forward, perfect placement, infallible, one after the other, hands on rock, left, right, loose and fluid movement, knowing without thought, forward, inexorably, inch by inch.

And then there was a moment of such exhilaration, such intoxicating power, that can be known, but only poorly described. It was an instant, a breath in time, it was the sensation of a cat realizing that he is a cat.

I caught my breath and slipped into a rational state, and there I was, ten feet from the bottom of the cliff, facing down, a 45 degree angle, one palm resting against a slight bulge on the rock, the other on a tiny ledge hidden under the falling water, and I fell, head first, broke the fall with my left hand, spraining my wrist, and rolled over into the shallow pond. I jumped to my feet and shook the water off. The pain was nothing compared

to the exhilaration. For an instant, an unmeasurable moment, I had become the cat.

The next day, Sunday, I got a phone call from Miami. My grandmother had had a heart attack. I tried to reach Stephanie in Santa Barbara, but she was out. I left a message with her mother and left for Miami.

June 14

Hospitals belong to the night. The dead of night. What curious places they are. Whitely sterile, disinfected, fluorescent. The place we "visit" until we come here to die.

A waiting place. We wait in it and it waits for us. Here we wait to feel well again, wait to die, wait to be free from disability. Patients cultivate patience and patience is the art of hoping.

Maria Luisa is dying. My father found her, gave her some kind of CPR, brought her back from the brink, and now she's being kept there artificially.

Four IVs. A central line in her neck to push drugs and fluids, one in each arm for good measure, an arterial line in her left arm to draw blood and for hooking up to a transducer for constant blood pressure readings. There's a nasogastric tube running through her nose and into her stomach. It's hooked up to a suction machine on the floor to drain her stomach constantly so that she won't aspirate, regurgitate into her trachea. And there's an endotracheal tube down her throat, a ventilator because she can't comfortably breath by herself. She doesn't have the energy. And she's on a steady diet of intravenous morphine, nitroglycerin and Valium. Sedated because anxiety increases the heart rate and uses more oxygen and everybody's trying to save that heart muscle. Anxiety? It occurs to me that the only thing she has to be anxious about is all the crap they're shoving into her, all the discomfort they're causing her. There she lies, plugged in at six places to a life support system in a whitely sterile, disinfected, fluorescent cubicle.

And she'd been at home.

She told me so. She saw me. I bent over her face and her lids, heavy with drugs, slid up and she looked into my eyes and said: "I was at home."

And then I took her hand and she squeezed it with a strength that surprised me and then let go and her forefinger began tapping—a nervous tic—on my palm, and I began to sob. Her hand tightened on mine again, comforting me in her pain.

Then I had to step out because they were inserting the endotracheal tube, and it's usually a bit of a struggle to get it down the trachea when they're conscious.

My God! We fear death so much that we take eighty-year-old women ready to die and pick them up off the floor of their homes and plug them into the technology we've created to keep that precious life alive because anything, *anything* is better than death.

It's barbaric. Where's the humanity in this? And all these interns and residents, all these smart, smart young men and women, all these health care professionals nodded when their college philosophy professors talked about life and death, the great circle, the noble uroborus, the nature of things, the natural cycle. They understood, didn't they? Or did they write it down in their notebooks and choose the correct multiple choice question on their final exam and leave it at that?

Do they, does anyone here know what it is to face death honorably?

Do I?

Know what it is to exhale that last breath freely rather than holding it, holding it in, holding onto life so hard that we crush it, strangle it.

Death is not a tragedy. The tragedy is how we face it. It's pathological.

Oh, Maria Luisa, can't I help you to die?

I could not. I stayed there long after my father had left. We had had an argument. It was he who had initiated this treatment. He had called the

ambulance and told the paramedics to do whatever they could and they had done just that. Standard operating procedure.

"She's ready to die," I had said.

"How do you know? I saved her life."

I had made the mistake of taking issue with him and he had reminded me that she was his mother and stormed out.

I went into her room and listened to the whir and hum of the suction machine draining her stomach, the wheeze of the ventilator. She was drugged senseless. I held her hand and thought of that night on the edge of the *altiplano,* the face of the missionary, the elegance of her death. The contrast was unbearable, and then a nurse pushed open the door and asked what was I doing there? I told her I was Maria Luisa's grandson, that I was a doctor, that I'd come from California to be with her. But visiting hours were over. She was willing to argue, so I led her out of the room and we stood in the hall and I demanded to see the on-call resident and went back into the room.

He showed up half an hour later. Again, we stood in the hall. He was a mess, four hours to go of a thirty-six-hour shift. Red-eyed and weary, he didn't have time for me. He quoted policy, tried patiently to make me understand, told me that she would be fine through the night; there was a chance she'd hang on for days.

"I don't think she's fine."

"I'm sorry, but I don't think you're qualified . . ."

"Yeah, I know," I said. "I'm just a pain in the ass."

He gave me a half-laugh. "She's in stable condition. If you have an issue with her treatment, you'll need to talk to the immediate family. Now I've got to get to the E.R." He sort of patted me on the arm, and then turned and took a few steps. He stopped. "I'm sorry," he said, then his shoes squeaked off down the hall, and his white coat billowed out behind him.

I turned and walked back into the room. I told her that I loved her and kissed her forehead and kissed her hand. There were two nurses waiting for me at the door, deciding whether to call security. I told them goodnight and walked out into the hot Miami night.

Up the drive and to my right, an ambulance idled by open emergency room doors. A couple of paramedics moving with professional urgency slid a stainless steel stretcher from within, and the intern met them at the door and placed a hand on the chest of the admission whose emergency this was.

Maria Luisa died two days later, in spite of all of the attempts to keep her on the brink.

My return from Florida was marked by a peculiar incident that would serve as a preface of things to come. Stephanie had extended her stay in Santa Barbara and returned a few nights after my arrival. I was feeling particularly sentimental. As the months had passed, my dependency on her had grown. I longed for her when we were apart, and her ambivalence regarding her separation from Edward gnawed at me.

We dined at my place.

I lit candles, a dozen in the living room, and we made love in their light. For more than an hour we toyed with each other, teased each other's bodies, indulged in each other's sensations, caressed the possibilities . . . here? or . . . here. What about . . . this? Anything is possible when you abandon your detachment, yield to the flesh, perceive with your body, focus with your touch, and I ran my finger from her forehead to the tip of her nose, over parted lips and down her throat and between her breasts, and shuddered and I saw a man.

Saw him, felt him, sensed him completely in an instant.

"Don't stop. . . ."

I caught my breath, and held it as long as I could.

"Not now. . . ."

I was aware of the room, the candlelight, the sweat cooling on my body.

"What is it? What's wrong?"

Adrenaline, that breathless, heart-thudding sensation of danger, the body's protective device, strength when you need it most. When you are threatened. For it wasn't merely the sensation of him, but the knowledge of her loving another. Fresh. Recent. I knew it like a hound knows where a fugitive has run.

"Who did you see?" I asked, not a whisper, and the sound of my voice broke the erotic state, cracked the shell.

"What?"

"You slept with someone."

Her eyes widened and her brow and ears moved back in an involuntary spasm.

She drew away from me, scooted up against the pillows, stopped with her back against the sofa. "What did you say?"

"You heard me."

"What *is* this!" Anger. "What are you doing?"

"What am *I* doing?"

I stood and slid into my pants and walked away. I drew a glass of water and leaned against the tile kitchen countertop. Then I put a hand to my chest and felt the palpitations there. The tips of my fingers were tingling, and I realized that I was almost hyperventilating. My whole body was reacting. Systemically. The demon jealously rising from my stomach, through my chest, my throat. . . . A minute later she was behind me, a towel wrapped around her, held in place over her breasts.

"What's happening here!" I demanded. How could you . . ."

"*What!* How could I *what?*"

She shook her head, looked at the floor as though searching for something. "You have me *followed?* Then you wait? You wait to accuse me when we're making love?"

A nervous laugh caught in my throat and I shook my head. "Don't do this. Don't turn this around." I drained my water glass. "I didn't have you followed."

"Turn it around? Turn *what* around! I can't believe this!"

We got over it, but she was right. She wouldn't believe it. Wouldn't believe that I could describe the man, that I knew how he had touched her. It spooked her and, ironically enough, I don't believe she ever really trusted me after that night. It happened again, a month later, but I kept it to myself, and, although we agreed to attempt a committed relationship, and although it lasted for most of the year, every so often I would catch her looking at me, evaluating me out of the corner of her eye. Some part of her would always suspect that I was a little nuts.

January 2, 1975

A dream.

I am sitting at a white-painted wrought iron table in a Spanish-style courtyard with Stephanie. Talking nonsense like *Alice in Won-*

derland. I tell her that she can choose either to sleep with (or marry?) me or to sleep with others (there's an obscure figure in gray overalls). Next I am entering a room where Stephanie is lying in bed. I climb in from the roof, like a spider, down the wall of the narrow little room. I know that she still has a sexual debt to pay. A sexual debt?

In bed we are having sex. She is on top of me but facing toward my feet, squatting, then she turns and looks over her shoulder and says, "Now we can have the baby you want to have."

But I think to myself, No, we must be making love face to face—we must be face to face before we can have a child.

In Machu Picchu, on the hillock beside the Death Stone, Antonio and I had "put death on the agenda," and, curiously enough, death became my companion that year. Peculiar how the transient themes, the subtextual patterns, of your life are illuminated by hindsight.

I thought often of the Medicine Wheel, the journey of the Four Winds. The mythic South, where you exorcise the past that haunts you, binds you, restricts you. The West, where you lose fear by facing death, free yourself from an unknown future. And, although I had no sense of when I would return to Peru, if I would resume my work, return to Ramón and engage with the work of the West, death made its presence felt.

I found myself continually confronted by the specter of death, and with each confrontation there was a lesson. It had begun with the death of the missionary, and I had learned by witnessing, learned something of my vision and the *viracocha*. Gloria's flirtation with death had taught me something of the drama of psychological healing. And then there was Maria Luisa, an astonishing, painful demonstration of death in the Western world.

August 22

There is a hospital bed waiting for me too.

Maria Luisa was eighty–two. The resident who had ministered to her was probably thirty. So. Twenty-five years from now, when I am in my early fifties, a child will be born who will grow to become the doctor who will pull the plug on me.

How will I die? What will I die from? Playing with the concept of

future life progressions. . . . I see myself dying of a heart condition at an early age. Oh, maybe that child has already been born. I see myself lying in a hospital bed, surrounded by family members not telling me the truth.

Denial.

Denial.

Denial.

Why?

Death is fearful. We cower so from it, and deny it when it comes.

But we incubate it within us, like a germ within us.

Why a heart condition? What is the condition of my heart? Have I ever really opened it up to anyone? Have I ever allowed anyone to come very close? Perhaps I'm setting myself up to die of a heart/love condition. That's it.

Must change that.

Have had a measure of success leading Holly and her family to hold her imminent death in a life-positive way. Easier for Holly than her parents. Her mind is too young to have been permanently imprinted with tradition and taboo. She is eager, willing to explore death, to approach it as a life experience. Her parents are so overwhelmed with her loss that they could well miss the gift she is giving them, the lesson she is willing to teach them. But her pain is in the way. I've tried everything. Balancing her energy, visualization techniques—closing pain valves, discharging her pain into the Earth. Today, in a light meditative state, she saw a banana.

Holly was seventeen years old and dying of ovarian cancer. She had been referred to me by a friend at the University of California Medical School, and we had worked together for six weeks. Her cancer had metastasized in spite of drug and radiation therapy. All that was left was the pain and her death.

After four weeks she had asked if she could work with me alone, without her family, and in my desperation I took that as a sign of progress. Her request was not a rejection of her parents, but a declaration of her need to work with her pain and face death alone. Her attitude toward herself and

her disease was healthy. We discussed the importance of examining her past, her illness, her pain, and freeing herself from her obligations, from the ties that kept her bound to this life, from her parent's desperate desire that she live. I asked for their permission to take her to my home one evening, and there, in my backyard near the edge of the woods, we built a little fire and she consigned to the flames the bits and pieces of her past that haunted her still. She characterized each one of them with words or simple drawings on square bits of fine Chinese paper, folded them or twisted them into shapes, and we sat before the fire for three hours. We laughed together, cried together.

But the pain was getting in her way. Then, at the end of a session in which we had continued to work on a self-induced trance state, she had seen a banana. The next week she saw a whole bunch. She started to dream of a banana tree, and, in a light meditative state, could summon the image. It was the only thing we had to work with, so I encouraged the image, began to guide her imagery, and eventually there was a whole banana tree. Neither of us had any idea of its significance, and I discouraged her from analyzing it, although we were equally curious.

August 31

Breakthrough with Holly.

My clinical supervisor keeps insisting that the banana is a phallic symbol, repressed sexuality. Jesus! Let's put her in a pigeonhole in a conventional Freudian rolltop desk!

Then today, the banana tree acquired roots. I told her to focus on those roots, see how they grow, their delicate, translucent tips, pushing slowly deeper, deeper through the soil, deep into the Earth.

"An underground stream," I said. Her eyes were closed. Her head, covered by a bright blue scarf, was bowed slightly forward. Her breathing was perfect, from the stomach, her hands hanging loose and relaxed from her wrists. She was good at this. "An underground stream of cool, mineral-rich water, spring water running through a vein in the Earth, a channel in the rock and soil, quartz crystal walls shining, glowing with phosphorous, and the water trickles steadily. And look up. Look where the roots of the tree have broken

through the soil above. Little bits of soil fall and are carried away by the steadily trickling stream. Your roots, the roots of your tree, thirsty, seeking that water, seeking to tap into the clear, cool, nourishing vein of the Earth, reaching down. . . . Feel them. New cells forming, roots growing, tenderly reaching . . . almost . . . there. . . ."

There were tears in her eyes and she drew a long, deep breath, opened her eyes, and smiled.

Six months later she died, consciously. In those six months she achieved a 50 percent to 60 percent reduction in pain. The roots from her banana tree had grown, reached deeply into the Earth, nurtured her with the cool spring water we found there, and she was able to release much of her pain through those same roots, back into the Earth. Her father had taken her into the hills of Napa to run in a field of poppies, and her ashes were scattered there later.

I went to Brazil later that year, and the results of my work and experiences were documented in *Realms of Healing*. During that trip, and during the course of my later research in Brazilian spiritism, I experienced a lifetime's worth of paranormal phenomena. I met Dr. Hernani Andrade, a physicist and the director of the Brazilian Institute for Psycho-Biological Research, and we became lifelong friends. With Andrade as my guide I began to investigate the spirit religions of the Candomble, the Umbanda, and the outlawed Quimbanda, techniques of mediumship and astonishing healing skills, yet all the while I was aware of a fundamental difference between the spiritism of Brazil and the shamanic creed. The practices of spiritism maintain a strong subject/object relationship with the supernatural and the "spirit world." Healing and insight are achieved through a medium, a person who channels a spirit and becomes the spirit's instrument. The healing states and ecstatic states of shamanism are specific to the individual, and the elements of "spirit" are instruments of the shaman's consciousness. A spirit medium will yield his or her body and voice to be used by a spirit, but the shaman never loses control. The shaman is a spiritual warrior and engages directly and masterfully with the domains that he or she visits in the "spirit flight."

October 11
São Paulo

Dreamed of Antonio again. Walking in the *altiplano.* He has a mimosa seed pod. Hide and seek. I remember having a similar dream when I was there. This time he hides it, and I am to find it by asking the trees to help me. The wind is whispering through the pines, and they are shimmering with their own light. I address a tree. "Where is the seed pod?" Antonio laughs and tells me that I look very stupid standing there talking to a tree. I become angry and stomp off, and later I ask without asking, I think my question and a bush begins to glow just ten feet away. I go there and find the pod.

Tonight Andrade has invited me to attend a seance.

Called Stephanie. She sounded tense.

Later

It's 2 A.M. Exhausted but must write this down before sleep. The seance. All M.D.s and psychologists interested in channeling. They meet every Thursday night, like a poker game. Andrade explained that the purpose of the sessions was to heal certain people who had died but whose spirits were still tied to their biological experiences. People who had died unconsciously and were "caught between this world and the next," still experiencing their pain, the symptoms of the diseases that had caused their deaths. Andrade frequently functioned as a sort of spirit therapist. There was a medium, a beautiful middled-aged Brazilian woman named Regina. We all held hands and she went into a deep trance and "incorporated" a variety of "spirits," and Andrade engaged them in a sort of classical psychotherapy dialogue. Three cases, two men and a woman, and Regina's voice changed remarkably with each. The session was conducted in Portuguese.

Close of session, Regina seems tired, confused. The Lord's Prayer is recited and the lights are turned on and suddenly Regina starts speaking Spanish. A gentle, tremulous voice. "Where am I, God help me . . ." Andrade begins to speak to her. She is in great dis-

comfort and she is scared, her lips are so dry, such a hollowness in her chest. Andrade explains that she is now beyond death, no longer in her former body.

"That is confusing me. . . ."

"Look!" he says. "Look down. Feel your body." Regina's hands move over her dress.

"Are those your hands, your breasts?"

"No. . . . They are young."

Andrade tells her that she is occupying the body of a medium. Her spirit has regained consciousness and awakened from the nightmare she was caught in, not fully alive, not quite dead.

Then Regina looks at me and gasps.

"Bombi! Is that you, my little one?" I stand up, knock over my chair, and Regina throws herself into my arms. "Help me! Help me, please."

I go blank. Andrade and another pull her away from me and Andrade counsels her. I listen in a daze. Only my grandmother called me by that name. As I listen, Andrade encourages her, tells her to look about her and see that there were others there to help, that it is safe to reach out and be guided into the next world, and she starts to see things, identify her mother, her father, her husband—my grandfather—by name.

Her pain and discomfort diminish, she feels younger, stronger, and Andrade tells her that she is leaving the physical world, the nightmarish realm between the worlds.

She turns to me again and says:

"Thank you for being here. I will always love you and be with you. Take care of your father."

No one here knows about Maria Luisa.

Perhaps Regina was a sensitive. Perhaps she sensed my loss and obtained all the relevant names and information telepathically. I know no more now than I knew then, for I did not feel compelled to analyze the experience. Andrade was sympathetic, yet matter of fact about the whole thing. I was

moved, deeply, and admittedly consoled by the thought that my grandmother had been released from her suffering and allowed to die.

But I had had enough of death.

October 13

Could I have done more for her? Eased her suffering and helped her to die in Miami?

I'm returning to Peru. Tired of being stalked by death, cats, eagles. Booked a flight: São Paulo–Lima–Cuzco.

I suspect my "work of the West" started back on the *altiplano.* I'm going back to finish it.

12

Should this my firm persuasion of the soul's immortality prove to be a mere delusion, it is at least a pleasing delusion, and I will cherish it to my latest breath.

—Cicero

The news of Professor Morales's illness struck me as wholly unreasonable. There are some people that you never conceive of as unwell.

An intense-looking young man with wire rim glasses had taken over his classes, although the university was once again on strike. I introduced myself to him, and he told me that the professor had been away for more than a week with pneumonia.

"Can you tell me where he lives?"

He drew his head back and squinted at me. "You are a friend?"

"Yes," I said. "A very good friend."

"Pardon me, but you do not know his house?"

"No. We have spent most of our time together traveling."

His eyes widened behind his glasses. "Ah, I know you." He nodded. "You are the psychologist from California."

We shook hands and he directed me to a house ten or twelve blocks from the university. It was an old house of whitewashed adobe, and the walls were at least three feet thick. Small windows, tiled walkway, red-tiled roof. I knocked on the door and it was opened immediately by a fat, middle-aged man with a pencil mustache. His head was half-turned back into the room, and he was fiddling with the catch on an old black leather bag.

"*Penicillium notatum!* Mold, my friend! It grows on rotten fruit and ripe old cheese, and if you don't take the medicine, it'll probably grow on you! Just because it comes in a little white pill doesn't mean it isn't good for you!" The yellow rubber tube of a stethoscope was caught between the handles of the bag, and the man shoved it inside.

There was a cough inside and Antonio's voice: "Don't patronize me."

"Then stop being such a sanctimonious old fool! You have a visitor." The man turned to me and said excuse me, and he walked out, down the path and up the street. I pushed on the door and it swung open. The room was stocked with simple wooden furniture: chairs, a dining table. The ceiling was beamed and the walls covered with bookcases crammed with old volumes and artifacts. There was a window with a view of Salcantay and the ruins of the Inca fortress of Sacsayhuaman. Antonio stood by the window. He was wearing his traveling pants and *manta* shirt and tying a small bundle of something or other with a piece of string. He looked thin and pale, shadows around his eyes, but his face brightened as he turned to see me. He crossed the room in three steps and gave me an *abrazo*. He had certainly lost weight.

He pushed himself away and regarded me at arm's length. "So! Are you ready to travel?"

"Travel? But you're ill."

"No, no. I am convalescing."

"Who was that man?"

"Dr. Barrera. He is an old friend. We live to argue with one another." He lifted his poncho from the back of a small sofa. "Like George Bernard Shaw, I enjoy convalescence. It makes the illness worthwhile."

"Are you taking penicillin?"

"Of course. That and my own herbal preparations. I tell Barrera that I am not taking it. It irritates him so much." He chuckled. "I have been away from the countryside too long. My lungs congest when they are not refreshed."

"Where are we going?"

He lifted a long hardwood staff from its place in a corner near the door.

"To visit a man who has died," he said.

October 17

Second leg of the trip. Second bus. In spite of his good humor, Antonio is tired, and he is asleep in the seat across the aisle of this rattletrap. Have ridden buses through most of Latin America, but this is an experience. Pen jumping all over the page, but I've noth-

ing better to do, just thankful I have a seat. First bus, gave my seat to an old Indian woman with gas and stood in agony for two hours while she relieved herself and Antonio slept.

We travel to see Antonio's teacher in some rural hamlet north of Cuzco. Word came (how I don't know) that this old man is dying and Antonio is traveling to be with him. I gather the man we will meet (if we are in time) was his mentor. He referred to him as "the man I learned from."

Death. Again.

Traveling light this time. Just a daypack. Exhilarated.

We've stopped on the road. Barren *altiplano*. There is no sign, not a building or ploughed field in sight, but three women and a young boy with a pig and two chickens. I count only two seats. Here we go again.

We got off at a similar stop two and a half hours later. Although we were still on the *altiplano,* the character of the land was less wooded and reminded me of the Mexican chaparral: dense scrub, few trees, outcroppings of granite. We followed a dried-up riverbed until the sun set, and then made camp in the little gorge.

We built a fire and its light bounced off the walls of the *arroyo*.

"There are acts of power," said Antonio, "acts of confrontation with spirit, with Nature, with the unconscious mind, with life. Your decision to abandon traditional practice and venture into a realm unknown to you was such an act. Your confrontation with your past in Machu Picchu was such an act."

"And my work with Ramón?"

"No," he smiled. "That was more an act of boldness, of imprudence, although it was instructive. Curious, is it not, how the quest for an exhilarated state leads one to test themselves against death."

"The centers of pain and pleasure lie next to each other in the limbic brain," I said. "Although fear can paralyze us, it can also stimulate. Look at the warriors, the heroes of old."

"Fear is a volatile emotion." He drew a grenada fruit, green with brown speckles, from his bag. "Nothing so robs the mind of its powers as

fear, and, as Seneca said, such is the blindness of mankind that some men are driven to death by the fear of it." He pried the fruit in half and handed me a portion. "But you cannot face death by creating experiences that bring you near death. Death is the greatest act of power to the shaman. The spirit flight, the ecstatic state of the shaman, is a journey beyond death. To learn how to die is to learn how to live, for you are claimed by life and can never be claimed by death. In a sense the person of power spends a whole life learning how to die."

"The person who has already died," I said.

"The shaman is a spiritual warrior with no enemies in this life or the next, free from desire and fear: desire formed by our experiences of the past, and the fear of death that haunts our future. They are the twice-born, once of woman and once of Earth."

"The work of the South and the West."

"Yes. By making the journey West and facing the jaguar in life, the spiritual warrior not only frees himself to live in his present fully, but when death finally comes it will know him and he will know the way." The West is where the body and spirit, the *viracocha,* part." He wiped his hands on a red bandanna. "This is dying consciously, with your eyes open. The way to leave this world alive."

"Immortality?"

He shrugged. "The body is a vessel of consciousness, of life . . ."

"Of energy."

"Yes." He reached toward the fire and slowly passed his cupped hand through the flames, then made a fist and held it before me. "When one dies consciously, one leaves behind the vessel and identifies oneself with that which the vessel holds."

He opened his hand and, for the life of me, I thought I saw the light.

"And that is . . . ?"

"And that is God." He shrugged his shoulders. "The life force, energy, call it what you will. The stuff that dreams and the cosmos are made of."

Later

We travel not only to be with this old man, this teacher of Antonio's, but to share in his rite of passage, to partake in the final act of power of a shaman.

Sitting by the fire in a dried-up riverbed. Antonio has excused himself and wandered off to exorcise his mourning, so that he may be fully present to celebrate the death.

We are a half day's journey from the old man's home. We got off the bus because, as usual, the way we get to where we are going is as important as what we do when we get there.

I hoped out loud that we wouldn't be too late, and Antonio said no, we would be in good time, and I asked him how he knew.

"He will wait for me," he said.

Thinking of Maria Luisa.

Thinking of my father.

Thinking about mortality.

Dying to your flesh, born into your spirit. The body is a vessel of spirit, of energy, of consciousness. Remember comparing the psyche to a lagoon. Lagoon a place where the river widens, deepens, but the river flows through it. I sit in the bed of a river, but where is the stuff that this riverbed held? Where is the water that ran between these walls? Something stopped the water from flowing and that which was here continued on. To the ocean? And its particles will rise with evaporation and fall to Earth elsewhere to flow again in another riverbed, or to cut a new one in some far corner of the world. To nourish a plant, to flow through the veins of a blade of grass.

Stream, streams of consciousness.

Sitting in the corpse of a river.

Now, off in the distance, I can hear Antonio singing. What is it? Beautiful, faint, a melancholy tune.

Bone tired. I'll sleep.

We set off the next morning, and there was a lightness, a peaceful resolution to Antonio's manner that I had not seen before. I sensed that we were climbing most of the morning, and trees began to appear. The land was looking more familiar.

At midday we stopped by a solitary eucalyptus tree and ate yucca and

cornmeal and fruit, and Antonio cleared a small space at the base of the tree and dug a hole. From his bag he withdrew the little bundle that I had seen him tie together at his house.

"What is that?" I asked.

"Fishmeal." He opened the packet and held it under my nose and laughed at the face I made. He placed the paper-wrapped bundle in the hole and covered it over with soil and poured water over it from his *bota*.

"What's the idea?"

"The idea!" He sat back on his haunches and his face broke into a smile. The weariness was gone. It was as though his face was regaining its life, its health, its character. He leaned forward and slapped my knee with his palm. He was pleased that we were together again.

"The idea, my friend, is that you give something in return."

"In return for . . . ?"

"You know, or at least begin to suspect, that the plants as well as the animals have spirits. When you use a plant for sacred purposes, you connect with its spirit. That connection becomes unique to you. Last night I engaged with the spirit of the San Pedro to help me to summon my power so that I could attend to my old friend. I offer this fishmeal as a gift in return. One should always leave something: hide a crystal in Nature, plant a plant, bury a coin at a crossroads, even, to honor the gift, to give something in return for what you have been given. Fishmeal is a precious fertilizer from the coast."

"You used San Pedro last night?"

"Very little, nothing more than a homeopathic dose." He stood and filled his chest with the air of the high plateau. "My lungs are clearing. Let's go."

I had assumed that we were destined for a village, but, sometime before dusk, we crested a hill and there was a fringe of pine trees and, just before them, a *casita* with a low stone wall forming an enclosure for chickens and goats. There were a couple of burros wandering behind the house, and a young Indian boy was removing a simple saddle from the back of an old horse by the break in the wall.

Antonio told me to wait and he headed down the hill and I watched him disappear into the house. I started to feel self-conscious. Was it appropriate for me to be here? I saw one or two people move out into the enclosure and back inside. How many were there? Who were they?

They were friends. They were students, healers, shamans. They were *El*

Viejo's only living family, and there was a roomful of them, sitting in chairs and on stools arranged around a rocking chair in the center of the room. His only blood relation was a granddaughter in her fifties, who served little sesame cakes to those gathered.

Most of them were Antonio's age, early sixties, Indians. I counted six women and four men. El Viejo, the old shaman, sat in the rocking chair. He was a small man, shrunken with age, covered with a brightly woven Indian blanket. His hands were unusually large and liver spotted, the nails were long. His nose was arched and thin and seemed to start high on his forehead, also high and sloping, accentuated by baldness on top. The fringe of long gray-white hair that surrounded his pate was pulled back and tied in a ponytail, and his eyes, under sparse brows, were soft and gray. His skin was delicately wrinkled, like tissue paper, thin and pale, almost translucent; the only color was high on his cheekbones, a blotchy pinkness, wine-stained tissue paper. He was a remarkable-looking man.

Two of the visitors, a man with a white shirt buttoned up to his neck, and a young woman with a purple shawl, had left their seats for us, had moved to sit on burlap sacks against the wall. I felt like an interloper. I protested to Antonio.

"It is a place of honor," he whispered. "Accept it graciously."

He sat in a chair beside the old man, and I took the stool behind him. Next to me sat an old woman, a Peruvian crone with peppery gray hair parted in the center and braided on one side, the braid tied off with a strip of woven ribbon.

El Viejo squinted over at my companion and nodded his welcome, a corner of his mouth lifted in a grin, and Antonio placed his hand on his teacher's and spoke to him in Quechua. He mentioned my name and the soft gray eyes shifted in my direction, but did not seem to look at me. Like the eyes of a blind man, they had no focus. I smiled at him and he whispered something to Antonio and Antonio nodded. I felt the blood rushing to my face, felt lightheaded and embarrassed. Then Antonio placed his other hand on my knee, and I smelled something acrid, heard a crackling sound. The old woman was lighting a pipe, a long hardwood bowl carved into the face of a fanciful owl with a stem and bit of bone like an antler. She puffed the tobacco without inhaling and the smoke wafted across my face, and she touched Antonio's shoulder and he took it from her and handed it to the old man, who raised it ever so slowly to his lips and drew on it, inhaling the smoke of the glowing tobacco.

He exhaled through his nostrils, like a dragon, two narrow streams of white smoke, then blew it out his mouth and this stream caught those from his nose and carried them into the center of the room, and I noticed the bed there. The floor was wooden planks. There was an adobe fireplace or stove in one corner, and each of the four walls had a large latched wood-framed window.

The old man handed the pipe to Antonio and he drew the tobacco deep into his lungs and I thought about his recent pneumonia. Then he handed it back to the crone, and this time she inhaled before passing it to the man on her left. El Viejo closed his eyes while the pipe was passed to each of the guests, and the room filled with its pungent fumes, stronger than any cigar, stronger even than Ramón's jungle tobacco, but the windows stayed closed. Not a word was spoken. No one save Antonio and the old man had breathed a sound since our entrance, and when the pipe had made the circuit and come back to the crone, she touched my arm and offered it to me. She smiled, a crack in her face, and I took it and looked at the old shaman and he opened his eyes and inclined his head and I drew on the bone bit, inhaled, and thought that my lungs would explode.

I coughed out the smoke and doubled over in an uncontrollable paroxysm of coughing. The crone turned to her neighbor and made a wisecrack about *"el jovencito,"* the young one, and the room laughed. The ice was broken and she patted me on the shoulder and took the pipe from me.

"What *is* this?" I whispered, not out of respect, but because I was still fighting for breath.

"The most powerful *huaman* tobacco," said Antonio. "Its spirit is the falcon, and it is visionary although it is nothing but tobacco. You are an honored guest."

"Thanks." I looked around the room and they were smiling. The old man's granddaughter was at my side. She offered me a sesame cake and I thanked her. She moved to her grandfather's side and whispered in his ear, and he nodded and lifted his hand as though to acknowledge her words. There was a murmuring of Quechua behind me, and I half-turned to see a middle-aged couple holding hands, heads together, staring at me in a distracted way. I smiled and gave them a nod, and they looked almost embarrassed, smiling back at me. Then Antonio touched my shoulder. He cleared his throat and leaned close.

"We need to perform a healing," he said.

"Uh huh?"

"The room has been cleansed with sage and tobacco and all present have prepared themselves, cleansed themselves, for El Viejo's death. When he makes his final journey to the West, he will go alone, the moment is his."

"Yes?"

"A number of the guests have noted the presence of another, uninvited."

"I'll leave," I said, anxious not to interfere.

"No, no. You have been invited. You are an honored guest. It is not you, it is a spirit that you have brought with you."

"What?"

"I do not know how I missed it. Perhaps my illness. It is very clear now."

"What is?"

"A woman who has died. Her spirit is still attached to your heart chakra." He touched my chest. Beside me, the crone was loading the pipe from a cloth pouch.

"They can see this?"

He nodded. "A dim bubble of light, connected to you by a cord, like an umbilical cord of light. El Viejo has asked that we perform a simple healing and release this soul. They have agreed."

I turned and looked at the people seated behind me. It was one of the eeriest sensations I have ever felt. They were looking not at me, but at something before me, something near my chest. Maria Luisa? The old witch had the pipe going now, and she drew the smoke deep into her lungs, eyes closed, then opened them and blew the smoke at a spot eighteen inches or so from my neck. There was a tapping sound and I looked to see the old man, the dying shaman, tapping the arm of his chair with the fingernail of his middle finger. Tap . . . tap . . . every two seconds.

"Turn around," said Antonio, and I shifted on my stool to face the gathering. The crone had started to hum, a low, resonant sound with no melody, and it was met by a similar sound at a higher octave by the second person to blow smoke at my chest, pass the pipe, close her eyes. Others were lighting their own pipes, filling them from the crone's cloth pouch, inhaling the acrid fumes, and soon I was enveloped in a cloud of dense *huaman* smoke, and the room was vibrating to the haunting sound of the shamans' song.

"Close your eyes," said Antonio. "Concentrate on this spirit. Exercise your vision."

I closed my eyes, watery with tears from the smoke, and felt Antonio's fingers tapping a circle on my forehead. I thought of Maria Luisa, the seance in São Paulo. . . . There was talk in the room, someone giving an opinion and another agreeing.

"What is happening?" I asked Antonio, without opening my eyes.

"They are directing energy toward her. She is glowing with their love. They are charging her spirit so that it can free itself from you."

There was a general murmur now.

"What are they saying?"

"She is angry with you, this woman. You have taken something from her." I felt the warm bowl of the pipe placed in my hands. "Take the smoke and give it to her. She died in a hospital, and you have taken her dignity."

I placed the stem between my lips and drew the smoke into my mouth and exhaled. El Viejo coughed.

"Hurgó los huesos. . . ." He picked at the bones. . . .

Antonio said, "You have picked at the bones of one who has not yet died. She is not free."

I opened my eyes and the smoke was there, suspended before me, egg shaped, the size of a watermelon.

"You have taken something from her. . . ."

My hand flew to my chest. My medicine pouch, a leather pouch, a gift from Stephanie.

". . . her head. . . ."

I grabbed the leather thong at my neck and pulled the pouch out from under my shirt, opened the flap, and withdrew the slide, a microscope slide dipped in plastic, a slide containing a microthin slice of Jennifer's brain. The crone drew in her breath through her teeth, a gentle hiss. There was an astonished silence.

The man with the white shirt stood up.

"What is that?" Antonio.

"It is a slide, for a microscope. A human brain."

He raised an eyebrow. "Why do you carry it with you?"

"I . . . a friend gave it to me."

"You carry it like an object of power," he said.

"It is," I said. "For me. I . . . learned more from this brain . . . from holding this brain in my hands . . ."

"Do you see her spirit? Do see how she is attached to this?"

"No. I thought I saw . . ."

"You must make peace with her. Free her spirit. She is ready now. She has stayed with you because through you she can find her final rest. It is not your fault. Spirits are drawn to light, like fireflies to a burning candle. Go. Go outside into the woods and offer this to her, return it to her and release her. She can go now, you will perform her final healing."

I looked at him pleadingly.

"I will explain it to them," he said. "Come back when you are through."

I stood and the room rocked, shifted dizzily, and I steadied myself, a hand on Antonio's shoulder.

October 18

We must find our own ritual. We must find our own ceremony, our own access to the realms of consciousness that exist within and without.

Writing has become an ingredient of my ritual, and I faithfully execute it here, within the tree line of the little wood beside El Viejo's *rancho*. Waiting in the dark.

Jennifer, a woman I never knew, could never come to know because I can't find the essence of life or self by picking at the bones of the dead. I don't know how you died, but I can guess that your moment came in a hospital bed while the healthy and the living did everything they could to keep you in their world.

You may have been well schooled in living, but surely, death was unfamiliar to you and came early and you fought it and if you have been somehow attached to your physical body, the vessel that held you, I am sorry. Sorry that it was not honored, that you were not helped to be free from it before it was defiled. It is our tradition.

Now, I am sure that your body has been burned and the Sun has been released from the flesh and all that is left is this morsel of tissue that is yours.

But all that was you has not ceased to be, and isn't it a wonder

that your spirit should follow the last remnant of flesh and find freedom here, so far from home, in the company of such remarkable men and women.

I have broken the slide and removed what it held and buried it here, near the base of a pine tree.

I feel your presence.

Will this place be a reference for you?

Thank you for what you taught me. I will cherish the knowledge in my head and your spirit in my heart. Forever.

I begin to understand what is sacred.

I spent more than an hour there in the woods with Jennifer. The moon had passed between the Earth and the Sun. A new moon, a crescent sliver, and the night was unusually dark. When I returned to the house the room had been filled with candles. The windows were open now, but no wind disturbed the fifty or so tapers of light. The old shaman was lying on the bed in the center of the room, and the crone was singing a faint melody. I took my place on the stool, behind Antonio, beside the crone, four feet from the old man's body. His head turned toward me as I sat, and he stared at me, stared into my eyes and my mind went blank, blank like the gray of his eyes. Then he coughed a shallow cough and turned his head away, eyes toward the ceiling, and he closed them.

The *shush-shush* of a rattle started up somewhere behind me, and someone whistled, like you whistle when you call to a bird, and a song started, a murmured chant, and it was as though this simple song was a vehicle that carried with it the peace that settled on the room. I leaned forward slightly and saw that Antonio's eyes were closed. Before us the old shaman's chest was rising . . . and falling, and a sort of tremor shivered through him. I wanted to take his pulse. Instead I closed my eyes and allowed my body to measure itself to the rhythms of the rattle and song. . . . Found myself transported effortlessly to a state of serenity, perfect harmony with the song. . . .

It was much later when I opened my eyes, and the recent past had the feeling of a dream. I woke to the dream of the room, the faces, the dying man before me. The rhythm of the rattle, constant. The old man's breathing, slow and regular, and the rattle shook thirteen times for each breath. There

was time to count the breaths, time to feel the texture of the air, the charge of it, the sweet intensity of it. The candles had burned low since I had closed my eyes.

There was rapture in the air, on the faces of these men and women, these students of El Viejo, and it was bewitching, as tangible as the smell of spring in April.

Then Antonio half-turned to look at me, and I realized that I had been staring at the old man, the rise and fall of his chest, counting the thirteen shakes of the rattle, breathing with him. Antonio reached out and touched my left temple with his middle finger, then tapped, drummed his fingertips, in a circle on my forehead.

"Look," he whispered. "Look carefully."

I let my focus go, and my eyes shifted to a spot six inches above the old man's chest, and there it was, that intangible form, a hazy violet hue there . . . and gone . . . there again, disappearing with each long breath, rising with every exhalation.

The crone squeezed my left hand. I turned and looked at her, then down at her brown, callused hand, dry and cool. I covered her hand with my right hand and nodded, and her eyes wrinkled with a smile. She raised the pipe to her lips and inhaled and blew the smoke at me, dipped her head and neck and blew it from my lap up, up my chest to my face, and there was something wondrous about her face and the dip of her head and neck, something tender, caressing. Something almost erotic.

She put the pipe into my hands, clammy, palms sweaty. The rattle stopped and the room hummed with silence.

When I turned my head, I could hear the cartilage crackle in my neck.

I couldn't see the energy body; the glow was gone. I saw the old man's body convulse once, twice, and sigh in the silence.

And I raised my eyes to an orb, a luminous ball of opalescent light, cords of light spiraling from his forehead, wrapping around it, blending into it, a radiant egg supported by a helix of spiraling light, and if I looked at it, it was gone, so I focused on empty space, for it could be perceived, but not seen.

Then Antonio took the pipe from my hands. I had forgotten that I was holding it. He puffed on it and the last ember glowed and caught the dry tobacco. He rose and blew the smoke across the dead man's forehead, and, as though out of the top of my vision, I saw the *viracocha* pulsate and scatter into a thousand points of light, like the light you see when you close your

eyes and press on the lids. They scattered through the room, leaving trails, tracers of light, and seemed to touch the heads of the old man's students and the rattle went *shush* and when I looked again, the orb was back, hovering in the center of the room, and Antonio was standing with the granddaughter beside the shaman's body, dipping his fingers in a bowl of herbs and touching the shaman's chakras, his kneecaps, the soles of his feet, his elbows and hands.

And there were hands on mine. The old woman to my left, the man with the white shirt to my right. Antonio and the granddaughter were joined by others, and we stood, hands joined in a circle, and the old woman beside me sang a plaintive song. Her voice sounded like a flute, and I recognized the weird melody. I had heard it the night before, heard Antonio singing it in the night. It was the song of the woods, the high plateau, the song to summon the spirits of the grass and the pines, for, as Antonio later explained, the elementals, the forces of Nature that were El Viejo's power animals, had been set free. And I saw the energy body, the light of this old soul swirl and dissipate like a drop of dye in a glass of swirling water, and Antonio led me to the window, rubbed my forehead, stimulated my vision, and said: "Breathe. Breathe deeply and look quickly!"

For that instant the woods were alive with a light like I had seen in the jungle, radiant halos outlining the trees with pinpricks of light like fireflies scattering, flashing, playing in the spaces between the trees, and the tops of the pines swayed ever so slightly and the scent of the pines swept on a breeze through the room.

The candles wavered, and the smoke cleared. And the song ended.

13

Every parting gives a foretaste of death.

—Schopenhauer

The morning after the death of the old shaman, the party feasted on fried yucca, fruits, breads, and cornmeal. The mood was festive and there was much talk, mostly about local diseases and afflictions. Antonio explained that these people had traveled great distances to be present for the old man's birth into the spirit world, that they were shamans, healers, all touched by the teachings of El Viejo. He smiled at the mood of the group. Their joy, he said, was from the knowledge that the spirit of their teacher was with them fully now that he was free from the confines of this world.

The old man's *mesa* was laid out, and each of his students went to it and took an object: a staff, a crystal, a stone, ancient objects of power; and there was no argument, no hesitation or indecision. Antonio told me that specific objects had been given to them during the old man's death. They had been told what was theirs by the spirit of the shaman.

October 19

We left the house near the woods at about 11 A.M. We talked about immortality.

The knowledge that we are made of somatic and spiritual matter is fundamental to the shamanic experience. If one learns during their lifetime to separate themselves from the physical body, to experience themselves as "beings of light," to learn the spirit flight, one may die consciously, die to the flesh and be born into the spirit—a

spirit that one has already met and claimed. If one does not die consciously, one's energy body returns to the "Great Pool of Consciousness."

When I pressed Antonio to explain this Great Pool, he shook his head. I hate it when he does that.

"It is a metaphor of the myth," he said, "a poetic expression of a concept. Leave it at that. If you are not satisfied with the image, then form your own, my friend, but do not base it on the experience of others."

"All right," I conceded. "But this . . . *individuation* of the spirit: is it believed that by dying consciously you maintain your individuality after death?"

"Individuality?" he asked. "Now there is a muddy concept. If you must insist on reducing everything to theoretical formulas, you would do better to be more precise."

"Damn it!" I stopped, shrugged off my daypack, and dropped it on the ground. "I'm trying to understand with the means that I'm accustomed to!"

"Yes," he said, "you are in a delicate position. You are on the path of experience. A path that will lead you to understanding. Caught between two worlds, between a waking state and a dream state. You have experienced power, yet you are still confused by the difference between your experience and your beliefs. But your beliefs are based on the theories of others."

"Theory is important," I said. "For God's sake! Theory is what allows us to exercise foresight! It's what has led the human race into the future: think ahead, propose a possibility, test it, prove it, move forward. Neocortical thinking, logic is a fact, a forum of Western thought. It cannot be discounted just because other cultures approach the mystery of the cosmos from the opposite direction! Besides, even Western science is ending up in the mystical realm. Look at quantum physics. . . ."

"What will I see?" he said.

"What you already know. That consciousness is a determining factor of reality. That the outcome of an event is influenced by the observation of the event. That a photon, subatomic light, is not a wave and not a particle. It is neither and it is both. It's astonishing! The whole process of the Western scientific method is based on reduction. . . ." I started ticking off points on my fingers. "We're trying to explain brain function by studying the molecular biology of the central nervous system. Molecular biology is stud-

ied in terms of atomic physics, and atomic physics is the realm of quantum mechanics, the uncertainty principle: the observation of an event influences its outcome, the mind of the observer is integral to determining the nature of reality."

"So," he said. "Scientific reductionism has reduced itself to consciousness. Physicists are becoming poets."

"Yes. The study of the human mind inevitably turns to the consciousness of the one who studies."

"And the new shamans will come from the West."

"What?"

"It is a vision I once had," he said.

He lifted my pack from the ground and handed it to me. "Now," he said. "For the sake of theory, let us say that one may maintain not *individuality,* but integrity of consciousness after death."

I slipped the pack over my shoulders. "All right," I nodded, and we continued on.

"What does that suggest to you?"

"Immortality," I said.

"And?"

"I'm not sure. It's like infinity. How do you resolve such a concept in a practical way?"

"How do you apply quantum mechanics to everyday life?" he challenged. "Does quantum theory teach you how to walk on the Earth? How to change the weather? How to identify yourself with the creative principle, with Nature, with the Divine? Does it teach you how to live every moment of your life as an act of power? No. Theory. Logic. Conceptualizations. Games to amuse ourselves with something that transcends all human research and conscious thought." Now it was his turn to stop and face me.

"It is through the experience of life through death that one becomes a spiritual warrior and identifies oneself with the life force." He held his hand in a fist before me, reminding me of the fire of two nights ago. "My old teacher has died to his flesh and yet maintained the integrity of his consciousness. You, on the other hand, have maintained the integrity of your body. You exercise your body, but your consciousness atrophies. El Viejo knew the truth for most of his life, and he walked in the snow without leaving tracks. Not literally, my friend, but mythically, poetically."

He placed his hand on my shoulder. "Our brains are not seventy-two-year clocks. We are not connected to this Earth for a finite time between

birth and death. And the Divine does not come from somewhere above, it exists beyond time and space, and informs life. The Earth is our home, and once we have transcended the shadow play that we call biological reality and identified ourselves with the Divine force, we realize that we have no choice but to become caretakers of this Earth." He turned and walked ahead.

"Caretakers of the Earth," I said, and caught up to him.

"It is our responsibility. Ours." He spread his arms, gestured toward the land around us. "Honor thy mother and thy father. Mother Earth and Father Sun. The person of knowledge has no choice."

"And the new shamans will come from the West?"

"Of course," he said.

October 20

Last night, after eating, Antonio drew a mimosa seed pod from his little bag.

I looked to the edge of the little pine wood where we were camped and recognized it from my dreams.

Déjà vu.

"You have imagined this?"

I looked at the pod, dried and wrinkled, four inches, curved. "I have dreamed it," I said.

"You have imagined it," he said. "We have imagined it together."

"Dreamed together."

"Where does the imagination come from?" he asked. "Freud and Jung felt that it came from the unconscious, and that the unconscious spoke to us in our dreams. Close your eyes and imagine. Close your eyes and see things. See with your eyes closed. Dream."

"We dreamed together."

He nodded. "A shaman will often begin a lesson on such a fundamental level."

"Consciously?" I asked.

He bowed his head over the object in his hand, and the firelight shone on his silver-gray hair. "That word begins to lose its meaning, does it not?"

I shook my head. "No. I still know when I am conscious. It's the reality of my experience that has lost definition."

"The planes of reality," he said, without lifting his head, "are the levels

of the possibly conscious. You can slip between them." He raised his head and looked at me. "Willingly."

He leaned forward and placed the pod on the fire. There was still some moisture in the thing, and as it evaporated in the heat of the fire, it twisted, writhed a half-turn, and its wrinkled surface browned before it caught flame.

"You must go back to the jungle. Complete your work of the West."

"I've finished with the South, haven't I?"

"No. One is never finished. Remember that the medicine wheel is a circle. A great spiral. You have entered the world of myth and have encountered elements of your past. And you have begun to shed the skin of rational thought that you have worn these years. The past has begun to lose its grip on you, and death is stalking you like that cat."

His eyes shifted and I turned to look back, over my shoulder, into the darkness.

"And there is the eagle that is waiting to prey on you. You must return to Ramón, return to that lagoon."

I nodded and Antonio shook his head. "Do not fool yourself," he said. "Do not think that once you have reconciled yourself with your past and freed yourself from death and the fear of the future that you will live the life of a warrior, that you will step fully into your present as a person of power. Do not be trapped by the simplicity of this theory. The present does not last. It is past even as we revel in it. You are still standing in the shadow of the mystery. It is the shadow you cast. Your shadow."

"But the person of power, of knowledge, walks in the snow without leaving tracks. Casts no shadow."

"Many who travel along the Medicine Wheel become seduced by its power. Few complete the circle, commune with the ancient ancestors and their knowledge in the North and overcome their power in the East to become persons of knowledge, children of the Sun." He smiled up at me from across the fire. "And if you wish to take the metaphor literally, consider the one thing that casts no shadow."

"And that is?"

October 21

The Sun is the only thing that casts no shadow.

Are energy and consciousness the same? The energy of the Sun is the energy of all life—all matter, for that matter—an energy that forms all structures as there is a consciousness that informs all life.

We returned to Cuzco and I made a reservation on a morning flight to Pucallpa.

October 24

Came to Peru to experience the *ayahuasca* and was introduced to Death. Came to Peru to find a shaman and found a roomful.

Tomorrow I return to the jungle, return to the garden.

Eighty thousand year ago we acquired a thinking brain, a reasoning machine that set us apart from Nature. In one quantum long-jump, the brain nearly doubled in size. We could evaluate. Reason. Think. And the hand of Nature was joined by the hand of man.

There is a Gideon Bible in the drawer beside the bed in this hotel room. "And Jehovah God went on to say: 'Behold, the man has become like one of us in knowing good and bad, and now that he may not put forth his hand and take fruit also of the tree of life and eat and live to time indefinite—' With that Jehovah God put him out of the garden of Eden to cultivate the ground from which he had been taken."

I return to the garden to put forth my hand and eat of the tree of life everlasting.

Spoke with Stephanie. She sounded long distant. Must return to the States for some last-minute editing for *Realms of Healing,* so I'll recover from the jungle on the plane ride home. Will meet Antonio at the airport in the A.M. to say goodbye. For how long?

Antonio never came.

I telephoned the school, but there was no answer. I waited until the last possible moment, then boarded the twin-engine plane for Pucallpa. I was scheduled to return in five days. I would have a couple of hours in Cuzco before my connection to Lima and home. I could see him then, surely, take a taxi to the school and see him before I left.

Nevertheless, I felt uneasy. Why hadn't he come? There was so much to say.

14

The eyes are not responsible when the mind does the seeing.

—Pubilius Syrus

I was in time to catch the bus at the Pucallpa airfield. In time to stand in the breeze of the old Westinghouse fan and drink a *cuzceña* at the bar. The barman remembered me.

I got off at kilometer sixty-four and looked for the banana palm that had marked the entrance to the path, but it had grown such that I could not identify it, and I had to guess.

There was something in the air, something that penetrated even the pungent pulpiness of the jungle. Something that had settled in the clearing around Ramón's house. He was there, his back to me, stooped over a thick, twisted tree branch on the sand. He straightened as I emerged from the trees, turned, and I saw that he held a machete in his hand. We stood there, motionless, looking at each other across thirty feet of clearing. I smiled and he squinted at me, then raised his eyes and tilted back his head to look at the sky. There was no sign of recognition or surprise, no friendliness. He sniffed once or twice and lowered his gaze to mine.

"What is it?" I asked.

"Burning," he said. He shook his head and looked at the ground.

October 25

Somewhere to the south, far to the south, thirty or forty kilometers to the south, the jungle is burning. Chains are slung between tractors and the life of the jungle is stripped and burned to create grazing land for cattle. Beef for U.S. food chains. And the waste is precious—exotic hardwoods.

Never a man of many words, Ramón is particularly taciturn. There is a darkness about him. He is alone here and I hesitated to ask after his wife and daughter. When I did, he just nodded. "We need rain," he said, and it is raining now, a torrent in the pitch darkness. An Old Testament kind of rain. To stop the fires? To wash away the white men?

How does he feel? Angry, resentful. I am welcomed begrudgingly. Somewhere the jungle is burning and a white man walks out of it and into his home.

Uneasy. If I feel this way in the morning, I will leave.

I slept too late. It was almost noon when I awoke. The rain had stopped and the jungle was steaming. Something was brewing on the brazier over the fire in the sand and Ramón was gone.

I wandered. To the bend in the little river where I had bathed and written in my journal years before. I followed the little stream, wading where there was no shore, where the jungle had overgrown the mud and sand banks. An hour's wandering, meandering, and there was another bank, a stretch of sand and a path, and I followed it to a clearing a hundred feet into the jungle, where there was a ruin, some sort of building, a small temple perhaps, draped with the ornamentation of the jungle, eight hundred years of growth, vine-worn grooves in smooth granite blocks. The friction of time. A scene from a nineteenth-century explorer's lithograph. There were the remnants of a fire in the center of the clearing, wet with the night's rain. Who came here? Did Ramón?

I started across the clearing, toward the ruin. Suddenly the jungle stopped.

The cicada hiss stopped. The high-pitched cacophony of the birds and the insects, the chatter and hum that fills the heat and throbs in the heavy atmosphere of the Amazon, ceased, suddenly, and the last sound was the squish of my footfall before I stopped, and listened to the silence.

October 26

Sitting on the sand by the lagoon. Late afternoon, watching these two ducks cleave the surface. At the far shore they feed, rolling forward, tail to the sky, then back, shaking the water from their heads, working their bills.

Paradisiacal place. The jungle is simmering all around.

Sh-sh-sh-sh, ssssss.

I can close my eyes and lose myself in the sound, open them on this little body of water that has become for me a symbol. I have mythologized this place, sanctified it in my imagination and it has become for me a place of power, somewhat sacred. Magical things have happened here; it exists in my mind—a place to come to in the twilight. A landscape of my imagination, my consciousness? But I am here now. Really here.

A rational construct.

I am here, writing.

A conceptual construct.

But I really am here, now.

As I write this.

I can exist here for a moment, realize that I am here, write that I am here, thus the writing of it represents reality twice removed.

There is a point to be made here and it has something to do with the difference between book-read philosophy that we understand with our thinking minds and applied philosophy—direct experience. The experience of the abstract happens in a different place. Perhaps because experience involves the whole brain, the whole body, the whole consciousness and not just that part, that fraction that we use to think.

So who has the direct experience? The elite? The men and women moved to go forth and touch the mystery become the subject of myth and religion and through them the mass of humanity experiences spirit vicariously. The heros. Difference between experience and faith.

Sure. And, though Buddha and Christ, Mohammed and Black Elk may all have touched the Divine, experienced power and loosed themselves in the stream of consciousness that informs all life, the commonality of their experience has been lost in the telling or, rather, the enforcement of the telling, and experiences and knowledge that should unite all humanity have divided the world because a common experience has been told in different ways.

Sacred places.

There is a place in the jungle. An hour from here. Something chilled me there. Something. . . .

I'll go back there, though the thought scares me. Fear. That's what I've come for. I think I'll

"Have you eaten?"

I had not heard him approach, but he was by my side. He sat beside me in the sand. I closed my journal and said no. He nodded, stared across the lagoon.

"You are welcome here," he said.

"Thank you," I said. "I was not certain. . . ."

He shook his head. "They . . ." he looked to the south, "do not see," he said slowly, "the Nature . . ." he looked into my eyes, ". . . of things."

Later

The *Nature* of *things*.

Ramón is a man of few words.

"There is an eagle following you."

I shifted on the sand, the better to face him.

"Yes," I said, "I . . . am sorry."

He frowned. "Sorry?"

"Your daughter. . . ."

He cocked his head and looked at me sideways. "She was honored," he said. He shook his head and almost smiled.

"Honored? But the eagle . . ." I stood up, my back to the lagoon. "You did not send the eagle?"

"No," he said simply.

"But I have been told, and . . . I *feel* that it is not mine."

"It isn't," he said. "It is from a man of great power. A man to the North. The one you have worked with."

"Antonio?"

He shrugged his shoulders and nodded his head at the simple fact.

"He told me that *you* had sent it!"

Ramón's eyes opened wide. He coughed out a laugh and shook his

head as though to shake away the grin that was tugging at his mouth. He stood and walked away toward the brazier. He bent over to stir the embers, and it was the only time I ever saw him laugh. Doubled over, hands on his knees. It may have been the funniest thing he'd ever heard.

I spent the afternoon with Ramón, watching him prepare the *ayahuasca,* cut and mash plants and roots and vines.

"Go back to that place," he said, as the sun began to sink into the jungle.

"What place?"

"Where you were."

"This morning?"

He nodded.

"What do I do there?"

"Sit." He poured the broth from the hanging pot into a wooden bowl, and I followed him to the hollow *chihuahuaco* tree. He placed the yagé inside. "Prepare yourself. Summon your power. We will take the *yagé* tomorrow night. Come back when you are ready."

How vivid are the sensations of that night. Retracing my steps along the river bank and through the water and along the path when the sun had set and the jungle play of shadows had resolved itself into darkness. Eyes adjusting, stepping into that tiny clearing before the ruin, a looming blackness, for the moon was not yet high.

Surrounded by the fear I had felt in the daylight, returning to it in the night. Sixth-sense fear as heavy as the air in which it lived. I remember sniffing the back of my hand, my forearm, its hair matted smooth with sweat. Was I smelling the fear? The jungle noise was its nocturnal self, the sounds distinct, *vibrato, staccato,* the long treble hiss. The only thing between me and the darkness and whatever lived in it were the clothes that I wore.

I lost the fear by giving myself to it, offering myself to it, tearing off my clothes, clumsily, hands shaking, and . . .

What am I doing?

Standing alone and naked in the middle of the Amazon. Trembling in the heat, defenseless in the claustrophobic darkness, the smell of my fear, sweat, stench of mosquito repellent, radiating out from the clearing.

But the foolishness that I felt, that peculiar brand of humiliation, was, I think, a symptom of my fear: something to feel instead. My eyes darted here and there. The moon was on the rise, and I began to see things in the periphery of my vision, different shades of darkness.

I sat on my shirt and closed my eyes and meditated on the sounds, trying to separate the birds from the insects, far-off shrieking from nearby cicadas. . . .

If you stare at a violinist in a symphony orchestra, you can almost separate the sound of that particular instrument from the rest, so I breathed from my stomach and conjured up images, visualizations of the creatures of the jungle, focused on their sounds, the tick-tick-tick of a hard-shelled horned beetle, the chuckle and cluck of a giant macaw somewhere . . . far off . . . and there was the *plap* of a drop of water on a broad, waxy, green, elephant ear palm. . . . Filter out the sounds, hear how the rest dissipate in the darkness . . . silence themselves.

And there was my breathing. The thudding of my heart. Quickening. The passing of leaves, vines, low to the ground.

I was moving. And breathing.

And I could smell myself beyond the moist tangle of the jungle.

Moving like a shadow.

Sitting, sweating, naked in the moonlight.

I slept there that night. Awoke and the memory of the cat, the memory of myself, brought me to my feet. I slipped into my trousers, tied my shirt around my waist, and followed the path to the river.

I cleansed myself in the water, followed the stream like an Ariadne thread, out of the maze of the jungle, back to Ramón's.

It begins with a sound.

I lay back on the sand, on a flat spot near the brazier, twenty feet from the water. The air was warm and moist. Mosquitoes whined near candle flames, the candles stuck in the sand. The smoke from Ramón's pipe hung over me in the humidity. Suffocating smoke married with the moisture in the air. Heavy.

I felt fine. I had spent the day fasting, sitting by the bend in the river,

writing, reviewing, reliving the recent past. I had even stripped and cleansed my chakras in the water that flowed through the lagoon and around the bend, rubbed my body with leaves that Ramón said would keep the mosquitoes away.

I had taken stock of my thoughts and feelings. For each of them I had chosen an object: my clinical curiosity—Would this night's ritual replay the events of the first?—this was a triangle of paper torn from a page in my journal; the security I felt, my courage in facing the darkness and the jaguar of the night before, was a sharp sliver of wood; my expectations, my desire for an experience of transcendence, was a braid I fashioned from three strips of palm; my confidence that I would come back, that I would go beyond the moment of near-death and return to life, was a leaf with five points, like a hand. Each of these I placed in the stream, like offerings into a fire. I watched them float away. The open-palmed leaf touched the edge of the bank and turned, rotated a full 360 degrees, before disappearing around the bend.

Now, on the sand, I felt my potency, although my preparedness nagged at me. Must separate my desire to serve this ritual from the experience. Ramón had nodded satisfaction as he handed me the cup of *yagé*, and again as he blew the smoke over me. Had he felt my strength?

Looking up at the stars, I remembered the moment when the light met at the ceiling of Ramón's hut and fell, opening its jaws to me. That was a long time ago. How would this be different?

This? What?

Wait. I am waiting for it. The stars are in their place. The moon, so full, lights the clearing, as it should. Ramón has danced a circle in the sand and cleansed me with tobacco and we have smoked and I have taken the *ayahuasca* and all that I feel is the discomfort of an associative memory: the bitter aftertaste of the *yagé* and the memory of a nausea that I do not feel. This time. Stop comparing. Expecting. Investing the moment with anything but your presence.

Look at you! You're sitting up! Looking at Ramón as if to say, Is everything all right? What's happening to me? Is anything happening to me? Lie down. Lie back down. But Ramón's eyes . . . he is a sorcerer. Look at those eyes! He's not just a shaman, a master of the West, a gardener in this Eden. He is a trickster. He could do anything with me.

Do you know what I am thinking?

He nods, his head inclines forward, not a nod, he's looking. Down. The serpent beside the leg stretched out before me, my leg. The snake, dappled gray in the moonlight, opens its mouth between my legs.

It begins with a sound.

Like a cataract. Water rushing to the Earth. A great falls, roaring, water mistified. . . .

It takes both of my hands to grasp the snake below its jaws, forked tongue in midflick as it opens its pink membranous mouth. I know you.

All throat, all muscle, it works its way through my grip, scales sliding this way and that against my fingers and palms.

"Cannot conquer me the way you conquer women. Cannot subdue me the way you subdue yourself."

Back and forth the great head shifts through my grip. Back and forth to the song Ramón is singing. Snake charmer humming Satchamama, serpent, spirit of Lake Yarinacocha, protector of the garden, giver of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Archetype, wrapped around my leg, sliding toward me, my trouser leg bunching up, pulled by its scales.

I let go and its head falls with a thud on my stomach, a sickening blow. Pass over me that I may cleanse myself of this foulness in my stomach.

Black-and-white jungle. Film noir. Moonlight wash. Ramón stops me at the edge of the trees.

"No. Here."

Follow the line from his finger to the sand, drop to my knees and vomit, roaring from the bottom of my stomach, a wide-mouth primal sound that echoes back from the wall of foliage, a hundred voices, screaming back at me, Ramón, blowing smoke at me, moving closer and filling me with his strength, body humming from the inside out, like a sonic vibration starting deep within, a green-and-violet hum.

And I stand and the jungle around me wavers wetly, sickeningly. The trees, the brush, the vines, the leaves, green now and luminous, liquify and run in rivulets into the lagoon.

Fluid jungle flowing into the sand, running in rivulets toward the lagoon, and I, standing witness, watching the waters until . . .

There was nothing but the lagoon, the water rising as the jungle ran into it. Water rising, at my ankles, warm and invigorating. I dipped my hand into its phosphorescence, and the water crystallized on my fingertips, sand drops falling, and I walked down, down into the desert beneath the water.

There, beneath the surface, the sky was a web, a holy architecture of

stars connected by strands of crystalline light, a star at every crossing, every star an intersection of every strand, every star connected with every other, each a mirror reflecting the whole, the fabric of the universe, a three-dimensional filigree, and I knew that I traveled along that infinite pathway, every juncture an act of power, of choice, leading me to the next . . . all infinite possibilities.

Lost in it. Seduced. By this creature, this holy woman, this essential, sensual Madonna before me, her back to me now, clothed in a mantle of feathers with eyes, a thousand brown feathers, the feathers of an owl, flecked with silver, standing just beyond my reach, facing away, her head turning, slowly, face obscured by a veil made from this fabric in the sky. I reach out to pull it away, but my fingers brush the air an inch from her face.

"How many times must I call you to come to me, my son?"

Move! Nearer. She is still. Another step forward. Reach for it, but no, again, so close to seeing the face behind the veil, a face that is laughing with such sweet music that I am overcome by its joy and fall to my knees in the sand. Back into the sand and the web of the sky is broken, torn to shreds. Something is moving between me and it.

Again, the eagle, wings stretching, shrieking toward me out of the night, blotting out the architecture of the night, but for what? You're not a scavenger and this flesh is dead, cold. Lividity has set in and the blood has stopped flowing and seeks the lowest point, collects in the veins and arteries, and in the capillaries and cavities in my back, lying on my back, flesh mortifying, dead already, food for flies and condors, worms and ants. I'll be dismembered and carried away piece by piece now, so why do you bother and why do you fly away so swiftly?

I see the cat approaching; the eagle soars away, into the blackness.

I can have two thoughts at once, three. I can see an infinity of things concurrently, because time is like that sky, no beginning and no end, and every moment is a reflection of every other. And vision takes no time.

Where is *she*? And what was it that she said . . . ?

Rays of sunlight beam toward me, skewer the darkness, play an every-colored spectrum across the plain of the desert, piercing the night from a tunnel source on the treeless horizon and along their path, within the light, the jaguar walks so perfectly, so resolutely. Poetic fluidity, remorseless motion, so black that I cannot see its contours, its musculature beneath the shadow-black hair, but there! As the sun source at the tunnel's end catches it just right, the black hair glints, golden. Glistens.

She sniffs at me, at the mortified flesh that I am apart from, and, satisfied, turns back toward the light and I follow. We move together like we did before, as one, toward the source of the light. I turn and look back, moving forward, but we are too far along the tunnel, the desert is lost in a play of colors.

I will never return. The light is closing in behind me, and I know that I will never go back, that the moment of death has already passed. Passed without a whisper, never announced itself. Effortless. A revelation. That was death. Somewhere, back there. Did I?

Breathe out?

Die consciously?

Voices.

The chorus swells. It sings to me with one voice. The dead. The familiar. Here humanity speaks with one voice in many tongues.

Welcome.

Bliss.

There, there is the light. Bright, brighter, brightest. Blink? No reflex! That's funny. Not curious, funny. I cannot blink, for I have no eyes, and I would laugh at the thought, but I have no tongue, and my laughter is my last, ever last joy.

An exultation that starts within me and expands away. Fills the universe . . . spreading . . . inclusive of everything that ever . . .

I can see time. I can feel time, follow any pathway, ride the shock waves of this explosion whose center is the light.

Discover that the future is not ahead, and the past not behind. I never knew that. I thought that time. . . .

Was . . . what? Did I ever know?

Can't remember. Memory. Memory?

When was my last breath? When is it?

Lost. I am lost in far-off echoes of light.

Contracting now.

The echoes contract. From there to here. All that expands contracts, collapses.

And the Lady is there, in her mantle of feathers. Her head turns smoothly, a cat, an owl.

I will never forget her face, because I could never remember it afterward.

The eyes behind the veil. Pupils dilating . . . everything that expands . . . contracting, head falling back, open-mouthed in ecstatic birth.

She sighs and my heart aches, chest hurting.

Breathe.

Gasping as my face breaks the surface, lagoon water in my eyes. I inhale a scream. Take my first breath.

I don't remember what happened next.

I heard a scream. I awoke, chilled by the sound, listened to it resolve into a howl, a long howl that echoed distantly. I was in the moment fully. I knew that I had been traveling, that I spent the evening in ritual, and that I was awake, on my back, in the little thatched room where I would recover.

A stillness hung heavily in the night, the moisture suspended there, waiting to rain. Again. Far off. Excruciating. Echoing in the stillness. Beckoning in the dark. The jungle listened with me to the sound, not so very far off as I thought. . . .

I stood, naked, and moved quickly through the house. I went because I had to. I moved without thought, then stopped myself as I felt my toes dig into the sand outside, on the bank of the lagoon. Ramón's machete was in my right hand. That stopped me.

Was I dreaming? No.

There was Ramón, still smoking the pipe. His profile shadowed by a single candle in the sand, he was distantly aware of me.

Standing on the edge of the lagoon, facing the break in the trees that marked the path to the bend in the river. Fully conscious? My God, yes! In the moment and tuned to it. I looked down at my body, already glistening in the liquid air. My chest was heaving.

It was a cat, screaming in the night down that path, at the bend in the river. I knew it. I had known it all along. Then the air moved, shifted toward me in a gentle breeze before the rain, blowing the scent of the animal toward me. I smelled its musk. Sensed its scent and followed it into the jungle.

I moved in a half-crouch, swiftly along the path. Following the scent and the banshee wail. My turn now.

Stalking the cat. Does it know that there is a power stalking it?

Going to meet it. Going to kill it. Maybe. I did not know. I knew that nothing had ever been so important.

And I knew that my scent, the twentieth-century smell of me, was ahead and behind, and I felt the jungle recoil and grow tentative, holding its breath as I moved in something like silence toward the bend in the river.

Almost there, I left the path. The advantage was mine now. I stepped into the river, waded stealthily through the water, leaving no footprints in the silt beneath the surface.

It was there, on the silver sand, screaming, stretching, writhing in an ecstasy of lust, black like ebony, side to side, howling, luxuriating in itself and the sand. Wailing. Moaning. It smelled like sex.

I don't know what it was doing. I know that I stood there, naked, knee deep in the river, Ramón's machete in my hand, heart beating furiously, blood rushing to my head. A cooler breeze brushed my back.

The wind had shifted.

The sky rumbled. Any second now. . . .

The jaguar thrashed on the sand, on its belly, all of a sudden standing, arch-backed, frozen in a low crouch, paws dug in, perfect stillness. Then its long tail twitched. Once. Twice. Reflex. Its eyes were yellow, wide, staring with perfect focus. Fifteen feet apart we stood, locked in each other's stare and reflected in each other's eyes.

I raised my hand, reaching out across the space that separated us. A tremor passed through the cat, rippling its fur from head to hindquarters. Its ears folded back.

Sand skitters across the water. The jaguar leaps, instant acceleration, sideways, pounces through the leaves and into the green darkness of the jungle. Gone.

Wait! Don't go. . . .

The breeze that blew my scent to it carries me through the water to the sand. I drop to my knees and touch the markings, the hollow place where its body was, the long gashes in the sand. Running my finger along the ridges in the sand, tiny grains falling along the slope, pushed along by my finger. Finger to my nose, I can smell it, its primal catness. Lean in, closer. My hands follows the marking, fingers digging deeply into the sand. . . .

The sky rumbles.

Stretch out. Flat on my belly. Lie in it. Roll in it, the sand scrubbing

my chest, my loins, my back. I work my legs back and forth through the sand. I breathe in the smell, can't get enough of it. Not smelling, breathing. Fast. Faster. There is a stirring in my belly. Breathing so fast, breaths become short and urgent. Stephanie. . . .

She appears as a thought. I roll onto my back and close my eyes and draw my hands down my body, down the layer of sand sticking to it.

My breathing fills my head, and I am moving through the hallway. The cat, moving purposefully down the short hall, black-and-white night vision. I slink into the room unnoticed, smelling sweat and Stephanie, her short, urgent breaths.

Stephanie and. . . .

Stephanie grunts, sighs from her chest, heaves up against the man. I stop in my tracks, low to the ground, the Persian rug. Up! Silently. Treacherously. Up atop the chest of drawers. Looking down. The peach-colored sheets are twisted and bunched at the foot of the bed, and a pillow has fallen to the floor. Her lover's back is broad and hairless, and his head moves back and forth on a limp neck as he slides himself in and out of her. He is a stranger to me.

The rage surges through me, rage held dormant in my belly, rushes, rising through my chest, filling my head, stomach hollow now, but fluttering with adrenaline, body bristling. Upper lip twitches over teeth. I am deadly.

Kill him.

I can do it. I can gut them both, leave them lying together in each other's blood.

Swallow it. Wait. Down from the chest top to the rug, thudding front feet first on the Persian rug. Move slowly to the bedside.

Will I recognize you? With your face straining, tendons taut, lips drawn back from straight white teeth as you finish on top of her. Hair a mess, matted to the sweat on your forehead, you look stupid.

Will I remember you and the nausea in my belly? The hollowness of the fact of Stephanie's infidelity, the murderous rage that I swallow?

My cry is lost in the thundering rain.

Last image: Stephanie pushing him off her, sitting up in alarm.

"What is it?" he says.

She shakes her head.

"Nothing. It's . . . nothing."

But you know that isn't true.

15

This is an essential experience of any mystical realization. You die to your flesh and are born into your spirit. You identify yourself with the consciousness and life of which your body is but the vehicle. You die to the vehicle and become identified in your consciousness with that of which the vehicle is the carrier. That is the God.

—Joseph Campbell

Rain. Pouring into the river, pummeling the broadleafed jungle, cratering the sand with pockmarks. On my hands and knees, the rain beating on me. Sobbing.

There was a stranger in the clearing when I emerged, soaking wet, naked, wide-eyed and trembling. An Indian, a middle-aged man in a short-sleeved shirt and old jeans, a straw hat streaming with water, dragged a litter across the clearing toward the house. He froze at the sight of me, bent at the knees and eased the litter to the sand and crossed himself. The litter was covered with banana palm leaves shining waxy in the rain.

Ramón appeared on the wooden veranda. He looked at me and then stepped down onto the sand and into the rain and went to the man. They spoke for a moment, and Ramón helped him carry the litter inside. At the door he looked back at me, nodded sideways, and I followed, went to my room, put on a pair of shorts.

October 28

It is early morning. Sun's not up, dark gray. The rain has stopped. Ramón has stopped the rain?

Will I believe any of this when I read it?

My head is clear, perceptions sharp-edged. I am sitting on the edge of the veranda, feet on the sand.

I should be asleep. I should be dead, but I have never felt more alive. Tuned to the moment, sensitive to the subtleties of the morning.

I know that I am coming off the *ayahuasca,* know it because nothing that happened last night seems as important as the drama that I am witnessing as I write this.

There is an Indian here with a young boy, I assume his son. Ten years old, I guess. The boy has been bitten by a snake, a jungle viper. He is unconscious and feverish. Ramón has built a fire on the sand and the boy is stretched out, naked on the litter that his father used to get him here from who knows where.

Ramón is working on him, kneeling beside the boy, beside the fire, working on his spirit, working with his hands before him and above the child, lifting the air, disengaging the boy's energy body from the physical, raising it before him.

How do I describe this?

He started with smoke, blowing smoke into the boy's chakras, humming into them, then lifting the spirit from the body. Now he is healing it. I have never seen Ramón like this. His face is drawn and placid. His concentration is trancelike as his hands trace the outline of the spirit body before him.

Now his palm touches the boy's forehead. He makes a fist and draws it down the length of the boy's body. More smoke from the pipe.

He speaks to the father, who stands stupefied and fearful beside him. The anxious parent. Again he says something and his tone is sharp. The man snaps out of his distraction and tries to untie the knot in a dirty cloth drawstring bag. Ramón snatches the bag from him and opens it. He reaches in and withdraws the snake, four feet long and speckled. It is dead. Its head deformed, bloody and torn by repeated blows.

He carries the snake to the edge of the jungle and kneels in the sand, laying the serpent's body out before him. He heals the snake.

Drawing his hands down its length, flicking his wrists toward the trees, making a sharp *whoosh* sound with his mouth. He handles the body with reverence.

A sacred object.

At the boy's side again, Ramón slices off the head of the snake with a long knife. I think I left his machete downriver.

He presses it, the head, to the boy's leg. He binds it there with a strip of palm, a leaf, another strip of palm. He leans close and whispers into the boy's ear and the patient groans.

I am in another world. I have done what I came to do and discovered that there is more to be done. A lifetime's work ahead of me.

I slept that day and through the night. It was the blackest sleep I have ever known. A dreamless void. Curious how I give myself so fearlessly to sleep, free my consciousness from the concerns of living, abandon myself to something like death, allow my body to lay dormant and my mind to wander. In any case I lost a day and a night. I remember nothing but waking.

The boy was recovering. His fever had broken and he was eating. His father told me that the bite was usually fatal, that don Ramón was a sorcerer.

I have every reason to believe that the boy recovered, that he and the creature that had almost killed him had both been healed, that some kind of balance had been effected, that Ramón had set things right with Nature.

But who knows? How can you test such things?

I returned to Cuzco the next day.

October 30
Airborne

Heading for Cuzco. I am seized by the anxiety that comes with discovery. Close to understanding something fundamental, wary of collapsing my *feelings* into an intellectual construct. A neat package.

Looking down from this height at the jungle below, feeling my kinship to this place, to all of it, to the essential power of Nature.

In facing death I know that I experienced the death also of my rational consciousness, the death of ego and logic. Things can never be the same again. . . .

Should I say a few words over this corpse before consigning it to the sea? This body that I left, lying in the sand in that desert at the bottom of the lagoon, covered by a pall woven from a fabric in the sky. Burn it on a funeral pyre, bury it, no matter, nothing will be lost because it's just a form of energy, an interpretation of consciousness that served a purpose for a time. I'm babbling. Don't give a shit, because I'm thrilling with the force of this new awareness. Feel like a child. Dead to the flesh, born into the world of spirit, an infant.

The jungle slides away to the southwest below me. This is where evolution began and begins, a continuum. The Garden was not kicked out from under us. We left it, turned our backs on it. Cut the umbilical cord.

I can't write fast enough.

Organize. Understand as best you can, because what you have experienced must be translated. Made understandable.

Early man. Limbic and reptilian brained, living in an animistic environment, inseparable from the trees, the rocks, the animals, the sunshine. There was no distinction—his brain was *incapable* of *making* a distinction between himself and the rest. There was no duality, no subject/object evaluation. No this and that. The Earth was a garden of timeless unity, because none could *experience* it as otherwise. One with Nature, literally.

Then, the neocortex. Self-reflexive consciousness, the ability to experience awareness itself. Reason. I and thou. Duality comes in, distinctions of this and that, subject, object.

Man could separate himself from Nature, set himself apart from the plants and the animals, evaluate his *experience* of Nature's influence. Self-reflexive.

We ate from the tree of the knowledge of good and bad and went East of Eden. We lost our connection to Nature. Lost a connection to ourselves as an integral part of Nature. Lost our connection with the Divine.

The Cartesian revolution: I think, therefore I am. Awareness shifts from experience to an intellectual construct of experience. Separation. A reasoning brain, a brain of language and definition, de-

fended by thick walls of logic from visions we could not explain. Laws are conceived, written, programmed into the *tabula rasa* of the neocortex, laws to explain what we choose to see, myths and religions to turn to for guidance and answers to the unanswerable.

Did we simply lose our vision? Lose our ability to access the Divine within Nature, within ourselves?

Here we are, Westerners, born with the burden of a disconnection from God, our destiny fixed in an ever-burgeoning quest for facts, answers, a logical framework in which to place them. We have limited the dimensions of what it is to be human.

Yet, Nature abides. Below me, there in the jungle. Within me. I have been there.

If consciousness is energy, and our energy comes from the same source (that which casts no shadow), if we all come from the same biological ground, is it any wonder that there is a level of consciousness that is common to all things? That an individual can learn the skill of accessing these nonconscious realms, enter and engage with reality on a fundamental level?

Disengage the spirit body from the biological, heal it? Tap into the fucking source!

The energy that pours into the Earth from the Sun courses through me like the blood that flows through my veins from my mother and father.

The energy, the consciousness, the Divine.

This is the message of Christian myth.

The Buddhist creed.

The Cabala.

The Upanishads.

The underlying principle of myth and religion. Principles that I once understood, had faith in.

But faith is meaningless and the faces of God stand between us and the experience of the Divine.

I need to see Antonio, for I have begun to understand him.

I never saw Antonio.

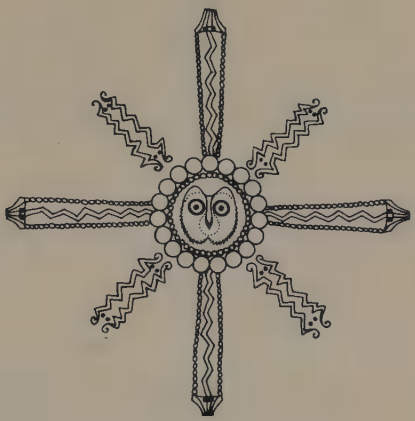
It was Friday afternoon, and I was told that he had left early. He wasn't at home and I couldn't wait for him. I had to go back.

I flew to Lima and, as the Miami-bound plane left the runway, I tried to remember our last moment together. Our return from the *altiplano.* In front of my hotel. It was late and I was headed for the reception desk, the phone, to make a reservation on the morning flight to Pucellpa. We were going to meet at the airport. He hadn't come.

In front of the hotel, he'd placed his hand on my shoulder as he had countless times.

And he had said goodbye.

North



16

Can you experience power and not lose yourself in the process?
—Antonio Morales Baca

Years passed. 1975 to 1979.

I stepped back into my world and surrendered myself to its concerns.

Oh yes. Fresh from the jungle I confronted Stephanie with her infidelity and we had a scene. It was more than she could bear. I remember how mystical and self-righteous I was. Her indignant defense was seeded with references to my "psychedelic masturbation."

She moved to Los Angeles. She wrote to me later that year, after the publication of *Realms of Healing*. She congratulated me, suggested we see each other the next time I came south. I wrote back. We corresponded for a time, then lost track.

I understand that she is now practicing psychiatry at a Southern California university.

I received my degree, was able to add a Ph.D. to my last name, and thought I detected something like deference from headwaiters, airline reservation clerks, credit organizations.

Realms of Healing was well reviewed, well received, well read. It went through five or six printings, and shoved me into the limelight of the human potential movement of the late 1970s.

I met my first wife quite by accident. It seems as though serendipity always follows the "once upon a time" that starts the myth of romantic love. She was a psychologist, the author of a best-selling, groundbreaking book on female sexuality. She was beautiful, brilliant, pragmatic, challenged my intellectual and emotional maturity to within an inch of its life, and we stumbled into love with each other.

I fell for her.

We set up house together, a house stuck to the side of a mountain in Marin County, California, across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco.

She wrote another best-seller. I worked at my private practice and accepted all speaking engagements in order to pay back the accumulated student loans that I had been living and traveling on for years.

And I taught, tried to translate what I knew. I accepted a professorship at San Francisco State University, developed a transcultural psychology course, theorized, conceptualized, brought my theories and concepts into the laboratory.

With great success. My classes were eclectic and popular for that reason, at least. The Biological Self-Regulation Laboratory I founded was a testing ground, a brain/body interface playpen.

My experiences "in the field" were essentially visceral. By this I mean that the seat of the experience was deep within me, in my gut, systemic, emotional, rather than intellectual, of the head. And yet upon my return, I found that the experiences that I held so dear, like a pregnant woman holding her belly, rose to my head. What had been a living thing deep within my consciousness lost its life as it became an intellectual construct.

Like Pythagoras.

Let me explain. There is music: deep, vibrant harmonies of Nature. What can it be compared to? Music and its effect on us is, like love, a mystery that collapses once it is solved. In one of the greatest triumphs of neocortical thinking, the Greek philosopher discovered that music contained a structure and form that was perfectly logical and could be described mathematically. Yet his formulas could not move anyone to tears or laughter, stimulate one from within.

And I felt like a hero. The protagonist of myth, returned to fulfill his social responsibility.

Joseph Campbell, preeminent scholar, authority on mythology, once defined the two types of heroic deeds. One, he said, is the physical deed, in which the hero performs a courageous act in battle or saves a life. The other kind is the spiritual deed, in which the hero learns to experience the supernormal range of human life and then comes back with a message

My anxiety to form a message based upon my experiences consumed me.

I used the cutting edge of brain research to slice through my experiences. Nobody tried to stop me.

I began to reason. My reasoning went something like this:

The human mind has the ability to create any imaginable neuroelectrical configuration, yet it does not innately know how to do this. The neocortex is a clean slate, a *tabula rasa*. The skill of programming the thinking brain is not instinctual, it is learned (instinct lives in the limbic and reptilian systems). Biofeedback laboratories have demonstrated that the celebrated feats of yogis, from controlling pain to walking on red hot coals, can be developed in anyone. The self-organizing, self-programming capabilities of the human brain are awe inspiring, and the implications for self-healing and personal transformation are staggering.

Primitive ritual is a formula, a recipe that conveys information to the neocortex, information encoded in symbolic dance, music, visual stimuli, to which the limbic brain responds, information that instructs the regulatory centers of the reptilian brain to accelerate otherwise normal healing processes. The circuitry of the neocortex is thus imprinted with a set of healing instructions that then can be verbally and symbolically communicated to accelerate healing in ourselves and perhaps in others.

Although access to the visionary centers of the limbic brain has been denied by the rational, theoretically oriented neocortex, they can be reached through ritual. The self-reflexive brain, which controls and evaluates waking awareness and limits it to a fraction of what the mind is experiencing at any given moment, can be programmed to access the unconscious. Programmed by experience. Psychotropic substances such as San Pedro and *ayahuasca* provide shortcuts to accessing those centers of consciousness, lay down a pathway that later can be followed in an ordinary waking state. The existence in the brain of biochemical receptor sites for the mescalines, harmalines, and harmolamines, the psychoactive complexes of these plant preparations, can infer that the brain is capable of producing such chemicals naturally *once it is programmed to do so*.

Finally, the frontal lobes of the neocortex have opened up a new faculty of visionary foresight as well as a testing ground for Einsteinian and quantum mechanical concepts of relativistic time and space. Time could be perceived as flexible, and space as something without boundaries. Previously these qualities had developed in rare individuals, spontaneously, often against their wills.

When the neocortically deficient Neanderthals were on their way to extinction 50,000 years ago, *Homo Sapiens* were left to carry the torch of evolution. The neocortex that set them apart from their ancestors would evolve, eventually develop the necessary neural tracks that would allow it to become fully functional and to navigate the course of human events. The individuals that developed such neurological connections, whether by practice or accident, were the oddities and geniuses of their time, the saints and soothsayers, the miracle workers. The experience of the sublime has been the exclusive domain of prophets and mystics, revered and persecuted throughout history.

The neocortex is still evolving, its circuitry is still forming. We must learn to harness its power to create psychosomatic health. And the isolated visionary will become a thing of the past.

I spoke of such things in the classroom, tested trance states in the lab. The cathartic transformations that I had experienced in the context of ritual and altered states, the healings that I had witnessed from Mexico to Brazil and Peru, had far surpassed the end-product expectations of Western psychological therapy and confounded my understanding of medicine. In every case the common denominator was the state of mind, the one mind, of the shaman and the subject, the healer and the patient.

In the classroom I presented the idea of the individual who, through specific training, familiarized himself or herself with the multiple states of consciousness latent in the human mind, learned how to tune these states, to resonate to the harmonies of Nature, to transcend linear time and three-dimensional space, to mobilize the body's self-healing mechanisms and choreograph such states and mechanisms in others.

The process of interpreting these concepts into discursive prose frustrated me. My work in the laboratory, although successful, was met with polite interest. All of it, a curiosity. But that was fine. What wasn't fine was the nature of my preoccupation.

My last experience in the jungle had swept me away, had pulled me under, down into profound depths of perception, the full-body, kinesthetic perceptions of the "man who has already died." I had experienced a full-blown release from the constraints of thought and reason, from the boundaries of my learning. I had gone beyond the limits of precedent, surpassed all previous experience of myself, had identified myself with an energy, a form (cat? nature? body? call it anything but that which I left on that lagoon's desert floor). And in that form I had traveled an odyssey through

time and space, had stepped into the light, had even glimpsed the face of the Lady of myth, the "veiled lady" who was said to lead one into the *nagual,* the transcendent.

I had made my way along the Medicine Wheel. I had sloughed off my past, confronted fear and death. I stood fully in my present, full of myself and dreams of the future.

March 24, 1976
Home

> The past is not immutable and death is no end, so let us craft our future, forge an image of the new century, visualize, conceptualize, capture its essence, as it were, in a yarn painting, a sand painting, a spirit catcher, an architecture of light.

I was driven. Not by desire or fear, but by responsibility and anxiety. Had Antonio been near me, he would have warned me that, once again, I was premature.

I would conceive and edit a book, *Millennium: Glimpses into the Twenty-First Century,* a view of the future according to eighteen of the world's most imaginative and visionary scientists and philosophers. I would find a curious dissonance between the authors' dreams and their words, between the content of our interviews and the chapters they delivered.

I would become obsessed with translating shamanic myths and models of the mind in the classroom and producing measurable biochemical and physiological responses to heightened states in the laboratory.

May 11
Home

> What is the nature of the ecstatic state, the out-of-body state, the healing state? What were the mechanisms that divided our consciousness into a waking state and a dream state separated by the veil of sleep? How did mind evolve? Further, now that I am convinced that we can engage with it consciously, where and how shall we lead ourselves into the future?
>
> We have irrevocably altered the process of natural selection. Survival of the fittest is no longer the rule of evolution for our species. The triumph of rational Western neocortical thought is nowhere

better evidenced than in the achievements of Western medicine. Science has arm wrestled with Nature and . . . won? Well, we've demonstrated that we can conquer infant mortality and support the genetically weak, the disabled and mentally ill, overridden Nature's prime rule of evolution by saving the lives of those who would otherwise perish. And there is no turning back, short of cataclysm.

The human experience is not on a seventy-two-year clock. God, I know that now. Death is no end to individual consciousness, and the species must stop making bottom-line decisions based on a short-term rental of this space. We're shitting in our own nest. If what I know is immortality, then, yes, we have no choice but to become caretakers of the Earth. I understand that now.

Write a book, *Futuremind*. Research origins of mind. Trace evolution of consciousness and extrapolate.

And on. And on.

Yes, when all conceptions of space and time, life and death, are exploded, when the grip of the past and the fear of the future are, themselves, conditions of one's past, then does one live in the present fully.

But I did not know how.

The present is immeasurable, splitting time and space, dividing past and future. And yet I felt as though my present was expanding, and I began to fill it with frustration. I began work on *Futuremind*.

In *Realms of Healing* professional discretion had required me to qualify the experiences I related in support of the concepts presented. I had been cautious in presenting a subjective view of incidents that, according to medical science, were objectively insupportable. In *Futuremind* I wanted to avoid such qualifications by presenting a rational evolutionary model of consciousness and reasonable hypotheses regarding the capabilities and potentialities of the human mind as the species quantum leap-frogged toward the future. I began at the beginning of time and took it step by step. It was an enormous undertaking, a project that could consume its creator, yet at that time it was but another fragment, a shard of incidental experience in an increasingly fractured present. I taught, worked in the laboratory, spoke at conferences, wrote, served on committees, invested in business interests in the name of hobby, tried to remodel the nest I was making with my wife,

refused to surrender myself to my love for her, found weakness instead of strength.

Antonio had once told me that I was in a delicate position: trapped between two worlds, teetering on a fulcrum, easily toppled. That, too, I came to understand.

My thinking and activity became increasingly baroque. My wife wrote another best-seller, and I whipped myself into a frenzy of activity. Our home became an office. The distance between us was stretched by financial issues, competition, insecurity, dependency. I began to lose my balance.

November 4, 1977

Second week. Hepatitis. *Hepa:* "liver." *Titis:* "inflamed." Red, swollen, angry. Second week in bed. Second week of feverish exhaustion, bilious nausea, skin like fish fat left in the sun to yellow, orange piss and gray diarrhea. Second week staring out of the window from bed, watching the houseplants grow.

Heal myself? I don't have the energy or inclination.

My dreams are gray too. Gray and undefined. Amorphous shapes that are terrible somehow and move with an intentional lack of purpose. . . .

Adultery is not the only form of infidelity. All adulterers are infidels, but not all infidels are adulterers. I am both. So is she. I love her, but the love ebbs and flows. It's a tidal love. For both of us. Slack water now. I am in agony.

November 7

Dream. Of sand. Dirty sand. Like a high-water mark on a beach, all the refuse combed there. My body, torn and bloated there.

The part of me that is in Peru.

Walking to the bathroom today, stopped by the window and looked across the bay to the city. Place of the thinking mind. The place we built when we left the Garden. The lines are straight, the angles precise. Artificial environment. Second Nature. Where is the

power? In money and representations of wealth. Power objects jingling in pockets, loose change. Balance is defined as the amount of money in a savings account.

In Peru I could not move through the jungle without the jungle stopping and listening to me, sensing me and my foreign presence. Alien, because I am a creature of this second Nature. This is where I function and I am not functional even here. Now. Now after all my time seeking knowledge, being used by clever craftsmen of suggestion, hucksters of mysticism.

Was I not the subject of their primitive sorcery? Like the audience member at a magic show? The volunteer who leaves his seat and stands onstage and submits to hypnosis? Bark like a dog. Submit to humiliation, see what I can do to you? I will hypnotize you and, in return, you will leave a morsel of dignity and a chunk of humility on this stage.

What sweet revenge on the white man! You wish to learn our secrets and traditions? You wish to poke and pry and search for whatever you left us from our past? Yes! We will share it with you. We will carve open your vision, show you the folly of your ways, teach you to build a fire that will illuminate the ghosts of your past, show you what death is, and you will leave your body here for us and return to your place, confounded, schizophrenic, because civilization is unable to support a mind free from thought. You cut the umbilical cord to Mother Earth, and it has shriveled and scabbed there in the dry, dusty places you have built. The place where the clock has been ticking for thousands of years, marking the time since you left the garden.

The joke is on me.

I came to believe this. As fervidly as I believed in the validity of my experiences, the traditions that I brought back with me, the love I felt for my wife, I believed that I had been the victim of Maximo's trickery, Anita's self-effacing sensitivity, Ramón's sorcery. Antonio's premeditated friendship.

December 11, 1978

Psychological DTs.

Dream. The Eagle. Older than it was years ago. It soared up, over the crest of a hill, hovered there, wing feathertips fluttering, carried aloft by an updraft, then I remember it above me, legs spread, talons clutching my shoulders left and right, pecking at my head.

The thought of returning to Peru is festering inside of me.

Two faced, twin souled, split apart. Professionally in demand, cannot fulfill demands on myself.

There is a tradition among the practitioners of Quimbanda, the black magicians of Brazil, that one's soul can be captured in a crystal, held there for eternity. I had glimpsed eternity, seen it reflected in the stars on the ceiling of the lagoon, and I knew that a part of me was captive there.

17

It is said that few complete this journey of initiation. . . . Many . . . stop along the way and are content to be healers and medicine people. They become masters of their own direction. And then there are those who become trapped by power. Lost along the way.

—Antonio Morales Baca

Professor Antonio Morales Baca had disappeared. Without a trace. Without leaving tracks. He had retired from the university. His old adobe house in the cul-de-sac near the tail of the jaguar that formed the urban plan of Cuzco had been rented by a Chilean businessman. There was no forwarding address. The clerk at the post office squinted at me and waved his hand as if to clear the air of my question. It was at the old Café Roma that I found myself watching the coffee seep crystal by crystal into the mound of sugar on my spoon, and thought of Dr. Barrera.

I found his clinic a short block from the Plaza de Armas, ended up thumbing through a ten-year-old *National Geographic* in his waiting room. It did not matter that I merely wanted a word with him. The Indian woman with the poncho-wrapped infant, the *campesino* with the gauze-covered eye, the varicose-veined Spanish matron, and the little boy with the urine specimen in the jelly jar were there ahead of me. I waited my turn.

"Professor Morales?" The good doctor arched his brows and leaned back in his leather chair. He was heavier than I remembered.

"Yes," I said. "I was a friend of his, as, I recall, were you."

"And I still am," he said. He frowned. "Did we meet? You and I?"

"Not really. We passed each other in his doorway. Years ago."

Barrera reached out and slid a gold pen across his desk and up against the edge of a prescription pad. He folded his arms across his chest, then reached up and ran a thumbnail along his little grizzled pencil mustache.

"He is gone," he said.

I nodded. "Do you know where?"

He shook his head. "I am sad to say, no."

I nodded again, looked down at the floor. "Did he say goodbye?" I lifted my gaze from the black-and-white checkered linoleum. There was a long, considered silence.

"Yes," he said.

And that was all.

January 3, 1979

Son of a bitch if Antonio hasn't died.

That I question his motives, the purity of his purpose and the authenticity of our relationship is bad enough. The thought that I will never know fills me with rage. That I cannot see him again, am cheated out of confronting him—My God! What have I done to myself that my feelings are so self-satisfaction-centered. But it would be like him to leave me with this eagle at my back, a torn heart and agonized conscience. Like the son who never had the chance to . . .

If ever I needed to center myself, realign my Self with my nature, and summon my power to heal myself, it is now. But the poetry has been lost in the prose.

What has happened to me, that I lost my arrogance years ago in the *altiplano*, informed my innocence, exercised my power, and find myself overburdened with knowledge, stuck in this place between two worlds, losing myself in my concerns.

Where did I go wrong? Where did I lose the lightness, the magic?

If you see the Buddha on the road, kill him. For he is not the way. Do not make obeisance to him or what he represents. To bow before him is to lose yourself, to prostrate yourself before a graven image, a mask of God. So if you see the Buddha along the road, kill him.

Antonio. Have you saved me the trouble? Taken yourself away? My despair is perfect.

Am going to see Ramón.

The plane to Pucallpa was delayed. I sat in the airport and allowed the misery to turn in my stomach. I sat with my butt on the tiles and my back

to the wall. Sat next to my Brazilian leather duffel bag and my soft cloth, leather-trimmed shoulder bag. There was a man across from me, a thin man with a sunburned, freckled face. He wore cotton pants and a wrinkled safari shirt. Beside him, on the next fiber-plastic chair, was a frame backpack with lots of convenient outer pockets and leather straps. He had been there for an hour, and I had watched him check his ticket and his watch, smoke two cigarettes, crumple up an empty pack, and peel the cellophane from another. For the past half hour he had been writing in a clothbound journal. Writing without thinking too hard, which I appreciated. He clicked back the ballpoint, stuck the pen in one of four shirt pockets, pulled a thick rubber band off his wrist, snapped it around the journal, and harnessed the book under the flap and strap of his pack.

He had a light blue aura. Turquoise, actually.

My eyes snapped back to normal. Why had I looked? I had not thought to. There had been a time when I was accustomed to looking. Once I had even opted to change planes for a psychology conference in Monte Carlo because the passengers' energy was curiously dim, vague, close to their bodies. (The plane developed engine trouble and made an unscheduled landing). So it was curious that I looked now, without meaning to.

He withdrew a pair of rimless glasses from another shirt pocket and looped the loops over his ears and squinted at me for what must have been the fourth or fifth time.

I nodded and squeezed out a smile.

"Pucallpa?" he asked.

"Mmm-hmm."

"Me too."

I looked at his oversized frame pack. "Engineer?" I asked.

He shook his head and grinned.

"Oil," I said.

"Nope."

"You're not a rancher. . . ." The memory of the barman at the Pucallpa airport brought up a laugh. He just looked at me.

"Anthropologist," he said.

I held his gaze for a couple of seconds.

"I know you," he said.

And he did. He had attended a symposium on holistic health at UCLA, where he was on the faculty. I had spoken on shamanism. He knew my work.

"The damnedest thing!" he said. "I've been on the coast, Temple of the Sun. I met Eduardo Calderon."

The name meant nothing to me.

"A shaman/healer in Trujillo," he continued. "An amazing man. I would have spent more time with him, but I wanted to get to the jungle . . ."

"Don Ramón Silva?" I asked.

His blonde eyebrows arched. "Yes!" He frowned. "How did you know?"

I shrugged. Realized that I would not be seeing Ramón now. And that I did not particularly care. . . .

"I think Eduardo's expecting you," he said.

I looked hard at him. Then soft. The blue was bluer, brighter, excited. I sensed something else. It could have been a wolf: fidelity, intelligence . . .

He continued:

"He didn't use your name, just described you to me, asked if I knew such a man. I said no, but seeing you here . . . it must be you. Don't you think?"

I stood. My heart might have been beating a little faster. I don't remember what I felt. I thanked him and we shook hands.

"Say hello to Ramón for me, will you?"

"I thought you were going to . . ."

"So did I," I said. "It's not important."

He looked confused. We had that in common.

"I don't know exactly where . . ."

"Kilometer sixty-four," I said. "Trans-Amazon highway, south. There's a path to the left." I squeezed his hand. "Stay on it," I said, and walked out into the sunshine.

I leaned against the wall for a few minutes, waved off a taxi driver, and breathed from my stomach. Then I went to the Aero Peru ticket window and bought a seat on the next plane to Trujillo.

How appropriate that Antonio had said goodbye, that I was prevented from seeing Ramón by the presence of that young American, that I should travel to the northern shore of Peru, where Eduardo Calderon waited for me.

Yes, the ability to see fate in history is a trick of hindsight, and hindsight is just another form of perception, and perception is the *leitmotiv* of my story. Serendipity, besides being one of the sweetest-sounding words in the English language, is a sign of well-being, an endorsement of the path of true choice.

Yet even though I felt the gentle prodding of the old ungloved hand of Nature, even though that aptitude called precognition played a part in our rendezvous, Eduardo Calderon was surprised to see me. He laughed so heartily as I stepped off the bus in Trujillo that I stood there, gripping my bag and grinning back at his laughter, smiling at the vague dizziness of déjà vu.

"Compadre," he said, and took my hand.

There is no word in English equivalent to *compadre* in this context. English is a language that has not yet found expression for intimacy. *Friend* has lost its meaning among so many definitions.

He stepped back from me and we looked at each other. If there is an archetypal shaman, a cross-cultural hybrid of a native healer, I imagine that Eduardo embodies the image. A Buddha's belly and smile, Asian Confucius eyes, a long, full, drooping mustache parted below flaring nostrils, straight black hair tied back with a leather thong and falling to the middle of his back. The laughing shaman.

He stopped laughing and his eyes described a circle around me, from head to foot and back. He shook his head and chuckled.

"You are surprised to see me?" I asked, still confounded by his heartiness.

"Yes!" It sounded like, What did you expect? "I am always surprised when a vision steps into my life. It is a happy thing. And I am surprised that you come with such darkness around you. We must attend to this."

January 5

Last night I submitted myself to don Eduardo's healing.

A circle of yellow cornmeal on the sand, a small pile of hay inside the circle. A sacred circle, the place of ritual and magic. Eduardo laid it out with the concentrated ease of a painter preparing his palette. He set out his *mesa* on a reddish brown woven cloth from the ruins of an Inca *huaca,* a power site. Two conch shells on either

side of three fields: *ganadero, justiciero, medio*—dark, light, neutral (balance between light and dark). Stone figures, a deer's hoof, an Inca sling, fetishes, a whistle in the form of a pelican, crystals, ceramics. Two flat seashells. Power staffs stuck in the sand before the *mesa,* short swords, carved hardwood and bone staffs, nine altogether.

The sky was clear. A half-moon over the flat horizon of the Pacific. There was no breeze to disturb the neat little fire that burned in the sand before the *mesa,* but there was a sea air tang.

I stood erect and self-conscious in the circle of cornmeal, shoeless, stripped to the waist. In my left hand I held St. Michael's sword, the sword of fire, held it lightly by my side. Eduardo sat cross-legged behind the mesa. He took up his rattle, a stick with a soiled brown hollow gourd, the Earth spinning on its axis, and he shook it back and forth from the wrist. It sounded like *chee, chee, chee,* and he sang for my spirit to come and be present. He sang to the spirits of the Earth, air, fire, and water, called upon the spirits of the lakes, the lagoons, the mountains, and the forests.

I shifted the sword from left to right, and Eduardo approached the circle, rattle in one hand, a shell of alcohol, tobacco and sweet oils in the other. He drew the shell up my body, front and back, raising it through my energy centers, then lifted it to his nose, rested its lip above his mustache, and tilted back his head, drinking the mixture through his nose. Nasal cavity, proximity to hypothalamus, limbic brain—refills the shell and gives it to me, tells me to raise it along the blade of the sword, sword in my left hand again. My hand, holding the shell, began to tremble and I spilled some of the mixture on the sand, lifted it unsteadily to my nose, threw back my head, and it ran in, back along my cheeks and under my ears, and I felt my glottis close involuntarily as the mixture fired and choked my sinuses, and I opened the back of my throat and felt it go down and in and the feeling I felt had nothing to do with the potion, for it seized me in an instant. The trembling of my hands had worked its way up my arms and filled me from within.

I can recreate the events, document them like the psychojournalist I was once. I cannot write about the pain.

The anguish and rage that welled up and expelled itself in a scream. I fell to my knees in the circle and cried out my fury, struck my head, my forehead, with a white-knuckled fist, and I saw stars. I saw the forces gathered around us, looming just outside the circle of light, saw the form of the jaguar, mine, circling the perimeter, protecting me from . . . what? The negative forces waiting to claim me in my vulnerability? They were nameless, but I knew them somehow, sensed their intent, at one with the malevolence inside of me. On my knees, at their level . . .

Eduardo called my name. He made a fist around the handle of the rattle, and the sudden spasm shook the rattle once. *Poder*. Power. Strength. I stood, drew myself up slowly against the muscles that held me doubled over in the grip of something like tetany. And Eduardo captured my attention with his eyes, wide, peering with something like astonishment into mine. Then he looked to the horizon, and I followed his gaze to the dark line between the night and the sea, saw the plane of the ocean, the rippled surface that stretched from there to here, flash silver as lightning electrified the sky. Single veins of lightning from cloud to sea, and a cloud passed over the moon.

"¡Fuego!" Fire! He turned and lifted an ember from the fire and dropped it onto the hay at my feet. It smoldered, filled the circle with smoke, then caught. I remember looking down at my hand, the hand gripping the sword, and seeing the orange light of the fire playing across my skin, wet with sweat or sea air.

I felt the fire fill the circle, fill a space like a bell jar.

I stepped over the burning pyre, crossed it south to north, east to west, and back. I washed my hands and feet in the flames from the fire, cleansing myself in its flames, then barefoot, danced on the fire, crushing the flames that had singed away the darkness that had oozed from my pores. I stood there, staring down at the sand and my feet, blackened with the ashes of the burnt hay. Eduardo sat behind the *mesa,* arms folded. The cloud had passed by, the sky had begun to clear again, even to the horizon. In the light of the half-moon he looked at me, before me, around me.

He said:

That I had held much power.

That I was stuck in a relationship with a woman I did not know how to love.

That power and magic are neither white nor black, good nor bad, it was a question of intent and expression. Unable to express my power, it had turned black within me.

That I had hunted and been hunted by an eagle, and it had fed from me. He saw where it had torn at my liver, bloated with energy turned black.

Hepatitis.

He stood and came to me, took the sword from my hand, and, standing outside of the circle, passed the blade down my body, cutting away the connections to these things past, present no longer.

That I sever my connections with the past that created my ills.

That I may put to rest the spirits of the women in my life so that I need not seek similar relationships to finish the work of the old ones.

That the eagle which came from a powerful source in my past, the eagle that was also the spirit of the East, embrace me and lead me on my journey into the North—into the *feminine,* he said.

Then he held the sword to the sky, filled his mouth with clear water, blew a mouthful along the blade and to the South, then the West, the North and East. Then at me, to purify my cleansed self.

I hope so.

Something has begun. There is something moving inside of me. Moving me. I will follow its lead. For I know that it is I moving myself.

The story of my work with Eduardo has been told in outline many times, repeated symbolically step by step by many people over the past few years. It all began with that healing on the beach near Trujillo, although Eduardo would later claim that it had begun six months before, when he first saw me in a dream, when my presence began to intrude itself on his meditations. We had even traveled together in a dream, he said. We had journeyed to Machu Picchu and stood before the Pachamama stone and he had known then that

together we would travel to the sacred places of legend, where the forces of Nature dwelled in the landscape of places sanctified by ritual for thousands of years. We would undertake the journey to the North together, as *compadres*.

Our journey would span years. Years that would see the dissolution of my marriage to my first wife, the abandonment of *Futuremind,* the writing and publication of *Healing States,* the marriages of six of his fourteen children. Years that would see us together in Europe and the United States, experimenting with the translation and transplantation of shamanic concepts into a new "psychology of the sacred."

The Medicine Wheel described to me so long ago by Antonio, embraced by Eduardo as the traditional map and commonsensical approach to the journey of the Four Winds, would be our guide. The sacred places of power that the legends spoke of would be our rest stops, our places of communion.

We would travel to the Giant Candelabra of Paracas, a six-hundred-foot-long, three-pronged tree of life carved into the side of a barren peninsula that rises from the waters of Paracas Bay, three hundred kilometers south of Lima. There, for centuries, shamans and seekers of knowledge had come to meditate for a vision, a transforming vision, to give meaning and purpose to their existence. There the eagle that had stalked me, preyed upon me for years, would fold me in its wings. Eduardo would see a condor, the giant condor that had been the power animal of his teacher, don Florentino Garcia, the keeper of the sacred lagoons of Las Huaringas.

From Paracas we would travel to the *altiplano* at Nazca, the high desert where it never rained, where unknown artists had broken through the reddish upper crust of the plateau to expose the pure white silica sand and thus carved gigantic figures of fish, reptiles, birds, mammals, human figures, and geometric shapes over an area of 350 square kilometers. There on this heavenly mesa, the "place of the power animals," we would take San Pedro, and Eduardo would watch the spirits of my past combust, burst into flame as I disappeared from sight, walking along the edge of a giant spiral in the sand. The work of the South. There we would consign our spirits to each other as *compadres,* as warriors of the heart.

And we would go to Machu Picchu. I would return to the ancient Inca City of Light. Eduardo would enter its gates for the first time. Together we would begin to discover its meaning.

18

The traveler follows the Dragon Path in the North to discover the wisdom of the ancients and to create union with the Divine.

—Antonio Morales Baca

April 29, 1979

The Death Stone. Again. I must commit to paper here the sweetness of a memory.

Have told Eduardo to go to the cave beneath the Temple of the Condor, outside of the ruins, the place where I performed my fire ceremony so many years ago. He is overwhelmed being here. Having visited it in dreams, Machu Picchu stands below and before him now in all its green-gray lichen-and-granite beauty. He is sort of breathless. Not the altitude. There is something ominous in the air. We both feel it and twice Eduardo has looked at me with a conspiratorial, childlike grin. "Do you feel the power, *compadre?*" I love him like a brother. An older brother, sometimes. That's a queer thing, considering that he is the Indian, certainly, a simple shaman/healer working matter of factly in the context of his community, yet with me he has found the opportunity and means to stretch himself, to live the drama of the legends that he learned from.

He has gone to prepare for his work of the West here, at the Death Stone. I need a few moments myself.

Now, sitting on the grass, the Death Stone before me, a perfect squat canoe of granite floating in a sea of grass and yellow wildflowers.

Antonio. A panoramic memory of standing here so many years ago,

carrying my hubris, my Western preconceptions, and my skepticism in a backpack. Seeing the ruins of the Inca City of Light for the first time, dusk, like now, the mists of the Urubamba Valley rising up and over the edge of the precipice. Lying on the Death Stone, Antonio chanting over my chakras, his plaintive whistle, the rustling of the grass. It was here that we "put death on the agenda."

He told me that I would return to this place. That I would enter the city and begin to understand its secrets.

Where are you now? I don't feel your presence. And I miss you.

So here I am. I have shed my past anew in Nazca. The South. I will lie on the Death Stone again. The West.

Which way is North?

I closed my journal on my pen and slid it into my shoulder bag, sat there in the grass and wildflowers, breathed from my stomach, let the cool night air soothe my sunburned face.

An hour passed.

Lying in state on the Death Stone. Eduardo is chanting over me. The granite is cold on my bare shoulder blades and the small of my back. I listen as he pays our respects to the Four Winds, asks that my spirit be taken to the West, the regions of silence and death, blown there by the winds of the South, that it may return from the East, where the Sun rises, that I may be born in spirit as a child of the Sun.

He has had his turn here. I let instinct form my incantation, disengaged his chakras, stepped back, and waited. And I thought I saw something vaguely luminous, something that was Eduardo, but thinner, younger perhaps, disengage from his great belly rising and falling with each breath. I told him afterward that he was carrying too much weight, too much softness, with him. I have often sensed that his work of the South is incomplete, that he has reconciled himself with his past, his ancestry, but he is burdened by it still.

He told me that he felt himself going into the stone, felt a powerful fear in his belly, the claustrophobia of premature burial. Then he saw below

him a light, far off, growing larger, coming nearer, and as he fell into its whiteness, I brought him back. He is impressed with my skill.

Now he is disengaging my chakras, touching my forehead, my neck, my heart. . . .

And I wonder, What is the difference between birth and death? Death, the light at the end of the tunnel, the birth canal, light at the end, the light of the world into which we are born. Perhaps, I think, the fear of death, beyond the associative fears of pain and loss, is a vestigial memory of the first fear, the fear of birth, the unknown at the end of the tunnel.

Breathing, regular heart rate, meditative. Wind rustling the grass. I open my eyes, smiling, turn my head to look at the figure at my side, standing over me, arms extended, palms down, a gold bracelet from which a feather hangs, an arm band of hammered gold. Breath catches, held high in my chest. The face: Incan, chiseled brown face framed by two feathers, earring ornaments piercing the dead ears of the jaguar headdress that covers his head and shoulders with black-furred catskin. I reach out impulsively to touch him, my hand passes through his arm, and his eyes, too black to see, open, and he turns away as I sit up, hang my legs over the side of the Death Stone, see Eduardo sitting cross-legged in the grass at the base of the stone, the stern end of this granite canoe.

"Eduardo!"

He blinks up at me, and I jerk my head in the direction of the jaguar priest, walking—moving, rather—down the hill toward the Gateway of the Sun, the entrance to the ruins.

It was after midnight when we entered the ruins of Machu Picchu. We lost sight of the apparition as it moved down the hill, and by the time we stood at the Gateway of the Sun, we may have been the only visible presences in the place.

We had specifically planned to spend the night of the full moon there, and its light cast shadows on the courtyards and glinted silver-gray on the edges of the fitted granite block walls.

I led the way to the Temple of the Condor, past tumbled-down walls revealing rooms open to the weed-grown stone pathway, into an open area, where three massive walls and a stone dais are all that is left of the Great Temple.

"There!" Eduardo nodded toward the central wall. "The place of the spirit flight."

We continued on, between the walls of the ball court, descended a

short flight of steps to the right, and stood among the ruins of the Temple of the Condor, directly above the cave where I had once performed my work of the South.

There is a flat, smooth, vaguely triangular stone in the ground at our feet. The stone suggests a condor, a fanciful condor, its head turned back on itself, looking within, neck folded back from the collar at its throat, and I know that the ridges along its beak allowed blood to flow from the surface of the stone and into the space within the collar.

In one of the most spontaneous moments of my life, I withdrew a Swiss army knife from my pocket and cut a small slit in the tips of each of my middle fingers.

And I brought my hands together in the position of an inverted prayer, palms together, fingertips touching, pointing down, and the blood dripped from my fingers and onto the granite beak of the condor.

"What are you doing, *compadre?*"

I still don't know. Once a condor had appeared to me on a silver slip of sand by the lagoon behind Ramón's hut. It had surprised me, had surprised Ramón, and it had pecked the pieces of my dripping face from the grains of sand. It had fed on the mask that I had worn. Now, as the blood stained the gray granite beak, I knew that that condor was the same as the eagle that had taunted me for so many years, the spirit of the East, of vision, of Antonio, worrying me, challenging me to complete my journey.

And I realized something else in that moment. I realized that the work of the West is not only about giving yourself to death so that you can be claimed by life, but it is also about your willingness to give your life for something that you believe in.

I staunched the bleeding with my bandanna, and we climbed the steps and walked back into the courtyard where the Great Temple had stood.

"We can fly here," says Eduardo, and climbs up onto the dais, an enormous stone step protruding from the base of the central wall. He sits in an attitude of meditation, an Indian Buddha, head resting back against the water-stained granite blocks of the wall. I sit in the courtyard, facing him. The bleeding has stopped and I watch Eduardo closely, try to will myself into a sympathetic state, abandon the effort, and concentrate instead on centering myself.

Ten minutes pass and Eduardo is down from the stone, whispering to me. He has seen a figure, older than the Incas, a man in ceremonial feathers, a glowing golden breastplate over his heart.

"Here!" He moves to a spot between the wall and the place where I sat. "He stood here and pointed down." Eduardo places a hand on my shoulder. "I saw him from above, *compadre*. There is something buried here, I think it is a room. We must dig to discover what lies below." He taps his forehead.

I take my turn at the Temple of the Spirit Flight, boost myself up onto the stone and lie on the smooth granite bed, and feel Eduardo touch my forehead with his palm.

A sense of peace and relaxation settles over me, from my head down, as though my whole body sighs, oxygenated blood tingling through my veins. I exhale all tension and anxiety. I can lie here for a long time, no matter that I am in my body, that I see nothing but the blackness behind my eyelids, that I do not soar like an eagle, and it takes no effort to stop my mind from even these reflections.

I do not know how much time has passed, but I hear Eduardo.

"Good. Sit up now."

I sit up, step down from the stone, and cross the courtyard to where he stands, smiling, staring still at the dais.

"Well?"

His head turns, face still grinning foolishly, he looks at me and gestures toward the stone. I turn and look at my body, lying still on the stone. My face there smiles.

"Go back now."

And I opened my eyes on the stars, ghosts of clouds passing across the sky, the moonlit granite wall rising above me to the right. I jumped to the ground and Eduardo clapped his hands and our laughter echoed in the spaces between the maze of the walls of the citadel.

In the years that followed we would explore every corner of the Inca City of Light. I would hike the sixty-kilometer Inca Trail from the outskirts of Cuzco to the Gateway of the Sun, come to know the secrets of the Temple of the Waters and the Temple of the Serpents. Every chamber, angle, and nuance of the place would be known to me, and I would understand the Indian legends that speak of Machu Picchu as the doorway between the worlds, where the veil that separates us from our dreams and the stars becomes thinner, diaphanous, easily drawn aside. That night my footsteps led me north through the courtyard, to the edge of the city, where there was a stone rising out of a meadow.

I knew which way was North.

19

What is god, what is not god, what is between man and god, who shall say?

—*Euripides*

The Pachamama Stone stands in a meadow at the edge of the ruins of Machu Picchu. Twenty feet long, ten high, an irregular, curved edge, smooth granite face, like a precision-cut cross-section of a boulder that grew from the soil of the field. Behind it and to the left, Huayna Picchu looms darkly, its peak a thousand feet above the ruins.

The full moon cast a shadow of the stone onto the meadow, a shadow of its other half. We stood in the grass at the edge of the irregular shadow of the stone, and Eduardo told me that there was a legend that told of an old medicine woman who lived within Huayna Picchu. The caretaker of the temple.

"Grandmother peak," I said.

"Yes," he said. "The Temple of the Moon. It is said that there are tunnels and labyrinths inside the mountain. It is the way into the *nagual*, into the North."

I stared at the speckled granite surface of the stone. It could play tricks on you with its gray-and-brown, black-and-white stone face. You could see things in it, but nothing more than you could see in any patterned surface if you looked hard enough.

"No," I said. "The way to the North is here . . . and here." I touched my belly and heart and remembered Anita, sitting across from me at the Café Roma, touching her pregnant belly. "All along, I imagined it was here." I tapped my forehead with the side of my forefinger. "But it's not."

And I realized that that was the trap: that our rationalization of things ephemeral, our intellectual framing of the transcendent, the thinking brain's

version of the Divine, was just another mask of God. That all expressions of God, like the word itself, formed in the brain of language, were merely thoughts about that which is beyond thought.

No. *Before* thought.

Before consciousness itself. To speak the name of God is to name the unnameable, to carry a concept of the Divine within our heads is to carry a shield between us and the experience of the Divine. Jehovah. The "I am that I am." It cannot be thought about. All notions of God are blasphemies.

Things that can be known but not told.

April 30

I thought that the *nagual* would look like infinity.

I thought that I would experience the *ayin,* the divine nothingness spoken of in the cabala.

I thought I would look into the eyes of the Lady behind the veil and see the birth and death and destiny of the universe.

I thought there might be a blackness of such infinite hollowness that I might fall into it, into echoing bliss, and I was willing to risk never returning, losing myself in a self-transcendent flame-out (so maybe I *am* beyond fear).

I thought that in a grand way I might experience myself as God. . . .

"We should perform a *mesa,*" Eduardo said.

"Later."

I stepped farther into the meadow, nearer the Pachamama, into the shadow, and sat down. I had no purpose. We had taken no San Pedro, had engaged in no ritual, save for those that had evolved spontaneously: the Death Stone, the Temple of the Spirit Flight. There was no anticipation to sensitize me to the moment. I just wanted to be there, at the doorway to the feminine, sit in a meadow that was somehow ideal. Ideal Earth, the gentle Earth, of which we are caretakers, the potential Earth, of which we are at once co-creators and stewards. I wanted to dream there for a time. I could sit there breathing until the Sun came up to wake me.

I open my eyes with that last thought, aroused, suddenly, by some-

thing that approaches me from the stone, stepping through every grass blade and weed stalk between me and the Pachamama.

"Hija de la montaña . . ." Eduardo, standing by a stone ledge, off to the right, hisses. "Daughter of the mountain . . ." standing over me now, in the moon shadow of the stone. Her eyes shining darkly down at me, a braid of perfectly black hair falling over her shoulder, beside her naked breast. An Indian maiden, her feet bare, sunk into the soil, like a double exposure, like my own legs, crossed before me, under the surface soil, among the roots of grass and weeds. I touch the soil, take a handful, and it sparkles, iridescent, glistening moist, and my loins are aching the dull, engorged ache of arousal.

"Compadre . . ."

She touches me with her hand, at my shoulder, pushes me back, on my back, chest deep in the soil of the meadow. She on her knees, over me, stretching out, laying over me, chest to chest, crotch to crotch, thigh to thigh, the Earth rocking gently beneath us, with us, shuddering with us, a series of orgasms, my groans, my sighs lost, muffled as she pulls my head down into the soil, and I understand something about the nature of sex, something of the male perversion of intercourse, of penetration: the gaining of power through conquest, when, in fact, the collapse of the duality of male and female is a doorway, a way back into the Garden. Something like that. And I think she whispers to me, "my son, my child, my lover, my brother."

I give myself to her, surrender myself to the aged crone that she is when she lifts herself from me, eye to eye, her face worn and wrinkled, the thin gray braid: the medicine woman from the *altiplano,* she who held my hand as El Viejo died. Her breasts sag like wrinkled pears, her lips stretch in a yellow-toothed smile, the corners of her glistening black, black eyes wrinkle, and she laughs and I draw her down to me, inside of me.

Strange that I feel no repulsion, stranger that as I surrender myself to her, she is once again blemishless, young and strong, the daughter of the jungle? Breathe in her humid scent, the Amazon?

Lover, sister, mother, crone. What metamorphosis is this? Do I change too? The heartbeat that I feel is within me, not mine, above and below, at once.

As am I. Where is my place? Are there two of me? Here in the meadow and here, beneath the ruins, seeing the city from the bottom up? Cradled by the Earth, the dirt and stone. Three of me, because there must be *another* me, the one thinking this thought.

A shuddering climax in the meadow, she pushes herself up from me

and back. Legs straighten and she stands before me, Indian maiden, daughter of the mountain, walks away, toward the stone, stops there. She turns her crooked yellow medicine woman smile to me, a last look, and steps into the stone.

. . . But the North was none of these things that I thought.

Last night I fell into the Earth, returned to it, a prodigal son. I witnessed something that I will try to understand, then leave alone.

Time is not inflected by gravity in the center of the Earth.

Time lapsed.

And there was the I that lay in the meadow, dreaming.

The I that fell into the Earth saw it from the inside out, sensed its fertility, its pregnancy. Floating in space within the Earth, a prebirth experience in a rock-and-crystal–lined amniotic sac, feeling all the while that I knew what it was to be pregnant, to hold life forming within me.

And there were faces there. I saw them on the walls of the space that I inhabited, on the edges of my awareness, in the corners of perception. Faces ancient as the mountains and of the same stuff, earth, rock, volcanic wrinkles, liquid eyes, everywhere I looked, at every moment, within the moment, simultaneous, infinite exposures.

Was this the council of elders? The crystal cave of legend?

Another mind began to assign historical, religious significance to them, the Christ, the Buddha, undreamed-of faces that I knew, recognized, but could not identify. . . . Antonio? Don Jicaram?

"Antonio?"

The word is carried on a wave, a concentric wave, before me, and the rocks shift, the ice melts, water trickling along new crevices, features forming, replacing the old with the new, another face, and no! This mind is stuck in the past. The mind of graven images. I need not will myself to see and understand. Yes, I can see that other mind thinking now, as the shapes shift. Let go. I do not need to identify you to know you. All of you. I need not think here.

There are memories here in these faces, faces of the ancient ancestors. I cannot place them, need not place them, but will I remember?

Meanwhile, there were still stars above. The moon was steady in its

orbit, moving across the Machu Picchu sky, the shadows were shifting, Eduardo was approaching, cautiously. . . .

And I wonder if I cannot claim the lineage of these men and women of the past. We are family, of course, because we come from the same place, share a heritage.

The Sun impregnates the Earth, and life is born of that union, the mating of Sun and Earth. The creative principle, single-cell consciousness.

It is the Nature of things.

> I awoke this morning, cold and stiff at sunrise. Damp with morning dew soaking my shirt, clinging to the narrow weed stalks of the meadow. I slept in a fetal position, huddled against the cold of the night. Eduardo draped a poncho over me last night. I found Eduardo not far off, asleep in a corner of a thatched-roof stone hut fifty paces from the Pachamama Stone (which looks particularly cold and formidable in the light of day).
>
> Thought awhile before waking him up.

The sun was not yet over the mountains to the east, and there was time to think before waking him, before the first rays of the morning touched the Inti Huatana.

I decided that I had fallen asleep and dreamed. Eleven thousand feet and we had been hiking all day yesterday and I had been overcome by the grandeur of this place and my own physical exhaustion. I decided that I had fallen asleep in the meadow and dreamed the maiden, the descent into the Earth, the walls of the space in the center of the Earth, my fractionated consciousness, my many minds, a kaleidoscope of ecstatic states. . . .

A dream.

And Eduardo had left me to dream, covered me with a poncho and left me there in the meadow, in the playing fields of sleep.

"You've been fucked by God, *compadre.*" Eduardo's first words to me on waking.

Eduardo had stood on the edge of the clearing and witnessed my lovemaking with the maiden.

I tested him. The clinician to the last, I said nothing, just listened. His description of the Indian woman was correct to the final detail. He laughed at his own description of me copulating with the crone in the meadow before the stone.

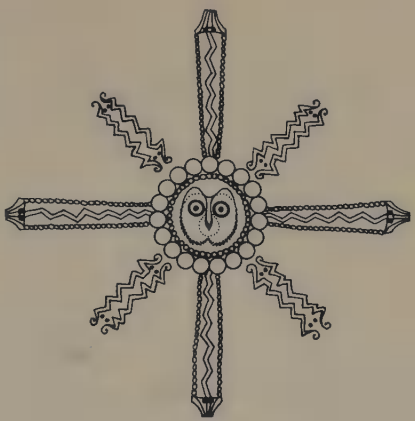
He said that I had appeared to fall into a trance, *un ensueño*. He was afraid to approach, afraid to disturb my state. He sat nearby, on the edge of the clearing, and the night was alive with energies. Luminous figures, many with golden breastplates, hooded figures of men and women, white condors with ruffled necks, spiraling lights. In a reverie he had traveled to the top of Huayna Picchu, where, he said, there was a Temple of the Moon, long ago destroyed, walls, pillars, portals, existing as energy forms etched with geometric figures, and, at the entrance, a Sun framed by two half-moons shaped like cats: the marriage of the Sun and the Moon, masculine and feminine.

He had returned to the meadow, seen that I had fallen asleep, had covered me with a poncho.

We left the Pachamama and crossed the courtyard, climbed the steps to the Inti Huatana, the "hitching post of the Sun," where the Sun was tied by Inca priests on the occasion of the winter solstice.

As the Sun crested the mountains to the east and its first rays touched the stone, so did we touch our foreheads to the cool granite surface. And, in so doing, acknowledged the gifts of this place, made our obeisance to the spirits of those who lived here, died here, and the legacy of insight that these stones represented to those who came with purity of purpose and impeccable intent.

East



20

No theory is good except on condition that one uses it to go beyond.
—André Gide

I need not elaborate much on my years of work with Eduardo. As he had foreseen, we traveled together, laughed together, discovered together the places of power and how they lent themselves to the stages of the Medicine Wheel.

Although curiosity about non-Western healing, both physical and psychological, had drawn me to research and document healing traditions in Mexico, Brazil, and Peru, my experience had taught me something of the fundamental concept of shamanism: that changes in health cannot occur without changes in lifestyle. With time my interest in healing became an interest in personal transformation. It had become increasingly clear to me that the journey of the Four Winds, the path of the Medicine Wheel, was a journey into Eros, the feminine, the intuitive mind, the place of myth and dreams. Most of the human species was living under the dictatorship of logos, the patriarchal, rational mind of the last half of the second millennium.

The concept of a psychology of the sacred began to take shape, and, in 1983, I invited twelve individuals from five countries to join Eduardo and me on a journey of initiation, an introduction to the steps of power along the Medicine Wheel. We would travel, as Eduardo and I had, to Paracas Bay, to Nazca, to the Temple of the Sun and the Temple of the Moon near Trujillo, and to Machu Picchu. The extraordinary experiences shared by this cross-cultural "tribe" would form the basis of *Healing States* and a six-hour documentary film of the same name.

There is no specific formula for transformation within the shamanic

tradition. There is the concept of the Medicine Wheel, the Journey of the Four Winds; but the lessons learned and skills acquired along the way are not dependent upon specific places of power. Shamanism is not a religion; it is not a regimented system of devotion. Ultimately it is an attitude, a personal discipline, a state of mind. I once asked Antonio if the healing spirit occupied the unconscious mind. He shook his head and replied that spirit is simply mind at its purest. That exchange has always held for me something of the essence of his teaching.

Nevertheless, Eduardo and I had discovered a tightly knit program, a travel itinerary, that served the steps of the Medicine Wheel, and the high plateaus, sacred peaks, and wild jungles of Peru would be my laboratory, my classroom, where I would experiment, teach, and learn.

Perhaps in creating a forum for learning through experience, by leading groups on such expeditions, I began my own work of the East. According to legend, the eagle path in the East is the return to one's tribe. In the East the individual accepts the gift of vision and the task of exercising that vision to create a better world politically, ecologically, and personally, to dream the possible future. Indeed, I had no interest in people seeking a self-serving transcendental experience. Luckily, those who have traveled with me over the years have, by and large, used their experiences as starting points for their journeys, not as the end products.

But although I imagined that I had found the way East, I was only half right. As usual, there were challenges yet ahead, just over the horizon.

Don Florentino Garcia had been Eduardo's teacher, his mentor. I never met the old man, although I would have reason to feel the effect of his death. Don Florentino was the keeper of the sacred lagoons of Las Huaringas, the place where legend held that shamans had come for centuries to receive their initiation as masters. When the old man died one February, it fell to Eduardo to take his place, to journey to the lagoons and claim his stewardship over its waters and initiations. According to untraceable tradition, he had one year from the date of don Florentino's death to assume his responsibility.

But Eduardo, my friend and *compadre,* had begun to fall under the spell of his own power, become seduced by his own persona and the sychophancy of the New Age Europe and United States. He traveled the shamanic circuit, serving the popular folklore. It is the trap that waits for those who identify themselves with their teachings, carve graven images of themselves. We continued to work together, but I soon became sensitized

to his growing weakness. He avoided his journey to the lagoons, and the responsibility began to follow him and sap his strength.

As the February approached and, with it, the date that would mark the anniversary of don Florentino's death, I invited a select group of friends and traveling companions to join Eduardo on his pilgrimage, to participate in his ceremony of the redemption of Las Huaringas. It would be a difficult expedition, requiring us to pack into the hills on horseback and on foot, with burros to carry our gear.

When we gathered in Cuzco, Eduardo announced that we would not be going. There had been rains, he said, and the roads and paths had been destroyed. Another time, he said.

We made the best of it. We traveled instead to San Pedro las Castas and the lagoons of Marcahuasi, situated atop a mesa at twelve thousand feet. We descended to the lagoons through ancient ruins to a natural amphitheater surrounded by smooth granite monoliths carved by time and the elements and eerily resembling human faces. There we performed a ceremony of initiation that mimicked that which Eduardo had avoided in Las Huaringas. It was a powerful experience to those who had made the journey, but it was not what we had set out to do, and, watching Eduardo there, I knew that he had failed his challenge. That he had lost an opportunity.

Two events that followed in close succession are worth noting.

The group assembled in Machu Picchu. All those gathered had been there before, and our spirits were high as we entered the ruins at the Gateway of the Sun while Eduardo stood to one side, learning against his carved ceremonial walking staff, and I brought up the rear. I paused before entering and smiled at him. He shook his head and turned to enter the city, planting his staff before him.

Before my eyes, and the disbelieving stares of our group, Eduardo's staff, six feet long hardwood carved in the form of a serpent, leaped from his hands and snapped, fell to the ground in two pieces. He was profoundly shaken by the incident. I suggested to him that this might be an omen, a sign that he, or perhaps we, should not enter the ruins. He waved me off with an impatient gesture, and we crossed the courtyard together.

Ten minutes later, at the Inti Huatana, Eduardo was seized by what I and a medical doctor with the group recognized as an epileptic seizure. He screamed my name and fell face first onto the stones, his eyes crossed hideously in his badly torn face, and, had we not managed to force a bandanna into his mouth, I am sure that he would have bitten through his tongue.

Elliot, the physician, and I carried Eduardo from the ruins, down the hill to the hotel. He recovered physically from his anomalous seizure, although I feel that he is still recovering emotionally, psychologically, spiritually.

Las Huaringas was destroyed later that month, one year to the day after don Florentino's death. The wooden thatched-roof huts that ringed the lagoons were burned; the standing walls of the temples there were knocked down, and the waters were polluted with the charred refuse from the fires. There were shamans in the area who, angered by Eduardo's resolution to share his knowledge with outsiders, disapproving perhaps of his work in Europe and the United States, may have been responsible for the ravaging of this place of legend. We will never know and it is of little consequence. Perhaps someday Eduardo will return to the lagoons and begin to repair the damage. I will be honored to help him.

It was also at this time that an idea that had been struggling to form itself for years began finally to take shape. I cannot identify the moment when it crystallized. It did not spring fully formed and armored like Athena from the head of Zeus, but I was able, one night in Cuzco, to write about it in my current journal.

June 21, 1983
Tambo Machay

Think of Medicine Wheel as a neurological map for overriding the four operative programs of the limbic brain—fear, feeding, fighting, and sex.

Can look at the Medicine Wheel as a simple progression starting in the South: shedding of the past, death, birth, flight.

South, West, North, and East.

Fine. Can we relate the four directions to the four f's?

The mythological themes of the South seem to address the feeding instinct, the "making sure our plate is full," our hunger for love, support, and filling our bellies. Our attachment to the things of the

world. In the South we shed our personal past, shed the self that is an outcast from the Garden and condemned to travel naked, hungry, and unloved by Nature.

And we free the spirits of our personal past, that they may find peace and that they may no longer feed on our present.

Am I grasping for straws, or am I close to something here?

I think I am close, because the South is the Serpent Path, the uruboros, life engaged in the process of eating, life eating life. Feeding.

There is something here, it is metaphorical, mythological. . . .

The West. This is easy. One goes to meet one's death and step beyond fear. By facing death and learning the spirit flight, we identify with the transcendent, immortal Self, we free ourselves from the grip of fear and claim our lives to the fullest, for we can no longer be claimed by death. We face the unknown, that which we fear the most. Fear.

The North. The Feminine. Eros. Where we claim the lineage of men and women of knowledge. The place of the androgynous mind, the creative principle that we personify as God, the union of Sun (masculine) and Earth (feminine), from which all life claims a common ground. Sex. Obviously.

The East. The way of the visionary, whose task is to overcome pride and self-aggrandizement, to envision the possible human. The place of nonviolence in a world divided by struggle. Fighting.

How curious that this ancient formula could relate to the prime functions of a primitive brain, functions that have kept human behavior and consciousness in check for millennia.

Thoughts tumbling over one another: The neocortex developed at a time when primitive man was living under the influence of an absorbed limbic brain, i.e., an animistic environment in which all things in heaven and Earth were visible, living things. The limbic brain was supersaturated with the stimuli of the environment when the neocortex made its appearance, allowing the human to become self-reflexive and distance himself from the environment and its in-

fluences by invoking logic and assigning definition to experience—the exodus from the Garden—here man has become as one of us in knowing good and bad. . . .

And, even after the appearance of the thinking brain, the limbic brain continued to drive the neural machinery and steer the course of human history.

Feeding—our oral and anal fixations—our first act as infants, to seek the breast, to continue to associate food with security and satisfaction.

Fear—of conflict, pain, death certainly. The unknown. We will go to any length to avoid the things we fear.

Sex. Need hardly make the point. We are a race driven to distraction by lust, capable of consumption by passion.

Fighting, the violent impulses that we harbor, that can be directed outward toward others, or inward toward ourselves. Suicide is an internalized murder impulse.

Sociological manifestations:

Grain is rotting in silos while millions go hungry at home and abroad.

Billions of dollars are made annually by advertisers targeting our fears.

Sex and violence share equal billing. Violence in the media is graphically unprecedented. New forms of pathological violence are breeding in our cities: the madman with the automatic weapon who massacres schoolchildren, the woman who kills middle-aged men and buries them in her backyard, the pack of teenagers who beat and rape, laughing, sliding on the razor edge between pain and pleasure.

Are we approaching saturation? Again?

Is the ability to override the prime directives of the primitive brain, to step into a new and grander consciousness the next quantum leap in the evolution of this species?

A consummation devoutly to be wished.

A few months later I stood beside the Death Stone, on the little hill overlooking the ruins of Machu Picchu. The group had worked diligently in

Paracas Bay and Nazca. Now we were preparing to engage in the ritual of symbolic death before entering the gates of the city.

The Sun, radiant in the thin Andean air, had broken through the cloud cover of the morning.

"In Nazca," I said, "we discovered that the past that binds us, restricts and guides our behavior, must be captured before it is set free, found before it is lost, worn until it is sloughed off."

I shielded my eyes from the glare of the Sun and happened to glance down to my right. A group of children had entered the ruins. They were headed for the Inti Huatana.

"What we are doing is attempting to enter into a realm of metaphor and myth. With the use of ceremony and ritual, we are engaging with, playing with, the symbols and poetry of a primitive consciousness, bypassing the question-and-answer discourse of our rational minds. There are no hard and fast rules. Our only obligation is to be fully present in the context of these rituals, to free ourselves to whatever we experience. . . ."

That, I believe, was the gist of what I was saying when I glanced again to my right and noticed the figure leading the children. It is some distance from the Death Stone to the Sun Stone, too far to identify an individual, but there was something about the way he moved. A poncho and a wide-brimmed straw hat moved with a familiar stride away from the Sun Stone and disappeared around a corner.

I interrupted myself, excused myself from the group, and trotted down the hill, through the Gateway of the Sun, and across the courtyards of the city. The schoolchildren were not wearing uniforms; they were Indian children, probably from some rural community or village nearby. They sat politely around the Sun Stone, chattering, playing with flutes, whistles, and other such artifacts available at the train station at the base of the mountain.

I hitched up my pants, squatted beside one, a little girl, and asked where her teacher was. She smiled up at me and pointed back toward the Temple of the Spirit Flight. He had gone, she said, to fetch Julio.

There is a room, a chamber behind the Temple of the Spirit Flight. It is an echo room where words whispered reverberate, can be heard even on the other side of the wall, at the dais of the temple. It was there that I found him. He was tying a strip of cloth to Julio's leg. The little boy had wandered away, tripped, and skinned his knee.

"Antonio?"

He looked up from beneath the brim of his straw hat, and the wrinkles of his face creased in a wide grin. His eyes still glistened.

"There!" He held Julio's face in his hand and said, "Run back to the group now. I will be with you in a moment. You be in charge until I return." The little boy smiled and wiped his cheek with a soiled hand and ran off to join his playmates.

21

I can't just suddenly tell you
what I should be telling you,
friend, forgive me; you know
that although you don't hear my words,
I wasn't asleep or in tears,
that I'm with you without seeing you
for a good long time and until the end.

—Pablo Neruda

Antonio had grown old. There was nothing surprising in this, it was only that my assumption of his death had frozen the image I carried of him. But here he was, a handsome old Indian in his mid-seventies, sitting on a lip of granite. He removed his hat and I saw that his hair, once silver-gray, had turned white.

I just stood there, transfixed by his presence.

"Well," he said. He looked me up and down, my trousers, hiking boots, cotton shirt, sunglasses pushed up on my forehead. "I am glad to see that you have not turned into an Indian. Are you hungry?"

He reached under his poncho and produced his little woven pouch.

"Where the hell have you been?" My question bounced off the walls a couple of times, and I moved to a spot I knew would not produce such a raucous echo. Don Jicaram molded a ball of yucca and corn paste.

"I am an old man," he said. "I have returned to my people. When you returned to your home, I realized that my old suits were as unbecoming on me as a poncho and straw hat would be on you." He smiled at this and handed me a portion of food. Our fingers touched and he looked up into my eyes. "It is true that a shaman can leap between the worlds, not only of spirit, but the worlds of culture. You have shown that. So have I. But it was time for me to go home."

"I thought that you had died."

He raised his eyebrows and nodded. "I did," he said. "I died to one of my lives. But you should have known that there was no cause for mourning or anger. Like the jaguar, we have many lives. Part of our task is to learn to leap gracefully from one to the next when one comes to its natural end." He unslung his *bota* from his shoulder and took a drink and handed it to me. "You have been busy," he said. "I am glad."

And I began to tell him of my work, my return to Peru, my meeting Eduardo, my journey North, but I stopped just after I had begun. He knew where I had been. I could see it in his eyes. We grinned at each other. And then he changed the subject on me.

"The thing to understand," he said, "is that the awakening of the ancient memories of the North is not you, the individual, remembering, because you will only remember the events of your life. It is, rather, stepping through the crack between the worlds and taking your place among the twice born, all those who have conquered death. They are those who have done battle with the archetypes and the forces of Nature to become persons of knowledge. They are our ancestors, the trustees of the Earth." He pulled two cinnamon bark sticks from his pouch and handed me one and stuck one in the corner of his mouth.

"The maiden who came to me from the Pachamama . . ."

Antonio laughed with delight. "So! You met the crone, the spirit of the Mother. How did she appear to you?"

And I explained to him how she had stepped out from the Pachamama Stone, maiden and crone, had made love to me, had impregnated me with an awareness of life there, in the meadow.

"She touches us all in different ways," he said. "When I first met her she took me through the labyrinths." He inclined his head in the direction of Huayna Picchu and the Temple of the Moon. "Obviously she used the means that would most capture your attention."

"Did you see the faces?" I asked.

He nodded. "They are the ones who have come before us and who will follow." He removed the cinnamon stick from his mouth and said: "Become them and allow them to become you, and their memories will grow in you, for they are who you are becoming. You must stand on their shoulders, just like Julio and the other little ones will someday stand on yours."

There was a long pause. He stuck the bark back in his mouth. "History trusts us with a responsibility and we abdicate, take refuge in the drama of our personal past. We dishonor history and the lineage of our species when

we do not honor our ancestors. We must step outside of ordinary history and go beyond."

"And the Eagle Path?"

"The way of the visionary," he replied. "Where we dream with our eyes open. We all have a future, my friend, but only men and women of knowledge have the possibility of a destiny. In the East the shaman assumes full responsibility for who we are becoming and influences destiny by envisioning the possible."

"There is a popular belief that there are ways of achieving transcendence and gaining control of one's destiny," I said.

He sucked his teeth and shook his head. "Destiny is not something over which you seek to gain control. Control of one's destiny is . . . an oxymoron. But a man or woman of power can *influence* it. Learn to dance with it. Lead it across the dance floor of time."

"Where do you begin?" I asked.

He lifted his brows in a question, looked at me for a long moment, and then nodded. "With the children," he said. He tapped the top of his head with his forefinger and smiled broadly. "The crack between the worlds," he said. "The gap in the skull that we are born with, that closes soon after birth. The seams are still there. They mark the spot." He waved his hand as though to brush away all but this: "We can split atoms and splice genes. The threads of our destiny are in our hands. The task is in braiding them together and leading ourselves into the future."

"And it begins with the children," I said.

He nodded, then stood. "And I must get back to mine."

He slung the *bota* over his shoulder. He placed a hand on my shoulder, as he had done so many times in the past. "Don't stop now, my friend. Stand on our shoulders and look to a distant horizon. We live through you and within you. I see you every month in my full-moon fire." He cleared his throat. "We will meet again," he said. "We have traveled well together, and there are places where I cannot go alone."

He took my hand in his. "It is good to know these things, is it not?"

I squeezed his hand. *"Hasta pronto,"* I said.

"Hasta pronto," he said. And he was gone.

I have not seen him since.

I returned to the group; we completed our work at the Death Stone, entered the ruins, and spent the night there.

The next morning we made our way down the mountain and boarded

the train to Cuzco. There are little girls, Indian girls of ten or twelve, who sell trinkets to the tourists, souvenir ceramic beads, necklaces made from old Peruvian coins, flutes and whistles, and such, and over the years I had come to know most of them. As I was boarding the train, one of them, the youngest, called my name. I turned and smiled down at her.

"The old man told me to give you this," she said. She held out her hand, and I took the tiny cloth-wrapped bundle from her palm. I thanked her, bought a couple of simple silver earrings, kidded with her, took my place on the train, and unwrapped the gold owl from don Jicaram's *mesa*. Night vision, forgotten knowledge, the object that I had held the first time I had run, fully conscious, through a forest on the *altiplano*.

22

Between the idea
And the reality
Between the motion
And the act
Falls the Shadow.

—T. S. Eliot

April 5, 1987
Machu Picchu

After hours. Writing by the light of the fire, the best light to write by. This is a unique group. Ten of the eighteen have *not* been inordinately blown away by ritual, have *not* sought instantly to frame their experiences in intricate superstructures of logic and preconception. Their skepticism is healthy, not a thing to fall back on, to find temporary comfort in.

C. is making an issue of keeping me in line. I'm getting sick of her feminism, though. East Coast liberal, stubborn, privileged, Phi Beta Kappa–type, pain in the ass that she is. An M.D. to boot. At least two of the men are in love with her and she remains independent and aloof, her spirit is indomitable. *She* is indomitable, or acts as though she *thinks* she is. We'll see.

"Close your eyes."

"Why?"

Why. We had boarded the train from Machu Picchu to Cuzco. I had purchased the tickets that morning and had doled out a small fortune in *mordida,* money to assure the group of first-class seats on an overbooked train. It had been easy to arrange for us to share a compartment.

"A surprise," I said.

Her eyes, hazel green, searched mine. I raised my eyebrows. "Close them."

She drew a deep breath, exhaled with something just short of a sigh, and closed them. I pulled a grenada fruit from my pocket and split it open with my thumb. She was smiling. The fruit was ripe, juice dripping from my fingertips to the floor of the compartment.

"Well?" she said.

"Open your mouth."

Her smile lifted into a grin, and she leaned her head back and to one side. I looked at her neck. She shook her head.

"Don't you trust me?"

"No."

"Open it," I laughed.

She seemed to make a decision. Her shoulders dropped half an inch, then her lips parted, tongue ready to taste anything. I reached across, hand wavering slightly with the rocking of the train, and placed a wedge of the fruit between her lips. She bit down and the juice ran down her chin. She caught the drop with her forefinger, opened her eyes, and smiled at me with them.

I went to Brazil to write. She returned to New York, then followed. A month later I held a seminar in Germany. She surprised me there. I moved back to Marin County and she gave up a second-year residency at a prestigious hospital to move with me. She applied to three hospitals, was accepted by three, and is currently working at Stanford University Medical Center.

In February of 1988 I led an expedition on a trek along the Inca trail to Machu Picchu, and returned to witness the birth of our son in March.

January 7, 1989
Death Valley

Second day, three-day workshop in the desert. Missing C. terribly. No phone. Spoke with her night before last. Aching for her. Ago-

nizing over whether or not Ian will remember his father after a week's absence. What sweet pain this is.

Midday and the group has scattered, wandered off into the desert. We are fasting and they have left our circle for a day's vision quest. I have built a makeshift signpost of desert driftwood, a red bandanna tied to a long branch like a flag to mark our rendezvous point. I should stay here to maintain a center for them, yet I feel that by-now familiar something moving me.

There is something out there on the eastern horizon. I can see where it is, though there is nothing to see but sand dunes, a mile off.

But I must wait here. It is my responsibility to wait, to hold the center.

Later

Hell with it. This is too strong a pull, and the anxiety is turning my stomach.

I left the circle and headed off over the dunes. January in the desert and the sun was baking the sand and the air that during the night had been near freezing. It was much farther than I had thought, like those dreams where you walk toward a thing on the horizon that keeps receding, because a horizon is relative to you, and you know that you will never reach it, although you feel yourself drawing nearer.

The sand was virgin, soft and deep, and by the time I reached the base of the dune that I sought, my legs were aching, the sweat was dripping down my face, neck, and chest. I had shed my parka and tied it around my waist, peeled off my shirt and tied it around my head. Above me was a lip of sand at the crest of the dune, wind-whipped to a fine edge, and I struggled up the slope, two steps up, one step lost, sliding back in the sand, halfway up, only to slip back to the base, sand sticking to my arms and chest, overheated, panting at the effort.

I turned and looked back in the direction from which I had come, squinted against the reflected sunlight, could not see the bandanna. I checked my watch and realized that I had walked an hour to get to where I was. Three miles? Maybe.

I looked back at the slope, the crest above me, and saw something that I had failed to notice before. To the right, other footprints in the sand, on the slope, leading up, over its edge. The prints were indistinct, dimples in the soft sand, but the spacing was unmistakable. Someone was there, over the crest of the dune. Waiting for me? One of the group? I looked back along the way I had come, at my trail of footprints in the sand, saw that there was another, that I had walked along without realizing that I walked in the footsteps of another.

By now I had caught my breath, although my heart was pounding at the eeriness of it all. Adrenaline rushing, I scrambled up the slope, and, although the crest gave way, a miniature sandslide, I managed to make it over the top.

The footprints were there, on the top of the dune, those that had gone before me, those that I had followed. They ended there. I scanned the horizon, 360 degrees of dazzling bright wind-sculpted dunes. From there I could see the bandanna, a tiny fleck on the horizon, miles away. Then I felt a presence. Felt it between my shoulder blades. Behind me now.

I turn back and the Sun makes me squint, sweat stings my eyes and I blink it away, and there, where the footsteps end, am I. Stripped to the waist, sunburned and sinewy, healthier than I, leaner than I, he sits, cross-legged, wrists resting on knees, eyes closed, head leaning back slightly. His throat is taut, exposed.

It is I, there is no mistake. There are no moon shadows here to play tricks on me.

> I have seen so much, encountered so many manifestations of life and spirit in my travels, yet, it is somewhat comforting to know that I can be astonished. As Eduardo said, I am always surprised when a vision steps into my life. It is a happy thing.
>
> And there is a self that clings to semirational consciousness, and I knelt in the sand and touched one of the footprints. Like pinching yourself when you think you might be dreaming.

And as I look across the sand, his eyes open and his face breaks into a grin, and I think, Is this a trap? An hallucination brought on by the Sun?

And I realized that I had a choice.

I could have walked away from the man on the dune. I could have returned to the self that never left the circle, that swallowed the urge to

wander off, that waited dutifully for the members of the group to wander back from their day in the desert.

> I have returned, back to the circle. The first back. No one need ever know that I left. . . .

And he laughs, laughs at my foolishness, my self-doubt. And I laugh. I came out of curiosity, no expectations. I came seeking nothing, following an impulse. To find the other. He whom I had left in the jungle.

He told me so.

He unfolded his legs and stood before me and the Sun at my back cast one shadow, mine, across the sand and through him. He spread his arms, palms up.

We embraced.

And I sat in the sand at the crest of the dune, closed my eyes to the Sun, and remembered things that had no business being in my memory.

> There is no such thing as an integrated self, a real you. Antonio's last words begin to make sense. The concept is manifesting itself. . . .
>
> It is not a question of multiple states of consciousness, but of multiple selves.
>
> I have met a significant other. The one I left in the jungle, the one who has followed the path of the warrior while I was engaged with my life, searching for destiny, looking to the North. He has been traveling all this time.

I am hard pressed to describe the things I learned. There will be a time and space elsewhere to test, explore, experience the knowledge that settled into my consciousness that afternoon.

I would not relate this particular incident here were it not for its sublime irony in the face of what had come before. After so many years the hunter and the hunted, stalking power and being stalked by it, to come to the top of a simple sand dune and there live an echo of an experience in a clearing before a ruined temple when I had encountered myself in an attitude of meditation, had opened my eyes to stare into the eyes of the jaguar. I had left that self at the bottom of a lagoon, to find him years later at the

top of a dune in Death Valley. That the power that I connected with should manifest as myself, should rise from the bottom of a lagoon and walk, casting no shadow, a warrior, an etheric self.

Since writing this I have begun to understand the challenges that lie ahead of me. But, as I have said, these things belong in another space, at another time.

Suffice it here to say that I began to know something of the nature of the Medicine Wheel, the journey of the Four Winds that I had been traveling since I first boarded that jetliner so many Februarys ago.

> I know that the power that one may acquire on the journey of the Four Winds is made of more than knowledge gained, epiphanies of spirit, responsibility felt, and the skills to become a caretaker of the Earth. It is also the acquiring of different lives.
>
> There is an energy body. One acquires this in the South.
>
> There is a Nature body, an etheric body that one acquires in the West. The body of the jaguar. This is the body I found on the dune.
>
> There is an astral body, one that has a lifetime of the stars. This is in the North. The body of the ancient masters. A mystical body. Wisdom of the universe.
>
> There is, I think, a causal body in the East. The thought before the action. That which exists before the fact. Creative principle. The eagle body.
>
> So here I am, knowing that I must continue my journey. There are new questions to be answered. There are experiences yet to be served.

I sat in the sand for a time, and when I stood and walked down the dune, I took care to go by a different route.

I turned at the far base of the dune and looked up and watched the sand sliding down, a crystalline wave, a ripple that swept slowly, slipping along the face of the dune to cover our footprints. And I recalled that the person of knowledge walks without leaving tracks.

June 12, 1989
Home

Sitting in the living room, before the fire. I went across the street where there is a steep embankment down to a creek that winds through town. There are oak trees and eucalyptus, and I gathered the wood for this fire, made three trips.

This is a fire that cannot be built of store-bought logs.

My lover, my sister, my wife, and friend just returned from thirty-six hours on call. Healing the sick, dispensing care. She walked into the living room, saw me here, came up behind me and touched my shoulder. She said she was going upstairs to see our son, fifteen months old. She sits with him when he sleeps.

She whispered that she loved me and left. She saw the things on the floor, knows what I am doing here. I have an urge to leave the fire and follow her upstairs, to kiss our son and to take her to bed. I feel my love and desire for her glowing, rising from my belly, but I must attend to business.

She saw the journals spread out in a semicircle before me. Volumes of them. Some are cardboard-bound composition books, there is one spiral-bound without a cover. Many have lost their stitching or the glue that holds the pages has decomposed and the pages are loose. There's one that's all taped up, another held together with a rubber band.

Then there is that one, first one, leather bound, the heaviest of them all.

I have been through them all, some for the first time in years. I've made my selections and there is a manuscript on the desk in the office.

This has been my journey East. This book, an attempt to serve the experiences that have changed me. To share them as best I can. But here, before me, all these memories, the experiences, fatuous philosophy and revelations of spring water clarity. Fifteen years of work. A life captured in words.

Experiences that I can serve best by freeing them. Honor them best by giving them to the fire, consigning them all to the flames of this

fire. I welcome the spirits that will rise from the fire, bless them and honor them all, free them and free myself, that I may once again step into my present fully. And live every moment as an act of power.

So here I am, a finished book, my work of the East, and I'm already doing the work of the South. Again.

Full circle, like the Medicine Wheel, a circle passing through the cardinal points of the compass, the stages of evolving consciousness, the seasons. Never-ending circle, cycle, uruboros.

And I've learned something else. That of all of my experiences, in all of my travels across the Earth and through it, of all the feelings I have felt, my love for her is the holiest. There is perfect truth in that. Something that can be experienced but not told.

What, after all, have I been searching for? What, after all, is the power that I have acquired in my journeys? I can summon Nature within me, can see things hidden from sight, can soar beyond myself, can teach others such skills, yet the ultimate state of consciousness, the Divine within me is the thing that glows in my belly, rises through my body, illuminates my Self with a healing light when I look at her.

There.

I have found that I need to tear the pages from the bindings, for I do not want anything left readable in the morning.

The older the pages, the faster they burn.

Nevertheless, the fire seems to hesitate, as if the flames are reluctant to touch the last, the oldest, the first.

It must be my imagination.

All that is left is this.

Writing this last sentence before adding it to all the others, hoping that I'll remember what I wrote, because it might, after all, be the best way to close the ceremony, to end the book.

I had every intention of writing a last sentence and placing it in the fire, creating a dramatic moment. But, as Antonio once said, self-conscious ritual

is no ritual at all, and as the last page torn from the journal neared the flames, my hand began to tremble.

I was just wondering why when I heard a yawn, and, turning, saw her standing beneath the archway of the living room. Our son was in her arms, his head on her shoulder. Half-asleep, half-awake, between two worlds and in his mother's arms.

I realized that my journey is best marked by beginnings, not endings.

I tossed the page into the fire, stood, slipped the little gold owl into my pocket, and turned to join my family.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

All praise and thanks belong to Allah, Lord of the Universe. May Allah's blessings and peace be upon the last of the prophets and messengers Muhammad, his family, Companions, and all those who follow his footsteps till the end of time.

This is the second book of the Islamic Creed (*'aqeedah*) series by Dr. 'Umar Sulaymaan al-Ashqar. It deals with the world of the Angels, an integral part of the Islamic faith. Persons denying the existence of Angels go outside the pale of Islam.

As usual, Dr. Al-Ashqar has discussed this issue exhaustively. His arguments are based on the texts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. He has covered all aspects of the topic: definition, origin and characteristics, kinds and their relationship with mankind and other creation. Moreover, he draws a comparison between mankind and the angels in their respective roles as determined by Allah. A number of editions of the Arabic original have been sold out.

We are pleased to present this excellent English translation of a very popular book. May Allah bless with acceptance the efforts of the author, the translator and all those associated with the publication of this work.

Muhammad ibn 'Abdul-Muḥsin Al Tuwaijri
General Manager
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TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

Belief in the Unseen *(Al-Ghayb)* is one of the basic tenets of Islam, and forms an important part of Islamic teachings. One of the unseen worlds of which Islam tells us is the world of the angels, who are described in great detail in the Qur'an and Sunnah and who are involved with man throughout his life.

From the moment an individual is conceived in his mother's womb, until his death and beyond, angels play a role in human life. Angels accompany the human being, protecting him and keeping a record of all his deeds. Angels bring forth the soul of the deceased person/s and they bring comfort or inflict torment in the grave. An angel will sound the Trumpet on the Last Day, and angels will be present on the Day of Judgement until they accompany people to their ultimate destination in Paradise or Hell.

Almost all human cultures, ancient and modern, have some kind of belief about angels. The pre-Islamic Arabs believed them to be daughters of the Almighty. Some philosophers thought that angels were the stars in the sky. In modern times there has been a resurgence of interest in angels, and they feature prominently in movies and other forms of popular western culture. Stories featuring angels circulate on the internet and various kinds of gifts, bearing supposed images of angels, gift shops in the west.

But these myths have no role to play in the belief of the Muslim. Our beliefs are based on the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah, which tell us all we need to know about the reality of the unseen, including the world of the angels. Belief in the angels brings comfort to man's soul; this belief makes man feel that he is important in the sight of Allah, and that he matters a lot to Him; this belief also encourages a person to strive in the path of goodness. Hence it is of the utmost importance for the

Muslim to understand what Islam says about the angels, and what the implications of this knowledge are for his daily life. In this book, Dr. 'Umar al-Ashqar draws on the sources of Islam to give us a comprehensive picture of who the angels are, their origins, their role in the universe and their interaction with mankind in this world and the next.

May Allah reward the author for his presentation of the Islamic belief in the angels. May He guide us on the Straight Path which leads to Paradise, and may He grant us admittance to that eternal abode where the angels will welcome the believers with greetings of *salaam*. May Allah bless our Prophet Muhammad and his family and Companions, and grant them peace.

Naṣiruddin al-Khaṭṭab

Translator's Note:

All translations of the meaning of the Qur'anic quotations have been taken from "Translation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an" by Dr. Muhammad Muḥsin Khan and Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali, unless otherwise stated.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

Praise be to Allah. We praise Him and seek His help, forgiveness and guidance. We seek refuge in Allah from the evil of our own selves and from our evil actions. Whomsoever Allah guides, none can lead astray, and whomsoever He leads astray, none can guide. I bear witness that there is no god except Allah alone, with no associate or partner, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

Belief in the angels is one of the basic principles of *'aqeedah*, and faith is not complete without this belief. The angels form one of the worlds of the Unseen, belief in which is commanded by Allah, Who praises those who believe in what Allah and His Messenger (ﷺ) have told us about them.

The texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah speak in detail about all aspects of this subject. Whoever studies these texts will come to have a clear belief in the angels and realize that this is not an obscure topic. This will deepen and strengthen his faith, for detailed knowledge is stronger and firmer than general knowledge.

The only reason why the texts go into such detail on this topic is that the human mind on its own is not able to learn about the angels. Human senses are unable to see the angels or hear their conversations, but this inability is no doubt in man's best interests, for if man could hear and see everything that is going on around him, he would not be able to survive. It is sufficient for us to imagine how hard it would be for a man if he could detect all the sounds that are picked up by a radio set; the result would surely make him lose his mind.

No one should assume that studying this principle is a kind of superfluous knowledge. The facts stated in the texts which speak of this topic have a great effect in counteracting the myths and false beliefs that exist in people's minds concerning this matter. Since ancient times there has been a widespread belief that the angels are divine or that they are

the daughters of Allah, and some philosophers think that the angels are the stars which we see in space.

The facts which are stated in the texts implant in our hearts the firm belief in the One God Who is in control of all of creation, Who has appointed His troops of angels to take care of the various affairs of this universe.

The relationship of the angels with us, their role in our formation and their watching over us, speaks to man of his importance and valuable status, and it refutes the idea that human beings are insignificant and worthless. Thus man can fully appreciate his own value and strive hard to play the great role which he is required to fulfil.

If we were to count the positive effects which stem from man's belief in the angels, and to study the texts which speak of them, the introduction would turn into a lenghty article. So I will leave the reader to look at those texts which, when studied in depth, will supply him with these inspiring effects.

We ask Allah to benefit people through this book, and to make it sincerely for His sake, for He is the best of helpers and supporters.

'Umar Sulaymaan al-Ashqar

INTRODUCTION
DEFINITION OF THE ANGELS AND BELIEF IN THEM

The Angels form a world different to the world of mankind and the world of the jinn. It is a noble world, completely pure. They are noble and pious, worshipping Allah as He should be worshipped, fulfilling whatever He commands them to do and never disobeying Him.

From the texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah, we will see their attributes as described therein.

The word *malak* (angel) is derived from the root *alaka*; *ma'lakah* and *ma'lak* mean message. From this root is derived the word *malaa'ik* (angels), because they are the messengers of Allah.

It is also said that the word *malak* is derived from the root *la'aka*, and that *mal'aakah* means message. The phrase *wa'alikni ila fulaan* means 'convey to him from me.' *Al-Mal'ak* means *al-malak* (angel) because the angels convey (messages) from Allah.

Some of the scholars said *al-malak* (angel) is derived from *al-mulk* (sovereignty). He said: if one of the angels is in control of some affairs, he is described as *malak*, and if a human being is in control of some affairs, he is described as *malik* (king).[1]

Belief in the angels is one of the principles of faith. A person's faith cannot be correct unless he believes in them. Allah says:

﴿ءَامَنَ ٱلرَّسُولُ بِمَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مِن رَّبِّهِۦ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ ۚ كُلٌّ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَكُتُبِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِّن رُّسُلِهِۦ ۚ ﴿٢٨٥﴾﴾

﴿The Messenger [Muhammad] believes in what has been sent down to him from his Lord, and [so do] the believers. Each one believes in

---

[1] *Baṣaa'ir Dhawi al-Tamyeez*, by Al-Fayroozabadi, 4/524.

> Allah, His Angels, His Books, and His Messengers. [They say,] 'We make no distinction between one another of His Messengers.'﴾
> *(Qur'an 2:285)*

How should we believe in the angels?

Suyooṭi narrated that Al-Bayhaqi said in *Shu'ab al-Eemaan*: "Belief in the Angels" means the following:

1. Belief that they exist.
2. Giving each one of them his rightful status, and believing that they are the slaves of Allah, created by Him, like mankind and the jinn. They are commanded to do things and they are accountable. They are not able to do anything except that which Allah has enabled them to do. Death is possible for them, but Allah gives them a long life, and they do not die until their appointed time comes. They should not be described in any way that would imply association with Allah, and they should not be regarded as gods as they were regarded by the ancients, some traditional cultures of early people.
3. Acknowledging that among them are messengers whom Allah sends to whomsoever He wills among mankind. He may also send some of them to others. This implies acknowledging that among them are the bearers of the Throne, those who stand in ranks, the keepers of Paradise, the keepers of Hell, those who record man's deeds and those who drive the clouds. The Qur'an has mentioned all or most of them."[2]

This book will describe in detail what is said in the texts (of the Qur'an and Sunnah) about belief in the angels.

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[2] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* by Suyooṭi, Pp. 10. See *Mukhtaṣar Shu'ab al-Eemaan*, 1/405-406.

CHAPTER ONE
THEIR PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ATTRIBUTES AND ABILITIES

In this chapter we look at what we have learned from the *ṣaḥeeḥ* texts about the physical characteristics as well as the attributes of the angels, then we will discuss the abilities which Allah has granted to them.

1 - PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1) What they were created from and when

The substance from which Allah created them is light. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her and her father) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels were created from light, the jinn were created from smokeless fire, and Adam was created from that which has been described to you."[1]

The Messenger (ﷺ) did not explain what light this is that they were created from. Hence we cannot indulge in trying to say more about this matter, because it is the matter of the unseen concerning which no further clarification has been narrated, apart from this hadith.

It is narrated that 'Ikrimah said: "The angels were created from the light of glory and *Iblees* was created from the fire of glory." And it is narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn 'Amr said, "Allah created the angels from the light of the arms and chest." It is not permissible to accept these views, even if they are narrated through sound chains from these scholars, because they are not infallible, and they may have taken these ideas from the

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[1] Muslim, 4/2294, hadith no. 2996.

Some of those who claim to be scholars reject this hadith and others like it, claiming that it is a hadith *aaḥaad*, and that a hadith *aaḥaad* cannot be relied on in matters of *'aqeedah*. I have criticized this view and explained its flawed nature in a paper entitled *Aṣl al-I'tiqaad*.

Israa'eeliyyaat (reports from Jewish sources).[2]

Wali-Ullah ad-Dehlawi said: "The hosts on high (the angels) are of three groups: a group upon whom Allah made the system of goodness was dependent, so He created them from physical light similar to the fire of Moosa and breathed into them noble souls;

A group which was created from a mixture of very light vapour and other elements, which resulted in the emergence of great souls with a strong aversion to animalistic behaviour;

And a group of human souls who are very close to the hosts on high, who keep striving to do deeds which could save them and help them to catch up with (the angels), until they shed their physical cloaks and follow in their footsteps, and are counted as being among them."

There is no *ṣaḥeeḥ* evidence to support this definition and this division of the angels into these categories.

We do not know when the angels were created, for Allah has not informed us about that. But we do know that they were created before Adam, the father of mankind. Allah has told us that He informed the angels that He was going to create a *khaleefah* on earth:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿Behold, your Lord said to the angels, 'I will create a vicegerent *[khaleefah]* on earth.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30* - A. Yoosuf 'Ali)

What is meant by the word *khaleefah* here is Adam (ﷺ), and He commanded them to prostrate to him when He created him:

﴿فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِي فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٢٩﴾﴾

﴿'So, when I have fashioned him completely and breathed into him [Adam] the soul which I created for him, then fall [you] down prostrating yourselves unto him.'﴾ *(Qur'an 15:29)*

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[2] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, 1/197.

Seeing the angels

Because the angels have bodies of light which are of a low density, mankind cannot see them, especially since Allah has not given our eyes the ability to see them.

No one among this ummah has seen the angels in their true form apart from the Messenger (ﷺ). He saw Jibreel twice in the form in which Allah created him. The texts indicate that human beings are able to see the angels when the angels appear in human form.

(2) Their great physical size

Allah says concerning the angels of Hell:

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ قُوٓاْ أَنفُسَكُمۡ وَأَهۡلِيكُمۡ نَارٗا وَقُودُهَا ٱلنَّاسُ وَٱلۡحِجَارَةُ عَلَيۡهَا مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٞ شِدَادٞ لَّا يَعۡصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمۡ وَيَفۡعَلُونَ مَا يُؤۡمَرُونَ ٦﴾

﴿O you who believe! Ward off yourselves and your families against a Fire [Hell] whose fuel is men and stones, over which are [appointed] angels stern [and] severe, who disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 66:6)*

It will be sufficient to quote the *aḥaadeeth* which speak of two noble angels.

The great size of Jibreel (عليه السلام)

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel twice in the angelic form in which Allah created him. These two occasions are mentioned in the *aayaat*:

﴿وَلَقَدۡ رَءَاهُ بِٱلۡأُفُقِ ٱلۡمُبِينِ ٢٣﴾

﴿And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel] in the clear horizon [towards the east].﴾ *(Qur'an 81:23)*

And:

﴿وَلَقَدْ رَءَاهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَىٰ ﴿١٣﴾ عِندَ سِدْرَةِ ٱلْمُنتَهَىٰ ﴿١٤﴾ عِندَهَا جَنَّةُ ٱلْمَأْوَىٰ ﴿١٥﴾﴾

﴿And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel] at a second descent [i.e. another time].
Near *Sidrat-ul-Muntaha* [a lote tree of the utmost boundary over the seventh heaven beyond which none can pass].
Near it is the Paradise of Abode.﴾ *(Qur'an 53:13-15)*

- that was when he was taken up to the highest heaven (during the *Mi'raaj*).

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) said: "I asked the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) about these two *aayaat.* He said, 'That is Jibreel; I never saw him in the form in which Allah created him except on these two occasions. I saw him descending from the heavens, with his huge size filling the space between the heaven and the earth'"[3]

'Aa'ishah (رضي الله عنها) was asked about the *aayah*,

﴿ثُمَّ دَنَا فَتَدَلَّىٰ ﴿٨﴾﴾

﴿Then he [Jibreel] approached and came closer﴾
(Qur'an 53:8)

She said, "That is Jibreel (عليه السلام). He used to come to him in human form, but on this occasion he came in his real form, and he filled the horizons of the sky."[4]

It is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "Muhammad (ﷺ) saw Jibreel with six hundred wings."[5]

Ibn Mas'ood said concerning the *aayah* –

﴿لَقَدْ رَأَىٰ مِنْ ءَايَٰتِ رَبِّهِ ٱلْكُبْرَىٰ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

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[3] Muslim, 1/159, hadith no. 177.

[4] Muslim, 1/160, hadith no. 177.

[5] Bukhaari, 8/610, hadith no. 4856, 4857.

﴿Indeed he [Muhammad] did see of the Greatest Signs, of his Lord [Allah]﴾ *(Qur'an 53:18)* –

"This means green cushions, filling the horizons."[6] These cushions that filled the horizons were what Jibreel was seated upon. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned that An-Nasaa'i and Al-Ḥaakim narrated with their *isnaads* from Ibn Mas'ood that he said, "The Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel (عليه السلام) with his own eyes, on a cushion which filled the space between heaven and earth."[7]

Ibn Hajar mentioned that Ibn Mas'ood said, according to a report narrated by An-Nasaa'i: "Muhammad (ﷺ) saw Jibreel with six hundred wings, filling the horizon."[8]

In *Musnad al-Imam Aḥmad* it is narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel in his true form. He had six hundred wings, each of which filled the horizon, and there were multi-coloured pearls and rubies falling from his wings."

Ibn Katheer said, concerning this hadith, its *isnaad* is *jayyid*.[9]

Allah said, describing Jibreel:

﴿إِنَّهُۥ لَقَوْلُ رَسُولٍ كَرِيمٍ ﴿١٩﴾ ذِى قُوَّةٍ عِندَ ذِى ٱلْعَرْشِ مَكِينٍ ﴿٢٠﴾ مُّطَاعٍ ثَمَّ أَمِينٍ ﴿٢١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, this is the Word [this Qur'an brought by] a most honourable messenger [Jibreel (Gabriel)], from Allah to Prophet Muhammad].
Owner of power, [and high rank] with [Allah], the Lord of the Throne,
Obeyed [by the angels in the heavens] and trustworthy.﴾
(Qur'an 81:19-21)

What is meant by the "most honourable messenger" here is Jibreel, and the Lord of the Throne is the Lord of Glory, may He be glorified.

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[6] Bukhaari, 8/611, hadith no. 4858.

[7] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 8/611.

[8] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 8/611.

[9] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/47.

The great size of the bearers of the Throne

Abu Dawood narrated from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "I have been granted permission to speak to one of the angels of Allah, one of the bearers of the Throne. The distance from his earlobes to his shoulders is the distance of a seven - hundred year journey."[10]

This is also narrated by Ibn Abi Ḥaatim, who said: "... as a bird flies." The editor of *Mishkaat al-Masaabeeḥ* said: its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ*.[11]

Ṭabaraani narrated in *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ* with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Anas that he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'I have been granted permission to speak of an angel, one of the bearers of the Throne. His feet are in the lowest earth and the Throne is resting on his horn. The distance from his earlobe to his shoulder is like that of a bird flying for seven hundred years. That angel says, 'Glory be to You, wherever You are.'"'[12]

(3) Their most important physical characteristics

(i) The wings of the angels

The angels have wings, as Allah has informed us. Some of them have two wings, some have three or four, and some have more than that.

﴿ٱلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ فَاطِرِ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ جَاعِلِ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ رُسُلًا أُو۟لِىٓ أَجْنِحَةٍ مَّثْنَىٰ وَثُلَٰثَ وَرُبَٰعَ ۚ يَزِيدُ فِى ٱلْخَلْقِ مَا يَشَآءُ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَىْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴿١﴾﴾

﴿All the praises and thanks be to Allah, the [only] Originator [or the (Only) Creator] of the heavens and the earth, Who made the angels messengers with wings, two or three or four. He increases in creation what He wills. Verily, Allah is Able to do all things.﴾

(Qur'an 35:1)

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[10] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 3/895, no. 9353.

[11] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 3/121. See also *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, hadith no. 151.

[12] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami' aṣ-Ṣagheer*, 3rd edn., 1/208, no. 853.

What is meant by saying that Allah made them with wings is that some of them have two wings, some have three or four, and some have more than that.

We have already mentioned the hadith in which the Messenger (ﷺ) stated that Jibreel has six hundred wings.

(ii) The beauty of the angels

Allah has created them in a noble and beautiful form, as Allah says of Jibreel:

﴿عَلَّمَهُۥ شَدِيدُ ٱلْقُوَىٰ ۝٥ ذُو مِرَّةٍ فَٱسْتَوَىٰ ۝٦﴾

﴿He has been taught [this Qur'an] by one mighty in power [Jibreel (Gabriel)].

One free from any defect in body and mind then he [Jibreel – Gabriel in his real shape as created by Allah] rose and became stable.﴾

(Qur'an 53:5-6)

Ibn 'Abbaas said: 'one free from any defect in body or mind' means one whose appearance is beautiful. Qataadah said: one whose form is tall and beautiful. And it is said that 'one free from any defect in body or mind' means one who is possessed of strength. There is no contradiction between the two views, for he is both strong and of a beautiful appearance.

The idea that angels are beautiful is well-established in people's minds, just as the idea that devils are ugly is also well-established. Hence we see them likening beautiful human beings to angels. Look at what the women said when they saw Yousuf:

﴿فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَهُۥٓ أَكْبَرْنَهُۥ وَقَطَّعْنَ أَيْدِيَهُنَّ وَقُلْنَ حَٰشَ لِلَّهِ مَا هَٰذَا بَشَرًا إِنْ هَٰذَآ إِلَّا مَلَكٌ كَرِيمٌ ۝٣١﴾

﴿Then, when they saw him, they exalted him [at his beauty] and [in their astonishment] cut their hands. They said: 'How perfect is Allah [or Allah forbid]! No man is this! This is none other than a noble angel!'﴾ *(Qur'an 12:31)*

(iii) Is there any similarity in appearance and form between angels and humans?

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ,* and At-Tirmidhi narrated in his *Sunan* from Jaabir (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The Prophets were shown to me, and I saw Moosa, a man of average build, looking like one of the men of (the tribe of) Shanu'ah. And I saw 'Eesa ibn Maryam, and the person I have seen who most resembles him is 'Urwah ibn Mas'ood. And I saw Ibraaheem, and the one who most resembles him is your Companion (meaning himself). And I saw Jibreel (ﷺ); the person I have seen who most resembles him is Duḥyah." According to another report: Duḥyah ibn Khaleefah.[13]

Is this a similarity between Jibreel's true form, or the form which Jibreel took when he appeared in human form? Most likely it is the latter, because as we shall see, Jibreel often used to appear in the form of Duḥyah.

(iv) Variations in their physical shape and status

The angels are not all the same in their physical shape and status. Some of the angels have two wings, some have three, and Jibreel has six hundred wings. They vary in their status before their Lord:

﴿وَمَا مِنَّآ إِلَّا لَهُۥ مَقَامٌ مَّعْلُومٌ ﴿١٦٤﴾﴾

﴿And there is not one of us [angels] but has his known place [or position].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:164)*

And Allah said concerning Jibreel:

﴿إِنَّهُۥ لَقَوْلُ رَسُولٍ كَرِيمٍ ﴿١٩﴾ ذِى قُوَّةٍ عِندَ ذِى ٱلْعَرْشِ مَكِينٍ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿Verily, this is the Word [this Qur'an brought by] a most honourable messenger [Jibreel (Gabriel), from Allah to Prophet Muhammad]. Owner of power, [and high rank] with [Allah], the Lord of the Throne.﴾ *(Qur'an 81:19-20)*

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[13] Muslim, 1/153, hadith no. 167.

i.e., he has a high status and important rank before Allah.

The best of the angels are those who were present at the battle of Badr. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Rafaa'ah ibn Raafi' that Jibreel came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said: "What do you think of the people of Badr among you (i.e., those among you who were present at Badr)?" He said, "They are among the best of the Muslims" or similar words. Jibreel said, "The same is true of the angels who were present at the Badr."[14]

(v) They cannot be described as being male or female

One of the reasons why the children of Adam go astray when speaking about the worlds of the unseen is because they subject those worlds to human criteria. So we see one of them expressing his amazement, in one of his articles, that Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (ﷺ) a few seconds after a question had been put to the Messenger (ﷺ) that needed a reply from Allah. How could he come at such an extraordinary speed? When light needs millions of light-years in order to reach nearby heavenly bodies.

This poor man did not realize that he is like a mosquito trying to measure the speed of an airplane using its own standards. If he had thought about the matter, he would have realized that the world of the angels has its own standards which are completely different from our human standards.

The *mushrik* Arabs also went astray in this regard, as they used to claim that the angels were female, and they mixed this idea, which is far removed from the truth, with an even greater myth, when they claimed that these females were the daughters of Allah.

The Qur'an refuted them on both counts. It pointed out that they had no sound evidence for their claims, and that this notion was nonsense. It is strange indeed that they attributed daughters to Allah, when they themselves hated daughters; when the news of (the birth of) a baby girl

[14] Bukhaari, 7/312, hadith no. 3992.

was brought to any of them, his face would become dark, and he would be filled with inward grief, and he would hide himself from the people because of the evil of that whereof he had been informed (cf. Qur'an 16:58-59). This doomed fellow might even lose his mind and bury the newborn girl alive. Nevertheless, they attributed children to Allah, and claimed that these children were female. In this manner myths grow and take root in the minds of those whom the divine light has not reached.

Listen to these verses which tell of this myth and criticize those who believed in it:

﴿فَٱسْتَفْتِهِمْ أَلِرَبِّكَ ٱلْبَنَاتُ وَلَهُمُ ٱلْبَنُونَ ﴿١٤٩﴾ أَمْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ إِنَٰثًا وَهُمْ شَٰهِدُونَ ﴿١٥٠﴾ أَلَآ إِنَّهُم مِّنْ إِفْكِهِمْ لَيَقُولُونَ ﴿١٥١﴾ وَلَدَ ٱللَّهُ وَإِنَّهُمْ لَكَٰذِبُونَ ﴿١٥٢﴾ أَصْطَفَى ٱلْبَنَاتِ عَلَى ٱلْبَنِينَ ﴿١٥٣﴾ مَا لَكُمْ كَيْفَ تَحْكُمُونَ ﴿١٥٤﴾ أَفَلَا تَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿١٥٥﴾ أَمْ لَكُمْ سُلْطَٰنٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿١٥٦﴾﴾

﴿Now ask them [O Muhammad]: 'Are there [only] daughters for your Lord and sons for them?
Or did We create the angels female while they were witnesses?
Verily, it is of their falsehood that they [Quraysh pagans] say:
'Allah has begotten [offspring – the angels being the daughters of Allah]?' And, verily, they are liars!
Has He [then] chosen daughters rather than sons?
What is the matter with you? How do you decide?
Will you not then remember?
Or is there for you a plain authority?﴾ *(Qur'an 37:149-156)*

Allah will make these words a testimony for which they will be brought to account. One of the greatest of sins is to speak about Allah without knowledge:

﴿وَجَعَلُوا۟ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ ٱلَّذِينَ هُمْ عِبَٰدُ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ إِنَٰثًا ۚ أَشَهِدُوا۟ خَلْقَهُمْ ۚ سَتُكْتَبُ شَهَٰدَتُهُمْ وَيُسْـَٔلُونَ ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿And they make the angels who themselves are slaves of the Most Gracious [Allah] females. Did they witness their creation? Their

testimony will be recorded, and they will be questioned!﴾

(Qur'an 43:19)[15]

(vi) They do not eat or drink

We indicated above that the angels cannot be described as being male or female. Similarly, they do not eat or drink the type of food we (humans) eat and drink. Allah has told us that the angels came to Ibraaheem in human form, and he offered them food, but they did not stretch out their hands towards it. He felt afraid of them, but when they told him of their true identity, his fear left him.

﴿هَلْ أَتَىٰكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَٰهِيمَ ٱلْمُكْرَمِينَ ﴿٢٤﴾ إِذْ دَخَلُوا۟ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالُوا۟ سَلَٰمًا ۖ قَالَ سَلَٰمٌ قَوْمٌ مُّنكَرُونَ ﴿٢٥﴾ فَرَاغَ إِلَىٰٓ أَهْلِهِۦ فَجَآءَ بِعِجْلٍ سَمِينٍ ﴿٢٦﴾ فَقَرَّبَهُۥٓ إِلَيْهِمْ قَالَ أَلَا تَأْكُلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ فَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ ۖ وَبَشَّرُوهُ بِغُلَٰمٍ عَلِيمٍ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿Has the story reached you, of the honoured guests [three angels; Jibreel (Gabriel) along with another two] of Ibraaheem [Abraham]? When they came in to him and said: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you]!' He answered: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you],' and said: 'You are a people unknown to me.'

Then he turned to his household, and brought out a roasted calf [as the property of Ibraaheem [Abraham] was mainly cows].

And placed it before them [saying]: 'Will you not eat?'

Then he conceived fear of them [when they ate not]. They said: 'Fear not.' And they gave him glad tidings of a son having knowledge [about Allah and His religion of True Monotheism].﴾

(Qur'an 51:24-28)

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[15] Therefore, Muslims should beware of speaking about such matters without knowledge. Those who claim that man originated from animals, monkeys or whatever, should be told the same thing: "Did they witness their creation? Their testimony will be recorded". And Allah says, ﴿I [Allah] made them [*Iblees* and his offspring] not to witness [nor took their help in] the creation of the heavens and the earth and not [even] their own creation.﴾ (Qur'an 18:51)

In another *aayah* it says:

﴿فَلَمَّا رَءَآ أَيْدِيَهُمْ لَا تَصِلُ إِلَيْهِ نَكِرَهُمْ وَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۚ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ إِنَّآ أُرْسِلْنَآ إِلَىٰ قَوْمِ لُوطٍ ﴿٧٠﴾﴾

﴿But when he saw their hands went not towards it [the meal], he mistrusted them, and conceived a fear of them. They said: "Fear not, we have been sent against the people of Looṭ [Lot].﴾

(Qur'an 11:70)

Suyooṭi narrated from Al-Fakhr ar-Raazi that scholars were agreed that the angels do not eat, drink or get married.[16]

(vii) They do not get bored or tired

The angels worship and obey Allah, and carry out His commands, without getting tired or bored. They do not feel what humans feel of tiredness and boredom. Allah says, describing His angels:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:20)*

The meaning of 'they never slacken' is they never become weak. In another *aayah* Allah says:

﴿فَٱلَّذِينَ عِندَ رَبِّكَ يُسَبِّحُونَ لَهُۥ بِٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَهُمْ لَا يَسْـَٔمُونَ ﴿٣٨﴾﴾

﴿Then there are those who are with your Lord [angels] glorify Him night and day, and never are they tired.﴾ *(Qur'an 41:38)*

Suyooṭi inferred that the *aayah* "(and) they never slacken (to do so)" (Qur'an 21:20) means that the angels do not sleep; he narrated this view from Al-Fakhr ar-Raazi.[17]

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[16] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 264.

[17] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 264.

(viii) The dwelling-place of the angels

The abode and dwelling-place of the angels is in the heavens, as Allah says:

﴿تَكَادُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتُ يَتَفَطَّرۡنَ مِن فَوۡقِهِنَّۚ وَٱلۡمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمۡدِ رَبِّهِمۡ ۝٥﴾

﴿Nearly the heavens might be rent asunder from above them [by His Majesty], and the angels glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾

(Qur'an 42:5)

And Allah has described them as being with Him:

﴿فَإِنِ ٱسۡتَكۡبَرُواْ فَٱلَّذِينَ عِندَ رَبِّكَ يُسَبِّحُونَ لَهُۥ بِٱلَّيۡلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَهُمۡ لَا يَسۡـَٔمُونَ ۝٣٨﴾

﴿But if they are too proud [to do so (i.e., to prostrate to Allah)], then there are those who are with your Lord [angels] glorify Him night and day, and never are they tired.﴾ *(Qur'an 41:38)*

They come down to the earth by the command of Allah, to fulfil the tasks with which they have been entrusted:

﴿وَمَا نَتَنَزَّلُ إِلَّا بِأَمۡرِ رَبِّكَۖ ۝٦٤﴾

﴿And we [angels] descend not except by the Command of your Lord [O Muhammad].﴾ *(Qur'an 19:64)*

They come down a lot on special occasions, such as *Laylat al-Qadr*:

﴿لَيۡلَةُ ٱلۡقَدۡرِ خَيۡرٞ مِّنۡ أَلۡفِ شَهۡرٖ ۝٣ تَنَزَّلُ ٱلۡمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ وَٱلرُّوحُ فِيهَا بِإِذۡنِ رَبِّهِم مِّن كُلِّ أَمۡرٖ ۝٤﴾

﴿The Night of *Al-Qadr* [Decree] is better than a thousand months [i.e. worshipping Allah in that night is better than worshipping Him a thousand months, i.e. 83 years and 4 months].

Therein descend the angels and the *Rooh* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] by Allah's Permission with all Decrees.﴾ *(Qur'an 97:3-4)*

(ix) The numbers of the angels

The angels are many; no one knows how many they are except the One Who created them:

﴿وَمَا يَعْلَمُ جُنُودَ رَبِّكَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ ﴿٣١﴾﴾

﴿And none can know the hosts of your Lord but He.﴾

(Qur'an 74:31)

If you want to know how many they are, listen to what Jibreel said concerning *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor* (the Much-Frequented House), when the Messenger (ﷺ) asked him about it, when he reached it on the night of the *Israa'* : This is *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor*; every day seventy thousand angels pray in it, and they never come back to it."[18]

In *Ṣaheeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "On that Day, Hell will be brought with seventy thousand ropes, each of which will be pulled by seventy thousand angels."[19] Based on this, those who will bring forth Hell on that Day will be forty-nine million angels.

If you study the texts which have been narrated about the angels who are appointed to take care of each person, you will realize how great their number is. There is an angel who is entrusted with the *nutfah,* two angels appointed to write down the deeds of each person, angels whose task is to protect each person, and an angelic companion *(qareen)* to guide a person.

(x) The names of the angels

The angels have names, but we only know a few of those names. Below are the verses in which some of the names of angels have been mentioned:

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[18] Bukhaari, 6/103, hadith no. 2207. Muslim, 1/146, hadith no. 162. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

[19] Muslim, 4/2184, hadith no. 2842.

(a) Jibreel and (b) Mikaa'eel

Allah says:

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّلَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ وَجِبْرِيلَ وَمِيكَىٰلَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَدُوٌّ لِّلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٩٨﴾﴾

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and guidance and glad tidings for the believers.

Whoever is an enemy to Allah, His Angels, His Messengers, Jibreel [Gabriel] and Mikaa'eel [Michael], then verily, Allah is an enemy to the disbelievers.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:97-98)*

Jibreel is the trustworthy *Rooḥ* mentioned in the *aayah*:

﴿نَزَلَ بِهِ ٱلرُّوحُ ٱلْأَمِينُ ﴿١٩٣﴾ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ لِتَكُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُنذِرِينَ ﴿١٩٤﴾﴾

﴿Which the trustworthy *Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] has brought down Upon your heart [O Muhammad] that you may be [one] of the warners.﴾ *(Qur'an 26:193-194)*

And he is the *Rooḥ* whom Allah sent to Maryam:

﴿فَأَرْسَلْنَآ إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿Then We sent to her Our *Rooḥ* [angel Jibreel (Gabriel)].﴾ *(Qur'an 19:17)*

(c) Israafeel

Another of the angels is Israafeel, who will blow the Trumpet.

Jibreel, Mikaa'eel and Israafeel are the angels who were mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) in the *du'aa'* with which he opened his prayer at night:

"Allaahumma Rabba Jibreel wa Mikaa'eel wa Israafeel, Faaṭir as-samaawaati wal-arḍ, 'Aalim al-ghaybi wal-shahaadah, anta taḥkumu

bayna 'ibaadika fima kaanu fihi yakhtalifoon, ihdinee lima ukhtulifa fihi min al-ḥaqq bi idhnika, innaka tahdi man tasha' ila ṣiraatim mustaqeem (O Allah, Lord of Jibreel, Mikaa'eel and Israafeel, Creator of the heavens and the earth, Knower of the unseen and the seen, You judge among Your slaves concerning that in which they differ. Guide me by Your Leave with regard to that in which they differ concerning the truth, for You guide whomsoever You will to a straight path)."[20]

(d) Maalik

And among the angels is Maalik, the keeper of Hell:

﴿وَنَادَوْا۟ يَٰمَٰلِكُ لِيَقْضِ عَلَيْنَا رَبُّكَ ۖ قَالَ إِنَّكُم مَّٰكِثُونَ ﴿٧٧﴾﴾

﴿And they will cry: 'O Maalik [Keeper of Hell]! Let your Lord make an end of us.' He will say: 'Verily, you shall abide forever.'﴾

(Qur'an 43:77)

(e) Riḍwaan

Ibn Katheer said: "The keeper of Paradise is an angel called Riḍwaan, as is clearly stated in some *aḥaadeeth.*"

(f) Munkar and (g) Nakeer

And among the angels whose names were mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) are Munkar and Nakeer. They are mentioned in the *aḥaadeeth* which talk about the questioning in the grave.

(h) Haaroot and (i) Maaroot

And among the angels are two whom Allah called Haaroot and Maaroot. Allah says:

﴿وَمَا كَفَرَ سُلَيْمَٰنُ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱلشَّيَٰطِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ يُعَلِّمُونَ ٱلنَّاسَ ٱلسِّحْرَ وَمَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَى ٱلْمَلَكَيْنِ بِبَابِلَ هَٰرُوتَ وَمَٰرُوتَ ۚ وَمَا يُعَلِّمَانِ مِنْ أَحَدٍ حَتَّىٰ يَقُولَآ إِنَّمَا نَحْنُ فِتْنَةٌ فَلَا تَكْفُرْ ﴿١٠٢﴾﴾

[20] Muslim 1/534, hadith no. 770 from 'Aa'ishah *Umm al-Mu'mineen.*

﴿Sulaymaan did not disbelieve, but the *Shayaaṭeen* [devils] disbelieved, teaching men magic and such things that came down at Babylon to the two angels, Haaroot and Maaroot, but neither of these two [angels] taught anyone [such things] till they had said, 'We are for trial, so disbelieve not [by learning this magic from us].'﴾

(Qur'an 2:102)

From the context of the *aayah* it is clear that Allah sent them as a test for mankind at some time. Many myths surround them in the books of *Tafseer* and history, for which there is no proof in the Qur'an and Sunnah. It is sufficient to know about them only what is indicated in this verse.

'Azraa'eel

According to some reports, the Angel of Death is called 'Azraa'eel. However, this name is not mentioned in the Qur'an, or in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth*.[21]

Raqeeb* and *'Ateed

Some scholars mentioned that among the angels are two called *Raqeeb* and *'Ateed*, based on the *aayah,*

﴿إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾ مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] that the two receivers [recording angels] receive [each human being], one sitting on the right and one on the left [to note his or her actions]

Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher [*raqeeb*] by him ready [*'ateed*] to record it.﴾ *(Qur'an 50:17-18)*

What they mentioned is not correct. The words *raqeeb* (watcher) and *'ateed* (ready) here are adjectives describing the two angels who are always present and witnessing, who are never away from a person. It does not mean that these are the names of the angels.

[21] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/50.

(xi) The death of the angels

The angels die just as humans and jinn die. This is stated clearly in the *aayah*:

﴿وَنُفِخَ فِي ٱلصُّورِ فَصَعِقَ مَن فِي ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَمَن فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ إِلَّا مَن شَآءَ ٱللَّهُ ثُمَّ نُفِخَ فِيهِ أُخْرَىٰ فَإِذَا هُمْ قِيَامٌ يَنظُرُونَ ﴿٦٨﴾﴾

﴿And the Trumpet will be blown, and all who are in the heavens and all who are on the earth will swoon away, except him whom Allah wills. Then it will be blown a second time, and behold they will be standing, looking on [waiting].﴾ *(Qur'an 39:68)*

The angels are included in this *aayah,* because they are in the heavens. Ibn Katheer said in his commentary on this verse:

"This is the second Trumpet-blast, the blast which will cause all creatures to fall unconscious. This will cause all living beings in the heavens and on earth to die, except for those whom Allah wills, as is clearly stated in detail in the famous hadith about the Trumpet. Then He will take the souls of those who are left, and the last one to die will be the Angel of Death. Then only the Ever-Living, Self-Sustaining will be left, Who was the First, and Who Alone will be the Last, Everlasting and Eternal. He will say, 'Whose is the Sovereignty today?' three times, then He will answer Himself by saying,

﴿لِّلَّهِ ٱلْوَٰحِدِ ٱلْقَهَّارِ ﴿١٦﴾﴾

﴿It is Allah's, the One, the Irresistible!﴾ *(Qur'an 40:16)*."

Another verse which indicates that they (the angels) will die is:

﴿كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُۥ ﴿٨٨﴾﴾

﴿Everything will perish save His Face.﴾ *(Qur'an 28:88)*

Will any of them die before the Trumpet is blown? We do not know the answer to that, and we cannot discuss it, because there is no text that can give us a positive or a negative answer. Everything will perish save His Face.

2 - ATTRIBUTES

The angels are honourable and obedient

Allah has described the angels as being honourable and obedient:

﴿بِأَيْدِي سَفَرَةٍ ﴿١٥﴾ كِرَامٍ بَرَرَةٍ ﴿١٦﴾﴾

﴿In the hands of scribes [angels].
Honourable and obedient.﴾ *(Qur'an 80:15-16)*

i.e., the Qur'an is in the hands of scribes (*safarah*), i.e., the angels, because they are the emissaries (*sufaraa'*) of Allah to His Messengers and Prophets. Bukhaari said: "*Safarah* refers to the angels. The singular is *saafir*. *Safartu* means 'I reconciled between them'. So the angels, who bring down the Revelation of Allah are like emissaries who reconcile between the people."[22]

Allah has described these angels as being "honourable and obedient", i.e., He has created them honourable, good and noble. Their actions are obedient, pure and perfect. Hence the one who learns the Qur'an by heart should be one whose actions and words are proper and correct.

Bukhaari narrated that 'Aa'ishah (ﷺ) said: 'The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The one who reads the Qur'an when he knows it by heart is like the honourable scribes and the one who reads the Qur'an and tries his best, and it is hard for him, will have two rewards."[23]

The modesty of the angels

Among the attributes of the angels mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) is their modesty. In the hadith narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from 'Aa'ishah it says that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was lying down in his house with his thigh or his shin uncovered. Abu Bakr asked for permission to come in, and he let him in and spoke with him whilst he was in that state. Then 'Umar sought permission to come in, and he let

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[22] Bukhaari, 8/691.

[23] Bukhaari, 8/691, hadith no. 4937. Muslim, 1/549, hadith no. 798. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

him in and spoke with him whilst he was in that state. Then 'Uthmaan asked for permission to come in, and the Messenger (ﷺ) sat up and rearranged his garment, then he let him come in and spoke with him. When he left, 'Aa'ishah said: "Abu Bakr came in, and you did not stir or pay too much attention. Then 'Umar came in, and you did not stir or pay too much attention. Then 'Uthmaan came in, and you sat up and fixed your garment." He said, "How could I not feel shy of a man of whom the angels feel shy?"[24]

The phrase "you did not stir" means you did not welcome him warmly.

3 - ABILITIES

(1) Their ability to take on different forms

Allah has given the angels the ability to take on forms different from their own Allah sent Jibreel to Maryam (Mary) in human form:

﴿وَٱذْكُرْ فِى ٱلْكِتَٰبِ مَرْيَمَ إِذِ ٱنتَبَذَتْ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا مَكَانًا شَرْقِيًّا ﴿١٦﴾ فَٱتَّخَذَتْ مِن دُونِهِمْ حِجَابًا فَأَرْسَلْنَآ إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا فَتَمَثَّلَ لَهَا بَشَرًا سَوِيًّا ﴿١٧﴾ قَالَتْ إِنِّىٓ أَعُوذُ بِٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ مِنكَ إِن كُنتَ تَقِيًّا ﴿١٨﴾ قَالَ إِنَّمَآ أَنَا۠ رَسُولُ رَبِّكِ لِأَهَبَ لَكِ غُلَٰمًا زَكِيًّا ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿And; mention in the Book [the Qur'an, O Muhammad, the story of] Maryam [Mary], when she withdrew in seclusion from her family to a place facing east.

She placed a screen [to screen herself] from them; then We sent to her Our *Rooḥ* [angel Jibreel (Gabriel)], and he appeared before her in the form of a man in all respects.

She said: 'Verily, I seek refuge with the Most Gracious [Allah] from you, if you do fear Allah.'

[The angel] said: 'I am only a messenger from your Lord, [to announce] to you the gift of a righteous son.'﴾

(Qur'an 19:16-19)

[24] Muslim. 4/1866, hadith no. 2401.

The angels came to Ibraaheem (عليه السلام) in human form, and he did not know that they were angels until they told him who they really were. We have quoted above the *aayaat* which speak of that.

The angels came to the Prophet Looṭ (Lot) in the form of young men with handsome faces and he was grieved on account of them and feared that they may be harmed by his people, for they were an evil people who committed evil actions, and they used to commit sodomy:

﴿وَلَمَّا جَآءَتْ رُسُلُنَا لُوطًا سِيٓءَ بِهِمْ وَضَاقَ بِهِمْ ذَرْعًا وَقَالَ هَٰذَا يَوْمٌ عَصِيبٌ ﴿٧٧﴾﴾

﴿And when Our messengers came to Looṭ [Lot], he was grieved on account of them and felt himself straitened for them [lest the town people should approach them to commit sodomy with them]. He said: 'This is a distressful day.'﴾ *(Qur'an 11:77)*

Ibn Katheer said: "The angels appeared to him in the form of handsome young men as a test and a trial, so that proof might be established against the people of Looṭ, and Allah might seize them with a mighty punishment."[25]

Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (صلى الله عليه وسلم) in different forms. Sometimes he came in the form of Duḥyah ibn Khaleefah al-Kalbi (a *Ṣaḥaabi* who was of handsome appearance), and sometimes in the form of a Bedouin.

Many of the *Ṣaḥaabah* saw him when he came in that form

In *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) it is narrated that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭaab said:

"Whilst we were sitting with the Messenger of Allah (صلى الله عليه وسلم) one day, a man came to us whose clothes were exceedingly white and whose hair was exceedingly black. There were no signs of travel on him and none of us knew him. He sat down in front of the Prophet (صلى الله عليه وسلم), with his knees touching his, and put his hands on his thighs, and said, 'O Muhammad, tell me about Islam...'" The hadith states that he asked him about

[25] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/43

eemaan (faith), *iḥsaan* and the Hour and its signs.[26]

Then the Messenger (ﷺ) stated that the one who asked these questions was Jibreel, and that he had come to teach the *Ṣaḥaabah* their religion.

'Aa'ishah saw the Messenger (ﷺ) patting the head of Duḥyah al-Kalbi's horse and speaking to him. When she asked him about that, he (ﷺ) said, "That was Jibreel, and he sends *salaam* to you."[27]

The Messenger (ﷺ) told us of a man who killed ninety-nine persons, and when he set out repentant, death came to him when he was half-way to the land to which he was migrating. The angels of mercy and the angels of punishment disputed concerning him, and they referred the matter to an angel who came to them in human form. He (ﷺ) said: "An angel in human form came to them, and they appointed him (to arbitrate) between them. He said, 'Measure the distance between the two lands (the evil place he was leaving and the good place to which he was headed), and whichever one he is closer to is where he belongs.'" No doubt they appointed him as an arbitrator by the command of Allah, and Allah sent this angel to them in human form. The story is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim*, in *Baab at-Tawbah* (chapter on repentance).[28]

In the story of the three people from among the Children of Israel whom Allah tested, the leper, the bald man and the blind man, we will see that an angel appeared to them in human form.

Some of the scholars indulged in discussions of how the angels change their form from a rational point of view, and they came up with ideas that are of no value. They should not have indulged in this discussion of this matter of the unseen. Allah has told us that the angels may take on

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[26] Muslim, 1/37, hadith no. 8. Bukhaari from Abu Hurayrah, 1/114, hadith no. 49. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[27] Aḥmad in *Musnad*, Ibn Sa'd in Aṭ-Ṭabaqaat, with a *ḥasan isnaad*. The hadith about Jibreel sending *salaams* to 'Aa'ishah without her seeing him, is narrated by Bukhaari in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, 6/305, hadith no. 3217; 7/106, hadith no. 3768.

[28] Muslim, 4/2118, hadith no. 2766.

different forms, but He has not told us how they do so. These scholars should have been content with what the Messenger of Allah and his Companions were content with, and they should have stopped where they stopped. If you want to read some of the discussions on this issue, see the book by Suyooṭi, *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik.*[29]

(2) Their great speed

The greatest speed known to humans is the speed of light, which is 186,000 miles per second.

But the speed of the angels is greater than that. It cannot be measured by human standards. A questioner would come to the Messenger (ﷺ) and would hardly have finished asking his question before Jibreel would come with the answer from the Lord of Glory, may He be exalted. Today there is no vehicle that can travel at the speed of light, and it would take millions of light years to reach some of the stars that exist in the horizons of this vast universe.

(3) Their knowledge

The angels have great knowledge that they have been taught by Allah, but they do not have the ability that man has been given, to find out about things:

﴿وَعَلَّمَ ءَادَمَ ٱلْأَسْمَآءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضَهُمْ عَلَى ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ فَقَالَ أَنۢبِـُٔونِى بِأَسْمَآءِ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ إِن كُنتُمْ صَٰدِقِينَ ﴿٣١﴾ قَالُوا۟ سُبْحَٰنَكَ لَا عِلْمَ لَنَآ إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَآ ۖ إِنَّكَ أَنتَ ٱلْعَلِيمُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿٣٢﴾﴾

﴿And He taught Adam all the names [of everything], then He showed them to the angels and said, 'Tell Me the names of these if you are truthful.'

They [angels] said: 'Glory is to You, we have no knowledge except what you have taught us. Verily, it is You, the All-Knower, the All-Wise.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:31-32)*

[29] Pp. 261.

Man is distinguished by his ability to find out about things, and to discover the laws of the universe. The angels know that because they learn it directly from Allah. But what Allah teaches them is far more than what man knows. Among the knowledge that they have been given is the knowledge of writing:

﴿وَإِنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ لَحَٰفِظِينَ ﴿١٠﴾ كِرَامًا كَٰتِبِينَ ﴿١١﴾ يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

﴿But verily, over you [are appointed angels in charge of mankind] to watch you,
Kiraaman [Honourable] *Kaatibeen* – writing down [your deeds],
They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82:10-12)*

We will discuss this in more detail under the heading of *The Angels and Man*.

The dispute of the hosts on high

The angels discuss amongst themselves matters of the revelation of their Lord which are not clear to them. In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* and *Musnad Aḥmad* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Last night my Lord – may He be blessed and exalted – came to me in the most beautiful form – he (the narrator) said: I think he said, in a dream – and He said: 'O Muhammad, do you know what the hosts on high dispute about?' I said, 'No.' He put His hand (on my back), between my shoulders, until I could feel its coolness on my chest, and I knew what was in the heavens and what was on earth.

Then He said, 'O Muhammad, do you know what the hosts on high dispute about?' I said, 'Yes, about expiations and actions that raise a person's status. The expiations are staying in the mosque after the prayer, walking on foot to join congregational prayers and doing *wuḍoo'* properly at the time of hardship; and the actions that raise a person's status are spreading *salaam*, feeding people, and praying at night when people are asleep.'

He said, 'You have spoken the truth, Whoever does that will live in goodness and die in peace, and he will be free from any sin, as pure as a

newborn baby.'

He said, 'O Muhammad, when you pray, say, *"Allahumma inni as'aluka fal al-khayraat wa tark al-munkaraat, wa ḥubb al-masaakeen, wa an taghfir li, wa tarḥamni, wa tatoob 'alaaya, wa idha aradta bi 'ibaadika fitnah, fa'qbidni ilayka ghayr maftoon* [O Allah, I ask you for good deeds, avoidance of evil deeds, and love for the poor. (I ask You) to forgive me and to have mercy on me, and to accept my repentance. If You want to test Your slaves, then take me to You (i.e., cause me to die) without being tested]."[30]

Ibn Katheer said, after quoting this hadith: "This is the famous hadith about the dream. Whoever thinks it happened when the Prophet (ﷺ) was awake is mistaken. It is narrated with different *isnaads* in *As-Sunan*. This hadith is also narrated by At-Tirmidhi from Jahdam ibn 'Abd-Allah al-Yamaami.

Al-Ḥasan said: (it is) *ṣaḥeeḥ*. This dispute is not the dispute mentioned in the Qur'an, where Allah says:

﴿مَا كَانَ لِيَ مِنْ عِلْمٍ بِٱلْمَلَإِ ٱلْأَعْلَىٰٓ إِذْ يَخْتَصِمُونَ ﴿٦٩﴾ إِن يُوحَىٰٓ إِلَيَّ إِلَّآ أَنَّمَآ أَنَا۠ نَذِيرٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿٧٠﴾﴾

﴿I had no knowledge of the chiefs [angels] on high when they were disputing and discussing [about the creation of Adam].
Only this has been revealed to me, that I am a plain warner.'﴾

(Qur'an 38:69-70)

The dispute mentioned in the hadith has been explained by the Messenger (ﷺ).

With regard to the dispute mentioned in the Qur'an, it is explained in the following *aayaat*:

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[30] *Saḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 3/9, no. 2580, 2581

﴿إِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي خَٰلِقٌۢ بَشَرًا مِّن طِينٍ ﴿٧١﴾ فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِي فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٧٢﴾ فَسَجَدَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ ﴿٧٣﴾ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ ٱسْتَكْبَرَ وَكَانَ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٧٤﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Truly, I am going to create man from clay.
So when I have fashioned him and breathed into him [his] soul created by Me, then you fall down prostrate to him.'
So the angels prostrated themselves, all of them,
Except *Iblees* [Satan], he was proud and was one of the disbelievers.﴾ *(Qur'an 38:71-74)*

The dispute mentioned in the Qur'an was concerning Adam (ﷺ) and the refusal of *Iblees* to prostrate to him, and how he *(Iblees)* argued with his Lord concerning His preferring Adam over him."[31]

(4) They are disciplined and organized in all their affairs

The angels are disciplined in their worship. The Messenger (ﷺ) urged us to follow their example in that. He said, "Why do you not form your rows as the angels form their rows before their Lord?" They said, "O Messenger of Allah, how do the angels form their rows before their Lord?" He said, "They complete the rows and do not leave any gaps."[32]

On the Day of Resurrection, they will come in organized ranks:

﴿وَجَآءَ رَبُّكَ وَٱلْمَلَكُ صَفًّا صَفًّا ﴿٢٢﴾﴾

﴿And your Lord comes with the angels in rows.﴾
(Qur'an 89:22)

And they will stand in rows before Allah:

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[31] See *Tafseer Ibn Katheer*, 6/73-74.

[32] Muslim, 1/322. hadith no. 430.

﴿يَوْمَ يَقُومُ ٱلرُّوحُ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ صَفًّا ۖ لَّا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ إِلَّا مَنْ أَذِنَ لَهُ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ وَقَالَ صَوَابًا ﴿٣٨﴾﴾

﴿The Day that *Ar-Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel), or another angel] and the angels will stand forth in rows, they will not speak except him whom the Most Gracious [Allah] allows, and he will speak what is right.﴾ *(Qur'an 78:38)*

Ar-Rooḥ here refers to Jibreel.

Look at how precisely they carry out commands. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and *Musnad Aḥmad* it is narrated from Anas (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "I will come to the gate of Paradise and ask for it to be opened. The gatekeeper will say, 'Who are you?' I will say, 'Muhammad.' He will say, 'I was commanded not to open it for anyone before you.'"[33]

We may note how precisely they carry out commands by looking at the hadith about the *Israa'*. When Jibreel asked for permission to enter each of the heavens, it was not opened for him until after it was found out who was seeking admission.

(5) The infallibility of the angels

Suyooṭi narrated from Al-Qaaḍi 'Iyaaḍ that "Muslims are unanimously agreed that the angels are virtuous believers, and the Imaams of the Muslims are agreed that our belief about the messengers among them is like our belief about the Prophets with regard to their infallibility in the issues which we have referred to above, and that their responsibilities towards the Prophets are like the responsibilities of the Prophets towards their nations."

Some scholars differed concerning the angels who are not messengers. Some were of the view that all the angels are infallible in the sense that they do not commit sin, based on the *aayaat*:

[33] Muslim, 1/188, hadith no. 197.

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ قُوٓاْ أَنفُسَكُمۡ وَأَهۡلِيكُمۡ نَارٗا وَقُودُهَا ٱلنَّاسُ وَٱلۡحِجَارَةُ عَلَيۡهَا مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٞ شِدَادٞ لَّا يَعۡصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمۡ وَيَفۡعَلُونَ مَا يُؤۡمَرُونَ ٦﴾

﴿O you who believe! Ward off yourselves and your families against a Fire [Hell] whose fuel is men and stones, over which are [appointed] angels stern [and] severe, who disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾

(Qur'an 66:6)

﴿وَمَا مِنَّآ إِلَّا لَهُۥ مَقَامٞ مَّعۡلُومٞ ١٦٤ وَإِنَّا لَنَحۡنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ١٦٥ وَإِنَّا لَنَحۡنُ ٱلۡمُسَبِّحُونَ ١٦٦﴾

﴿And there is not one of us [angels] but has his known place [or position]:

And verily, we [angels], we stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers];

And verily, we [angels], indeed are those who glorify [Allah's Praises, i.e. perform prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:164-166)*

﴿وَمَنۡ عِندَهُۥ لَا يَسۡتَكۡبِرُونَ عَنۡ عِبَادَتِهِۦ وَلَا يَسۡتَحۡسِرُونَ ١٩ يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيۡلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفۡتُرُونَ ٢٠﴾

﴿To Him belongs whosoever is in the heavens and on earth. And those who are near Him [i.e. the angels] are not too proud to worship Him, nor are they weary [of His worship].

They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:19-20)*

﴿بِأَيۡدِي سَفَرَةٖ ١٥ كِرَامِۭ بَرَرَةٖ ١٦﴾

﴿In the hands of scribes [angels].

Honourable and obedient.﴾ *(Qur'an 80:15-16)*

﴿لَّا يَمَسُّهُۥٓ إِلَّا ٱلۡمُطَهَّرُونَ ٧٩﴾

﴿Which [that Book with Allah] none can touch but the purified [i.e. the angels].﴾ *(Qur'an 56:79)*

And there are many similar reports.

Another group was of the view that this applies only to the messengers among them and those who are close to Allah, and they cited as evidence the story of Haaroot and Maaroot, and the story of *Iblees*. The correct view is that all of them are infallible and that we should think of all of them as being above anything that could undermine their position and high status.

He said: "The answer to the story of Haaroot and Maaroot is that there is no report, sound or otherwise, about that from the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). Concerning the story of *Iblees,* most scholars deny that he was one of the angels, and they say that he is the father of the jinn, as Adam is the father of mankind.?[34]

This issue was discussed by Aṣ-Ṣafawi al-Armawi, as quoted from him by Suyooṭi. He said: "The angels are infallible, and the evidence for that is as follows:

(i) Allah says concerning them:

﴿وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٦﴾

﴿[They] do that which they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 66:6)*

﴿وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِۦ يَعْمَلُونَ ۝٢٧﴾

﴿And they act on His Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:27)*

These two *aayaat* include doing what is commanded and abstaining from what is forbidden, because a prohibition is a command to abstain, from doing something. The context here is that of praising."

(ii) Allah says:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ۝٢٠﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21: 20)*

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[34] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik min Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* by Suyooti, Pp. 252

This is an eloquent description of their efforts in worship.

(iii) The angels are messengers of Allah, because Allah says:

﴿جَاعِلِ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ رُسُلًا ۝١﴾

﴿Who made the angels messengers﴾ *(Qur'an 35:1)*

The angels are infallible, because Allah says, praising them,

﴿ٱللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ حَيْثُ يَجْعَلُ رِسَالَتَهُۥ ۝١٢٤﴾

﴿Allah knows best with whom to place His Message.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:124)*

This *aayah* refers to their perfection in their work.[35]

[35] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik min Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 253.

CHAPTER TWO
THE WORSHIP OF THE ANGELS

A LOOK AT THE NATURE OF THE ANGELS

The angels instinctively worship Allah. They do not have the ability to disobey Him.

﴿مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٌ شِدَادٌ لَّا يَعْصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٦﴾

﴿[They] disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾

(Qur'an 66:6)

Their abstaining from sin and doing acts of obedience is part of their nature, and it does not require any effort on their part, because they have no desires (that could prevent them from doing so).

Perhaps this is the reason why a group of scholars said that the angels are not accountable, and that they are not included in the promises (of Paradise) and threats (of Hell).[1]

What we can say is that the angels are not accountable in the same manner as the sons of Adam are, but saying that they are not accountable at all is a view that is to be rejected. They are commanded to worship and obey Allah:

﴿يَخَافُونَ رَبَّهُم مِّن فَوْقِهِمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٥٠﴾

﴿They fear their Lord above them, and they do what they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 16:50)*

This *aayah* shows that they fear their Lord, and this fear is one of the responsibilities enjoined by shari'ah; indeed it is one of the highest forms of *'uboodiyyah* (being a slave of Allah in the fullest sense), as Allah says of the angels:

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[1] *Lawaami' al-Anwaar al-Bahiyyah,* 2/409.

﴿وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿And they stand in awe for fear of Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:28)*

THE STATUS OF THE ANGELS

The best manner in which the angels are described is slaves of Allah, but they are honoured slaves. We have already referred to the fact that the claim made by the *mushrikeen* – that the angels were daughters of Allah – is a false one with no element of truth. Allah showed those who believed this as liars, and described the true nature of the angels and their status in more than one place (in the Qur'an). He said:

﴿وَقَالُوا۟ ٱتَّخَذَ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ وَلَدًا سُبْحَٰنَهُۥ ۚ بَلْ عِبَادٌ مُّكْرَمُونَ ﴿٢٦﴾ لَا يَسْبِقُونَهُۥ بِٱلْقَوْلِ وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِۦ يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يَشْفَعُونَ إِلَّا لِمَنِ ٱرْتَضَىٰ وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾ وَمَن يَقُلْ مِنْهُمْ إِنِّىٓ إِلَٰهٌ مِّن دُونِهِۦ فَذَٰلِكَ نَجْزِيهِ جَهَنَّمَ ۚ كَذَٰلِكَ نَجْزِى ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿٢٩﴾﴾

﴿And they say: 'The Most Gracious [Allah] has begotten a son [or children].' Glory to Him! They [whom they call children of Allah i.e. the angels, 'Eesa son of Maryam, 'Uzayr (Ezra)], are but honoured slaves.

They speak not until He has spoken, and they act on His Command. He knows what is before them, and what is behind them, and they cannot intercede except for him with whom He is pleased. And they stand in awe for fear of Him.

And if any of them should say: 'Verily, I am an *ilaah* [a god] besides Him [Allah],' such a one We should recompense with Hell. Thus We recompense the *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers].﴾

(Qur'an 21:26-29)

The angels are slaves who bear all the characteristics of *'uboodiyyah*: they serve Allah and carry out His instructions. The knowledge of Allah encompasses them, and they cannot go beyond what He commands them to do or go against the instructions that are given to them. They are in fear and awe of Allah, and if it so happened that one of them were to

overstep the mark, Allah would punish him for his rebellion.

One aspect of the *'uboodiyyah* of the angels is that they do not make suggestions before their Lord, and they do not oppose any of His commands. Rather they do as they are commanded and hasten to respond.

﴿لَا يَسْبِقُونَهُ بِالْقَوْلِ وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِ يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾﴾

﴿They speak not until He has spoken, and they act on His Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:27)*

They do not do anything except that which they are commanded. The command motivates them, and the command makes them stop. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that Ibn 'Abbaas[2] said: the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to Jibreel, "Why do you not visit us more often?" Then the *aayah* was revealed:

﴿وَمَا نَتَنَزَّلُ إِلَّا بِأَمْرِ رَبِّكَ ۖ لَهُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِينَا وَمَا خَلْفَنَا وَمَا بَيْنَ ذَٰلِكَ ۚ وَمَا كَانَ رَبُّكَ نَسِيًّا ﴿٦٤﴾﴾

﴿And we [angels] descend not except by the Command of your Lord [O Muhammad]. To Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us, and what is between those two; and your Lord is never forgetful.﴾ *(Qur'an 19:64)*

Examples of their worship

The angels are slaves of Allah whose responsibility is to worship Him. They fulfil this responsibility and worship Him with the greatest of ease. We will describe here some of the acts of worship done by the angels which Allah and His Messenger (ﷺ) have told us about.

(1) *Tasbeeḥ* (Glorifying Allah)

The angels remember Allah *(dhikr)*, and the greatest *dhikr* is *Tasbeeḥ*. The bearers of the Throne glorify Him, may He be exalted:

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[2] Bukhaari, 6/305, hadith no. 3218.

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَحْمِلُونَ ٱلْعَرْشَ وَمَنْ حَوْلَهُۥ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ ﴿٧﴾﴾

﴿Those [angels] who bear the Throne [of Allah] and those around it glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:7)*

And all the angels glorify Him:

﴿وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ ﴿٥﴾﴾

﴿And the angels glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾ *(Qur'an 42:5)*

They glorify Allah constantly, without ceasing, either at night or during the day:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:20)*

Because they glorify Allah so much, they are indeed those who truly glorify Allah's praises, and they have the right to be proud of that:

﴿وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ﴿١٦٥﴾ وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلْمُسَبِّحُونَ ﴿١٦٦﴾﴾

﴿And verily, we [angels], stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers];
And verily, we [angels], indeed are those who glorify [Allah's Praises, i.e. perform prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:165-166)*

They glorify Allah so much because *Tasbeeḥ* is the greatest form of *dhikr*. Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Dharr said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was asked what kind of *dhikr* is the best. He said: 'That which Allah has chosen for His angels or His slaves: *Subḥaan Allahi wa bi ḥamdihi* (Glory and praise be to Allah).'"[3]

(2) Standing in rows

We have already mentioned the hadith in which the Messenger (ﷺ) urged his Companions to follow the example of the angels in making

[3] Muslim, 4/2093, hadith no. 2731.

straight rows for the prayer: "Why do you not form rows as the angels form rows before their Lord?" When he was asked about how they form rows, he said: "They complete the rows, and do not leave any gaps." This is narrated by Muslim.[4]

In the Qur'an it says of the angels:

﴿وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ﴿١٦٥﴾﴾

﴿And verily, we [angels], stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:165)*

They stand, bow and prostrate. In *Mushkil al-Aathaar* by Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawi, and in *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabeer* by Aṭ-Ṭabaraani, it is narrated that Ḥakeem ibn Ḥuzaam said:

"When the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was with his Companions, he said to them, 'Do you not hear what I hear?' They said, 'We do not hear anything.' He said, 'I can hear the creaking of the heavens, and no wonder they creak, for there is not a spot the size of a handspan, but there is an angel on it, prostrating or standing (in worship).'"[5]

(3) Ḥajj

The angels have a Ka'bah in the seventh heaven to which they go on Ḥajj. This Ka'bah is that which Allah called *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor* (the Much-Frequented House), and swore by it in *Soorat aṭ-Ṭoor*:

﴿وَٱلْبَيْتِ ٱلْمَعْمُورِ ﴿٤﴾﴾

﴿And by *Al-Bayt al Ma'moor* [the house over the heavens parallel to the Ka'bah at Makkah, continuously visited by the angels].﴾ *(Qur'an 52:4)*

Ibn Katheer said in his commentary on this *aayah*: "It is reported in *Al-Ṣaḥeeḥayn* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said in the hadith about the

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[4] Muslim, 1/322, hadith no. 430.

[5] Al-Albaani said: it is *ṣaḥeeḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim. *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeehah*, hadith no. 852.

Israa', after he had passed the seventh heaven: 'Then I was taken up to the Much-Frequented House. Every day seventy thousand angels enter it, and they never return to it, and when they leave another seventy thousand come'[6] – i.e., they worship there, and they perform *Ṭawaaf* around it just as the people of this earth perform *Ṭawaaf* around their Ka'bah. The Much-Frequented House is the Ka'bah of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, hence the Prophet (ﷺ) found Ibraaheem (عليه السلام) leaning back against the Much-Frequented House, because he was the builder of the earthly Ka'bah, and the reward should fit the action."

Ibn Katheer mentioned that the Much-Frequented House is parallel to the Ka'bah, i.e., it is above it, and if it were to fall it would fall on top of it. He said that in each of the heavens there is a House in which its inhabitants worship Allah, and in the direction of which they offer their prayers. The one which is in the first heaven is called *Bayt al-'Izzah* (the House of Glory).

What Ibn Katheer said about the Much-Frequented House being parallel to the Ka'bah is narrated from 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib. Ibn Jareer narrated on the authority of Khaalid ibn 'Ar'arah that a man said to 'Ali (رضي الله عنه), "What is the Much-Frequented House?" He said, "It is a House in the heavens parallel to the Ka'bah. Its sanctity in the heavens is like the sanctity of the Ka'bah on earth. Every day seventy thousand angels enter it, and they never return to it."[7]

Shaykh Naaṣir ad-Deen al-Albaani[8] said concerning this hadith: its men are *thiqaat* apart from Khaalid ibn 'Ar'arah, who is *mastoor*... Then he stated that there is a corroborating *mursal ṣaḥeeḥ* report narrated from Qataadah, who said: "He mentioned to us that one day the Prophet (ﷺ)

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[6] Bukhaari, 6/103, hadith no. 2207; Muslim, 1/147, hadith no. 162. This version differs somewhat from that narrated in *Aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥayn*.

[7] Ibn Ḥajar narrated this from Aṭ-Ṭabari and Isḥaaq in *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/308, where he spoke at length about its *isnaad*.

[8] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, 1/236.

said to his Companions, 'Do you know what the Much-Frequented House is?' They said, 'Allah and His Messenger know best.' He said: 'It is a mosque in the heavens, beneath which is the Ka'bah. If it were to fall it would fall on top of it...'"

The editor (Al-Albaani) said: "In conclusion we may note that this phrase (that the Much-Frequented House is parallel to the Ka'bah) is proven when all the *isnaads* are combined."

(4) Their fear of Allah

Because the angels have such a great knowledge of their Lord, their veneration of Him and their fear of Him are very great. Allah says of them:

﴿وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿And they stand in awe for fear of Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:28)*

How great their fear of their Lord is, is apparent from the hadith narrated by Bukhaari from Abu Hurayrah, who said that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Allah decrees a matter in the heavens, the angels beat their wings in submission to what He has said, (with a sound like) a chain striking a rock."

'Ali and others said:

"The sound reaches them, and when fear is banished from their (angels') hearts, they (angels) say: 'What is it that your Lord has said?' They say: 'The truth. And He is the Most High, the Most Great' (cf. Qur'an 34:23)."[9]

In *Mu'jam at-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Jaabir (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "On the night on which I was taken on the Night Journey (*Israa'*), I passed by the hosts on high, and Jibreel was like a worn mat, from his fear of Allah."[10]

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[9] Bukhaari, 3/380, hadith no. 4701

[10] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 5/206

CHAPTER THREE
THE ANGELS AND MAN

1 - THE ANGELS AND ADAM

When Allah wanted to create Adam, He informed His angels of that. They asked Him the reason behind that, because they knew that the sons of Adam would cause corruption and shed blood, and they would disobey Allah and disbelieve. He told them that there were reasons for the creation of Adam which they did not know:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوٓا۟ أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَن يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ ٱلدِّمَآءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ ۖ قَالَ إِنِّيٓ أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿And [remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Verily, I am going to place viceroy [mankind] on earth.' They said: 'Will You place therein those who will make mischief therein and shed blood, – while we glorify You with praises and thanks and sanctify You.' He [Allah] said: 'I know that which you know not.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30)*

Their prostration to Adam when he was created

Allah commanded His angels to prostrate to Adam when He had completed his creation and breathed his soul into him:

﴿إِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي خَٰلِقٌۢ بَشَرًا مِّن طِينٍ ﴿٧١﴾ فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِى فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٧٢﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Truly, I am going to create man from clay.
So when I have fashioned him and breathed into him [his] soul created by Me, then you fall down prostrate to him.'﴾
(Qur'an 38:71-72)

They responded to the command, except for *Iblees*:

﴿فَسَجَدَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ ﴿٧٣﴾ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ ٱسْتَكْبَرَ وَكَانَ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٧٤﴾﴾

﴿So the angels prostrated themselves, all of them,
Except *Iblees* [Satan], he was proud and was one of the disbelievers.﴾ *(Qur'an 38:73-74)*[1]

How the angels taught Adam

It is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (رضي الله عنه) said: The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah created Adam in His image[2], and he was sixty cubits tall. When He had created him, He said, 'Go and greet them – a group of angels who were sitting – and listen to how they respond, for that will be your greeting and the greeting of your descendents.' So he said, *'As-Salaamu 'alaykum* (peace be upon you),' and they said, *'As-Salaamu 'alayka wa raḥmat-Allahi* (peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allah).'" So they added the words *wa raḥmat-Allah.*[3]

The angels washed Adam when he died

When Adam died, his children did not know what they should do with his body, so the angels taught them. In *Mustadrak al-Ḥaakim* and *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ,* it is narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Ubayy (رضي الله عنه) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Adam died, the angels washed his body with water an odd number of times, then they

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[1] This *aayah* clearly indicates that all the angels prostrated to Adam. This offers a refutation of the view of those who say that those who prostrated were only some of the angels, or that they were only the angels of this earth. The report attributed to Ibn 'Abbaas which says that they were the angels of this earth is *munkar and maqtoo'* (i.e., it is not a strong report). Ibn Taymiyah stated that the *aayah* is a clear text which is not open to interpretation and it is not permitted to believe the opposite of what is stated in this *aayah.*

[2] In his footnote on this hadith, Dr. Muhammad Muḥsin Khan notes that this means that Adam has been granted life, knowledge, power of understanding etc., which are also attributes of Allah, but that only the names are the same and there is no comparison between the Creator and the created being. See *The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, Vol. 8, Pp. 161. (Translator)

[3] Bukhaari, 11/3, no. 6227. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2184, hadith no. 2841

buried him in a grave with a niche (*laḥd*), and said: This is the way of the sons of Adam."[4]

It is narrated in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* that the angels washed a *shaheed* from this ummah, Ḥanẓalah ibn Abi 'Aamir, who was martyred in the battle of Uḥud. The Messenger (ﷺ) said to his Companions after Ḥanẓalah was killed: "The angels are washing your companion" meaning Ḥanẓalah. The *Ṣaḥaabah* asked his wife, and she said that he had gone out when he heard the call to arms, and he was *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity following marital relations). The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, "That is why the angels washed his body."

This is narrated by Al-Ḥaakim and Al-Bayhaqi with a *ḥasan isnaad*. Ibn 'Asaakir stated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* that (the tribe of) Al-Aws were proud of the fact that one of their member, Ḥanẓalah ibn Abi 'Aamir, had been washed by the angels.[5]

2 - THE ANGELS AND THE SONS OF ADAM

The connection between the angels and the descendents of Adam is very strong. They are there when a person is created, they guard him/her after he/she emerges into this world. They bring the *waḥy* (revelation) from Allah and they watch over people's actions and behaviour. And they bring a person's soul forth from his body when his appointed time (of death) comes.

(1) Their role in the creation of man

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Dharr said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say: 'When forty-two nights are passed, Allah sends an angel to the *nutfah* (embryo) and he gives it shape, forming its hearing and sight, its skin, flesh and bones. Then he says: 'O Lord, male or female?' Then your Lord decrees whatever He wills and the angel writes it down.'"[6]

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[4] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 5/48

[5] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, hadith no. 326

[6] Muslim, 4/2037, hadith no. 2645

It is narrated that Ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), who is the most truthful one, told us: 'Each one of you comes together in mother's womb for forty days, then becomes an *'alaqah* (clot) for a similar period of time. Then he becomes a *mudghah* (chewed lump of flesh) for a similar length of time. Then Allah sends an angel to him, who is commanded with four things. It is said to him: Write down his deeds, his provision, and whether he is doomed (destined for Hell) or blessed (destined for Paradise). Then the soul is breathed into him.'"[7]

It is narrated in *Ṣaheehayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) from Anas that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Allah has appointed an angel over the womb, and he says, 'O Lord, a *nutfah* (mixed discharge from male and female); O Lord, an *'alaqah* (clot); O Lord, a *muḍghah* (chewed lump of flesh).' And when Allah wants to decree his creation, he says: 'O Lord, male or female? Doomed or blessed? What is his provision? What is his lifespan?' All of that is written when he is in his mother's womb."[8]

(2) The angels guard the sons of Adam

Allah says:

﴿سَوَآءٌ مِّنكُم مَّنْ أَسَرَّ ٱلْقَوْلَ وَمَن جَهَرَ بِهِۦ وَمَنْ هُوَ مُسْتَخْفٍۭ بِٱلَّيْلِ وَسَارِبٌۢ بِٱلنَّهَارِ ﴿١٠﴾ لَهُۥ مُعَقِّبَٰتٌ مِّنۢ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِۦ يَحْفَظُونَهُۥ مِنْ أَمْرِ ٱللَّهِ ﴿١١﴾﴾

﴿It is the same [to Him] whether any of you conceals his speech or declares it openly, whether he be hid by night or goes forth freely by day.

For him [each person], there are angels in succession, before and behind him. They guard him by the Command of Allah.﴾

(Qur'an 13:10-11)

The interpreter of the Qur'an (*turjumaan al-Qur'an*), Ibn 'Abbaas, has explained that the word *Al-Mu'aqqibaat* (translated here as "angels in

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[7] Bukhaari, 6/303, hadith no. 3208. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2036, hadith no. 2643.

[8] Bukhaari, 11/477, hadith no. 6595. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2038, hadith no. 2646. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

succession") refers to the angels whom Allah appoints to guard a person from before and from behind. Then when the decree of Allah comes, which Allah wills should befall him, they withdraw from him.

Mujaahid said: "There is no person who does not have an angel appointed to protect him when he is asleep and when he is awake, from the jinn, other men and savage beasts. None of these come to him, but the angel tells it, 'Keep away!' except for that which Allah has given permission to befall him."

A man said to 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib, "A group from Muraad want to kill you." He ('Ali) said, "With every man there are angels guarding him from whatever has not been decreed for him. When the decree comes, they move away from him and let it reach him. Your fixed lifespan (decreed by Allah) is a protection for you."[9]

The angels in succession - *Al-Mu'aqqibaat* - mentioned in the *aayah* of *Soorat al-Ra'd* are also those referred to in another *aayah*:

﴿وَهُوَ ٱلْقَاهِرُ فَوْقَ عِبَادِهِۦ ۚ وَيُرْسِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ حَفَظَةً حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا جَآءَ أَحَدَكُمُ ٱلْمَوْتُ تَوَفَّتْهُ رُسُلُنَا وَهُمْ لَا يُفَرِّطُونَ ﴿٦١﴾﴾

﴿He is the Irresistible [Supreme], over His slaves, and He sends guardians [angels guarding and writing all of one's good and bad deeds] over you, until when death approaches one of you, Our messengers [angel of death and his assistants] take his soul, and they never neglect their duty.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:61)*

These guardians are sent by Allah to protect His slaves until the decreed time of death comes to them.

(3) The emissaries of Allah to His Messengers and Prophets

Allah has told us that Jibreel is the only one who carries out this mission:

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾﴾

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[9] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/54.

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and...'﴾

(Qur'an 2:97)

﴿نَزَلَ بِهِ ٱلرُّوحُ ٱلْأَمِينُ ﴿١٩٣﴾ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ لِتَكُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُنذِرِينَ ﴿١٩٤﴾﴾

﴿Which the trustworthy *Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] has brought down Upon your heart [O Muhammad] that you may be [one] of the warners.﴾ *(Qur'an 26:193-194)*

Waḥy (revelation) may be brought by angels other than Jibreel, but this happens rarely – as stated in the hadith narrated by Muslim from Ibn 'Abbaas, who said: "Whilst Jibreel was sitting with the Prophet (ﷺ), he heard a creaking sound above him, and he raised his head. He said, 'This is a door in the heaven which has been opened today, and it has never been opened before today, and an angel has come down through it. This is an angel who has come down to the earth, and he never came down before today. He [that angel] gave the greeting of *salaam* and said: Rejoice, for you have been granted two lights which have not been given to any Prophet before you: the Opening of the Book (*Soorat al-Faatiḥah*) and the closing verses of *Soorat al-Baqarah*. You will not read even one letter of them but you will be granted reward.'"[10]

In *At-Taareekh* by Ibn 'Asaakir, it is narrated from Ḥudhayfah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "An angel came to me and greeted me with *salaams* - he came down from the heavens and he had never come down before - and he gave me the glad tidings that Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn would be the leaders of the youth of Paradise, and that Faaṭimah would be the leader of the women of Paradise."[11]

In *Musnad Aḥmad* and *Sunan an-Nisaa'i* it is narrated from Ḥudhayfah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Did you not see what happened

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[10] Muslim, 1/554, hadith no. 806.

[11] *Saḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 1/80

to me just?" They said, "Yes." He said, "It was one of the angels who had never come down to the earth before tonight. He asked his Lord for permission to greet me, and to tell me that Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn will be the leaders of the youth of Paradise, and that Faaṭimah will be the leader of the women of Paradise."[12]

Not everyone to whom an angel comes is a Messenger or a Prophet

Not everyone to whom an angel comes can be counted as a Messenger or a Prophet. This is an illusion. Allah sent Jibreel to Maryam, as He sent him to the mother of Ismaa'eel when she ran out of food and drink. (And it is known that neither of them were Prophetess).

The *Ṣaḥaabah* saw Jibreel in the form of a Bedouin. And Allah sent an angel to that man who visited a brother of his for the sake of Allah, to tell him that Allah loved him because he loved his brother... This happened a lot, and the reason was to make a point.

How did the *Waḥy* (revelation) come to the Messenger (ﷺ)?

It is narrated in Bukhaari from 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) that Al-Ḥaarith ibn Hishaam (رضي الله عنه) asked the Messenger (ﷺ), "O Messenger of Allah, how does the *Waḥy* come to you?"

The Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Sometimes it comes to me like the ringing of a bell, and that is the hardest for me. Then it departs from me, and I understand what has been said. Sometimes the angel comes to me in the form of a man who speaks to me, and I understand what he says."[13]

Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (ﷺ) in his angelic form. This was difficult for the Messenger (ﷺ). At other times Jibreel would change from his angelic form and take on human form, and this was easier for the Messenger (ﷺ).

The Messenger (ﷺ) saw Jibreel twice in the form in which Allah created him:

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[12] *Musnad Aḥmad*, 5/391; this version is narrated by him. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/226, hadith no. 2975.

[13] Bukhaari, 1/18, hadith no. 2.

(i) Three years after the beginning of his (ﷺ) Mission

It is narrated in Bukhaari from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Whilst I was walking, I heard a voice from the heavens. I raised my head and saw the angel who had come to me in (the cave of) Ḥiraa', sitting on a throne between the heavens and the earth. I was scared of him, and I went back and said, 'Cover me!'"[14]

(ii) When he was taken up into the heavens (the *Mi'raaj*)

These two occasions were mentioned in *Soorat al-Najm*, where Allah says:

﴿عَلَّمَهُۥ شَدِيدُ ٱلْقُوَىٰ ۝٥ ذُو مِرَّةٍ فَٱسْتَوَىٰ ۝٦ وَهُوَ بِٱلْأُفُقِ ٱلْأَعْلَىٰ ۝٧ ثُمَّ دَنَا فَتَدَلَّىٰ ۝٨ فَكَانَ قَابَ قَوْسَيْنِ أَوْ أَدْنَىٰ ۝٩ فَأَوْحَىٰٓ إِلَىٰ عَبْدِهِۦ مَآ أَوْحَىٰ ۝١٠ مَا كَذَبَ ٱلْفُؤَادُ مَا رَأَىٰٓ ۝١١ أَفَتُمَٰرُونَهُۥ عَلَىٰ مَا يَرَىٰ ۝١٢ وَلَقَدْ رَءَاهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَىٰ ۝١٣ عِندَ سِدْرَةِ ٱلْمُنتَهَىٰ ۝١٤ عِندَهَا جَنَّةُ ٱلْمَأْوَىٰٓ ۝١٥ إِذْ يَغْشَى ٱلسِّدْرَةَ مَا يَغْشَىٰ ۝١٦ مَا زَاغَ ٱلْبَصَرُ وَمَا طَغَىٰ ۝١٧﴾

﴿He has been taught [this Qur'an] by one mighty in power [Jibreel (Gabriel)].
One free from any defect in body and mind then he [Jibreel – Gabriel in his real shape as created by Allah] rose and became stable.
While he [Jibreel (Gabriel)] was in the highest part of the horizon, [Tafseer Ibn Katheer]
Then he [Jibreel (Gabriel)] approached and came closer,
And was at a distance of two bows' length or [even] nearer.
So [Allah] revealed to His slave [Muhammad through Jibreel (Gabriel)] whatever He revealed.
The [Prophet's] heart lied not in what he [Muhammad] saw.
Will you then dispute with him [Muhammad] about what he saw [during the *Mi'raaj*: (Ascent of the Prophet to the seven heavens)].
And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel (Gabriel)] at a second descent [i.e. another time].

[14] Bukhaari, 1/27, hadith no. 4.

Near *Sidrat-ul-Muntaha* [a lote tree of the utmost boundary over the seventh heaven beyond which none can pass].
Near it is the Paradise of Abode.
When that covered the lote tree which did cover it!
The sight [of Prophet Muhammad] turned not aside [right or left], nor it transgressed beyond the limit [ordained for it].﴾

(Qur'an 53:5-17)

The mission of Jibreel is not restricted only to conveying the *Waḥy*

The mission of Jibreel is not restricted only to conveying the *Waḥy* from Allah. He used to come to the Prophet (ﷺ) every year in Ramaḍaan, on every night of that month, to teach him the Qur'an. According to the hadith narrated by Bukhaari in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Ibn 'Abbaas, "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was the most generous of people, and he was at his most in generosity during Ramaḍaan, when he used to meet Jibreel, and he used to meet him every night during Ramaḍaan, to study the Qur'an with him. The Messenger of Allah was more generous in doing good than the wind when it blows."[15]

His leading the Messenger in prayer

Jibreel led the Messenger (ﷺ) in prayer, so that he could learn the prayer as Allah wanted it to be performed. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* it is narrated from Abu Mas'ood that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Jibreel came down and led me in prayer, so I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him" – and he counted them off on his fingers five times.[16]

In *As-Sunan* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Jibreel led me in prayer at the Ka'bah twice. He led me in praying *Ẓuhr* when the sun had passed its zenith by the length of a sandal-thong, and he led me in praying *'Aṣr* when the shadow of

[15] Bukhaari, 1/30, hadith no, 6.

[16] Bukhaari, 6/305, hadith no. 3221. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 1/108, no. 480.

every object was the same length as the object itself. He led me – in praying *Maghrib* – at the time when the fasting person breaks his fast. He led me in praying *'Ishaa'* when the twilight had ended. And he led me in praying *Fajr* at the time when food and drink become *ḥaraam* for the one who is fasting.

On the following day, he led me in praying *Ẓuhr* when the shadow of an object was the same length as the object itself. He led me in praying *'Aṣr* when the shadow of an object was twice as long as the object itself. He led me in praying *Maghrib* at the time when the fasting person breaks his fast. He led me in praying *'Ishaa'* when a third of the night had passed. And he led me in praying *Fajr* when there was a fair amount of light. Then he turned to me and said: 'O Muhammad, these are the times (observed by) the Prophets before you, and the time (for each prayer) is anywhere between these two times (mentioned in each case).'"[17]

The *ruqyah* of Jibreel for the Messenger (ﷺ)

Muslim narrated on the authtority of Abu Sa'eed that Jibreel came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said, "O Muhammad, are you ill?" He said, "Yes." He said, "In the name of Allah I perform *ruqyah* for you, from everything that is troubling you. From the evil of every living being, or every envious eye, may Allah heal you, in the name of Allah I perform *ruqyah* for you."[18]

Other actions

Among other things, Jibreel fought alongside the Messenger (ﷺ) at Badr and *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch), and he accompanied the Messenger on the Night Journey (the *Israa'*), etc.

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[17] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 1/79, no. 377 - this version is narrated by him. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 1/50, no. 127. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, narrating from Abu Hurayrah, 1/109, no. 477.

[18] Muslim, 4/1718, hadith no. 2186.

Why did Allah not send Messengers from among the angels?

Allah did not send Messengers from among the angels because the nature of the angels is different from the nature of man, and so it is not easy for man to be in contact with the angels. It was very difficult for the Prophet (ﷺ) when Jibreel came to him in his angelic form, as we have noted above. When he saw Jibreel in his true form, he was scared, and he went to his wife and said, "Cover me, cover me!"

Because their nature is different, Allah willed that He should send mankind Messengers of their own kind. If the inhabitants of the earth had been angels, He would have sent down to them an angel as a Messenger. Allah, the Exalted, says:

﴿قُل لَّوْ كَانَ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ يَمْشُونَ مُطْمَئِنِّينَ لَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْهِم مِّنَ ٱلسَّمَآءِ مَلَكًا رَّسُولًا ﴿٩٥﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'If there were on the earth, angels walking about in peace and security, We should certainly have sent down for them from the heaven an angel as a Messenger.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:95)*

Even if we assume that Allah had chosen some of the angels to be His Messengers to mankind, He could not have sent them down in their angelic form. He would have had to make them appear in human form, so that the people could have learned from them:

﴿وَقَالُوا۟ لَوْلَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَيْهِ مَلَكٌ ۖ وَلَوْ أَنزَلْنَا مَلَكًا لَّقُضِىَ ٱلْأَمْرُ ثُمَّ لَا يُنظَرُونَ ﴿٨﴾ وَلَوْ جَعَلْنَٰهُ مَلَكًا لَّجَعَلْنَٰهُ رَجُلًا وَلَلَبَسْنَا عَلَيْهِم مَّا يَلْبِسُونَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿And they say: 'Why has not an angel been sent down to him?' Had We sent down an angel, the matter would have been judged at once, and no respite would be granted to them.

And had We appointed him an angel, We indeed would have made him a man, and We would have certainly confused them in which they are already confused [i.e. the Message of Prophet Muhammad].﴾ *(Qur'an 6:8-9)*

Allah tells us that the *kaafirs'* demand to see the angels, and to have a Messenger from among the angels come to them, was no more than stubbornness on their part. It was not a request for guidance, and even if it were to happen, they would never believe:

﴿وَلَوْ أَنَّنَا نَزَّلْنَآ إِلَيْهِمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ وَكَلَّمَهُمُ ٱلْمَوْتَىٰ وَحَشَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ كُلَّ شَىْءٍ قُبُلًا مَّا كَانُوا۟ لِيُؤْمِنُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ أَن يَشَآءَ ٱللَّهُ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ يَجْهَلُونَ ﴿١١١﴾﴾

﴿And even if We had sent down unto them angels, and the dead had spoken unto them, and We had gathered together all things before their very eyes, they would not have believed, unless Allah willed, but most of them behave ignorantly.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:111)*

(4) Stirring up good motives in human hearts

Allah has appointed for each person a *qareen* (constant companion) from among the angels, and another from among the jinn. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "There is no one among you but there has been appointed for him one *qareen* from among the jinn and another from among the angels." They said, "For you too, O Messenger of Allah?" He said, "For me too, but Allah has helped me against him (the jinn companion) and he has become Muslim, so he does not tell me to do anything but good."[19]

This angelic companion is probably different from the angels who are commanded to record a person's deeds; Allah has appointed him to guide the person.

A person's *qareen* from among the angels and his *qareen* from among the jinn have an influence upon him. The latter tells him and encourages him to do evil, and the former urges and encourages him to do good. It is narrated from Ibn Mas'ood (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The devil has a hold over the son of Adam, and the angel has a hold over him. The hold of the devil tempts man to do evil and deny the truth. The

[19] Muslim, 4/2168, hadith no. 2814.

hold of the angel encourages man to do good and believe in the truth. Whoever experiences anything of this sort, let him know that it is from Allah, and let him praise Allah. Whoever experiences anything of the other, let him seek refuge with Allah from the accursed *Shayṭaan,* then recite:

﴿ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ يَعِدُكُمُ ٱلْفَقْرَ وَيَأْمُرُكُم بِٱلْفَحْشَآءِ ۖ وَٱللَّهُ يَعِدُكُم مَّغْفِرَةً مِّنْهُ وَفَضْلًا ۗ وَٱللَّهُ وَٰسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ ﴿٢٦٨﴾﴾

﴿*Shayṭaan* [Satan] threatens you with poverty and orders you to commit *Faḥshaa'* [evil deeds, illegal sexual intercourse, sins]; whereas Allah promises you forgiveness from Himself and bounty, and Allah is All-Sufficient for His creatures' needs, All-Knower.﴾"

(Qur'an 2:268)

Ibn Katheer said, after quoting this hadith: "This is how it is narrated by At-Tirmidhi and An-Nasaa'i in the books of *Tafseer* in their *Sunans*, from Hanaad ibn al-Sirri. It is also narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, from Abu Ya'laa al-Moṣuli, also from Hanaad. At-Tirmidhi said: (it is) *ḥasan ghareeb*, and it is the hadith of Abu'l-Aḥwaṣ, i.e., Salaam ibn Saleem..."

Look at the following hadith to see how the jinn-companion and the angel-companion compete with each other to direct a person. Al-Ḥaafiẓ Abu Moosa narrated from Abu az-Zubayr that Jaabir said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When a person goes to bed, an angel and a devil hasten towards him. The angel says, 'End your day with good," and the devil says, "End your day with evil." If he remembers Allah until (sleep) overtakes him, the angel expels the devil and spends the night watching over him.

When he wakes up, an angel and a devil hasten towards him. The angel says, "Start (your day) with good,' and the devil says, 'Start (your day) with evil.' If he says, 'Praise be to Allah who has brought my soul back to life after causing it to die, and has not caused me to die during my sleep. Praise be to Allah Who has detained the souls whom He decreed should die, and has sent back the others until an appointed time. Praise

be to Allah Who grasps the heavens and the earth lest they move away from their places, and if they were to move away from their places, there is not one that could grasp them after Him (cf. 35:41), and Praise be to Allah Who holds up the heavens so that they cannot fall on the earth except by His leave,' – then the angel expels the devil and spends the day watching over him."[20]

These *aḥaadeeth* encourage us to do a lot of good deeds in order to reform ourselves, so that the angels come near to us. There is a great deal of good in having the angels near to us. We have mentioned above the hadith of Ibn 'Abbaas, which describes the effect of the Messenger's meeting with Jibreel during the month of Ramaḍaan, to study the Qur'an, and how the Messenger (ﷺ) at that time was "more generous in doing good than the wind when it blows."[21]

(5) Recording the good and bad deeds of the sons of Adam

The angels are appointed to record the deeds of the sons of Adam, both good and bad. These are the angels referred to in the *aayah*:

﴿وَإِنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ لَحَٰفِظِينَ ۝١٠ كِرَامًا كَٰتِبِينَ ۝١١ يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ۝١٢﴾

﴿But verily, over you [are appointed angels in charge of mankind] to watch you,
Kiraaman [Honourable] *Kaatibeen* – writing down [your deeds],
They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82:10-12)*

For every person, Allah has appointed two angels who are always present and who never leave him; they record in detail all that he does

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[20] The editor of *Al-Waabil aṣ-Ṣayyib* said, commenting on this hadith: Something similar is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan, no. 2362, Mawaarid, and Al-Ḥaakim, 1/548. Al-Ḥaakim classed it as *ṣaḥeeḥ* and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him. Its men are *thiqaat*. It is also mentioned by Al-Haythami in *Majma' az-Zawaa'id*, 10/120. He said: it is narrated by Abu Ya'laa, and its men are the men of *ṣaḥeeḥ*, apart from Ibraaheem ash-Shaami, who is *thiqah*. We say the correct name is Ibraaheem ibn al-Ḥajjaaj al-Saami, not Ash-Shaami.

[21] Bukhaari, 1/30, hadith no. 6.

and says:

﴿وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْإِنسَٰنَ وَنَعْلَمُ مَا تُوَسْوِسُ بِهِۦ نَفْسُهُۥ ۖ وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ ٱلْوَرِيدِ ﴿١٦﴾ إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾ مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿And indeed We have created man, and We know what his ownself whispers to him. And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein [by Our Knowledge].

[Remember] that the two receivers [recording angels] receive [each human being], one sitting on the right and one on the left [to note his or her actions].

Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher by him ready [to record it].﴾ *(Qur'an 50:16-18)*

The word *qa'eed* (translated here as "sitting") means watching, and *raqeeb 'ateed* [translated here as "a watcher by him ready (to record it)"] means always ready to do that, and he never misses a single word.

The apparent meaning is that the angels who are appointed to watch a person write down everything that he does or says, and they do not leave anything out, because Allah says: ﴿Not a word does he [or she] utter but...﴾

Hence each person will find that his book contains everything that he said or did. When the *kuffaar* see their books of deeds on the Day of Resurrection, they will cry out:

﴿يَٰوَيْلَتَنَا مَالِ هَٰذَا ٱلْكِتَٰبِ لَا يُغَادِرُ صَغِيرَةً وَلَا كَبِيرَةً إِلَّآ أَحْصَىٰهَا ۚ وَوَجَدُوا۟ مَا عَمِلُوا۟ حَاضِرًا ۗ وَلَا يَظْلِمُ رَبُّكَ أَحَدًا ﴿٤٩﴾﴾

﴿'Woe to us! What sort of Book is this that leaves neither a small thing nor a big thing, but has recorded it with numbers!' And they will find all that they did, placed before them, and your Lord treats no one with injustice.﴾ *(Qur'an 18:49)*

In *Ṣaheeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (رضي الله عنه) that he heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say: "A person may say something that is pleasing to Allah but he does not realize it, and Allah raises his

status by many degrees because of it, and a person may say something that angers Allah, but he does not realize it, and for that he may be thrown deep into Hell."[22]

Ibn Katheer mentioned in his *Tafseer* that Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri recited this *aayah*:

﴿إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿...One sitting on the right and one on the left...﴾

(Qur'an 50:17)

Then he said: "O son of Adam, the page has been spread out for you (i.e., to record your deeds), and two noble angels have been appointed over you, one on your right and the other on your left. The one on your right records your good deeds, and the one on your left records your bad deeds. So do what you want, less or more. When you die, your book will be rolled up and tied to your neck in your grave, until you emerge on the Day of Resurrection. Then Allah will say:

﴿وَكُلَّ إِنسَٰنٍ أَلْزَمْنَٰهُ طَٰٓئِرَهُۥ فِى عُنُقِهِۦ ۖ وَنُخْرِجُ لَهُۥ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَٰمَةِ كِتَٰبًا يَلْقَىٰهُ مَنشُورًا ﴿١٣﴾ ٱقْرَأْ كِتَٰبَكَ كَفَىٰ بِنَفْسِكَ ٱلْيَوْمَ عَلَيْكَ حَسِيبًا ﴿١٤﴾﴾

﴿And We have fastened every man's deeds to his neck, and on the Day of Resurrection, We shall bring out for him a book which he will find wide open.

[It will be said to him]: 'Read your book. You yourself are sufficient as a reckoner against you this Day.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:13-14)*

Then Al-Ḥasan said: "By Allah, He is being fair towards you, as He will make you a reckoner against yourself."

Ibn Katheer also narrated concerning the *aayah* –

﴿مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher by him ready [to record it].﴾ *(Qur'an 50: 18)* -

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[22] Bukhaari, 11/308, hadith no. 6478.

that Ibn 'Abbaas said: "Everything that you say, good or bad, is written down. Even when a person says, 'I ate', 'I drank', 'I went,' 'I came,' 'I saw'. Then every Thursday all that a person did or said is examined, and whatever is good or bad is recorded, and the rest is erased. This is what is referred to in the *aayah* where Allah says:

﴿يَمْحُواْ ٱللَّهُ مَا يَشَآءُ وَيُثْبِتُ ۖ وَعِندَهُۥٓ أُمُّ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ ﴿٣٩﴾﴾

﴿Allah blots out what He wills and confirms [what He wills]. And with Him is the Mother of the Book [*Al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfooẓ*].﴾

(Qur'an 13:39)

Ibn Katheer mentioned that Imaam Aḥmad used to moan when he was sick. Then he heard that Ṭaawoos said, "Everything is written down, even (a person's) moans." After that, Aḥmad never moaned until he died, may Allah have mercy on him.

The angel on the right records good deeds and that on the left records bad deeds

In *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Kabeer* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Abu Umaamah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angel on the left holds up his pen (refrains from writing down) for six hours after a Muslim commits a sin. If the person regrets it and asks Allah for forgiveness, he casts it aside (does not write it down), otherwise he writes it down as one (*sayi'ah*)."[23]

Do the angels record deeds of the heart (one's thoughts: good intentions and evil suggestions)?[24]

The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*[25] stated that the angels do record the actions of the heart on the basis of the *aayah* –

﴿يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

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[23] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/212.

[24] Deeds of the heart, i.e., ideas, feelings and emotions [Translator].

[25] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, Pp. 438.

﴿They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82: 12)* -

which includes both outward and inward deeds.

He also quoted as evidence the hadith narrated by Muslim from Abu Hurayrah, who said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah says, 'When My slave intends to do an evil action, do not record it. If he does it, then write it down as one *sayi'ah*. If he intends to do a good deed and does not do it, then write it down as one *ḥasanah*, and if he does it, then write it down as ten'"'[26]

According to another hadith whose authenticity is agreed upon by both Bukhaari and Muslim, which is also narrated from Abu Hurayrah, the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels say, 'O Lord, Your slave wants to do something bad,' although He knows best about him. So Allah says, 'Watch him. If he does it then write it down as it is. If he does not do it, then write it down as one *ḥasanah* for him, for he is abstaining from it because of Me.'"[27]

Question:

It could be asked: doesn't the idea that the angels know what a person is intending to do contradict the *aayah*,

﴿يَعْلَمُ خَآئِنَةَ ٱلْأَعْيُنِ وَمَا تُخْفِى ٱلصُّدُورُ ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿Allah knows the fraud of the eyes, and all that the breasts conceal.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:19)*

The answer is: that this is not one of the matters which is known exclusively to Allah. Even though it is hidden from mankind, and a person does not know what is in his brother's heart, it does not mean that it is hidden from the angels.

It could be said that the angels know some of what is in people's hearts: good intentions and evil suggestions. With regard to other things, such

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[26] Muslim, 1/117, hadith no. 128.

[27] Muslim, 1/117, hadith no. 129. This version is narrated by him. It is also narrated by Bukhaari, 13/465, hadith no. 7501.

as people's beliefs, there is no evidence that the angels know that.

The angels call people to do good

It is narrated by both Bukhaari and Muslim on the authority of Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "No day comes but two angels come down (to the earth) in the morning. One of them says, 'O Allah, compensate the one who spends (for Your sake)' and the other says, 'O Allah, destroy the one who withholds (from spending for Your sake).'"[28]

(6) Testing the sons of Adam

Allah may send some of His angels to try the sons of Adam and put them to the test. In Bukhaari and Muslim it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that he heard the Prophet (ﷺ) say: "Allah willed to test three of the Children of Israel – a leper, a bald-headed man and a blind man. So He sent an angel to them.

The angel came to the leper and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'A good colour and good skin, for the people have a strong aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given a good colour and beautiful skin. The angel asked him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Camels (or cows).' [Isḥaaq (the narrator) was not sure; either the leper or the bald-headed man asked for camels and the other asked for cows, or vice versa]. So he (i.e. the leper) was given a she-camel which was ten months pregnant, and the angel said (to him), 'May Allah bless it for you.'

Then the angel went to the bald-headed man and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'Good hair, and to be rid of this that causes the people to have an aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given good hair. The angel asked (him), 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Cows.' The angel gave him a pregnant cow and said, 'May Allah bless it for you.'

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[28] Bukhaari, 3/304, hadith no. 1442. Also narrated by Muslim, 2/700, hadith no. 1010.

Then the angel went to the blind man and asked, 'What thing do you like best?' He said, 'For my eyesight to be restored to me, so that I may see the people.' The angel touched his eyes and Allah gave him back his eyesight. The angel asked him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Sheep.' The angel gave him a pregnant sheep.

Afterwards, all three pregnant animals gave birth to young ones, and multiplied and brought forth so much that one of the (three) men had a herd of camels filling a valley, and one had a herd of cows filling a valley, and one had a flock of sheep filling a valley.

Then the angel came to the leper in the form of a man with leprosy, and said, 'I am a poor man, who has lost all means of completing my journey. So none will satisfy my need except Allah and then you. In the Name of Him Who has given you such a nice colour and beautiful skin, and so much property, I ask you to give me a camel so that I may reach my destination.' The man replied, 'I have many obligations (so I cannot give to you).' The angel said, 'I think I know you; were you not a leper to whom the people had a strong aversion? Weren't you a poor man, and then Allah gave you (all this property).' He replied, '(This is all wrong), I got this property through inheritance from my fore-fathers.' The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then may Allah make you as you were before.'

Then the angel came to the bald man in the form of a man who was bald, and said to him the same as he had said to the first one, and he too answered in the same way as the first one did. The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then may Allah make you as you were before.'

Then the angel went to the blind man in the form of a man who was blind and said, 'I am a poor man and a traveler, who has lost all means of completing my journey. I have nobody to help me except Allah and then you. I ask you in the Name of Him Who has given you back your eye-sight to give me a sheep, so that with its help, I may complete my journey.' The man said, 'No doubt, I was blind and Allah gave me back my eye-sight, so take anything you wish from my property and leave

whatever you wish. By Allah, I will not stop you from taking anything (you need) of my property which you may take for Allah's sake.' The angel replied, 'Keep your property. You (i.e. you three men) have been tested and Allah is pleased with you only and is angry with your two companions.'"[29]

(7) The angels take the soul from the body when the appointed time of death comes

Allah has appointed some of His angels to pull the souls out of people's bodies when their appointed time comes which has been decreed for them by Allah. Allah says:

﴿قُلْ يَتَوَفَّىٰكُم مَّلَكُ ٱلْمَوْتِ ٱلَّذِى وُكِّلَ بِكُمْ ثُمَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ تُرْجَعُونَ ﴿١١﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'The angel of death, who is set over you, will take your souls. Then you shall be brought to your Lord'.﴾ *(Qur'an 32:11)*

There is more than one angel who takes the soul of the dying:

﴿وَهُوَ ٱلْقَاهِرُ فَوْقَ عِبَادِهِۦ ۖ وَيُرْسِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ حَفَظَةً حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا جَآءَ أَحَدَكُمُ ٱلْمَوْتُ تَوَفَّتْهُ رُسُلُنَا وَهُمْ لَا يُفَرِّطُونَ ﴿٦١﴾ ثُمَّ رُدُّوٓا۟ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ مَوْلَىٰهُمُ ٱلْحَقِّ ۚ أَلَا لَهُ ٱلْحُكْمُ وَهُوَ أَسْرَعُ ٱلْحَٰسِبِينَ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿He is the Irresistible [Supreme], over His slaves, and He sends guardians [angels guarding and writing all of one's good and bad deeds] over you, until when death approaches one of you, Our messengers [angel of death and his assistants] take his soul, and they never neglect their duty.

Then they are returned to Allah, their True *Maulaa* [True Master (God), the Just Lord (to reward hem)]. Surely, for Him is the judgement and He is the Swiftest in taking account.﴾

(Qur'an 6:61-62)

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[29] Bukhaari, 6/500, hadith no. 3464. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2275, hadith no. 2964. This version is narrated by Muslim.

The angels take the souls of the *kuffaar* and sinners in a harsh and severe manner, with no gentleness or kindness:

﴿وَلَوْ تَرَىٰٓ إِذِ ٱلظَّٰلِمُونَ فِى غَمَرَٰتِ ٱلْمَوْتِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ بَاسِطُوٓا۟ أَيْدِيهِمْ أَخْرِجُوٓا۟ أَنفُسَكُمُ ۖ ٱلْيَوْمَ تُجْزَوْنَ عَذَابَ ٱلْهُونِ ﴿٩٣﴾﴾

﴿And if you could but see when the *Zaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers] are in the agonies of death, while the angels are stretching forth their hands [saying]: 'Deliver your souls! This day you shall be recompensed with the torment of degradation.'﴾

(Qur'an 6:93)

﴿وَلَوْ تَرَىٰٓ إِذْ يَتَوَفَّى ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يَضْرِبُونَ وُجُوهَهُمْ وَأَدْبَٰرَهُمْ وَذُوقُوا۟ عَذَابَ ٱلْحَرِيقِ ﴿٥٠﴾﴾

﴿And if you could see when the angels take away the souls of those who disbelieve [at death]; they smite their faces and their backs, [saying]: 'Taste the punishment of the blazing Fire.'﴾

(Qur'an 8:50)

﴿فَكَيْفَ إِذَا تَوَفَّتْهُمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يَضْرِبُونَ وُجُوهَهُمْ وَأَدْبَٰرَهُمْ ﴿٢٧﴾﴾

﴿Then how [will it be] when the angels will take their souls at death, smiting their faces and their backs?﴾ *(Qur'an 47:27)*

But when the angels take the souls of the believers, it is done with kindness and gentleness.

The angels give the believers glad tidings when they take their souls

When death comes to the believing slave, the angels come down to him, give him glad tidings and support him:

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوا۟ رَبُّنَا ٱللَّهُ ثُمَّ ٱسْتَقَٰمُوا۟ تَتَنَزَّلُ عَلَيْهِمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ أَلَّا تَخَافُوا۟ وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا۟ وَأَبْشِرُوا۟ بِٱلْجَنَّةِ ٱلَّتِى كُنتُمْ تُوعَدُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ نَحْنُ أَوْلِيَآؤُكُمْ فِى ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَفِى ٱلْءَاخِرَةِ ۖ وَلَكُمْ فِيهَا مَا تَشْتَهِىٓ أَنفُسُكُمْ وَلَكُمْ فِيهَا مَا تَدَّعُونَ ﴿٣١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, those who say: "Our Lord is Allah [Alone]," and then they

stand firm, on them the angels will descend [at the time of their death] [saying]: 'Fear not, nor grieve! But receive the glad tidings of Paradise which you have been promised!
We have been your friends in the life of this world and are [so] in the Hereafter. Therein you shall have [all] that your inner-selves desire, and therein you shall have [all] for which you ask.'﴾

(Qur'an 41:30-31)

But they give the *kuffaar* the tidings of Hell and the anger of the Compeller (Allah), and they say to them:

﴿أَخْرِجُوٓا۟ أَنفُسَكُمُ ۖ ٱلْيَوْمَ تُجْزَوْنَ عَذَابَ ٱلْهُونِ ﴿٩٣﴾﴾

﴾'Deliver your souls! This day you shall be recompensed with the torment of degradation.'﴿ *(Qur'an 6:93)*

Moosa took out the eye of the Angel of Death

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The Angel of Death came to Moosa (ﷺ) and said, 'Answer your Lord.' And Moosa slapped the Angel of Death in the eye and took out his eye. The Angel went back to Allah and said, 'You sent me to a slave of Yours who does not want to die, and he has took out my eye.' So Allah restored his eye, and said, "Go back to My slave and say, 'Do you want to live? If you want to live, put your hand on the back of a bull, and whatever number of hairs your hand touches, you will live for that number of years.'" (Moosa) said, "Then what?" He said, "Then you die." He said, "Now is better."[30] "The Angel of Death used to come to people face to face, so when he came to Moosa, he slapped him and took out his eye."[31]

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqallaani mentioned that some of the followers of *bid'ah* rejected this hadith. In refuting them, he said: "Moosa slapped the Angel

[30] Bukhaari, 3/206, hadith no. 1339. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1843, hadith no. 2373. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[31] This is narrated by Aḥmad in his *Musnad*, and by Aṭ-Ṭabari. See *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/442.

of Death, because he saw a man who had entered his house without permission. He did not know that this was the Angel of Death. The shari'ah allows to take out the eye of a person who looks into a Muslim's home without his permission. The angels came to the Prophet Ibraaheem (Abraham) and to the Prophet Looṭ (Lot) in the form of humans and they did not know who they were at first. If Ibraaheem had known, he would not have offered them food, and if Looṭ had known, he would not have feared for them with regard to his people."[32]

Rejecting on purely rational grounds the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* which speak of the unseen goes against *eemaan* (faith). The first attribute of the pious is that they believe in the unseen, as Allah says at the beginning of *Soorat al-Baqarah* (The Cow). If a report from Allah or from His Messenger is *ṣaḥeeḥ*, then there is no option but to believe it:

﴿وَٱلرَّٰسِخُونَ فِي ٱلْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ ءَامَنَّا بِهِۦ كُلٌّ مِّنْ عِندِ رَبِّنَا ۗ وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلَّآ أُو۟لُوا۟ ٱلْأَلْبَٰبِ ﴿٧﴾﴾

﴿And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: "We believe in it; the whole of it [clear and unclear Verses] are from our Lord." And none receive admonition except men of understanding.﴾

(Qur'an 3:7)

(8) The relationship of the angels with man in the grave, on the Day of Resurrection and in the Hereafter

In our book on belief in the Hereafter we will, *insha Allah*, look at what the angels have to do with mankind after death, such as the two angels – Munkar and Nakeer – questioning a person in his grave. There are angels who bless people in their graves, and others who punish the *kuffaar* (disbelievers) and the sinners (from among the believers). There are angels who will receive the believers on the Day of Resurrection. Israafeel will blow the Trumpet, and other angels will gather the people for the Reckoning. Angels will drive the *kuffaar* to Hell and lead the believers to Paradise. They will punish the *kuffaar* in Hell and will greet the believers with *salaam* in Paradise.

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[32] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/442.

3 - THE ANGELS AND THE BELIEVERS

In the previous section, we discussed the duties which Allah has enjoined upon the angels with regard to all the sons of Adam, believers and *kuffaar* alike. What we have mentioned about them forming the *nuṭfah*, protecting people, conveying revelation, accompanying people, writing down people's deeds and taking their souls at death, does not apply only to some of the sons of Adam and not others, or only to believers and not *kuffaar.*

But beyond that the angels play different roles with the believers and the *kuffaar.* We will discuss in more detail the role that they play with each group.

(1) The role of the angels with the believers

(i) Their love for the believers

Bukhaari and Muslim narrated in their *Ṣaḥeeḥs* from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Allah loves a peson, He calls to Jibreel and tells him, 'Allah loves so and so, so love him.' Then Jibreel loves him and calls out to the inhabitants of the heavens, 'Allah loves so and so, so love him.' So the inhabitants of the heavens love him, and he will find acceptance on earth."[33]

(ii) Guiding the believers

Bukhaari narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Ḥassaan ibn Thaabit that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) prayed for him and said, "O Allah, support him with *Rooḥ al-Qudus.*"[34]

It is also narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "Sulaymaan (ﷺ) said, 'Tonight I will go around to one hundred of my women, and each of them will bear a son who will fight for the sake of Allah.' The angel said to him, 'Say, *insha Allah.*' But he did not say it, and he forgot. So he

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[33] Bukhaari, 6/303, hadith no. 3209. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2030, hadith no. 2637.

[34] Bukhaari, 6/304.

went around to them (his women) but none of them bore a child, except for one who gave birth to a half formed infant." The Prophet (ﷺ) said: "If he had said *Insha Allah*, he would not have broken his oath and he would have had more hope of fulfilling his need."[35]

The angel was guiding the Prophet of Allah Sulaymaan to the way which is appropriate, correct and more perfect.

(iii) Their sending blessings on the believers

Allah tells us that the angels send blessings on the Messenger (ﷺ):

﴿إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتَهُۥ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى ٱلنَّبِيِّۚ ﴿٥٦﴾﴾

﴿Allah sends His *Ṣalaah* [Graces, Honours, Blessings, Mercy] on the Prophet [Muhammad], and also His angels [ask Allah to bless and forgive him].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:56)*

And they also send blessings on the believers:

﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِى يُصَلِّى عَلَيْكُمْ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتُهُۥ لِيُخْرِجَكُم مِّنَ ٱلظُّلُمَٰتِ إِلَى ٱلنُّورِۚ وَكَانَ بِٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيمًا ﴿٤٣﴾﴾

﴿He it is Who sends *Ṣalaah* [His blessings] on you, and His angels too [ask Allah to bless and forgive you], that He may bring you out from darkness [of disbelief and polytheism] into light [of Belief and Islamic Monotheism]. And He is Ever Most Merciful to the believers.﴾ *(Qur'an 33:43)*

Ṣalaah (blessings) from Allah means that He praises His slave before His angels. This is narrated by Bukhaari from Abu'l-'Aaliyah. Someone else said: *Ṣalaah* (blessings) from Allah means mercy. It may be said that

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[35] Bukhaari, 9/339, hadith no. 5242. Ibn Ḥajar said (*Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/460) what may be summed up as follows: According to the report of Al-Mugheerah, it was seventy women. According to the report of Shu'ayb in *Al-Aymaan wan-Nudhoor*, it was ninety. The author thought that this was more likely? This is also narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* (3/1276, hadith no. 1654); in one report it says sixty and in the other it says seventy. In a third report it says ninety.

there is no contradiction between the two views.

Ṣalaah (blessings) from the angels means that they pray for people and seek forgiveness for them. This is what we will discuss in more detail below.

Examples of deeds for which the angels send blessings upon a person

(a) Teaching people good things

At-Tirmidhi narrated in his *Sunan* from Abu Umaamah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels, and the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth, even the ant in its hole, and even the fish, send blessings upon the one who teaches the people good things."[36]

(b) Those who wait for prayer in congregation

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The angels send blessings on any one of you so long as he stays where he is sitting. They say, 'O Allah, forgive him, O Allah, have mercy on him,' so long as he does not break his *wuḍoo'*.'"[37]

(c) Those who pray in the first row

In *Sunan Abi Dawood* it is narrated from Al-Baraa' ibn 'Aazib (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels send blessings on the first rows."[38]

In *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* it says: "... on the front rows."[39]

In *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated from the hadith of Al-Baraa' and the hadith of 'Abd ar-Raḥmaan ibn 'Awf that "Allah and His angels send blessings on the first row."[40]

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[36] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/343, no. 2161.

[37] Bukhaari, 2/131, hadith no. 647. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/459, hadith no. 639. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[38] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 1/120, no. 618.

[39] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 1/175, no. 781.

[40] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 1/164, no. 816.

(d) Those who fill the gaps in the rows

In *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah and His angels send blessings on those who complete the rows, and whoever fills a gap (in a row), Allah will raise his status because of it.'"[41]

(e) Those who eat *suḥoor*

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Ibn Ḥibbaan* and *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Ibn 'Umar (may Allah be pleased with them both) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels send blessings upon those who eat *suḥoor.*"[42]

(f) Those who send blessings upon the Prophet (ﷺ)

Aḥmad narrated in his *Musnad* and Al-Diyaa' narrated in *Al-Mukhtaarah* from 'Aamir ibn Rabee'ah with a *ḥasan isnaad* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "There is no person who sends blessings on me, but the angels send blessings on him so long as he sends blessings on me. So let a person do a little of that or a lot."[43]

(g) Those who visit the sick

Abu Dawood narrated from 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib (رضي الله عنه) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "There is no man who visits a sick person in the evening, but seventy thousand angels go out with him, and pray for forgiveness for him until the morning, and he will have provision in Paradise. And whoever goes to him in the morning, seventy thousand angels go with him, and they pray for forgiveness for him until the evening, and he will have provision in Paradise."[44]

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[41] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 1/164, no. 814.

[42] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/135.

[43] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami', 5/174.*

[44] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 2/598, no. 2655. Abu Dawood stated that it is *ṣaḥeeḥ marfoo'*, he also narrated a *ṣaḥeeḥ mawqoof* report from 'Ali.

Does the angels' sending blessings on us have any effect?

Allah, the Almighty, says:

﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِى يُصَلِّى عَلَيْكُمْ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتُهُۥ لِيُخْرِجَكُم مِّنَ ٱلظُّلُمَٰتِ إِلَى ٱلنُّورِ ۚ ﴿٤٣﴾﴾

﴿He it is Who sends *Ṣalaah* [His blessings] on you, and His angels too [ask Allah to bless and forgive you], that He may bring you out from darkness [of disbelief and polytheism] into light [of Belief and Islamic Monotheism].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:43)*

This *aayah* tells us that when Allah mentions us to the hosts on high, and when the angels pray for the believers and ask for forgiveness for them, this has the effect of guiding us and ridding us of the darkness of *kufr* and *shirk* and sin, leading us to the light which means the right way and the path of truth, which is Islam. Thus we learn what Allah wants of us, and gives us the light by which we will be guided to righteous words and deeds and people.

(iv) Saying *"Ameen"* to the *du'aa'* of the believers

The angels say *"ameen"* to the *du'aa'* of the believer, thus making the *du'aa'* more likely to be answered. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated from Abu'd-Dardaa' that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "The *du'aa'* of a person for his Muslim brother in his absence will be answered. At his head there is an angel, and every time he prays for him for something good, the angel who has been appointed to be with him says, '*Ameen,* and may you have likewise.'"[45]

Because a believer's prayer against himself is very likely to be answered, the believer should not pray against himself. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Umm Salamah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Do not pray for anything but good for yourselves, for the angels say *"ameen"* to whatever you say.'"[46]

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[45] Muslim, 4/2094, hadith no. 2733; *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 2/149, no. 2340. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[46] Muslim, 2/634, hadith no. 920.

(v) Their prayers for forgiveness for the believers

Allah tells us that the angels pray for forgiveness for those who are on earth:

﴿تَكَادُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتُ يَتَفَطَّرْنَ مِن فَوْقِهِنَّ ۚ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُونَ لِمَن فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ ۗ أَلَآ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ هُوَ ٱلْغَفُورُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ ﴿٥﴾﴾

﴿Nearly the heavens might be rent asunder from above them [by His Majesty], and the angels glorify the praises of their Lord, and ask for forgiveness for those on the earth. Verily, Allah is the Oft-Forgiving, the Most Merciful.﴾ *(Qur'an 42:5)*

In *Soorah Ghaafir*, Allah tells us that the bearers of the Throne and the angels who are around the Throne glorify their Lord and submit themselves to Him, and they pray for forgiveness especially for the believers who repent. They pray that Allah will save them from the Fire and admit them to Paradise, and keep them from committing sins and acts of disobedience:

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَحْمِلُونَ ٱلْعَرْشَ وَمَنْ حَوْلَهُۥ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ وَيُؤْمِنُونَ بِهِۦ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُونَ لِلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ رَبَّنَا وَسِعْتَ كُلَّ شَىْءٍ رَّحْمَةً وَعِلْمًا فَٱغْفِرْ لِلَّذِينَ تَابُوا۟ وَٱتَّبَعُوا۟ سَبِيلَكَ وَقِهِمْ عَذَابَ ٱلْجَحِيمِ ﴿٧﴾ رَبَّنَا وَأَدْخِلْهُمْ جَنَّٰتِ عَدْنٍ ٱلَّتِى وَعَدتَّهُمْ وَمَن صَلَحَ مِنْ ءَابَآئِهِمْ وَأَزْوَٰجِهِمْ وَذُرِّيَّٰتِهِمْ ۚ إِنَّكَ أَنتَ ٱلْعَزِيزُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿٨﴾ وَقِهِمُ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ ۚ وَمَن تَقِ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ يَوْمَئِذٍ فَقَدْ رَحِمْتَهُۥ ۚ وَذَٰلِكَ هُوَ ٱلْفَوْزُ ٱلْعَظِيمُ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿Those [angels] who bear the Throne [of Allah] and those around it glorify the praises of their Lord, and believe in Him, and ask forgiveness for those who believe [in the Oneness of Allah] [saying]: 'Our Lord! You comprehend all things in mercy and knowledge, so forgive those who repent and follow Your way, and save them from the torment of the blazing Fire!

Our Lord! And make them enter the *'Adn* [Eden] Paradise [everlasting Gardens] which you have promised them – and to the righteous among their fathers, their wives, and their offspring!

> Verily, You are the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.
> And save them from [the punishment for what they did of] the sins, and whomsoever You save from [the punishment for what he did of] the sins [i.e. pardon him] that Day, him verily, You have taken into mercy.' And that is the supreme success.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:7-9)*

(vi) They attend gatherings of knowledge and circles of *dhikr*, and surround those present with their wings

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah has angels who go around the highways and byways, seeking out the people of *dhikr*. If they find some people who are remembering Allah, they call out, 'Come to what you are looking for!' And they encompass them with their wings up to the first heaven.'"[47]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'No people gather in one of the houses of Allah to recite the Book of Allah and teach it to one another, but tranquillity descends upon them, mercy overshadows them and the angels surround them, and Allah mentions them to those who are with Him.'"[48]

In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* it is narrated that Abu'd-Dardaa' said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say, 'The angels extend their wings (out of humbleness) towards the seeker of knowledge, because they are pleased with what he is doing.'"[49]

Righteous deeds, as you can see, bring the angels closer to us and bring us closer to them. If people were able to maintain a high spiritual state they would reach the level of actually seeing the angels and shaking hands with them, as is in the hadith narrated by Muslim from Ḥanẓalah al-Usaydi (ﷺ) who said that the Prophet (ﷺ) said:

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[47] Bukhaari, 11/208, hadith no. 6408. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2069, hadith no. 2689. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

[48] Muslim, 4/2074, hadith no. 2699.

[49] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/342, no. 2159

"By the One in Whose hand is my soul, if you remained in the state in which you are when you are with me, and you continued to remember Allah, the angels would shake hands with you in your beds and on the street."[50]

According to a report narrated by At-Tirmidhi from Ḥanẓalah, he said, "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'If you continued to be as you are with me, the angels would shade you with their wings.'"[51]

(vii) The angels record those who attend *Jumu'ah*

These angels record some of the deeds of people, and they record those who go to Friday prayers in order of attendance. It is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When Friday comes, the angels stand at the door of the mosque and write down who comes first. When the Imaam comes out, they close their records and sit down to listen to the *dhikr*.'" Agreed upon by Bukhaari and Muslim.[52]

They record whatever people say of good things. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and elsewhere it is narrated that Rifaa'ah ibn Raafi' al-Zarqi said: "One day we were praying behind the Prophet (ﷺ) and when he raised his head from *rukoo'*, he said, *'Sami' Allahu liman ḥamidah* (Allah hears those who praise Him).' A man behind him said, *Rabbanaa wa laka'l-ḥamd ḥamdan katheeran ṭayyiban mubaarakan fihi* (Our Lord, to You be praise, much good and blessed praise).' When he finished the prayer, he said, 'Who was the one who spoke?' The man said, 'Me.' He [the Prophet (ﷺ)] said, 'I saw thirty-odd angels rushing to see which of them would write it down first.'"[53]

These recording angels are definitely other than the two angels who write down a person's good deeds and evil deeds, because they are described as being thirty-odd.

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[50] Muslim, 4/2106, hadith no. 2750.

[51] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/298, no. 1994.

[52] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 1/436, no. 1384.

[53] Bukhaari, 2/284, hadith no. 799.

(vii) The angels come and go among us

These angels who go about in the highways and byways, looking for *dhikr* and witnessing *Jumu'ah* prayers and prayers in *jamaa'ah*, come and go among us. When one group comes another group goes, and they meet at *Fajr* prayer and at *'Aṣr* prayer. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah has angels who come and go among you, angels at night and angels during the day. They meet at *Fajr* prayer and *'Aṣr* prayer. Then those who had stayed among you ascend and their Lord asks them, although He knows best about them, 'How did you leave My slaves?' They say, 'When we left them they were praying, and when we came to them they were praying.'"[54]

Perhaps these are the ones who take the people's actions up to their Lord. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Moosa al-Ash'ari (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) stood up among us and told us five things. He said: 'Allah does not sleep, and it is not befitting that He should sleep. He lowers the scale and lifts it. The deeds of the night are taken up to Him before the deeds of the day, and the deeds of the day before the deeds of the night..."[55]

Allah has ascribed a high status to *Fajr* prayer, because the angels witness it. He says:

﴿وَقُرْءَانَ ٱلْفَجْرِ ۖ إِنَّ قُرْءَانَ ٱلْفَجْرِ كَانَ مَشْهُودًا ﴿٧٨﴾﴾

﴿And recite the Qur'an in the early dawn [i.e. the — *Fajr*— morning prayer]. Verily, the recitation of the Qur'an in the early dawn [i.e. the morning — *Fajr* prayer] is ever witnessed [attended by the angels in charge of mankind of the day and the night].﴾

(Qur'an 17:78)

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[54] Bukhaari, 6/306, hadith no. 3223. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/439, hadith no. 632.

[55] Muslim, 1/162, hadith no. 179. According to another report by Muslim, ...four words...

(ix) They come down when a believer recites the Qur'an

Among the angels are those who come down from heaven when the Qur'an is being read. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Al-Baraa' ibn 'Aazib said: "A man read *Soorat al-Kahf*, and in the house there was an animal. It began to act nervously, (so he checked on it and saw that) there was a mist or a cloud above it. He mentioned that to the Prophet (ﷺ) and he said, 'Read such-and-such, for it is the tranquillity (*sakeenah*) that descends when the Qur'an is read, or because of the Qur'an.'"[56]

It is narrated from Abu Sa'eed al-Khudri (رضي الله عنه) that whilst Usayd ibn Ḥudayr was reading Qur'an one night in his *mirbad* (place for drying dates), his horse startled. Then he read some more and his horse startled again. He read some more and his horse startled again. Usayd said: "I was afraid that it would step on Yaḥyaa, so I got up and went to it, and saw something like a shadow above its head, in which there were things like lights. It ascended into the sky until it disappeared."

The following morning I went to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and said, 'O Messenger of Allah, last night whilst I was reading Qur'an at midnight in my *mirbad*, my horse startled.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'I read some more, and my horse got startled again.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'I read some more, and my horse got startled again.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'So I stopped. Yaḥyaa was near it (the horse) and I was afraid that it would step on him, then I saw something like a shadow in which were things like lights. It ascended into the sky until it disappeared.'

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'That was the angels who were listening to you. If you had continued to read, they would have become visible to the people in the morning and they would not have hidden from them.'[57]

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[56] Muslim, 1/548, hadith no. 796.

[57] Bukhaari, 9/63, hadith no. 5018, from Muhammad ibn Ibraaheem from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/458, hadith no. 796. This version is narrated by Muslim.

(x) They convey the *salaams* of the ummah to the Messenger (ﷺ)

An-Nasaa'i and Ad-Daarimi narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah has angels travelling about the earth to convey to me the *salaams* of my ummah.'"[58]

(xi) They give glad tidings to the believers

They brought glad tidings to the Prophet Ibraaheem that he would be blessed with righteous offspring:

﴿هَلْ أَتَىٰكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَٰهِيمَ ٱلْمُكْرَمِينَ ﴿٢٤﴾ إِذْ دَخَلُوا۟ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالُوا۟ سَلَٰمًا ۖ قَالَ سَلَٰمٌ قَوْمٌ مُّنكَرُونَ ﴿٢٥﴾ فَرَاغَ إِلَىٰٓ أَهْلِهِۦ فَجَآءَ بِعِجْلٍ سَمِينٍ ﴿٢٦﴾ فَقَرَّبَهُۥٓ إِلَيْهِمْ قَالَ أَلَا تَأْكُلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ فَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ ۖ وَبَشَّرُوهُ بِغُلَٰمٍ عَلِيمٍ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿Has the story reached you, of the honoured guests [three angels; Jibreel (Gabriel) along with another two] of Ibraaheem [Abraham]? When they came in to him and said: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you]!' He answered: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you],' and said: 'You are a people unknown to me.'

Then he turned to his household, and brought out a roasted calf [as the property of Ibraaheem (Abraham) was mainly cows].

And placed it before them [saying]: 'Will you not eat?'

Then he conceived fear of them [when they ate not]. They said: 'Fear not.' And they gave him glad tidings of a son having knowledge [about Allah and His religion of True Monotheism].﴾

(Qur'an 51:24-28)

They brought Prophet Zakariya the glad tidings of Yaḥyaa:

﴿فَنَادَتْهُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَآئِمٌ يُصَلِّى فِى ٱلْمِحْرَابِ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُبَشِّرُكَ بِيَحْيَىٰ ﴿٣٩﴾﴾

﴿Then the angels called him, while he was standing in prayer in *Al-Miḥraab* [a praying place or a private room], [saying]: 'Allah gives you glad tidings of Yaḥyaa [John]'.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:39)*

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[58] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 1/291, no. 924. The editor of *Al-Mishkaat*, Shaykh Naaṣir ad-Deen al-Albaani, said: its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ*. It is classed as *ṣaḥeeḥ* by Al-Ḥaakim and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him.

This is not limited only to the Prophets and Messengers; the angels may also bring glad tidings to the believers. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "A man visited a brother of his in another town, and Allah sent an angel to wait for him on the road. When the man passed by him, the angel said, 'Where are you going?' He said, 'To a brother of mine in this town.' The angel said, 'Is there a favour that you owe him?' The man said, 'No, but I love him for the sake of Allah.' He said, 'I am a messenger from Allah to you, to tell you that Allah loves you as you love him.'"[59]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim*, it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Jibreel came to me and said, 'O Messenger of Allah, Khadeejah is coming to you with a vessel in which is some food or drink. When she comes to you, convey to her greetings of *salaam* from her Lord and from me, and give her the glad tidings of a house in Paradise made of *qaṣab,*[60] in which there is no noise or exhaustion.'"[61]

(xii) The angels and dreams

Bukhaari narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* in *Baab at-Tahajjud*, that 'Abd-Allah ibn 'Umar (رضي الله عنهما) said: "At the time of the Prophet (ﷺ), if a man saw a dream, he would tell it to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I wished that I would see a dream so that I could tell it to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I was a young lad, and I used to sleep in the mosque at the time of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I saw in a dream that two angels took me and brought me to the Fire, which was built up all around like a built well, and it had two poles in it. There were some people in it whom I recognized, and I started to say, 'I seek refuge with Allah from the Fire.' Then I met another angel who said to me, 'Do not be afraid.'"[62]

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[59] Muslim, 4/1988, no. 2567.

[60] *Qaṣab*: Pipes made of gold or pearls and other precious stones (The Translation of the Meanings of *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, Vol. 3, p. 12) (Translator).

[61] Bukhaari, 7/133, no. 3820. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1887, no. 232. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[62] Bukhaari, 3/6, no. 1121. Muslim, 4/1927, no. 2479.

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to me, 'I saw you in a dream. An angel brought you to me wrapped up in silk. He said to me, 'This is your wife.' I lifted the cloth from your face and saw that it was you. I said, 'If this dream is from Allah then it will surely come to pass.'"[63]

(xiii) They fight alongside the believers and support them at times of war

Allah supported the believers with many of the angels at the battle of Badr:

﴿إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَابَ لَكُمْ أَنِّي مُمِدُّكُم بِأَلْفٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُرْدِفِينَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when you sought help of your Lord and He answered you [saying]: 'I will help you with a thousand of the angels each behind the other [following one another] in succession.'﴾

(Qur'an 8:9)

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ وَأَنتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ ﴿١٢٣﴾ إِذْ تَقُولُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَلَن يَكْفِيَكُمْ أَن يُمِدَّكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِثَلَاثَةِ آلَافٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُنزَلِينَ ﴿١٢٤﴾ بَلَىٰ إِن تَصْبِرُوا وَتَتَّقُوا وَيَأْتُوكُم مِّن فَوْرِهِمْ هَٰذَا يُمْدِدْكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِخَمْسَةِ آلَافٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُسَوِّمِينَ ﴿١٢٥﴾﴾

﴿And Allah has already made you victorious at Badr, when you were a weak little force. So fear Allah much that you may be grateful. [Remember] when you [Muhammad] said to the believers, 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord [Allah] should help you with three thousand angels sent down?

Yes, if you hold on to patience and piety, and the enemy comes

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[63] This version is narrated by Bukhaari in *Kitaab an-Nikaaḥ*, 9/180, no. 5125. Also narrated in *Manaaqib al-Anṣaar*, 7/223, no. 3895; and in *At-Ta'beer*, 12/399, no. 7011, 7012. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1889, no. 2438.

rushing at you; your Lord will help you with five thousand angels having marks [of distinction].'﴾ *(Qur'an 3:123-125)*

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said on the day of Badr: "This is Jibreel who has taken up his horse's reins and is dressed for battle."[64]

Allah has explained the reason for this angelic support, which is to strengthen the believers, to fight alongside them, and to fight the enemies of Allah and kill them by striking their necks and hands:

﴿وَمَا جَعَلَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَىٰ وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ بِهِۦ قُلُوبُكُمْ ۚ وَمَا ٱلنَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِندِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿١٠﴾﴾

﴾Allah made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts be at rest therewith. And there is no victory except from Allah. Verily, Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise.﴿ *(Qur'an 8:10)*

﴿إِذْ يُوحِى رَبُّكَ إِلَى ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ أَنِّى مَعَكُمْ فَثَبِّتُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ۚ سَأُلْقِى فِى قُلُوبِ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ٱلرُّعْبَ فَٱضْرِبُوا۟ فَوْقَ ٱلْأَعْنَاقِ وَٱضْرِبُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ كُلَّ بَنَانٍ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

﴾[Remember] when your Lord revealed to the angels, 'Verily, I am with you, so keep firm those who have believed. I will cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved, so strike them over the necks, and smite over all their fingers and toes.'﴿

(Qur'an 8:12)

And Allah says in *Soorat Aal 'Imraan*:

﴿وَمَا جَعَلَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَىٰ لَكُمْ وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ قُلُوبُكُم بِهِۦ ۚ وَمَا ٱلنَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِندِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلْعَزِيزِ ٱلْحَكِيمِ ﴿١٢٦﴾ لِيَقْطَعَ طَرَفًا مِّنَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوٓا۟ أَوْ يَكْبِتَهُمْ فَيَنقَلِبُوا۟ خَآئِبِينَ ﴿١٢٧﴾﴾

﴾Allah made it not but as a message of good news for you and as an assurance to your hearts. And there is no victory except from Allah, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.

That He might cut off a part of those who disbelieve, or expose them

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[64] Bukhaari, 7/312, no. 3995

to infamy, so that they retire frustrated.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:126-127)*

One of the Muslim fighters heard the sound of a blow struck by an angel, when he struck one of the *kuffaar*, and he heard his voice as he was urging his horse forward. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Ibn 'Abbaas said: "On that day, when one of the Muslim men was pursuing one of the *mushrikeen*, he heard the crack of a whip above his head, and the voice of a horseman saying, 'Go forth, Ḥayzam!' He looked at the *mushrik* in front of him and saw that he had fallen on his back. He looked again and saw that his nose had been cut off and his face was cut, as if it had been struck with a whip, and he had turned green. The *Anṣaari* came and told the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) about that, and he said, 'You have spoken the truth. That was one of the troops of the third heaven.'"[65]

The angels also fought in other battles. During the campaign of *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch), Allah sent His angels:

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ ٱذْكُرُواْ نِعْمَةَ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَآءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا وَجُنُودًا لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا ۚ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿O you who believe! Remember Allah's Favour to you, when there came against you hosts, and We sent against them a wind and forces that you saw not [i.e. troops of angels during the battle of *Al Aḥzaab* (the Confederates)].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:9)*

What is meant by the "forces that you saw not" is the angels, as it is reported in the books of *Ṣaḥeeḥ* and elsewhere that Jibreel came to the Messenger (ﷺ) after he had returned from *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch) and had laid down his arms and bathed. Jibreel came to him, brushing the dust from his head, and said to the Messenger (ﷺ), "Have you laid down your arms? By Allah, we (angels) have not yet laid down our arms. Go out to them." The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, "Where to?" and he pointed towards Banu Qurayẓah.[66]

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[65] Muslim, 3/1384, hadith no. 1763.

[66] Bukhaari, 7/407, no. 4117. Muslim, 3/1389, hadith no. 1769.

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that Anas (ﷺ) said: "It is as if I can see the dust clearly in the area of Banu Ghanam, and the troops of Jibreel when the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) set out for Banu Qurayzah."[67]

(xiv) Their protection of the Messenger (ﷺ)

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "Abu Jahl said, 'Has Muhammad rubbed his face in the dust among you?' They said, 'Yes.' He said, 'By Al-Laat and Al-'Uzza, if I see him doing that, I will step on his neck, or I will rub his face in the dust!'

Then he came to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) whilst he was praying, and announced that he was going to step on his neck. Then suddenly he turned on his heels and fled, folding his hands over his face. Someone asked him, 'What's wrong with you?' He said, 'There is a ditch of fire between me and him, and terror, and wings.' The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, 'If he had come any closer to me, the angels would have snatched him away.'"[68]

A shorter version of this is narrated by Bukhaari, in *Kitaab al-Tafseer*.[69]

(xv) They protect and support righteous people, and relieve their distress

Allah may send angels to protect some of His righteous slaves other than the Prophets and Messengers. This may be what happened to a man whose story is told by Ibn Katheer. In *Tafseer Ibn Katheer*, in the commentary on the *aayah* –

﴿أَمَّن يُجِيبُ ٱلْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاهُ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿Is not He [better than your gods] Who responds to the distressed one, when he calls on Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 27:62)* -

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[67] Bukhaari, 7/407, hadith no. 4118.

[68] Muslim, 4/2154, hadith no. 2797.

[69] Bukhaari, 8/724, hadith no. 4958.

He said:

Al-Ḥaafiẓ ibn 'Asaakir mentioned the story of a man of whom Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Dawood ad-Daynoori, who was known as Ad-Daqqi aṣ-Ṣoofi. This man said: "I used to transport people and their goods with a mule that belonged to me, from Damascus to Balad az-Zabadaani. One day a man rode with me, and for part of the way we were travelling off the beaten track. He said to me, 'Take this path, it is shorter.' I said, 'That's no good.' He said, 'But it is shorter.'

So we took that path, and it reached a place where it was very difficult to go, and there was a deep valley in which there were many dead bodies. He said, 'Hold the mule's head, so I can dismount.' He dismounted, then he rolled up his sleeves and gathered up his garments. Then he pulled out a knife and came towards me. I ran away from him, and he followed me. I implored him by Allah, and said, 'Take the mule and all the baggage on it!' He said, 'They are mine anyway, but I am going to kill you!' I tried to scare him by reminding him of Allah and the punishment, but he paid no heed to that.

So I surrendered to him, and I said, 'Let me pray two *rak'ahs*.' He said, 'Hurry up, then!' So I stood up to pray, but the words of the Qur'an would not come to me. I could not remember even a single letter. I remained standing, confused, and he was saying, 'Come on! Get on with it!' Then Allah enabled me to recite,

﴿أَمَّن يُجِيبُ ٱلْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاهُ وَيَكْشِفُ ٱلسُّوٓءَ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿'Is not He [better than your gods] Who responds to the distressed one, when he calls on Him, and Who removes the evil.'﴾
(Qur'an 27:62)

Suddenly I saw a horseman who had come from the mouth of the valley, with a spear in his hand. He threw the spear at the man, and it did not miss his heart. The man fell down dead, and I clung to the horseman and said, 'By Allah, who are you?' He said, 'I am a messenger of the One Who responds to the distressed one when he calls on Him, and Who removes the evil.' Then I took the mule and the baggage, and returned

safe and sound."

Similarly, Allah sent Jibreel to help the mother of Ismaa'eel in Makkah. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas from the Prophet (ﷺ), in the story of Ibraaheem's migration with Ismaa'eel and his mother Ḥaajir to the land of Makkah – which is a long story – that the mother of Ismaa'eel ran like a distressed person between Aṣ-Ṣafa' and Al-Marwah seven times, looking for water. "When she looked out from Al-Marwah, she heard a voice, and she kept quiet and listened attentively. She heard the voice again and said, "O (whoever you may be)! You have made me hear your voice; have you got something to help me?" And she saw an angel at the place of Zamzam, digging the earth with his heel (or his wing), till water flowed from that place... The angel said to her, 'Don't be afraid of being neglected, for this is the House of Allah which will be built by this boy and his father, and Allah never neglects His people.'"[70]

This angel who came to her was Jibreel. In *Al-Musnad* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that Ubayy ibn Ka'b said: "When Jibreel dug Zamzam with his heel, the mother of Ismaa'eel started to scoop up the earth around it. The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'May Allah have mercy on Ismaa'eel's mother! Had she left Zamzam alone (flowing without trying to control it), Zamzam would have been a stream flowing on the surface of the earth.'"[71]

(xvi) The angels attend the funerals of the righteous

The Messenger (ﷺ) said concerning Sa'd ibn Mu'aadh, "This is the one at whose death the Throne has shaken and for whom the gates of heaven are opened. Seventy thousand angels attended his funeral, and he was squeezed (in his grave) once, then he was released." This is narrated by An-Nasaa'i from Ibn 'Umar.[72]

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[70] Bukhaari, 6/397, hadith no. 3364.

[71] *Musnad Aḥmad*, 5/121.

[72] The hadith about the Throne shaking at the death of Sa'd is narrated by Muslim, 7/122, hadith no. 3802. It is narrated by Muslim from Jaabir, 4/1915, hadith no. 2466. The report about the angels attending his funeral is narrated in *Sunan an-Nasaa'i*. See *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 2/441, no. 1942.

(xvii) They shade the *shaheed* (martyr) with their wings

In Bukhaari it is narrated that Jaabir said: "My father was brought to the Prophet (ﷺ), and his body had been mutilated. He was placed before him [the Prophet (ﷺ)], and I went to uncover his face, my people stopped me from doing so. The sound of wailing could be heard, and it was said that it was the daughter of 'Amr, or the sister of 'Amr. The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Why are you weeping? The angels are still shading him with their wings."

Bukhaari narrated this in a chapter entitled *Baab Ẓill al-Malaa'ikah 'ala'sh-Shaheed* (Chapter: The Angels' Shading of the Martyr).[73]

(xviii) The angels who brought the Ark of the Covenant (*At-Taaboot*)

﴿وَقَالَ لَهُمْ نَبِيُّهُمْ إِنَّ ءَايَةَ مُلْكِهِۦٓ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ ٱلتَّابُوتُ فِيهِ سَكِينَةٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَبَقِيَّةٌ مِّمَّا تَرَكَ ءَالُ مُوسَىٰ وَءَالُ هَٰرُونَ تَحْمِلُهُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ ۚ ﴿٢٤٨﴾﴾

﴿And their Prophet [Samuel] said to them: 'Verily! The sign of His kingdom is that there shall come to you *At-Taaboot* [a wooden box], wherein is *Sakeenah* [peace and reassurance] from your Lord and a remnant of that which Moosa [Moses] and Haaroon [Aaron] left behind, carried by the angels.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:248)*

What we learn from this *aayah* is that the angels brought to the Children of Israel at that time this wooden box (*taaboot*) to reassure them, so that they might know that *Taaloot* (Saul) was chosen by Allah, so they should follow him and obey him.

(xix) They will protect Makkah and Madeenah from the *Dajjaal*

When the *Dajjaal* emerges, he will enter every city except Makkah and Madeenah, because the angels are protecting them. This is reported in *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* from Faaṭimah bint Qays, from the story of Tameem ad-Daari, in which it says that the *Dajjaal* said: "I am *Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal*

[73] Bukhaari, 6/32, no. 2816.

(the "Pseudo Christ"). Soon I will be granted permission to emerge and I will emerge and travel throughout the earth. There will be no town which I will not enter, during a period of forty days, apart from Makkah and Ṭeebah. They are both forbidden for me; every time I try to enter one of them, I will be met by an angel with an unsheathed sword in his hand, who will prevent me from entering it. At every gate there is an angel guarding it."

She (Faaṭimah bint Qays) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, striking the *minbar* with his stick, "This is Ṭeebah, this is Ṭeebah, this is Ṭeebah," meaning Al-Madeenah.[74]

Bukhaari narrated from Abu Bakrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "The terror of *Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal* will not enter Madeenah. At that time it will have seven gates, at each of which will be two angels."[75]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "At the gates of Madeenah there are angels; neither the plague nor the *Dajjaal* will enter it."[76]

(xx) 'Eesa will descend in the company of the angels

In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, it is narrated from An-Nawaas ibn Sam'aan that in the hadith about the *Dajjaal*, the Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Whilst he is like that, 'Eesa ibn Maryam will come down at the white minaret, in the east of Damascus, wearing two garments lightly dyed with saffron, placing his hands on the wings of two angels."[77]

(xxi) The angels spread their wings over Ash-Shaam (Syria)

It is narrated that Zayd ibn Thaabit al-Anṣaari (رضي الله عنه) said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say, 'How blessed is Ash-Shaam (Present day

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[74] Muslim, 4/2264, hadith no. 2942.

[75] Bukhaari, 13/90, hadith no. 7125.

[76] Bukhaari, 13/101, hadith no. 7123.

[77] The descent of 'Eesa (عليه السلام) is proven in Muslim, 4/2259, hadith no. 2940. The hadith mentioned is narrated by At-Tirmidhi. See *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/249, no. 1825.

Syria, Jordan and Palestine) how blessed is Ash-Shaam!' They said, 'O Messenger of Allah, why is that?' He said, 'The angels of Allah spread their wings over Ash-Shaam.'"[78]

(xxii) The reward in coinciding with the angels

It is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "When the Imaam says *Ameen*, say *Ameen*, for whoever's saying *Ameen* coincides with the *Ameen* of the angels, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[79]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*: "If one of you says *Ameen* and the angels in heaven say *Ameen*, and they coincide with one another, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[80]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (رضي الله عنه) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When the Imaam says *'Sami' Allahu liman ḥamidah,'* say, *'Rabbanaa wa laka'l-ḥamd.'* Whoever's words coincide with those of the angels, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[81]

(2) The obligations of the believers towards the angels

The angels are slaves of Allah, whom He has chosen especially, and they have a high status with their Lord. The believer who worships Allah and seeks His pleasure has no alternative but to regard the angels as friends and view them with love and respect, and to avoid anything that may

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[78] Shaykh Naaṣir said, in *Takhreej Aḥaadeeth Fadaa'il ash-Shaam*, of the hadith narrated by Al-Raba'i: It is a *ṣaḥeeḥ* hadith which is narrated by At-Tirmidhi, by Al-Ḥaakim in *Al-Mustadrak*, and by Aḥmad in *Al-Musnad*. Al-Ḥaakim said, it is *ṣaḥeeḥ* according to the conditions of the two *shaykhs* Bukhaari and Muslim, and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him. And it is as they said. Al-Mundhiri said in *At-Targheeb wat-Tarheeb*, it is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, and by Aṭ-Ṭabaraani with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad*.

[79] Bukhaari, 2/262, hadith no. 780. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/307, hadith no. 410.

[80] Bukhaari, 2/266, hadith no. 781.

[81] Bukhaari, 2/283, hadith no. 796.

result in annoying or offending them. We will discuss this matter in further detail below:

(i) Not offending the angels

The scholars emphatically denounced those who slander the angels or speak badly of them. Al-'Allaamah as-Suyooṭi (may Allah have mercy on him) said: "Al-Qaḍi 'Iyaaḍ said in *Ash-Shifaa'*: Sahnoon said: whoever insults one of the angels should be executed. Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Qaabisi said concerning a person who says of another, 'He looks like the angry Maalik (keeper of Hell),' if it is known that his intention was to slander the angel, he should be executed.

Al-Qaḍi 'Iyaaḍ said: This is concerning one who insults them all in general, or who insults by name one of those who is proven to be an angel, because Allah has mentioned him in the Qur'an or we know from the *mutawaatir aḥaadeeth* that he is an angel, or it is known by definitive scholarly consensus that he is an angel, such as Jibreel, Mikaa'eel, Maalik, the keepers of Paradise and Hell, the angels of Hell, the bearers of the Throne, 'Azraa'eel, Israafeel, Riḍwaan, the guardian angels, and Munkar and Nakeer.

But with regard to those who are not proven to be angels, and concerning whom there is no scholarly consensus that they are angels, such as Haaroot and Maaroot, this ruling does not apply. The one who disbelieves in them is not subject to the same ruling as mentioned above, because there is no definitive report to show that they have the same status as the angels."[82]

Suyooṭi quoted Al-Qaraafi al-Maaliki as saying: "Know that it is obligatory upon every accountable person to respect all of the Prophets and all of the angels. Whoever slanders their honour in any way is a *kaafir*, whether he does so implicitly or explicitly. Whoever says of a man who he thinks is very harsh, 'He is more harsh than Maalik, the keeper of Hell,' or of a man who is deformed, 'He is uglier than Munkar

[82] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, by Suyooṭi, 254.

and Nakeer', is a *kaafir*, if he says that in the context of condemning ugliness and harshness."[83]

(ii) Keeping away from sin and disobedience

The things which most offend the angels are sin, disobedience to Allah, *kufr* and *shirk*. Hence the best gift that a man can give to the angels and the thing which is most pleasing to them is for a man to be sincerely devoted in his religious commitment to his Lord, and to avoid everything that angers Him.

Hence the angels do not enter places and houses where Allah is disobeyed, or in which there are things which Allah dislikes and hates, such as stone altars, statues and pictures. And they do not come near people who indulge in sin, such as drunkards.

Ibn Katheer[84] said: It is reported in the *aḥaadeeth* narrated in the books of *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, *Musnad* and *Sunan* from a group of the *Ṣaḥaabah* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels do not enter a house in which there is an image, a dog or a person who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity)."

According to a report narrated from 'Aasim ibn Damurah from 'Ali, "... and not urine." According to a *marfoo'* report narrated from Abu Sa'eed: "The angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or a statue." According to the report of Dhakwaan Abu Ṣaliḥ al-Sammaak from Abu Hurayrah, he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The angels do not accompany a group with whom there is a dog or a bell.'"[85]

Al-Bazzaar narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Buraydah (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "There are three whom the angels do not come near: the one who is drunk, the one who is perfumed with saffron and the one who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity)."[86]

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[83] *Al-Habaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, by Suyooṭi, 255.

[84] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/55.

[85] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/55.

[86] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 3/70.

In *Sunan Abi Dawood* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from 'Ammaar ibn Yaasir that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "There are three things which the angels do not come near: the dead body of a *kaafir*, the one who is perfumed with saffron and the person who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity), unless he performs *wuḍoo'*."[87]

(iii) The angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam

It is reported in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* that the angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam. So they are offended by offensive smells and by filth and dirt.

Bukhaari and Muslim narrated from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Whoever eats garlic, onions or leeks, let him not come near our mosque, for the angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam."[88]

The matter is so serious that the Messenger (ﷺ) ordered the one who came to the mosque emanating the smell of garlic or onions to go out to *Al-Baqee'*.[89]

(iv) The prohibition on spitting to the right whilst praying

The Messenger (ﷺ) forbade spitting to the right during prayer, because when a person stands up to pray, an angel stands on his right. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When anyone of you stands up to pray, let him not spit to the front, for he is conversing with Allah so long as he is praying. And there is an angel standing to his right, so let him spit to his left or beneath his foot, then bury it."[90]

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[87] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 2/872.

[88] The *aḥaadeeth* which forbid those who have eaten onions and garlic from coming near the mosque are narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and elsewhere, but this version is narrated by Muslim, 1/394, hadith no. 567.

[89] Muslim, 1/396, hadith no. 567.

[90] Bukhaari, 1/512, hadith no. 416.

(v) Befriending all the angels

The Muslim has to like all the angels without any discrimination between one angel and another in that regard, because they are all the slaves of Allah who do that which He commands and abstain from that which He prohibits. In this sense they are all the same, and they do not differ at all. The Jews claimed that they had friends and enemies among the angels; they claimed that Jibreel was an enemy to them and that Mikaa'eel was a friend to them. But Allah showed them to be liars in what they were claiming, and stated that there is no difference among the angels.

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّلَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ وَجِبْرِيلَ وَمِيكَىٰلَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَدُوٌّ لِّلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٩٨﴾﴾

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and guidance and glad tidings for the believers.

Whoever is an enemy to Allah, His Angels, His Messengers, Jibreel [Gabriel] and Mikaa'eel [Michael], then verily, Allah is an enemy to the disbelievers.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:97-98)*

Allah has told us that the angels are all the same, and whoever takes one of them as an enemy has taken Allah and all the angels as enemies. Liking some of the angels and hating others is a myth which no one could accept apart from the followers of deviant *kufr* like the Jews. This Jewish opinion which is described in the Qur'an is a poor excuse which they gave for not believing. They claimed that Jibreel was their enemy because he comes with war and destruction, and if the one who had come to the Messenger (ﷺ) had been Mikaa'eel, they would have followed him.

See the texts narrated about the reasons for the revelation of this *aayah* in *Tafseer Ibn Katheer* and elsewhere.

4 - THE ANGELS AND THE *KUFFAAR* AND EVILDOERS

In the previous section, we discussed the relationship between angels and the believers. From this it is clear what their relationship with the *kuffaar* is like. They do not like the *kuffaar*, wrongdoers and criminals; rather, they take them as enemies and wage war against them, and create fear in their hearts, as happened at the battles of Badr and *Al-Aḥzaab* (Confederates). This will be discussed in more detail below.

(1) Bringing the punishment down upon the *kuffaar*

When one of the Messengers was rejected and disbelieved, and his people persisted in their rejection, Allah would often send down His punishment upon them. Sometimes those who carried out the punishment were the angels.

(2) Their destruction of the people of the Prophet Looṭ

The angels who were commanded to punish the people of the Prophet Looṭ came in the form of young men with handsome faces. Prophet Looṭ offered them hospitality, and his people did not know about them, but Looṭ's wife told her people about them and they came quickly, wanting to commit evil actions with them. The Prophet Looṭ tried to ward them off and argue with them, but they ignored him. Then Jibreel struck them with his wing, and blinded their eyes, taking away their sight:

﴿وَلَمَّا جَآءَتْ رُسُلُنَا لُوطًا سِيٓءَ بِهِمْ وَضَاقَ بِهِمْ ذَرْعًا وَقَالَ هَٰذَا يَوْمٌ عَصِيبٌ ﴿٧٧﴾ وَجَآءَهُۥ قَوْمُهُۥ يُهْرَعُونَ إِلَيْهِ وَمِن قَبْلُ كَانُوا۟ يَعْمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ ۚ قَالَ يَٰقَوْمِ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ بَنَاتِى هُنَّ أَطْهَرُ لَكُمْ ۖ فَٱتَّقُوا۟ ٱللَّهَ وَلَا تُخْزُونِ فِى ضَيْفِى ۖ أَلَيْسَ مِنكُمْ رَجُلٌ رَّشِيدٌ ﴿٧٨﴾ قَالُوا۟ لَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ مَا لَنَا فِى بَنَاتِكَ مِنْ حَقٍّ وَإِنَّكَ لَتَعْلَمُ مَا نُرِيدُ ﴿٧٩﴾ قَالَ لَوْ أَنَّ لِى بِكُمْ قُوَّةً أَوْ ءَاوِىٓ إِلَىٰ رُكْنٍ شَدِيدٍ ﴿٨٠﴾ قَالُوا۟ يَٰلُوطُ إِنَّا رُسُلُ رَبِّكَ لَن يَصِلُوٓا۟ إِلَيْكَ ﴿٨١﴾﴾

﴿And when Our messengers came to Looṭ [Lot], he was grieved on account of them and felt himself straitened for them [lest the town people should approach them to commit sodomy with them]. He said: 'This is a distressful day.'

> And his people came rushing towards him, and since aforetime they used to commit crimes [sodomy], he said: 'O my people! Here are my daughters [i.e. the women of the nation], they are purer for you [if you marry them lawfully]. So fear Allah and disgrace me not with regard to my guests! Is there not among you a single rightminded man?'
> They said: 'Surely, you know that we have neither any desire nor need of your daughters, and indeed you know well what we want!'
> He said: 'Would that I had strength [men] to overpower you, or that I could betake myself to some powerful support [to resist you].'
> They [messengers] said: 'O Looṭ [Lot]! Verily, we are the messengers from your Lord! They shall not reach you!'﴾
> *(Qur'an 11:77-81)*

Ibn Katheer[91] said: they mentioned that Jibreel (ﷺ) went out against them and struck their faces with the edge of his wing. He destroyed their eyes completely so that there was nothing left, not even a trace... Allah says:

﴿وَلَقَدْ رَٰوَدُوهُ عَن ضَيْفِهِۦ فَطَمَسْنَآ أَعْيُنَهُمْ فَذُوقُوا۟ عَذَابِى وَنُذُرِ ﴿٣٧﴾﴾

> ﴾And they indeed sought to shame his guest [by asking to commit sodomy with them]. So We blinded their eyes [saying], 'Then taste you My Torment and My Warnings.'﴿ *(Qur'an 54:37)*

The next morning, Allah destroyed them:

﴿فَلَمَّا جَآءَ أَمْرُنَا جَعَلْنَا عَٰلِيَهَا سَافِلَهَا وَأَمْطَرْنَا عَلَيْهَا حِجَارَةً مِّن سِجِّيلٍ مَّنضُودٍ ﴿٨٢﴾ مُّسَوَّمَةً عِندَ رَبِّكَ ۖ وَمَا هِىَ مِنَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ بِبَعِيدٍ ﴿٨٣﴾﴾

> ﴾So when Our Commandment came, We turned [the towns of Sodom in Palestine] upside down, and rained on them stones of baked clay, in a well-arranged manner one after another;
> Marked from your Lord; and they are not ever far from the *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists, evildoers].﴿ *(Qur'an 11:82-83)*

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[91] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/197.

Ibn Katheer said in his *Tafseer*: "Mujaahid said: 'Jibreel seized the people of the Prophet Loṭ from their fields and houses, and carried them with their flocks and possessions. He lifted them up until the inhabitants of heaven heard the barking of their dogs, then he turned them upside down. He carried them on the coverts of his right wing.' He mentioned other similar thing, but he did not narrate any hadith to support that."

(3) Their cursing of the *kuffaar*

Allah, the Almighty, says:

﴿كَيْفَ يَهْدِى ٱللَّهُ قَوْمًا كَفَرُوا۟ بَعْدَ إِيمَٰنِهِمْ وَشَهِدُوٓا۟ أَنَّ ٱلرَّسُولَ حَقٌّ وَجَآءَهُمُ ٱلْبَيِّنَٰتُ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿٨٦﴾ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ جَزَآؤُهُمْ أَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةَ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ ﴿٨٧﴾﴾

﴿How shall Allah guide a people who disbelieved after their Belief and after they bore witness that the Messenger [Muhammad] is true and after clear proofs had come unto them? And Allah guides not the people who are *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers].

They are those whose recompense is that on them [rests] the Curse of Allah, of the angels, and of all mankind.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:86-87)*

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ وَمَاتُوا۟ وَهُمْ كُفَّارٌ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةُ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ ﴿١٦١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, those who disbelieve, and die while they are disbelievers, it is they on whom is the Curse of Allah and of the angels and of mankind, combined.﴾ *(Qur'an 2:161)*

The angels do not only curse the *kuffaar*. They may also curse those who commit particular sins, including the following:

(a) The angels curse a woman when she does not respond to her husband

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When a man calls his wife to his bed and she refuses to come, the angels curse her until morning

comes.'"[92] According to another report, "...until she changes her mind."[93]

(b) They curse the one who points towards his brother with a weapon

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) reported: "Abu'l-Qaasim said: 'Whoever points towards his brother with a weapon is cursed by the angels, even if it is his brother through his father and his mother.'"[94]

The curse of the angels indicates that this action is *ḥaraam*, because it involves frightening one's brother, and because the *Shayṭaan* could tempt one to kill one's brother, especially if the weapon is of the modern type which could go off for the slightest mistake or unintentional touch. How often has such a thing happened.

(c) They curse those who slander the Companions of the Messenger

In *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Kabeer* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas with a *ḥasan isnaad* that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Whoever slanders my companions, may there be upon him the curse of Allah, the angels and all of mankind."

How strange it is that some people make slandering the Companions of the Messenger (ﷺ) a religious ritual by means of which they seek to draw closer to Allah, although their punishment is what the Messenger (ﷺ) mentioned in this hadith, and it is a frightening punishment.

(d) They curse those who prevent the shari'ah of Allah from being implemented

In *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* and *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Ibn 'Abbaas (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Whoever kills (a person) deliberately should be killed in return,

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[92] Bukhaari, 9/293, hadith no. 5193.

[93] *Ibid.*, 9/294, hadith no. 5194.

[94] Muslim, 4/2020, hadith no. 2616.

and whoever tries to prevent that, may he be cursed by Allah, the angels and all of mankind."[95] The one who tries, by means of his wealth or position, to prevent the ruling of Allah from being carried out on one who has deliberately killed another, will be subject to this curse, so how about those who try to prevent the shari'ah from being implemented altogether?

(e) They curse those who give sanctuary to innovators or criminals

Among those who are cursed by the angels and by Allah are those who innovate heresies in Allah's religion and violate His laws, or protect those who do so. It says in a *ṣaḥeeḥ* hadith: "Whoever innovates a heresy or gives sanctuary to an innovator or criminal, may there be upon him the curse of Allah, the angels and all of mankind."[96]

Innovation and criminal actions in Madeenah are even more serious. In *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) it is narrated that 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib said: "The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'Madeenah is a sanctuary, from 'Ayr to Thawr (two mountains in Madeenah). Whoever innovates a heresy or commits a crime in (Madeenah), or gives shelter to such a person, may there be upon him the curse of Allah and the angels, and all of mankind, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds will be accepted on the Day of Resurrection.'"[97]

(4) The demand of the *kuffaar* to see the angels

The *kuffaar* - disbelievers - demanded to see the angels as proof that what the Messenger (ﷺ) said was true. But Allah told them that the Day on which they would see the angels would be a bad day for them. For the *kuffaar* will see the angels when the punishment is about to befall them,

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[95] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/492, no. 4456, 4457. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 2/96, no. 2131.

[96] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 3/859, no. 3797. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/982, no. 4412.

[97] Bukhaari, 4/81, hadith no. 1870. Also narrated by Muslim, 2/994, hadith no. 1370. This version is narrated by Muslim.

or when death approaches and the veil is lifted:

﴿وَقَالَ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَرْجُونَ لِقَآءَنَا لَوْلَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَيْنَا ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ أَوْ نَرَىٰ رَبَّنَا ۗ لَقَدِ ٱسْتَكْبَرُوا۟ فِىٓ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَعَتَوْ عُتُوًّا كَبِيرًا ﴿٢١﴾ يَوْمَ يَرَوْنَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ لَا بُشْرَىٰ يَوْمَئِذٍ لِّلْمُجْرِمِينَ وَيَقُولُونَ حِجْرًا مَّحْجُورًا ﴿٢٢﴾﴾

﴿And those who expect not a Meeting with Us [i.e. those who deny the Day of Resurrection and the life of the Hereafter] said: 'Why are not the angels sent down to us, or why do we not see our Lord?' Indeed they think too highly of themselves, and are scornful with great pride.

On the Day they will see the angels no glad tidings will there be for the *Mujrimoon* [criminals, disbelievers, polytheists, sinners] that day. And they [angels] will say: 'All kinds of glad tidings are forbidden to you.'﴾ *(Qur'an 25:21-22)*

CHAPTER FOUR
THE ANGELS AND OTHER CREATED THINGS

In the previous chapter we discussed the relationship between the angels and the sons of Adam. This is not the only matter with which the angels have been entrusted. The angels also take care of other matters of the universe, things which we can see and things which we cannot see.

We shall limit ourselves to mentioning some of that which has been narrated in the texts.

1 - THE BEARERS OF THE THRONE

The Throne is the greatest of all created things. It encompasses the heavens and is above them, and the Most Merciful is above the Throne, which is borne by eight angels:

﴿وَيَحْمِلُ عَرْشَ رَبِّكَ فَوْقَهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ ثَمَٰنِيَةٌ ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿And eight angels will, that Day, bear the Throne of your Lord above them.﴾ *(Qur'an 69:17)*[1]

2 - THE ANGELS OF THE MOUNTAIN

There are also angels appointed over the mountains. Allah sent the angel of the mountains to His slave and Messenger Muhammad (ﷺ) to ask his permission to destroy the people of Makkah. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah said to the Prophet (ﷺ): "O Messenger of Allah, did you ever experience any day that was harder than the day of Uḥud?" He said, "I suffered a great deal from your people, and the worst I suffered from them was the day of 'Aqabah[2],

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[1] We have already discussed their immense size in the chapter where we discussed their attributes and abilities.

[2] A place in Mina (Author).

when I called Ibn 'Abd-Yaalayl ibn 'Abd-Kallaal to Islam, and he did not agree to what I was proposing.

So I went away in distress and I did not realize where I was going until I reached Qarn ath-Tha'aalib. Then I raised my head and saw a cloud which was shading me. I looked and I saw Jibreel in it, calling to me. He said, 'Allah has heard what your people have said to you, and how they have responded to you. He has sent the angel of the mountains to you, so that you can command him to do whatever you want to them.'

Then the angel of the mountains called me. He greeted me with *salaams*, then he said: 'O Muhammad, Allah has heard what your people have said to you. I am the angel of the mountains. Your Lord has sent me to you so that you may give me orders. What do you want? If you want I will crush them between Al-Akhshabayn.'[3] The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'Rather I hope that Allah will bring forth from their loins people who will worship Allah alone, not associating any partner with Him.'"[4]

3 - THE ANGELS WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER RAIN, VEGETATION AND PROVISION

Ibn Katheer[5] said: "Mikaa'eel is appointed over the rain and vegetation from which is created the provision of this world. He has helpers who do whatever he commands them to do by the command of his Lord. They control the winds and clouds as the Lord wills."

Among the angels are those who are responsible for the clouds. In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Ar-Ra'd is one of the angels who is responsible for the clouds... He drives the clouds wherever Allah wills."[6] So rain

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[3] Two mountains in Makkah (Author).

[4] Muslim, 3/1420, hadith no. 1795. This version is narrated by him. Also narrated by Bukhaari, 6/312, hadith no. 3231.

[5] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/50.

[6] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 3/64, no. 2492.

may come to one land and not to another, or to one city and not to another.

He may be commanded to send rain on one man's crops, and no one else's, as mentioned in the hadith narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Abu Hurayrah, according to which the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Whilst a man was in the open country, he heard a voice in a cloud (saying), 'Send rain on the garden of so and so.' So the cloud moved and poured down its water in a stony area, and one of the channels took all that water.

He followed the water and found a man standing in his garden, using a shovel to direct the water where he wanted it. He said to him, 'O slave of Allah, what is your name?' He said, 'so and so,' mentioning the name that (the first man) had heard in the cloud. He said, 'O slave of Allah, why did you ask me my name?' He said, 'I heard a voice in the cloud from which this water came, saying, "Send rain on the garden of so and so" and it was your name. What do you do with it?' He said, 'Because you said this, I will tell you. I look at the produce of my garden, then I give one-third in charity, feed myself and my family with one-third, and I put one third back into the garden.'"[7]

Whatever the case, the angels are appointed over the heavens and on earth. Every movement in the universe stems from the angels, as Allah says:

﴿فَٱلْمُدَبِّرَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿And by those angels who arrange to do the Commands of their Lord.﴾ *(Qur'an 79:5)*

﴿فَٱلْمُقَسِّمَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٤﴾

﴿And those [angels] who distribute [provisions, rain, and other blessings] by [Allah's] Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 51:4)*

[7] Muslim, 4/2288, hadith no. 2984.

Those who reject the Messengers and disbelieve in the Creator claim that it is the stars which do all that, but the ones who do that are the angels, by the command of Allah, as He says:

﴿وَٱلْمُرْسَلَٰتِ عُرْفًا ۝١ فَٱلْعَٰصِفَٰتِ عَصْفًا ۝٢ وَٱلنَّٰشِرَٰتِ نَشْرًا ۝٣ فَٱلْفَٰرِقَٰتِ فَرْقًا ۝٤ فَٱلْمُلْقِيَٰتِ ذِكْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿By the winds [or angels or the Messengers of Allah] sent forth one after another.
And by the winds that blow violently.
And by the winds that scatter clouds and rain.
And by the Verses [of the Qur'an] that separate the right from the wrong.
And by the angels that bring the Revelations to the Messengers.﴾
(Qur'an 77:1-5)

﴿وَٱلنَّٰزِعَٰتِ غَرْقًا ۝١ وَٱلنَّٰشِطَٰتِ نَشْطًا ۝٢ وَٱلسَّٰبِحَٰتِ سَبْحًا ۝٣ فَٱلسَّٰبِقَٰتِ سَبْقًا ۝٤ فَٱلْمُدَبِّرَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿By those [angels] who pull out [the souls of the disbelievers and the wicked] with great violence.
By those [angels] who gently take out [the souls of the believers].
And by those that swim along [i.e. angels or planets in their orbits].
And by those that press forward as in a race [i.e. the angels or stars or the horses].
And by those angels who arrange to do the Commands of their Lord, [so verily, you disbelievers will be called to account].﴾
(Qur'an 79:1-5)

﴿وَٱلصَّٰٓفَّٰتِ صَفًّا ۝١ فَٱلزَّٰجِرَٰتِ زَجْرًا ۝٢ فَٱلتَّٰلِيَٰتِ ذِكْرًا ۝٣﴾

﴿By those [angels] ranged in ranks [or rows].
By those [angels] who drive the clouds in a good way.
By those [angels] who bring the Book and the Qur'an from Allah to mankind.﴾ *(Qur'an 37:1-3)*

All of these *aayaat* speak of the angels when they direct the affairs of the heavens and the earth.

CHAPTER FIVE
WHO IS SUPERIOR - THE ANGELS OR THE SONS OF ADAM?

THIS IS AN ANCIENT DISPUTE

Ibn Katheer[1] said: "The people differed as to whether the angels are superior to mankind. This dispute is mostly to be found in the books of the scholars of *kalaam* (scholastiasm), and the dispute is with the *Mu'tazilah* and those who agreed with them."

The oldest discussion of this matter that I have come across is what is mentioned by Al-Ḥaafiẓ ibn 'Asaakir in his *Taareekh*, where he gives a biography of Umayyah ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'eed ibn al-'Aaṣ: "He attended a gathering with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez, with whom there was a group. 'Umar said: 'There is no one who is dearer to Allah than the good people among the sons of Adam,' and he quoted as evidence the *aayah*,

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَعَمِلُوا۟ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمْ خَيْرُ ٱلْبَرِيَّةِ ﴿٧﴾﴾

﴿'Verily, those who believe [in the Oneness of Allah, and in His Messenger (Muhammad) including all obligations ordered by Islam] and do righteous good deeds, they are the best of creatures.'﴾

(Qur'an 98:7)

Umayyah ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'eed agreed with him, but 'Arraak ibn Maalik said: 'There is no one dearer to Allah than His angels, who are His servants in this world and in the Hereafter, and His messengers to His Prophets.' And he quoted as evidence the *aayah*:

﴿مَا نَهَىٰكُمَا رَبُّكُمَا عَنْ هَٰذِهِ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ إِلَّآ أَن تَكُونَا مَلَكَيْنِ أَوْ تَكُونَا مِنَ ٱلْخَٰلِدِينَ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿He [*Shayṭaan*] said: 'Your Lord did not forbid you this tree save you should become angels or become of the immortals.'﴾

(Qur'an 7:20)

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[1] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/58.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez said to Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Quraẓi: 'What do you say, O Abu Ḥamzah?' He said, 'Allah honoured Adam by creating him with His own hand and breathing into him the soul, making the angels prostrate to him, bringing forth from his offspring Prophets, Messengers and those whom the angels visit.'

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez agreed with this ruling, and quoted different evidence."

What Ibn Katheer mentioned here about the discussion of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez and his companions on this topic shows that Taaj ad-Deen al-Fazaari was mistaken when he said: "This matter is one of the *bid'ahs* of *'Ilm al-kalaam*, which was not discussed by the early generations of the ummah or by the most knowledgeable of the Imaams after them."[2] Indeed, it is reported that some of the *Ṣaḥaabah* discussed this matter. 'Abd-Allah ibn Salaam said: "Allah never created any creation dearer to Him than Muhammad." It was said to him, "Not even Jibreel and Mikaa'eel?" He said, "Don't you know what Jibreel and Mikaa'eel are? They are two creatures without free will, like the sun and moon. Allah has not created any being dearer to Him than Muhammad (ﷺ)." This is narrated by Al-Ḥaakim in his *Mustadrak* and is rated as *ṣaḥeeḥ* by him and Adh-Dhahabi.[3]

Different views on this matter

The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah* said that the view attributed to *Ahl as-Sunnah* is that only the righteous sons of Adam and the Prophets are superior to the angels. The *Mu'tazilah* say that the angels are better. The followers of Al-Ash'ari are of two views; some of them say that the Prophets and *awliyaa'* are superior, and some refrain from commenting and do not say anything decisive on the matter. It is reported that some of them tended to regard the angels as superior, and this view is also narrated from some of *Ahl as-Sunnah* and some of the Ṣufis.

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[2] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 339.

[3] See Al-Albaani's commentary on *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, Pp. 342.

The *Shi'ah* said that all of the Imaams are superior to all of the angels. There are other views on this issue also.

No one whose view carries any weight said that the angels are superior to some of the Prophets and not others. It is said that Abu Ḥaneefah (may Allah have mercy on him) declined to answer a question on this matter. The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah* (may Allah have mercy on him) was also inclined to refrain from making any statement.[4]

As-Safaareeni said that Imaam Aḥmad (may Allah have mercy on him) used to say, "He is mistaken who says that the angels are better." He said, "Every believer is superior to the angels."

The point of dispute

There is no dispute that the *kuffaar* and hypocrites are not included in this discussion of superiority. They are more astray than the animals:

﴿أُولَٰئِكَ كَالْأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ ﴿١٧٩﴾﴾

﴿They are like cattle, nay even more astray.﴾ *(Qur'an 7:179)*

Discussing who is superior does not mean that we are discussing whether the essence of man or the essence of the angels is better. We are discussing whether righteous human beings or angels are superior. Some people say that the angels are better than the believers, so in their case the discussion is whether the Prophets or the angels are superior.

The evidence of those who say that righteous human beings are superior to the angels

Having described the point of the discussion, we will quote the evidence given by those who say that man is superior.

1 - Allah commanded the angels to prostrate to Adam. If he had not been superior, He would not have commanded them to prostrate to him:

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[4] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 338.

﴿وَإِذْ قُلْنَا لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ ٱسْجُدُوا۟ لِـَٔادَمَ فَسَجَدُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ أَبَىٰ وَٱسْتَكْبَرَ ﴿٣٤﴾﴾

﴿And [remember] when We said to the angels: 'Prostrate yourselves before Adam.' And they prostrated except *Iblees* [Satan], he refused and was proud.﴾ *(Qur'an 2:34)*

Some of them said that the prostration was to Allah, and that Adam was only a *qiblah* (direction of prostration) for them. If this was correct, Allah would have said, 'Prostrate yourselves towards Adam', not ﴿'Prostrate yourselves before [lit. to] Adam.'﴾

If what had been meant was taking Adam as a *qiblah*, *Iblees* would not have refused to prostrate, and he would not have claimed that he was better than Adam, because the *qiblah* is only a direction, and taking it as a *qiblah* does not mean that it is regarded as superior.

It is true that the angels' prostration to Adam was an act of worship to Allah and obedience to Him, an action by which they drew closer to Him. But it was also an act of honour, respect and veneration towards Adam.

It is not reported that Adam prostrated to the angels. Adam and his descendents are not commanded to prostrate towards anyone except Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, because they – and Allah knows best – are the noblest of all creatures, i.e., the righteous son of Adam are the noblest of all creatures. There is no one above the righteous sons of Adam who prostrate none but Allah and prostrate with the best prostrations.

2 - Allah says that *Iblees* said:

﴿أَرَءَيْتَكَ هَٰذَا ٱلَّذِى كَرَّمْتَ عَلَىَّ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿'See this one whom You have honoured above me.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:62)*

This clearly shows that Adam was honoured over *Iblees* when the latter was commanded to prostrate to him.

3 - Allah created Adam with His hand, whereas He created the angels by His word.

4 - Allah says:

﴿إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿I will create a vicegerent [*khaleefah*] on earth.﴾

(Qur'an 2:30 - A. Yoosuf 'Ali translation)

The one who is a *khaleefah* is superior to the one who is not a *khaleefah*. The angels asked that they might also become *khaleefahs* when they said,

﴿أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَن يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ ٱلدِّمَآءَ ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿Will You place therein those who will make mischief therein and shed blood...?﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30)*

If being a *khaleefah* had not been a high status, higher than their own, they would not have asked for it and felt envious of the one who had this status.

5 - The sons of Adam are superior to the angels in terms of knowledge. When Allah asked them (the angels) about the names of things, they could not answer and they acknowledged that they did not know them, and Adam told them the names. Allah says:

﴿هَلْ يَسْتَوِي ٱلَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'Are those who know equal to those who know not?'﴾

(Qur'an 39:9)

6 - Another indication of man's superiority is that man's obedience to Allah is more difficult, and that which is more difficult to fulfil is dearer when fulfilled. Man is inclined towards his physical desires, greed, anger and whims, and these things are not present in the angels.

7 - The *salaf* used to narrate *aḥaadeeth* which spoke of the superiority of righteous human beings over the angels. These reports were narrated openly to people. Had this been wrong they would have denounced it. This indicates that this was their belief.

8 - Allah praises them (righteous human beings) before His angels. Allah praises His slaves to the angels when they do anything that He has enjoined upon them or commanded them to do. When they perform an obligatory prayer, He praises them to the angels. In *Al-Musnad* and Ibn Maajah it is narrated from 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Rejoice, for your Lord has opened one of the gates of heaven and is praising you to the angels. He is saying, 'Look at My slaves; they have done one duty and are waiting for the next."[5]

It is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Allah praises the people of *'Arafaat* to the people of heaven. He says to them: 'Look at My slaves. They have come to Me dusty and dishevelled (from travel).'" Its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ* and it is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, and by Al-Ḥaakim and by Al-Bayhaqi in *As-Sunan*.[6]

Those who regard the angels as superior quote for example the hadith, "Whoever remembers Me to himself, I will remember him to Myself, and whoever mentions Me in a gathering, I will mention him in a gathering better than it."

They also quote as evidence the fact that there are failings and shortcomings among the sons of Adam, and that they make errors and commit mistakes. And they quote *aayaat* such as,

﴿وَلَآ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ إِنِّي مَلَكٌ ﴿٥٠﴾﴾

﴿Nor I tell you that I am an angel.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:50)*

This indicates that the angels are better than humans.

The correct view

The matter may be resolved in the manner suggested by Ibn Taymiyah, who said that righteous human beings will be better in the end, when they enter Paradise, attain near access to Allah (38:25), dwell in the

---

[5] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 1/67.

[6] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/141.

highest levels, are greeted by the Most Merciful, are brought even closer, Allah manifests Himself to them and they have the joy of looking upon His Noble Face, and the angels will stand to serve them by the permission of their Lord.

But the angels are better at the beginning, for the angels now are closer to Allah. They are above the things that the sons of Adam indulge in, and they are devoted to the worship of their Lord. Undoubtedly at this point their situation is more perfect than that of mankind.

Ibn al-Qayyim said: With this explanation the issue of superiority becomes clear and the evidence of both parties is reconciled, and the view of each is shown to be acceptable to some extent.[7] And Allah knows best.

[7] For more information on this matter, see: *Majmoo' al-Fataawa*, 11/350; *Lawaami' al-Anwaar al-Bahiyyah*, 2/368; *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 338. Suyooṭi's book *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* has also been published, in which there is a lengthy discussion (Pp. 203-251) of whether the angels or the sons of Adam are superior.

SYMBOLS' DIRECTORY

(ﷻ) : *Subḥaanahu wa Ta'aala* - "The Exalted."

(ﷺ) : *Ṣalla-Allahu 'Alayhi wa Sallam* -
"Blessings and Peace be upon him."

(عليه السلام) : *'Alayhis-Salaam* - "May Peace be upon him."

(رضي الله عنه) : *Raḍi-Allahu 'Anhu* - "May Allah be pleased with him."

(رضي الله عنها) : *Raḍi-Allahu 'Anha* - "May Allah be pleased with her."

GLOSSARY

Al-Ghayb	الغيب	:	The unseen
'Aqeedah	العقيدة	:	Faith, Creed
Al-Mulk	المُلك	:	Sovereignty
Al-Qadar	القدر	:	Divine decree, predestination
Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor	البيت المعمور	:	The much-frequented house; Ka'bah for the angels in the heaven above the Ka'bah in Makkah
'Ateed	عتيد	:	Ready
Assalamu 'Alaykum	السلام عليكم	:	Peace be upon you
'Alaqah	علقة	:	Clot
'Aṣr	عصر	:	Afternoon, time, Afternoon prayer
Al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfooẓ	اللوح المحفوظ	:	The Preserved Tablet
Al-Khandaq	الخندق	:	The Ditch
Ameen	آمين	:	Trustworthy
'Adn	عدن	:	A garden in Paradise
Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal	المسيح الدجال	:	The Pseudo-Christ; Pseudo Messiah
Bayt al-'Izzah	بيت العِزة	:	The House of Glory
Bid'ah	بدعة	:	Reprehensible innovation in religion, heresy

Dhikr	الذِكر	:	Rememberance
Du'aa'	دعاء	:	Supplication
Eemaan	إيمان	:	Faith, belief
Fajr	الفجر	:	Dawn, dawn prayer
Faḥshaa'	فحشاء	:	Evil-deed, illegal sexual intercourse, sin, obscene
Ḥaraam	حرام	:	Prohibited
Ḥasanah	حسنة	:	Good deed
Iblees	ابليس	:	Satan
Iḥsaan	احسان	:	Perfection, Good
Ilaah	إله	:	God, diety
Israa'	إسراء	:	Night Journey
'Ishaa'	عِشاء	:	Night, Evening prayer
Insha' Allah	انشاء الله	:	God willing
Junub	جُنُب	:	In a state of ritual impurity following marital relations or sensuous dreams.
Khaleefah	خليفة	:	Vicegerent, Caliph, Deputy
Kiraaman	كِراما	:	Honourable
Kaatibeen	كاتبين	:	Scribes
Laḥd	لحد	:	Niche for the corpse
Maalik	مالِك	:	Owner, name of the incharge of Hell
Malak	مَلَك	:	Angel
Malaa'ik	ملائِك	:	Angels

Mi'raaj	معراج	:	Ascent of the Prophet to the heavens
Mushrik	مشرك	:	Polytheist
Muḍghah	مضغة	:	Chewed lump of flesh
Maghrib	مغرب	:	Sunset prayer, sunset
Miḥraab	محراب	:	A praying place or a private room, niche
Mujrimoon	مجرمون	:	Sing. *Mujrim*. Criminals, disbelievers, sinners
Nuṭfah	نطفة	:	Embryo, mixed discharge from male and female
Qareen	قرين	:	Constant Companion
Qa'eed	قَعيد	:	Sitting
Qaṣab	قصب	:	Pipes made of gold or pearls and other precious stones
Qiblah	قبله	:	Direction of prostration during prayer, Ka'bah
Riḍwaan	رضوان	:	Name of the angel in charge of Paradise
Raqeeb	رقيب	:	Watcher
Ruqyah	رقية	:	Amulet
Rooḥ al-Qudus	رُوح القدس	:	Archangel Gabriel
Salaam	سلام	:	Greetings
Sidrat al-Muntaha	سِدرة المنتهى	:	The Lotus Tree of the utmost boundry over the seventh heaven beyond which no one can pass

Ṣaḥaabah	صحابة	:	Sing. *Ṣaḥaabi*. The Prophet's Companions
Sakeenah	سكينة	:	Peace, tranquility
Ṣalaah	صلاة	:	Prayer, (obligatory/optional)
Ṣafara'	صفراء	:	Yellow
Tasbeeḥ	تسبيح	:	To say, *'Subḥaan Allah'*
Ṭawaaf	طواف	:	To go round (the Ka'bah), circumambulation
Thiqaat	ثقات	:	Sing. *Thiqah*. Trustworthy
Taboot	تابوت	:	A wooden box, refers to the box that contained the relics of the Prophet Moses
Ṭaloot	طالوت	:	Qur'anic name for Saul
Ummah	أمه	:	Nation
Umm al-Mu'mineen	أم المؤمنين	:	The mother of the believers, (The Prophet's wife)
'Uboodiyyah	عبودية	:	Being a slave of Allah in the fullest sense
Wuḍoo'	وضوء	:	Ablution (ritual cleansing)
Waḥy	وحي	:	Revelation
Ẓaalimoon	ظالمون	:	Sing. *Ẓaalim*. Wrongdoers and polytheists, tyrants
Ẓuhr	ظهر	:	Noon, midday, midday prayer

TRANSLITERATION CHART

أ	a
آ . ى	aa
ب	b
ت	t
ة	h or t (when followed by another Arabic word)
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ

ظ	ẓ
ع	‘
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
هـ – ه – ـه	h
و	w
و (as vowel)	oo
ي	y
ي (as vowel)	ee
ء	’ (Omitted in initial position)

ـَ	Fatḥah	a
ـِ	Kasra	i
ـُ	Ḍammah	u
ـّ	Shaddah	Double letter
ـْ	Sukoon	Absence of vowel

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عالم الملائكة الأبرار

Dr. 'Umar S. al-Ashqar

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

All praise and thanks belong to Allah, Lord of the Universe. May Allah's blessings and peace be upon the last of the prophets and messengers Muhammad, his family, Companions, and all those who follow his footsteps till the end of time.

This is the second book of the Islamic Creed (*'aqeedah*) series by Dr. 'Umar Sulaymaan al-Ashqar. It deals with the world of the Angels, an integral part of the Islamic faith. Persons denying the existence of Angels go outside the pale of Islam.

As usual, Dr. Al-Ashqar has discussed this issue exhaustively. His arguments are based on the texts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. He has covered all aspects of the topic: definition, origin and characteristics, kinds and their relationship with mankind and other creation. Moreover, he draws a comparison between mankind and the angels in their respective roles as determined by Allah. A number of editions of the Arabic original have been sold out.

We are pleased to present this excellent English translation of a very popular book. May Allah bless with acceptance the efforts of the author, the translator and all those associated with the publication of this work.

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General Manager
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TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

Belief in the Unseen *(Al-Ghayb)* is one of the basic tenets of Islam, and forms an important part of Islamic teachings. One of the unseen worlds of which Islam tells us is the world of the angels, who are described in great detail in the Qur'an and Sunnah and who are involved with man throughout his life.

From the moment an individual is conceived in his mother's womb, until his death and beyond, angels play a role in human life. Angels accompany the human being, protecting him and keeping a record of all his deeds. Angels bring forth the soul of the deceased person/s and they bring comfort or inflict torment in the grave. An angel will sound the Trumpet on the Last Day, and angels will be present on the Day of Judgement until they accompany people to their ultimate destination in Paradise or Hell.

Almost all human cultures, ancient and modern, have some kind of belief about angels. The pre-Islamic Arabs believed them to be daughters of the Almighty. Some philosophers thought that angels were the stars in the sky. In modern times there has been a resurgence of interest in angels, and they feature prominently in movies and other forms of popular western culture. Stories featuring angels circulate on the internet and various kinds of gifts, bearing supposed images of angels, gift shops in the west.

But these myths have no role to play in the belief of the Muslim. Our beliefs are based on the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah, which tell us all we need to know about the reality of the unseen, including the world of the angels. Belief in the angels brings comfort to man's soul; this belief makes man feel that he is important in the sight of Allah, and that he matters a lot to Him; this belief also encourages a person to strive in the path of goodness. Hence it is of the utmost importance for the

Muslim to understand what Islam says about the angels, and what the implications of this knowledge are for his daily life. In this book, Dr. 'Umar al-Ashqar draws on the sources of Islam to give us a comprehensive picture of who the angels are, their origins, their role in the universe and their interaction with mankind in this world and the next.

May Allah reward the author for his presentation of the Islamic belief in the angels. May He guide us on the Straight Path which leads to Paradise, and may He grant us admittance to that eternal abode where the angels will welcome the believers with greetings of *salaam*. May Allah bless our Prophet Muhammad and his family and Companions, and grant them peace.

Naṣiruddin al-Khaṭṭab

Translator's Note:

All translations of the meaning of the Qur'anic quotations have been taken from "Translation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an" by Dr. Muhammad Muḥsin Khan and Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali, unless otherwise stated.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

Praise be to Allah. We praise Him and seek His help, forgiveness and guidance. We seek refuge in Allah from the evil of our own selves and from our evil actions. Whomsoever Allah guides, none can lead astray, and whomsoever He leads astray, none can guide. I bear witness that there is no god except Allah alone, with no associate or partner, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

Belief in the angels is one of the basic principles of *'aqeedah*, and faith is not complete without this belief. The angels form one of the worlds of the Unseen, belief in which is commanded by Allah, Who praises those who believe in what Allah and His Messenger (ﷺ) have told us about them.

The texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah speak in detail about all aspects of this subject. Whoever studies these texts will come to have a clear belief in the angels and realize that this is not an obscure topic. This will deepen and strengthen his faith, for detailed knowledge is stronger and firmer than general knowledge.

The only reason why the texts go into such detail on this topic is that the human mind on its own is not able to learn about the angels. Human senses are unable to see the angels or hear their conversations, but this inability is no doubt in man's best interests, for if man could hear and see everything that is going on around him, he would not be able to survive. It is sufficient for us to imagine how hard it would be for a man if he could detect all the sounds that are picked up by a radio set; the result would surely make him lose his mind.

No one should assume that studying this principle is a kind of superfluous knowledge. The facts stated in the texts which speak of this topic have a great effect in counteracting the myths and false beliefs that exist in people's minds concerning this matter. Since ancient times there has been a widespread belief that the angels are divine or that they are

the daughters of Allah, and some philosophers think that the angels are the stars which we see in space.

The facts which are stated in the texts implant in our hearts the firm belief in the One God Who is in control of all of creation, Who has appointed His troops of angels to take care of the various affairs of this universe.

The relationship of the angels with us, their role in our formation and their watching over us, speaks to man of his importance and valuable status, and it refutes the idea that human beings are insignificant and worthless. Thus man can fully appreciate his own value and strive hard to play the great role which he is required to fulfil.

If we were to count the positive effects which stem from man's belief in the angels, and to study the texts which speak of them, the introduction would turn into a lenghty article. So I will leave the reader to look at those texts which, when studied in depth, will supply him with these inspiring effects.

We ask Allah to benefit people through this book, and to make it sincerely for His sake, for He is the best of helpers and supporters.

'Umar Sulaymaan al-Ashqar

INTRODUCTION
DEFINITION OF THE ANGELS AND BELIEF IN THEM

The Angels form a world different to the world of mankind and the world of the jinn. It is a noble world, completely pure. They are noble and pious, worshipping Allah as He should be worshipped, fulfilling whatever He commands them to do and never disobeying Him.

From the texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah, we will see their attributes as described therein.

The word *malak* (angel) is derived from the root *alaka*; *ma'lakah* and *ma'lak* mean message. From this root is derived the word *malaa'ik* (angels), because they are the messengers of Allah.

It is also said that the word *malak* is derived from the root *la'aka*, and that *mal'aakah* means message. The phrase *wa'alikni ila fulaan* means 'convey to him from me.' *Al-Mal'ak* means *al-malak* (angel) because the angels convey (messages) from Allah.

Some of the scholars said *al-malak* (angel) is derived from *al-mulk* (sovereignty). He said: if one of the angels is in control of some affairs, he is described as *malak*, and if a human being is in control of some affairs, he is described as *malik* (king).[1]

Belief in the angels is one of the principles of faith. A person's faith cannot be correct unless he believes in them. Allah says:

﴿ءَامَنَ ٱلرَّسُولُ بِمَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مِن رَّبِّهِۦ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ ۚ كُلٌّ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَكُتُبِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِّن رُّسُلِهِۦ ۚ ﴿٢٨٥﴾﴾

"The Messenger [Muhammad] believes in what has been sent down to him from his Lord, and [so do] the believers. Each one believes in

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[1] *Baṣaa'ir Dhawi al-Tamyeez*, by Al-Fayroozabadi, 4/524.

> Allah, His Angels, His Books, and His Messengers. [They say,] 'We make no distinction between one another of His Messengers.'﴾
> *(Qur'an 2:285)*

How should we believe in the angels?

Suyooṭi narrated that Al-Bayhaqi said in *Shu'ab al-Eemaan*: "Belief in the Angels" means the following:

1. Belief that they exist.
2. Giving each one of them his rightful status, and believing that they are the slaves of Allah, created by Him, like mankind and the jinn. They are commanded to do things and they are accountable. They are not able to do anything except that which Allah has enabled them to do. Death is possible for them, but Allah gives them a long life, and they do not die until their appointed time comes. They should not be described in any way that would imply association with Allah, and they should not be regarded as gods as they were regarded by the ancients, some traditional cultures of early people.
3. Acknowledging that among them are messengers whom Allah sends to whomsoever He wills among mankind. He may also send some of them to others. This implies acknowledging that among them are the bearers of the Throne, those who stand in ranks, the keepers of Paradise, the keepers of Hell, those who record man's deeds and those who drive the clouds. The Qur'an has mentioned all or most of them."[2]

This book will describe in detail what is said in the texts (of the Qur'an and Sunnah) about belief in the angels.

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[2] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* by Suyooṭi, Pp. 10. See *Mukhtaṣar Shu'ab al-Eemaan*, 1/405-406.

CHAPTER ONE
THEIR PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ATTRIBUTES AND ABILITIES

In this chapter we look at what we have learned from the *ṣaḥeeḥ* texts about the physical characteristics as well as the attributes of the angels, then we will discuss the abilities which Allah has granted to them.

1 - PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

(1) What they were created from and when

The substance from which Allah created them is light. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her and her father) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels were created from light, the jinn were created from smokeless fire, and Adam was created from that which has been described to you."[1]

The Messenger (ﷺ) did not explain what light this is that they were created from. Hence we cannot indulge in trying to say more about this matter, because it is the matter of the unseen concerning which no further clarification has been narrated, apart from this hadith.

It is narrated that 'Ikrimah said: "The angels were created from the light of glory and *Iblees* was created from the fire of glory." And it is narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn 'Amr said, "Allah created the angels from the light of the arms and chest." It is not permissible to accept these views, even if they are narrated through sound chains from these scholars, because they are not infallible, and they may have taken these ideas from the

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[1] Muslim, 4/2294, hadith no. 2996.

Some of those who claim to be scholars reject this hadith and others like it, claiming that it is a hadith *aaḥaad*, and that a hadith *aaḥaad* cannot be relied on in matters of *'aqeedah*. I have criticized this view and explained its flawed nature in a paper entitled *Aṣl al-I'tiqaad*.

Israa'eeliyyaat (reports from Jewish sources).[2]

Wali-Ullah ad-Dehlawi said: "The hosts on high (the angels) are of three groups: a group upon whom Allah made the system of goodness was dependent, so He created them from physical light similar to the fire of Moosa and breathed into them noble souls;

A group which was created from a mixture of very light vapour and other elements, which resulted in the emergence of great souls with a strong aversion to animalistic behaviour;

And a group of human souls who are very close to the hosts on high, who keep striving to do deeds which could save them and help them to catch up with (the angels), until they shed their physical cloaks and follow in their footsteps, and are counted as being among them."

There is no *ṣaḥeeḥ* evidence to support this definition and this division of the angels into these categories.

We do not know when the angels were created, for Allah has not informed us about that. But we do know that they were created before Adam, the father of mankind. Allah has told us that He informed the angels that He was going to create a *khaleefah* on earth:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿Behold, your Lord said to the angels, 'I will create a vicegerent *[khaleefah]* on earth.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30* - A. Yoosuf 'Ali)

What is meant by the word *khaleefah* here is Adam (عليه السلام), and He commanded them to prostrate to him when He created him:

﴿فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِي فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٢٩﴾﴾

﴿'So, when I have fashioned him completely and breathed into him [Adam] the soul which I created for him, then fall [you] down prostrating yourselves unto him.'﴾ *(Qur'an 15:29)*

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[2] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah,* 1/197.

Seeing the angels

Because the angels have bodies of light which are of a low density, mankind cannot see them, especially since Allah has not given our eyes the ability to see them.

No one among this ummah has seen the angels in their true form apart from the Messenger (ﷺ). He saw Jibreel twice in the form in which Allah created him. The texts indicate that human beings are able to see the angels when the angels appear in human form.

(2) Their great physical size

Allah says concerning the angels of Hell:

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ قُوٓاْ أَنفُسَكُمۡ وَأَهۡلِيكُمۡ نَارٗا وَقُودُهَا ٱلنَّاسُ وَٱلۡحِجَارَةُ عَلَيۡهَا مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٞ شِدَادٞ لَّا يَعۡصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمۡ وَيَفۡعَلُونَ مَا يُؤۡمَرُونَ ٦﴾

﴿O you who believe! Ward off yourselves and your families against a Fire [Hell] whose fuel is men and stones, over which are [appointed] angels stern [and] severe, who disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 66:6)*

It will be sufficient to quote the *aḥaadeeth* which speak of two noble angels.

The great size of Jibreel (عليه السلام)

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel twice in the angelic form in which Allah created him. These two occasions are mentioned in the *aayaat*:

﴿وَلَقَدۡ رَءَاهُ بِٱلۡأُفُقِ ٱلۡمُبِينِ ٢٣﴾

﴿And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel] in the clear horizon [towards the east].﴾ *(Qur'an 81:23)*

And:

﴿وَلَقَدْ رَءَاهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَىٰ ﴿١٣﴾ عِندَ سِدْرَةِ ٱلْمُنتَهَىٰ ﴿١٤﴾ عِندَهَا جَنَّةُ ٱلْمَأْوَىٰ ﴿١٥﴾﴾

﴿And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel] at a second descent [i.e. another time].

Near *Sidrat-ul-Muntaha* [a lote tree of the utmost boundary over the seventh heaven beyond which none can pass].

Near it is the Paradise of Abode.﴾ *(Qur'an 53:13-15)*

- that was when he was taken up to the highest heaven (during the *Mi'raaj*).

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) said: "I asked the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) about these two *aayaat.* He said, 'That is Jibreel; I never saw him in the form in which Allah created him except on these two occasions. I saw him descending from the heavens, with his huge size filling the space between the heaven and the earth'"[3]

'Aa'ishah (رضي الله عنها) was asked about the *aayah*,

﴿ثُمَّ دَنَا فَتَدَلَّىٰ ﴿٨﴾﴾

﴿Then he [Jibreel] approached and came closer﴾

(Qur'an 53:8)

She said, "That is Jibreel (عليه السلام). He used to come to him in human form, but on this occasion he came in his real form, and he filled the horizons of the sky."[4]

It is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "Muhammad (ﷺ) saw Jibreel with six hundred wings."[5]

Ibn Mas'ood said concerning the *aayah* –

﴿لَقَدْ رَأَىٰ مِنْ ءَايَٰتِ رَبِّهِ ٱلْكُبْرَىٰ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

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[3] Muslim, 1/159, hadith no. 177.

[4] Muslim, 1/160, hadith no. 177.

[5] Bukhaari, 8/610, hadith no. 4856, 4857.

﴿Indeed he [Muhammad] did see of the Greatest Signs, of his Lord [Allah]﴾ *(Qur'an 53:18)* –

"This means green cushions, filling the horizons."[6] These cushions that filled the horizons were what Jibreel was seated upon. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned that An-Nasaa'i and Al-Ḥaakim narrated with their *isnaads* from Ibn Mas'ood that he said, "The Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel (عليه السلام) with his own eyes, on a cushion which filled the space between heaven and earth."[7]

Ibn Hajar mentioned that Ibn Mas'ood said, according to a report narrated by An-Nasaa'i: "Muhammad (ﷺ) saw Jibreel with six hundred wings, filling the horizon."[8]

In *Musnad al-Imam Aḥmad* it is narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) saw Jibreel in his true form. He had six hundred wings, each of which filled the horizon, and there were multi-coloured pearls and rubies falling from his wings."

Ibn Katheer said, concerning this hadith, its *isnaad* is *jayyid*.[9]

Allah said, describing Jibreel:

﴿إِنَّهُۥ لَقَوْلُ رَسُولٍ كَرِيمٍ ﴿١٩﴾ ذِى قُوَّةٍ عِندَ ذِى ٱلْعَرْشِ مَكِينٍ ﴿٢٠﴾ مُّطَاعٍ ثَمَّ أَمِينٍ ﴿٢١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, this is the Word [this Qur'an brought by] a most honourable messenger [Jibreel (Gabriel)], from Allah to Prophet Muhammad].
Owner of power, [and high rank] with [Allah], the Lord of the Throne,
Obeyed [by the angels in the heavens] and trustworthy.﴾
(Qur'an 81:19-21)

What is meant by the "most honourable messenger" here is Jibreel, and the Lord of the Throne is the Lord of Glory, may He be glorified.

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[6] Bukhaari, 8/611, hadith no. 4858.

[7] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 8/611.

[8] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 8/611.

[9] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/47.

The great size of the bearers of the Throne

Abu Dawood narrated from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "I have been granted permission to speak to one of the angels of Allah, one of the bearers of the Throne. The distance from his earlobes to his shoulders is the distance of a seven - hundred year journey."[10]

This is also narrated by Ibn Abi Ḥaatim, who said: "... as a bird flies." The editor of *Mishkaat al-Masaabeeḥ* said: its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ*.[11]

Ṭabaraani narrated in *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ* with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Anas that he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'I have been granted permission to speak of an angel, one of the bearers of the Throne. His feet are in the lowest earth and the Throne is resting on his horn. The distance from his earlobe to his shoulder is like that of a bird flying for seven hundred years. That angel says, 'Glory be to You, wherever You are.'"[12]

(3) Their most important physical characteristics

(i) The wings of the angels

The angels have wings, as Allah has informed us. Some of them have two wings, some have three or four, and some have more than that.

﴿ٱلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ فَاطِرِ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضِ جَاعِلِ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ رُسُلًا أُو۟لِىٓ أَجْنِحَةٍ مَّثْنَىٰ وَثُلَٰثَ وَرُبَٰعَ ۚ يَزِيدُ فِى ٱلْخَلْقِ مَا يَشَآءُ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَىْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴿١﴾﴾

﴿All the praises and thanks be to Allah, the [only] Originator [or the (Only) Creator] of the heavens and the earth, Who made the angels messengers with wings, two or three or four. He increases in creation what He wills. Verily, Allah is Able to do all things.﴾

(Qur'an 35:1)

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[10] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 3/895, no. 9353.

[11] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 3/121. See also *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, hadith no. 151.

[12] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami' aṣ-Ṣagheer*, 3rd edn., 1/208, no. 853.

What is meant by saying that Allah made them with wings is that some of them have two wings, some have three or four, and some have more than that.

We have already mentioned the hadith in which the Messenger (ﷺ) stated that Jibreel has six hundred wings.

(ii) The beauty of the angels

Allah has created them in a noble and beautiful form, as Allah says of Jibreel:

﴿عَلَّمَهُۥ شَدِيدُ ٱلْقُوَىٰ ۝٥ ذُو مِرَّةٍ فَٱسْتَوَىٰ ۝٦﴾

﴿He has been taught [this Qur'an] by one mighty in power [Jibreel (Gabriel)].

One free from any defect in body and mind then he [Jibreel – Gabriel in his real shape as created by Allah] rose and became stable.﴾

(Qur'an 53:5-6)

Ibn 'Abbaas said: 'one free from any defect in body or mind' means one whose appearance is beautiful. Qataadah said: one whose form is tall and beautiful. And it is said that 'one free from any defect in body or mind' means one who is possessed of strength. There is no contradiction between the two views, for he is both strong and of a beautiful appearance.

The idea that angels are beautiful is well-established in people's minds, just as the idea that devils are ugly is also well-established. Hence we see them likening beautiful human beings to angels. Look at what the women said when they saw Yousuf:

﴿فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَهُۥٓ أَكْبَرْنَهُۥ وَقَطَّعْنَ أَيْدِيَهُنَّ وَقُلْنَ حَٰشَ لِلَّهِ مَا هَٰذَا بَشَرًا إِنْ هَٰذَآ إِلَّا مَلَكٌ كَرِيمٌ ۝٣١﴾

﴿Then, when they saw him, they exalted him [at his beauty] and [in their astonishment] cut their hands. They said: 'How perfect is Allah [or Allah forbid]! No man is this! This is none other than a noble angel!'﴾ *(Qur'an 12:31)*

(iii) Is there any similarity in appearance and form between angels and humans?

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ,* and At-Tirmidhi narrated in his *Sunan* from Jaabir (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The Prophets were shown to me, and I saw Moosa, a man of average build, looking like one of the men of (the tribe of) Shanu'ah. And I saw 'Eesa ibn Maryam, and the person I have seen who most resembles him is 'Urwah ibn Mas'ood. And I saw Ibraaheem, and the one who most resembles him is your Companion (meaning himself). And I saw Jibreel (عليه السلام); the person I have seen who most resembles him is Duḥyah." According to another report: Duḥyah ibn Khaleefah.[13]

Is this a similarity between Jibreel's true form, or the form which Jibreel took when he appeared in human form? Most likely it is the latter, because as we shall see, Jibreel often used to appear in the form of Duḥyah.

(iv) Variations in their physical shape and status

The angels are not all the same in their physical shape and status. Some of the angels have two wings, some have three, and Jibreel has six hundred wings. They vary in their status before their Lord:

﴿وَمَا مِنَّآ إِلَّا لَهُۥ مَقَامٌ مَّعْلُومٌ ﴿١٦٤﴾﴾

﴿And there is not one of us [angels] but has his known place [or position].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:164)*

And Allah said concerning Jibreel:

﴿إِنَّهُۥ لَقَوْلُ رَسُولٍ كَرِيمٍ ﴿١٩﴾ ذِى قُوَّةٍ عِندَ ذِى ٱلْعَرْشِ مَكِينٍ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿Verily, this is the Word [this Qur'an brought by] a most honourable messenger [Jibreel (Gabriel), from Allah to Prophet Muhammad]. Owner of power, [and high rank] with [Allah], the Lord of the Throne.﴾ *(Qur'an 81:19-20)*

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[13] Muslim, 1/153, hadith no. 167.

i.e., he has a high status and important rank before Allah.

The best of the angels are those who were present at the battle of Badr. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Rafaa'ah ibn Raafi' that Jibreel came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said: "What do you think of the people of Badr among you (i.e., those among you who were present at Badr)?" He said, "They are among the best of the Muslims" or similar words. Jibreel said, "The same is true of the angels who were present at the Badr."[14]

(v) They cannot be described as being male or female

One of the reasons why the children of Adam go astray when speaking about the worlds of the unseen is because they subject those worlds to human criteria. So we see one of them expressing his amazement, in one of his articles, that Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (ﷺ) a few seconds after a question had been put to the Messenger (ﷺ) that needed a reply from Allah. How could he come at such an extraordinary speed? When light needs millions of light-years in order to reach nearby heavenly bodies.

This poor man did not realize that he is like a mosquito trying to measure the speed of an airplane using its own standards. If he had thought about the matter, he would have realized that the world of the angels has its own standards which are completely different from our human standards.

The *mushrik* Arabs also went astray in this regard, as they used to claim that the angels were female, and they mixed this idea, which is far removed from the truth, with an even greater myth, when they claimed that these females were the daughters of Allah.

The Qur'an refuted them on both counts. It pointed out that they had no sound evidence for their claims, and that this notion was nonsense. It is strange indeed that they attributed daughters to Allah, when they themselves hated daughters; when the news of (the birth of) a baby girl

[14] Bukhaari, 7/312, hadith no. 3992.

was brought to any of them, his face would become dark, and he would be filled with inward grief, and he would hide himself from the people because of the evil of that whereof he had been informed (cf. Qur'an 16:58-59). This doomed fellow might even lose his mind and bury the newborn girl alive. Nevertheless, they attributed children to Allah, and claimed that these children were female. In this manner myths grow and take root in the minds of those whom the divine light has not reached.

Listen to these verses which tell of this myth and criticize those who believed in it:

﴿فَٱسْتَفْتِهِمْ أَلِرَبِّكَ ٱلْبَنَاتُ وَلَهُمُ ٱلْبَنُونَ ﴿١٤٩﴾ أَمْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ إِنَٰثًا وَهُمْ شَٰهِدُونَ ﴿١٥٠﴾ أَلَآ إِنَّهُم مِّنْ إِفْكِهِمْ لَيَقُولُونَ ﴿١٥١﴾ وَلَدَ ٱللَّهُ وَإِنَّهُمْ لَكَٰذِبُونَ ﴿١٥٢﴾ أَصْطَفَى ٱلْبَنَاتِ عَلَى ٱلْبَنِينَ ﴿١٥٣﴾ مَا لَكُمْ كَيْفَ تَحْكُمُونَ ﴿١٥٤﴾ أَفَلَا تَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿١٥٥﴾ أَمْ لَكُمْ سُلْطَٰنٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿١٥٦﴾﴾

﴿Now ask them [O Muhammad]: 'Are there [only] daughters for your Lord and sons for them?
Or did We create the angels female while they were witnesses?
Verily, it is of their falsehood that they [Quraysh pagans] say:
'Allah has begotten [offspring – the angels being the daughters of Allah]?' And, verily, they are liars!
Has He [then] chosen daughters rather than sons?
What is the matter with you? How do you decide?
Will you not then remember?
Or is there for you a plain authority?﴾ *(Qur'an 37:149-156)*

Allah will make these words a testimony for which they will be brought to account. One of the greatest of sins is to speak about Allah without knowledge:

﴿وَجَعَلُوا۟ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ ٱلَّذِينَ هُمْ عِبَٰدُ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ إِنَٰثًا ۚ أَشَهِدُوا۟ خَلْقَهُمْ ۚ سَتُكْتَبُ شَهَٰدَتُهُمْ وَيُسْـَٔلُونَ ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿And they make the angels who themselves are slaves of the Most Gracious [Allah] females. Did they witness their creation? Their

testimony will be recorded, and they will be questioned!﴾

(Qur'an 43:19)[15]

(vi) They do not eat or drink

We indicated above that the angels cannot be described as being male or female. Similarly, they do not eat or drink the type of food we (humans) eat and drink. Allah has told us that the angels came to Ibraaheem in human form, and he offered them food, but they did not stretch out their hands towards it. He felt afraid of them, but when they told him of their true identity, his fear left him.

﴿هَلْ أَتَىٰكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَٰهِيمَ ٱلْمُكْرَمِينَ ﴿٢٤﴾ إِذْ دَخَلُوا۟ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالُوا۟ سَلَٰمًا ۖ قَالَ سَلَٰمٌ قَوْمٌ مُّنكَرُونَ ﴿٢٥﴾ فَرَاغَ إِلَىٰٓ أَهْلِهِۦ فَجَآءَ بِعِجْلٍ سَمِينٍ ﴿٢٦﴾ فَقَرَّبَهُۥٓ إِلَيْهِمْ قَالَ أَلَا تَأْكُلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ فَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ ۖ وَبَشَّرُوهُ بِغُلَٰمٍ عَلِيمٍ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿Has the story reached you, of the honoured guests [three angels; Jibreel (Gabriel) along with another two] of Ibraaheem [Abraham]? When they came in to him and said: '*Salaam,* [peace be upon you]!' He answered: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you],' and said: 'You are a people unknown to me.'

Then he turned to his household, and brought out a roasted calf [as the property of Ibraaheem [Abraham] was mainly cows].

And placed it before them [saying]: 'Will you not eat?'

Then he conceived fear of them [when they ate not]. They said: 'Fear not.' And they gave him glad tidings of a son having knowledge [about Allah and His religion of True Monotheism].﴾

(Qur'an 51:24-28)

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[15] Therefore, Muslims should beware of speaking about such matters without knowledge. Those who claim that man originated from animals, monkeys or whatever, should be told the same thing: "Did they witness their creation? Their testimony will be recorded". And Allah says, ﴿I [Allah] made them [*Iblees* and his offspring] not to witness [nor took their help in] the creation of the heavens and the earth and not [even] their own creation.﴾ (Qur'an 18:51)

In another *aayah* it says:

﴿فَلَمَّا رَءَآ أَيْدِيَهُمْ لَا تَصِلُ إِلَيْهِ نَكِرَهُمْ وَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۚ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ إِنَّآ أُرْسِلْنَآ إِلَىٰ قَوْمِ لُوطٍ ﴿٧٠﴾﴾

﴿But when he saw their hands went not towards it [the meal], he mistrusted them, and conceived a fear of them. They said: "Fear not, we have been sent against the people of Looṭ [Lot].﴾

(Qur'an 11:70)

Suyooṭi narrated from Al-Fakhr ar-Raazi that scholars were agreed that the angels do not eat, drink or get married.[16]

(vii) They do not get bored or tired

The angels worship and obey Allah, and carry out His commands, without getting tired or bored. They do not feel what humans feel of tiredness and boredom. Allah says, describing His angels:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:20)*

The meaning of 'they never slacken' is they never become weak. In another *aayah* Allah says:

﴿فَٱلَّذِينَ عِندَ رَبِّكَ يُسَبِّحُونَ لَهُۥ بِٱلَّيْلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَهُمْ لَا يَسْـَٔمُونَ ﴿٣٨﴾﴾

﴿Then there are those who are with your Lord [angels] glorify Him night and day, and never are they tired.﴾ *(Qur'an 41:38)*

Suyooṭi inferred that the *aayah* "(and) they never slacken (to do so)" (Qur'an 21:20) means that the angels do not sleep; he narrated this view from Al-Fakhr ar-Raazi.[17]

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[16] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 264.

[17] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 264.

(viii) The dwelling-place of the angels

The abode and dwelling-place of the angels is in the heavens, as Allah says:

﴿تَكَادُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتُ يَتَفَطَّرۡنَ مِن فَوۡقِهِنَّۚ وَٱلۡمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمۡدِ رَبِّهِمۡ ٥﴾

﴿Nearly the heavens might be rent asunder from above them [by His Majesty], and the angels glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾

(Qur'an 42:5)

And Allah has described them as being with Him:

﴿فَإِنِ ٱسۡتَكۡبَرُواْ فَٱلَّذِينَ عِندَ رَبِّكَ يُسَبِّحُونَ لَهُۥ بِٱلَّيۡلِ وَٱلنَّهَارِ وَهُمۡ لَا يَسۡـَٔمُونَ ٣٨﴾

﴿But if they are too proud [to do so (i.e., to prostrate to Allah)], then there are those who are with your Lord [angels] glorify Him night and day, and never are they tired.﴾ *(Qur'an 41:38)*

They come down to the earth by the command of Allah, to fulfil the tasks with which they have been entrusted:

﴿وَمَا نَتَنَزَّلُ إِلَّا بِأَمۡرِ رَبِّكَۖ ٦٤﴾

﴿And we [angels] descend not except by the Command of your Lord [O Muhammad].﴾ *(Qur'an 19:64)*

They come down a lot on special occasions, such as *Laylat al-Qadr*:

﴿لَيۡلَةُ ٱلۡقَدۡرِ خَيۡرٞ مِّنۡ أَلۡفِ شَهۡرٖ ٣ تَنَزَّلُ ٱلۡمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ وَٱلرُّوحُ فِيهَا بِإِذۡنِ رَبِّهِم مِّن كُلِّ أَمۡرٖ ٤﴾

﴿The Night of *Al-Qadr* [Decree] is better than a thousand months [i.e. worshipping Allah in that night is better than worshipping Him a thousand months, i.e. 83 years and 4 months].

Therein descend the angels and the *Rooh* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] by Allah's Permission with all Decrees.﴾ *(Qur'an 97:3-4)*

(ix) The numbers of the angels

The angels are many; no one knows how many they are except the One Who created them:

﴿وَمَا يَعْلَمُ جُنُودَ رَبِّكَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ ﴿٣١﴾﴾

﴿And none can know the hosts of your Lord but He.﴾

(Qur'an 74:31)

If you want to know how many they are, listen to what Jibreel said concerning *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor* (the Much-Frequented House), when the Messenger (ﷺ) asked him about it, when he reached it on the night of the *Israa'* : This is *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor*; every day seventy thousand angels pray in it, and they never come back to it."[18]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "On that Day, Hell will be brought with seventy thousand ropes, each of which will be pulled by seventy thousand angels."[19] Based on this, those who will bring forth Hell on that Day will be forty-nine million angels.

If you study the texts which have been narrated about the angels who are appointed to take care of each person, you will realize how great their number is. There is an angel who is entrusted with the *nutfah,* two angels appointed to write down the deeds of each person, angels whose task is to protect each person, and an angelic companion *(qareen)* to guide a person.

(x) The names of the angels

The angels have names, but we only know a few of those names. Below are the verses in which some of the names of angels have been mentioned:

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[18] Bukhaari, 6/103, hadith no. 2207. Muslim, 1/146, hadith no. 162. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

[19] Muslim, 4/2184, hadith no. 2842.

(a) Jibreel and (b) Mikaa'eel

Allah says:

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّلَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ وَجِبْرِيلَ وَمِيكَىٰلَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَدُوٌّ لِّلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٩٨﴾﴾

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and guidance and glad tidings for the believers.

Whoever is an enemy to Allah, His Angels, His Messengers, Jibreel [Gabriel] and Mikaa'eel [Michael], then verily, Allah is an enemy to the disbelievers.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:97-98)*

Jibreel is the trustworthy *Rooḥ* mentioned in the *aayah*:

﴿نَزَلَ بِهِ ٱلرُّوحُ ٱلْأَمِينُ ﴿١٩٣﴾ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ لِتَكُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُنذِرِينَ ﴿١٩٤﴾﴾

﴿Which the trustworthy *Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] has brought down Upon your heart [O Muhammad] that you may be [one] of the warners.﴾ *(Qur'an 26:193-194)*

And he is the *Rooḥ* whom Allah sent to Maryam:

﴿فَأَرْسَلْنَآ إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿Then We sent to her Our *Rooḥ* [angel Jibreel (Gabriel)].﴾ *(Qur'an 19:17)*

(c) Israafeel

Another of the angels is Israafeel, who will blow the Trumpet.

Jibreel, Mikaa'eel and Israafeel are the angels who were mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) in the *du'aa'* with which he opened his prayer at night:

"Allaahumma Rabba Jibreel wa Mikaa'eel wa Israafeel, Faaṭir as-samaawaati wal-arḍ, 'Aalim al-ghaybi wal-shahaadah, anta taḥkumu

bayna 'ibaadika fima kaanu fihi yakhtalifoon, ihdinee lima ukhtulifa fihi min al-ḥaqq bi idhnika, innaka tahdi man tasha' ila ṣiraatim mustaqeem (O Allah, Lord of Jibreel, Mikaa'eel and Israafeel, Creator of the heavens and the earth, Knower of the unseen and the seen, You judge among Your slaves concerning that in which they differ. Guide me by Your Leave with regard to that in which they differ concerning the truth, for You guide whomsoever You will to a straight path)."[20]

(d) Maalik

And among the angels is Maalik, the keeper of Hell:

﴿وَنَادَوْا۟ يَٰمَٰلِكُ لِيَقْضِ عَلَيْنَا رَبُّكَ ۖ قَالَ إِنَّكُم مَّٰكِثُونَ ﴿٧٧﴾﴾

﴿And they will cry: 'O Maalik [Keeper of Hell]! Let your Lord make an end of us.' He will say: 'Verily, you shall abide forever.'﴾

(Qur'an 43:77)

(e) Riḍwaan

Ibn Katheer said: "The keeper of Paradise is an angel called Riḍwaan, as is clearly stated in some *aḥaadeeth*."

(f) Munkar and (g) Nakeer

And among the angels whose names were mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) are Munkar and Nakeer. They are mentioned in the *aḥaadeeth* which talk about the questioning in the grave.

(h) Haaroot and (i) Maaroot

And among the angels are two whom Allah called Haaroot and Maaroot. Allah says:

﴿وَمَا كَفَرَ سُلَيْمَٰنُ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱلشَّيَٰطِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ يُعَلِّمُونَ ٱلنَّاسَ ٱلسِّحْرَ وَمَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَى ٱلْمَلَكَيْنِ بِبَابِلَ هَٰرُوتَ وَمَٰرُوتَ ۚ وَمَا يُعَلِّمَانِ مِنْ أَحَدٍ حَتَّىٰ يَقُولَآ إِنَّمَا نَحْنُ فِتْنَةٌ فَلَا تَكْفُرْ ۖ ﴿١٠٢﴾﴾

[20] Muslim 1/534, hadith no. 770 from 'Aa'ishah *Umm al-Mu'mineen.*

﴿Sulaymaan did not disbelieve, but the *Shayaaṭeen* [devils] disbelieved, teaching men magic and such things that came down at Babylon to the two angels, Haaroot and Maaroot, but neither of these two [angels] taught anyone [such things] till they had said, 'We are for trial, so disbelieve not [by learning this magic from us].'﴾

(Qur'an 2:102)

From the context of the *aayah* it is clear that Allah sent them as a test for mankind at some time. Many myths surround them in the books of *Tafseer* and history, for which there is no proof in the Qur'an and Sunnah. It is sufficient to know about them only what is indicated in this verse.

'Azraa'eel

According to some reports, the Angel of Death is called 'Azraa'eel. However, this name is not mentioned in the Qur'an, or in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth*.[21]

Raqeeb and *'Ateed*

Some scholars mentioned that among the angels are two called *Raqeeb* and *'Ateed*, based on the *aayah,*

﴿إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾ مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] that the two receivers [recording angels] receive [each human being], one sitting on the right and one on the left [to note his or her actions]

Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher [*raqeeb*] by him ready [*'ateed*] to record it.﴾ *(Qur'an 50:17-18)*

What they mentioned is not correct. The words *raqeeb* (watcher) and *'ateed* (ready) here are adjectives describing the two angels who are always present and witnessing, who are never away from a person. It does not mean that these are the names of the angels.

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[21] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/50.

(xi) The death of the angels

The angels die just as humans and jinn die. This is stated clearly in the *aayah*:

﴿وَنُفِخَ فِي ٱلصُّورِ فَصَعِقَ مَن فِي ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَمَن فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ إِلَّا مَن شَآءَ ٱللَّهُ ثُمَّ نُفِخَ فِيهِ أُخْرَىٰ فَإِذَا هُمْ قِيَامٌ يَنظُرُونَ ﴿٦٨﴾﴾

﴿And the Trumpet will be blown, and all who are in the heavens and all who are on the earth will swoon away, except him whom Allah wills. Then it will be blown a second time, and behold they will be standing, looking on [waiting].﴾ *(Qur'an 39:68)*

The angels are included in this *aayah,* because they are in the heavens. Ibn Katheer said in his commentary on this verse:

"This is the second Trumpet-blast, the blast which will cause all creatures to fall unconscious. This will cause all living beings in the heavens and on earth to die, except for those whom Allah wills, as is clearly stated in detail in the famous hadith about the Trumpet. Then He will take the souls of those who are left, and the last one to die will be the Angel of Death. Then only the Ever-Living, Self-Sustaining will be left, Who was the First, and Who Alone will be the Last, Everlasting and Eternal. He will say, 'Whose is the Sovereignty today?' three times, then He will answer Himself by saying,

﴿لِّلَّهِ ٱلْوَٰحِدِ ٱلْقَهَّارِ ﴿١٦﴾﴾

﴿It is Allah's, the One, the Irresistible!﴾ *(Qur'an 40:16)*."

Another verse which indicates that they (the angels) will die is:

﴿كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُۥ ﴿٨٨﴾﴾

﴿Everything will perish save His Face.﴾ *(Qur'an 28:88)*

Will any of them die before the Trumpet is blown? We do not know the answer to that, and we cannot discuss it, because there is no text that can give us a positive or a negative answer. Everything will perish save His Face.

2 - ATTRIBUTES

The angels are honourable and obedient

Allah has described the angels as being honourable and obedient:

﴿بِأَيْدِي سَفَرَةٍ ﴿١٥﴾ كِرَامٍ بَرَرَةٍ ﴿١٦﴾﴾

﴿In the hands of scribes [angels].
Honourable and obedient.﴾ *(Qur'an 80:15-16)*

i.e., the Qur'an is in the hands of scribes (*safarah*), i.e., the angels, because they are the emissaries (*sufaraa'*) of Allah to His Messengers and Prophets. Bukhaari said: "*Safarah* refers to the angels. The singular is *saafir*. *Safartu* means 'I reconciled between them'. So the angels, who bring down the Revelation of Allah are like emissaries who reconcile between the people."[22]

Allah has described these angels as being "honourable and obedient", i.e., He has created them honourable, good and noble. Their actions are obedient, pure and perfect. Hence the one who learns the Qur'an by heart should be one whose actions and words are proper and correct.

Bukhaari narrated that 'Aa'ishah (رضي الله عنها) said: 'The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The one who reads the Qur'an when he knows it by heart is like the honourable scribes and the one who reads the Qur'an and tries his best, and it is hard for him, will have two rewards."[23]

The modesty of the angels

Among the attributes of the angels mentioned by the Messenger (ﷺ) is their modesty. In the hadith narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from 'Aa'ishah it says that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was lying down in his house with his thigh or his shin uncovered. Abu Bakr asked for permission to come in, and he let him in and spoke with him whilst he was in that state. Then 'Umar sought permission to come in, and he let

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[22] Bukhaari, 8/691.

[23] Bukhaari, 8/691, hadith no. 4937. Muslim, 1/549, hadith no. 798. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

him in and spoke with him whilst he was in that state. Then 'Uthmaan asked for permission to come in, and the Messenger (ﷺ) sat up and rearranged his garment, then he let him come in and spoke with him. When he left, 'Aa'ishah said: "Abu Bakr came in, and you did not stir or pay too much attention. Then 'Umar came in, and you did not stir or pay too much attention. Then 'Uthmaan came in, and you sat up and fixed your garment." He said, "How could I not feel shy of a man of whom the angels feel shy?"[24]

The phrase "you did not stir" means you did not welcome him warmly.

3 - ABILITIES

(1) Their ability to take on different forms

Allah has given the angels the ability to take on forms different from their own. Allah sent Jibreel to Maryam (Mary) in human form:

﴿وَٱذْكُرْ فِى ٱلْكِتَٰبِ مَرْيَمَ إِذِ ٱنتَبَذَتْ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا مَكَانًا شَرْقِيًّا ﴿١٦﴾ فَٱتَّخَذَتْ مِن دُونِهِمْ حِجَابًا فَأَرْسَلْنَآ إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا فَتَمَثَّلَ لَهَا بَشَرًا سَوِيًّا ﴿١٧﴾ قَالَتْ إِنِّىٓ أَعُوذُ بِٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ مِنكَ إِن كُنتَ تَقِيًّا ﴿١٨﴾ قَالَ إِنَّمَآ أَنَا۠ رَسُولُ رَبِّكِ لِأَهَبَ لَكِ غُلَٰمًا زَكِيًّا ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿And; mention in the Book [the Qur'an, O Muhammad, the story of] Maryam [Mary], when she withdrew in seclusion from her family to a place facing east.

She placed a screen [to screen herself] from them; then We sent to her Our *Rooḥ* [angel Jibreel (Gabriel)], and he appeared before her in the form of a man in all respects.

She said: 'Verily, I seek refuge with the Most Gracious [Allah] from you, if you do fear Allah.'

[The angel] said: 'I am only a messenger from your Lord, [to announce] to you the gift of a righteous son.'﴾

(Qur'an 19:16-19)

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[24] Muslim, 4/1866, hadith no. 2401.

The angels came to Ibraaheem (عليه السلام) in human form, and he did not know that they were angels until they told him who they really were. We have quoted above the *aayaat* which speak of that.

The angels came to the Prophet Looṭ (Lot) in the form of young men with handsome faces and he was grieved on account of them and feared that they may be harmed by his people, for they were an evil people who committed evil actions, and they used to commit sodomy:

﴿وَلَمَّا جَآءَتْ رُسُلُنَا لُوطًا سِيٓءَ بِهِمْ وَضَاقَ بِهِمْ ذَرْعًا وَقَالَ هَٰذَا يَوْمٌ عَصِيبٌ ﴿٧٧﴾﴾

﴿And when Our messengers came to Looṭ [Lot], he was grieved on account of them and felt himself straitened for them [lest the town people should approach them to commit sodomy with them]. He said: 'This is a distressful day.'﴾ *(Qur'an 11:77)*

Ibn Katheer said: "The angels appeared to him in the form of handsome young men as a test and a trial, so that proof might be established against the people of Looṭ, and Allah might seize them with a mighty punishment."[25]

Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (ﷺ) in different forms. Sometimes he came in the form of Duḥyah ibn Khaleefah al-Kalbi (a *Ṣaḥaabi* who was of handsome appearance), and sometimes in the form of a Bedouin.

Many of the *Ṣaḥaabah* saw him when he came in that form.

In *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) it is narrated that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭaab said:

"Whilst we were sitting with the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) one day, a man came to us whose clothes were exceedingly white and whose hair was exceedingly black. There were no signs of travel on him and none of us knew him. He sat down in front of the Prophet (ﷺ), with his knees touching his, and put his hands on his thighs, and said, 'O Muhammad, tell me about Islam...'" The hadith states that he asked him about

[25] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/43.

eemaan (faith), *iḥsaan* and the Hour and its signs.[26]

Then the Messenger (ﷺ) stated that the one who asked these questions was Jibreel, and that he had come to teach the *Ṣaḥaabah* their religion.

'Aa'ishah saw the Messenger (ﷺ) patting the head of Duḥyah al-Kalbi's horse and speaking to him. When she asked him about that, he (ﷺ) said, "That was Jibreel, and he sends *salaam* to you."[27]

The Messenger (ﷺ) told us of a man who killed ninety-nine persons, and when he set out repentant, death came to him when he was half-way to the land to which he was migrating. The angels of mercy and the angels of punishment disputed concerning him, and they referred the matter to an angel who came to them in human form. He (ﷺ) said: "An angel in human form came to them, and they appointed him (to arbitrate) between them. He said, 'Measure the distance between the two lands (the evil place he was leaving and the good place to which he was headed), and whichever one he is closer to is where he belongs.'" No doubt they appointed him as an arbitrator by the command of Allah, and Allah sent this angel to them in human form. The story is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim*, in *Baab at-Tawbah* (chapter on repentance).[28]

In the story of the three people from among the Children of Israel whom Allah tested, the leper, the bald man and the blind man, we will see that an angel appeared to them in human form.

Some of the scholars indulged in discussions of how the angels change their form from a rational point of view, and they came up with ideas that are of no value. They should not have indulged in this discussion of this matter of the unseen. Allah has told us that the angels may take on

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[26] Muslim, 1/37, hadith no. 8. Bukhaari from Abu Hurayrah, 1/114, hadith no. 49. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[27] Aḥmad in *Musnad*, Ibn Sa'd in Aṭ-Ṭabaqaat, with a *ḥasan isnaad*. The hadith about Jibreel sending *salaams* to 'Aa'ishah without her seeing him, is narrated by Bukhaari in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, 6/305, hadith no. 3217; 7/106, hadith no. 3768.

[28] Muslim, 4/2118, hadith no. 2766.

different forms, but He has not told us how they do so. These scholars should have been content with what the Messenger of Allah and his Companions were content with, and they should have stopped where they stopped. If you want to read some of the discussions on this issue, see the book by Suyooṭi, *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik.*[29]

(2) Their great speed

The greatest speed known to humans is the speed of light, which is 186,000 miles per second.

But the speed of the angels is greater than that. It cannot be measured by human standards. A questioner would come to the Messenger (ﷺ) and would hardly have finished asking his question before Jibreel would come with the answer from the Lord of Glory, may He be exalted. Today there is no vehicle that can travel at the speed of light, and it would take millions of light years to reach some of the stars that exist in the horizons of this vast universe.

(3) Their knowledge

The angels have great knowledge that they have been taught by Allah, but they do not have the ability that man has been given, to find out about things:

﴿وَعَلَّمَ ءَادَمَ ٱلْأَسْمَآءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضَهُمْ عَلَى ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ فَقَالَ أَنۢبِـُٔونِى بِأَسْمَآءِ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ إِن كُنتُمْ صَٰدِقِينَ ﴿٣١﴾ قَالُوا۟ سُبْحَٰنَكَ لَا عِلْمَ لَنَآ إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَآ ۖ إِنَّكَ أَنتَ ٱلْعَلِيمُ ٱلْحَكِيمُ ﴿٣٢﴾﴾

﴿And He taught Adam all the names [of everything], then He showed them to the angels and said, 'Tell Me the names of these if you are truthful.'

They [angels] said: 'Glory is to You, we have no knowledge except what you have taught us. Verily, it is You, the All-Knower, the All-Wise.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:31-32)*

[29] Pp. 261.

Man is distinguished by his ability to find out about things, and to discover the laws of the universe. The angels know that because they learn it directly from Allah. But what Allah teaches them is far more than what man knows. Among the knowledge that they have been given is the knowledge of writing:

﴿وَإِنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ لَحَٰفِظِينَ ﴿١٠﴾ كِرَامًا كَٰتِبِينَ ﴿١١﴾ يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

﴿But verily, over you [are appointed angels in charge of mankind] to watch you,
Kiraaman [Honourable] *Kaatibeen* – writing down [your deeds],
They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82:10-12)*

We will discuss this in more detail under the heading of *The Angels and Man.*

The dispute of the hosts on high

The angels discuss amongst themselves matters of the revelation of their Lord which are not clear to them. In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* and *Musnad Aḥmad* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Last night my Lord – may He be blessed and exalted – came to me in the most beautiful form – he (the narrator) said: I think he said, in a dream – and He said: 'O Muhammad, do you know what the hosts on high dispute about?' I said, 'No.' He put His hand (on my back), between my shoulders, until I could feel its coolness on my chest, and I knew what was in the heavens and what was on earth.

Then He said, 'O Muhammad, do you know what the hosts on high dispute about?' I said, 'Yes, about expiations and actions that raise a person's status. The expiations are staying in the mosque after the prayer, walking on foot to join congregational prayers and doing *wuḍoo'* properly at the time of hardship; and the actions that raise a person's status are spreading *salaam*, feeding people, and praying at night when people are asleep.'

He said, 'You have spoken the truth, Whoever does that will live in goodness and die in peace, and he will be free from any sin, as pure as a

newborn baby.'

He said, 'O Muhammad, when you pray, say, *"Allahumma inni as'aluka fal al-khayraat wa tark al-munkaraat, wa ḥubb al-masaakeen, wa an taghfir li, wa tarḥamni, wa tatoob 'alaaya, wa idha aradta bi 'ibaadika fitnah, fa'qbidni ilayka ghayr maftoon* [O Allah, I ask you for good deeds, avoidance of evil deeds, and love for the poor. (I ask You) to forgive me and to have mercy on me, and to accept my repentance. If You want to test Your slaves, then take me to You (i.e., cause me to die) without being tested]."[30]

Ibn Katheer said, after quoting this hadith: "This is the famous hadith about the dream. Whoever thinks it happened when the Prophet (ﷺ) was awake is mistaken. It is narrated with different *isnaads* in *As-Sunan*. This hadith is also narrated by At-Tirmidhi from Jahdam ibn 'Abd-Allah al-Yamaami.

Al-Ḥasan said: (it is) *ṣaḥeeḥ*. This dispute is not the dispute mentioned in the Qur'an, where Allah says:

﴿مَا كَانَ لِيَ مِنْ عِلْمٍ بِٱلْمَلَإِ ٱلْأَعْلَىٰٓ إِذْ يَخْتَصِمُونَ ﴿٦٩﴾ إِن يُوحَىٰٓ إِلَيَّ إِلَّآ أَنَّمَآ أَنَا۠ نَذِيرٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿٧٠﴾﴾

> ﴿I had no knowledge of the chiefs [angels] on high when they were disputing and discussing [about the creation of Adam].
> Only this has been revealed to me, that I am a plain warner.'﴾
> *(Qur'an 38:69-70)*

The dispute mentioned in the hadith has been explained by the Messenger (ﷺ).

With regard to the dispute mentioned in the Qur'an, it is explained in the following *aayaat*:

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[30] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 3/9, no. 2580, 2581.

﴿إِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي خَٰلِقٌۢ بَشَرًا مِّن طِينٍ ﴿٧١﴾ فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِي فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٧٢﴾ فَسَجَدَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ ﴿٧٣﴾ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ ٱسْتَكْبَرَ وَكَانَ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٧٤﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Truly, I am going to create man from clay.

So when I have fashioned him and breathed into him [his] soul created by Me, then you fall down prostrate to him.'

So the angels prostrated themselves, all of them,

Except *Iblees* [Satan], he was proud and was one of the disbelievers.﴾ *(Qur'an 38:71-74)*

The dispute mentioned in the Qur'an was concerning Adam (عليه السلام) and the refusal of *Iblees* to prostrate to him, and how he *(Iblees)* argued with his Lord concerning His preferring Adam over him."[31]

(4) They are disciplined and organized in all their affairs

The angels are disciplined in their worship. The Messenger (ﷺ) urged us to follow their example in that. He said, "Why do you not form your rows as the angels form their rows before their Lord?" They said, "O Messenger of Allah, how do the angels form their rows before their Lord?" He said, "They complete the rows and do not leave any gaps."[32]

On the Day of Resurrection, they will come in organized ranks:

﴿وَجَآءَ رَبُّكَ وَٱلْمَلَكُ صَفًّا صَفًّا ﴿٢٢﴾﴾

﴿And your Lord comes with the angels in rows.﴾ *(Qur'an 89:22)*

And they will stand in rows before Allah:

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[31] See *Tafseer Ibn Katheer*, 6/73-74.

[32] Muslim, 1/322. hadith no. 430.

﴿يَوْمَ يَقُومُ ٱلرُّوحُ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ صَفًّا ۖ لَّا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ إِلَّا مَنْ أَذِنَ لَهُ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ وَقَالَ صَوَابًا ﴿٣٨﴾﴾

﴿The Day that *Ar-Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel), or another angel] and the angels will stand forth in rows, they will not speak except him whom the Most Gracious [Allah] allows, and he will speak what is right.﴾ *(Qur'an 78:38)*

Ar-Rooḥ here refers to Jibreel.

Look at how precisely they carry out commands. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and *Musnad Aḥmad* it is narrated from Anas (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "I will come to the gate of Paradise and ask for it to be opened. The gatekeeper will say, 'Who are you?' I will say, 'Muhammad.' He will say, 'I was commanded not to open it for anyone before you.'"[33]

We may note how precisely they carry out commands by looking at the hadith about the *Israa'*. When Jibreel asked for permission to enter each of the heavens, it was not opened for him until after it was found out who was seeking admission.

(5) The infallibility of the angels

Suyooṭi narrated from Al-Qaaḍi 'Iyaaḍ that "Muslims are unanimously agreed that the angels are virtuous believers, and the Imaams of the Muslims are agreed that our belief about the messengers among them is like our belief about the Prophets with regard to their infallibility in the issues which we have referred to above, and that their responsibilities towards the Prophets are like the responsibilities of the Prophets towards their nations."

Some scholars differed concerning the angels who are not messengers. Some were of the view that all the angels are infallible in the sense that they do not commit sin, based on the *aayaat*:

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[33] Muslim, 1/188, hadith no. 197.

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ قُوٓاْ أَنفُسَكُمۡ وَأَهۡلِيكُمۡ نَارٗا وَقُودُهَا ٱلنَّاسُ وَٱلۡحِجَارَةُ عَلَيۡهَا مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٞ شِدَادٞ لَّا يَعۡصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمۡ وَيَفۡعَلُونَ مَا يُؤۡمَرُونَ ٦﴾

﴿O you who believe! Ward off yourselves and your families against a Fire [Hell] whose fuel is men and stones, over which are [appointed] angels stern [and] severe, who disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾

(Qur'an 66:6)

﴿وَمَا مِنَّآ إِلَّا لَهُۥ مَقَامٞ مَّعۡلُومٞ ١٦٤ وَإِنَّا لَنَحۡنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ١٦٥ وَإِنَّا لَنَحۡنُ ٱلۡمُسَبِّحُونَ ١٦٦﴾

﴿And there is not one of us [angels] but has his known place [or position];

And verily, we [angels], we stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers];

And verily, we [angels], indeed are those who glorify [Allah's Praises, i.e. perform prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:164-166)*

﴿وَمَنۡ عِندَهُۥ لَا يَسۡتَكۡبِرُونَ عَنۡ عِبَادَتِهِۦ وَلَا يَسۡتَحۡسِرُونَ ١٩ يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيۡلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفۡتُرُونَ ٢٠﴾

﴿To Him belongs whosoever is in the heavens and on earth. And those who are near Him [i.e. the angels] are not too proud to worship Him, nor are they weary [of His worship].

They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:19-20)*

﴿بِأَيۡدِي سَفَرَةٖ ١٥ كِرَامِۭ بَرَرَةٖ ١٦﴾

﴿In the hands of scribes [angels].

Honourable and obedient.﴾ *(Qur'an 80:15-16)*

﴿لَّا يَمَسُّهُۥٓ إِلَّا ٱلۡمُطَهَّرُونَ ٧٩﴾

﴿Which [that Book with Allah] none can touch but the purified [i.e. the angels].﴾ *(Qur'an 56:79)*

And there are many similar reports.

Another group was of the view that this applies only to the messengers among them and those who are close to Allah, and they cited as evidence the story of Haaroot and Maaroot, and the story of *Iblees.* The correct view is that all of them are infallible and that we should think of all of them as being above anything that could undermine their position and high status.

He said: "The answer to the story of Haaroot and Maaroot is that there is no report, sound or otherwise, about that from the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). Concerning the story of *Iblees,* most scholars deny that he was one of the angels, and they say that he is the father of the jinn, as Adam is the father of mankind.?[34]

This issue was discussed by Aṣ-Ṣafawi al-Armawi, as quoted from him by Suyooṭi. He said: "The angels are infallible, and the evidence for that is as follows:

(i) Allah says concerning them:

﴿وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٦﴾

﴿[They] do that which they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 66:6)*

﴿وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِۦ يَعْمَلُونَ ۝٢٧﴾

﴿And they act on His Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:27)*

These two *aayaat* include doing what is commanded and abstaining from what is forbidden, because a prohibition is a command to abstain, from doing something. The context here is that of praising."

(ii) Allah says:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ۝٢٠﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21: 20)*

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[34] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik min Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* by Suyooṭi, Pp. 252.

This is an eloquent description of their efforts in worship.

(iii) The angels are messengers of Allah, because Allah says:

﴿جَاعِلِ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ رُسُلًا ۝١﴾

﴿Who made the angels messengers﴾ *(Qur'an 35:1)*

The angels are infallible, because Allah says, praising them,

﴿ٱللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ حَيْثُ يَجْعَلُ رِسَالَتَهُۥ ۝١٢٤﴾

﴿Allah knows best with whom to place His Message.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:124)*

This *aayah* refers to their perfection in their work.[35]

[35] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik min Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, Pp. 253.

CHAPTER TWO
THE WORSHIP OF THE ANGELS

A LOOK AT THE NATURE OF THE ANGELS

The angels instinctively worship Allah. They do not have the ability to disobey Him.

﴿مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ غِلَاظٌ شِدَادٌ لَّا يَعْصُونَ ٱللَّهَ مَآ أَمَرَهُمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٦﴾

﴿[They] disobey not, [from executing] the Commands they receive from Allah, but do that which they are commanded.﴾

(Qur'an 66:6)

Their abstaining from sin and doing acts of obedience is part of their nature, and it does not require any effort on their part, because they have no desires (that could prevent them from doing so).

Perhaps this is the reason why a group of scholars said that the angels are not accountable, and that they are not included in the promises (of Paradise) and threats (of Hell).[1]

What we can say is that the angels are not accountable in the same manner as the sons of Adam are, but saying that they are not accountable at all is a view that is to be rejected. They are commanded to worship and obey Allah:

﴿يَخَافُونَ رَبَّهُم مِّن فَوْقِهِمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ۝٥٠﴾

﴿They fear their Lord above them, and they do what they are commanded.﴾ *(Qur'an 16:50)*

This *aayah* shows that they fear their Lord, and this fear is one of the responsibilities enjoined by shari'ah; indeed it is one of the highest forms of *'uboodiyyah* (being a slave of Allah in the fullest sense), as Allah says of the angels:

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[1] *Lawaami' al-Anwaar al-Bahiyyah*, 2/409.

﴿وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿And they stand in awe for fear of Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:28)*

THE STATUS OF THE ANGELS

The best manner in which the angels are described is slaves of Allah, but they are honoured slaves. We have already referred to the fact that the claim made by the *mushrikeen* – that the angels were daughters of Allah – is a false one with no element of truth. Allah showed those who believed this as liars, and described the true nature of the angels and their status in more than one place (in the Qur'an). He said:

﴿وَقَالُوا۟ ٱتَّخَذَ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ وَلَدًا سُبْحَٰنَهُۥ ۚ بَلْ عِبَادٌ مُّكْرَمُونَ ﴿٢٦﴾ لَا يَسْبِقُونَهُۥ بِٱلْقَوْلِ وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِۦ يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يَشْفَعُونَ إِلَّا لِمَنِ ٱرْتَضَىٰ وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾ وَمَن يَقُلْ مِنْهُمْ إِنِّىٓ إِلَٰهٌ مِّن دُونِهِۦ فَذَٰلِكَ نَجْزِيهِ جَهَنَّمَ ۚ كَذَٰلِكَ نَجْزِى ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿٢٩﴾﴾

﴿And they say: 'The Most Gracious [Allah] has begotten a son [or children].' Glory to Him! They [whom they call children of Allah i.e. the angels, 'Eesa son of Maryam, 'Uzayr (Ezra)], are but honoured slaves.

They speak not until He has spoken, and they act on His Command. He knows what is before them, and what is behind them, and they cannot intercede except for him with whom He is pleased. And they stand in awe for fear of Him.

And if any of them should say: 'Verily, I am an *ilaah* [a god] besides Him [Allah],' such a one We should recompense with Hell. Thus We recompense the *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers].﴾

(Qur'an 21:26-29)

The angels are slaves who bear all the characteristics of *'uboodiyyah*: they serve Allah and carry out His instructions. The knowledge of Allah encompasses them, and they cannot go beyond what He commands them to do or go against the instructions that are given to them. They are in fear and awe of Allah, and if it so happened that one of them were to

overstep the mark, Allah would punish him for his rebellion.

One aspect of the *'uboodiyyah* of the angels is that they do not make suggestions before their Lord, and they do not oppose any of His commands. Rather they do as they are commanded and hasten to respond.

﴿لَا يَسْبِقُونَهُ بِالْقَوْلِ وَهُم بِأَمْرِهِ يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾﴾

﴿They speak not until He has spoken, and they act on His Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:27)*

They do not do anything except that which they are commanded. The command motivates them, and the command makes them stop. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that Ibn 'Abbaas[2] said: the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to Jibreel, "Why do you not visit us more often?" Then the *aayah* was revealed:

﴿وَمَا نَتَنَزَّلُ إِلَّا بِأَمْرِ رَبِّكَ ۖ لَهُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِينَا وَمَا خَلْفَنَا وَمَا بَيْنَ ذَٰلِكَ ۚ وَمَا كَانَ رَبُّكَ نَسِيًّا ﴿٦٤﴾﴾

﴿And we [angels] descend not except by the Command of your Lord [O Muhammad]. To Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us, and what is between those two; and your Lord is never forgetful.﴾ *(Qur'an 19:64)*

Examples of their worship

The angels are slaves of Allah whose responsibility is to worship Him. They fulfil this responsibility and worship Him with the greatest of ease. We will describe here some of the acts of worship done by the angels which Allah and His Messenger (ﷺ) have told us about.

(1) *Tasbeeḥ* (Glorifying Allah)

The angels remember Allah *(dhikr)*, and the greatest *dhikr* is *Tasbeeḥ*. The bearers of the Throne glorify Him, may He be exalted:

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[2] Bukhaari, 6/305, hadith no. 3218.

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَحْمِلُونَ ٱلْعَرْشَ وَمَنْ حَوْلَهُۥ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ ﴿٧﴾﴾

﴿Those [angels] who bear the Throne [of Allah] and those around it glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:7)*

And all the angels glorify Him:

﴿وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ ﴿٥﴾﴾

﴿And the angels glorify the praises of their Lord.﴾

(Qur'an 42:5)

They glorify Allah constantly, without ceasing, either at night or during the day:

﴿يُسَبِّحُونَ ٱلَّيْلَ وَٱلنَّهَارَ لَا يَفْتُرُونَ ﴿٢٠﴾﴾

﴿They [i.e. the angels] glorify His Praises night and day, [and] they never slacken [to do so].﴾ *(Qur'an 21:20)*

Because they glorify Allah so much, they are indeed those who truly glorify Allah's praises, and they have the right to be proud of that:

﴿وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ﴿١٦٥﴾ وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلْمُسَبِّحُونَ ﴿١٦٦﴾﴾

﴿And verily, we [angels], stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers];
And verily, we [angels], indeed are those who glorify [Allah's Praises, i.e. perform prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:165-166)*

They glorify Allah so much because *Tasbeeḥ* is the greatest form of *dhikr*. Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Dharr said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was asked what kind of *dhikr* is the best. He said: 'That which Allah has chosen for His angels or His slaves: *Subḥaan Allahi wa bi ḥamdihi* (Glory and praise be to Allah).'"[3]

(2) Standing in rows

We have already mentioned the hadith in which the Messenger (ﷺ) urged his Companions to follow the example of the angels in making

[3] Muslim, 4/2093, hadith no. 2731.

straight rows for the prayer: "Why do you not form rows as the angels form rows before their Lord?" When he was asked about how they form rows, he said: "They complete the rows, and do not leave any gaps." This is narrated by Muslim.[4]

In the Qur'an it says of the angels:

﴿وَإِنَّا لَنَحْنُ ٱلصَّآفُّونَ ﴿١٦٥﴾﴾

﴿And verily, we [angels], stand in rows [for the prayers as you Muslims stand in rows for your prayers].﴾ *(Qur'an 37:165)*

They stand, bow and prostrate. In *Mushkil al-Aathaar* by Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawi, and in *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabeer* by Aṭ-Ṭabaraani, it is narrated that Ḥakeem ibn Ḥuzaam said:

"When the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was with his Companions, he said to them, 'Do you not hear what I hear?' They said, 'We do not hear anything.' He said, 'I can hear the creaking of the heavens, and no wonder they creak, for there is not a spot the size of a handspan, but there is an angel on it, prostrating or standing (in worship).'"[5]

(3) Ḥajj

The angels have a Ka'bah in the seventh heaven to which they go on Ḥajj. This Ka'bah is that which Allah called *Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor* (the Much-Frequented House), and swore by it in *Soorat aṭ-Ṭoor*:

﴿وَٱلْبَيْتِ ٱلْمَعْمُورِ ﴿٤﴾﴾

﴿And by *Al-Bayt al Ma'moor* [the house over the heavens parallel to the Ka'bah at Makkah, continuously visited by the angels].﴾ *(Qur'an 52:4)*

Ibn Katheer said in his commentary on this *aayah*: "It is reported in *Al-Ṣaḥeeḥayn* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said in the hadith about the

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[4] Muslim, 1/322, hadith no. 430.

[5] Al-Albaani said: it is *ṣaḥeeḥ* according to the conditions of Muslim. *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeehah*, hadith no. 852.

Israa', after he had passed the seventh heaven: 'Then I was taken up to the Much-Frequented House. Every day seventy thousand angels enter it, and they never return to it, and when they leave another seventy thousand come'[6] – i.e., they worship there, and they perform *Ṭawaaf* around it just as the people of this earth perform *Ṭawaaf* around their Ka'bah. The Much-Frequented House is the Ka'bah of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, hence the Prophet (ﷺ) found Ibraaheem (عليه السلام) leaning back against the Much-Frequented House, because he was the builder of the earthly Ka'bah, and the reward should fit the action."

Ibn Katheer mentioned that the Much-Frequented House is parallel to the Ka'bah, i.e., it is above it, and if it were to fall it would fall on top of it. He said that in each of the heavens there is a House in which its inhabitants worship Allah, and in the direction of which they offer their prayers. The one which is in the first heaven is called *Bayt al-'Izzah* (the House of Glory).

What Ibn Katheer said about the Much-Frequented House being parallel to the Ka'bah is narrated from 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib. Ibn Jareer narrated on the authority of Khaalid ibn 'Ar'arah that a man said to 'Ali (رضي الله عنه), "What is the Much-Frequented House?" He said, "It is a House in the heavens parallel to the Ka'bah. Its sanctity in the heavens is like the sanctity of the Ka'bah on earth. Every day seventy thousand angels enter it, and they never return to it."[7]

Shaykh Naaṣir ad-Deen al-Albaani[8] said concerning this hadith: its men are *thiqaat* apart from Khaalid ibn 'Ar'arah, who is *mastoor*... Then he stated that there is a corroborating *mursal ṣaḥeeḥ* report narrated from Qataadah, who said: "He mentioned to us that one day the Prophet (ﷺ)

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[6] Bukhaari, 6/103, hadith no. 2207; Muslim, 1/147, hadith no. 162. This version differs somewhat from that narrated in *Aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥayn*.

[7] Ibn Ḥajar narrated this from Aṭ-Ṭabari and Isḥaaq in *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/308, where he spoke at length about its *isnaad*.

[8] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, 1/236.

said to his Companions, 'Do you know what the Much-Frequented House is?' They said, 'Allah and His Messenger know best.' He said: 'It is a mosque in the heavens, beneath which is the Ka'bah. If it were to fall it would fall on top of it...'"

The editor (Al-Albaani) said: "In conclusion we may note that this phrase (that the Much-Frequented House is parallel to the Ka'bah) is proven when all the *isnaads* are combined."

(4) Their fear of Allah

Because the angels have such a great knowledge of their Lord, their veneration of Him and their fear of Him are very great. Allah says of them:

﴿وَهُم مِّنْ خَشْيَتِهِۦ مُشْفِقُونَ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿And they stand in awe for fear of Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 21:28)*

How great their fear of their Lord is, is apparent from the hadith narrated by Bukhaari from Abu Hurayrah, who said that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Allah decrees a matter in the heavens, the angels beat their wings in submission to what He has said, (with a sound like) a chain striking a rock."

'Ali and others said:

"The sound reaches them, and when fear is banished from their (angels') hearts, they (angels) say: 'What is it that your Lord has said?' They say: 'The truth. And He is the Most High, the Most Great' (cf. Qur'an 34:23)."[9]

In *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Jaabir (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "On the night on which I was taken on the Night Journey (*Israa'*), I passed by the hosts on high, and Jibreel was like a worn mat, from his fear of Allah."[10]

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[9] Bukhaari, 3/380, hadith no. 4701.

[10] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 5/206.

CHAPTER THREE
THE ANGELS AND MAN

1 - THE ANGELS AND ADAM

When Allah wanted to create Adam, He informed His angels of that. They asked Him the reason behind that, because they knew that the sons of Adam would cause corruption and shed blood, and they would disobey Allah and disbelieve. He told them that there were reasons for the creation of Adam which they did not know:

﴿وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوٓا۟ أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَن يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ ٱلدِّمَآءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ ۖ قَالَ إِنِّيٓ أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿And [remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Verily, I am going to place viceroy [mankind] on earth.' They said: 'Will You place therein those who will make mischief therein and shed blood, – while we glorify You with praises and thanks and sanctify You.' He [Allah] said: 'I know that which you know not.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30)*

Their prostration to Adam when he was created

Allah commanded His angels to prostrate to Adam when He had completed his creation and breathed his soul into him:

﴿إِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ إِنِّي خَٰلِقٌۢ بَشَرًا مِّن طِينٍ ﴿٧١﴾ فَإِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُۥ وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُّوحِى فَقَعُوا۟ لَهُۥ سَٰجِدِينَ ﴿٧٢﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when your Lord said to the angels: 'Truly, I am going to create man from clay.
So when I have fashioned him and breathed into him [his] soul created by Me, then you fall down prostrate to him.'﴾
(Qur'an 38:71-72)

They responded to the command, except for *Iblees*:

﴿فَسَجَدَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ ﴿٧٣﴾ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ ٱسْتَكْبَرَ وَكَانَ مِنَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٧٤﴾﴾

﴿So the angels prostrated themselves, all of them,
Except *Iblees* [Satan], he was proud and was one of the disbelievers.﴾ *(Qur'an 38:73-74)*[1]

How the angels taught Adam

It is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah created Adam in His image[2], and he was sixty cubits tall. When He had created him, He said, 'Go and greet them – a group of angels who were sitting – and listen to how they respond, for that will be your greeting and the greeting of your descendents.' So he said, *'As-Salaamu 'alaykum* (peace be upon you),' and they said, *'As-Salaamu 'alayka wa raḥmat-Allahi* (peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allah).'" So they added the words *wa raḥmat-Allah.*[3]

The angels washed Adam when he died

When Adam died, his children did not know what they should do with his body, so the angels taught them. In *Mustadrak al-Ḥaakim* and *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ,* it is narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Ubayy (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Adam died, the angels washed his body with water an odd number of times, then they

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[1] This *aayah* clearly indicates that all the angels prostrated to Adam. This offers a refutation of the view of those who say that those who prostrated were only some of the angels, or that they were only the angels of this earth. The report attributed to Ibn 'Abbaas which says that they were the angels of this earth is *munkar and maqtoo'* (i.e., it is not a strong report). Ibn Taymiyah stated that the *aayah* is a clear text which is not open to interpretation and it is not permitted to believe the opposite of what is stated in this *aayah.*

[2] In his footnote on this hadith, Dr. Muhammad Muḥsin Khan notes that this means that Adam has been granted life, knowledge, power of understanding etc., which are also attributes of Allah, but that only the names are the same and there is no comparison between the Creator and the created being. See *The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, Vol. 8, Pp. 161. (Translator)

[3] Bukhaari, 11/3, no. 6227. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2184, hadith no. 2841.

buried him in a grave with a niche (*laḥd*), and said: This is the way of the sons of Adam."[4]

It is narrated in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* that the angels washed a *shaheed* from this ummah, Ḥanẓalah ibn Abi 'Aamir, who was martyred in the battle of Uḥud. The Messenger (ﷺ) said to his Companions after Ḥanẓalah was killed: "The angels are washing your companion" – meaning Ḥanẓalah. The *Ṣaḥaabah* asked his wife, and she said that he had gone out when he heard the call to arms, and he was *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity following marital relations). The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, "That is why the angels washed his body."

This is narrated by Al-Ḥaakim and Al-Bayhaqi with a *ḥasan isnaad*. Ibn 'Asaakir stated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* that (the tribe of) Al-Aws were proud of the fact that one of their member, Ḥanẓalah ibn Abi 'Aamir, had been washed by the angels.[5]

2 - THE ANGELS AND THE SONS OF ADAM

The connection between the angels and the descendents of Adam is very strong. They are there when a person is created, they guard him/her after he/she emerges into this world. They bring the *waḥy* (revelation) from Allah and they watch over people's actions and behaviour. And they bring a person's soul forth from his body when his appointed time (of death) comes.

(1) Their role in the creation of man

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Dharr said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say: 'When forty-two nights are passed, Allah sends an angel to the *nutfah* (embryo) and he gives it shape, forming its hearing and sight, its skin, flesh and bones. Then he says: 'O Lord, male or female?' Then your Lord decrees whatever He wills and the angel writes it down.'"[6]

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[4] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 5/48.

[5] *Silsilat al-Aḥaadeeth aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, hadith no. 326.

[6] Muslim, 4/2037, hadith no. 2645.

It is narrated that Ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), who is the most truthful one, told us: 'Each one of you comes together in mother's womb for forty days, then becomes an *'alaqah* (clot) for a similar period of time. Then he becomes a *mudghah* (chewed lump of flesh) for a similar length of time. Then Allah sends an angel to him, who is commanded with four things. It is said to him: Write down his deeds, his provision, and whether he is doomed (destined for Hell) or blessed (destined for Paradise). Then the soul is breathed into him.'"[7]

It is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) from Anas that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Allah has appointed an angel over the womb, and he says, 'O Lord, a *nuṭfah* (mixed discharge from male and female); O Lord, an *'alaqah* (clot); O Lord, a *muḍghah* (chewed lump of flesh).' And when Allah wants to decree his creation, he says: 'O Lord, male or female? Doomed or blessed? What is his provision? What is his lifespan?' All of that is written when he is in his mother's womb."[8]

(2) The angels guard the sons of Adam

Allah says:

﴿سَوَآءٌ مِّنكُم مَّنْ أَسَرَّ ٱلْقَوْلَ وَمَن جَهَرَ بِهِۦ وَمَنْ هُوَ مُسْتَخْفٍۭ بِٱلَّيْلِ وَسَارِبٌۢ بِٱلنَّهَارِ ﴿١٠﴾ لَهُۥ مُعَقِّبَٰتٌ مِّنۢ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِۦ يَحْفَظُونَهُۥ مِنْ أَمْرِ ٱللَّهِ ﴿١١﴾﴾

﴿It is the same [to Him] whether any of you conceals his speech or declares it openly, whether he be hid by night or goes forth freely by day.

For him [each person], there are angels in succession, before and behind him. They guard him by the Command of Allah.﴾

(Qur'an 13:10-11)

The interpreter of the Qur'an (*turjumaan al-Qur'an*), Ibn 'Abbaas, has explained that the word *Al-Mu'aqqibaat* (translated here as "angels in

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[7] Bukhaari, 6/303, hadith no. 3208. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2036, hadith no. 2643.

[8] Bukhaari, 11/477, hadith no. 6595. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2038, hadith no. 2646. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

succession") refers to the angels whom Allah appoints to guard a person from before and from behind. Then when the decree of Allah comes, which Allah wills should befall him, they withdraw from him.

Mujaahid said: "There is no person who does not have an angel appointed to protect him when he is asleep and when he is awake, from the jinn, other men and savage beasts. None of these come to him, but the angel tells it, 'Keep away!' except for that which Allah has given permission to befall him."

A man said to 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib, "A group from Muraad want to kill you." He ('Ali) said, "With every man there are angels guarding him from whatever has not been decreed for him. When the decree comes, they move away from him and let it reach him. Your fixed lifespan (decreed by Allah) is a protection for you."[9]

The angels in succession - *Al-Mu'aqqibaat* - mentioned in the *aayah* of *Soorat al-Ra'd* are also those referred to in another *aayah*:

﴿وَهُوَ ٱلْقَاهِرُ فَوْقَ عِبَادِهِۦ ۖ وَيُرْسِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ حَفَظَةً حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا جَآءَ أَحَدَكُمُ ٱلْمَوْتُ تَوَفَّتْهُ رُسُلُنَا وَهُمْ لَا يُفَرِّطُونَ ﴿٦١﴾﴾

﴿He is the Irresistible [Supreme], over His slaves, and He sends guardians [angels guarding and writing all of one's good and bad deeds] over you, until when death approaches one of you, Our messengers [angel of death and his assistants] take his soul, and they never neglect their duty.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:61)*

These guardians are sent by Allah to protect His slaves until the decreed time of death comes to them.

(3) The emissaries of Allah to His Messengers and Prophets

Allah has told us that Jibreel is the only one who carries out this mission:

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾﴾

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[9] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/54.

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and...'﴾

(Qur'an 2:97)

﴿نَزَلَ بِهِ ٱلرُّوحُ ٱلْأَمِينُ ﴿١٩٣﴾ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ لِتَكُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُنذِرِينَ ﴿١٩٤﴾﴾

﴿Which the trustworthy *Rooḥ* [Jibreel (Gabriel)] has brought down Upon your heart [O Muhammad] that you may be [one] of the warners.﴾ *(Qur'an 26:193-194)*

Waḥy (revelation) may be brought by angels other than Jibreel, but this happens rarely – as stated in the hadith narrated by Muslim from Ibn 'Abbaas, who said: "Whilst Jibreel was sitting with the Prophet (ﷺ), he heard a creaking sound above him, and he raised his head. He said, 'This is a door in the heaven which has been opened today, and it has never been opened before today, and an angel has come down through it. This is an angel who has come down to the earth, and he never came down before today. He [that angel] gave the greeting of *salaam* and said: Rejoice, for you have been granted two lights which have not been given to any Prophet before you: the Opening of the Book (*Soorat al-Faatiḥah*) and the closing verses of *Soorat al-Baqarah*. You will not read even one letter of them but you will be granted reward.'"[10]

In *At-Taareekh* by Ibn 'Asaakir, it is narrated from Ḥudhayfah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "An angel came to me and greeted me with *salaams* – he came down from the heavens and he had never come down before – and he gave me the glad tidings that Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn would be the leaders of the youth of Paradise, and that Faaṭimah would be the leader of the women of Paradise."[11]

In *Musnad Aḥmad* and *Sunan an-Nisaa'i* it is narrated from Ḥudhayfah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Did you not see what happened

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[10] Muslim, 1/554, hadith no. 806.

[11] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 1/80.

to me just?" They said, 'Yes." He said, "It was one of the angels who had never come down to the earth before tonight. He asked his Lord for permission to greet me, and to tell me that Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn will be the leaders of the youth of Paradise, and that Faaṭimah will be the leader of the women of Paradise."[12]

Not everyone to whom an angel comes is a Messenger or a Prophet

Not everyone to whom an angel comes can be counted as a Messenger or a Prophet. This is an illusion. Allah sent Jibreel to Maryam, as He sent him to the mother of Ismaa'eel when she ran out of food and drink. (And it is known that neither of them were Prophetess).

The *Ṣaḥaabah* saw Jibreel in the form of a Bedouin. And Allah sent an angel to that man who visited a brother of his for the sake of Allah, to tell him that Allah loved him because he loved his brother... This happened a lot, and the reason was to make a point.

How did the *Waḥy* (revelation) come to the Messenger (ﷺ)?

It is narrated in Bukhaari from 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) that Al-Ḥaarith ibn Hishaam (رضي الله عنه) asked the Messenger (ﷺ), "O Messenger of Allah, how does the *Waḥy* come to you?"

The Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Sometimes it comes to me like the ringing of a bell, and that is the hardest for me. Then it departs from me, and I understand what has been said. Sometimes the angel comes to me in the form of a man who speaks to me, and I understand what he says."[13]

Jibreel used to come to the Messenger (ﷺ) in his angelic form. This was difficult for the Messenger (ﷺ). At other times Jibreel would change from his angelic form and take on human form, and this was easier for the Messenger (ﷺ).

The Messenger (ﷺ) saw Jibreel twice in the form in which Allah created him:

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[12] *Musnad Aḥmad*, 5/391; this version is narrated by him. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/226, hadith no. 2975.

[13] Bukhaari, 1/18, hadith no. 2.

(i) Three years after the beginning of his (ﷺ) Mission

It is narrated in Bukhaari from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Whilst I was walking, I heard a voice from the heavens. I raised my head and saw the angel who had come to me in (the cave of) Ḥiraa', sitting on a throne between the heavens and the earth. I was scared of him, and I went back and said, 'Cover me!'"[14]

(ii) When he was taken up into the heavens (the *Mi'raaj*)

These two occasions were mentioned in *Soorat al-Najm*, where Allah says:

﴿عَلَّمَهُۥ شَدِيدُ ٱلْقُوَىٰ ۝٥ ذُو مِرَّةٍ فَٱسْتَوَىٰ ۝٦ وَهُوَ بِٱلْأُفُقِ ٱلْأَعْلَىٰ ۝٧ ثُمَّ دَنَا
فَتَدَلَّىٰ ۝٨ فَكَانَ قَابَ قَوْسَيْنِ أَوْ أَدْنَىٰ ۝٩ فَأَوْحَىٰٓ إِلَىٰ عَبْدِهِۦ مَآ أَوْحَىٰ ۝١٠ مَا
كَذَبَ ٱلْفُؤَادُ مَا رَأَىٰٓ ۝١١ أَفَتُمَٰرُونَهُۥ عَلَىٰ مَا يَرَىٰ ۝١٢ وَلَقَدْ رَءَاهُ نَزْلَةً أُخْرَىٰ ۝١٣
عِندَ سِدْرَةِ ٱلْمُنتَهَىٰ ۝١٤ عِندَهَا جَنَّةُ ٱلْمَأْوَىٰٓ ۝١٥ إِذْ يَغْشَى ٱلسِّدْرَةَ مَا يَغْشَىٰ ۝١٦ مَا
زَاغَ ٱلْبَصَرُ وَمَا طَغَىٰ ۝١٧﴾

﴿He has been taught [this Qur'an] by one mighty in power [Jibreel (Gabriel)].
One free from any defect in body and mind then he [Jibreel – Gabriel in his real shape as created by Allah] rose and became stable.
While he [Jibreel (Gabriel)] was in the highest part of the horizon, [Tafseer Ibn Katheer]
Then he [Jibreel (Gabriel)] approached and came closer,
And was at a distance of two bows' length or [even] nearer.
So [Allah] revealed to His slave [Muhammad through Jibreel (Gabriel)] whatever He revealed.
The [Prophet's] heart lied not in what he [Muhammad] saw.
Will you then dispute with him [Muhammad] about what he saw [during the *Mi'raaj*: (Ascent of the Prophet to the seven heavens)].
And indeed he [Muhammad] saw him [Jibreel (Gabriel)] at a second descent [i.e. another time].

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[14] Bukhaari, 1/27, hadith no. 4.

> Near *Sidrat-ul-Muntaha* [a lote tree of the utmost boundary over the seventh heaven beyond which none can pass].
> Near it is the Paradise of Abode.
> When that covered the lote tree which did cover it!
> The sight [of Prophet Muhammad] turned not aside [right or left], nor it transgressed beyond the limit [ordained for it].﴾
>
> *(Qur'an 53:5-17)*

The mission of Jibreel is not restricted only to conveying the *Waḥy*

The mission of Jibreel is not restricted only to conveying the *Waḥy* from Allah. He used to come to the Prophet (ﷺ) every year in Ramaḍaan, on every night of that month, to teach him the Qur'an. According to the hadith narrated by Bukhaari in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Ibn 'Abbaas, "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) was the most generous of people, and he was at his most in generosity during Ramaḍaan, when he used to meet Jibreel, and he used to meet him every night during Ramaḍaan, to study the Qur'an with him. The Messenger of Allah was more generous in doing good than the wind when it blows."[15]

His leading the Messenger in prayer

Jibreel led the Messenger (ﷺ) in prayer, so that he could learn the prayer as Allah wanted it to be performed. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* it is narrated from Abu Mas'ood that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Jibreel came down and led me in prayer, so I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him, then I prayed with him" – and he counted them off on his fingers five times.[16]

In *As-Sunan* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Jibreel led me in prayer at the Ka'bah twice. He led me in praying *Ẓuhr* when the sun had passed its zenith by the length of a sandal-thong, and he led me in praying *'Aṣr* when the shadow of

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[15] Bukhaari, 1/30, hadith no, 6.

[16] Bukhaari, 6/305, hadith no. 3221. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 1/108, no. 480.

every object was the same length as the object itself. He led me – in praying *Maghrib* – at the time when the fasting person breaks his fast. He led me in praying *'Ishaa'* when the twilight had ended. And he led me in praying *Fajr* at the time when food and drink become *ḥaraam* for the one who is fasting.

On the following day, he led me in praying *Ẓuhr* when the shadow of an object was the same length as the object itself. He led me in praying *'Aṣr* when the shadow of an object was twice as long as the object itself. He led me in praying *Maghrib* at the time when the fasting person breaks his fast. He led me in praying *'Ishaa'* when a third of the night had passed. And he led me in praying *Fajr* when there was a fair amount of light. Then he turned to me and said: 'O Muhammad, these are the times (observed by) the Prophets before you, and the time (for each prayer) is anywhere between these two times (mentioned in each case).'"[17]

The *ruqyah* of Jibreel for the Messenger (ﷺ)

Muslim narrated on the authtority of Abu Sa'eed that Jibreel came to the Prophet (ﷺ) and said, "O Muhammad, are you ill?" He said, "Yes." He said, "In the name of Allah I perform *ruqyah* for you, from everything that is troubling you. From the evil of every living being, or every envious eye, may Allah heal you, in the name of Allah I perform *ruqyah* for you."[18]

Other actions

Among other things, Jibreel fought alongside the Messenger (ﷺ) at Badr and *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch), and he accompanied the Messenger on the Night Journey (the *Israa'*), etc.

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[17] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 1/79, no. 377 - this version is narrated by him. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 1/50, no. 127. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, narrating from Abu Hurayrah, 1/109, no. 477.

[18] Muslim, 4/1718, hadith no. 2186.

Why did Allah not send Messengers from among the angels?

Allah did not send Messengers from among the angels because the nature of the angels is different from the nature of man, and so it is not easy for man to be in contact with the angels. It was very difficult for the Prophet (ﷺ) when Jibreel came to him in his angelic form, as we have noted above. When he saw Jibreel in his true form, he was scared, and he went to his wife and said, "Cover me, cover me!"

Because their nature is different, Allah willed that He should send mankind Messengers of their own kind. If the inhabitants of the earth had been angels, He would have sent down to them an angel as a Messenger. Allah, the Exalted, says:

﴿قُل لَّوْ كَانَ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ مَلَٰٓئِكَةٌ يَمْشُونَ مُطْمَئِنِّينَ لَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْهِم مِّنَ ٱلسَّمَآءِ مَلَكًا رَّسُولًا ﴿٩٥﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'If there were on the earth, angels walking about in peace and security, We should certainly have sent down for them from the heaven an angel as a Messenger.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:95)*

Even if we assume that Allah had chosen some of the angels to be His Messengers to mankind, He could not have sent them down in their angelic form. He would have had to make them appear in human form, so that the people could have learned from them:

﴿وَقَالُوا۟ لَوْلَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَيْهِ مَلَكٌ ۖ وَلَوْ أَنزَلْنَا مَلَكًا لَّقُضِىَ ٱلْأَمْرُ ثُمَّ لَا يُنظَرُونَ ﴿٨﴾ وَلَوْ جَعَلْنَٰهُ مَلَكًا لَّجَعَلْنَٰهُ رَجُلًا وَلَلَبَسْنَا عَلَيْهِم مَّا يَلْبِسُونَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿And they say: 'Why has not an angel been sent down to him?' Had We sent down an angel, the matter would have been judged at once, and no respite would be granted to them.

And had We appointed him an angel, We indeed would have made him a man, and We would have certainly confused them in which they are already confused [i.e. the Message of Prophet Muhammad].﴾ *(Qur'an 6:8-9)*

Allah tells us that the *kaafirs'* demand to see the angels, and to have a Messenger from among the angels come to them, was no more than stubbornness on their part. It was not a request for guidance, and even if it were to happen, they would never believe:

﴿وَلَوْ أَنَّنَا نَزَّلْنَآ إِلَيْهِمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ وَكَلَّمَهُمُ ٱلْمَوْتَىٰ وَحَشَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ كُلَّ شَىْءٍ قُبُلًا مَّا كَانُوا۟ لِيُؤْمِنُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ أَن يَشَآءَ ٱللَّهُ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ يَجْهَلُونَ ﴿١١١﴾﴾

﴿And even if We had sent down unto them angels, and the dead had spoken unto them, and We had gathered together all things before their very eyes, they would not have believed, unless Allah willed, but most of them behave ignorantly.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:111)*

(4) Stirring up good motives in human hearts

Allah has appointed for each person a *qareen* (constant companion) from among the angels, and another from among the jinn. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "There is no one among you but there has been appointed for him one *qareen* from among the jinn and another from among the angels." They said, "For you too, O Messenger of Allah?" He said, "For me too, but Allah has helped me against him (the jinn companion) and he has become Muslim, so he does not tell me to do anything but good."[19]

This angelic companion is probably different from the angels who are commanded to record a person's deeds; Allah has appointed him to guide the person.

A person's *qareen* from among the angels and his *qareen* from among the jinn have an influence upon him. The latter tells him and encourages him to do evil, and the former urges and encourages him to do good. It is narrated from Ibn Mas'ood (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The devil has a hold over the son of Adam, and the angel has a hold over him. The hold of the devil tempts man to do evil and deny the truth. The

[19] Muslim, 4/2168, hadith no. 2814.

hold of the angel encourages man to do good and believe in the truth. Whoever experiences anything of this sort, let him know that it is from Allah, and let him praise Allah. Whoever experiences anything of the other, let him seek refuge with Allah from the accursed *Shayṭaan,* then recite:

﴿ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ يَعِدُكُمُ ٱلْفَقْرَ وَيَأْمُرُكُم بِٱلْفَحْشَآءِ ۖ وَٱللَّهُ يَعِدُكُم مَّغْفِرَةً مِّنْهُ وَفَضْلًا ۗ وَٱللَّهُ وَٰسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ ﴿٢٦٨﴾﴾

﴿*Shayṭaan* [Satan] threatens you with poverty and orders you to commit *Faḥshaa'* [evil deeds, illegal sexual intercourse, sins]; whereas Allah promises you forgiveness from Himself and bounty, and Allah is All-Sufficient for His creatures' needs, All-Knower.﴾"

(Qur'an 2:268)

Ibn Katheer said, after quoting this hadith: "This is how it is narrated by At-Tirmidhi and An-Nasaa'i in the books of *Tafseer* in their *Sunans*, from Hanaad ibn al-Sirri. It is also narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, from Abu Ya'laa al-Moṣuli, also from Hanaad. At-Tirmidhi said: (it is) *ḥasan ghareeb*, and it is the hadith of Abu'l-Aḥwaṣ, i.e., Salaam ibn Saleem..."

Look at the following hadith to see how the jinn-companion and the angel-companion compete with each other to direct a person. Al-Ḥaafiẓ Abu Moosa narrated from Abu az-Zubayr that Jaabir said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When a person goes to bed, an angel and a devil hasten towards him. The angel says, 'End your day with good,'' and the devil says, "End your day with evil." If he remembers Allah until (sleep) overtakes him, the angel expels the devil and spends the night watching over him.

When he wakes up, an angel and a devil hasten towards him. The angel says, "Start (your day) with good,' and the devil says, 'Start (your day) with evil.' If he says, 'Praise be to Allah who has brought my soul back to life after causing it to die, and has not caused me to die during my sleep. Praise be to Allah Who has detained the souls whom He decreed should die, and has sent back the others until an appointed time. Praise

be to Allah Who grasps the heavens and the earth lest they move away from their places, and if they were to move away from their places, there is not one that could grasp them after Him (cf. 35:41), and Praise be to Allah Who holds up the heavens so that they cannot fall on the earth except by His leave,' – then the angel expels the devil and spends the day watching over him."[20]

These *aḥaadeeth* encourage us to do a lot of good deeds in order to reform ourselves, so that the angels come near to us. There is a great deal of good in having the angels near to us. We have mentioned above the hadith of Ibn 'Abbaas, which describes the effect of the Messenger's meeting with Jibreel during the month of Ramaḍaan, to study the Qur'an, and how the Messenger (ﷺ) at that time was "more generous in doing good than the wind when it blows."[21]

(5) Recording the good and bad deeds of the sons of Adam

The angels are appointed to record the deeds of the sons of Adam, both good and bad. These are the angels referred to in the *aayah*:

﴿وَإِنَّ عَلَيْكُمْ لَحَٰفِظِينَ ﴿١٠﴾ كِرَامًا كَٰتِبِينَ ﴿١١﴾ يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

﴿But verily, over you [are appointed angels in charge of mankind] to watch you,
Kiraaman [Honourable] *Kaatibeen* – writing down [your deeds],
They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82:10-12)*

For every person, Allah has appointed two angels who are always present and who never leave him; they record in detail all that he does

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[20] The editor of *Al-Waabil aṣ-Ṣayyib* said, commenting on this hadith: Something similar is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan, no. 2362, Mawaarid, and Al-Ḥaakim, 1/548. Al-Ḥaakim classed it as *ṣaḥeeḥ* and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him. Its men are *thiqaat*. It is also mentioned by Al-Haythami in *Majma' az-Zawaa'id*, 10/120. He said: it is narrated by Abu Ya'laa, and its men are the men of *ṣaḥeeḥ*, apart from Ibraaheem ash-Shaami, who is *thiqah*. We say the correct name is Ibraaheem ibn al-Ḥajjaaj al-Saami, not Ash-Shaami.

[21] Bukhaari, 1/30, hadith no. 6.

and says:

﴿وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْإِنسَٰنَ وَنَعْلَمُ مَا تُوَسْوِسُ بِهِۦ نَفْسُهُۥ ۖ وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ ٱلْوَرِيدِ ﴿١٦﴾ إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾ مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿And indeed We have created man, and We know what his ownself whispers to him. And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein [by Our Knowledge].

[Remember] that the two receivers [recording angels] receive [each human being], one sitting on the right and one on the left [to note his or her actions].

Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher by him ready [to record it].﴾ *(Qur'an 50:16-18)*

The word *qa'eed* (translated here as "sitting") means watching, and *raqeeb 'ateed* [translated here as "a watcher by him ready (to record it)"] means always ready to do that, and he never misses a single word.

The apparent meaning is that the angels who are appointed to watch a person write down everything that he does or says, and they do not leave anything out, because Allah says: ﴿Not a word does he [or she] utter but...﴾

Hence each person will find that his book contains everything that he said or did. When the *kuffaar* see their books of deeds on the Day of Resurrection, they will cry out:

﴿يَٰوَيْلَتَنَا مَالِ هَٰذَا ٱلْكِتَٰبِ لَا يُغَادِرُ صَغِيرَةً وَلَا كَبِيرَةً إِلَّآ أَحْصَىٰهَا ۚ وَوَجَدُوا۟ مَا عَمِلُوا۟ حَاضِرًا ۗ وَلَا يَظْلِمُ رَبُّكَ أَحَدًا ﴿٤٩﴾﴾

﴿'Woe to us! What sort of Book is this that leaves neither a small thing nor a big thing, but has recorded it with numbers!' And they will find all that they did, placed before them, and your Lord treats no one with injustice.﴾ *(Qur'an 18:49)*

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (رضي الله عنه) that he heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say: "A person may say something that is pleasing to Allah but he does not realize it, and Allah raises his

status by many degrees because of it, and a person may say something that angers Allah, but he does not realize it, and for that he may be thrown deep into Hell."[22]

Ibn Katheer mentioned in his *Tafseer* that Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri recited this *aayah*:

﴿إِذْ يَتَلَقَّى ٱلْمُتَلَقِّيَانِ عَنِ ٱلْيَمِينِ وَعَنِ ٱلشِّمَالِ قَعِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿...One sitting on the right and one on the left...﴾

(Qur'an 50:17)

Then he said: "O son of Adam, the page has been spread out for you (i.e., to record your deeds), and two noble angels have been appointed over you, one on your right and the other on your left. The one on your right records your good deeds, and the one on your left records your bad deeds. So do what you want, less or more. When you die, your book will be rolled up and tied to your neck in your grave, until you emerge on the Day of Resurrection. Then Allah will say:

﴿وَكُلَّ إِنسَٰنٍ أَلْزَمْنَٰهُ طَٰٓئِرَهُۥ فِى عُنُقِهِۦ ۖ وَنُخْرِجُ لَهُۥ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَٰمَةِ كِتَٰبًا يَلْقَىٰهُ مَنشُورًا ﴿١٣﴾ ٱقْرَأْ كِتَٰبَكَ كَفَىٰ بِنَفْسِكَ ٱلْيَوْمَ عَلَيْكَ حَسِيبًا ﴿١٤﴾﴾

﴿And We have fastened every man's deeds to his neck, and on the Day of Resurrection, We shall bring out for him a book which he will find wide open.

[It will be said to him]: 'Read your book. You yourself are sufficient as a reckoner against you this Day.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:13-14)*

Then Al-Ḥasan said: "By Allah, He is being fair towards you, as He will make you a reckoner against yourself."

Ibn Katheer also narrated concerning the *aayah* –

﴿مَّا يَلْفِظُ مِن قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ ﴿١٨﴾﴾

﴿Not a word does he [or she] utter but there is a watcher by him ready [to record it].﴾ *(Qur'an 50: 18)* -

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[22] Bukhaari, 11/308, hadith no. 6478.

that Ibn 'Abbaas said: "Everything that you say, good or bad, is written down. Even when a person says, 'I ate', 'I drank', 'I went,' 'I came,' 'I saw'. Then every Thursday all that a person did or said is examined, and whatever is good or bad is recorded, and the rest is erased. This is what is referred to in the *aayah* where Allah says:

﴿يَمْحُوا۟ ٱللَّهُ مَا يَشَآءُ وَيُثْبِتُ ۖ وَعِندَهُۥٓ أُمُّ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ ﴿٣٩﴾﴾

﴿Allah blots out what He wills and confirms [what He wills]. And with Him is the Mother of the Book [*Al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfooẓ*].﴾

(Qur'an 13:39)

Ibn Katheer mentioned that Imaam Aḥmad used to moan when he was sick. Then he heard that Ṭaawoos said, "Everything is written down, even (a person's) moans." After that, Aḥmad never moaned until he died, may Allah have mercy on him.

The angel on the right records good deeds and that on the left records bad deeds

In *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Kabeer* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Abu Umaamah that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angel on the left holds up his pen (refrains from writing down) for six hours after a Muslim commits a sin. If the person regrets it and asks Allah for forgiveness, he casts it aside (does not write it down), otherwise he writes it down as one (*sayi'ah*)."[23]

Do the angels record deeds of the heart (one's thoughts: good intentions and evil suggestions)?[24]

The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*[25] stated that the angels do record the actions of the heart on the basis of the *aayah* –

﴿يَعْلَمُونَ مَا تَفْعَلُونَ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

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[23] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/212.

[24] Deeds of the heart, i.e., ideas, feelings and emotions [Translator].

[25] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, Pp. 438.

﴿They know all that you do.﴾ *(Qur'an 82: 12)* -

which includes both outward and inward deeds.

He also quoted as evidence the hadith narrated by Muslim from Abu Hurayrah, who said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah says, 'When My slave intends to do an evil action, do not record it. If he does it, then write it down as one *sayi'ah*. If he intends to do a good deed and does not do it, then write it down as one *ḥasanah*, and if he does it, then write it down as ten'"'[26]

According to another hadith whose authenticity is agreed upon by both Bukhaari and Muslim, which is also narrated from Abu Hurayrah, the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels say, 'O Lord, Your slave wants to do something bad,' although He knows best about him. So Allah says, 'Watch him. If he does it then write it down as it is. If he does not do it, then write it down as one *ḥasanah* for him, for he is abstaining from it because of Me.'"[27]

Question:

It could be asked: doesn't the idea that the angels know what a person is intending to do contradict the *aayah*,

﴿يَعْلَمُ خَآئِنَةَ ٱلْأَعْيُنِ وَمَا تُخْفِى ٱلصُّدُورُ ﴿١٩﴾﴾

﴿Allah knows the fraud of the eyes, and all that the breasts conceal.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:19)*

The answer is: that this is not one of the matters which is known exclusively to Allah. Even though it is hidden from mankind, and a person does not know what is in his brother's heart, it does not mean that it is hidden from the angels.

It could be said that the angels know some of what is in people's hearts: good intentions and evil suggestions. With regard to other things, such

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[26] Muslim, 1/117, hadith no. 128.

[27] Muslim, 1/117, hadith no. 129. This version is narrated by him. It is also narrated by Bukhaari, 13/465, hadith no. 7501.

as people's beliefs, there is no evidence that the angels know that.

The angels call people to do good

It is narrated by both Bukhaari and Muslim on the authority of Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "No day comes but two angels come down (to the earth) in the morning. One of them says, 'O Allah, compensate the one who spends (for Your sake)' and the other says, 'O Allah, destroy the one who withholds (from spending for Your sake).'"[28]

(6) Testing the sons of Adam

Allah may send some of His angels to try the sons of Adam and put them to the test. In Bukhaari and Muslim it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that he heard the Prophet (ﷺ) say: "Allah willed to test three of the Children of Israel – a leper, a bald-headed man and a blind man. So He sent an angel to them.

The angel came to the leper and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'A good colour and good skin, for the people have a strong aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given a good colour and beautiful skin. The angel asked him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Camels (or cows).' [Isḥaaq (the narrator) was not sure; either the leper or the bald-headed man asked for camels and the other asked for cows, or vice versa]. So he (i.e. the leper) was given a she-camel which was ten months pregnant, and the angel said (to him), 'May Allah bless it for you.'

Then the angel went to the bald-headed man and said, 'What thing do you like most?' He said, 'Good hair, and to be rid of this that causes the people to have an aversion to me.' The angel touched him and his illness was cured, and he was given good hair. The angel asked (him), 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Cows.' The angel gave him a pregnant cow and said, 'May Allah bless it for you.'

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[28] Bukhaari, 3/304, hadith no. 1442. Also narrated by Muslim, 2/700, hadith no. 1010.

Then the angel went to the blind man and asked, 'What thing do you like best?' He said, 'For my eyesight to be restored to me, so that I may see the people.' The angel touched his eyes and Allah gave him back his eyesight. The angel asked him, 'What kind of property do you like best?' He replied, 'Sheep.' The angel gave him a pregnant sheep.

Afterwards, all three pregnant animals gave birth to young ones, and multiplied and brought forth so much that one of the (three) men had a herd of camels filling a valley, and one had a herd of cows filling a valley, and one had a flock of sheep filling a valley.

Then the angel came to the leper in the form of a man with leprosy, and said, 'I am a poor man, who has lost all means of completing my journey. So none will satisfy my need except Allah and then you. In the Name of Him Who has given you such a nice colour and beautiful skin, and so much property, I ask you to give me a camel so that I may reach my destination.' The man replied, 'I have many obligations (so I cannot give to you).' The angel said, 'I think I know you; were you not a leper to whom the people had a strong aversion? Weren't you a poor man, and then Allah gave you (all this property).' He replied, '(This is all wrong), I got this property through inheritance from my fore-fathers.' The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then may Allah make you as you were before.'

Then the angel came to the bald man in the form of a man who was bald, and said to him the same as he had said to the first one, and he too answered in the same way as the first one did. The angel said, 'If you are telling a lie, then may Allah make you as you were before.'

Then the angel went to the blind man in the form of a man who was blind and said, 'I am a poor man and a traveler, who has lost all means of completing my journey. I have nobody to help me except Allah and then you. I ask you in the Name of Him Who has given you back your eye-sight to give me a sheep, so that with its help, I may complete my journey.' The man said, 'No doubt, I was blind and Allah gave me back my eye-sight, so take anything you wish from my property and leave

whatever you wish. By Allah, I will not stop you from taking anything (you need) of my property which you may take for Allah's sake.' The angel replied, 'Keep your property. You (i.e. you three men) have been tested and Allah is pleased with you only and is angry with your two companions.'"[29]

(7) The angels take the soul from the body when the appointed time of death comes

Allah has appointed some of His angels to pull the souls out of people's bodies when their appointed time comes which has been decreed for them by Allah. Allah says:

﴿قُلْ يَتَوَفَّىٰكُم مَّلَكُ ٱلْمَوْتِ ٱلَّذِى وُكِّلَ بِكُمْ ثُمَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ تُرْجَعُونَ ﴿١١﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'The angel of death, who is set over you, will take your souls. Then you shall be brought to your Lord'.﴾ *(Qur'an 32:11)*

There is more than one angel who takes the soul of the dying:

﴿وَهُوَ ٱلْقَاهِرُ فَوْقَ عِبَادِهِۦ ۚ وَيُرْسِلُ عَلَيْكُمْ حَفَظَةً حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا جَآءَ أَحَدَكُمُ ٱلْمَوْتُ تَوَفَّتْهُ رُسُلُنَا وَهُمْ لَا يُفَرِّطُونَ ﴿٦١﴾ ثُمَّ رُدُّوٓا۟ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ مَوْلَىٰهُمُ ٱلْحَقِّ ۚ أَلَا لَهُ ٱلْحُكْمُ وَهُوَ أَسْرَعُ ٱلْحَٰسِبِينَ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿He is the Irresistible [Supreme], over His slaves, and He sends guardians [angels guarding and writing all of one's good and bad deeds] over you, until when death approaches one of you, Our messengers [angel of death and his assistants] take his soul, and they never neglect their duty.

Then they are returned to Allah, their True *Maulaa* [True Master (God), the Just Lord (to reward hem)]. Surely, for Him is the judgement and He is the Swiftest in taking account.﴾

(Qur'an 6:61-62)

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[29] Bukhaari, 6/500, hadith no. 3464. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2275, hadith no. 2964. This version is narrated by Muslim.

The angels take the souls of the *kuffaar* and sinners in a harsh and severe manner, with no gentleness or kindness:

﴿وَلَوْ تَرَىٰٓ إِذِ ٱلظَّٰلِمُونَ فِى غَمَرَٰتِ ٱلْمَوْتِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ بَاسِطُوٓا۟ أَيْدِيهِمْ أَخْرِجُوٓا۟ أَنفُسَكُمُ ٱلْيَوْمَ تُجْزَوْنَ عَذَابَ ٱلْهُونِ ﴿٩٣﴾﴾

﴿And if you could but see when the *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers] are in the agonies of death, while the angels are stretching forth their hands [saying]: 'Deliver your souls! This day you shall be recompensed with the torment of degradation.'﴾

(Qur'an 6:93)

﴿وَلَوْ تَرَىٰٓ إِذْ يَتَوَفَّى ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يَضْرِبُونَ وُجُوهَهُمْ وَأَدْبَٰرَهُمْ وَذُوقُوا۟ عَذَابَ ٱلْحَرِيقِ ﴿٥٠﴾﴾

﴿And if you could see when the angels take away the souls of those who disbelieve [at death]; they smite their faces and their backs, [saying]: 'Taste the punishment of the blazing Fire.'﴾

(Qur'an 8:50)

﴿فَكَيْفَ إِذَا تَوَفَّتْهُمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يَضْرِبُونَ وُجُوهَهُمْ وَأَدْبَٰرَهُمْ ﴿٢٧﴾﴾

﴿Then how [will it be] when the angels will take their souls at death, smiting their faces and their backs?﴾ *(Qur'an 47:27)*

But when the angels take the souls of the believers, it is done with kindness and gentleness.

The angels give the believers glad tidings when they take their souls

When death comes to the believing slave, the angels come down to him, give him glad tidings and support him:

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوا۟ رَبُّنَا ٱللَّهُ ثُمَّ ٱسْتَقَٰمُوا۟ تَتَنَزَّلُ عَلَيْهِمُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ أَلَّا تَخَافُوا۟ وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا۟ وَأَبْشِرُوا۟ بِٱلْجَنَّةِ ٱلَّتِى كُنتُمْ تُوعَدُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾ نَحْنُ أَوْلِيَآؤُكُمْ فِى ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَفِى ٱلْءَاخِرَةِ ۖ وَلَكُمْ فِيهَا مَا تَشْتَهِىٓ أَنفُسُكُمْ وَلَكُمْ فِيهَا مَا تَدَّعُونَ ﴿٣١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, those who say: "Our Lord is Allah [Alone]," and then they

stand firm, on them the angels will descend [at the time of their death] [saying]: 'Fear not, nor grieve! But receive the glad tidings of Paradise which you have been promised!

We have been your friends in the life of this world and are [so] in the Hereafter. Therein you shall have [all] that your inner-selves desire, and therein you shall have [all] for which you ask.'﴾

(Qur'an 41:30-31)

But they give the *kuffaar* the tidings of Hell and the anger of the Compeller (Allah), and they say to them:

﴿أَخْرِجُوٓا۟ أَنفُسَكُمُ ۖ ٱلْيَوْمَ تُجْزَوْنَ عَذَابَ ٱلْهُونِ ﴿٩٣﴾﴾

﴾'Deliver your souls! This day you shall be recompensed with the torment of degradation.'﴿ *(Qur'an 6:93)*

Moosa took out the eye of the Angel of Death

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The Angel of Death came to Moosa (ﷺ) and said, 'Answer your Lord.' And Moosa slapped the Angel of Death in the eye and took out his eye. The Angel went back to Allah and said, 'You sent me to a slave of Yours who does not want to die, and he has took out my eye.' So Allah restored his eye, and said, "Go back to My slave and say, 'Do you want to live? If you want to live, put your hand on the back of a bull, and whatever number of hairs your hand touches, you will live for that number of years.'" (Moosa) said, "Then what?" He said, "Then you die." He said, "Now is better."[30] "The Angel of Death used to come to people face to face, so when he came to Moosa, he slapped him and took out his eye."[31]

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqallaani mentioned that some of the followers of *bid'ah* rejected this hadith. In refuting them, he said: "Moosa slapped the Angel

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[30] Bukhaari, 3/206, hadith no. 1339. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1843, hadith no. 2373. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[31] This is narrated by Aḥmad in his *Musnad*, and by Aṭ-Ṭabari. See *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/442.

of Death, because he saw a man who had entered his house without permission. He did not know that this was the Angel of Death. The shari'ah allows to take out the eye of a person who looks into a Muslim's home without his permission. The angels came to the Prophet Ibraaheem (Abraham) and to the Prophet Looṭ (Lot) in the form of humans and they did not know who they were at first. If Ibraaheem had known, he would not have offered them food, and if Looṭ had known, he would not have feared for them with regard to his people."[32]

Rejecting on purely rational grounds the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* which speak of the unseen goes against *eemaan* (faith). The first attribute of the pious is that they believe in the unseen, as Allah says at the beginning of *Soorat al-Baqarah* (The Cow). If a report from Allah or from His Messenger is *ṣaḥeeḥ*, then there is no option but to believe it:

﴿وَٱلرَّٰسِخُونَ فِى ٱلْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ ءَامَنَّا بِهِۦ كُلٌّ مِّنْ عِندِ رَبِّنَا ۗ وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلَّآ أُو۟لُوا۟ ٱلْأَلْبَٰبِ ﴿٧﴾﴾

﴿And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: "We believe in it; the whole of it [clear and unclear Verses] are from our Lord." And none receive admonition except men of understanding.﴾

(Qur'an 3:7)

(8) The relationship of the angels with man in the grave, on the Day of Resurrection and in the Hereafter

In our book on belief in the Hereafter we will, *insha Allah*, look at what the angels have to do with mankind after death, such as the two angels – Munkar and Nakeer – questioning a person in his grave. There are angels who bless people in their graves, and others who punish the *kuffaar* (disbelievers) and the sinners (from among the believers). There are angels who will receive the believers on the Day of Resurrection. Israafeel will blow the Trumpet, and other angels will gather the people for the Reckoning. Angels will drive the *kuffaar* to Hell and lead the believers to Paradise. They will punish the *kuffaar* in Hell and will greet the believers with *salaam* in Paradise.

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[32] *Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/442.

3 - THE ANGELS AND THE BELIEVERS

In the previous section, we discussed the duties which Allah has enjoined upon the angels with regard to all the sons of Adam, believers and *kuffaar* alike. What we have mentioned about them forming the *nutfah*, protecting people, conveying revelation, accompanying people, writing down people's deeds and taking their souls at death, does not apply only to some of the sons of Adam and not others, or only to believers and not *kuffaar.*

But beyond that the angels play different roles with the believers and the *kuffaar.* We will discuss in more detail the role that they play with each group.

(1) The role of the angels with the believers

(i) Their love for the believers

Bukhaari and Muslim narrated in their *Ṣaḥeeḥs* from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When Allah loves a peson, He calls to Jibreel and tells him, 'Allah loves so and so, so love him.' Then Jibreel loves him and calls out to the inhabitants of the heavens, 'Allah loves so and so, so love him.' So the inhabitants of the heavens love him, and he will find acceptance on earth."[33]

(ii) Guiding the believers

Bukhaari narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Ḥassaan ibn Thaabit that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) prayed for him and said, "O Allah, support him with *Rooḥ al-Qudus.*"[34]

It is also narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "Sulaymaan (ﷺ) said, 'Tonight I will go around to one hundred of my women, and each of them will bear a son who will fight for the sake of Allah.' The angel said to him, 'Say, *insha Allah.*' But he did not say it, and he forgot. So he

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[33] Bukhaari, 6/303, hadith no. 3209. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2030, hadith no. 2637.

[34] Bukhaari, 6/304.

went around to them (his women) but none of them bore a child, except for one who gave birth to a half formed infant." The Prophet (ﷺ) said: "If he had said *Insha Allah*, he would not have broken his oath and he would have had more hope of fulfilling his need."[35]

The angel was guiding the Prophet of Allah Sulaymaan to the way which is appropriate, correct and more perfect.

(iii) Their sending blessings on the believers

Allah tells us that the angels send blessings on the Messenger (ﷺ):

﴿إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتَهُۥ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى ٱلنَّبِيِّۚ ﴿٥٦﴾﴾

﴿Allah sends His *Ṣalaah* [Graces, Honours, Blessings, Mercy] on the Prophet [Muhammad], and also His angels [ask Allah to bless and forgive him].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:56)*

And they also send blessings on the believers:

﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِى يُصَلِّى عَلَيْكُمْ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتُهُۥ لِيُخْرِجَكُم مِّنَ ٱلظُّلُمَٰتِ إِلَى ٱلنُّورِۚ وَكَانَ بِٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيمًا ﴿٤٣﴾﴾

﴿He it is Who sends *Ṣalaah* [His blessings] on you, and His angels too [ask Allah to bless and forgive you], that He may bring you out from darkness [of disbelief and polytheism] into light [of Belief and Islamic Monotheism]. And He is Ever Most Merciful to the believers.﴾ *(Qur'an 33:43)*

Ṣalaah (blessings) from Allah means that He praises His slave before His angels. This is narrated by Bukhaari from Abu'l-'Aaliyah. Someone else said: *Ṣalaah* (blessings) from Allah means mercy. It may be said that

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[35] Bukhaari, 9/339, hadith no. 5242. Ibn Ḥajar said (*Fatḥ al-Baari*, 6/460) what may be summed up as follows: According to the report of Al-Mugheerah, it was seventy women. According to the report of Shu'ayb in *Al-Aymaan wan-Nudhoor*, it was ninety. The author thought that this was more likely? This is also narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* (3/1276, hadith no. 1654); in one report it says sixty and in the other it says seventy. In a third report it says ninety.

there is no contradiction between the two views.

Ṣalaah (blessings) from the angels means that they pray for people and seek forgiveness for them. This is what we will discuss in more detail below.

Examples of deeds for which the angels send blessings upon a person

(a) Teaching people good things

At-Tirmidhi narrated in his *Sunan* from Abu Umaamah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels, and the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth, even the ant in its hole, and even the fish, send blessings upon the one who teaches the people good things."[36]

(b) Those who wait for prayer in congregation

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The angels send blessings on any one of you so long as he stays where he is sitting. They say, 'O Allah, forgive him, O Allah, have mercy on him,' so long as he does not break his *wuḍoo'*.'"[37]

(c) Those who pray in the first row

In *Sunan Abi Dawood* it is narrated from Al-Baraa' ibn 'Aazib (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels send blessings on the first rows."[38]

In *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* it says: "... on the front rows."[39]

In *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated from the hadith of Al-Baraa' and the hadith of 'Abd ar-Raḥmaan ibn 'Awf that "Allah and His angels send blessings on the first row."[40]

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[36] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/343, no. 2161.

[37] Bukhaari, 2/131, hadith no. 647. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/459, hadith no. 639. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[38] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 1/120, no. 618.

[39] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 1/175, no. 781.

[40] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 1/164, no. 816.

(d) Those who fill the gaps in the rows

In *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah and His angels send blessings on those who complete the rows, and whoever fills a gap (in a row), Allah will raise his status because of it.'"[41]

(e) Those who eat *suḥoor*

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Ibn Ḥibbaan* and *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Awsaṭ* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from Ibn 'Umar (may Allah be pleased with them both) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah and His angels send blessings upon those who eat *suḥoor.*"[42]

(f) Those who send blessings upon the Prophet (ﷺ)

Aḥmad narrated in his *Musnad* and Al-Diyaa' narrated in *Al-Mukhtaarah* from 'Aamir ibn Rabee'ah with a *ḥasan isnaad* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "There is no person who sends blessings on me, but the angels send blessings on him so long as he sends blessings on me. So let a person do a little of that or a lot."[43]

(g) Those who visit the sick

Abu Dawood narrated from 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib (رضي الله عنه) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "There is no man who visits a sick person in the evening, but seventy thousand angels go out with him, and pray for forgiveness for him until the morning, and he will have provision in Paradise. And whoever goes to him in the morning, seventy thousand angels go with him, and they pray for forgiveness for him until the evening, and he will have provision in Paradise."[44]

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[41] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 1/164, no. 814.

[42] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/135.

[43] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami', 5/174.*

[44] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 2/598, no. 2655. Abu Dawood stated that it is *ṣaḥeeḥ marfoo'*, he also narrated a *ṣaḥeeḥ mawqoof* report from 'Ali.

Does the angels' sending blessings on us have any effect?

Allah, the Almighty, says:

﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِى يُصَلِّى عَلَيْكُمْ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتُهُۥ لِيُخْرِجَكُم مِّنَ ٱلظُّلُمَٰتِ إِلَى ٱلنُّورِ ۚ ﴿٤٣﴾﴾

﴿He it is Who sends *Ṣalaah* [His blessings] on you, and His angels too [ask Allah to bless and forgive you], that He may bring you out from darkness [of disbelief and polytheism] into light [of Belief and Islamic Monotheism].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:43)*

This *aayah* tells us that when Allah mentions us to the hosts on high, and when the angels pray for the believers and ask for forgiveness for them, this has the effect of guiding us and ridding us of the darkness of *kufr* and *shirk* and sin, leading us to the light which means the right way and the path of truth, which is Islam. Thus we learn what Allah wants of us, and gives us the light by which we will be guided to righteous words and deeds and people.

(iv) Saying *"Ameen"* to the *du'aa'* of the believers

The angels say *"ameen"* to the *du'aa'* of the believer, thus making the *du'aa'* more likely to be answered. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated from Abu'd-Dardaa' that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "The *du'aa'* of a person for his Muslim brother in his absence will be answered. At his head there is an angel, and every time he prays for him for something good, the angel who has been appointed to be with him says, '*Ameen,* and may you have likewise.'"[45]

Because a believer's prayer against himself is very likely to be answered, the believer should not pray against himself. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Umm Salamah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Do not pray for anything but good for yourselves, for the angels say *"ameen"* to whatever you say.'"[46]

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[45] Muslim, 4/2094, hadith no. 2733; *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 2/149, no. 2340. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[46] Muslim, 2/634, hadith no. 920.

(v) Their prayers for forgiveness for the believers

Allah tells us that the angels pray for forgiveness for those who are on earth:

﴿تَكَادُ ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتُ يَتَفَطَّرۡنَ مِن فَوۡقِهِنَّۚ وَٱلۡمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمۡدِ رَبِّهِمۡ وَيَسۡتَغۡفِرُونَ لِمَن فِي ٱلۡأَرۡضِۗ أَلَآ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ هُوَ ٱلۡغَفُورُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ ٥﴾

﴿Nearly the heavens might be rent asunder from above them [by His Majesty], and the angels glorify the praises of their Lord, and ask for forgiveness for those on the earth. Verily, Allah is the Oft-Forgiving, the Most Merciful.﴾ *(Qur'an 42:5)*

In *Soorah Ghaafir*, Allah tells us that the bearers of the Throne and the angels who are around the Throne glorify their Lord and submit themselves to Him, and they pray for forgiveness especially for the believers who repent. They pray that Allah will save them from the Fire and admit them to Paradise, and keep them from committing sins and acts of disobedience:

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَحۡمِلُونَ ٱلۡعَرۡشَ وَمَنۡ حَوۡلَهُۥ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمۡدِ رَبِّهِمۡ وَيُؤۡمِنُونَ بِهِۦ وَيَسۡتَغۡفِرُونَ لِلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْۖ رَبَّنَا وَسِعۡتَ كُلَّ شَيۡءٖ رَّحۡمَةٗ وَعِلۡمٗا فَٱغۡفِرۡ لِلَّذِينَ تَابُواْ وَٱتَّبَعُواْ سَبِيلَكَ وَقِهِمۡ عَذَابَ ٱلۡجَحِيمِ ٧ رَبَّنَا وَأَدۡخِلۡهُمۡ جَنَّٰتِ عَدۡنٍ ٱلَّتِي وَعَدتَّهُمۡ وَمَن صَلَحَ مِنۡ ءَابَآئِهِمۡ وَأَزۡوَٰجِهِمۡ وَذُرِّيَّٰتِهِمۡۚ إِنَّكَ أَنتَ ٱلۡعَزِيزُ ٱلۡحَكِيمُ ٨ وَقِهِمُ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِۚ وَمَن تَقِ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ يَوۡمَئِذٖ فَقَدۡ رَحِمۡتَهُۥۚ وَذَٰلِكَ هُوَ ٱلۡفَوۡزُ ٱلۡعَظِيمُ ٩﴾

﴿Those [angels] who bear the Throne [of Allah] and those around it glorify the praises of their Lord, and believe in Him, and ask forgiveness for those who believe [in the Oneness of Allah] [saying]: 'Our Lord! You comprehend all things in mercy and knowledge, so forgive those who repent and follow Your way, and save them from the torment of the blazing Fire!

Our Lord! And make them enter the *'Adn* [Eden] Paradise [everlasting Gardens] which you have promised them – and to the righteous among their fathers, their wives, and their offspring!

Verily, You are the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.
And save them from [the punishment for what they did of] the sins, and whomsoever You save from [the punishment for what he did of] the sins [i.e. pardon him] that Day, him verily, You have taken into mercy.' And that is the supreme success.﴾ *(Qur'an 40:7-9)*

(vi) They attend gatherings of knowledge and circles of *dhikr*, and surround those present with their wings

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah has angels who go around the highways and byways, seeking out the people of *dhikr*. If they find some people who are remembering Allah, they call out, 'Come to what you are looking for!' And they encompass them with their wings up to the first heaven.'"[47]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'No people gather in one of the houses of Allah to recite the Book of Allah and teach it to one another, but tranquillity descends upon them, mercy overshadows them and the angels surround them, and Allah mentions them to those who are with Him.'"[48]

In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* it is narrated that Abu'd-Dardaa' said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say, 'The angels extend their wings (out of humbleness) towards the seeker of knowledge, because they are pleased with what he is doing.'"[49]

Righteous deeds, as you can see, bring the angels closer to us and bring us closer to them. If people were able to maintain a high spiritual state they would reach the level of actually seeing the angels and shaking hands with them, as is in the hadith narrated by Muslim from Ḥanẓalah al-Usaydi (ﷺ) who said that the Prophet (ﷺ) said:

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[47] Bukhaari, 11/208, hadith no. 6408. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/2069, hadith no. 2689. This version is narrated by Bukhaari.

[48] Muslim, 4/2074, hadith no. 2699.

[49] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/342, no. 2159.

"By the One in Whose hand is my soul, if you remained in the state in which you are when you are with me, and you continued to remember Allah, the angels would shake hands with you in your beds and on the street."[50]

According to a report narrated by At-Tirmidhi from Ḥanẓalah, he said, "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'If you continued to be as you are with me, the angels would shade you with their wings.'"[51]

(vii) The angels record those who attend *Jumu'ah*

These angels record some of the deeds of people, and they record those who go to Friday prayers in order of attendance. It is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When Friday comes, the angels stand at the door of the mosque and write down who comes first. When the Imaam comes out, they close their records and sit down to listen to the *dhikr*.'" Agreed upon by Bukhaari and Muslim.[52]

They record whatever people say of good things. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and elsewhere it is narrated that Rifaa'ah ibn Raafi' al-Zarqi said: "One day we were praying behind the Prophet (ﷺ) and when he raised his head from *rukoo'*, he said, *'Sami' Allahu liman ḥamidah* (Allah hears those who praise Him).' A man behind him said, *Rabbanaa wa laka'l-ḥamd ḥamdan katheeran ṭayyiban mubaarakan fihi* (Our Lord, to You be praise, much good and blessed praise).' When he finished the prayer, he said, 'Who was the one who spoke?' The man said, 'Me.' He [the Prophet (ﷺ)] said, 'I saw thirty-odd angels rushing to see which of them would write it down first.'"[53]

These recording angels are definitely other than the two angels who write down a person's good deeds and evil deeds, because they are described as being thirty-odd.

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[50] Muslim, 4/2106, hadith no. 2750.

[51] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/298, no. 1994.

[52] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 1/436, no. 1384.

[53] Bukhaari, 2/284, hadith no. 799.

(vii) The angels come and go among us

These angels who go about in the highways and byways, looking for *dhikr* and witnessing *Jumu'ah* prayers and prayers in *jamaa'ah*, come and go among us. When one group comes another group goes, and they meet at *Fajr* prayer and at *'Aṣr* prayer. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Allah has angels who come and go among you, angels at night and angels during the day. They meet at *Fajr* prayer and *'Aṣr* prayer. Then those who had stayed among you ascend and their Lord asks them, although He knows best about them, 'How did you leave My slaves?' They say, 'When we left them they were praying, and when we came to them they were praying.'"[54]

Perhaps these are the ones who take the people's actions up to their Lord. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Abu Moosa al-Ash'ari (ﷺ) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) stood up among us and told us five things. He said: 'Allah does not sleep, and it is not befitting that He should sleep. He lowers the scale and lifts it. The deeds of the night are taken up to Him before the deeds of the day, and the deeds of the day before the deeds of the night..."[55]

Allah has ascribed a high status to *Fajr* prayer, because the angels witness it. He says:

﴿وَقُرْءَانَ ٱلْفَجْرِ ۖ إِنَّ قُرْءَانَ ٱلْفَجْرِ كَانَ مَشْهُودًا ﴿٧٨﴾﴾

﴿And recite the Qur'an in the early dawn [i.e. the — *Fajr*— morning prayer]. Verily, the recitation of the Qur'an in the early dawn [i.e. the morning — *Fajr* prayer] is ever witnessed [attended by the angels in charge of mankind of the day and the night].﴾

(Qur'an 17:78)

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[54] Bukhaari, 6/306, hadith no. 3223. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/439, hadith no. 632.

[55] Muslim, 1/162, hadith no. 179. According to another report by Muslim, ...four words...

(ix) They come down when a believer recites the Qur'an

Among the angels are those who come down from heaven when the Qur'an is being read. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Al-Baraa' ibn 'Aazib said: "A man read *Soorat al-Kahf*, and in the house there was an animal. It began to act nervously, (so he checked on it and saw that) there was a mist or a cloud above it. He mentioned that to the Prophet (ﷺ) and he said, 'Read such-and-such, for it is the tranquillity (*sakeenah*) that descends when the Qur'an is read, or because of the Qur'an.'"[56]

It is narrated from Abu Sa'eed al-Khudri (رضي الله عنه) that whilst Usayd ibn Ḥudayr was reading Qur'an one night in his *mirbad* (place for drying dates), his horse startled. Then he read some more and his horse startled again. He read some more and his horse startled again. Usayd said: "I was afraid that it would step on Yaḥyaa, so I got up and went to it, and saw something like a shadow above its head, in which there were things like lights. It ascended into the sky until it disappeared."

The following morning I went to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and said, 'O Messenger of Allah, last night whilst I was reading Qur'an at midnight in my *mirbad*, my horse startled.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'I read some more, and my horse got startled again.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'I read some more, and my horse got startled again.' The Messenger of Allah said, 'Read, O son of Ḥudayr.' He said, 'So I stopped. Yaḥyaa was near it (the horse) and I was afraid that it would step on him, then I saw something like a shadow in which were things like lights. It ascended into the sky until it disappeared.'

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'That was the angels who were listening to you. If you had continued to read, they would have become visible to the people in the morning and they would not have hidden from them.'[57]

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[56] Muslim, 1/548, hadith no. 796.

[57] Bukhaari, 9/63, hadith no. 5018, from Muhammad ibn Ibraaheem from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/458, hadith no. 796. This version is narrated by Muslim.

(x) They convey the *salaams* of the ummah to the Messenger (ﷺ)

An-Nasaa'i and Ad-Daarimi narrated that 'Abd-Allah ibn Mas'ood said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Allah has angels travelling about the earth to convey to me the *salaams* of my ummah.'"[58]

(xi) They give glad tidings to the believers

They brought glad tidings to the Prophet Ibraaheem that he would be blessed with righteous offspring:

﴿هَلْ أَتَىٰكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَٰهِيمَ ٱلْمُكْرَمِينَ ﴿٢٤﴾ إِذْ دَخَلُوا۟ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالُوا۟ سَلَٰمًا ۖ قَالَ سَلَٰمٌ قَوْمٌ مُّنكَرُونَ ﴿٢٥﴾ فَرَاغَ إِلَىٰٓ أَهْلِهِۦ فَجَآءَ بِعِجْلٍ سَمِينٍ ﴿٢٦﴾ فَقَرَّبَهُۥٓ إِلَيْهِمْ قَالَ أَلَا تَأْكُلُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾ فَأَوْجَسَ مِنْهُمْ خِيفَةً ۖ قَالُوا۟ لَا تَخَفْ ۖ وَبَشَّرُوهُ بِغُلَٰمٍ عَلِيمٍ ﴿٢٨﴾﴾

﴿Has the story reached you, of the honoured guests [three angels; Jibreel (Gabriel) along with another two] of Ibraaheem [Abraham]? When they came in to him and said: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you]!' He answered: '*Salaam*, [peace be upon you],' and said: 'You are a people unknown to me.'

Then he turned to his household, and brought out a roasted calf [as the property of Ibraaheem (Abraham) was mainly cows].

And placed it before them [saying]: 'Will you not eat?'

Then he conceived fear of them [when they ate not]. They said: 'Fear not.' And they gave him glad tidings of a son having knowledge [about Allah and His religion of True Monotheism].﴾

(Qur'an 51:24-28)

They brought Prophet Zakariya the glad tidings of Yaḥyaa:

﴿فَنَادَتْهُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَآئِمٌ يُصَلِّى فِى ٱلْمِحْرَابِ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُبَشِّرُكَ بِيَحْيَىٰ ﴿٣٩﴾﴾

﴿Then the angels called him, while he was standing in prayer in *Al-Miḥraab* [a praying place or a private room], [saying]: 'Allah gives you glad tidings of Yaḥyaa [John]'.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:39)*

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[58] *Mishkaat al-Maṣaabeeḥ*, 1/291, no. 924. The editor of *Al-Mishkaat*, Shaykh Naaṣir ad-Deen al-Albaani, said: its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ*. It is classed as *ṣaḥeeḥ* by Al-Ḥaakim and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him.

This is not limited only to the Prophets and Messengers; the angels may also bring glad tidings to the believers. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "A man visited a brother of his in another town, and Allah sent an angel to wait for him on the road. When the man passed by him, the angel said, 'Where are you going?' He said, 'To a brother of mine in this town.' The angel said, 'Is there a favour that you owe him?' The man said, 'No, but I love him for the sake of Allah.' He said, 'I am a messenger from Allah to you, to tell you that Allah loves you as you love him.'"[59]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim*, it is narrated that Abu Hurayrah said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'Jibreel came to me and said, 'O Messenger of Allah, Khadeejah is coming to you with a vessel in which is some food or drink. When she comes to you, convey to her greetings of *salaam* from her Lord and from me, and give her the glad tidings of a house in Paradise made of *qaṣab,*[60] in which there is no noise or exhaustion.'"[61]

(xii) The angels and dreams

Bukhaari narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* in *Baab at-Tahajjud*, that 'Abd-Allah ibn 'Umar (رضي الله عنهما) said: "At the time of the Prophet (ﷺ), if a man saw a dream, he would tell it to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I wished that I would see a dream so that I could tell it to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I was a young lad, and I used to sleep in the mosque at the time of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I saw in a dream that two angels took me and brought me to the Fire, which was built up all around like a built well, and it had two poles in it. There were some people in it whom I recognized, and I started to say, 'I seek refuge with Allah from the Fire.' Then I met another angel who said to me, 'Do not be afraid.'"[62]

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[59] Muslim, 4/1988, no. 2567.

[60] *Qaṣab*: Pipes made of gold or pearls and other precious stones (The Translation of the Meanings of *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, Vol. 3, p. 12) (Translator).

[61] Bukhaari, 7/133, no. 3820. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1887, no. 232. This version is narrated by Muslim.

[62] Bukhaari, 3/6, no. 1121. Muslim, 4/1927, no. 2479.

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah (may Allah be pleased with her) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to me, 'I saw you in a dream. An angel brought you to me wrapped up in silk. He said to me, 'This is your wife.' I lifted the cloth from your face and saw that it was you. I said, 'If this dream is from Allah then it will surely come to pass.'"[63]

(xiii) They fight alongside the believers and support them at times of war

Allah supported the believers with many of the angels at the battle of Badr:

﴿إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَابَ لَكُمْ أَنِّي مُمِدُّكُم بِأَلْفٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُرْدِفِينَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when you sought help of your Lord and He answered you [saying]: 'I will help you with a thousand of the angels each behind the other [following one another] in succession.'﴾

(Qur'an 8:9)

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ وَأَنتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ ﴿١٢٣﴾ إِذْ تَقُولُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَلَن يَكْفِيَكُمْ أَن يُمِدَّكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِثَلَاثَةِ آلَافٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُنزَلِينَ ﴿١٢٤﴾ بَلَىٰ إِن تَصْبِرُوا وَتَتَّقُوا وَيَأْتُوكُم مِّن فَوْرِهِمْ هَٰذَا يُمْدِدْكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِخَمْسَةِ آلَافٍ مِّنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُسَوِّمِينَ ﴿١٢٥﴾﴾

﴿And Allah has already made you victorious at Badr, when you were a weak little force. So fear Allah much that you may be grateful. [Remember] when you [Muhammad] said to the believers, 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord [Allah] should help you with three thousand angels sent down?

Yes, if you hold on to patience and piety, and the enemy comes

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[63] This version is narrated by Bukhaari in *Kitaab an-Nikaah*, 9/180, no. 5125. Also narrated in *Manaaqib al-Anṣaar*, 7/223, no. 3895; and in *At-Ta'beer*, 12/399, no. 7011, 7012. Also narrated by Muslim, 4/1889, no. 2438.

rushing at you; your Lord will help you with five thousand angels having marks [of distinction].'﴾ *(Qur'an 3:123-125)*

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger (ﷺ) said on the day of Badr: "This is Jibreel who has taken up his horse's reins and is dressed for battle."[64]

Allah has explained the reason for this angelic support, which is to strengthen the believers, to fight alongside them, and to fight the enemies of Allah and kill them by striking their necks and hands:

﴿وَمَا جَعَلَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَىٰ وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ بِهِۦ قُلُوبُكُمْ ۚ وَمَا ٱلنَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِندِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿١٠﴾﴾

﴿Allah made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts be at rest therewith. And there is no victory except from Allah. Verily, Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise.﴾ *(Qur'an 8:10)*

﴿إِذْ يُوحِى رَبُّكَ إِلَى ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ أَنِّى مَعَكُمْ فَثَبِّتُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ۚ سَأُلْقِى فِى قُلُوبِ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ ٱلرُّعْبَ فَٱضْرِبُوا۟ فَوْقَ ٱلْأَعْنَاقِ وَٱضْرِبُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ كُلَّ بَنَانٍ ﴿١٢﴾﴾

﴿[Remember] when your Lord revealed to the angels, 'Verily, I am with you, so keep firm those who have believed. I will cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved, so strike them over the necks, and smite over all their fingers and toes.'﴾

(Qur'an 8:12)

And Allah says in *Soorat Aal 'Imraan*:

﴿وَمَا جَعَلَهُ ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَىٰ لَكُمْ وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ قُلُوبُكُم بِهِۦ ۚ وَمَا ٱلنَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِندِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلْعَزِيزِ ٱلْحَكِيمِ ﴿١٢٦﴾ لِيَقْطَعَ طَرَفًا مِّنَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوٓا۟ أَوْ يَكْبِتَهُمْ فَيَنقَلِبُوا۟ خَآئِبِينَ ﴿١٢٧﴾﴾

﴿Allah made it not but as a message of good news for you and as an assurance to your hearts. And there is no victory except from Allah, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.

That He might cut off a part of those who disbelieve, or expose them

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[64] Bukhaari, 7/312, no. 3995.

to infamy, so that they retire frustrated.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:126-127)*

One of the Muslim fighters heard the sound of a blow struck by an angel, when he struck one of the *kuffaar*, and he heard his voice as he was urging his horse forward. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that Ibn 'Abbaas said: "On that day, when one of the Muslim men was pursuing one of the *mushrikeen*, he heard the crack of a whip above his head, and the voice of a horseman saying, 'Go forth, Ḥayzam!' He looked at the *mushrik* in front of him and saw that he had fallen on his back. He looked again and saw that his nose had been cut off and his face was cut, as if it had been struck with a whip, and he had turned green. The *Anṣaari* came and told the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) about that, and he said, 'You have spoken the truth. That was one of the troops of the third heaven.'"[65]

The angels also fought in other battles. During the campaign of *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch), Allah sent His angels:

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ ٱذْكُرُواْ نِعْمَةَ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَآءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا وَجُنُودًا لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا ۚ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿O you who believe! Remember Allah's Favour to you, when there came against you hosts, and We sent against them a wind and forces that you saw not [i.e. troops of angels during the battle of *Al Aḥzaab* (the Confederates)].﴾ *(Qur'an 33:9)*

What is meant by the "forces that you saw not" is the angels, as it is reported in the books of *Ṣaḥeeḥ* and elsewhere that Jibreel came to the Messenger (ﷺ) after he had returned from *Al-Khandaq* (the Ditch) and had laid down his arms and bathed. Jibreel came to him, brushing the dust from his head, and said to the Messenger (ﷺ), "Have you laid down your arms? By Allah, we (angels) have not yet laid down our arms. Go out to them." The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, "Where to?" and he pointed towards Banu Qurayẓah.[66]

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[65] Muslim, 3/1384, hadith no. 1763.

[66] Bukhaari, 7/407, no. 4117. Muslim, 3/1389, hadith no. 1769.

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated that Anas (ﷺ) said: "It is as if I can see the dust clearly in the area of Banu Ghanam, and the troops of Jibreel when the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) set out for Banu Qurayzah."[67]

(xiv) Their protection of the Messenger (ﷺ)

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) said: "Abu Jahl said, 'Has Muhammad rubbed his face in the dust among you?' They said, 'Yes.' He said, 'By Al-Laat and Al-'Uzza, if I see him doing that, I will step on his neck, or I will rub his face in the dust!'

Then he came to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) whilst he was praying, and announced that he was going to step on his neck. Then suddenly he turned on his heels and fled, folding his hands over his face. Someone asked him, 'What's wrong with you?' He said, 'There is a ditch of fire between me and him, and terror, and wings.' The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, 'If he had come any closer to me, the angels would have snatched him away.'"[68]

A shorter version of this is narrated by Bukhaari, in *Kitaab al-Tafseer.*[69]

(xv) They protect and support righteous people, and relieve their distress

Allah may send angels to protect some of His righteous slaves other than the Prophets and Messengers. This may be what happened to a man whose story is told by Ibn Katheer. In *Tafseer Ibn Katheer*, in the commentary on the *aayah* –

﴿أَمَّن يُجِيبُ ٱلْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاهُ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿Is not He [better than your gods] Who responds to the distressed one, when he calls on Him.﴾ *(Qur'an 27:62)* -

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[67] Bukhaari, 7/407, hadith no. 4118.

[68] Muslim, 4/2154, hadith no. 2797

[69] Bukhaari, 8/724, hadith no. 4958.

He said:

Al-Ḥaafiẓ ibn 'Asaakir mentioned the story of a man of whom Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Dawood ad-Daynoori, who was known as Ad-Daqqi aṣ-Ṣoofi. This man said: "I used to transport people and their goods with a mule that belonged to me, from Damascus to Balad az-Zabadaani. One day a man rode with me, and for part of the way we were travelling off the beaten track. He said to me, 'Take this path, it is shorter.' I said, 'That's no good.' He said, 'But it is shorter.'

So we took that path, and it reached a place where it was very difficult to go, and there was a deep valley in which there were many dead bodies. He said, 'Hold the mule's head, so I can dismount.' He dismounted, then he rolled up his sleeves and gathered up his garments. Then he pulled out a knife and came towards me. I ran away from him, and he followed me. I implored him by Allah, and said, 'Take the mule and all the baggage on it!' He said, 'They are mine anyway, but I am going to kill you!' I tried to scare him by reminding him of Allah and the punishment, but he paid no heed to that.

So I surrendered to him, and I said, 'Let me pray two *rak'ahs*.' He said, 'Hurry up, then!' So I stood up to pray, but the words of the Qur'an would not come to me. I could not remember even a single letter. I remained standing, confused, and he was saying, 'Come on! Get on with it!' Then Allah enabled me to recite,

﴿أَمَّن يُجِيبُ ٱلْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاهُ وَيَكْشِفُ ٱلسُّوٓءَ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿'Is not He [better than your gods] Who responds to the distressed one, when he calls on Him, and Who removes the evil.'﴾
(Qur'an 27:62)

Suddenly I saw a horseman who had come from the mouth of the valley, with a spear in his hand. He threw the spear at the man, and it did not miss his heart. The man fell down dead, and I clung to the horseman and said, 'By Allah, who are you?' He said, 'I am a messenger of the One Who responds to the distressed one when he calls on Him, and Who removes the evil.' Then I took the mule and the baggage, and returned

safe and sound."

Similarly, Allah sent Jibreel to help the mother of Ismaa'eel in Makkah. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas from the Prophet (ﷺ), in the story of Ibraaheem's migration with Ismaa'eel and his mother Ḥaajir to the land of Makkah – which is a long story – that the mother of Ismaa'eel ran like a distressed person between Aṣ-Ṣafa' and Al-Marwah seven times, looking for water. "When she looked out from Al-Marwah, she heard a voice, and she kept quiet and listened attentively. She heard the voice again and said, "O (whoever you may be)! You have made me hear your voice; have you got something to help me?" And she saw an angel at the place of Zamzam, digging the earth with his heel (or his wing), till water flowed from that place... The angel said to her, 'Don't be afraid of being neglected, for this is the House of Allah which will be built by this boy and his father, and Allah never neglects His people.'"[70]

This angel who came to her was Jibreel. In *Al-Musnad* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that Ubayy ibn Ka'b said: "When Jibreel dug Zamzam with his heel, the mother of Ismaa'eel started to scoop up the earth around it. The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'May Allah have mercy on Ismaa'eel's mother! Had she left Zamzam alone (flowing without trying to control it), Zamzam would have been a stream flowing on the surface of the earth.'"[71]

(xvi) The angels attend the funerals of the righteous

The Messenger (ﷺ) said concerning Sa'd ibn Mu'aadh, "This is the one at whose death the Throne has shaken and for whom the gates of heaven are opened. Seventy thousand angels attended his funeral, and he was squeezed (in his grave) once, then he was released." This is narrated by An-Nasaa'i from Ibn 'Umar.[72]

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[70] Bukhaari, 6/397, hadith no. 3364.

[71] *Musnad Aḥmad*, 5/121.

[72] The hadith about the Throne shaking at the death of Sa'd is narrated by Muslim, 7/122, hadith no. 3802. It is narrated by Muslim from Jaabir, 4/1915, hadith no. 2466. The report about the angels attending his funeral is narrated in *Sunan an-Nasaa'i*. See *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 2/441, no. 1942.

(xvii) They shade the *shaheed* (martyr) with their wings

In Bukhaari it is narrated that Jaabir said: "My father was brought to the Prophet (ﷺ), and his body had been mutilated. He was placed before him [the Prophet (ﷺ)], and I went to uncover his face, my people stopped me from doing so. The sound of wailing could be heard, and it was said that it was the daughter of 'Amr, or the sister of 'Amr. The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Why are you weeping? The angels are still shading him with their wings."

Bukhaari narrated this in a chapter entitled *Baab Ẓill al-Malaa'ikah 'ala'sh-Shaheed* (Chapter: The Angels' Shading of the Martyr).[73]

(xviii) The angels who brought the Ark of the Covenant (*At-Taaboot*)

﴿وَقَالَ لَهُمْ نَبِيُّهُمْ إِنَّ ءَايَةَ مُلْكِهِۦٓ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ ٱلتَّابُوتُ فِيهِ سَكِينَةٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَبَقِيَّةٌ مِّمَّا تَرَكَ ءَالُ مُوسَىٰ وَءَالُ هَٰرُونَ تَحْمِلُهُ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ ۚ﴾

﴿And their Prophet [Samuel] said to them: 'Verily! The sign of His kingdom is that there shall come to you *At-Taaboot* [a wooden box], wherein is *Sakeenah* [peace and reassurance] from your Lord and a remnant of that which Moosa [Moses] and Haaroon [Aaron] left behind, carried by the angels.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:248)*

What we learn from this *aayah* is that the angels brought to the Children of Israel at that time this wooden box (*taaboot*) to reassure them, so that they might know that *Taaloot* (Saul) was chosen by Allah, so they should follow him and obey him.

(xix) They will protect Makkah and Madeenah from the *Dajjaal*

When the *Dajjaal* emerges, he will enter every city except Makkah and Madeenah, because the angels are protecting them. This is reported in *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* from Faaṭimah bint Qays, from the story of Tameem ad-Daari, in which it says that the *Dajjaal* said: "I am *Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal*

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[73] Bukhaari, 6/32, no. 2816.

(the "Pseudo Christ"). Soon I will be granted permission to emerge and I will emerge and travel throughout the earth. There will be no town which I will not enter, during a period of forty days, apart from Makkah and Ṭeebah. They are both forbidden for me; every time I try to enter one of them, I will be met by an angel with an unsheathed sword in his hand, who will prevent me from entering it. At every gate there is an angel guarding it."

She (Faaṭimah bint Qays) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, striking the *minbar* with his stick, "This is Ṭeebah, this is Ṭeebah, this is Ṭeebah," meaning Al-Madeenah.[74]

Bukhaari narrated from Abu Bakrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "The terror of *Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal* will not enter Madeenah. At that time it will have seven gates, at each of which will be two angels."[75]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "At the gates of Madeenah there are angels; neither the plague nor the *Dajjaal* will enter it."[76]

(xx) 'Eesa will descend in the company of the angels

In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, it is narrated from An-Nawaas ibn Sam'aan that in the hadith about the *Dajjaal*, the Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Whilst he is like that, 'Eesa ibn Maryam will come down at the white minaret, in the east of Damascus, wearing two garments lightly dyed with saffron, placing his hands on the wings of two angels."[77]

(xxi) The angels spread their wings over Ash-Shaam (Syria)

It is narrated that Zayd ibn Thaabit al-Anṣaari (رضي الله عنه) said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say, 'How blessed is Ash-Shaam (Present day

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[74] Muslim, 4/2264, hadith no. 2942.

[75] Bukhaari, 13/90, hadith no. 7125.

[76] Bukhaari, 13/101, hadith no. 7123.

[77] The descent of 'Eesa (عليه السلام) is proven in Muslim, 4/2259, hadith no. 2940. The hadith mentioned is narrated by At-Tirmidhi. See *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 2/249, no. 1825.

Syria, Jordan and Palestine) how blessed is Ash-Shaam!' They said, 'O Messenger of Allah, why is that?' He said, 'The angels of Allah spread their wings over Ash-Shaam.'"[78]

(xxii) The reward in coinciding with the angels

It is narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "When the Imaam says *Ameen*, say *Ameen*, for whoever's saying *Ameen* coincides with the *Ameen* of the angels, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[79]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*: "If one of you says *Ameen* and the angels in heaven say *Ameen*, and they coincide with one another, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[80]

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah (رضي الله عنه) that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When the Imaam says *'Sami' Allahu liman ḥamidah,'* say, *'Rabbanaa wa laka'l-ḥamd.'* Whoever's words coincide with those of the angels, all his previous sins will be forgiven."[81]

(2) The obligations of the believers towards the angels

The angels are slaves of Allah, whom He has chosen especially, and they have a high status with their Lord. The believer who worships Allah and seeks His pleasure has no alternative but to regard the angels as friends and view them with love and respect, and to avoid anything that may

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[78] Shaykh Naaṣir said, in *Takhreej Aḥaadeeth Fadaa'il ash-Shaam*, of the hadith narrated by Al-Raba'i: It is a *ṣaḥeeḥ* hadith which is narrated by At-Tirmidhi, by Al-Ḥaakim in *Al-Mustadrak*, and by Aḥmad in *Al-Musnad*. Al-Ḥaakim said, it is *ṣaḥeeḥ* according to the conditions of the two *shaykhs* Bukhaari and Muslim, and Adh-Dhahabi agreed with him And it is as they said. Al-Mundhiri said in *At-Targheeb wat-Tarheeb*, it is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, and by Aṭ-Ṭabaraani with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad*.

[79] Bukhaari, 2/262, hadith no. 780. Also narrated by Muslim, 1/307, hadith no. 410.

[80] Bukhaari, 2/266, hadith no. 781.

[81] Bukhaari, 2/283, hadith no. 796

result in annoying or offending them. We will discuss this matter in further detail below:

(i) Not offending the angels

The scholars emphatically denounced those who slander the angels or speak badly of them. Al-'Allaamah as-Suyooṭi (may Allah have mercy on him) said: "Al-Qaḍi 'Iyaaḍ said in *Ash-Shifaa'*: Sahnoon said: whoever insults one of the angels should be executed. Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Qaabisi said concerning a person who says of another, 'He looks like the angry Maalik (keeper of Hell),' if it is known that his intention was to slander the angel, he should be executed.

Al-Qaḍi 'Iyaaḍ said: This is concerning one who insults them all in general, or who insults by name one of those who is proven to be an angel, because Allah has mentioned him in the Qur'an or we know from the *mutawaatir aḥaadeeth* that he is an angel, or it is known by definitive scholarly consensus that he is an angel, such as Jibreel, Mikaa'eel, Maalik, the keepers of Paradise and Hell, the angels of Hell, the bearers of the Throne, 'Azraa'eel, Israafeel, Riḍwaan, the guardian angels, and Munkar and Nakeer.

But with regard to those who are not proven to be angels, and concerning whom there is no scholarly consensus that they are angels, such as Haaroot and Maaroot, this ruling does not apply. The one who disbelieves in them is not subject to the same ruling as mentioned above, because there is no definitive report to show that they have the same status as the angels."[82]

Suyooṭi quoted Al-Qaraafi al-Maaliki as saying: "Know that it is obligatory upon every accountable person to respect all of the Prophets and all of the angels. Whoever slanders their honour in any way is a *kaafir*, whether he does so implicitly or explicitly. Whoever says of a man who he thinks is very harsh, 'He is more harsh than Maalik, the keeper of Hell,' or of a man who is deformed, 'He is uglier than Munkar

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[82] *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, by Suyooṭi, 254.

and Nakeer', is a *kaafir*, if he says that in the context of condemning ugliness and harshness."[83]

(ii) Keeping away from sin and disobedience

The things which most offend the angels are sin, disobedience to Allah, *kufr* and *shirk*. Hence the best gift that a man can give to the angels and the thing which is most pleasing to them is for a man to be sincerely devoted in his religious commitment to his Lord, and to avoid everything that angers Him.

Hence the angels do not enter places and houses where Allah is disobeyed, or in which there are things which Allah dislikes and hates, such as stone altars, statues and pictures. And they do not come near people who indulge in sin, such as drunkards.

Ibn Katheer[84] said: It is reported in the *aḥaadeeth* narrated in the books of *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, *Musnad* and *Sunan* from a group of the *Ṣaḥaabah* that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "The angels do not enter a house in which there is an image, a dog or a person who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity)."

According to a report narrated from 'Aasim ibn Damurah from 'Ali, "... and not urine." According to a *marfoo'* report narrated from Abu Sa'eed: "The angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or a statue." According to the report of Dhakwaan Abu Ṣaliḥ al-Sammaak from Abu Hurayrah, he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'The angels do not accompany a group with whom there is a dog or a bell.'"[85]

Al-Bazzaar narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Buraydah (رضي الله عنه) that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "There are three whom the angels do not come near: the one who is drunk, the one who is perfumed with saffron and the one who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity)."[86]

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[83] *Al-Habaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik*, by Suyooṭi, 255.

[84] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/55.

[85] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/55.

[86] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 3/70.

In *Sunan Abi Dawood* it is narrated with a *ḥasan isnaad* from 'Ammaar ibn Yaasir that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "There are three things which the angels do not come near: the dead body of a *kaafir*, the one who is perfumed with saffron and the person who is *junub* (in a state of ritual impurity), unless he performs *wuḍoo'*."[87]

(iii) The angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam

It is reported in the *ṣaḥeeḥ aḥaadeeth* that the angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam. So they are offended by offensive smells and by filth and dirt.

Bukhaari and Muslim narrated from Jaabir ibn 'Abd-Allah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Whoever eats garlic, onions or leeks, let him not come near our mosque, for the angels are offended by that which offends the sons of Adam."[88]

The matter is so serious that the Messenger (ﷺ) ordered the one who came to the mosque emanating the smell of garlic or onions to go out to *Al-Baqee'*.[89]

(iv) The prohibition on spitting to the right whilst praying

The Messenger (ﷺ) forbade spitting to the right during prayer, because when a person stands up to pray, an angel stands on his right. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "When anyone of you stands up to pray, let him not spit to the front, for he is conversing with Allah so long as he is praying. And there is an angel standing to his right, so let him spit to his left or beneath his foot, then bury it."[90]

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[87] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 2/872.

[88] The *aḥaadeeth* which forbid those who have eaten onions and garlic from coming near the mosque are narrated in *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari*, *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* and elsewhere, but this version is narrated by Muslim, 1/394, hadith no. 567.

[89] Muslim, 1/396, hadith no. 567.

[90] Bukhaari, 1/512, hadith no. 416.

(v) Befriending all the angels

The Muslim has to like all the angels without any discrimination between one angel and another in that regard, because they are all the slaves of Allah who do that which He commands and abstain from that which He prohibits. In this sense they are all the same, and they do not differ at all. The Jews claimed that they had friends and enemies among the angels; they claimed that Jibreel was an enemy to them and that Mikaa'eel was a friend to them. But Allah showed them to be liars in what they were claiming, and stated that there is no difference among the angels.

﴿قُلْ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّجِبْرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلْبِكَ بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَهُدًى وَبُشْرَىٰ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾ مَن كَانَ عَدُوًّا لِّلَّهِ وَمَلَٰٓئِكَتِهِۦ وَرُسُلِهِۦ وَجِبْرِيلَ وَمِيكَىٰلَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَدُوٌّ لِّلْكَٰفِرِينَ ﴿٩٨﴾﴾

﴿Say [O Muhammad]: 'Whoever is an enemy to Jibreel [Gabriel] [let him die in his fury], for indeed he has brought it [this Qur'an] down to your heart by Allah's Permission, confirming what came before it [i.e. the *Tawraat* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)] and guidance and glad tidings for the believers.

Whoever is an enemy to Allah, His Angels, His Messengers, Jibreel [Gabriel] and Mikaa'eel [Michael], then verily, Allah is an enemy to the disbelievers.'﴾ *(Qur'an 2:97-98)*

Allah has told us that the angels are all the same, and whoever takes one of them as an enemy has taken Allah and all the angels as enemies. Liking some of the angels and hating others is a myth which no one could accept apart from the followers of deviant *kufr* like the Jews. This Jewish opinion which is described in the Qur'an is a poor excuse which they gave for not believing. They claimed that Jibreel was their enemy because he comes with war and destruction, and if the one who had come to the Messenger (ﷺ) had been Mikaa'eel, they would have followed him.

See the texts narrated about the reasons for the revelation of this *aayah* in *Tafseer Ibn Katheer* and elsewhere.

4 - THE ANGELS AND THE *KUFFAAR* AND EVILDOERS

In the previous section, we discussed the relationship between angels and the believers. From this it is clear what their relationship with the *kuffaar* is like. They do not like the *kuffaar*, wrongdoers and criminals; rather, they take them as enemies and wage war against them, and create fear in their hearts, as happened at the battles of Badr and *Al-Aḥzaab* (Confederates). This will be discussed in more detail below.

(1) Bringing the punishment down upon the *kuffaar*

When one of the Messengers was rejected and disbelieved, and his people persisted in their rejection, Allah would often send down His punishment upon them. Sometimes those who carried out the punishment were the angels.

(2) Their destruction of the people of the Prophet Looṭ

The angels who were commanded to punish the people of the Prophet Looṭ came in the form of young men with handsome faces. Prophet Looṭ offered them hospitality, and his people did not know about them, but Looṭ's wife told her people about them and they came quickly, wanting to commit evil actions with them. The Prophet Looṭ tried to ward them off and argue with them, but they ignored him. Then Jibreel struck them with his wing, and blinded their eyes, taking away their sight:

﴿وَلَمَّا جَآءَتْ رُسُلُنَا لُوطًا سِيٓءَ بِهِمْ وَضَاقَ بِهِمْ ذَرْعًا وَقَالَ هَٰذَا يَوْمٌ عَصِيبٌ ﴿٧٧﴾
وَجَآءَهُۥ قَوْمُهُۥ يُهْرَعُونَ إِلَيْهِ وَمِن قَبْلُ كَانُوا۟ يَعْمَلُونَ ٱلسَّيِّـَٔاتِ ۚ قَالَ يَٰقَوْمِ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ بَنَاتِى
هُنَّ أَطْهَرُ لَكُمْ ۖ فَٱتَّقُوا۟ ٱللَّهَ وَلَا تُخْزُونِ فِى ضَيْفِىٓ ۖ أَلَيْسَ مِنكُمْ رَجُلٌ رَّشِيدٌ ﴿٧٨﴾ قَالُوا۟
لَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ مَا لَنَا فِى بَنَاتِكَ مِنْ حَقٍّ وَإِنَّكَ لَتَعْلَمُ مَا نُرِيدُ ﴿٧٩﴾ قَالَ لَوْ أَنَّ لِى بِكُمْ قُوَّةً أَوْ
ءَاوِىٓ إِلَىٰ رُكْنٍ شَدِيدٍ ﴿٨٠﴾ قَالُوا۟ يَٰلُوطُ إِنَّا رُسُلُ رَبِّكَ لَن يَصِلُوٓا۟ إِلَيْكَ ﴿٨١﴾﴾

(And when Our messengers came to Looṭ [Lot], he was grieved on account of them and felt himself straitened for them [lest the town people should approach them to commit sodomy with them]. He said: 'This is a distressful day.'

> And his people came rushing towards him, and since aforetime they used to commit crimes [sodomy], he said: 'O my people! Here are my daughters [i.e. the women of the nation], they are purer for you [if you marry them lawfully]. So fear Allah and disgrace me not with regard to my guests! Is there not among you a single rightminded man?'
> They said: 'Surely, you know that we have neither any desire nor need of your daughters, and indeed you know well what we want!'
> He said: 'Would that I had strength [men] to overpower you, or that I could betake myself to some powerful support [to resist you].'
> They [messengers] said: 'O Looṭ [Lot]! Verily, we are the messengers from your Lord! They shall not reach you!'﴾
> *(Qur'an 11:77-81)*

Ibn Katheer[91] said: they mentioned that Jibreel (عليه السلام) went out against them and struck their faces with the edge of his wing. He destroyed their eyes completely so that there was nothing left, not even a trace... Allah says:

﴿وَلَقَدْ رَٰوَدُوهُ عَن ضَيْفِهِۦ فَطَمَسْنَآ أَعْيُنَهُمْ فَذُوقُوا۟ عَذَابِى وَنُذُرِ ﴿٣٧﴾﴾

> ﴾And they indeed sought to shame his guest [by asking to commit sodomy with them]. So We blinded their eyes [saying], 'Then taste you My Torment and My Warnings.'﴿ *(Qur'an 54:37)*

The next morning, Allah destroyed them:

﴿فَلَمَّا جَآءَ أَمْرُنَا جَعَلْنَا عَٰلِيَهَا سَافِلَهَا وَأَمْطَرْنَا عَلَيْهَا حِجَارَةً مِّن سِجِّيلٍ مَّنضُودٍ ﴿٨٢﴾ مُّسَوَّمَةً عِندَ رَبِّكَ ۖ وَمَا هِىَ مِنَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ بِبَعِيدٍ ﴿٨٣﴾﴾

> ﴾So when Our Commandment came, We turned [the towns of Sodom in Palestine] upside down, and rained on them stones of baked clay, in a well-arranged manner one after another;
> Marked from your Lord; and they are not ever far from the *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists, evildoers].﴿ *(Qur'an 11:82-83)*

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[91] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/197.

Ibn Katheer said in his *Tafseer*: "Mujaahid said: 'Jibreel seized the people of the Prophet Looṭ from their fields and houses, and carried them with their flocks and possessions. He lifted them up until the inhabitants of heaven heard the barking of their dogs, then he turned them upside down. He carried them on the coverts of his right wing.' He mentioned other similar thing, but he did not narrate any hadith to support that."

(3) Their cursing of the *kuffaar*

Allah, the Almighty, says:

﴿كَيْفَ يَهْدِى ٱللَّهُ قَوْمًا كَفَرُوا۟ بَعْدَ إِيمَٰنِهِمْ وَشَهِدُوٓا۟ أَنَّ ٱلرَّسُولَ حَقٌّ وَجَآءَهُمُ ٱلْبَيِّنَٰتُ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِى ٱلْقَوْمَ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿٨٦﴾ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ جَزَآؤُهُمْ أَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةَ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ ﴿٨٧﴾﴾

﴿How shall Allah guide a people who disbelieved after their Belief and after they bore witness that the Messenger [Muhammad] is true and after clear proofs had come unto them? And Allah guides not the people who are *Ẓaalimoon* [polytheists and wrongdoers].

They are those whose recompense is that on them [rests] the Curse of Allah, of the angels, and of all mankind.﴾ *(Qur'an 3:86-87)*

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ وَمَاتُوا۟ وَهُمْ كُفَّارٌ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةُ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ وَٱلنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ ﴿١٦١﴾﴾

﴿Verily, those who disbelieve, and die while they are disbelievers, it is they on whom is the Curse of Allah and of the angels and of mankind, combined.﴾ *(Qur'an 2:161)*

The angels do not only curse the *kuffaar*. They may also curse those who commit particular sins, including the following:

(a) The angels curse a woman when she does not respond to her husband

In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* it is narrated on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that: "The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: 'When a man calls his wife to his bed and she refuses to come, the angels curse her until morning

comes.'"[92] According to another report, "...until she changes her mind."[93]

(b) They curse the one who points towards his brother with a weapon

Muslim narrated in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* that Abu Hurayrah (ﷺ) reported: "Abu'l-Qaasim said: 'Whoever points towards his brother with a weapon is cursed by the angels, even if it is his brother through his father and his mother.'"[94]

The curse of the angels indicates that this action is *ḥaraam*, because it involves frightening one's brother, and because the *Shayṭaan* could tempt one to kill one's brother, especially if the weapon is of the modern type which could go off for the slightest mistake or unintentional touch. How often has such a thing happened.

(c) They curse those who slander the Companions of the Messenger

In *Mu'jam aṭ-Ṭabaraani al-Kabeer* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas with a *ḥasan isnaad* that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Whoever slanders my companions, may there be upon him the curse of Allah, the angels and all of mankind."

How strange it is that some people make slandering the Companions of the Messenger (ﷺ) a religious ritual by means of which they seek to draw closer to Allah, although their punishment is what the Messenger (ﷺ) mentioned in this hadith, and it is a frightening punishment.

(d) They curse those who prevent the shari'ah of Allah from being implemented

In *Sunan an-Nasaa'i* and *Sunan Ibn Maajah* it is narrated with a *ṣaḥeeḥ isnaad* from Ibn 'Abbaas (ﷺ) that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Whoever kills (a person) deliberately should be killed in return,

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[92] Bukhaari, 9/293, hadith no. 5193.

[93] *Ibid.*, 9/294, hadith no. 5194.

[94] Muslim, 4/2020, hadith no. 2616.

and whoever tries to prevent that, may he be cursed by Allah, the angels and all of mankind."[95] The one who tries, by means of his wealth or position, to prevent the ruling of Allah from being carried out on one who has deliberately killed another, will be subject to this curse, so how about those who try to prevent the shari'ah from being implemented altogether?

(e) They curse those who give sanctuary to innovators or criminals

Among those who are cursed by the angels and by Allah are those who innovate heresies in Allah's religion and violate His laws, or protect those who do so. It says in a *ṣaḥeeḥ* hadith: "Whoever innovates a heresy or gives sanctuary to an innovator or criminal, may there be upon him the curse of Allah, the angels and all of mankind."[96]

Innovation and criminal actions in Madeenah are even more serious. In *Ṣaḥeeḥayn* (Bukhaari and Muslim) it is narrated that 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaalib said: "The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'Madeenah is a sanctuary, from 'Ayr to Thawr (two mountains in Madeenah). Whoever innovates a heresy or commits a crime in (Madeenah), or gives shelter to such a person, may there be upon him the curse of Allah and the angels, and all of mankind, and none of his compulsory or optional good deeds will be accepted on the Day of Resurrection.'"[97]

(4) The demand of the *kuffaar* to see the angels

The *kuffaar* - disbelievers - demanded to see the angels as proof that what the Messenger (ﷺ) said was true. But Allah told them that the Day on which they would see the angels would be a bad day for them. For the *kuffaar* will see the angels when the punishment is about to befall them,

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[95] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/492, no. 4456, 4457. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Ibn Maajah*, 2/96, no. 2131.

[96] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan Abi Dawood*, 3/859, no. 3797. *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan an-Nasaa'i*, 3/982, no. 4412.

[97] Bukhaari, 4/81, hadith no. 1870. Also narrated by Muslim, 2/994, hadith no. 1370. This version is narrated by Muslim.

or when death approaches and the veil is lifted:

﴿وَقَالَ ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَرْجُونَ لِقَآءَنَا لَوْلَآ أُنزِلَ عَلَيْنَا ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةُ أَوْ نَرَىٰ رَبَّنَا ۗ لَقَدِ ٱسْتَكْبَرُوا۟ فِىٓ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَعَتَوْ عُتُوًّا كَبِيرًا ﴿٢١﴾ يَوْمَ يَرَوْنَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ لَا بُشْرَىٰ يَوْمَئِذٍ لِّلْمُجْرِمِينَ وَيَقُولُونَ حِجْرًا مَّحْجُورًا ﴿٢٢﴾﴾

﴿And those who expect not a Meeting with Us [i.e. those who deny the Day of Resurrection and the life of the Hereafter] said: 'Why are not the angels sent down to us, or why do we not see our Lord?' Indeed they think too highly of themselves, and are scornful with great pride.

On the Day they will see the angels no glad tidings will there be for the *Mujrimoon* [criminals, disbelievers, polytheists, sinners] that day. And they [angels] will say: 'All kinds of glad tidings are forbidden to you.'﴾ *(Qur'an 25:21-22)*

CHAPTER FOUR
THE ANGELS AND OTHER CREATED THINGS

In the previous chapter we discussed the relationship between the angels and the sons of Adam. This is not the only matter with which the angels have been entrusted. The angels also take care of other matters of the universe, things which we can see and things which we cannot see.

We shall limit ourselves to mentioning some of that which has been narrated in the texts.

1 - THE BEARERS OF THE THRONE

The Throne is the greatest of all created things. It encompasses the heavens and is above them, and the Most Merciful is above the Throne, which is borne by eight angels:

﴿وَيَحْمِلُ عَرْشَ رَبِّكَ فَوْقَهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ ثَمَانِيَةٌ ﴿١٧﴾﴾

﴿And eight angels will, that Day, bear the Throne of your Lord above them.﴾ *(Qur'an 69:17)*[1]

2 - THE ANGELS OF THE MOUNTAIN

There are also angels appointed over the mountains. Allah sent the angel of the mountains to His slave and Messenger Muhammad (ﷺ) to ask his permission to destroy the people of Makkah. In *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhaari* and *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* it is narrated that 'Aa'ishah said to the Prophet (ﷺ): "O Messenger of Allah, did you ever experience any day that was harder than the day of Uḥud?" He said, "I suffered a great deal from your people, and the worst I suffered from them was the day of 'Aqabah[2],

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[1] We have already discussed their immense size in the chapter where we discussed their attributes and abilities.

[2] A place in Mina (Author).

when I called Ibn 'Abd-Yaalayl ibn 'Abd-Kallaal to Islam, and he did not agree to what I was proposing.

So I went away in distress and I did not realize where I was going until I reached Qarn ath-Tha'aalib. Then I raised my head and saw a cloud which was shading me. I looked and I saw Jibreel in it, calling to me. He said, 'Allah has heard what your people have said to you, and how they have responded to you. He has sent the angel of the mountains to you, so that you can command him to do whatever you want to them.'

Then the angel of the mountains called me. He greeted me with *salaams*, then he said: 'O Muhammad, Allah has heard what your people have said to you. I am the angel of the mountains. Your Lord has sent me to you so that you may give me orders. What do you want? If you want I will crush them between Al-Akhshabayn.'[3] The Prophet (ﷺ) said: 'Rather I hope that Allah will bring forth from their loins people who will worship Allah alone, not associating any partner with Him.'"[4]

3 - THE ANGELS WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER RAIN, VEGETATION AND PROVISION

Ibn Katheer[5] said: "Mikaa'eel is appointed over the rain and vegetation from which is created the provision of this world. He has helpers who do whatever he commands them to do by the command of his Lord. They control the winds and clouds as the Lord wills."

Among the angels are those who are responsible for the clouds. In *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* it is narrated from Ibn 'Abbaas that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said: "Ar-Ra'd is one of the angels who is responsible for the clouds... He drives the clouds wherever Allah wills."[6] So rain

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[3] Two mountains in Makkah (Author).

[4] Muslim, 3/1420, hadith no. 1795. This version is narrated by him. Also narrated by Bukhaari, 6/312, hadith no. 3231.

[5] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/50.

[6] *Ṣaḥeeḥ Sunan at-Tirmidhi*, 3/64, no. 2492.

may come to one land and not to another, or to one city and not to another.

He may be commanded to send rain on one man's crops, and no one else's, as mentioned in the hadith narrated by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ* from Abu Hurayrah, according to which the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "Whilst a man was in the open country, he heard a voice in a cloud (saying), 'Send rain on the garden of so and so.' So the cloud moved and poured down its water in a stony area, and one of the channels took all that water.

He followed the water and found a man standing in his garden, using a shovel to direct the water where he wanted it. He said to him, 'O slave of Allah, what is your name?' He said, 'so and so,' mentioning the name that (the first man) had heard in the cloud. He said, 'O slave of Allah, why did you ask me my name?' He said, 'I heard a voice in the cloud from which this water came, saying, "Send rain on the garden of so and so" and it was your name. What do you do with it?' He said, 'Because you said this, I will tell you. I look at the produce of my garden, then I give one-third in charity, feed myself and my family with one-third, and I put one third back into the garden.'"[7]

Whatever the case, the angels are appointed over the heavens and on earth. Every movement in the universe stems from the angels, as Allah says:

﴿فَٱلْمُدَبِّرَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿And by those angels who arrange to do the Commands of their Lord.﴾ *(Qur'an 79:5)*

﴿فَٱلْمُقَسِّمَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٤﴾

﴿And those [angels] who distribute [provisions, rain, and other blessings] by [Allah's] Command.﴾ *(Qur'an 51:4)*

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[7] Muslim, 4/2288, hadith no. 2984.

Those who reject the Messengers and disbelieve in the Creator claim that it is the stars which do all that, but the ones who do that are the angels, by the command of Allah, as He says:

﴿وَٱلْمُرْسَلَٰتِ عُرْفًا ۝١ فَٱلْعَٰصِفَٰتِ عَصْفًا ۝٢ وَٱلنَّٰشِرَٰتِ نَشْرًا ۝٣ فَٱلْفَٰرِقَٰتِ فَرْقًا ۝٤ فَٱلْمُلْقِيَٰتِ ذِكْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿By the winds [or angels or the Messengers of Allah] sent forth one after another.
And by the winds that blow violently.
And by the winds that scatter clouds and rain.
And by the Verses [of the Qur'an] that separate the right from the wrong.
And by the angels that bring the Revelations to the Messengers.﴾
(Qur'an 77:1-5)

﴿وَٱلنَّٰزِعَٰتِ غَرْقًا ۝١ وَٱلنَّٰشِطَٰتِ نَشْطًا ۝٢ وَٱلسَّٰبِحَٰتِ سَبْحًا ۝٣ فَٱلسَّٰبِقَٰتِ سَبْقًا ۝٤ فَٱلْمُدَبِّرَٰتِ أَمْرًا ۝٥﴾

﴿By those [angels] who pull out [the souls of the disbelievers and the wicked] with great violence.
By those [angels] who gently take out [the souls of the believers].
And by those that swim along [i.e. angels or planets in their orbits].
And by those that press forward as in a race [i.e. the angels or stars or the horses].
And by those angels who arrange to do the Commands of their Lord, [so verily, you disbelievers will be called to account].﴾
(Qur'an 79:1-5)

﴿وَٱلصَّٰٓفَّٰتِ صَفًّا ۝١ فَٱلزَّٰجِرَٰتِ زَجْرًا ۝٢ فَٱلتَّٰلِيَٰتِ ذِكْرًا ۝٣﴾

﴿By those [angels] ranged in ranks [or rows].
By those [angels] who drive the clouds in a good way.
By those [angels] who bring the Book and the Qur'an from Allah to mankind.﴾ *(Qur'an 37:1-3)*

All of these *aayaat* speak of the angels when they direct the affairs of the heavens and the earth.

CHAPTER FIVE
WHO IS SUPERIOR - THE ANGELS OR THE SONS OF ADAM?

THIS IS AN ANCIENT DISPUTE

Ibn Katheer[1] said: "The people differed as to whether the angels are superior to mankind. This dispute is mostly to be found in the books of the scholars of *kalaam* (scholastiasm), and the dispute is with the *Mu'tazilah* and those who agreed with them."

The oldest discussion of this matter that I have come across is what is mentioned by Al-Ḥaafiẓ ibn 'Asaakir in his *Taareekh*, where he gives a biography of Umayyah ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'eed ibn al-'Aaṣ: "He attended a gathering with 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez, with whom there was a group. 'Umar said: 'There is no one who is dearer to Allah than the good people among the sons of Adam,' and he quoted as evidence the *aayah*,

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَعَمِلُوا۟ ٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتِ أُو۟لَٰٓئِكَ هُمْ خَيْرُ ٱلْبَرِيَّةِ ۝٧﴾

﴿'Verily, those who believe [in the Oneness of Allah, and in His Messenger (Muhammad) including all obligations ordered by Islam] and do righteous good deeds, they are the best of creatures.'﴾

(Qur'an 98:7)

Umayyah ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'eed agreed with him, but 'Arraak ibn Maalik said: 'There is no one dearer to Allah than His angels, who are His servants in this world and in the Hereafter, and His messengers to His Prophets.' And he quoted as evidence the *aayah*:

﴿مَا نَهَىٰكُمَا رَبُّكُمَا عَنْ هَٰذِهِ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ إِلَّآ أَن تَكُونَا مَلَكَيْنِ أَوْ تَكُونَا مِنَ ٱلْخَٰلِدِينَ ۝٢٠﴾

﴿He [*Shayṭaan*] said: 'Your Lord did not forbid you this tree save you should become angels or become of the immortals.'﴾

(Qur'an 7:20)

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[1] *Al-Bidaayah wan-Nihaayah*, 1/58.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez said to Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Quraẓi: 'What do you say, O Abu Ḥamzah?' He said, 'Allah honoured Adam by creating him with His own hand and breathing into him the soul, making the angels prostrate to him, bringing forth from his offspring Prophets, Messengers and those whom the angels visit.'

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez agreed with this ruling, and quoted different evidence."

What Ibn Katheer mentioned here about the discussion of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azeez and his companions on this topic shows that Taaj ad-Deen al-Fazaari was mistaken when he said: "This matter is one of the *bid'ahs* of *'Ilm al-kalaam*, which was not discussed by the early generations of the ummah or by the most knowledgeable of the Imaams after them."[2] Indeed, it is reported that some of the *Ṣaḥaabah* discussed this matter. 'Abd-Allah ibn Salaam said: "Allah never created any creation dearer to Him than Muhammad." It was said to him, "Not even Jibreel and Mikaa'eel?" He said, "Don't you know what Jibreel and Mikaa'eel are? They are two creatures without free will, like the sun and moon. Allah has not created any being dearer to Him than Muhammad (ﷺ)." This is narrated by Al-Ḥaakim in his *Mustadrak* and is rated as *ṣaḥeeḥ* by him and Adh-Dhahabi.[3]

Different views on this matter

The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah* said that the view attributed to *Ahl as-Sunnah* is that only the righteous sons of Adam and the Prophets are superior to the angels. The *Mu'tazilah* say that the angels are better. The followers of Al-Ash'ari are of two views; some of them say that the Prophets and *awliyaa'* are superior, and some refrain from commenting and do not say anything decisive on the matter. It is reported that some of them tended to regard the angels as superior, and this view is also narrated from some of *Ahl as-Sunnah* and some of the Ṣufis.

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[2] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 339.

[3] See Al-Albaani's commentary on *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, Pp. 342.

The *Shi'ah* said that all of the Imaams are superior to all of the angels. There are other views on this issue also.

No one whose view carries any weight said that the angels are superior to some of the Prophets and not others. It is said that Abu Ḥaneefah (may Allah have mercy on him) declined to answer a question on this matter. The commentator on *Aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah* (may Allah have mercy on him) was also inclined to refrain from making any statement.[4]

As-Safaareeni said that Imaam Aḥmad (may Allah have mercy on him) used to say, "He is mistaken who says that the angels are better." He said, "Every believer is superior to the angels."

The point of dispute

There is no dispute that the *kuffaar* and hypocrites are not included in this discussion of superiority. They are more astray than the animals:

﴿أُولَٰئِكَ كَالْأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ ﴿١٧٩﴾﴾

﴿They are like cattle, nay even more astray.﴾ *(Qur'an 7:179)*

Discussing who is superior does not mean that we are discussing whether the essence of man or the essence of the angels is better. We are discussing whether righteous human beings or angels are superior. Some people say that the angels are better than the believers, so in their case the discussion is whether the Prophets or the angels are superior.

The evidence of those who say that righteous human beings are superior to the angels

Having described the point of the discussion, we will quote the evidence given by those who say that man is superior.

1 - Allah commanded the angels to prostrate to Adam. If he had not been superior, He would not have commanded them to prostrate to him:

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[4] *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 338.

﴿وَإِذْ قُلْنَا لِلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ ٱسْجُدُوا۟ لِـَٔادَمَ فَسَجَدُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ إِبْلِيسَ أَبَىٰ وَٱسْتَكْبَرَ ﴿٣٤﴾﴾

﴿And [remember] when We said to the angels: 'Prostrate yourselves before Adam.' And they prostrated except *Iblees* [Satan], he refused and was proud.﴾ *(Qur'an 2:34)*

Some of them said that the prostration was to Allah, and that Adam was only a *qiblah* (direction of prostration) for them. If this was correct, Allah would have said, 'Prostrate yourselves towards Adam', not ﴿'Prostrate yourselves before [lit. to] Adam.'﴾

If what had been meant was taking Adam as a *qiblah*, *Iblees* would not have refused to prostrate, and he would not have claimed that he was better than Adam, because the *qiblah* is only a direction, and taking it as a *qiblah* does not mean that it is regarded as superior.

It is true that the angels' prostration to Adam was an act of worship to Allah and obedience to Him, an action by which they drew closer to Him. But it was also an act of honour, respect and veneration towards Adam.

It is not reported that Adam prostrated to the angels. Adam and his descendents are not commanded to prostrate towards anyone except Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, because they – and Allah knows best – are the noblest of all creatures, i.e., the righteous son of Adam are the noblest of all creatures. There is no one above the righteous sons of Adam who prostrate none but Allah and prostrate with the best prostrations.

2 - Allah says that *Iblees* said:

﴿أَرَءَيْتَكَ هَٰذَا ٱلَّذِى كَرَّمْتَ عَلَىَّ ﴿٦٢﴾﴾

﴿'See this one whom You have honoured above me.'﴾ *(Qur'an 17:62)*

This clearly shows that Adam was honoured over *Iblees* when the latter was commanded to prostrate to him.

3 - Allah created Adam with His hand, whereas He created the angels by His word.

4 - Allah says:

﴿إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿I will create a vicegerent [*khaleefah*] on earth.﴾

(Qur'an 2:30 - A. Yoosuf 'Ali translation)

The one who is a *khaleefah* is superior to the one who is not a *khaleefah*. The angels asked that they might also become *khaleefahs* when they said,

﴿أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَن يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ ٱلدِّمَآءَ ﴿٣٠﴾﴾

﴿Will You place therein those who will make mischief therein and shed blood...?﴾ *(Qur'an 2:30)*

If being a *khaleefah* had not been a high status, higher than their own, they would not have asked for it and felt envious of the one who had this status.

5 - The sons of Adam are superior to the angels in terms of knowledge. When Allah asked them (the angels) about the names of things, they could not answer and they acknowledged that they did not know them, and Adam told them the names. Allah says:

﴿هَلْ يَسْتَوِي ٱلَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٩﴾﴾

﴿Say: 'Are those who know equal to those who know not?'﴾

(Qur'an 39:9)

6 - Another indication of man's superiority is that man's obedience to Allah is more difficult, and that which is more difficult to fulfil is dearer when fulfilled. Man is inclined towards his physical desires, greed, anger and whims, and these things are not present in the angels.

7 - The *salaf* used to narrate *aḥaadeeth* which spoke of the superiority of righteous human beings over the angels. These reports were narrated openly to people. Had this been wrong they would have denounced it. This indicates that this was their belief.

8 - Allah praises them (righteous human beings) before His angels. Allah praises His slaves to the angels when they do anything that He has enjoined upon them or commanded them to do. When they perform an obligatory prayer, He praises them to the angels. In *Al-Musnad* and Ibn Maajah it is narrated from 'Abd-Allah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Rejoice, for your Lord has opened one of the gates of heaven and is praising you to the angels. He is saying, 'Look at My slaves; they have done one duty and are waiting for the next."[5]

It is narrated from Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger (ﷺ) said: "Allah praises the people of *'Arafaat* to the people of heaven. He says to them: 'Look at My slaves. They have come to Me dusty and dishevelled (from travel).'" Its *isnaad* is *ṣaḥeeḥ* and it is narrated by Ibn Ḥibbaan in his *Ṣaḥeeḥ*, and by Al-Ḥaakim and by Al-Bayhaqi in *As-Sunan*.[6]

Those who regard the angels as superior quote for example the hadith, "Whoever remembers Me to himself, I will remember him to Myself, and whoever mentions Me in a gathering, I will mention him in a gathering better than it."

They also quote as evidence the fact that there are failings and shortcomings among the sons of Adam, and that they make errors and commit mistakes. And they quote *aayaat* such as,

﴿وَلَآ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ إِنِّي مَلَكٌ ۖ ﴿٥٠﴾﴾

﴿Nor I tell you that I am an angel.﴾ *(Qur'an 6:50)*

This indicates that the angels are better than humans.

The correct view

The matter may be resolved in the manner suggested by Ibn Taymiyah, who said that righteous human beings will be better in the end, when they enter Paradise, attain near access to Allah (38:25), dwell in the

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[5] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 1/67.

[6] *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jaami'*, 2/141.

highest levels, are greeted by the Most Merciful, are brought even closer, Allah manifests Himself to them and they have the joy of looking upon His Noble Face, and the angels will stand to serve them by the permission of their Lord.

But the angels are better at the beginning, for the angels now are closer to Allah. They are above the things that the sons of Adam indulge in, and they are devoted to the worship of their Lord. Undoubtedly at this point their situation is more perfect than that of mankind.

Ibn al-Qayyim said: With this explanation the issue of superiority becomes clear and the evidence of both parties is reconciled, and the view of each is shown to be acceptable to some extent.[7] And Allah knows best.

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[7] For more information on this matter, see: *Majmoo' al-Fataawa*, 11/350; *Lawaami' al-Anwaar al-Bahiyyah*, 2/368; *Sharḥ al-'Aqeedah aṭ-Ṭaḥḥaawiyyah*, 338. Suyooṭi's book *Al-Ḥabaa'ik fi Akhbaar al-Malaa'ik* has also been published, in which there is a lengthy discussion (Pp. 203-251) of whether the angels or the sons of Adam are superior.

SYMBOLS' DIRECTORY

(ﷻ) : *Subḥaanahu wa Ta'aala* - "The Exalted."

(ﷺ) : *Ṣalla-Allahu 'Alayhi wa Sallam* -
"Blessings and Peace be upon him."

(عليه السلام) : *'Alayhis-Salaam* - "May Peace be upon him."

(رضي الله عنه) : *Raḍi-Allahu 'Anhu* - "May Allah be pleased with him."

(رضي الله عنها) : *Raḍi-Allahu 'Anha* - "May Allah be pleased with her."

GLOSSARY

Al-Ghayb	الغيب	:	The unseen
'Aqeedah	العقيدة	:	Faith, Creed
Al-Mulk	المُلك	:	Sovereignty
Al-Qadar	القدر	:	Divine decree, predestination
Al-Bayt al-Ma'moor	البيت المعمور	:	The much-frequented house; Ka'bah for the angels in the heaven above the Ka'bah in Makkah
'Ateed	عتيد	:	Ready
Assalamu 'Alaykum	السلام عليكم	:	Peace be upon you
'Alaqah	علقة	:	Clot
'Aṣr	عصر	:	Afternoon, time, Afternoon prayer
Al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfooẓ	اللوح المحفوظ	:	The Preserved Tablet
Al-Khandaq	الخندق	:	The Ditch
Ameen	آمين	:	Trustworthy
'Adn	عدن	:	A garden in Paradise
Al-Maseeḥ ad-Dajjaal	المسيح الدجال	:	The Pseudo-Christ; Pseudo Messiaḥ
Bayt al-'Izzah	بيت العِزة	:	The House of Glory
Bid'ah	بدعة	:	Reprehensible innovation in religion, heresy

Dhikr	الذِكر	:	Rememberance
Du'aa'	دعاء	:	Supplication
Eemaan	إيمان	:	Faith, belief
Fajr	الفجر	:	Dawn, dawn prayer
Faḥshaa'	فحشاء	:	Evil-deed, illegal sexual intercourse, sin, obscene
Ḥaraam	حرام	:	Prohibited
Ḥasanah	حسنة	:	Good deed
Iblees	ابليس	:	Satan
Iḥsaan	احسان	:	Perfection, Good
Ilaah	إله	:	God, diety
Israa'	إسراء	:	Night Journey
'Ishaa'	عِشاء	:	Night, Evening prayer
Insha' Allah	انشاء الله	:	God willing
Junub	جُنُب	:	In a state of ritual impurity following marital relations or sensuous dreams.
Khaleefah	خليفة	:	Vicegerent, Caliph, Deputy
Kiraaman	كِراما	:	Honourable
Kaatibeen	كاتبين	:	Scribes
Laḥd	لحد	:	Niche for the corpse
Maalik	مالِك	:	Owner, name of the incharge of Hell
Malak	مَلَك	:	Angel
Malaa'ik	ملائِك	:	Angels

Mi'raaj	معراج	:	Ascent of the Prophet to the heavens
Mushrik	مشرك	:	Polytheist
Muḍghah	مضغة	:	Chewed lump of flesh
Maghrib	مغرب	:	Sunset prayer, sunset
Miḥraab	محراب	:	A praying place or a private room, niche
Mujrimoon	مجرمون	:	Sing. *Mujrim*. Criminals, disbelievers, sinners
Nutfah	نطفة	:	Embryo, mixed discharge from male and female
Qareen	قرين	:	Constant Companion
Qa'eed	قَعيد	:	Sitting
Qaṣab	قصب	:	Pipes made of gold or pearls and other precious stones
Qiblah	قبله	:	Direction of prostration during prayer, Ka'bah
Riḍwaan	رضوان	:	Name of the angel in charge of Paradise
Raqeeb	رقيب	:	Watcher
Ruqyah	رقية	:	Amulet
Rooḥ al-Qudus	رُوح القدس	:	Archangel Gabriel
Salaam	سلام	:	Greetings
Sidrat al-Muntaha	سِدرة المنتهى	:	The Lotus Tree of the utmost boundry over the seventh heaven beyond which no one can pass

Ṣaḥaabah	صحابة	:	Sing. *Ṣaḥaabı* The Prophet's Companions
Sakeenah	سكينة	:	Peace, tranquility
Ṣalaah	صلاة	:	Prayer, (obligatory/optional)
Ṣafara'	صفراء	:	Yellow
Tasbeeḥ	تسبيح	:	To say, *'Subḥaan Allah'*
Ṭawaaf	طواف	:	To go round (the Ka'bah), circumambulation
Thiqaat	ثقات	:	Sing. *Thiqah* Trustworthy
Taboot	تابوت	:	A wooden box, refers to the box that contained the relics of the Prophet Moses
Ṭaloot	طالوت	:	Qur'anic name for Saul
Ummah	أمه	:	Nation
Umm al-Mu'mineen	أم المؤمنين	:	The mother of the believers, (The Prophet's wife)
'Uboodiyyah	عبودية	:	Being a slave of Allah in the fullest sense
Wuḍoo'	وضوء	:	Ablution (ritual cleansing)
Waḥy	وحي	:	Revelation
Ẓaalimoon	ظالمون	:	Sing. *Ẓaalim*. Wrongdoers and polytheists, tyrants
Ẓuhr	ظهر	:	Noon, midday, midday prayer

TRANSLITERATION CHART

أ	a
آ . ى	aa
ب	b
ت	t
ة	h or t (when followed by another Arabic word)
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ

ظ	ẓ
ع	‘
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
هـ – ه – ـه	h
و	w
و (as vowel)	oo
ي	y
ي (as vowel)	ee
ء	’ (Omitted in initial position)

ـَ	Fatḥah	a
ـِ	Kasra	i
ـُ	Ḍammah	u
ـّ	Shaddah	Double letter
ـْ	Sukoon	Absence of vowel